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IN THE BLOOD: PERFORMANCE AND IDENTITY IN THE CATALAN TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY¹

The Patum of Berga is a Corpus Christi festival featuring the danced combats of effigies and masked figures, performed since the early 17th century in an industrial town in the Catalan Pyrenees. During the Spanish transition, the festival attracted massive participation from all over Catalonia, becoming a focus of democratic and nationalist resistance. This article describes the gendered character of the political struggle over the festival, showing how the limits of the Oedipal metaphor create a problem for community reproduction. The author explores the conservative nationalist and Francoist contexts of the feminization of the Patum, the moment of generational confrontation during the Transition, and the subsequent problem of imagining a new, nonrepressive social order.

Keywords: transition in Catalonia, Corpus Christi festival in Berga

Invented traditions, imagined communities: how can constructions so easily toppled in the analysis have such a hold on the feelings? And if, as dramaturgical and ethnomethodological accounts suggest, identities are not natural, but created and sustained in performance, why do individuals so often distinguish between "wearing the mask" and "authentic" identity?²

¹ I am deeply grateful to the organizers of the wonderful Dubrovnik meeting, and in particular to Renata Jambrešić Kirin, who invited me to participate. The Mershon Center of the Ohio State University generously supported my attendance, as well as the writing of the book on which this article is based. I would have nothing to say without the intelligence, patience, and good will of my friends and teachers in the city of Berga.

² Invented tradition and imagined community are the much-discussed formulations of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) and Anderson (1991) respectively. On ethnic identity as the focalization of a heterogeneous repertory in performance, see Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985); on normative gender as an imposed performance of the "natural," see the pioneering work of Garfinkel (1967) and the better-known formulations of Judith Butler (e.g., 1993).

Lay theory in Catalonia begins to offer us an answer. In the late Franco period, activists struggling for the restoration of democracy and Catalan autonomy faced the task of creating practical consensus among individuals of widely divergent ideological orientations. To mobilize the general population, they resorted to nonverbal means of collective organization, invoking the lowest common denominator of the body repressed by dictatorship. The liberation of the body in collective performance was understood as both the precondition of more institutional freedoms and the necessary preparation for demanding them.

From this experience, which drew on the techniques of traditional festival, a large number of Catalans came to understand collective identity as the embodied memory of socially labeled performance. While initial participation might be voluntary, the traces of performance left in memory were objective and inalienable, becoming more so with each repetition. This view offers a means of reconciling theories of identity as historical construct to accounts of identity as a felt reality by providing a mechanism through which experience is recoded as essence.

Provincial intellectuals

My principal actors are a generation of intellectuals who had trouble turning forty. As students in the 1960s and 70s, they were the protagonists of the mass demonstrations against the Franco regime and the creators of myriad cultural and political initiatives to restore Catalonia to "normal" nationhood.

When I came to know them in the early 1990s, they had reached not only their own, but Catalonia's mid-life crisis: a point at which collective effervescence was becoming routinized in some contexts and escaping the control of its fomenters in others; a point at which a state of near-perpetual collective effervescence could no longer be supported by either middle-aged bodies or regional and municipal budgets. It was time to get down to business, a time of both distancing from and nostalgia for that first euphoria.

These former activists, who today dominate the educational and cultural institutions of autonomous Catalonia, come, to a great extent, from popular provincial backgrounds. The children of farmers, the industrial working class, and the smaller commercial class, they grew up in the small cities of the mountains where traditional culture is maintained with some vigor as the local patrimony and where the Castilian language³ never succeeded in imposing itself in everyday life. They were the part of the generation born in the 1950s that managed to get out of the factory and into higher education. Their politics were democratic but Catalanist: out to

³ That is, Spanish. "Castilian" in Catalan usage refers to both the Spanish language and to immigrants from any of Spain's Spanish-speaking regions, not only Castile.

restore the local culture and local political autonomy after the depredations of the Franco regime, and, more ambivalently, after a heavy immigration of non-Catalan speakers from other parts of Spain. Their tools of mobilization were drawn, to a large extent, from Catalan traditional culture. Although they did conduct research in books, archives, and the remoter "field" of the high mountain villages, they were not primarily revivalists. Rather, they have a deep practical knowledge of this locally-rooted culture; indeed their continued loyalty to and embeddedness in it has at times even impeded their larger nationalist goals.

Indeed, there is a real tension in most of them between local and metropolitan aspirations, made most evident in the significant proportion of them who married late or not at all out of indecision over where to locate themselves. This group still spends a lot of time on the congested narrow highways between Barcelona and the towns.

It is precisely this inability to sacrifice either world that makes provincial intellectuals so useful as collaborators and so interesting as objects of study. Any metropolitan scholar who works on European traditional culture depends heavily on their local monographs and on their friendship and knowledge for entrée into fieldwork. But we have not, perhaps, recognized the scholarly and political activities of these actors for the shape of the nation at large. They are the vehicle through which local concerns and local cultural models most frequently reach the political center. The provincial intellectuals are the people who translate lay theory from the embedded, often embodied "restricted code" in which it is articulated locally, to the "elaborated code" of the metropolis (cf. Bernstein 1970). Hans Kohn long ago observed that local loyalties feed successful nationalist movements (1944:8-9). This is not a given: provincial intellectuals support the connection by facilitating the interchange between local and national narratives and performances.

I want to explore two incidents protagonized by this group. The first, a public declaration, sets forward the model of collective identity by which they operate: identity as the embodied memory of socially labeled performance. That is, you are what you've done, what you know how to do. The second incident, a disturbing moment of private recognition, hints at a more complex genealogy for this model and some of its possible consequences. In between, I will discuss the implications of gender for embodiment as a political strategy.

Local identity and the techniques of incorporation

My first story takes place in Berga, the town of my fieldwork, a local administrative capital of 15,000 people in the foothills of the Pyrenees, famous throughout Catalonia for its festival of the Patum and its intensity of both localist and nationalist feeling. In late 1985, during an argument over popular representation in the city council, one councillor, an

archaeologist felt by some to have spent rather too long in his cave, made the imprudent declaration, "*No pot ser berguedà qui no hagi mamat llet berguedana.*" No one can be Berguedan who has not suckled Berguedan milk.

Denials and apologies issued at once from City Hall, since the immigrant vote is not insignificant in municipal elections. But the remark was much discussed and debated, for Berguedans are deeply interested in what it means to be Berguedan. And the following February, in the first celebration of Carnival in Berga since 1938, the organizers, a band of young intellectuals engaged in various initiatives to revitalize local culture, placed a papier-mâché cow in a city square. On its side, it advertised Berguedan Milk. Anyone who approached to bend down and drink from its rubber-glove teats was presented by the organizers with a Certificate of Authentic Berguedanism.

The udders of the cow were filled with *barreja*, an explosive concoction of anise liqueur and muscatel wine normally drunk only for the Patum, the great Corpus Christi festival of Berga. The dancing effigies of this festival clearly map the social diversity in Berga: male and female, young and old, plebeian and elite, native and immigrant, for and against the established political order. There are combats of Turks and Christians and angels and devils. A long-necked green mule with a mouth full of firecrackers that chases the crowd and invades prohibited spaces is followed by a hieratic eagle whose elegant dance is preceded by bows to the parish church and the city hall. Beautifully dressed crowned giants dance framed by grotesque dwarves who imitate their motions more clumsily. Seventy or more devils, covered in firecrackers, set themselves alight and fill the square with dancing flames and explosions. All these have furnished political allegories to generations of commentators since the festival's beginnings in the early seventeenth century. But it is a festival for participation, not contemplation, and after five days of little sleep, strong rhythms, constant dancing, heavy crowding, steady drinking, the sparks and thick smoke of firecrackers at close range, and multiple repetitions of each performance, the distinctions laid out at the beginning dissolve into a whole. This, say Berguedans of every order, is both the purpose and the effective achievement of the festival: we become one. The loss of clarity that is the price of this union is felt as necessary in a community whose integrity is deeply threatened by factionalism within and economic pressures without.

In the Patum, the individual is undone from within and without: the crowd takes direction of the body, and the festival is sucked in from the mouth and drummed in from the feet. The individual does not easily recover mastery of herself when at last the whole thing is over and she can go home to bed: for days the festival jerks her out of sleep as her body keeps trying to dance. For weeks afterwards Berguedans hum the tunes and tap their feet to them, and children look away from their schoolbooks

to the door, beating Pa-tum on their desks. The next year, as the weather warms up, "it rises up from inside of you," as the Berguedans say.

"We carry the Patum in our blood," they say. They don't mean that they were born with it, but that they have danced it into themselves so deeply that its rhythms seem to have fused with their heartbeat. I would suggest that this phrase, "in the blood," so often used in Euro-American cultures to express passionate attachment to an activity, refers as often to assimilated practice as to genetic birthright. Its ambiguity points in any case to the role of the body as shifter between experience and essence.⁴

Rhythm, movement, smoke, and similar features of the Patum are, then, techniques of incorporation. Participants recognize them and sometimes deliberately use them as means of bringing the festival into the body of the individual and the individual into the body of the community. Of these techniques, the most highly charged is the drinking – the word used for Patum drinking is, not incidentally, *mamar*, to suckle. The Patum began as a Corpus Christi festival, and communion is still its object. For many working class Berguedans at the core of the Patum *comparses*,⁵ only half-jokingly known as the *integristses* or fundamentalists, this communion is understood in its most material sense, and the most committed of them refer to their cannibal tendencies, again only half in jest. Certainly they understand integration into the community as a literal transubstantiation. While most middle-class people praised my improved Catalan as the mark of my assimilation, the *integristes* congratulated me for a different reason, observing in apparently sincere admiration, "You know, you've really gained a lot of weight in Berga."⁶ The earnest efforts of many people ensured that I did so. I am Berguedan to the extent that Berga becomes flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone. For this group, origins are useful, because the longer you suckle Berguedan milk the more Berguedan you become, but vigorous engagement can make up for late arrival.

Mobilizing Catalan identity

Berguedan intellectuals have learned a lot from the *integristes*, from whose families they come and by whose permission they have entered deeply into the Patum's participatory networks. They share the *integrista* faith in ingestion, but have abstracted it from a literal claim to a more useful (if less dependable) metaphor. They believe that individuals become Catalan by taking in the things of Catalonia. Catalans are not born but made in acts of participation. After participation, they "feel our traditions," and from

⁴ I borrow the notion of "shifter" from Jakobson (1971[1957]).

⁵ The informal organizations that coordinate participation for each of the danced effigies in the festival.

⁶ These are, of course, rhetorical extremes: for everyone, the mark of assimilation is active participation in community life. The Patum is the most central and visible indicator, but must be supported by everyday commitments.

that point on participation and feeling, collective performance and embodied memory, reinforce each other in a continuous loop.

In Catalonia at large, the language of identity is Janus-faced, pointing both to origins and to engagement. In the innumerable surveys taken since the end of the Franco regime, most native Catalans routinely place participation (especially linguistic) and emotional attachment over birth in ascribing Catalan identity to an individual; the rest mention the importance of commitment even if they refuse it first place (Woolard 1989:39-41; O'Donnell 1995; Vann 1995). The ranking of participation over birth is clear in a remark often made to me and other outsiders who choose to submit to the habits of the community: "You are more Catalan than many Catalans" or "more Berguedan than many Berguedans."

Identity as active engagement was clearly the privileged definition in the 1970s and 80s. Passive identification wasn't good enough: feeling quietly Catalan would not restore Catalonia. Catalan-born businessmen and politicians who had identified with Spain for the sake of their interests could not be considered true Catalans, for their complicity had allowed the erosion of the culture. And there was the practical problem of the Castilian-speaking immigrants: they were clearly there to stay, and they now constituted half of the population, with a higher birthrate than the native Catalans.

Berga and other local communities pointed the way that Catalonia took. When the Carnival organizers declared with their cow that Berguedan milk came not from the biological mother, but from the Patum, they were making explicit what the Patum had always done in practice. They were also building on the work of an intellectual from the Civil War generation, a local priest who as choirmaster and Scout leader had taught them both Catalan grammar and Catalanism. Mossèn Josep Armengou was a key mediating intellectual of the late Franco years, whose clandestinely circulated writings on Catalan nationalism were formative texts for the political class that would come to power in Barcelona after the restoration of democracy.⁷ His published work consisted of apparently highly localist and empirical studies of Berguedan tradition. Read attentively, however, it is shot through with Catalanist allegory, particularly in his brilliant monograph on the Patum. More importantly, it formulated the Berguedan practice of incorporation through performance clearly enough to foster its appropriation elsewhere. The widely quoted, paraphrased, and plagiarized epilogue of his book reads in part as follows:

The Patum has been not merely a Berguedan creation, but also an effective instrument for the perpetuation of the Berguedan spirit. Communal traditions give cohesion to peoples and keep alive in them the consciousness of their personality. The Patum has helped Berga to

⁷ See the reprint of *Justificació de Catalunya* (1996[1958]) with a prologue by Jordi Pujol, President of the Generalitat.

stay Berguedan. 'School of our patriotism,' the great Berguedan Father Ventura Ribera called it. School and forge of Berguedans....

In the successive immigrations Berga has known, the Patum has been the integrating element par excellence. It has acted as the cradle of a race. At first, the new Berguedans have perhaps not understood many of our things, but they've taken in the Patum right away. In the *plaça* they've soon felt comfortable. Without even being aware of it, they've left off being alienated spectators to convert themselves into spontaneous actors sincerely caught up in the most fervent Berguedanism. And we need not speak of the fascination that the Patum exercises on children.

The Patum is the baptism of ritual fire that grants to the one who feels it the most authentic stamp of Berguedan citizenship..." (Armengou 1994 [1968]:123-125).

Writ large, this vision became the explicit ideology of *Convergència*, the center-right nationalist party that has dominated the regional government since 1979. Anyone can become a Catalan. "Everyone who lives and works in Catalonia is Catalan," ran one government slogan in the 1980s; another declared, "We are Catalan because our children will be."

In fact, "working in Catalonia" meant working at Catalonia too. Immigrants were called upon to display a measure of competence in those performances designated as Catalan, and ludic participation was expected to lead to civic participation, linguistic participation, and more fully integrated economic participation. It is only fair to observe that the promise was kept: an immigrant who chose to participate was fully accepted as a member.⁸ Indeed, many immigrants, recognizing this, overcompensated: many of the most militant independendists of central Catalonia in the 1970s and 80s had Castilian surnames – as native Catalans liked to remark.

The Patum worked not just to make immigrants feel Berguedan, but to make native Catalans feel Catalan. In the late 1960s, when Armengou wrote his monograph, thousands of Catalans from Barcelona and other provinces began to come to the Patum, one of the most "intact" and at that time the most vibrant and accessible civic festival of Catalonia, with four hundred years of continuous tradition. Catalans at the Patum felt they were returning to their primordial community; more practically, the crowds of the Patum, one of the few street festivals tolerated by the regime, served as a school of collective performance.

For, at the same time, other genres were multiplying within the limits of Francoist restrictions on public assembly. Easiest to slip past the authorities were the traditional nonverbal forms that modelled unanimity

⁸ Since the large-scale immigrations from outside of Europe in the 1990s, this assertion has become less tenable. The cultural and racial distance between migrants and hosts is now appreciably greater and, perhaps equally important, increasing European integration seems to be fostering a tolerance for European-style racist rhetorics.

with the bodies of participants: the *sardana* round dance and the *castell*, or human tower. Choirs flourished throughout Catalonia: they merged individuals into one voice regardless of the texts being sung. By the 1970s, a wider variety of public events began to draw on the more aggressive techniques of incorporation familiar from festivals like the Patum. "New Song" recitals, soccer games, new forms of festival, avant-garde theater, Catalan rock music, all borrowed tunes and emblems and gestures from one another in a grand generic collapse, in which the effect of almost any public gathering was to instill its young public with Catalanist fervor and bring the suppressed nation back to experiential life.⁹ Aware of this, the police always waited at the exit doors or outside of the *plaça*, but their presence in fact allowed the release of physical confrontation for the emotions called up in the performance. In the broader sense, these performances became so many rehearsals for the massive street demonstrations in Barcelona, terrifying for the often small-town adolescents who felt obliged to participate despite the considerable risk of arrest and police violence. In a real sense, then, these performances made Catalonia: without the level of popular agitation in the streets, the political demands for the Statute of Autonomy would have had no teeth to them.

This may seem like a large claim, for the official histories point to complex and sophisticated clandestine political organization starting even in the 1940s: the Catalan political class was very well prepared indeed by the time Franco actually died. But collective performance played an important role among the activists themselves, not merely in encouraging mass acquiescence.

They say that three Catalans on a desert island produce two political parties and a dissident faction. This was no less true of the clandestine political organizations of the 1970s than of the openly fragmented left of the 1930s, and activists were well aware that the same conclusion threatened: internecine struggles would allow the triumph of the outsiders. A clandestine manual printed in 1974 reported the programs of ten full-scale political parties, and these were only the major ones. Realizing the danger of doctrinal disputes, activists formed the Assemblea de Catalunya, an umbrella organization grouping the parties and the many more nonaligned sympathizers around the three words on which they could agree: Liberty, Amnesty, Autonomy. The Assembly's triumph was in marches and street demonstrations: the solidarity that could not be accomplished in words was achieved in gesture.

⁹ The musical and kinesic relations between children's song, street festival, demonstration, and football match have been imaginatively and meticulously treated by Jaume Aiats (*Aiats i Abeyà* 1997, *Ayats* 1992).

Gender and the constraints of bodily metaphor

To be sure, the resort to the body as the locus of national solidarity solved one problem to create others. "Natural symbols" such as the body (Douglas 1982 [1973]) – we should add, the gendered body – confer reality upon their referents, but by the same token constrain them. When this naturalization is not merely discursive but is taken "into the blood" through recurrent ritual performance, we move beyond metaphor into the realm of sacrament.¹⁰ Just as the Eucharistic theology celebrated in the Corpus Christi festival makes one substance of the individual body, the community of communicants, and the Body of Christ, so the Patum makes one substance of the individual, all festival participants, and Berga; Catalanist performances raised this to the level of Catalonia. This equation makes Catalonia subject to the limitations of the body: it ages and must reproduce itself. Conversely, founding the entire social order on the body, with its related symbolic domains of gender and the family, makes the "natural" status of the latter still more difficult to place into question.

The famous "consensus" of the Spanish and Catalan transition process was effected between ideological tendencies, ethnic groups, and social classes. The "intimate difference" (Mills 1993) of gender was not recognized as a threat to the unity of the state; on the contrary, it became a symbolic resource for the negotiation of those differences acknowledged as divisive.

The Patum can serve as a microcosm of the symbolic struggle for the definition of the social body in the period.¹¹ As is well-known, the Franco regime sacralized itself through an appropriation of Catholic Eucharistic theology,¹² emphasizing, however, its hierarchical and transcendent potentialities much as the high medieval Corpus Christi processions had done. The Patum, which emerged historically as a popular response to the exclusions of the Corpus Christi procession, provided the ideal site during the Transition in which to challenge the very core of the regime's legitimacy. The Patum reclaimed the sacrament of communion in its materiality, levelling participant bodies through their common satisfaction of common physical needs: everyone suckled Berguedan milk.

The two versions of the sacred were thus distinctly gendered. The Franco regime celebrated the all-seeing, all-judging power of God the Father, the Sun of Justice (as Franco liked to call himself). The Patum, as we have seen, was spoken of as an inclusive maternal embrace, sheltered in the anonymity of costumes and the haze of the firecrackers. The Patum was closely linked in popular discourse and allegiance to the local black

¹⁰ See Zulaika (1988) for an account of the difference and its consequences.

¹¹ I summarize from Noyes (2003), which offers an account of body, gender, and family metaphors in the longterm struggle to define Catalan identity.

¹² See Maja Brkljačić's article in this issue for a comparable phenomenon in Tito's Yugoslavia, where the Catholic foundations were for obvious reasons far less explicit.

Madonna shrine (and local Madonnas were central to the struggle of Catalanist Catholics to reclaim the Church from the regime). The Patum's explosions were described as both orgasm and rebirth, festival participation enabling both return to the womb and rebirth from it. Mossèn Armengou's metaphor of baptism, cited above, had retained the regime's liturgical register – and incidentally retained a place for the priest and the naming community. The younger generation, translating downward to the domain of the body, attempted to bring into being something without a name: without, indeed, a clear paternity.

The nature of this return and rebirth was accordingly confusing. The language of contestation against controlling fathers in Catalan history has, not surprisingly, tended strongly towards the Oedipal. The Oedipal metaphor articulates a double recovery: of virility (and thus of potential power over other men) and of access to the denied mother – to everything from which authority had shut out the disempowered. The Transition was full of the language of phallic assertion, present also in the imagery of the Patum. Women became the spoils, not the agents, of revolution, with the new promiscuity almost as rigidly enforced as the old control.¹³

But it was not quite that simple. Gender relations had in fact changed. Many of the democratic activists were women, Barcelona's long tradition of plural sexualities was in a new cultural flowering (though in practice this did not extend into the hinterland), and even heterosexual men were quite aware of the sacrifices imposed on both sexes by the regime's rigidly separate spheres. Moreover, remembering the escalation from the workers' revolts at the turn of the century through the full-scale social breakdown of the Civil War, the generation of the Transition knew the unanticipated consequences of the Oedipal metaphor: how male violence too would reproduce itself and the cycle of repression and revolt grow ever fiercer. The great majority of Catalans did not want this again. Despite much talk of it, there was no revolution, but a peaceful transition to democracy in which both the local and the larger Spanish family consented to a somewhat more equitable distribution of power in exchange for ongoing *convivència*.

Catalans are still debating the wisdom of their moderation, as some of the fathers they decided not to depose are proving remarkably long-lived. But a widespread willingness to make concessions for the sake of avoiding conflict became apparent in the Patum quite early. Despite the rapid expansion of the festival's more disorderly elements in the 1960s and 70s and the presence of some overt political conflict (couched in the symbolism of phallic contest), nationalists as well as old Francoists rejected an opportunity to hold an Assemblea de Catalunya demonstration during the 1975 Patum. "The Patum is not politics," as many Berguedans today still insist – and, conversely, the Assemblea performances themselves were

¹³ Much has been written on the Oedipal symbolism of revolutions, notably the French: see e.g. Hunt (1992) and Paulson (1983)

dismissed by some politicians of the period as "folkloric." But even politicians tended to understand "politics" as inherently violent and divisive: a constant struggle between paternal acts of naming and Oedipal rebellion. The Patum, and to some extent nationalist performance generally, became as much an escape from the political as politics by other means. Participants increasingly spoke of them as a means to an individual sensation of wellbeing and oneness with the community. We might define this in Lacanian terms as a retreat from the Symbolic Order to the Imaginary; that is, from all the male-coded attempts to wrest language to monologic meaning to the space before language and thus before differentiation. The act of naming, for some Berguedans, has itself become an act of violent alienation from this sheltered space: "The Patum cannot be put into words."

Local acceptance of body, gender, and family as natural categories helped to foster later Berguedan fears of their own festival enthusiasms, framed in a Freudian realism supported by the political and economic "realism" so widely asserted by the political class in the post-Transition period. Embrace of the mother meant continued infantilism and social dependency and fostered a narcissistic sexuality that could not reproduce itself.

Which is not to say that there was not real social learning taking place in the *plaça*. For young people brought up under the Franco regime in the fear of their own bodies and of contact with others, the crowding in the *plaça* was at once terrifying and liberating. The body was not under its own guidance, but moved with the crowd. It could relax into other bodies, touch others without any concern – or control – over who was being touched where by whom.¹⁴ Gratification in the Patum came not from the long-delayed achievement of a forbidden goal but from the very casualness, purposelessness, and multiplicity of contacts. The Patum was a powerful erotic experience of a new kind, and most Catalanist performance achieved at least some of this impact. The difficulty has been to translate this learning back into politics as they know it, or into any kind of rational-instrumental action to ensure the future of the nation created in performance. How can you institutionalize what is not politics and cannot be put into words?¹⁵

¹⁴ Moreover, a strong social norm developed during the Transition that prohibited men from taking advantage of the crowd to fondle women's breasts and genitals. During the Franco regime this was not the case, and women stayed on balconies or at the edges of the *plaça*.

¹⁵ Thanks to Lada Čale Feldman for making me think about narcissism and to Aida Bagić for raising the problem of institutionalization.

After Catalonia

After the Statute was passed and full democracy restored in 1979, the fervor and frequency of collective performances only increased. The challenge of "making Catalonia" – integrating the immigrants and restoring civil society – was still present. Moreover, the thirst for the festival instilled during the Transition only increased as the instrumental challenges to be faced became clearer.

Municipalities began to devote considerable percentages of their budgets to the support of local festival, and towns rivalled each other for the most spectacularly Dionysiac events, drenched in wine and the falling sparks of masses of fireworks. Teenagers in particular would drive every weekend from festival to festival over the winding, ill-paved provincial roads. Parents worried that the festival had degenerated from communion to consumption and, more concretely, about a frightening rise in the rate of deaths on the highways.

The intellectuals began to worry about themselves as well, that performance had become their drug too, that they knew how to agitate but not how to administer, and that the real problems were not being dealt with. "If Berguedans fought as hard for serious things as they do for the Patum, we'd have no unemployment and Catalonia would be independent by now," I used to hear. The festival had become an end in itself.

In 1989, I went to a barbecue in the mountains at the summer home of two Barcelona professors, both active in the student movements of the 1970s. The guests, from Berga and Barcelona, all belonged to this generation, and when, as Catalans do, they began to sing at the end of the long and "well-irrigated" meal, the repertoire was distinctly nostalgic. We sang "Puff the Magic Dragon" and "Blowin' in the Wind" in translation, we sang the Patum, we sang Catalan ballads in 1970s revival versions, we sang hymns in praise of the local Madonna, we sang "The International" and "Avanti Popolo," we sang the hymn of the Barcelona football club, and we sang the anthems of various Catalan-speaking regions and of the Basque Country. At a pause, when they were at last beginning to run out of songs, I turned to the host and said casually, "You know, I've never heard the 'Cara al Sol'" – the Francoist anthem which they all had to sing in school every morning. Instantly, he jumped to his feet, stood erect and lifted his chin, assumed a serious schoolboy face and raised his arm in the Falangist salute. Two of the others, who had been at school with him, got up to join in. The three sang the anthem with vigor as the rest roared with laughter. The children came down and stood on the stairs with their mouths open. After the second verse, the hostess looked nervously out of the window into the woods: "Hush! The Guardia Civil!" Everyone laughed; but the table broke up, and very soon we went home. The barbecue has been recalled ever since as "the day we sang the Cara al Sol."

The hostess's joking reference to the Guardia Civil, who used to break up their demonstrations, pointed to the near-complete reversal of the situation: now the "Cara al Sol," if not actually illegal, was as heavily stigmatized as their Catalan anthems were twenty years earlier. This circumstance pointed to a more disturbing interchangeability between the songs: they were forced to acknowledge that "Cara al Sol" was to the enemy what their anthem "Els Segadors" was to them.

Still more alarmingly, singing "Cara al Sol" made them examine the already heterogenous constitution of their own repertoire, and to realize that "Puff the Magic Dragon" and "The International" and the highly localist hymn to the Madonna of Queralt all felt the same in performance. These are disparate enough, and "Cara al Sol," for at least a moment, slid into the sequence. To be sure, they sang it with a considerably heavier measure of irony than they did the others. But now, in their maturity, they had sung all of these songs with a bit of a smile. The emotional distance was different in degree but perhaps not in kind; so too the nostalgia. Indeed, "Cara al Sol" was deeper in embodied memory than everything but the Patum. They remembered it perfectly: there was no struggling for the words and, above all, not the slightest hesitation in assuming the bodily posture of their school days and bellowing out the too-familiar tune.

Here is the problem. You can make yourself Catalan, but you can't unmake yourself Francoist: what's taken into the body stays there. Embodied memory cannot be lost, though you can crowd it round, try to drown it out with stronger messages. But the language of the body does not differentiate: all similar motion provokes similar emotion.

So the Catalanist solution to the problem of collective identity is not a stable one. For this very reason, I think, it has some analytical use, for it allows us to address the multiplicity of identity in individuals. At the same time, it gives us a way to mediate between our preferred performative theories and native insistence that identity is real and involuntary. Identity begins in the contingencies of location or in an act of will, but it ends in permanence and obligation.

In practice, this solution is less easy to live with. For if after all, identity is a matter of the available input, you have to make sure people are brought up with the proper performances. Thus, after Franco died, the Patum of Berga and other Catalan festivals were introduced into schools across Catalonia, especially in areas of high immigrant concentration: these performances mediated the introduction of Catalan culture and history into the curriculum and the eventual use of Catalan as the dominant language of instruction.

Given the intensity of Catalan socialization in the schools and other institutional and public contexts, Catalanists have been alarmed by the tremendous recent success of the annual Feria de Abril in the suburbs of Barcelona, a recreation of Seville's great festival. Andalusian immigrants have evidently learned all too well the Catalan lesson about collective

performance and identification – just as the Catalans seem to have learned something from Franco's triumphalist performances, much as they would like to believe their reborn nation to be founded on rational consent. But they are democrats and cannot outlaw the Andalusian fair as Franco outlawed their carnivals: so what can they do? Some who have watched the escalation of competing performances in Catalonia over the long term have had to ask themselves whether any strong collective feeling is compatible with democracy.

On the other side, Castilian immigrants have discovered that a performative theory of identity can be less tolerant in practice than a racist one. Since immigrants *can* become Catalan and have been given increasing opportunities through performance to do so, then obviously they *should* choose to become Catalan. Immigrants tend to defend their autonomy by ascribing identity to place of birth: Catalans are Catalans, Castilians are Castilians, you do your thing and we'll do ours (Woolard 1989:38; Vann 1995). For the native and converted Catalans, demographic pressures invalidate this option: they worry about maintaining the critical mass of committed population that allows a culture to survive.

But the struggle is expensive in both economic and human capital, and at some point you have to live for yourself as well as for Catalonia. Many of the militant generation are relaxing into private life, even as they see immigrant performances multiplying and their own children seduced by the more potent performances of global culture – or occasionally drawn into more violent, less democratic forms of nationalist performance. Some keep up the struggle; more have retreated to the local as a more viable focus of collective feeling than the still too abstract Catalonia. Their deepest long-practiced performances, the Patum and others, become increasingly nostalgic in tone, and one of the creators of the Berguedan cow said to me several years later, This is what you have to put at the end of your book:

POST FESTUM, PESTUM.

After the party, the plague.

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IMATI U KRVI: PERFORMANCIJA I IDENTITET U KATALONSKOJ TRANZICIJI PREMA DEMOKRACIJI

SAŽETAK

Festival proslave Tijelova, u kojem se plesom predočuje borba lutaka i maskiranih likova, a izvodi se od ranog 17. stoljeća u industrijskom gradiću Bergau u katalonskim Pirinejima. Tijekom španjolske tranzicije, festivalu se odazvalo mnoštvo sudionika iz cijele Katalonije i postao je središtem demokratskog i nacionalnog otpora. Članak opisuje rodni značaj političke borbe oko festivala pokazujući kako ograničenost edipovske metafore stvara problem za reprodukciju zajednice. Autorica istražuje konzervativno-nacionalistički i frankistički kontekst feminizacije ovog festivala, trenutak generacijskog sukoba tijekom tranzicije i kasnije probleme imaginiranja novog, nerepresivnog društvenog poretka.

Ključne riječi: tranzicija u Kataloniji, proslava Tijelova u Bergau