

# Language, Performance, Memory and Transculturation in the *Jocs Florals* *Catalans of Cuba*

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## Abstract

This article studies the role of language, literature and performance in the consolidation of the Catalan community of Cuba, particularly through the literary prize *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana, celebrated in 1923 and 1944. Relying on Fernando Ortiz's (1940/1978) concept of transculturation and Joseph Roach's (1996) approach to circum-Atlantic performances, which shows how the memories of particular times and spaces are embodied and travel in and through performance, the article discusses how these events transmitted ideas of Catalan culture and exemplified the ties and tensions between nationalist narratives and the transculturation of identities in Cuba during the first half of the twentieth century. In order to illustrate the different, yet complementary meanings of the two events, the article examines the simultaneous celebration of the *Jocs Florals* in Havana and Barcelona in 1923 and the impact of the mass exile of pro-Republican communities in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War in the literary prize of 1944, twenty years after the first event.

## Keywords

Language; Performance; Memory; Transculturation; Nationalism; Exile; Catalonia; Migration; Cuba; *Jocs Florals Catalans*

# Language, Performance, Memory and Transculturation in the *Jocs Florals* *Catalans of Cuba*

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## Introduction

Language was a key element in the consolidation of the Catalan diasporic communities of the Americas, as is evident from the intense intellectual activity documented in the publications of both economic migrants and exiles during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>1</sup> This article explores the role of Catalan language, literature and performance in the consolidation of the Catalan-Cuban community of Havana through the celebration of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana in 1923 and 1944 by looking at the literary and political contexts of Catalonia and Cuba and by drawing on theories of the social implications of writing in processes of commemoration and surrogation or substitution. Drawing on Joseph Roach's (1996) approach to circum-Atlantic performances, which explores how the memories of particular times and spaces travel and are embodied in performance, the article discusses how the *Jocs Florals* transmitted ideas of Catalan culture. The first section focuses on theoretical and methodological considerations, while the other two examine the different contexts in which the 1923 *Jocs Florals* were celebrated – Barcelona and Havana – as well as the broader context of Republican exile following the Spanish Civil War for the 1944 event, circumstances that amplify, as we shall see, the relevance of such categories as “performance,” “surrogation” and “memory.”

## The Literary Prize as Performance

For literary historian Jordi Castellanos (1988), the study of the literary prizes known as the *Jocs Florals de la Llengua Catalana* requires a sociocultural perspective that takes into consideration the phenomenon's ideological dimensions.<sup>2</sup> In his preface to Margarida

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<sup>1</sup> See especially Josep Maria Balcells (1988) and Josep Surroca (2004) for their studies of the development of the Catalan press overseas, particularly in the Americas, during this period.

<sup>2</sup> Margarida Casacuberta (2012, 406) emphasises the importance, and yet under-examination, of Castellanos' comprehensive reflections on the phenomenon of the literary prize in Catalunya, while herself offering two significant additions in *Els Jocs Florals d'Olot (1890-*

Casacuberta's monograph on the history of the literary prize in the Catalan city of Olot, Castellanos (1988, 11-13) states that studying the *Jocs Florals*, a central aspect of the widespread cultural "revival" in nineteenth-century Catalonia known as the *Renaixença*, implies looking at the role assigned to literature by the dominant class. According to Castellanos, unlike other national literatures subject to market pressures after the rise of the bourgeoisie, Catalan literature was mainly mediated by the *Jocs Florals*, the only platform of the newly emerging literary "marketplace" which the Catalan upper middle class recognised and in which it participated. He emphasises that it was precisely the engagement of the bourgeoisie that made possible the restoration of the literary prize, adopting and adapting the event through the integration of cultural symbols and the involvement of civil authorities.

Castellanos stresses the importance of studying the political and social mediation of the literary prize by examining the production and reception of the texts in order to understand the complex mechanics of Catalanist culture. Castellanos's socio-historical reading contests previous philological interpretations that had been more concerned with the connections between contemporary Catalan literature and the medieval past that foregrounded the Catalan language than with the mediations and contributions of literature within a wider cultural frame. This more comprehensive perspective reflects that proposed by Raymond Williams, for whom "most writing, in any period, including our own, is a form of contribution to the effective dominant culture" (Williams 2006 [1973], 140).

In their respective essays, Magí Sunyer (2008) and Josep Miquel Sobrer (2008) agree on the cultural significance of the recovery of the medieval tradition during the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, a process that would lead to the restitution of the *Jocs Florals* in 1859.<sup>3</sup> Sobrer describes the *Jocs Florals* as "a poetic competition modelled after medieval customs" and interprets the fact that the *Jocs* found steady financing, most notably from the Barcelona city government, as "a sure sign of the popularity of medievalism" (2008, 98). Without disregarding the medievalist substrate of the *Jocs Florals* or, indeed of nineteenth-century literary Catalanism, a sociological understanding of the literary prize underscores the role

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1921) (1988), written in collaboration with Lluís Rius, and *Els Jocs Florals de Girona (1902-1935)* (2010).

<sup>3</sup> Magí Sunyer (2008) locates the beginning of this progressive restitution in 1839, when Joaquim Rubió i Ors published the poems "Lo Gaiter del Llobregat" in the *Diario de Barcelona*. This moment has been described as the first poetic campaign of the *Renaixença*, and the volume that was published two years later, as its first manifesto. Sunyer states that Rubió was the first to call for the revival of the *Jocs Florals*, instituted in 1323 in Toulouse and imported to Barcelona by Joan I in 1303.

of the bourgeoisie in the institutionalisation of Catalan culture through the restoration of a presumably common cultural literary and linguistic past. In this respect, Manuel de Montoliu emphasises the “heroic naivety” of the restorers of the *Jocs Florals*, who believed that bestowing on the ceremony a halo of romantic legend was a means to recover the literary value of the Catalan language itself: “La ingenuïtat mateixa de l’ambient feudal i trobadoresc de què voltaren l’espectacle els seus fundadors, fou la raó de la seva fecunda virtualitat” (1962, 64). Both Sobrer and Montoliu underscore the performative character and the romantic rhetoric of the philanthropic restitution of past literary glories as critical to the success of the *Jocs Florals*. Whatever their emotional appeal, the *Jocs Florals* were imbued, in short, with Catalan bourgeois ideological, political and economic thinking. Nevertheless, as Josep M. Domingo (2013, 73) argues, the *Jocs Florals* opened up a space for high cultural endeavours in the language that nourished the contemporary Catalan literary system by vindicating the symbolic value of Catalan linguistic heritage.

It is in this light that the present article approaches the ceremonies and the texts of the *Jocs Florals* celebrated in Havana in 1923 and 1944. Focusing on their value as orature, it considers Catalonia and Cuba within their respective European and American contexts, mapped according to Roach’s notion of the circum-Atlantic world, that is to say, the economic and cultural system bound by Europe, Africa, and the Americas that “entailed vast movements of people and commodities to experimental destinations” (Roach 1996, xi).<sup>4</sup> In so doing, it engages Roach’s understanding of performance as a way “to bring forth, to make manifest, and to transmit” and “though often more secretly, to reinvent” (1996, xi) and emphasises, along with Roach, the relevance of performances as documents of circum-Atlantic intercultural exchange shaped through memory, imagination, invention and substitution, four categories that are at the core of my analysis of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana.

In the circum-Atlantic, performance is closely linked to processes of cultural transformation and transculturation. Cuban anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Fernando Ortiz (1978, 73) proposed “transculturation” as a more complex and nuanced term than “acculturation,” which had come into popular use by the time of his influential *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y del azúcar* (1940).

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<sup>4</sup> Joseph Roach has pointed out the utility of the term ‘orature’, proposed by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (1992), to look at the intersection between writing and orality through performance: ‘orature goes beyond a schematized opposition of literacy and orality as transcendent categories; rather, it acknowledges that these modes of communication have produced one another interactively over time and that their historic operations may be usefully examined under the rubric of performance’ (Roach 1996, 11–12).

While “acculturation” described a process of cultural acquisition and its manifold social repercussions, “transculturation” expressed the complex and variegated transmutations of culture. As Ortiz put it: “cada inmigrante [es] como un desarraigado de su tierra nativa en doble trance de desajuste y de reajuste, de *desculturación* o *exculturación* y de *aculturación* o *inculturación*, y al fin, de síntesis de *transculturación*” (1978, 93). It is of note that as early as 1901 Ortiz drew attention to the potential of festivities, ceremonies and performances to illuminate the (trans)cultural history of human communities, arguing that “las fiestas reflejan siempre el fondo de la institución social que las motiva” (Ortiz, 1998, 39).<sup>5</sup>

Following the end of the Spanish-American War, Cuba was subject to two military interventions by the United States, first from 1898 to 1902 and then from 1906 to 1909; an armed anti-racist revolt in 1912, and revolutionary processes against Gerardo Machado’s dictatorship, from 1925 to 1933.<sup>6</sup> As a result, by the time of the Catalan literary prizes in Havana in 1923 and 1944, old colonial institutions had either been reformed or substituted, and processes of surrogation – understood here as substitution – permeated the young and still experimental Republic of Cuba. However, mindful of Roach’s (1996, 2) position that, “because collective memory works selectively, imaginatively, and often perversely, surrogation rarely if ever succeeds,” the present analysis approaches surrogation not only as substitution but also as re-enactment and rewriting.

Rafael Rojas (2008, 4–5) has stated that the cultural decline of the Republic to which Fernando Ortiz and Jorge Mañach had already alluded in the 1920s, stood in contrast to the nineteenth-century period of civilisation and solidarity when, still under colonial rule, Cubans conceived the nation.<sup>7</sup> Despite their many differences, the first two Cuban constitutions of the twentieth century are arguably the documentary epitomes of partially failed processes of institutional surrogation. The Constitution of 1901 established the Republic, but also placed Cuban politics and the economy in a position of subordination to the United States through the Platt Amendment, while the Constitution of 1940 has been described as a

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<sup>5</sup> This text, originally published in 1908, reproduces the scientific communications about Menorcan popular festivities, delivered by Ortiz on 23 November and 7 December 1901, as compiled by Jesús Guanche (1998).

<sup>6</sup> The armed revolt of the anti-racist party Partido Independiente de Color (1908) in 1912 and the subsequent massacre of its members by the professional troops of the Government provides clear evidence of the magnitude of the conflicts within Cuban society.

<sup>7</sup> See Fernando Ortiz’s ‘La decadencia cubana’ (1924) and Jorge Mañach’s *La crisis de la alta cultura en Cuba* in (1925).

triumph of the political, economic and social institutional reformist revolutionary projects that arose in the 1930s (Fraginals et al. 2000).<sup>8</sup>

Despite the political instability of the 1910s and 1920s, the young Republic of Cuba provided a favourable framework for the development of cultural and political activism by such institutions as the Centre Català.<sup>9</sup> According to Josep Conangla (1954, 107), the Cuban authorities maintained cordial relations with the Catalan associations of the time, a claim that appears to be corroborated by the intense activity of Catalan institutions and the direct collaboration of individuals from the Cuban public sphere, as reflected in *La Nova Catalunya* (1908–1959), a journal of the Catalanists of Havana.<sup>10</sup>

### The 1923 *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana

By 1922, the *Jocs Florals* in Catalonia had lost prestige and become all but obsolete (Castellanos 1988).<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic, the journal *Vida Catalana* (1914–1926) convened a meeting of representatives from a number of Catalan organisations and publications on 17 October 1922 at the Centre Català of Havana.<sup>12</sup> The principal topics under discussion were Cuba's celebration of the *Jocs Florals de la Llengua Catalana* and the appointment of Dr Claudi Mimó as president of the *Consistori* that would designate the members

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<sup>8</sup> The United States' armed intervention in 1898 and subsequent military occupation renewed those elements of the old colonial system of potential use to the new imperial regime. During these years, occupied Cuba ceded territory for the establishment of a foreign naval station, acquiesced to limitations of national sovereignty, and authorised future U.S. intervention. These were the conditions of independence forced on Cuba, appended directly into the Constitution of 1901, and negotiated later into the Permanent Treaty of 1903, loosely known as the Platt Amendment (Pérez 1986, xvi).

<sup>9</sup> The Centre Català of Havana (1882–1965) was a cultural centre for the community of Catalan immigrants and exiles, which took on an increasingly Republican character during the twentieth century. In 1922, a group of members of this institution founded the Club Separatista No. 1, which would be the nucleus of the organisations supporting Francesc Macià's separatist party Estat Català from the Americas.

<sup>10</sup> *La Nova Catalunya* is the main source of texts produced in the political activist framework of the separatist Catalanists of Havana; for a detailed history of the publication, see Jerez (2013; 2014).

<sup>11</sup> With the installation of Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923–1930), the *Jocs Florals* were banned in Spain, and subsequently organised privately, until they were fully reintroduced as public events in Girona in 1930, shortly before the proclamation of the Spanish Second Republic (Casacuberta 2012, 406). They were completely re-institutionalised during the Republican period, until 1936 with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

<sup>12</sup> *Vida Catalana* was a cultural journal edited by Carles Martí, Josep Fradera, Joan Parellada and Pere Boquet under the description 'Revista catalana americana' until 1920, 'Periòdic Catalanista' until 1923, and finally, 'Portaveu Nacionalista. Adherit a la Federació d'Entitats Nacionalistes Catalanes de Cuba' (Givanel 1937).

of the *Jurat Qualificador*.<sup>13</sup> Following the pattern established by the literary prizes of Barcelona, the *Jocs Florals* of Havana adopted the traditional motto “*Patria, Fides, Amor*” and awarded prizes with the no less traditional names of *Flor Natural*, the *Englantina d’Or i Argent*, and the *Viola d’Or i Argent*. The title of *Mestre en Gai Saber* would be bestowed upon a writer who obtained all three prizes.<sup>14</sup>

Through the involvement of the *Banda del Estado Mayor del Ejército de Cuba* in the ceremony of 6 May 1923 at the *Academia de Ciencias de Cuba*, representatives of the Cuban authorities took part in the organisation of the Catalan literary event, while prominent figures from the Cuban intellectual scene participated by awarding prizes.<sup>15</sup> These high-profile Cuban contributions provided the literary prize with a framework of official recognition that enabled the Cuban *Jocs Florals* to secure the involvement of writers who were regular participants in the *Jocs Florals* celebrated in Catalonia, such as Carles Soldevila, Francesc Gay, Carles Rahola, and Apel·les Mestres.<sup>16</sup>

### *The prize-winning texts*

The publication of the *Memorial dels Jocs Florals de Cuba* (1923), which includes a compilation of the winning works, provides further evidence of the intention to follow the tradition of the *Jocs Florals* in Catalonia. Even though the geographical origin of most of the texts is not explicit in the *Memorial*, a biographical examination of the awardees of the *Jocs Florals Catalans of Havana* (Table 1) reveals that most of the prize-winners sent their texts from Catalonia. The titles of the works awarded make clear the ideological character of the literature conceived either in Catalonia or Cuba within the framework of the Havana *Jocs Florals*, but they also indicate

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<sup>13</sup> On 25 October 1922, Josep Conangla was appointed president; Pere Boquet, secretary; and Josep López-Franch, Marià Grau, and the catholic priest Josep M. Borotau, were chosen as members of the board.

<sup>14</sup> The awarding institutions were: the Centre Català; Beneficència Catalana; Escoles Pies de Cuba; *Vida Catalana*; *La Nova Catalunya*; Orfeó Català de L’Havana; Grup de Socis de l’Associació Protectora de l’Ensenyança Catalana; Centre Balear; Foment Català; Casal Nacionalista Català de Camagüey; Germanor Catalana de Camagüey; Grup Nacionalista Radical Catalunya de Santiago de Cuba; *Nació Catalana* (1921–1925); Block Catalonia de Guantanamo; Agrupació Artística de Teatre Català Boquet-Vilardebó; Casa Viera i Germà; and Casal Nacionalista de Montblanc.

<sup>15</sup> Those involved in prizegiving included: Dr Carlos de la Torre, president of the Universidad de La Habana; Antonio Iraizoz, under-secretary of public education; Dr Fernando Ortiz; Jaume Valls; Francesc Molla; Dr Ignasi Pla; Francesc Pausas; Roura Drandaberro; Francesc Garcia Escarré; Francesc Barsó; and Antoni Sanmiquel.

<sup>16</sup> Carles Soldevila was awarded several prizes at the *Jocs Florals* of Girona between 1918 and 1922, and Carles Rahola was both founder and awardee of the literary prizes of Girona (Casacuberta 2010). In the same city, Francesc Gay won the XVI *Premi del Vicari Capítular* in 1914. Apel·les Mestres was proclaimed *Mestre en Gai Saber* in the *Jocs Florals* of Barcelona in 1908 (Armangué 2007, 121).

widespread Republican sympathy, which would not have been the case in the *Jocs Florals* in Barcelona during the nineteenth century. The word “*Pàtria*,” present in the title of four of the 23 prize-winning works, underscores the aforementioned adoption of the motto “*Patria, Fides, Amor*.”

It is important to reflect on the shift of meaning of the word “*Pàtria*” between 1859, the year the literary prize was restored in Catalonia, and 1923, the year the first *Jocs Florals* of Havana were celebrated. As Joan-Lluís Marfany (2017, 676) has noted, with the celebration of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* in 1859, the Catalan bourgeoisie embraced a provincializing form of regionalism. In spite of the heterogeneous composition of the movement, the common future that was nostalgically imagined recognised Catalan culture and institutions within the framework of the Spanish state. The restoration of the *Jocs Florals* was part, in other words, of a provincializing strategy by a Catalan bourgeoisie that, again according to Marfany, had constituted itself unambiguously as *Spanish* and had contributed directly to the construction of the Spanish nation. In contrast with this primarily romantic and nostalgic construction, the “*Pàtria*” of the intellectuals who participated in the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana of 1923 was, more clearly, Catalunya.

The poem “Els dos amors” by Ignasi Iglesias, awarded the *Flor Natural* in Havana in 1923, discusses two types of love, and also two loved lands, Catalonia and the host territory here, Cuba of the poetic subject, who is either an émigré or an exile.<sup>17</sup> For Iglesias, a pro-Republican dramatist and intellectual, the “*Pàtria*” in the poem is Catalunya, the mother that provides him with both a sister and a lover:

Salve, gentil donzella catalana  
 Que aconsoles el cor de l'emigrant!  
 Si en tu em dóna la Pàtria una germana,  
 l'Amor em donarà una esposa amant.

Salve, verge encisera que em guarires  
 del mal de l'enyorança, com ningú!  
 Quan abraçan-te sento que sospires,  
 M'apar que Catalunya tinc en tu.

(Iglesias 1923, 43)

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<sup>17</sup> Ignasi Iglesias (Barcelona, 1871–1928) was one of the most important Catalan playwrights of the turn of the century.

The text “Influència dels Orfeons Catalans existents fora de Catalunya, per a mantenir viu l’amor a la Pàtria,” by Francesc Gay, is another noteworthy example of the connotations of the word “Pàtria” among the Republican Catalanist intellectuals who participated in the Havana *Jocs Florals* in 1923.<sup>18</sup> Gay’s literary essay, rife with religious undertones, tells the allegorical story of a personified *Pàtria*, who dies and comes back to life through the musical performance of the Orfeons Catalans:

Però, com el Cabdill del Poble de Deu, nostra Mare Pàtria que havia donat als seus la vida per a ésser poble lliure i gran, no va poder fruir de la possessió de la llibertat plena i civilitzada...Morí...! [...] i el miracle que encara en Miquel Angel espera inútilment, des de la tomba, es realitzà en la obra dels Mestres cantaires catalans. La Pàtria catalana, parlà i caminà en els orfeons de la nostra terra!

(Gay 1923, 170)

While an analysis of the aesthetic merits of Gay’s text falls outside the objectives of this article, its thematic content and allegorical significance shed further light on the performative dimension of the *Jocs Florals*. The personification of the *Pàtria*, Catalonia, mobilises identification with both Moses and Jesus Christ. Like the prophet, Catalonia has guided a chosen people through a figurative desert of adverse conditions. At the same time, like Jesus Christ, the *pàtria* has been resurrected after death and lives on in the Catalan choirs and music chambers. These analogies, in which nationhood and divinity are tightly intertwined, can be traced back to major works of the Catalan canon, such as Jacint Verdaguer’s *Canigó* (1885)<sup>19</sup> as well as Joan Maragall’s *Elogi de la Paraula* (1903), and are notably present in the opening address of the *Jocs Florals* of Barcelona of 1923, by its president, Josep Maria Roca.<sup>20</sup> In what follows, a comparative study of the discourses behind the concurrent celebrations of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana and Barcelona will elucidate the role of spirituality, language and nationhood in the respective celebrations of the literary prizes in Cuba and Catalonia.

<sup>18</sup> Francesc Gay (Calella, 1889 Tortosa, 1936) was a poet, playwright and catholic priest. According to Camilo Geis (1962, 64), in 1922 he organised the 1922 *Jocs Florals* of Cassà de la Selva, in the province of Girona.

<sup>19</sup> “Glòria al Senyor!, tenim ja pàtria amada; / que altívola és, que forta al despertar!, / al Pirineu mirau-la recolzada, / son front al cel, sos peus dintre la mar. / Branda amb son puny la llança poderosa; / lo que ella guanye ho guardarà la Creu; / sobre son pit té sa fillada hermosa / que ens fa alletar amb fe i amb amor seu” (Verdaguer 1980 [1885], 141).

<sup>20</sup> Josep Maria Roca i Heras (1863 1930) was a dermatologist who, among other positions, occupied the presidency of the Ateneu Barcelonés and the Unió Catalanista.

*Two simultaneous yet different celebrations of the Catalan language in  
Havana and in Barcelona*

On 6 May 1923, the *Jocs Florals Catalans* took place in both Barcelona and Havana. The call for the event in Catalonia had circulated since October of the previous year and had attracted some 224 entries. From these entries, Josep Maria de Sagarra's poem "La balada del caminant" was awarded the *Flor Natural* and Jaume Collell's poem "Visions de catedrals," the *Viola d'Or i Argent*, while the *Englantina d'Or* was declared void. A comparison of the aforementioned opening address by Josep Maria Roca, president of the *Jocs Florals* of Barcelona of 1923, and that of Josep Conangla, who acted as head of the judging panel in Cuba, sheds insight on the organisers's approaches to the celebrations, more specifically, and, by implication, to the literary prizes of Barcelona and Havana more generally.

Roca was one of the founders of the *Acadèmia de la Llengua Catalana*, created in 1881 after the *Primer Congrés Catalanista*, and reactivated in 1915 in opposition to the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, which had approved Pompeu Fabra's *Normes ortogràfiques* (1913). The disagreements between the two institutions, studied by Jacint Corbella (2003), reveal the intensity of the debates around the Catalan language and its symbolic value in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Such diverse, if not indeed divergent, positions also mark the opening speeches of Josep Maria Roca and Josep Conangla. Although the written remnants of the performances in front of an audience cannot capture the complexity of a speech as a multidimensional form of communication, they nevertheless offer traces that inform the present essay's interpretation, reimagination and reconstruction of the cultural and ideological framework in which they were produced and performed.

The anti-normativist approach to language assumed by the *Jocs Florals Catalans* in general, and evidenced in Roca's speech in particular, does not reflect the dominant (normativist) position regarding the language in Catalan culture of the 1920s. As Josep Grau (2006, 202) notes, Fabra's orthographic norms, central to attempts to standardise the Catalan language, had already received widespread support, with only a small group of intellectuals remaining faithful to traditional, non-standardised (and hence highly fluctuating) orthography. Significantly, two institutions based in Barcelona opposed the *Normes ortogràfiques*: the *Jocs Florals* and the *Acadèmia de les Bones Lletres*. In both cases, Roca's influence was key: as already noted, Roca was president of the *Jocs Florals* and was also a founding

member of the *Acadèmia de la Llengua Catalana*, originally founded in 1729.<sup>21</sup>

The opening of Roca's speech displays the troubadour style present throughout the text in a manner that echoes not only the tone but also the oral quality of the medieval poetic compositions: "Una vegada a l'any, en plé somriure de primavera, ens acoblém els barcelonins y a redós de la venerable Trilogía, veyém descloure les flors ofrenadores de llurs nectaris al abellar plasmador del Verb de Catalunya" (Roca 1923, 19). Significantly, Roca establishes a line of continuity from the medieval conquests by the Crown of Aragon and its alliance with the county of Barcelona to the ascendancy of the Catalan bourgeoisie in modern times. His approach is consistent with the medievalist spirit of the celebrations, as well as with the attempts of a part of the Catalan intelligentsia to root the modern idea of Catalan national identity in a "glorious" cultural, political and economic past. Since the nineteenth century, the construction of the Catalan nation has been associated with the Catalan language, which functions as its main symbol and as a link to an almost primordial origin by which a no less "glorious" future would supposedly be guaranteed. As Roca so pointedly puts it: "En fin, ella [la llengua] es lo bressol del nostre pervindre gloriós" (Roca 1923, 20).

Roca's first reference to the Castilian language in the speech, which recognises its beauty when read in its classical literature or when spoken by native speakers, segues into a defence of the Catalan language, which is faced with what he presents as the aggressive, ever-present strength of a *foreign* language unsuited to Catalan spirituality: "la constant agressivitat per acció de presència i de potencia d'altre [sic] llengua, hermosa llegida en los séus clàssichs y sentida en boca dels séus naturals, però forastera a casa nostra per no adaptar-se a l'espiritualitat catalana" (Roca 1923, 21). Despite explicitly acknowledging the importance of diversity and the right of all peoples to exist and to be recognised, Roca – a medical doctor – appeals to essentialist ideas of linguistic purity through the use of clinical terms such as "infecció" and "sanejament," while repeatedly relating the Catalan language to divinity and while considering the "ultratges" against it to be a "pecat venial" (Roca 1923, 22). Even though the president of the *Jocs Florals* of Barcelona issues a timely wake-up call about the historically unfavourable circumstances of the Catalan language within the framework of the Spanish state, his ethno-symbolic perception of the language as a predetermined attribute of Catalan people is reductive, even simplistic, inasmuch as

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<sup>21</sup> According to Josep M. Figueres (1999, 344), despite the increasing interest within the Catalanist movement in carrying out a process of linguistic standardisation, the *Acadèmia de la Llengua Catalana* was unsuccessful in establishing its own specific model due to insurmountable internal differences.

it ignores multiple, and shifting, cultural, social, political and economic dimensions. Nevertheless, both the radicalism and conservatism of Roca's speech can be understood as a visceral "distress call" from the periphery of a form of Catalanism, in Barcelona.

Roca recalls a conversation with John Redmond in 1913, in which the Irish politician expressed his wish that the Irish people would use "l'arma invencible del idioma" as actively as the Catalans (Redmond in Roca 1923, 24). Roca, for his part, is critical of those Catalans who do not support the language and praises its defenders. For him, Catalan, like all living languages, must look to its past to remain stable, to avoid isolation and to cope effectively with external influences. Roca's speech is peppered with clinical terms like "hygiene," which convey a sense of linguistic cleanliness that is especially important, it appears, for a language, like Catalan, that has not achieved its full potential and that has remained curled up, "arraulida," among farmers, fishermen and small traders, to whom it nonetheless owes its conservation (Roca 1923, 28). Indeed, all Catalans, he argues, should collaborate in the "bergada sanitaria [sic]" and "purificació" promoted by Barcelona's *Jocs Florals* of Barcelona (Roca 1923, 31; 33). His subsequent call to spare no effort to preserve the Catalan language is rounded by the medieval verse: "Deu li don gloria, pus parla en català" (Roca 1923, 34), which places language, nation, and religious faith at the heart of the cultural project of the 1923 celebration in Barcelona.

In contrast, Josep Conangla, in a speech delivered the same day in Havana, praises diversity, in relationship with divinity, over purity: "La varietat de llengües, com la varietat en els fruits i en tots els ordres de la naturalesa, respon a lleis immutables de la sabiduria creadora" (1986, 110). As a member of both Cuban institutions and an established Catalan intellectual community, Conangla articulates a viewpoint that is perhaps best understood in the light of his Catalanist activism in Cuba. While Roca implicitly lays claim to a peripheral positioning in opposition to Spanish nationalism as well as to hegemonic and increasingly normativist forms of Catalanism in Catalonia, Conangla carries out his Catalanist activism, most notably through his involvement in the organisation of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana, in a context of relative normality for diasporic cultural expressions in Cuba. In other words, in 1920s Cuba, both the exogenous character of a multiplicity of cultures that were shaping the young Republic and the relatively privileged position of white Catalan intellectuals in Cuban society provided a framework favourable to Catalan cultural expression.

Like Roca, Conangla locates the origins of language in God's will, but unlike him, praises the importance of difference and mixture

to beauty, harmony and equilibrium. Conangla, while highlighting Iberian, Gallic, and Visigothic influences in the formation of the Catalan language, contends that Catalan is more a sister of Latin and Greek than a derivative (Conangla 1986, 114). Regardless of the questionable authenticity of the classical references that Conangla adduces to support his claim, he aims, in his speech, to root the Catalan language in a distant past within the territories of the Catalan Countries. Conangla makes clear that his struggle is not against Castilian, but against its absolutist imposition in Catalonia. Conangla points to the contradiction of federal Republican politicians who question the legality of the Catalan language within Catalonia as the main cause of the radicalisation of a significant sector of Catalanism (Conangla 1986, 120). Where Conangla most differs from Roca is in the fact that the Catalan-Cuban leader speaks from a position which, although to a certain extent institutionally peripheral, was hegemonic within the Catalanist intellectual community of Cuba, at least until mass exile from Spain in 1939 brought a wider array of Republican viewpoints to the island. Moreover, unlike its Barcelona counterpart, the 1923 *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana took place within a context that embraced the cultural and political activism developed out of the *Centre Català*.

### The 1944 *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana

In contrast with the Catalan-Cuban literary prize and ceremony of 1923, the *Jocs Florals* of Havana of 1944 were celebrated in the context of World War II and the aforementioned diaspora of Republican exiles in the wake of the Spanish Civil War. Far from being an isolated event, the 1944 *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana were one of 37 celebrated outside Catalonia during this period (1941-1947).<sup>22</sup> The organisation of these events in exile was linked to the activity of the *Patronats dels Jocs Florals Catalans* of Argentina and Mexico and the *Consell de la Col·lectivitat Catalana* in Argentina. As in the case of Havana's 1923 celebration, the 1944 *Jocs Florals* continued the Barcelona model naming winners for all three of the aforementioned prizes – the *Flor Natural*, the *Englantina d'Or i Argent* and the *Viola d'Or i Argent* – as well as for the title of *Mestre en Gai Saber*. The organising committee were mostly associated with either the *Centre Català* or *La Nova Catalunya*.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, on the front page of its August 1943 issue, *La Nova Catalunya* announced the celebration of the *Jocs*

<sup>22</sup> Of these literary prizes held between 1941 and 1947, 19 took place in the Americas, and 18 in Europe (Faulí, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> Members included: Ramir Tomàs as president; Josep Maria Labraña as secretary; Josep Conangla as the president of the *Consistori* and several *mantenidors*, among whom were Josep Murillo, Carles Gubern, and Josep Pineda.

in Havana for the following year and, in the accompanying text, called for all Catalans, irrespective of their ideology, to collaborate, enthusiastically, to ensure that the event “tingui l’esplendor i la solemnitat que es mereix” (*La Nova Catalunya*, 1943, August, 1).

### *The prize-winning texts*

The *Jocs Florals* of Havana of 1944 awarded three ordinary prizes, five second prizes, and 21 extraordinary prizes. For Faulí (2002), it is precisely the disproportionate increase in extraordinary awards that sets the *Jocs Florals* in exile apart and that points to the success of the Games, which had the support of groups and individuals from outside the Catalan territories. Individual and institutional support, evinced by the high number of extraordinary prizes (Table 2), made it possible to offer cash prizes to exiled intellectuals and thus to support them as they adjusted to new life circumstances and working conditions. Literary critic Maria Campillo (2005) has examined the impact of the “double exile” of Catalan intellectuals on literary production during and after the Spanish Civil War. According to Campillo, one of the consequences of the situation after 1939 was that exiled writers contributed to archetypal classical and Biblical configurations of a landless, scattered people without the possibility of returning to a place and a time considered to be irretrievably lost. She insists that, under these circumstances, the *pàtria* could not remain a fixed image, but was instead “un ‘projecte en construcció’ avortat” (Campillo 2005, 18). As we shall see, the effective deterritorialization and the dislocation of Catalan culture and the accompanying need to reconfigure paradigms, bestow renewed symbolic value onto the *Jocs Florals*, while making them more open to diverse cultural mediations.

The most significant example of the new adaptive flexibility of this traditional literary celebration is the award, in Havana, of the extraordinary prize of the *Agrupació Patriòtica* of Chile to Josep Ferrater Mora’s *Diccionario de filosofía* de (1941), which would become the most important philosophical dictionary of the period in the Spanish language.<sup>24</sup> Disagreements between the *Consistori* and the *Agrupació Patriòtica* issued in the awarding of two additional prizes for August Pi i Sunyer’s *Los fundamentos de la biología* and Manuel Serra i Morel’s *Los fundamentos de la historia y la filosofía* (Faulí 2002, 50). The *Consistori*’s reluctance to award an extraordinary prize to the *Diccionario filosófico* does not seem to have been motivated by the

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<sup>24</sup> According to Casilda Güell (2006, 98), the purpose of the Catalanist *Agrupación Patriótica Catalana* was to provide unity to the Catalan collective through the *Consell Nacional de Catalunya* in London.

lack of a *direct* connection with Catalonia, even though many of the prize-winning works were indeed related to Catalan subjects and/or written in the language. Indeed, the creation of these two extraordinary prizes that recognised works written in Castilian suggests that the *Consistori* opted to widen the linguistic framework of the literary prize after the initial disagreement regarding Ferrater Mora's *Diccionario filosófico*. Anti-communist sentiments among the nucleus of the *Centre Català* of Havana and *La Nova Catalunya*, might also help to explain the unwillingness of the *Consistori* and the *Jurat Qualificador* to award a prize to a dictionary that included Marxist philosophers, though, in truth, there is no evidence, either way, to determine the real motivations behind this decision.<sup>25</sup> That said, Carmen Norambuena (2016, 151) highlights Ferrater Mora's collaborations with María Zambrano and the publishing house Cruz del Sur as well as his relations with Catalan, Spanish and Chilean intellectuals, many of whom were members of the *Centre Català*, the *Agrupación Patriótica Catalana* and the *Centro Republicano de Santiago*. Even though more comprehensive research remains pending, the available information, together with the fact of the publication of his influential essay *Les formes de la vida catalana* (1944) by the *Agrupación Patriótica Catalana*, make it possible to affirm that Ferrater Mora was in direct contact with the Catalans of Chile. In spite of the aforementioned disagreements, the selection of the *Diccionario de filosofía* in the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana of 1944 illustrates the receptiveness of this traditional and generally conservative literary prize to diverse linguistic, cultural and ideological endeavours in the new context of exile.

Many of the Cuban intellectuals who had gone into exile either during the *Machadato* (1925–1933) or the years of political instability after Fulgencio Batista's *coup d'état* (1933), began to return to Cuba during the second half of the 1930s. The *Universidad de La Habana* was reopened in 1937 and the Communist Party legalised in 1938. The new progressive Constitution of 1940, along with a pervasive sense of calm and stability, was also reflected in Cuban culture; in fact, some of the most significant Cuban contributions to the narrative, poetry, theatre and essay of the Americas were written during these years.<sup>26</sup> Jorge Domingo Cuadriello (2009) offers an interesting account of the impact of the cultural production of refugees and exiles on Cuban society. Cuadriello's inventory of exilic work considers not only

<sup>25</sup> The exiled philosopher Josep Ferrater Mora fled to France and later Cuba before arriving in Chile, where he remained from 1941 to 1947.

<sup>26</sup> Major works of the time include: *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (Fernando Ortiz 1940); *Cuentos negros de Cuba* (Lydia Cabrera 1940); *Enemigo rumor* (José Lezama Lima 1941); *Sóngoro Cosongo y otros poemas* (Nicolás Guillén 1942); *El reino de este mundo* (Alejo Carpentier 1944); *Influencia de la mujer en Iberoamérica* (Mirta Aguirre 1948); and *Electra Garrigó* (Virgilio Piñera 1948).

poetry, narrative, philosophy and testimony, but also contributions to pedagogy, science, media and translation. Given the wide scope of the inventory, the absence of the prize-winning texts of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana of 1944, with the sole exception of Ferrater Mora's *Diccionario filosófico*, suggests that the prize-winning texts had little resonance in Cuba as a whole. Nevertheless, the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of America – including those celebrated in Cuba – were culturally significant for the Catalan communities across the Americas.

Despite the generally positive response to the *Jocs Florals* by Catalan exiles in the Americas, the more conservative institutional dimensions of the *Jocs* met with some opposition. For Lluís Ferran de Pol (1945, 6–7), the event represented “un Parnàs fantasmagòric de floralistes de les Amèriques – una nova espècie –, on només pot entrar qui tingui una de les seves patents de valor, geni, papa, promesa, autoritat, príncep, rei, profeta, flor (natural o artificial).” Jordi Castellanos (1988) points to a similar elevation of the institutional, ideological and symbolic character of what was formerly an almost exclusively literary event. It might be argued that Ferran de Pol indicates that the organisers of the *Jocs Florals* in the Americas provided the events with a strong institutional character at the expense of their erstwhile aesthetic value, though such a conclusion, risks ignoring or underestimating the quality of prize-winning texts throughout the history of the *Jocs Florals Catalans*.

The interplay of literary genres in Avel·lí Artís Gener's 556, *Brigada Mixta*, which received the *Copa Artística* prize in Havana in 1944, attests to the aesthetic, even experimental, value of a number of the works submitted to the *Jocs Florals*.<sup>27</sup> The previous sections of this article underscore the importance of approaching these texts from a sociological perspective, which, while not ignoring the relevance of their aesthetic appeal, focuses on their significance as cultural and historical documents. Whatever the case, these *Jocs Florals*, celebrated outside of Catalonia, provided Catalan exiles with a space in which to present their work and perhaps indeed to profit in a context otherwise marked by important socio-economic limitations. Moreover, Annà Murià (2004, 142) notes that, although uninspired by the medieval reminiscences that were once at the heart of the *Jocs Florals* in Catalonia, the influential poet Agustí Bartra participated in all the literary prize's iterations during his first years in exile because, accordingly, even though the event kept its formal characteristics, it gained new meanings in the context of exile.

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<sup>27</sup> Better known for his pre-war satirical journalism, according to McGlade (2020, 199) Avel·lí Artís Gener (Tísner) (1912–2000) underwent a “literary coming-of-age” during his 26 years in exile in Mexico, which led him to produce what Buffery and Mercer (2011, 53) consider to be “some of the most experimental fiction to be written in Catalan in the post-war period.”

As Bartra's case illustrates, adversity provided the *Jocs Florals* with new symbolic value, the context of exile effectively transforming them into a space in and from which participants could imagine a homeland community, as Benedict Anderson (1983) might have put it, as well as in the more (inter)personal dimensions of homelessness explored by Theodor Adorno in *Minima Moralia: Reflections on a Damaged Life* (1978).<sup>28</sup> In the *Jocs Florals* of Mexico in 1942, for example, the organisers, in particular famed poet Josep Carner, did their best to ensure that those Catalan writers living in Mexico who had entered the competition were awarded a prize (Murià 2004, 23). Thus, despite its renewed symbolic value and the efforts to provide economic assistance to political refugees, the *Jocs Florals* in the Americas also aimed to guarantee the survival of Catalan culture through activism and associationism within its new context, just as the previous events had done in Catalonia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

#### *A tropical-troubadouresque ceremony*

The anachronistic stylings of the *Jocs Florals*, as highlighted by Murià (2004, 142), were on display in the ceremony that accompanied them in Havana's *Teatro Auditorio* on 7 May 1944.<sup>29</sup> Many aspects of the event, from the scenography to the performances, evoke a new and interesting amalgamation that is at once neoclassical, tropical and troubadouresque, Cuban and Catalan. Indeed, in its detailed description of the events, which included a performance of the Cuban national anthem by the Banda Municipal de La Habana, the editorial team of *La Nova Catalunya* noted that, "al centre, en artístic marc, les Quatre Barres donen aire de catalanitat a la festa" (1944 May June, 4). As the references to the centrality of the Catalan flag and the accompanying air of *catalanitat* make clear, the ceremony was rife with symbolic exchanges between members of Cuban-Catalan cultural society. On this score, the presentation of the *Flor Natural* prize is notable. Awarded to Jaume Terrades, who resided in Mexico, and collected, on his behalf, by Josep Aixalà i Roig, the award ceremony led to an emblematic embrace between Conangla, by then an iconic figure of the *Centre Català*, and Aixalà, son of a founding father of the *Beneficència Catalana*, Josep Aixalà i Casellas, who had died that same year. The embrace represented the symbolic coming-together of a longstanding, politically charged disagreement over the question of language, in which members of *Centre Català* and the

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<sup>28</sup> According to Adorno, "For a man who no longer has a homeland, writing becomes a place to live. In it he inevitably produces, as his family once did, refuse and lumber. But now he lacks a store-room, and it is hard in any case to part from left-overs" (1978, 87).

<sup>29</sup> In accordance with tradition, this took place on the first Sunday of the month.

editorial team of *La Nova Catalunya* had openly criticised the *Beneficència* under the direction of Aixalà Senior in a tellingly titled document “Vergonya,” for “shamefully” producing its annual reports in Castilian rather than in Catalan (Murillo et al. 1916).<sup>30</sup>

Notwithstanding the undeniable connections between the two main Catalan institutions in Havana, the relations between them had hardly been free from tensions. The *Societat de Beneficència Catalana* strove to emphasise its apolitical nature, while the *Centre Català* was eminently political. The embrace of Conangla and the young Josep Aixalà Roig under the auspices of the 1944 *Jocs Florals* can thus be read as not merely an homage to the deceased Josep Aixalà Casellas but also, and perhaps more importantly, as a means of collective catharsis for a diaspora that had been riven by political debates in which language played a key ideological role:

L'emoció és forta. Sembla com si anys i anys s'hagués estat esperant aquesta unió dels senyors Conangla i Aixalà, que ara la gran llaçada de les Quatre Barres que penja de la Flor Natural fa estreta i irrompible. Amb quant de goig aplaudeix la comunitat catalana aquesta abraçada!

(*La Nova Catalunya* 1944, May–June, 5)

This significant moment was followed by another that, though traditional, was no less symbolically charged: the arrival on stage of the Queen of the Festivities, Rosa Clavería de Blanco Herrera. Clavería had been a well-known opera and *zarzuela* singer during the 1920s and the 1930s in Havana.<sup>31</sup> In a chronicle of a New Years' Eve celebration in the Casino de La Habana, published by the Spanish newspaper *ABC*, Adelardo Fernández Arias described Clavería as a mermaid with an enchanting voice and emphasised her Spanish origin, repeating the adjective “español(a)” five times:

Una mujer española, con acento bien español, entona una melodía cubana, de dulzura inefable. Todos la miran; se suspende unos instantes el baile [...] Es una española; una española de alma; un tipo de mujer que parece haberse escapado de un cuadro de Romero de Torres [...] Es Rosa Clavería la mujer que en La Habana despierta más admiración

<sup>30</sup> “Qui fou, si no nosaltres que'n 1911 recordarem al aleshores president de la Beneficència, Sr. Aixalà, el deurer que tenia de fer la memòria en català?” (*La Nova Catalunya* February 1916, 22). The *Beneficència* subsequently switched the language of its reports to Catalan from 1914.

<sup>31</sup> According to the caption on a postcard housed in the Fundación Juan March, Rosita Clavería had been the main figure of almost all the representations of the *zarzuela* “La canción del olvido” by José Serrano, Guillermo Fernández Shaw, and Federico Romero in 1916.

entre los hombres y las mujeres.

(Fernández Arias 1932, 7)

Clavería's husband, Julio Blanco Herrera, was one of the most influential businessmen of the haute bourgeoisie of Havana. Herrera owned the brewery, *La Tropical*, in Havana, and his father, Cosme Blanco Herrera, had financed the construction of the *Jardines Modernistas de La Tropical* (1904) in the vicinity of the factory in 1904, a space in which many of the social activities of the Catalan community would be held, including the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of 1944 in which Rosa Clavería de Blanco Herrera was “crowned”:

L'ovació que promou la figura esvelta, radiant de bellesa i majestat, és frenètica, delirant, augusta i serena, missenyora la Reina de la Festa, la nostra Ben Plantada, genuïna representació de la dona catalana, marxa a passes lentes, camí del setial des d'on presidirà les Belles Lletres [...] Un gràcil moviment de la Reina convida a tothom a asseure's.

(*La Nova Catalunya* 1944, May June, 5-6)

As the reference to Eugeni d'Ors's “Ben Plantada” (1912) implies, Rosa Clavería is not only well-rooted in Catalan culture and tradition but is also the bearer of external, energising influences both from Cuba and, as Fernández Arias insists, from Spain. The absence of any mention in the consulted texts of Rosa Clavería's birthplace suggests, however, that her genealogy—unlike that of the “Ben Plantada”—was of little importance. Even though Teresa, his Ben Plantada, was born in Paraguay, she is presented as a symbol of the Catalan “race.” Likewise, for *La Nova Catalunya* Clavería is a “genuine representation of the Catalan woman.”

Meanwhile, on the covers of the journal *Ressorgiment*, from January to December 1944, the graphic artist Andreu Damesón portrays the Queen of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana (Figure 1).<sup>32</sup> She appears as an ethereal figure holding a star, a recurrent symbol in the national imaginaries of the Americas and a constitutive element of the Catalan separatist flag, the *estelada*.<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, the

<sup>32</sup> Andreu Damesón i Aspa (1897-1968) was a prominent cartoonist of the Catalan cultural left who fled to Argentina in 1939, never to return to Catalonia. In exile, he became involved in the Centre Català, contributing to Catalan journals including *Ressorgiment* and *Catalunya* and took a leading role in the *Jocs Florals* of the Americas (Humoristán 2020).

<sup>33</sup> The *estelada*, which appeared in *La Nova Catalunya* for the first time in December 1919 and was described as “ensenyà del Centre Català” in December 1921, was associated to the activism of the Catalans of Santiago de Cuba as early as 1903. Joan Creixell (1984) has studied the origins of this symbol linked to the political activity of the Catalans of Cuba from the beginning of the twentieth century.

flag represented by Damesón is the *senyera*, the four bars of which are being drawn by a yoke of oxen guided by a farmer. A caravel at the bottom of the image connects the Queen to the “discovery” and hence to the origin of the “relations” between Spain and the Americas. Damesón depicts Clavería as a fairy-like mythic figure who unites Catalonia, the Americas, and Spain. Whereas the Catalans of the Centre Català of Havana emphasise the *catalanitat* of their Queen, following the *Noucentista* lineage drawn by Eugeni d’Ors, the Catalan intellectuals behind *Ressorgiment*, in Buenos Aires, offer a more complex image of the Catalan-Cuban-Spanish-Latin-American woman, in relation to her multiple identities, nationalities and affiliations.



Figure 1 Rosa Clavería. Illustration: A. Damesón (*Ressorgiment*, 1944, June, front page)

Although he repeatedly identifies Clavería as Spanish, Fernández Arias appropriates her as a signifier of the opulence of Havana while downplaying the inequality, repression and profound

contradictions that characterised Cuban society during Machado's dictatorship and eventually led to the Cuban Revolution of 1933:

¿En Cuba crisis...? ¿Miseria...? ¡Oh...! ¡El Casino de La Habana, la noche de San Silvestre...! Los barcos en la bahía, esperando su cargamento de millonarios...! ¡Las mujeres...! ¡Las joyas...! ¡Rosita Clavería...!

(Fernández Arias 1932, 7)

The appropriation of Rosa Clavería as a Spanish, Catalan, Latin-American and Cuban symbol by diverse groups, exemplifies the relatively fluid nature of identities and their transculturation. The significance of Clavería as symbol shifts depending on the context, the receptors and the creators of the nationally charged signs of identity. Clavería's symbolic versatility meant that she was seen as performing diverse roles in the different processes of surrogation that marked the experimental realities of the circum-Atlantic world and the cultural exchanges that shaped and continue to shape its cultures. Her popularity with diverse groups stemmed not only from her celebrated acting skills, but also from her own ability to move between cultures and social classes. From another, arguably more critical perspective, Clavería's malleability as a cultural signifier responded to the demands of a public sphere in which women were required to play different roles and to be ready to adapt in order to occupy the limited positions available to them. The ceremony described here, its major characters and its textual and graphic echoes, exemplifies the significance of performance in the processes of cultural transportation, surrogation, recreation and reinvention, as discussed by Roach, while the tropical-troubadoursque staging of the longings and achievements of the Catalan diaspora exemplifies the importance of theatrical and other representations in the transmission and exhibition of the variegated processes of transculturation.

### Conclusions

The *Jocs Florals* celebrated in Cuba in 1923 and 1944 took place in a society shaped by processes of surrogation, memory and imagination that were part of wider processes in which members of the Catalan diaspora recreated or attempted to recreate an overseas Catalonia. The complex experiences of exile spurred temporal and spatial "substitutions" for the *Jocs Florals* of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which were, in turn, a restorative "substitution" of the medieval literary ceremonies. As this article has indicated, the

Cuban iterations of the *Jocs Florals* support Domingo's (2013, 73) claim that the games remained strong as a civic platform and instrument of propaganda.

By 1923, the *Jocs Florals* of the Catalan Countries, particularly in Barcelona, had entered a period of decline. However, the contingencies of exile helped them to regain – and in some ways to transcend the symbolic value that they held during the late nineteenth century, effectively reviving the transnational and multilingual interactions in medieval times that occurred across a “pre-national” Europe. The context of exile propitiated, indeed demanded, that celebrations of Catalan culture and the Catalan language take place outside the institutionally monolingual framework of the Spanish state. Without neglecting diverse forms of trauma associated with dictatorship, exile and the suppression of non-hegemonic cultures during Francoism, it is important to highlight the contributions that the increasingly wide, if fraught, spatial, linguistic and cultural framework of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* during the period of the Republican exile after the Spanish Civil War has made to the Catalan cultural legacy. This forced expansion pushed them towards transnationalism and multilingualism. More specifically, the challenging circumstances of migration and exile entailed changes in the enunciatory positions and indeed the identities of those involved in the transportation, surrogation and invention of Catalan culture overseas. Language, writing, creation, and performance were at the core of this dynamic process of reimagining, re-staging and rehearsal, trial and error, loss and gain: in a word, of transculturation.

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## Appendices

Table 1. Awardees of the Jocs Florals Catalans of Havana in 1923

Ordinary Prizes			
Prize	Genre	Title	Author
<i>Flor Natural</i>	poetry	Els dos amors	Ignasi Iglesias
Second Prize <i>Flor Natural</i>	poetry	Aplec	Maria Domenech i Ballester
<i>Englantina d'Or i Argent</i>	poetry	Resurrecció	Antoni Ollé Bertran
Second Prize <i>Englantina</i>	poetry	Albirant la Redempció	Jaume Rusquellas Alessan
<i>Viola d'Or</i>	poetry	Les Noces d'Or del vell abat	Antoni Balasch i Turrell
Second Prize <i>Viola d'Or</i>	poetry	Rims de Setmana Santa	T. Catusus
Extraordinary Prizes			
Prize	Genre	Title	Author
Consistori		Matinal	Trini M. Torrebaja Casanova
Centre Català of Havana	chronicle	Glosses Empordaneses	Carles Rahola Llorens
Beneficència Catalana		Caritat i obres de misericòrdia	Trini M. Torrebaja Casanova
Foment Català	poetry	A la natura catalana	Manel Marinell-lo Samunta
Escoles Pies of Cuba	essay	Influència de la clerecia en el ressorgiment de Catalunya	Mossèn Julià Centellas, Escolapi (Sarrià)
<i>Vida Catalana</i>	poetry	Ésser voldria	Segimond Torreadella
<i>La Nova Catalunya</i>	essay	Estudi per a demostrar que l'interès econòmic	Enric Marimon Belda

		de Catalunya no obliga a la nostra Pàtria a viure sotmesa al règim que, inaugurat per Felip V, subsisteix encara	
Orfeo Català of Havana	essay	Influència dels Orfeons Catalans existents fora de Catalunya per a mantenir viu l'amor a la Pàtria	Mossèn Francesc Gay (Cassà de la Selva)
Associació Protectora de l'Ensenyança Catalana of Havana	essay	Influència de l'ensenyança catalana a l'avenir de la Pàtria	Mossèn Joan Perello, Escolapi (Cárdenas)
Centre Balear	chronicle	El Campanar de la Seu de Palma	Mossèn Salvador Galmés i Sancho
Carles de la Torre, president of the Universidad de La Habana	poetry	L'estel	Lluís Via
Carles de la Torre, president of the Universidad de La Habana	poetry	La cançó del mariner	Jaume Martí Marull
Casal Nacionalista of Camagüey	poetry	Cant als germans llunyans	Ambrosi Carrion
Germanor Catalana de Camagüey	short story	Fàbrica de nines de pasta	Carles Soldevila
Grup Nacionalista Radical Catalunya de Santiago de Cuba	poetry	Himne Català	Apel·les Mestres
<i>Nació Catalana</i> de Santiago de Cuba	poetry	A la Pàtria	Fermí Palau Casellas
Blok Cathalònia de Guantànamo	poetry	Al·legories	Trini M. Torrebaja

Table 2. Awardees of the Jocs Florals Catalans of Havana in 1944

Ordinary Prizes			
Prize	Genre	Title	Author
<i>Flor Natural</i>	poetry	<i>El llibre d'Empòrion</i>	Jaume Terrades
Second Prize <i>Flor Natural</i>	poetry	Cançó de l'amor que passa	Josep M. Poblet
Second Prize <i>Flor Natural</i>	poetry	Càntic fidel	Agustí Bartra
<i>Englantina d'Or i Argent</i>	poetry	Enòs	Josep Carner

Second Prize <i>Englantina</i>	poetry	Romanç de Festa Major	Domènec Perramon
<i>Viola d'Or</i>	poetry	Bondat eterna del Nadal	Domènec Perramon
<i>Seconf Prize Viola d'Or</i>	poetry	Isòvol	Jaume Terrades
Extraordinary Prizes			
Prize	Genre	Title	Author
Copa Artística	Novel/ autobiography/ chronicle	<i>556, Brigada Mixta</i>	Avel·lí Artís Gener (Tísner)
Concepció Rabell	essay	Geografia espiritual de Catalunya	Artur Bladé
Beneficència Catalana de L'Havana	unknown	Tots per un, un per tots	Josep M. Labraña
Branca de Llorer	essay	Trajectòria de l'obra benèfica dels catalans a Cuba	Montserrat Vallvey
Grup Nacionalista Radical Catalunya de Santiago de Cuba			Trinitat M. Torrebaja
Grup Nacionalista Radical Catalunya de Santiago de Cuba			Laura Claramunt
Josep Gelabert de Nova York			Emili Sánchez Martí
Josep Gelabert de Nova York			Pere Matalonga
Josep Fontanals			J. Carner Ribalta
Penya dels catalans del cafè El Dorado			J. Roure-Torrent
Agrupació Patriòtica de Xile	dictionary	<i>Diccionario de filosofía</i>	Josep Ferrater i Mora
Centre Català			J. Carner Ribalta
<i>La Nova Catalunya</i>			Joan Carreras i Palet
Maria Llorc de Graells			Domènec Guansé
Extraordinaris del Consistori	essay essay	<i>Los fundamentos de la biología</i> <i>Los fundamentos de la historia y de la filosofía</i>	Pere Mas i Perera Josep Ribas i Mulet Vincenç Bernades Alberto Martín Josep. M. Labraña August Pi i Sunyer Manuel Serra i Moret