



Carnival and the Carnivalesque

The Fool,
the Reformer,
the Wildman,
and Others in Early
Modern Theatre

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Rural Carnival in the Catalan-Speaking Countries: the Survival of Early Popular Drama

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Scholars have treated Carnival very differently. On the one hand, it has been opposed to Lent in a duality between the time of gastronomic and sexual licentiousness and the time of fasting as a preparation for Easter and the commemoration of Christ's Passion and Death. On the other hand, Carnival has united a number of celebrations that reach a wider period than the one between winter solstice and Easter. In this study, based on an accurate interpretation of different feasts indubitably belonging to rituals identified with the cycle of Carnival, I will occupy myself with the latter approach.

This chapter analyzes Carnival in the Catalan-speaking countries, areas politically belonging to Spain yet retaining their own cultural forms different from the so-called Spanish culture. Language is a basic part of this culture. In this sense, people from the area studied here express themselves mainly in Catalan as they are of Catalan origin. The lands of the Principality of Catalonia, the Valencian country, the Balearic Islands, and Northern Catalonia cover a politically divided area in which two different centralist states, France and Spain, foster their various ways of disorganizing the Catalan-speaking areas.

However, the survival of these types of Carnival does not belong only to these areas. Today, as in the past, Carnival is a feast celebrated all over the world in many different ways. In the Catalan-speaking countries it involves a large number of rituals or ceremonies that take place in the streets, although the balls are usually celebrated in ballrooms, marquees, theatres, pavilions or

other venues. It is important to highlight the use of the streets during the Carnival period. Certainly, at other times of the year feasts in Catalan-speaking countries also take place in the streets and squares of villages and towns, but what is more surprising is that this characteristic continues even during the rest of the winter cycle. Although the Mediterranean climate is quite mild, the changing dates of Carnival often coincide with some of the worst days of the year as far as the weather is concerned. Any researcher doing fieldwork or travellers who come to enjoy the Carnival celebrations will notice that warm clothes are essential both at work and for leisure, especially in the mountains.

Carnival studies have been divided into two major groups in terms of the space where celebrations take place. That is why we speak of rural Carnival and urban Carnival. The former type of Carnival is older and it concentrates on the countryside, whereas the latter is more modern. (In the Catalan-speaking countries urban Carnival dates back to 1825 where it started in Barcelona).¹

I. Urban Carnival

The urban Carnival is probably better known throughout the Catalan-speaking countries, both by researchers and the general public. Rural Carnival sometimes is not even considered a "proper" Carnival but is often regarded as a feast belonging to the winter cycle. The Catalan urban Carnival features a series of theatrical activities whose protagonist is a king (lately, in some places it is a queen), who has different names. The king, originally derived from an old rural figure made out of pallets filled with straw, arrives in the city in order to rule over an empire of flesh, sex and licentiousness, successful. He wanders around the place and in a Sermon, mocking ecclesiastic teachings, he proclaims the laws of his erratic reign. After endless balls, dances, and celebrations round the clock, the king dies from having abused himself too much. His corpse is kept watch over and mournfully shown to the public while around him a grotesque funeral show develops. This performance corresponds with the idea of death being constantly with

us, reminding us of former times when the death rate was higher than nowadays. Before or during this funeral, the dead king's will is read out. Finally, his body is burnt on a pyre.

Vilanova i la Geltrú, a town belonging to a region called Garraf and part of the old Penedès, has kept this dramatized model of urban Carnival the longest. Other cities have been able to combine it with different elements thus stating the importance of the original celebration. Solsona has enriched the typical elements of its yearly *fiestas* and Corpus Christi celebrations with some mockery. Similarly, witty and humorous jeering is aimed at in the elements established by tradition, characteristic of the very definition of any festivity in all towns analyzed here. Sitges, like Vilanova i la Geltrú also in the Garraf, has opted for a Carnival with spectacular processions on Sunday and on Shrove Tuesday. The Tuesday procession is known as the "extermination" because it forms the culmination point of all celebrations. It shares some similarity with and is influenced by the Carnival from Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) and from the Canary Islands. The city of Tarragona combines the Carnival king's itinerary of life and death with an important element in the main procession on Saturday. The parade is headed by the traditional fire groups of the city's *Seguici Popular* (popular merrymaking procession) and by some masquerades distinctive of the festival. The *Seguici Popular* is a procession of various representative groups of medieval origin. It comes out into the streets with all its members only during the festivities of Santa Tecla's day, on 22 and 23 September.² Reus, in the Baix Camp, and Platja d'Aro or Palamós, in the Costa Brava, have interesting urban Carnivals too. Prohibited by General Francisco Franco's regime (1939-75) some of the winter Carnival celebrations transformed into spring festivals, not only in Catalonia but also in the rest of Spain. In Catalonia, the city of Roses provides a peculiar example of Carnival, for here the Sunday parade or Costa Brava *carrusset*, a festive procession of people in fancy dress, takes place. However, the most spectacular example of such an obligatory transformation is the *Entierro de la Sardina* (the sardine's funeral) from

Murcia, a town outside Catalonia in the relatively nearby Spanish Levant. This *Entierro de la Sardina* is a procession, almost beyond description, of festive groups from all over Spain and from abroad followed by floats from where the *sardineros* throw thousands of toys to almost one million spectators who participate in this festival. Today the large crowds attending the parade bear no resemblance whatsoever with those who formerly, during the nineteenth century, attended it. In those days the crowds would follow the "prostitutes", the main characters of the *Entierro de la Sardina* in Murcia, who then were at the centre of the celebrations of Carnival in the streets.

II. Rural Carnival

Central to this essay will be the rural Carnival, that is to say, that which is celebrated in a rural environment. Unlike the urban Carnival, which is especially important in the Principality of Catalonia, (though it can be found everywhere), the rural Carnival is more important in the Catalan-speaking countries. We shall establish two axes, one extending from the Pyrenees to the Valencian country and the other from the Principality to the Balearic Islands. In contrast with the urban Carnival, which lasts mainly from the Thursday before Lent to Shrove Tuesday or even to Ash Wednesday (except in those cases where it is transformed into spring festivals), the rural Carnival takes a much longer period on the calendar and starts after Christmas—usually on Sant Antoni's day—and lasts until Shrove Tuesday.

III. The selection of some particular *fiestas*

An important dichotomy appears when analyzing the celebrations included in the rural Carnival in the Catalan-speaking countries. To start with, these areas are extremely rich in traditional *fiestas*, some of which have been going on without interruption since they were established, while others have been revived after some more or less lethargic periods. Therefore, there are two possible approaches to their study: either an examination of all the towns or a choice of the richest and most complete examples. The selection

criteria chosen by the author of the present article are personal but aim at objectivity. Viewed from this position, the first option would be the preparation of a calendar-catalogue of *fiestas*. This option would be extremely difficult to carry out due to the large number of towns to be studied and feasts to be summarized.³ The second approach would embrace a combination of detailed field-work and bibliographic studies, inevitably leading to a selection of certain festivals and locations. This second approach has been chosen while at the same time as much information as possible will be offered about other towns or villages that are not dealt with in depth here.

IV. The *fiesta* of Sant Antoni in Majorca

Although it may seem a contradiction that a Carnival is named after a saint, an accurate analysis of Majorca's Sant Antoni's days makes this observation acceptable. Sant Antoni is the advocate and patron saint of animals, especially horses. That is why today the benediction of animals survives not only on the island of Majorca but all over the Catalan area. At the Principality such benedictions are represented by popular manifestations like the *Tres Tombs*—especially important in Vilanova i la Geltrú in the Garraf area, in Valls (alt Camp) and in Igualada (Anoia)⁴—or the *Encamisada* at Falset (Priorat).

In this sense, Sant Antoni is regarded as the protector of the animals' fecundity and, by extension, the patron saint of most of the food needed by man. In Majorca there is a strong devotion to this Saint with his piglet, the small animal usually held in the Saint's arms when depicted in images and other artistic representations. This devotion started with a Sant Antoni's Hospitaller friars' settlement. They favoured the practice and cult devoted to this representative member of medieval hagiography, who arrived at the island while the Catalan conquest was taking place, at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁵

In Majorca, apart from the benedictions, all Sant Antoni's days are a sound proof of the typically carnivalesque exchange of

roles.⁶ Sant Antoni goes out into the streets together with the devils, who keep jeering at him. In essence, this is a performance about the fight between good and evil, with the characteristic confrontation of saints battling against infernal forces. However, the devilish beings have some remarkable licenses which allow them to play with Sant Antoni and even hit him. Some devils carry cowbells, traditional attributes of medieval devils, similar to irons, chains or sceptres. Such bells play a remarkably dramatic role in making a persistent, constant noise that announces the devil's presence. At the same time, this noise has been interpreted as a symbol of purification or as a delimitation of the space for the performance.

Two characteristic elements stand out in carnivalesque celebrations. One is the *vetla*, the fire from night bonfires that are lit on the eve of the Saint's day; the other is satirical literature. Apart from being scenographic elements of the festival contrasting with the low temperatures during the winter Carnivals, these bonfires are also an invitation to burn everything we do not need anymore and to take part in the community meal. Majorcan people roast pork, bacon and various kinds of sausages on embers while eating *espinagades* (a kind of spinach and eel pie) and enjoying merry-making. Meat and wine are plentiful during the Carnival. Although the veneration of Sant Antoni is spread all over the island, in Artà, Sa Pobla, and Manacor the celebrations are particularly vivid. In Alcúdia both the devils and Sant Antoni are very interesting because of their astistically crafted outfit. The same kind of celebration, including Saint and devils, is held in the villages of Alaró, Ariany, Búger, Capdepera, Deià, Inca, Llubí, Manacor, Petra, Sant Lorenç des Cardassar, Sóller, and Son Cervera.⁷ Manacor and Son Cervera have in addition the performance of the episode of Sant Antoni and Sant Paul the anchorite (yet another hagiographic figure whose feast, on 15 January, is close to the Carnival season) sharing the bread brought by a crow. Contrary to this the two devils in the *Obreria de Sant Antoni*, a festive association from Artà, carry two long canes, which are thought to be phallic symbols.

Satirical literature is another carnivalesque element present in the Majorcan celebration of Sant Antoni. It is present in the form of *cançons de picat*, songs in dialogue form about local events, and *glosats*, long improvised songs. This oral literature, often despised by philologists, is centred on local topics and expressed in poems and rhymes by popular singers and artists. They strongly criticize and ridicule local affairs and their protagonists are exposed in a grotesque show. Rural and urban Carnivals share the common characteristic of a satirical and burlesque style or tradition, expressed in the latter in the Carnival king's sermon.

V. Sant Antoni in Ports de Morella

The inner part of northern Castelló is a natural area still quite unspoilt. This area is linked with the inner southern region of Tarragona and with the Franja d'Aragó (the part of Aragon where a Catalan dialect is spoken). In this area, and especially in the region of Ports de Morella, Sant Antoni's *fiesta* is remarkably up-to-date.⁸ This rural area keeps the celebration of Sant Antoni alive. Although until very recently this area was geographically isolated, it has always been dedicated to the Saint with the piglet. Benedictions of animals, bonfires and various kinds of performances on the Saint and the devils (either based on written text or not) have been kept. In contrast with the island of Majorca, this region has undergone a remarkable decrease of population, which has forced some changes in the tradition. For example, the feast is not only held on the Saint's day but during later occasions as well, as a result of which as many people and animals as possible can partake in the Carnival in the different villages. The celebration is known as the *Santantonada*. The animals taking part in the celebrations of one village are taken to another on the following weekend and so on.

Common traits with the Majorcan *fiesta* are evident: animals, bonfires, theatre plays, and even critical poems very similar to the *cançons de picat* and *glosats* from the Mediterranean island. However, this *fiesta* has its peculiarities too. The bonfires from

the Ports are huge. They are called *barraques* (shacks) with reference to the place where Sant Antoni used to live. In the village of Forcall saints and devils get into these shacks even while the bonfire is lit and still burning. They are made of branches and *ramulla* (dead wood) from the mountains: pine, holm oak, and juniper. Lately, the biggest bonfire has been made in Vilafranca del Cid. In this village the search for pine logs and *malea* (dead wood and branches) is a ritual with many participants starting early in the morning and going on until the evening. Men and horses go to a nearby mountain to collect the shack's raw material. The harsh countryside makes the road difficult even for horses, donkeys, and mules. This festivity has some splendid moments: the community meal right in the middle of the forest, the way back to Vilafranca, the population's welcome, and the moment when a guard pretends to bar the carriers' way and accuses them of stealing *malea*, while their head, the *arriero* (muleteer) defends their action by appealing to its long practice.

On the feast's eve the devils and Sant Antoni, in some places hand in hand with Sant Paul, make their way through the village. The use of fireworks relates them to the *balls de diables* (groups of devils) from the area of Tarragona, Priorat, Conca de Barberà, Penedès, and Anoia.⁹ They hit spectators and pedestrians with a short club, which also connects them with the northern European Carnival's *charivari* and to Artà's devils' *canyes fel·les* (canes as phallic symbols). Their garment is extremely suggestive and is also connected with the fire devils that go out into the streets during the yearly celebrations and on the feast of Corpus Christi. This is especially true for the Baix Camp and Priorat groups garments in the area of Tarragona. A friendly battle between good and evil is fought. The saints are whipped but at the same time both devils and saints seem to share a common interest: the female sex, represented by women spectators in the streets and the squares, at windows and on balconies.

Dialogue performances can still be seen in some villages. They are no doubt related to the hagiographic *balls parlats* (spoken

dances) which developed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, although they have their origin in medieval theatre.¹⁰ The *balls parlats*, originally itinerant, are a mixture of dialogue performances and music, although the dance is often very simple. These dances still exist in New Catalonia (South of the river Llobregat). Though of a different kind, the *balls parlats* are related to the street mysteries from Valencia on the day of Corpus Christi, with the Valencian performances of *Moros i Cristians* (Arabs and Christians), and with the Aragonese *dances*. As far as the hagiographic subject is concerned, it is known to have flourished during the last century, when the original Catalan texts were translated into Spanish or new plays were directly written in Spanish. No wonder then that Sant Antoni performances existing until today in Ports de Morella are in Spanish. Apart from this, in the village of Maspujols, in the Principality, a copy has been kept of a Sant Antoni's dance written in Catalan.¹¹

Ports de Morella's Sant Antoni's day has a clear documentary link with the Sant Antoni's dance performed during the Corpus Christi and Santa Tecla feasts in Tarragona. In 1414, Dominican monks played a life of Sant Antoni, a character who reappeared in 1436. (Records from other years have not survived.) From 1514 onwards, when the guilds began to control the dances, the short comedies, and the "bestiaries" (dances with representations of animals), it was the guild of *paraires* (wool workers) which performed a Sant Antoni and the devils' dance. There are also records on this tradition in documents dating from 1577, 1604, and 1617. In 1633, the dance could not be performed due to a lack of brothers in the *paraires'* and hatters' guilds.

Sant Antoni's play in the Ports also includes some satirical texts in verse form which, though included in the general context, have no bearing on the main topic. On the contrary, the texts change every year. They consist of poems or *relacions* on local facts and the people from the village. These poems have undergone the same process of imbrication of the original text as the

one which affected the Sant Miquel and devils' dance from Camp de Tarragona and the Penedès. Criticism and insolent, biting words are associated with the characters that symbolize evil forces. In both cases, the devils are not distant but very close to the people and to an extraordinarily degree attached to everyday life in the village. Satire is therefore an important part of celebrations in the Catalan-speaking countries, especially during Carnival. The community expresses itself through satire and criticism, as a result of which a transgression of established social roles will take place. For some days, popular theatre characters voice accusations against various members in the local government, who have to endure their criticism stoically.

Transvestism lives in Ports through the character of *Astúcia* (Cunning)—a man wearing strange looking women's clothes, who, for example in Vilafranca del Cid, resembles the stereotyped figure of a prostitute. In Forcall he is called the *Filoxeta* and in Todoella the *Filandrona*. This transvestite character links the feast at the Ports with the many common characters of the *balls parlats* from the Camp de Tarragona and from the Penedès areas. The lust tempting Sant Antoni is very close to the ladies of the *Ball de Dames i Vells* (dance of ladies and old men) from Tarragona, which has been performed since 1514 during Santa Tecla festivities, on 22 and 23 September.¹² The figure of lust is also similar to the she-devils from the *Balls de Diables* (devils' dances) from Arboç del Penedès, Sitges, Vilanova i la Geltrú, Sant Quintí de Mediona, El Vendrell, Torredembarra, and Tarragona, all of whom are being played by strong males. These festive associations take part in their towns' feasts annually. They are known to have been founded over a century ago.

Finally, a community meal is cooked on the embers of the burnt shack, which produces the necessary heat to enjoy the *fiesta* in the wintery weather. All these elements strengthen the link between the Ports' *Santantonada* and the Majorcan Sant Antoni. The bonfire and its different varieties also appear in other Carnival celebrations. The cremation ceremony with which the Carnival king

ends his reign in many urban Carnivals has already been mentioned. Similarly, the case of the Valencian village of Canals could be pointed out. In that village a particularly big bonfire is made, thus becoming the climax of Sant Antoni's day in a place on a rather great distance from Ports.

The towns that usually celebrate the *Santantonada* in the area of Ports are, apart from Sorita, La Mata, Cinctorres, Olocau del Rei, Ortells, Morella and Villores¹³, the already mentioned Forcall, Vilafranca del Cid, and Todoella. The dates of the *fiesta's* celebrations, like all other festivals' dates, should be carefully checked before planning to attend them, either as an investigator or as a spectator.

VI. The Bear's Dance in the Catalan Pyrenees

Wintery cold is the main characteristic of this Carnival in the North of the Catalan-speaking countries, basically in the villages of Sant Llorenç de Cerdans and Prats de Molló, in the region of Vallespir, on French soil.¹⁴ This Carnival includes small processions or parades in which its participants disguise themselves in a markedly satirical style and pay special attention to sex inversion. However, at the same time, this Carnival keeps its own ritual characteristic of the *fiesta* in this part of the Pyrenees: the bear's dance. Formerly, it used to spread to other villages; in Banys d'Arles, Arles de Tec¹⁵, Artés, Castellbò, Espui, Sarroca de Bellera, Tor, and Torroella de Fluvià in particular there are records about different versions.

In an atmosphere greatly influenced by the effects of spirits and French aperitifs—especially Pastís—the start of the bear's dance is eagerly awaited. The bear turns up on Saturday after lunch. It is an animal-like figure that identifies with a bear, an animal practically extinguished in the Catalan Pyrenees but which the French government is trying to reintroduce, a policy, due to the livestock farmers' opposition, not without controversy.

In Sant Llorenç de Cerdans a man dressed in fur and with a bear's head plays the main role in the celebration. This figure is

related to the earliest stage of the evolution of the Feast of the Beast. Ancient performances with animals must have been close to this type of festival, which may still be appreciated in the different *balls de cavallets* (little horses' dances) or in the *ball de les àligues* (eagles' dance) from the Majorcan town of Pollença. Another remainder of this primitive zoomorphism is the carnivalesque character known as *Moixó foguer* (fire-lighting bird), a naked man going out into the streets covered with fowl feathers. Not far from this character are the *bous de foc* (fire oxen), very common in *fiestas* at Valencia, the Basque land, and so distant a country as Paraguay.

In Prats de Molló the bear has kept a different typology which is, however, deeply rooted in the festival's history. He is actually an ancient, primitive man or hairy man: he has a darkened face and is covered with bear fur, which reminds us of medieval theatrical characters who used to appear at various moments of the annual calendar but particularly during the Corpus Christi street celebrations and the *Festes Majors* (main feasts). These primitive men are closely related either to the medieval devil's figure or to those forces the Church considers to be representatives of evil. In fact, in Valencia the hairy men are King Herod's soldiers, the cruel protagonists of the Slaughter of the Innocents. The comparison between the Prats bear's appearance and the soldiers from the Valencian *degolla* (slaughter) shows an extremely close resemblance to one another.

From these old performances, derived from iconographic representations and medieval and post-medieval theatre, originates the much larger piece of timberwork of the main protagonist in the *seguicis populars*. These are processions with festive groups and wooden animals that nowadays take place on Corpus Christi day, not only in the Catalan-speaking countries but also—though to a lesser degree—in Castilia, Andalusia, Galicia, Occitània, and Portugal. Similar but more elaborately dressed up animals also participate: the *Drac* (dragon) in Vilanova i la Geltrú, the *Drac*, the

Bou (bullock) and the *Víbria* (wild animal) in Tarragona, and the *Poltre* (colt) or *Poulain* from Pézenas in southern France. All are, together with the *Tarasca* (a fictitious wild animal) from Tarascó in Occitania, the most remarkable survivors of the Feast of the Beast in those places.¹⁶ In Belgium, too, a traditional presence of several animals is known, taking part in various festivities. For example, in Nivelles the *Menagerie* is the procession formed by the little horse Godet, the Unicorn, the Camel, the Dragon, the Eagle, and the Lion, while in the feast of the *Ducasse* in Ath, the fourth weekend of August, the Eagle and the horse Bayard play a remarkable role.

The bear from Vallespir is tied by a hunter and accompanied by a retinue of characters, most of them in white, who try to blacken the spectators' faces. It is thought that the bear used to come out of his winter hiding place up on the mountains on 2 February in order to check whether there is a new moon. If so, the end of winter has arrived. That is why the characters accompanying the bear during its journey around the streets of the Pyrenean villages use soot from small bonfires to darken the moon, i.e. to make it new.

This ritual is related to Majorcan bonfires and to the shacks from Ports de Morella. Apart from fighting the harshness of winter and illuminating the night *fiesta*, it also has a clear relationship with the purifying force of fire. Similarly, both the bear and the accompanying characters act exactly like the Ports' devils, eagerly going after the girls, or like Sant Antoni's devils from Majorca, pursuing them with their peculiar *canyes fel.les*. The Pyrenean characters who carry a brazier or *fogarill* with a long handle, try to put it between the women's legs or under the spectators' bottoms, irrespective of their age or condition. The performances of Majorcan and Valencian devils and the characters from Vallespir are absolutely comparable and are part of the contact licenses and sexual approach typical of the customs surrounding Carnival.

VII. Conclusions

On analysing the characteristics of these three blocks of *fiestas* geographically separated but belonging to the same cycle of rural Carnival, a series of common traits can be inferred. They have already been outlined in this article but here they are, once more, presented as conclusions:

1. *Geographic isolation.* Many of the communities discussed were geographically isolated until well into the twentieth century. This caused celebrations to overcome several socio-economic crises harming many other traditional festivals.
2. *The importance of animals in the fiestas.* Horses and bears are essential in the celebrations of the three geographic areas that have been studied. In both cases—with horses or bears—the animals' presence is related to beneficial consequences for the community, just as the perpetuation of animal life means success in family life and, by extension, success in the social web. However, it should not be forgotten that this initial meaning—especially in the case of horses—has partially shifted to a more symbolic or customary meaning. It is evident that the animals are no longer an essential part of those communities. As a result of this the various feasts have to be celebrated on different days so that there are enough animals to take part in them.
3. *Confrontation between antagonistic forces.* Both the devils and the bear confront the saints and the hunter.
4. *Presence of fire.* Fire is very evident in the case of Majorcan bonfires and Valencian shacks yet not so evident but not less important in the brazier or *fogarill* that goes with the bear down to the village.
5. *Sexual aspects.* There is a clear transgression of attitudes and sexual characteristics through direct contact between saints, bears, and devils on the one hand and women on the other, and also through the exchange of roles in females played by men, at least in the Pyrenees and in Ports.

6. *Satire.* In Majorca and Ports, literary verse forms and the use of costumes in the Pyrenean Carnival serve a satirical function. Satirical and burlesque literature was especially cultivated during the period known as the *Decadència* (decadence), which lasted from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Although this period was decadent in many aspects, it was not so in the production of this kind of texts. The traditionalisation of such literary forms has made them survive until today.
7. *Food and drinks.* There is a remarkable presence of community meals and drinks, although each area obviously chooses its specialities or typical products.
8. *Cohesive power of the feast toward the community.* The analyzed communities either suffer from population decrease (the case of rural areas of Ports and Vallespir) or from a touristic invasion (Majorca). In both cases the *fiesta* acts as a linking force: the fact of belonging to a certain community is essential.
9. *Power to attract visitors.* To visitors festivals have, to a larger or lesser extent, developed into specific attractions. This process generates indirect economic profits and becomes an opportunity to make a village known among larger groups of people who probably would not visit it otherwise or merely would be there in transit.

Notes

- 1 See Tomás Caballé y Clos, *Folklore catalán: Antiguas tradiciones, festividades populares y ferias*, Barcelona, 1947.
- 2 See Jordi Bertran [éd.], *Guia de les Festes de Santa Tecla: Història, seguici popular i castells*, Tarragona, 1994.
- 3 See Julio Caro Baroja, *El Carnaval (Análisis histórico-cultural)*, Madrid, 1989² [La otra historia de España, 2] and the *Enciclopedia de las fiestas de España*, Madrid, 1993.
- 4 See Xavier Fàbregas & Pau Barceló, 'Enero: Els Tres Tombs', *La Vanguardia*, 16-1-1983.
- 5 See Bienve Moya, 'Antoni: un sant cristià', *Diari de Barcelona*, 21-1-1990, p. 7; Bienve Moya, 'De Sant Antoni dels Paletes i del Corpus', *Diari de Barcelona*, 10-6-1990, p. 20; Bienve Moya, 'Per Sant Antoni:

- un pas de dimoni', *Avui cap de setmana*, 11-1-1991, pp. I-III. Bienve Moya, *Calendes: Impressions sobre mites, festes i celebracions catalanes*, Tarragona, 1996 [Col.lecció L'agulla, 18].
- 6 See Xavier Fàbregas & Pau Barceló, *Cavallers, dracs i dimonis: Itinerari a través de les festes populars*, Montserrat, 1976 [Catalunya Visió, 12]; Gabriel Genovart, 'Psicoanàlisi de la festa de Sant Antoni', *Lluc* n° 701 (nov.-dec. 1982), pp. 3-6; Gabriel Janer Manila, *Mallorca, els dimonis de l'illa*, Barcelona, 1989 [Enciclopèdia de temes catalans, 5] and Montserrat Santandreu, 'El ball de dimonis a Artà', *Lluc* n° 759 (nov.-dec. 1990), pp.17-9.
 - 7 See Gabriel Janer Manila [éd.], *Calendari de Festes de les Illes Balears i Pitiüses*, Barcelona, 1992 [Cultura Popular, 11].
 - 8 See Antoni Ariño, *Festes, rituals i creences*, València, 1988 [Col.lecció Politècnica, 32]; Alvar Monferrer, *Sant Antoni: sant valencià*, València, 1994 [Sèrie Minor, 14]; Salvador Palomar & Montsant Fonts, *La festa de Sant Antoni al Matarranya*, Carrutxa, 1993 [Lo Trill, 5]; Fermín Pardo, 'La tentació i el pecat en les danses simbòliques', *1^{er} Congrés de Cultura Tradicional*, València, 1991, pp. 19-23; Josep Piera, 'L'apoteosi de l'hivern', *El Temps*, 7-2-1994, pp. 54-8 and María Ángeles Sánchez, 'Las tentaciones del santo', *El País*, 15-1-1989, pp. 22-5.
 - 9 See Jordi Bertran et al., *El Ball de Diables de Tarragona: Teatre i festa a Catalunya*, Tarragona, 1993.
 - 10 See, *Els balls parlats a la Catalunya Nova*, Tarragona, 1992.
 - 11 See Elena Arts-i-Roca, *El Ball de Sant Antoni de Maspujols*, Tarragona, 1989.
 - 12 See Josep M. Martorell, *El Ball de Dames i Vells: una mostra viva de teatre burlesc*, Tarragona, 1993 [Quaderns de la Festa Major, 8].
 - 13 See Modest Reixach [éd.], *Calendari de Festes de Catalunya, Andorra i La Franja*, Barcelona, 1989 [Cultura Popular, 6] and María Ángeles Sánchez, *Imagen: Fiestas de España*, Barcelona, 1991.
 - 14 See Claude Gaignebet & Marie Claude Florentin, *El Carnaval: Ensayos de Mitología Popular*, Barcelona, 1984 [Arte del Zahorí, 1] and Jean Dominique Lajoux, 'En France: carnivals contemporains', Pier Giovanni d'Ayala et Martine Boiteux [éds.], *Carnavals et mascarades*, Paris, 1988 [Spectacles], pp. 76-86.
 - 15 Joan Amades, *Costumari Català: El curs de l'any*, Barcelona, 1983², 5 tomes.
 - 16 Bienve Moya, *La festa a Catalunya: Àlbum de cultura popular i tradicional*, Barcelona, 1996.