Fragmentation of a Culture: The Linguistic Policy of Valencian Theatres Based on a Review of Theatre Productions from 2008 to 2021

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English translation, Neil CHARLTON

Abstract

What is the state of theatre in the Autonomous Community of Valencia? Is Valencian theatre considered part of Catalan theatre as a whole? To answer these questions, we must first take a short tour of the listings of the most important theatres in the Autonomous Community of Valencia, such as the Teatre Rialto, the Teatre Principal de València, the Teatre Talia, the Teatre Arniches in Alicante and the Teatre Principal de Castelló. The political context of the Autonomous Community of Valencia during the years covered by this study must also be considered.

The People's Party (PP) governed the Autonomous Community of Valencia for twenty years, from 1995 to 2015. Then the government passed to an alliance between the Socialist Party, Compromís, and Podem. Has this change of government meant a significant shift in the cultural and linguistic policy of the Autonomous Community of Valencia? The theatrical exchange between Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Autonomous Community of Valencia is very specific, which limits both the professional scope of actors, directors and playwrights and the economic viability of theatre companies. In terms of total performances in Catalan, we can say that they do not account for even half of the shows programmed in each season. By examining this data, we will be able to identify the linguistic criterion applied by the Valencian institutions and the theatrical repertoire offered in the Autonomous Community of Valencia.

Keywords: Teatre Rialto, Teatre Principal de València, Teatre Principal de Castelló, Teatre Arniches in Alicante, cultural and linguistic policy, Valencian institutions, theatre repertoire

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We often wonder why we are unable to create a common space for cultural communication in Catalan. What prevents us from overcoming the administrative borders and political segmentation of the territory? Or even more importantly, why do we encourage these borders? It is clear that there is a worrying cultural disconnect between the Autonomous Community of Valencia, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands - not to mention Northern Catalonia, the Franja de Ponent and Andorra – and this is reflected, of course, in the field of the performing arts. Before 2015, we Valencians blamed the People's Party (PP), as the undisputed representative of Spanish provincial nationalism dependent on Madrid. Now we say that it is a matter of social media and the digital platforms, which tend to homogenise markets. The fact is that none of our politicians seems to take the hint, and the problem is a longstanding one, which never appears on their agendas. We are used to hearing catastrophic speeches about our language, we live resigned to this "bad rude health" of our cultural landscape, and we accept - reluctantly, if you like, but we do accept - that Catalonia, the Autonomous Community of Valencia and the Balearic Islands are autonomous communities that look for solutions from Madrid, instead of looking more to each other.

The Autonomous Community of Valencia, for example, does not fall within the area of attraction of the most successful theatre training venues in Catalonia, as is the case of the Sala Beckett Obrador Internacional de Dramatúrgia. News of playwrights who have burst onto the current Catalan scene, even though they have toured all over the state and even Europe, does not usually reach it. Thus, we can say that Clàudia Cedó, Lara Díez Quintanilla, Llàtzer Garcia, Josep Maria Miró and Jordi Oriol — to name but a few are playwrights who, although some have won a well-known Valencian literary award (such as those promoted by the Bromera or Onada publishing houses), they have not been able to have any plays performed in the major Valencian theatres, all managed by public funds. Fortunately, have been able to premiere in a small neighbourhood theatre, with hardly any repercussions

and, incidentally, with a limited audience (when in Catalonia the venues that programme their plays quickly sell out of tickets).

In the case of theatre productions, the subject is even more incomprehensible, because most Catalan performing arts productions (whether from Catalonia, the Balearic Islands or the Autonomous Community of Valencia) are condemned to do short, restricted tours in the "regional corral" itself, instead of jumping the fence and expanding the number of performances. So it could be said that, after all, what we have created are three small, resigned theatrical circuits. Very resigned.

On the other hand, this also means that theatre references are not the same throughout the Catalan-speaking territory. For example, a relatively recent show that was very successful in Barcelona, such as *Falaise*, premiered in 2019 by the company Baró d'Evel, was completely overlooked in the Autonomous Community of Valencia; and the adaptation of *Tirant*, premiered the same year by the Valencian playwright Paula Llorens, and repeated the following season at the Teatre Rialto, was hardly considered in Catalonia. And the play *Kelly*, by Rafel Gallego, which was also very well received by the audience at the Teatre Principal in Palma de Mallorca, has also not been seen in Catalonia or in the Autonomous Community of Valencia.

And even more. Some of the most prestigious Valencian actors, such as Josep Manel Cassany or Pilar Almeria, are practically unknown in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. And the same circumstances affect the playwrights Roberto Garcia, Patrícia Pardo, Pasqual Alapont and Núria Vizcarro, to name a few of the most award-winning in the current Valencian scene. Moreover, when there is an attempt to collaborate between Catalonia and the Autonomous Community of Valencia, the Spanish language is always in the middle, inserted to play the role of a bridge language between the two territories. Look, for example, at what happened in the year when the Sala Beckett organised a season of contemporary Valencian theatre (D. O. València):¹ of the five pieces selected, three were in Spanish. One of the two talks on Valencian playwriting and the closing concert was also announced with a title in Spanish. As a result, of the eight D. O. València events, five were in Spanish and the rest in Catalan. This did not happen, however, in D. O. Illes Balears, which had been held in the previous season also in the Sala Beckett² with all the events in Catalan.

Another example of wanting to make Spanish the language of cultural union between the Autonomous Community of Valencia and Catalonia can be seen in the recent collaborations between the TNC and the Teatre Principal de València. The two Valencian playwrights who have recently premiered their plays at the TNC, supported by the Institut Valencià de Cultura (IVC), write in Spanish. This is the case of Paco Zarzoso, with the *La casa de las Arañas* (translated into Catalan by Lluïsa Cunillé and premiered on 22 January 2020), and Víctor Sánchez, with *La casa del dolor* (which was brought to the stage on 20 January 2022). Why are Valencian playwrights with an interesting production in Catalan not chosen for these commissions? Obviously, it is not due to a lack of writers in Catalan.

^{1.} From 28 February to 28 March 2018 at the Sala Beckett in Barcelona.

^{2.} From 18 to 22 April 2017 at the Sala Beckett in Barcelona.

If we look at the listings of the great Valencian theatres from 2008 to the present, we will see that the promotion of bilingualism is constant, even after the change of government in 2015. How did we get here and what prejudices guided us? Before entering into the subject, however, we need a brief review of the Valencian political context from 1995 to the present.

The Political Context of the Last Few Years in the Autonomous Community of Valencia

As Ramon X. Rosselló explains in his article published in the journal *Pyg-malion* (2010), it was in the 1980s when the Valencian institutions took the first steps to create the Valencian public theatre. In 1981, a year before the community had a statute of autonomy, Valencia Provincial Council created Teatres de la Diputació, which were run by Rodolf Sirera, who was in charge of managing the Teatre Principal de València and the Sala Escalante (Rosselló, 1999). Teatres de la Diputació encouraged the performance of plays in Catalan and took into account both contemporary European authors (such as Ibsen) and Valencian playwrights who had begun writing between the 1960s and 1980s in independent theatre groups (and who were essentially Manuel Molins, Juli Leal and Rodolf Sirera himself).

Later, in 1985, and copying the model of the Centre Dramàtic de la Generalitat de Catalunya (1980-1998), the creation of the Centre Dramàtic de la Generalitat Valenciana was promoted, which began its activity in 1988 and worked with the Catalan Centre Dramàtic in order to premiere in Barcelona some outstanding pieces of Valencian drama of the 1990s, such as *Indian Summer* (1991) by Rodolf Sirera or *Ombres de la nit* (1991) by Manuel Molins, as well as some of the translations of foreign plays by Josep Lluís Sirera and Juli Leal (Rosselló, 2010).

The Centre Dramàtic de la Generalitat Valenciana, however, was replaced in 1994 by another organisation, called Teatres de la Generalitat Valenciana, which came to be managed by the PP, who won the elections in the Autonomous Community of Valencia in 1995. It was then that a much of the work done by the Valencian institutions and performing arts began to unravel. Due to the cultural and linguistic policy of the PP (against the Catalan language of course), Valencian theatre was relegated to amateur theatre again, and few Catalan-language theatre companies were able to become professional.

The PP governed the Autonomous Community of Valencia for no less than two decades (1995-2015). During these years, the Valencian cultural panorama was bleak, as can be seen by a review of the theatre listings of the time, available in the archives of the Centre de Documentació Escènica based in Valencia. In theory, Teatres de la Generalitat Valenciana (which in 1997 were taken over by a new body, called CulturArts) had to be responsible for coordinating all the actions that affected the practice of theatre and dance in the Autonomous Community of Valencia. Most of the shows that were scheduled, however, were included in a season — take note — called Ballets Russos de la Generalitat, which began its activity in the year 2000 and, in 2012, became known as Ballets de la Generalitat.

Teatres de la Generalitat Valenciana was to take over the management and expenses of the following theatres: the Teatre Principal de València, the Teatre Rialto (Valencia), the Teatre Talia (Valencia), L'Altre Espai (Valencia) and the Teatre Arniches (Alicante). The lack of cultural funding, however, meant that in 2009 Teatres de la Generalitat Valenciana lost L'Altre Espai. Also, at the end of 2012, it stopped running the Teatre Talia, one of the most historically important theatres in the city of Valencia (as explained by Herreras and Rodríguez, 2008), which then passed into the hands of the private company Olympia S. A.

The PP had cut the wings of Valencian professional theatre that had begun to emerge in the 1980s, after recovering from the censorship of the Franco regime and after finally throwing of the shackles of farce, which had been dominant. From the second half of the 1990s until 2015, theatrical production in Valencian in large public theatres became virtually non-existent. The institutions prioritised performances in Spanish (and, fundamentally, those that came from other parts of the state), so that Valencian companies rarely found a gap in one of the major Valencian theatres to stage their productions in Catalan. But they could do so in the fringe theatre venues, such as the Sala L'Horta or the Teatre Micalet, among others, run by the companies L'Horta Teatre (1974) and Companyia de Teatre Micalet (1995), respectively.

In 2015 the PP lost its absolute majority in the elections for the Valencian Parliament. The new Valencian government, formed by the Acord del Botànic (a coalition between the Socialist Party, Compromís, and Podem), dissolved the cultural management bodies created by the PP. To replace them, it launched a new body: the Institut Valencià de Cultura (IVC),³ which tried to create a new network of public theatres in the Autonomous Community of Valencia and needed a considerable increase in investment aimed at the arts (DOGV 7832, 20-07-2016).

It was then agreed that the IVC would be responsible for the programming, management and funding, among others, of four of the great theatres of the Autonomous Community of Valencia: the Teatre Rialto, the Teatre Principal de València, the Teatre Arniches in Alicante and also, for the first time, the Teatre Principal de Castelló. In contrast to Teatres de la Generalitat Valenciana, the IVC would seek to avoid the centralisation of theatre activity in the city of Valencia, but at the same time would repeat the stagnant provincial division. In any case, the new government made explicit its commitment to promoting Valencian theatre activity and creating the conditions that would allow it to move towards greater levels of professionalism.

Valencian Theatre Listings from 2008 to 2021

To see what effects the change of government has had in the field of the performing arts in the Autonomous Community of Valencia, we will first analyse the types of shows that have been performed during the period of Teatres de la Generalitat, taking into account only the last two terms of office of the PP

^{3.} Legally called CulturArts until 2019, as set out in DOGV 7832, 20-07-2016.

(2008-2015). Then, the shows performed in the four theatres of the IVC from 2016 to the present will be examined.⁴ To do this, we had to create a database based on the information available at the Centre de Documentació Escènica, which is based in Valencia. Finally, we have completed the history of shows with personal research.

In each of the seasons we have considered, after specifying the total number of theatre productions (excluding Ballets Russos), we have specified which of these productions were in Catalan, providing basic information, such as the playwright, the director, the company that staged it, and the performance dates and venue. We have also added some remarks on the type of show and the origin of the company in case it is not Valencian, as well as if it is part of any important season or theatre festival. In several cases, we have also commented on some of the productions that we have found most significant, either because they have been funded by different public institutions, or because of their repercussions among the audience. Finally, we have carried out an analysis of the data provided in order to draw some basic conclusions.

2007-2008 season

This season, from a total of 35 shows, only six of them were staged in Catalan: one of them at the Teatre Principal de València; two at the Teatre Arniches and finally three more at the Teatre Talia. This is the summary of theatrical productions in Catalan:

Table 1. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2007-2008 season.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
Gosses/Perras ^s	Néstor Caniglia, Enrique Federman, Mauricio Kartun and Claudio Martínez Bel	Laura Useleti	Albena Teatre	7-11 November	Teatre Talia	Comedy. Version by Jerónimo Cornelles
Mala ratxa. Glenglarry Glen Ross	David Mamet	Carles Sanjaime	Ornitorrincs	23 January - 10 February	Teatre Talia	Version of the play by David Mamet adapted to the Valencian context
Revolta a l'abocador	Puri Tafalla Peñalver	Rosa Fraj Pla	Papallona Teatre	12-14 February	Teatre Arniches	Children's theatre (theatre of objects)
Enric IV	Pirandello	José Sancho	Teatres de la Generalitat	14 February - 9 March	Teatre Principal de València	Contemporary classic
Va de bo!	Ximo Llorens and Miquel Peidro	Pep Cortés	La Dependent	29 February - 1 March	Teatre Arniches	Comedy
L'infern de Marta	Pasqual Alapont	Gemma Miralles	La Dependent	26 March - 6 Aprill	Teatre Talia	Theatre adaptation of the novel L'infern de Marta (2003) by Pasqual Alapont

^{4.} It is worth noting that in the era of Teatres de la Generalitat we had the Teatre Principal de València, the Teatre Rialto, the Teatre Arniches and the Teatre Talia (the latter until late 2012). We only refer to L'Altre Espai until 2009, because later it ceased to form part of Teatres de la Generalitat, as previously mentioned. In the era of the IVC, along with the three theatres that remain from the former management body (Teatre Principal de València, Teatre Rialto and Teatre Arniches), we will refer to the Teatre Principal de Castelló.

5. This show was also performed on some days in Spanish.

In terms of Spanish language shows this season, it is first important to note that their runs are generally much longer than those in Catalan. Thus, for example, *Utopía Marivaux (de la disputa a la isla de los esclavos)*, directed by Juli Leal, ran at the Teatre Principal de València from 17 October to 4 November 2007. It is also worth mentioning the performance of *Fuga*, by Jordi Galceran, staged in Spanish at the Teatre Talia from 28 May to 1 June. However, this case is repeated: Jordi Galceran, one of today's most prestigious Catalan playwrights, often reached the Autonomous Community of Valencia in Spanish.

2008-2009 season

In this season, out of 55 shows, 10 were in Catalan (three of them were also performed in Spanish depending on the day). The Teatre Principal de València programmed 11 shows, all in Spanish. The Teatre Rialto had only four shows, one of them in Catalan. For its part, the Teatre Arniches included three performances in Catalan out of a total of 28. At the Teatre Talia, with eight plays, two were performed in Catalan (*Mans quietes!* and *T'esperaré baix*, which had already been staged at the Teatre Arniches in Alicante and in L'Altre Espai). Finally, in L'Altre Espai, four pieces were performed in Catalan.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
Moby disc ⁶	Roberto Garcia	Alfred Picó	L'Horta Teatre	6 and 7 February	Teatre Arniches	Musical and theatre show
Jaume I, amic i amat	Juanjo Prats	Juanjo Prats	Companyia de Repertori Contemporani	10-15 February	Teatre Rialto	Theatre, poetry and music show
T'espere baix / Te espero abajo ⁷	Juli Disla, Carles Garcia and Patrícia Pardo	Joan Miquel Reig and Pau Pons	Companyia Combinats	19 and 20 February	Teatre Arniches	Show consisting of different stories and texts
El museu del temps ⁸	Jose Antonio Portillo and Patxo Telleria	Fernando Bernués and Laura Useleti	Albena Teatre and Tanttaka Teatroa	1 March	Teatre Arniches	Children's theatre
Satisfaction. Hurlyburly	David Rabe	Carles Sanjaime	Companyia Ornitorrics	19 February - 1 March	L'Altre Espai	Comedy. Version by Diego Braguinsky
Exercicis d'amor	Àlex Cantó, Joan Collado, Jesús Muñoz and Pau Pons	Àlex Cantó, Joan Collado, Jesús Muñoz and Pau Pons	El Pont Flotant	4-8 March	L'Altre Espai	Comedy
La dona irreal / La mujer irreal	Jaume Policarpo	Jaume Policarpo	Bambalina Teatre Practicant	31 March - 5 April	L'Altre Espai	With elements of the theatre of objects
Mans quietes!	Piti Español	Carles Alberola	Albena Teatre	27 March - 14 June	Teatre Talia	Comedy

Table 2. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2008-2009 season.

^{6.} Also in L'Altre Espai in this same season. Moreover, there was sometimes a version in Spanish. Therefore, one day it was performed in Catalan and the other in Spanish. The same happened with *T'espere baix*, which was performed in Spanish (*Te espero abajo*) the day after, and also with *La dona irreal/La mujer irreal*.

^{7.} Also at the Teatre Talia on 5 May 2009.

^{8.} Performed at the Teatre Nacional de Catalunya from 26 November to 20 December 2009.

2009-2010 season

In the 2009-2010 season we counted 39 shows, six in Catalan. In the Teatre Principal de València there was a total of seven performances, all in Spanish. The Teatre Rialto put on six, two in Catalan: *L'art de la fuga*, by Roberto García, and *Questi fantasmi (Estos fantasmes)*, by Eduardo De Filippo, which was repeated in the next season.⁹

The Teatre Arniches put on 24 shows, four in Catalan (although two were not new productions, but had been performed in other theatres). Finally, the Teatre Talia only programmed two shows (according to the Centre de Documentació Escènica), both in Spanish: *Calígula*, by Camus, brought to the stage by the company L'Om-Imprebís, and *Pollo & hijos*, by Bruno Chapelle, directed by Juanjo Prats, a comedy featuring the actors of *L'Alqueria Blanca*, one of the few television series at that time made in Catalan on Canal Nou.

Table 3. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2009-2010 season.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
L'art de la fuga"	Roberto García	Roberto García	Dramatúrgia 2000	10 November	Teatre Arniches	Monologue seen as part of the XVII Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos
Exercicis d'amor ¹¹	Àlex Cantó, Joan Collado, Jesús Muñoz and Pau Pons	Àlex Cantó, Joan Collado, Jesús Muñoz and Pau Pons	El Pont Flotant	12 and 13 February	Teatre Arniches	Comedy
El somriure de M. O'Hara12	Pasqual Alapont	Gemma Miralles	La Dependent	12 March	Teatre Arniches	Theatre and metafiction
Eiximenis, el viatger de les mil paraules	Jordi Peidro	Gemma Miralles	La Dependent	15-17 March	Teatre Arniches	Children's theatre
Questi fantasmi (Estos fantasmes)	Eduardo De Filippo	Juanjo Prats	Teatres de la Generalitat	28 April - 6 June	Teatre Rialto	Contemporary classic

2010-2011 season

In this season we counted 36 shows. The Teatre Principal de València programmed seven pieces, all but one in Spanish, aimed at children: *El meu príncep*, a show without dialogue that was part of the Ballets de la Generalitat season. The Teatre Rialto put on four pieces, one in Catalan (*Questi fantasmi*, seen in the previous season). The Teatre Arniches programmed 13 shows in Spanish for this season and, finally, the Teatre Talia, 12 (two in Catalan).

^{9.} It is important to highlight this production, as well as *Enric IV* in the 2007-2008 season, as it is rare to see contemporary classics in Catalan in theatres like the Rialto or the Principal de València.

^{10.} Then, from 2 to 6 December 2009, also at the Teatre Rialto in Valencia.

^{11.} Remember that it had already been seen at L'Altre Espai in the previous season. It could be also seen at the Sala Beckett on 18 and 19 December 2010.

^{12.} Also at the Teatre Talia in the following season. It had been premiered in Alcoi, in the theatre where La Dependent was the resident company.

 Table 4. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2010-2011 season.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Types of show
Una jornada particular	Ettore Scola, Ruggero Maccarí and Gigliola Fantoni	Rafael Calatayud	La Pavana	27 January - 13 February	Teatre Talia	Adaptation of the film <i>Una giornata</i> <i>particolare</i> (1977). Version by Rodolf Sirera
Questi fantasmi (Estos fantasmes)	Eduardo De Filippo	Juanjo Prats	Teatres de la Generalitat	10 February - 13 March	Teatre Rialto	Contemporary classic
Què fem de la mare?	Ximo Llorens	Pep Cortés	La Dependent	23 March - 3 April	Teatre Talia	Tragedy

2011-2012 season

In the 2011-2012 season a total of 44 plays were programmed, nine in Catalan (although one was performed in Spanish, depending on the day). The Teatre Principal de València staged eight pieces (all in Spanish); the Teatre Rialto, seven (one in Catalan) and the Teatre Arniches, 20 (three in Catalan). Finally, the Teatre Talia had a season of nine shows, five in Catalan. It was its last complete season as a public theatre.

Table 5. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2011-2012 season.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
Eufòria	Roberto García	Roberto García	L'Horta Teatre	4 November	Teatre Arniches	Piece premiered as part of the XIX Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos
Que tinguem sort¹³	Carles Alberola	Carles Alberola	Albena Teatre	30 November - 18 December	Teatre Talia	Comedy
La comèdia Borja	Ignasi Moreno	Patrícia Pardo and Ximo Vidal	Pluja Teatre	27-30 December	Teatre Talia	Children's theatre
Algunes bones persones ¹⁴	Àlex Cantó, Joan Collado, Jesús Muñoz and Pau Pons	Àlex Cantó, Joan Collado, Jesús Muñoz and Pau Pons	El Pont Flotant	29 February - 11 March	Teatre Talia	Comedy
Una jornada particular ¹⁵	Ettore Scola, Ruggero Maccarí and Gigliola Fantoni	Rafael Calatayud	La Pavana	11-29 April	Teatre Talia	Adaptation of the film <i>Una giornata</i> <i>particolare</i> (1977). Version by Rodolf Sirera
Reset ¹⁶	Roberto García	Roberto García	_	18 April - 6 May	Teatre Rialto	Tragedy
30/40 Livingstone	Sergi López and Jorge Picó	Sergi López and Jorge Picó	Setze Fetges Associats	10-13 May	Teatre Talia	Theatre of movement and gesture

^{13.} It had previously been premiered in Spanish, on 14 November 2010, at the Teatre Arniches in Alicante, in the XVIII Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos.

^{14.} Also in the next season at the XX Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos.

^{15.} This piece, which had been performed at the Teatre Talia the previous season, had also been staged at the Teatre Arniches in Alicante between 18 January and 5 February 2011.

^{16.} On 11 May that season, also at the Teatre Arniches in Alicante.

2012-2013 season

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This season, according to the record at the Centre de Documentació Escènica, the Teatre Principal de València programmed seven pieces in Spanish; the Rialto, only one (also in Spanish), and the Teatre Arniches 12 in Spanish and one that, depending on performance day, was in Catalan or Spanish. The Teatre Talia was privatised in late 2012. Nevertheless, from September to December that year (despite its low funding), it still programmed three pieces, one in Catalan: *La gavina (The Seagull)*, by Anton Chekhov.

Table 6. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2012-2013 season.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
La gavina	Anton Chekhov	Eduardo Vasco	_	10-14 October	Teatre Talia	Classic adapted by Yolanda Pallín
Algunes persones bones/Algunas persones buenas ¹⁷	Àlex Cantó, Joan Collado, Jesús Muñoz and Pau Pons	Àlex Cantó, Joan Collado, Jesús Muñoz and Pau Pons	El Pont Flotant	10 and 11 October	Teatre Arniches	Within the XX Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos

2013-2014 season

There were around 30 performances in total, four in Catalan. In the Teatre Principal de València there were six pieces in Spanish; in the Teatre Rialto three in Catalan out of a total of 12,¹⁸ and in the Teatre Arniches 13 (one in Catalan). The summary of the pieces in Catalan in that season is as follows:

Table 7. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2013-2014 season.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
Jo de major vull ser Fermín Jiménez ¹⁹	Àlex Cantó, Joan Collado, Jesús Muñoz and Pau Pons	Àlex Cantó, Joan Collado, Jesús Muñoz and Pau Pons	El Pont Flotant	8 November	Teatre Arniches	Within the XXI Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos
Enoch Arden	Alfred Tennyson	Rosana Pastor	_	16-19 February	Teatre Rialto	Musical composition by Richard Strauss. Version and dramaturgy by Manuel Molins
Adéu encara	María Cárdenas	Xavo Giménez and Mariano Stolkiner	La Hongaresa	11-13 July	Teatre Rialto	Dramaturgy by Paco Zarzoso
Tartuf	Molière	Ramon Moreno	Jove Companyia d'Entrenament Actoral. Teatre de l'Abast	25-27 July	Teatre Rialto	Classic. Comedy

^{17.} Which in the previous season had been performed at the Teatre Talia.

^{18.} Moreover, five micro theatre pieces a month were programmed, including the "Capsules Esceniques" festival, almost all in Spanish

^{19.} Performed the next day, 9 November 2013, in Spanish, in the same theatre festival.

2014-2015 and 2015-2016 seasons

2014 was a difficult year for Valencian performing arts. Let us recall that, earlier, between 2009 and 2012, due to limited arts funding, the PP lost two public theatres: L'Altre Espai and the Teatre Talia. Moreover, on 29 November 2013 broadcasting of Radiotelevisió Valenciana ended, where some of Valencian actors, directors and playwrights had worked. The Centre de Documentació Escènica does not hold any document from this crisis period that offers any idea about the 2014-2015 season, because, in fact, there was barely a theatre season at all. Only the Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos was held as in every year, and that is how the Teatre Arniches managed to programme six pieces, all in Spanish.

In 2015, the new government, formed by the Socialist Party, Compromís, and Podem (which in 2019 changed its name to Unides Podem) coalition, began to apply its first cultural policies. However, only the theatre programmes of the shows that could be seen during the first three months of 2016 at the Teatre Arniches, within the 2015-2016 season, are held in the Centre de Documentació Escènica. In total, of the 24 performances, five were in Catalan:

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
El somni de Juli Verne	Julio Martí Zahonero	Julio Martí Zahonero	Màgic 6	9 January	Teatre Arniches	Children's theatre
Pséudol. Golfus hispanicus	Joan Carles Roselló	Joan Carles Roselló	Zircó Produccions	15 January	Teatre Arniches	Written based on a comedy by Plautus: <i>Pseudolus</i> or <i>The Cheat</i>
El crèdit	Jordi Galceran	Sergi Belbel	_	6 February	Teatre Arniches	Comedy. Production from Catalonia
Cubs	Jaume Policarpo	Jaume Policarpo	Bambalina Teatre Practicale	26 February	Teatre Arniches	Children's theatre
La gata	Juli Disla / Tennessee Williams	Sergio Caballero	_	19 March	Teatre Arniches	Text based on <i>Cat</i> on a Hot Tin Roof, by Tennessee Williams

Table 8. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2014-2015 season.

2016-2017 season

This was the first full season programmed by the IVC. Let's remember that in addition to the three public theatres that were covered by the old CulturArts management body (now IVC), a new one was added: the Teatre Principal de Castelló. First of all, with respect to the previous programming, we see a significant change in terms of the number of plays that made up this theatre season (a total of 62, 18 of them in Catalan).

The Teatre Principal de València (which has always been the most reticent to include pieces in Catalan) programmed 23 pieces, four in Catalan, 11 in Spanish and eight with no dialogue (dance, physical theatre or circus). The Teatre Rialto was defined from the start of the IVC era as a more accessible to productions in Catalan. Thus, of a 12 programmed pieces, nine were in Catalan and three in Spanish. The Teatre Arniches programmed 16 pieces

(only two in Catalan). Finally, the Teatre Principal de Castelló programmed a total of ten pieces, three in Catalan, six in Spanish and one theatre without dialogue (a show by the Tricicle company). Gradually, however, we see how in the following seasons the number of pieces programmed at the Teatre Principal de Castelló grew.

Before moving on to the summary of the pieces in Catalan, there are a number of events from this season that should be highlighted. In the first place, the IVC made great efforts to set up a commercial production in Catalan, something that had never been seen before in Valencian public theatres. This was *Happy End!*, announced for Christmas as "a comedy in Valencian with songs". The poster for this operetta could be seen on every corner in Valencia and the advertising in Valencian digital media described it as the first IVC production aimed at recovering an audience that had been lost in previous years, due to the PP's cultural management (*La Veu*, 23 November 2016).

Secondly, from 2008 to 2016, not a single Catalan production had been seen on any Valencian stage. The first time this happened (taking into account the seasons we are analysing) was in February 2016, when *El Crèdit*, by Jordi Galceran, under the direction of Sergi Belbel, was performed at the Teatre Arniches in Alicante. From this moment on, in the following seasons we see that the productions from Catalonia in Catalan finally arrived in Valencian public theatres, from time to time. In 2016-2017, specifically, there were three: *El test*, by Jordi Vallejo, directed by Cristina Clemente; *L'electe*, by Ramon Madaula, directed by Jordi Casanovas, and, once again, *El crèdit*, by Jordi Galceran, directed by Sergi Belbel. Moreover, in the Teatre Rialto there was a Mallorcan production: *Guium o la ciutat adormida*, by Toni Lluís Reyes, directed by Víctor Muñoz Calafell.

Finally, another of the merits of the IVC is the creation of the Valencian Playwriting Tournament, copying the model of the Catalan Playwriting Tournament that has been held since 2006 at the Temporada Alta festival in Girona. It is one of the attempts made by the institution to encourage dramatic writing, although the linguistic criteria are not very clear and most of the playwrights who ended up participating wrote in Spanish.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
lceberg	Paco Romeu	Elsa Tronchoni	Teatre Corrent	12 November	Teatre Arniches	Within the XXIV Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos
El dia que Bertolt Brecht va morir a Finlàndia	Sirera brothers (Josep Lluís Sirera and Rodolf Sirera)	Maria P. Bosch and Pep Sanchis	Assaig, Grup de Teatre de la Universitat de València and CRIT (Companyia de Recerca i Innovació Teatral)	30 November - 4 December	Teatre Principal de València	Mixture of fiction and reality

Table 9. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2016-2017 season.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
Happy End! ²⁰	Bertolt Brecht and Dorothy Lane	Salvador Bolta	Teatre del Poble Valencià	2-25 December	Teatre Principal de València	Operetta. Musical composition by Kurt Weill
Joan Gabriel Borkman	Henrik Ibsen	Sergi Juesas Aucejo	Grup de Teatre El Molinet	12 January	Teatre Rialto	Within the Mostra de Teatre Amateur 2016
Trio Faraona	Mariano Lloret	Aiguamar Teatre	Aiguamar Teatre	13 January	Teatre Rialto	Within the Mostra de Teatre Amateur 2016
El test	Jordi Vallejo	Cristina Clemente	_	1-5 February	Teatre Principal de València	Comedy. Production from Catalonia
Guium, o la ciutat adormida	Toni-Lluís Reyes	Víctor Muñoz Calafell	La Fornal d'Espectacles	2-5 February	Teatre Rialto	Micalet de Teatre XX Award. Production from Mallorca
Trio	Rodolf Sirera	Rebeca Valls and Edison Valls	—	9-26 February	Teatre Rialto	Comedy
El suïcida	Nikolai Erdman	Ramón Moreno	Escola Superior d'Art Dramàtic de València. ESAD	19 February	Teatre Rialto	Festival of the Escola Superior d'Art Dramàtic de València. Version by Ester Alabor
L'electe	Ramon Madaula	Jordi Casanovas	_	22-26 February	Teatre Principal de València	Comedy. Production from Catalonia
El crèdit	Jordi Galceran	Sergi Belbel	_	1-5 March	Teatre Rialto	Comedy. Production from Catalonia
Ambar	Lucas Ruiz	Joan Casas	Botproject	21-23 April	Teatre Rialto	Circus and music in Valencian
El fandango de Marx	Patrícia Pardo	Patrícia Pardo	CIA. Patrícia Pardo	26-30 April	Teatre Rialto	Circus and music in Valencian
Els quatre genets de l'apocalipsi	Vicent Blasco Ibáñez	Imma Sancho	Teatre del Poble Valencià	12-28 May	Teatre Rialto	Theatre adaptation in Valencian by Juli Disla of the novel by Blasco Ibáñez
Eugeni Alemany. En persona guanye	Eugeni Alemany	Eugeni Alemany	_	14 May	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Sitcom
El sopar dels idiotes	Francis Veber	Enric Guimerà	_	28 May	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Comedy. Version by Josema Juste adapted to Valencian by Juli Disla

2017-2018 season

This season, a total of 35 pieces were programmed, 11 in Catalan. The Teatre Principal de València had six productions, three in Catalan (although one of these, depending on the day, was also in Spanish). At the Teatre Rialto seven productions were programmed: two circus, two in Catalan and three in Spanish. At the Teatre Arniches, 15 (two in Catalan), and at the Teatre

^{20.} Also this season at the Teatre Principal de Castelló on 21 January 2017 and the Teatre Arniches in Alicante on 14 February 2017. Moreover, it seems that on 28 January it was also performed at the Teatre Principal in Palma de Mallorca.

Table 10. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2017-2018 season.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
Hamlet canalla	Manuel Molins	Joan Peris	Companyia de Teatre Micalet	13 October	Teatre Arniches	Version of Shakespeare's <i>Hamlet</i> by Manuel Molins
La treva	Donald Margulies	Julio Manrique	La Brutal	13 October	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Production from Catalonia
Biblioteca de sons i sorolls ²¹	José Antonio Portillo and Enric Montfort	José Antonio Portillo	_	25 October - 5 November	Teatre Principal de València	Children's theatre
In memoriam. La quinta del biberó	Lluís Pasqual	Lluís Pasqual	_	4 November	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Production from Catalonia
Terra Baixa ²²	Àngel Guimerà	Pau Miró	_	9-12 November	Teatre Principal de València	Catalan classic. Production from Catalonia. Lluís Homar plays all the characters of Terra Baixa.
Un tret al cap	Pau Miró	Pau Miró	_	14 November	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Production from Catalonia
De Sukei a Naima	Gemma Miralles	Cristina Lügstenmann	La Dependent	16 November - 3 December	Teatre Rialto	Eduard Escalante Theatre Award
Pinocchio	Carlo Collodi	Jokin Oregi and La Baldufa	La Baldufa Teatre	19 November	Teatre Arniches	Children's theatre. Puppet theatre. Adaptation by La Baldufa: Enric Blasi, Emiliano Pardo and Carles Pijuan
Càries	Juan Luis Mira	Pascual Carbonell	Teatre del Poble Valencià	13-23 December	Teatre Rialto	Comedy
Tic-Tac ²³	Pasqual Alapont, Carles Alberola and Rodolf Sirera	Carles Alberola	Albena Teatre	14 December - 7 January	Teatre Principal de València	Musical
Non solum	Sergi López and Jorge Picó	Sergi López and Jorge Picó	Setze Fetges Associats	25 May	Teatre Arniches	Comedy. Production from Catalonia

Before looking at the next season, it should be noted that between 2017 and 2018 five plays came from Catalonia.²⁴ But what is more significant is not the number but that, for the first time in the history of Valencian public theatres, *Terra Baixa* by Àngel Guimerà was performed. However, instead

^{21.} Also in Spanish. And also at the Teatre Principal de Castelló in this same season, on 17 November 2017.

^{22.} In the following season, at the Teatre Arniches in Alicante.

^{23.} Also in the following season, 24 January 2019, at the Teatre Principal de Castelló.

^{24.} To which we can add *Kasandra*, a TNC production, performed on 10 May 2018 at the Teatre Arniches. This piece by Sergio Blanco, starring Elisabet Casanovas and directed by Sergi Belbel, was written in an expressly macaronic English.

of establishing a continuity, this version by Lluís Homar and Pau Miró was the only classic in Catalan dramatic literature to have the support of the IVC. In the next seasons, no Rusiñol, no Sagarra or any other Guimerà were performed in the Autonomous Community of Valencia. On the other hand, works by Lorca, Tirso de Molina, Quevedo, Zorrilla and theatrical adaptations of Cervantes' texts were seen continuously.

As for Valencian productions in the 2017-2018 season, *Tic-Tac* stands out, a musical also promoted by the IVC that aimed to achieve results similar to those of *Happy End!* in the previous season. The show was also programmed for the December holidays, and was written by three of the most prominent Valencian playwrights of the time: Carles Alberola, Pasqual Alapont and Rodolf Sirera. Thus, *Tic-Tac* was another of the successes of the IVC, as it broke the record of the entire history of Valencian public productions and reached over 10,000 spectators (*La Veu*, 9 January 2018).

2018-2019 season

This time we found that out of 52 productions, 23 were in Catalan (many repeated from previous seasons), three without dialogue and the rest in Spanish. The Teatre Principal de València programmed nine shows (four in Catalan); the Rialto, seven (six in Catalan); the Arniches, 21 (six in Catalan and one circus show mixing Catalan and Spanish), and the Teatre Principal de Castelló, 15 (seven in Catalan).

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
Separeu-vos junts	Gemma Miralles	Pepa Miralles	La Dependent	5 October	Teatre Arniches	Show with songs
Pedra a pedra	Rosa Díaz	Rosa Díaz	L'Home Dibuixat	21 October	Teatre Princi- pal de Castelló	Children's theatre
l tornarem a sopar al carrer	Xavier Puchades and Begoña Tena	Isabel Caballero and Begoña Tena	-	21-28 October	Teatre Rialto	Participatory theatre about the Cabanyal neighbourhood
Joc de xiquets	Adrián Novella	Adrián Novella	Bullanga Companyia Teatral and Bullanga Teatre	26 October	Teatre Arniches	Max Audience Award 2018
Porta'm al bosc	Joan Ramon Gironés	Mercè Vila Godoy	Maror Produccions	2 November	Teatre Arniches	Within the XXVI Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores
Antígona	Sophocles	Paco Macià	Companyia Ferroviària	9-18 November	Teatre Principal de València	Classic adapted by Paco Macià based on his staging
Alexandria	Mertxe Aguilar and Guadalupe Sáez	Juan Pablo Mendiola	_	9-25 November	Teatre Rialto	Youth theatre: an opportunity for actors under thirty
My baby is a queen	Eva Vilamitjana and Albert Vilà	Eva Vilamitjana and Albert Vilà	La petita Malumaluga	11 November	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Children's theatre. Production from Catalonia

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
La nit de Catalina Homar / Les darreres paraules	José Carlos Llop / Carme Riera respectively	Rafel Lladó / Rafel Duran	_	23-25 November	Teatre Principal de València	Production from Mallorca
Sopa de pollastre amb ordi	Arnold Wesker	Ferran Utzet	La Perla 29	24 November	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Production from Catalonia
La gallina dels ous d'or	Zum-zum Teatre	Zum-zum Teatre	Zum-zum Teatre	25 November	Teatre Arniches	Children's theatre
Faust ²⁵	J. W. Goethe	Jaume Policarpo	_	5-23 December	Teatre Rialto	Text and adaptation by Arturo Sánchez Velasco and Jaume Policarpo
Èdip	Sòfocles	Oriol Broggi	_	8 December	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Adapted classic. Version by Jeroni Rubió Rodon. Production from Catalonia
Les set diferències	Pau Pons and Jesús Muñoz	Pau Pons and Jesús Muñoz	El Pont Flotant	14 December	Teatre Arniches d'Alacant	Children's theatre
En els núvols	Carlos Amador, Xavo Jiménez, Diego Guill	Xavo Jiménez	La Negra	26 December	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Children's theatre
Terra Baixa	Àngel Guimerà	Pau Miró	_	13 April	Teatre Arniches	Catalan classic. Lluís Homar plays all the characters of <i>Terra Baixa</i> . Production from Catalonia
Tirant ²⁶	Joanot Martorell	Eva Zapico	_	14 February - 10 March	Teatre Rialto	Adaptation by Paula Llorens
Tot explota27	Pep Ruiz	Carla Chillida	_	22 March - 7 April	Teatre Rialto	
Somni ²⁸	Núria Vizcarro	Juan Carrillo	_	10-12 May	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Version based on Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream
VALENCiANA. La realitat no és suficient²9	Jordi Casanovas	Jordi Casanovas	_	21 May - 2 June	Teatre Principal de València	Production of the IVC, the Regional Council of Valencia and the Grec Festival de Barcelona 2019
Lil·liput	Roberto García	Roberto García	L'Horta Teatre	26-27 May	Teatre Arniches d'Alacant	Children's musical theatre

Notable among the shows of this season were *VALENCiANA*. *La realitat no és suficient*, a piece that was created out of the collaboration between the IVC and the Grec Festival de Barcelona. The play, written and directed by

^{25.} From 31 January to 9 February, in Spanish by the same artistic team, at the Teatre Principal de València. In the 2019-2020 season it was also staged in Spanish at the Teatre Principal de València.

^{26.} One of the most successful shows of the season. Also at the Teatre Principal de Castelló (18 May 2019), at the Teatre Arniches in Alicante (31 May 2019) and, in the following season, once again at the Teatre Rialto (from 12 December 2019 to 26 January), as shown in the table of the 2019-2020 season.

^{27.} Also at the Teatre Principal de Castelló in the next season.

^{28.} Also at the Teatre Rialto in the next season, from 15 November to 1 December 2019.

^{29.} It returned to the Teatre Rialto in the 2020-2021 season.

Another activity undertaken by the IVC in 2018/2019 was the creation of the Ínsula Dramatària by Josep Lluís Sirera, a kind of playwriting laboratory run from the outset by Paco Zarzoso. From 2018, every year Zarzoso and the IVC selected two male and two female Valencian playwrights to write a piece each, to be read at the Teatre Rialto at the end of the laboratory. The aim was to foster playwriting in Valencia. However, of the four playwrights chosen, two had to write in Spanish and the other two in Valencian.

2019-2020 season

In this season of 59 pieces, 26 were in Catalan. At the Teatre Principal de València there were 14 shows, four in Catalan. At the Teatre Rialto there were six, one dance theatre (*Perenne*), a performance in Spanish and four more in Catalan. At the Teatre Arniches, 24 (nine in Catalan). And, finally, at the Teatre Principal de Castelló, 15, nine in Catalan. It should be noted, however, that this is the information from existing programming, and that many of these performances, due to COVID-19 restrictions, had to be cancelled or rescheduled.

 Table 12. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2019-2020 season.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
Antígona	Sophocles	Paco Macià	Companyia Ferroviària	5 October	Teatre Arniches	Adapted classic
VALENCiANA. La realitat no és suficient	Jordi Casanovas	Jordi Casanovas	_	9 October - 8 November	Teatre Principal de València	Production of the IVC, Valencia Provincial Council and Grec Festival de Barcelona 2019
Anna i la màquina del temps	Manuel Valls	Cristina Fernández	Dacsa Teatre	10-21 October	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Children's theatre
L'electe	Ramon Madaula	Carles Sanjaime	L'Horta Teatre	11 October	Teatre Arniches	Adapted to Valencian context by Juli Disla
Les aventures de Tom Sawyer	Mark Twain	Xavo Giménez	La Teta Calva	23 October - 3 November	Teatre Principal de València	Children's Theatre. Version by María Cárdenas and Xavo Giménez
Una Ilíada	Eduard Farelo	Juan Carlos Martel Bayod	-	2 November	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Epic. Production from Catalonia
Dinamarca ³⁰	Rodolf Sirera and Josep Lluís Sirera	Carles Alfaro	-	3 October - 3 November	Teatre Rialto	Recovered text by the Sirera brothers
Lapònia	Marc Angelet and Cristina Clemente	Marc Angelet and Cristina Clemente	-	30 November	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Comedy. Production from Catalonia
Somni	Núria Vizcarro	Juan Carrillo	_	15 November - 1 December	Teatre Rialto	Version based on Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream

^{30.} Also within the XXVII Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos. And, in the following season, also at the Teatre Principal de Castelló.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
Sabates noves ³¹	Tian Gombau and Jordi Palet	Jordi Palet	L'Home Dibuixat	1 December	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Children's theatre
Tirant	Joanot Martorell. Adaptació teatral de Paula Llorens	Eva Zapico	_	19 December - 26 January	Teatre Rialto	Adapted classic
El misteriós cas de Houdini i l'habitació tancada ³²	Nacho Diago	Nacho Diago	_	3 and 4 January	Teatre Principal de València	Christmas season. Theatre and magic for children
A.K.A ³³	Daniel J. Meyer	Montserrat Rodríguez	—	18 January	Teatre Arniches	Production from Catalonia
La neta del senyor Linh	Philippe Claudel	Guy Cassiers	-	24 January	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Production from Catalonia
Horta	Pau Pons	Pau Pons	L'Horta Teatre	26 January	Teatre Arniches	Children's theatre
Hamlet	Shakespeare	Jaume Policarpo	Bambalina Teatre	14 January	Teatre Arniches	Puppet theatre. Adapted by Jaume Policarpo
La dona del 600	Pere Riera	Pere Riera	Bitò / Minoria Absoluta	16 February	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Production from Catalonia
La casa de les aranyes	Paco Zarzoso	Lurdes Barba and Paco Zarzoso	_	14-23 February	Teatre Principal de València	First collaboration between the TNC and Teatre Principal de València (IVC)
Libració	Lluïsa Cunillé	Lola López	-	27 February	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Production from Catalonia
@Rita_Trobador	Joan Nave	Joan Nave	Esclafit Teatre	13 March	Teatre Arniches	Youth theatre
Tot explota	Pepe Ruiz	Carla Chillida	-	22 March - 7 April	Teatre Principal de Castelló	IVC production
Classe	Guillermo Calderón	Xavier Puchades	Teatre Companyia and La Medusa	26 March	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Chilean text translated and adapted to Catalan by Xavier Puchades
Godot ³⁴	Juli Disla	Jaume Pérez Roldán	-	13 February - 22 March	Teatre Rialto	Version based on Samuel Beckett's Waiting for Godot

The most significant aspect of the season, in early 2020, was the first collaboration between the Teatre Principal de València (under the direction of the IVC) and the Teatre Nacional de Catalunya. The two institutions, carrying out a project together for the first time, commissioned a text from Paco Zarzoso, a Valencian playwright who writes in Spanish. The text, to complicate things even more, was translated by Lluïsa Cunillé into Catalan and premiered at the Teatre Nacional de Catalunya on 20 January 2020, under the direction of the Catalan Lurdes Barba. This time the cast was formed by Valencian and Catalan actors. Later, on 14 February, it was performed at the Teatre Principal de València.

^{31.} Also at the Teatre Arniches in Alicante on 1 March 2020.

^{32.} Also programmed for the following season at the Teatre Arniches, on 8 October 2020 (postponed until 20 March 2020 due to COVID-19 restrictions).

^{33.} Also in the following season, within the XXVIII Muestra de Teatro Español, on 12 November 2020 at the Teatre Arniches, in Spanish.

^{34.} Also in Spanish, according to the programme held at the Centre de Documentació Escènica. On 27 March at the Teatre Arniches.

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Why exactly was a playwright who uses Spanish asked to write a piece for the occasion when there are many other prestigious Valencian playwrights who write in Catalan? Is it not perhaps rather convoluted that something as symbolic as the first co-production between the most important public theatre institutions in Catalonia and the Autonomous Community of Valencia produces a play written in Spanish and then a translation was commissioned when it could have been done directly in Catalan?

2020-2021 season

Finally, in this season 78 performances were scheduled, and only 24 were in Catalan: a significantly lower percentage compared with the four previous seasons. The Teatre Principal de València ran four theatre pieces, one theatre-circus, three performances in Catalan, one bilingual (*Saguntilíada*, by Paco Zarzoso) and all the others in Spanish. The Teatre Rialto programmed nine shows: one theatre-circus, four in Catalan, one triligual (combining Serbo-Croatian, Spanish and Catalan)³⁵ and the other four in Spanish. The Teatre Arniches ran 26 shows, one bilingual (9, by Javier Sahuquillo), seven in Catalan and the rest in Spanish. At the Teatre Principal de Castelló, 31: 10 in Catalan (four from Catalonia), one bilingual (*Por delante y por detrás / Pel davant i pel darrere*) and three without dialogue.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
Només la fi del món	Jean-Luc Lagarce	Oriol Broggi	La Perla 29	4 October	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Production from Catalonia
El misteriós cas de Houdini i l'habitació tancada	Nacho Diago	Nacho Diago	_	8 October	Teatre Arniches	Theatre and magic for children
Poder i santedat ³⁶	Manuel Molins	Paco Azorín	—	16 October - 8 November	Teatre Principal de València	IVC production
Els nuvis ³⁷	Adrián Novella	Vicente Genovés	Bullanga Companyia Teatral	11 November	Teatre Arniches	Part of the XXVIII Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos
@Rita_Trobador ³⁸	Joan Nave	Joan Nave	Esclafit Teatre	21 October	Teatre Arniches	Youth theatre
Família Normal ³⁹	Núria Vizcarro	Pau Pons	L'Horta Teatre	21-22 November	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Comedy
Nautilius	Toni Agustí, Xavo Giménez and Diego Guill	Toni Agustí and Xavo Giménez	La Negra	22 November	Teatre Arniches	Children's theatre
Classe ⁴⁰	Guillermo Calderón	Xavi Puchades	Teatre Companyia and La Medusa	17 December	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Chilean text translated and adapted to Catalan by Xavier Puchades

Table 13. Classification of theatre shows in Catalan in the 2020-2021 season.

- 37. Text participating in the 9th Playwriting Tournament of the international festival Temporada Alta.
- 38. Programmed at the Teatre Arniches in the previous season.
- 39. Also on 27 November at the Teatre Arniches.
- 40. Already seen the previous season at the Teatre Principal de Castelló.

^{35.} This was *Grad*, by Ana and Hadi Kurich, from 25-28 March.

^{36.} Also at the Teatre Principal de Castelló on 13 December.

Show	Ву	Director	Company	Dates	Theatre	Type of show
T'estimo si he begut	Empar Moliner	David Selvas	Dagoll-Dagom, La Brutal and T de Teatre	8-10 January	Teatre Principal de València	Musical comedy. Production from Catalonia
Dinamarca	Rodolf Sirera and Josep Lluís Sirera	Carles Alfaro	-	15-31 January	Teatre Rialto	Recovered text by the Sirera brothers
Adeu, Peter Pan	Íngrid Teixidó	Pere Pàmpols	Festuc Teatre	17 January	Teatre Arniches	Puppet theatre for children. Production from Catalonia
Els ocells	Joan Yago	Israel Solà	La Calòrica	23 January	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Comedy based on <i>The Birds</i> by Aristophanes. Production from Catalonia
Alguns dies d'ahir	Jordi Casanovas	Ferran Utzet	-	31 January	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Production from Catalonia
Dinamarca⁴¹	Rodolf Sirera and Josep Lluís Sirera	Carles Alfaro	-	4 February	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Recovered text by the Sirera brothers
Descobrint l'illa del tresor	Julio Martí Zahonero	Julio Martí Zahonero	-	13 February	Teatre Arniches	Children's musical theatre
Una història real	Pau Miró	Pau Miró	-	14 February	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Production from Catalonia
Lluna	Juan Pablo Mendiola	Juan Pablo Mendiola	L'Horta Teatre	21 February - 4 March	Teatre Principal de València	Children's theatre
Delirium	Marcos Luis Hernando	Isabel Martí	Teatro de Contrahecho	25 February	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Tragicomedy
La sort	Juli Disla	Jaume Pérez Roldán, Toni Agustí and Santiago Ribelles	Companyia Pérez & Disla	4-7 March	Teatre Principal de València	Text that emerged from the III Laboratori d'Escriptura Teatral of the Fundació SGAE
Icària	Pasqual Alapont	Pepa Miralles	La Dependent	18-21 March	Teatre Principal de València	Comedy
El mètode Gronhölm ⁴²	Jordi Galceran	Gemma Miralles and Rebeca Valls	-	6 May	Teatre Principal de Castelló	Comedy

The fashion for bilingualism is gaining ground in new creations. We have seen that only in some cases was there a performance in Catalan and another in Spanish of a show. Now the two languages are mixed in the same performance, as bilingualism is accepted not as a problem but a virtue. However, this has recently been happening in some Catalan productions, where a character that speaks Spanish is included to reflect the "linguistic realism" of Catalonia (that is, at least, the excuse used by the creators). Thus, in some Catalan theatre today (such as *Una gossa en un descampat*, by Clàudia Cedó, or *Fairfly*, by Joan Yago) bilingualism also appears to be something that makes you laugh, which is supposed to be inherent to us and, above all, inevitable. We have gone back to 1867, when the monarchy prohibited by Royal Decree "plays written exclusively in any of the dialects of the provinces of Spain" (Benet, 1995: 26-27). Now, without the Royal Decree.

^{41.} Also within the XXVII Muestra de Teatro Español de Autores Contemporáneos.

^{42.} Depending on the place, also in Spanish.

Moreover, this season there was a show that, depending on the place, was performed in Catalan or Spanish. This was *El mètode Gronhölm / El método Gronhölm*, by Jordi Galceran, directed by Rebeca Valls and Gemma Miralles, a production by the company Olympia. The play was programmed at theatres in Valencia and Alicante in Spanish (at the Teatre Talia and Teatre Arniches), and in Castellón and theatres in towns around Valencia, in Catalan. A strange conception of a "bilingual" country. A poster was even designed with an ugly typeface, where with an effort the title could be read in both Catalan and Spanish.

Conclusions

Although at first glance we see that theatre performances in the era of the IVC are far more numerous and varied than in the period of Teatres de la Generalitat, in no theatre season (either before or after the change of government in 2015) do productions in Catalan account for half of those programmed. The number of pieces in Catalan, as seen after analysing each season from 2008 to 2021, is always well below productions in Spanish.

It is true that in the era of the IVC there have been some positive changes, such as the entry of Catalan productions in Valencian theatres (always more frequent in Castellón). But it is very interesting to compare the programming of productions from Madrid with those of Catalan provenance. Thus, every season at least one production from the Centro Dramático Nacional (CDN) arrives unfailingly at the Teatre Principal de València. In this way the IVC attempts to present itself as "neutral" and "equidistant", as an autonomous institution that dispassionately looks to the big cities of Spain. However, when it had to choose between the CDN and a Catalan production, the IVC has prioritised productions by the CDN. This is what happened in the Beckett Year (2020), when the Teatre Principal de València programmed Esperando a Godot directed by Alfredo Sanzol, instead of Esperant Godot by Francesc Utzet, with the excuse that they already had a production in Catalan for the occasion: the Valencian production Godot, by Juli Disla, which we have seen was programmed in Catalan and Spanish, depending on the day of performance.

Moreover, while the Teatre Rialto tries to programme pieces only by Valencian playwrights, the Teatre Principal de València offers a varied and falsely "cosmopolitan" programming, which repeats over and again the name of Lorca in its listings. And this is another matter: if we count the number of Spanish classics staged in Valencian theatres from 2008 to 2021, they amount to 23. In addition to those of this 2021-2022 season: *Andanzas y entremeses* by Juan Rana; *La noche sin luna*, based on texts by Federico García Lorca; *Alma y palabra* (poems by Saint John of the Cross), and the versions *Doña rosita, anotada* (based on *Doña Rosita la soltera o el lenguaje de las flores* by Lorca) and *Ulloa* (inspired by *Los pazos de Ulloa*, by Emilia Pardo Bazán). In contrast, from Catalan classics, we have only seen one piece by Guimerà (which perhaps managed to reach the Autonomous Community of Valencia thanks to the fame of Lluís Homar and not the importance of the classic play) and an adaptation of *Tirant lo Blanch*.

The panorama is worrying: the theatre repertoire being created ignores the classics of Catalan dramatic literature and depends heavily on Spanish literary classics. As much as it tries to camouflage it, the IVC's policy is clear. As Joan Fuster put it, "the official proposals for bilingualism undermine Catalan, and always will" (Fuster, 1981: 11).

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