# *Nuevo Flamenco*: Re-imagining Flamenco in Post-dictatorship Spain

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## Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the study of *nuevo flamenco* (new flamenco) as a genre characterised by the incorporation within flamenco of elements from music genres of the African-American musical traditions. A great deal of emphasis is placed on purity and its loss, relating *nuevo flamenco* with the whole history of flamenco and its discourses, as well as tracing its relationship to other musical genres, mainly jazz. While centred on the process of fusion and crossover it also explores through music the characteristics and implications that *nuevo flamenco* and its discourses have impinged on related issues as Gypsy identity and cultural authenticity.

Even though this project is rooted in popular music studies it also attempts to think through the issues covered in relation to concepts and methodologies of other disciplines such as postcolonial studies, anthropology, and cultural theory. The aim is to create a dialogue between these disciplines and explore the ways they can bring a new focus and a set of analytical tools to bear on the material of study.

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Music is inscribed between noise and silence, in the space of the social codification it reveals. Every code of music is rooted in the ideologies and technologies of its age, and at the same time produces them.

Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*[1]

**Introduction**

Once an 'isolated' and neglected land that even catered images of exoticism to other European countries, Spain is now part of the global cultural flux. If there is a moment at which to locate the point of departure for this new cultural heterogeneity it should probably be situated during the first years of the post-Franco era. The reestablishment of democracy with the first democratic elections (1977) since the time of the Second Republic and the writing of a new constitution (1978) inaugurated a period of deep transformations that become known as the *transición* (transition), which was a moment that also introduced intense changes in the cultural and social arenas.

During the nearly forty years that followed the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), one of the biggest efforts of propaganda of the fascist regime of general Franco was to construct an image of homogeneity with the objective of unifying a country politically divided, culturally diverse, and fractured by the war. Even though, in most cases, the only instrument employed to achieve this goal was that of repression by force, the regime also put to work all the available cultural media to spread its hegemonic ideological discourse and to wipe out counter-cultural resistance.[2] One of the most committed among these efforts was that concentrated on the field of projecting a centralised national identity, with the firm intention of emphasizing the idea of Spain as an ethnically homogeneous country. As Jo Labanyi states, 'the Franco regime tried to unify the nation by projecting difference outside its borders, or confining it to internal exclusion zones, in the form of otherness.'[3] At a racial and ethnic level there is no doubt that the most salient 'form of otherness' in Spain has been that of the *Gitanos*;[4] their racial/ethnic representations have been, for this reason, central in the construction of 'Spanishness.'

The political and economic integration of Spain into the European Union[5] was not only a major step in inserting the country into international cultural flows but, most important of all, it opened it to foreign influences. According to this, Labanyi also underlines how:

> The loss of distinction resulting from a multinational economy and from the 'global village' created by world-wide access to the media goes together with the recognition of internal differences: to be Spanish is to be Spanish and international at the same time; the Manichean thinking that enabled Francoism to argue that everything that was not Spanish must be anti-Spanish no longer holds. Some Spaniards –and foreign tourists– lament this loss of Spain's 'differentness' as if it meant the loss of 'Spanishness' itself. But the postmodernist deconstruction of identity does not mean that one has to abandon all attempts at definition: rather, it means recognition of the fact that 'Spanishness' is a shifting concept, encompassing plurality and contradiction. And, above all, that identities are strategic constructions: neither inherent nor imposed, but negotiated.[6]

In the last decades of the 20th century, therefore, Spain had to contend with an enormous transformation of its social, political, and economic conditions. A visible consequence of this circumstance in Spanish culture –and especially popular culture– was the change that took place in the circulation of racially and ethnically loaded images, sounds, and stories. Although it is clear that this fact is directly connected to the rise of immigration (mainly from North African, Sub-Saharan, South American, and Filipino origin), it is nonetheless true that it also had a deep consequence in relation to the identity of Spain's local ethnic subjects, the *Gitanos*.

According to written records, anthropologists and historians working on the *Gitano* culture have always claimed that the so called 'bands of Egyptians'[7] crossed the Pyrenees and arrived into Spain at the beginning of the 15th century. In spite of being a community that has been living in the Iberian Peninsula for more than six centuries, *Gitanos* have always maintained a lifestyle and a shared identity clearly different from those of the dominant population among which they live, the non-*Gitanos*, whom they call the *Payos.*[8] It is in this sense that the figure of the *Gitano* has always been regarded as an insider Other, distinct from normative Spanishness. But, this apparently straightforward panorama is in fact much more complex and problematic than it seems. To fully understand the persistent investment in the construction of this idealized image of the *Gitano* within Spanish society requires us to be aware of an intricate paradox. The fact is that, in particular historical contexts, the *Gitano* identity has collapsed into the Andalusian identity, which in its turn has come to stand for Spanish identity both outside and, to a certain extent, inside Spain's cultural arena. This ambiguous and contradictory situation became intensified by the romantic ideology of the 19th century.

The romantic Orientalist perspective conceived the *Gitano* (sometimes, as mentioned above metonymically conflated to Andalusia and the whole of Spain) 'as a foreign and exotic presence who stealthfully imported something of the East into the West,'[9] an image that even in contemporary discourse seems very difficult to eradicate. Awakening fascination, and yet in most cases also being demonized, the *Gitano* has continuously provided an imaginary figure that has answered the need for a fetishized difference both inside and outside Spain. A great deal of the construction of this image developed as a creation of the romantic travellers that visited the country (and very especially Andalusia) after the Napoleonic Wars.[10] As Lou Charnon-Deutsch points out:

> Spain became à la mode in France between 1800 and 1850, both for travelers and for writers of historical novels, plays, and poetry. Preceding and immediately following the invasion of French troops that escalated into the War of Independence (1808-13), France saw a flourish of travel memoirs and essays. [...] The French Romantics reduced the Spanish Roma [...] to a simple set of stereotypical images: the dancing wench, the sly horse trader, the ancient fortune-teller, the ragamuffin child, the itinerant tinker, to name a few. Gradually, given the advantages of profiting on their image, the Roma themselves became enthusiastic propagators of the Romantic Gypsy myth, capitalizing on the French and English desire both to witness and to live the bohemian life and thus to escape a claustrophobic bourgeois life.[11]

Most of these tourists were unaware (though sometimes maybe intentionally) of the performative aspects of what they believed to be the authentic traditions and lifestyle of *Gitanos*. Examples are common of flamenco professional musicians and dancers that satisfied the desire and fantasies of tourists (and also Spanish *señoritos*[12]) with what was supposed to be spontaneous and natural expressions of *Gitano* passion. It is important in this case to realize how, behind this mythologizing process, the political and social realities of the *Gitano* subjects were obscured. And with this I mean that the process of othering that gave rise to the depiction of the bohemian image of the *Gitano* is also the ultimate result of racism in its modern and anthropological configurations developed during the 19th century's colonial project. But given the particular geopolitical circumstances here, a fundamental consideration must be taken into account

since the situation is better defined by a process of 'internal colonialism.' Charnon-Deutsch formulates it very clearly when he makes the following observation:

> In the case of the Roma, who in early chronicles are usually described as invaders rather than conquered peoples, we must speak of an interior rather than a foreign colonization, a self-colonization that nevertheless resembles other forms of imperialism in specific ways.[13]

The notion of internal colonialism is not exclusive to the Spanish context, of course.[14] Conceived in connection to the traditional concept of colonialism that concerns the relationship between the metropolis and the colony (or colonies), it signals the structural condition of political inequalities and economic exploitation between different regions or social groups within the same nation state. In this sense, the idea of internal colonialism has been employed in studies about such contrasting societies as Greece, Italy, Britain, Palestine, or Australia among many others.[15] However, it is in Latin America where the concept has achieved a more prominent and developed use.[16] In the Spanish context, the notion of internal colonialism comes to underline the significant oppression that Andalusia in general and *Gitanos* in particular have endured at particular periods in the history of Spain. In the case of *Gitanos*, this predicament has continuously emphasized their difference and has resulted in their marginalization as a social group. Anthropologist Cristina Cruces Roldán has analyzed this concrete situation in its particular relationship to flamenco music:

> Flamenco seizes with a great sharpness the model of social structure characteristic of the time in which it became fixed. We must remind the changes

> that the economic structure of Andalusia experienced during the 19th century when it became transformed from centre to periphery, and the role of dependency it played in the territorial division of labour once the capitalist mode of production became consolidated in Spain. [...] It is not casual then, that the *cante* crystallized with a greatest intensity in three fundamental locations: the most *latifundista*[17] area of Andalusia, with the biggest social unbalance, especially concentrated on the Seville-Cadis-Ronda triangle; the urban slums where there was a certain cultural osmosis between *Gitanos* and non-*Gitanos*; and a little later, also the mining zones. [...] Flamenco has reflected all these historic and social transformations, whether in its lyrics, or in the way that Andalusians have both lived it and practiced it within and outside Andalusia.[18]

In the field of representation there has been always a clear connection between *Gitanos* and flamenco music, a bond that still persists.[19] However, the history of flamenco is still an endless subject of debate especially –though not solely– concerning the question of its origins.[20] According to the proponents of traditional flamencology,[21] the roots of the genre would be found 'as a hidden and popular form of expression'[22] within the secluded space of the *Gitano* home, where the music would have been preserved 'pure' and unchanging for centuries until it became a public spectacle during the 19th century. Some also claim the influence of oriental sources[23] with a historical connection to Spain (and particularly Andalusia) that would have been introduced into flamenco through the Andalusian folklore that *Gitanos* would have assimilated. Others censure and discredit all these arguments simply qualifying them as 'romantic, sentimental, and passionate interpretations.'[24] In spite of this pervasive debate, though, general agreement is achieved concerning the chronological development of flamenco

and the set of different periods in which the history of the genre is conventionally divided.

The first anthology of flamenco music was published in Seville in 1881[25] by folklorist Antonio Machado y Álvarez with the materials gathered after a couple of decades of fieldwork. Although this *Colección de Cantes Flamencos* reproduces only the lyrics of the songs, the introduction contains important information about the earliest manifestations of what came to be labelled 'flamenco music' for the first time. Most of this material was collected by Machado y Álvarez in taverns and *cafés cantantes*[26] in which 'most of the elements of flamenco as we know it today' were developed.[27] After this period of the *cafés cantantes* –on the wane by the first decade of the 20th century– flamenco was so popular that it moved to the bigger stage in theatres. At this time, flamenco becomes much more professionalized[28] and the performances so sophisticated that these spectacles began to be known as *ópera flamenca.* In spite of the great popularity reached by *operismo,* already in the 1920s the first reactions against what, for some critics, was seen as a commodification and loss of flamenco 'purity', began to appear. The most conspicuous criticism was formulated by a group of intellectuals under the leadership of two internationally recognized Andalusian artists, composer Manuel de Falla and poet Federico García Lorca. They channelled all their arguments and the concern in restoring what they supposed was the 'purest' and most 'authentic' flamenco in the organisation of the *Concurso Nacional de Cante Jondo* (National Contest of Deep Song) that took place in Granada in 1922. Paradoxically, if the *Concurso* increased the popular interest in flamenco it was by enlarging the audiences of *óperas flamencas* during the 1930s and 1940s, and by the progressive abandonment of the traditional forms. It was not until the next decade that a move to a revival of tradition began to emerge.[29] It became manifest, on the one hand, in the decline of the

*ópera flamenca* that was gradually substituted by the much more intimate space of the *tablao* (a kind of modernization of the *cafés cantantes*) or the inception of *peñas flamencas,*[30] while, on the other, it was apparent in desire expressed by many exponents to recover the old musical forms. Among them it is worth noting the edition of the first recorded anthology of flamenco music under the direction of guitarist Perico del Lunar and a French recording team (issued for the first time in France in 1954 and later in Spain by the label Hispavox), and, at an academic level, the publication of the book *Flamencología* (1955) by Anselmo González Climent, as well as the establishment of the *Cátedra de Flamencología* in Jerez de la Frontera (1958). Since the 1960s, the interest for flamenco has increased, in many ways as a consequence of the popularity it has achieved at an international level. But, at the same time, the world of flamenco has also undergone a permanent process of change and innovation that, on many occasions, has gone beyond the borders of traditional flamenco. I am alluding here to the new forms that emerged with the objective to modernize the genre, as well as the incorporation into flamenco of influences from other music genres that became known as *nuevo flamenco.*

The term *nuevo flamenco* appeared during the 1980s to refer to the music of a number of groups and individual artists that began a conscious departure from traditional flamenco characterised by a process of musical fusion. It was at this time that *nuevo flamenco* began to emerge as a distinctive hybrid musical genre as well as a commercial label to embody the work of all those musicians that blended foreign and modern elements with traditional flamenco. During the previous decades, the work of the recognised flamenco musicians Camarón de la Isla, Paco de Lucía and Enrique Morente –highly respected within the traditional flamenco circles– began a revival of flamenco that attracted a new kind of public, mainly young people. Following the lead

of these important figures, flamenco started in the 1980s to reinvent itself, attaining new meanings through the incorporation of influences from music genres of the African-American musical traditions. Among them, jazz was the most conspicuous influence and the fusion of flamenco and jazz has been not only the most durable fusion within the field of *nuevo flamenco,* but also the one with the most international recognition. This influence, though, did not come out of the blue but was the result of a reverse process, that is the impact that flamenco had on the development of Modal Jazz especially in the hands of one of the most important figures of jazz history, Miles Davis. Indeed, it is in the relationship that Davis portrayed between both genres that the roots of *nuevo flamenco* is to be found. Certainly, jazz has not been the only influence on *nuevo flamenco* musicians. For example, two of the most important groups in the development of *nuevo flamenco* such as Pata Negra and Ketama, turned not only to jazz but also to other genres in order to incorporate new elements to flamenco. Thus, Pata Negra also found inspiration in blues while Ketama incorporated elements of salsa. However, the seminal role that jazz played in the development of the genre had its reflection in the fruitful and lasting results that this relationship has had for several decades. A relationship that has gone beyond the mere musical influences as the words of José Soto "Sorderita" –Ketama's main singer– reveal:

> Our music is based on classic flamenco that we'd been singing and listening to since birth. We just found new forms in jazz and salsa: there are basic similarities in the rhythms, the constantly changing harmonies and improvisations. Blacks and Gypsies have suffered similar segregation so our music has a lot in common.[31]

The explicit bond established not only at a musical level but also in relation to the racial/ethnic issue is very significant and widespread within *nuevo flamenco* discourses. It obviously draws upon the irreducible and inseparable relationship existing between *Gitanos* and flamenco but also reveals a crucial transformation in the field of identity.

Indeed, a good musical example of *nuevo flamenco* could be the song *...Y Es Ke Me Han Kambiao los Tiempos,* by Ketama.[32] The title itself –that could be translated as *...And It's Because My Times Have Changed*– makes an explicit reference to the mentioned transformation[33] and in that sense it is significant to note how it is also used as the title of the album in which it appears. Even though the members of Ketama were all *Gitanos* from well-known families of flamenco musicians and dancers,[34] in their recordings they have always collaborated with both *Gitano* and *Payo* artists. In the case of *...Y Es Ke Me Han Kambiao los Tiempos,* a CD published in 1990, the members of Ketama were joined by musicians from a jazz and blues background such as pianist Vicente Borland, bassist Marcelo Fuentes, or sax player Javier Anguera. As one of the consequences of the collaboration of musicians from diverse backgrounds, an important change, also common of *nuevo flamenco* in general, takes place at the level of sound.

In the mentioned song, Ketama juxtapose the presence of the traditional flamenco guitar and the use of percussive sounds with an ensemble of string instruments and a small choir.[35] The song is based on a traditional flamenco form, the *soleá.* Considered one of the fundamental flamenco musical forms, the *soleá* follows a rhythmic cycle of twelve beats characteristic of the oldest flamenco, a feature also been considered as a distinctive *Gitano* element. Traditional *soleás* are vocal forms in which the guitar plays an accompanying role with the exception of the short *falsetas.*[36] However, in *...Y Es Ke Me Han Kambiao los Tiempos* the guitar of Juan Habichuela[37] does not play the usual short *falsetas* but takes the equivalent role of an improvising

jazz instrument in solo-like fragments that go beyond the limits of traditional *falsetas*. Even the inflections of the voice reflex the contrasting approach between the sections of the song. Indeed, following this spirit of fusing old and new, as well as *Gitano* and non-*Gitano* elements, another innovation takes place at the level of musical form since the traditional *soleá* form is transformed here by the incorporation of a newly written chorus (both music and lyrics) inserted among the characteristic *coplas* that turns the common strophic form of the *soleá* into a contrasting verse-chorus form, typical of rock and pop music. As it is prevalent in flamenco, the two *coplas* chosen here are part of the vast traditional repertoire.[38] The original chorus, though, reflexes an explicit subjective perspective and manifests the split experienced by young *Gitanos*:

[...]

| | |
|---|---|
| Hoy quiero beber | Today I want to drink |
| Las aguas del pasado que un día amé | The waters of the past that I once loved |
| Lo llevo en el recuerdo | I keep it in my mind |
| Pero lo olvidaré | But I will forget it |
| Me cambiaron los tiempos | My times they have changed |
| Por ellos lucharé | I will fight for them |

The lyrics make evident an ambivalent position that strives to find a way to be faithful to the roots while asserting a new and more complex future. As Paul Julian Smith has affirmed: 'the solitary voice of the title *soleá* not only laments that his times have changed (or that times have changed him); he also proclaims his intention of incorporating a past that is as fluid and evanescent as music itself.'[39]

As made explicit in many *nuevo flamenco* songs, the idea of re-imaginig the 'racialized' (or 'ethnicized') *Gitano* identity is a significant element that the genre has introduced within the field of contemporary Spanish popular culture, a culture that has not been alien to the constraints of global change. Paul Julian Smith makes the point clear when he asserts that, 'refusing to be confined by what previously prescribed their proper place, practitioners of gypsy culture have thus fully participated with other Spaniards in the newly globalized order of the cultural market place.'[40] As it is usually agreed, the mass media are a privileged source for the negotiation of identity. Especially in relation to minority groups, which have a very limited access to the channels of representation and have been portrayed by dominant groups on their own terms. In the case of *Gitanos*, music has become a strategic site in which to stage the construction of a new, hybrid identity as well as a vehicle to go beyond the borders that have always constraint them, and explore an aesthetic and political territory that has always belonged to another.[41] As very well summarized by Georgina Born, 'it is precisely music's extraordinary powers of imaginary evocation of identity and of cross-cultural and intersubjective empathy that render it a primary means of both making and transforming individual and collective identities.'[42]

The need to respond critically to the representations that have circulated ideologically-interested definitions of racial/ethnic identity is obviously not unique to the case of *Gitanos* in Spain. There is no doubt that the context most commonly associated to this process is that of colonialism, and as it is generally accepted, the most interesting insights concerning its effects have been formulated in relation to postcolonial theory. As is evident in the scholarly literature, in the strictest sense, the concerns of postcolonial criticism have focused on the mechanisms and effects of the colonization of extra-European societies and cultures. However, I think that the

particular case of the *Gitanos* in Spain cannot only be incorporated in a wider sense of colonialism but also that postcolonial theory can offer a key perspective to examine the politics of representation in this particular setting. Indeed, as Homi K. Bhabha, one of the most salient theorists in this field, has acknowledged:

> Postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order. Postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and the discourses of 'minorities' within the geopolitical divisions of East and West, North and South. They intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic 'normality' to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, peoples. They formulate their critical revisions around issues of cultural difference, social authority, and political discrimination in order to reveal the antagonistic and ambivalent moments within the 'rationalizations' of modernity.[43]

It is in that sense that *nuevo flamenco* can be conceived as an example of 'hybridity,' understanding the term in its postcolonial perspective[44] to demarcate the processes and products of cultural mixing which articulates two or more disparate elements to engender a new and distinct entity. On account of its potential to interrupt the binary, or dichotomous coding of cultural difference, the interest in hybridity became prominent during the decade of the 1980s, that is at the same time that the first steps towards what later became known as *nuevo flamenco* were taken. In general terms, this has been a period that, both in Spain as well as at a more global context, we have

witnessed a political and cultural panorama that, according to Nikos Papastergiadis, has been characterized by:

> A common goal of challenging the national myths of place and belonging, a rejection of the binary between purity and mixture, and the incorporation of the political right to both mobility and attachment into a series of cultural and aesthetic propositions.[45]

The capacity of cultural hybridity to challenge the established assumptions of the cultural order and to enforce a critical self-reflexivity is what has made the concept so pervasive in contemporary cultural theory. It has certainly been criticized, as, for example tending to assert the idea of cultures as something fixed and bounded, when it is precisely this conception of culture it is seeking to oppose.[46] However, hybridity has become a clear field of contestation of the ideas of cultural purists since, as Papastergiadis affirms, 'hybridity is not just a metaphor for cultural negotiation, it is also a tool for examining the inequalities and exclusion that are established in the guise of cultural purity.'[47]

Taking the idea of aesthetic and political processes of cultural mixing and crossover as a central theme in the development of *nuevo flamenco,* this thesis seeks to reflect critically on the incorporation within flamenco of elements from genres of the African-American musical traditions. In that sense, a great deal of emphasis is placed upon the ideas of purity and loss, as well as the reciprocal relationship that has existed between jazz and flamenco. But, while centred on the process of fusion and crossover, it also explores through music the characteristics and implications that *nuevo flamenco* and its discourses have impinged on related issues as the re-imagining of Gitano identity

and cultural authenticity. According to this, the thesis is divided in three different chapters. Chapter one focuses on the important relationship that has existed between flamenco and jazz music, a relationship that has been essential for the development of *nuevo flamenco*. Directing the attention not only to the incorporations of flamenco into jazz and vice versa but also on the discourses that naturalize the direct relationship between *Gitanos* and African Americans, I will examine how in this case the process of fusion and cultural crossover cannot be understood without making reference to the ideological structures that underpin them. In that sense, I will concentrate on a particular level of hybridity, one that refers to the process by which cultural differences are either naturalized or neutralized within the body of the host culture. In the next chapter, I will trace the origins of the widespread images of 'racialized/ethnicized' *Gitanos* in order to analyse the existing identity discourses and the way they have been rearticulated to re-imagine *Gitano* identity. Taking the musical field as a space that has always played a fundamental role within *Gitano* culture, I will explore the way in which *nuevo flamenco* has been instrumental for young *Gitanos* in constructing a new collective identity. In this sense I will concentrate on another level of hybridity that consists in the explicit manifestation of difference within identity as a consequence of the incorporation of foreign elements within a culture. Finally, chapter three turns to the idea of 'authenticity' as a primal concept of traditional flamenco discourses and to its opposite, the idea of 'commodification,' as the most common claim against *nuevo flamenco.* Recalling flamenco's history concerning the relationship with the music industry, I will analyze the concrete context of production of *nuevo flamenco.* Here I take into account not only the situation concerning the local setting of Spain but also the way flamenco participates of the contemporary global cultural fluxes.

Caught in the ubiquitous predicament between the local and the global, tradition and modernity, authenticity and mass-production, same and other, *nuevo flamenco* has been at the centre of important debates in contemporary Spanish culture. It is the main objective of the pages that follow not only to trace the origins of its characteristic musical fusion, but to unveil the various discursive and ideological forces that have struggled over its particular representations and identity constructions, and how they have interacted with its specific material forms.

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[1] Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, p. 19.
[2] After two decades of autarky at all levels, the 1960s opened a period of certain change in Spain. Characteristic of this time was the progressive development towards a consumer society endorsed by the Francoist political elite since they had presumed it would be a good way to perpetuate the dictatorship's authoritarian cultural project. In fact, the incipient social and cultural change of the 1960s would become the embryo of the opposition to the anachronistic political structures of the regime that increased its momentum after the death of Franco.
[3] Labanyi, 'Conclusion: Modernity and Cultural Pluralism,' in Graham and Labanyi (eds.), *Spanish Cultural Studies, an Introduction,* p. 397.
[4] Although the Spanish term "*Gitano*" is usually translated as "gypsy," I prefer to use it here in order to make visible the singularities of "Spanish Gypsies."
[5] Spain became a member of the, at the time, European Economic Community in 1985 during the socialist government of the president Felipe González.
[6] Labanyi, *op. cit.,* p. 397.
[7] As many flamenco historians assert, the term '*Gitano*' comes from a misspelling of the word *Egipcianos* (Egyptians) since, at the time, there was an extended believe that they all came from Egypt. See for example López Ruiz, *Guía del Flamenco,* p. 10; García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Cante Flamenco,* p. 42; Herrero, *De Jerez a Nueva Orleans,* p. 32; or Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy,* p. 4, among others.
[8] Anthropologist Paloma Gay y Blasco stresses how, paradoxically, 'although the *Gitano*s have an extremely strong sense of themselves as a people, set apart from the non-Gypsies, they are not preoccupied with constructing a harmonious or united community. Rather, the opposite is closer to the truth: they seem intent on objectifying fragmentation and differences between themselves.' See Gay y Blasco, *Gypsies in Madrid. Sex, Gender and the Performance of Identity,* p. 3.
[9] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy,* p. 4.
[10] Though French were the most numerous of all the travellers and also the most productive among the writers depicting Spain and Spaniards, it must be noted that among travellers of other nationalities were also British, German, and even North American. The most prominent among the British were George Borrow (who visited Spain between 1836 and 1940 as an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society and published *The Zincali: or an Account of the Gypsies in Spain* (1841) as well as the biographical travelogue *The Bible in Spain* (1843)), and Richard Ford (who moved to Seville and Granada between

1830 and 1833 in search of a mild climate to improve his wife's illness and published the successful *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845)).

[11] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy,* pp. 57-58. Charnon-Deutsch also clarifies how according to Alberto González Troyano, what the romantic travellers were fleeing was a world in which mercantilism and the regulated, domesticated bourgeois existence were thought to be crushing the romantic spirit. What they searched for, and consequently invented, were things that previous generations had rejected and overlooked: "cultural contrasts, agrarianism, the unusual, more varied landscapes, *mestizaje*, medievalism, orientalism." See González Troyano, 'Los Viajeros Románticos y la Seducción 'Polimórfica' de Andalucía,' p. 15 and Charnon-Deutsch, *op. cit.,* p. 59.

[12] Literally translated as 'young master,' *señoritos* were rich Andalusian landlords, usually owners of big country states in which peasants lived and worked under conditions that practically resembled those of medieval feudalism.

[13] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy,* p. 11. He also alludes to this situation in Charnon-Deutsch, 'Travels of the Imaginary Spanish Gypsy,' pp. 22-23.

[14] Early Marxist thinkers such as Lenin (who considered the steppes regions as internal colonies in Tsarist Russia) and Gramsci (who discussed the Italian *Mezzogiorno* in similar terms) are among the first to use the expression 'internal colonialism,' while in the USA of 1960s Martin Luther King also described America's black ghettos as internal colonies.

[15] See for example: Peckham, Robert, 'Internal Colonialism: Nation and Region in Nineteenth-Century Greece,' in Todorova, Maria N.(ed.), *Balkan Identities,* London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 2004, pp. 41-59; Caprotti, Federico, *Mussolini's Cities: Internal Colonialism in Italy 1930-1939,* Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2007; Hechter, Michael, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development,* Piscatawya, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1998; Netzloff, Mark, *England's Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmilla, 2003; Zureik, Elia, *The Palestinians in Israel: A Study in Internal Colonialism,* Oxford: Routledge, 1979; or Minnerup, Günter, and Solberg, Pia, *First World, First Nations: Internal Colonialism and Indigenous Self-Determination in Northern Europe and Australia*, Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2011.

[16] Sociologists like Rodolfo Stavenhagen and Pablo González Casanova have made a prolific use of the concept especially regarding the situation of indigenous groups in South American countries. See for example: Stavenhagen, Rodolfo, *Los Pueblos Originarios: el Debate Necesario,* Buenos Aires: CTA Ediciones, 2010; or González Casanova, Pablo, *Sociología de la Explotación,* Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2006.

[17] *Latifundios* are large country states belonging to a single owner and in that sense *latifundismo* refers to the agrarian system that concentrates the property of land and its exploitation in the single hands of a *señorito* (landlord).

[18] Cruces Roldán, *Antropología y Flamenco. Más Allá de la Música, Vol. 2,* pp. 52-53.

[19] A telling anecdote of this relationship can be found in the fact that one of few Spanish words incorporated in the Oxford Dictionary is precisely the term *flamenco*, which is defined as 'Spanish Gypsy guitar music with singing and dancing.' See Elliott, Julia (ed.), *The Oxford Paperback Dictionary and Thesaurus,* p. 284.

[20] Debate exists even in relation to the etymology of the term *flamenco* itself that also contribute to the mythology surrounding the origins of the genre. Different authors point to a very discrepant etymology of the term: while some hypothesis relate it to Arabic language, others think it comes from a particular slang of low classes in the 18th century, or even others derive it from the confusion that *Gitano*s were supposed to be originated in Flanders (in Spanish *flamenco* means also 'Flemish'). Just as a curiosity I also would like to mention that there is even the hypothesis that connects the term to the birds 'flamingos,' since in Spanish are also called *flamencos.* This implausible etymology is argued according to a supposed similitude between some of flamingo's postures and certain movements of flamenco dancers... See García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Flamenco,* pp. 23-25; Leblon, *Flamenco,* pp. 7-8; or Steingress, *Sociología del Cante Flamenco,* pp. 119-123.

[21] The term *flamencología* (flamencology) appeared for the first time in 1955 introduced by musicologist Anselmo González Climent in the homonymous book *Flamencología.* Even though the book opened a new attitude and approach towards the study of flamenco music, and in spite of the scientific character that the term infers, the discipline does in fact not always attain the theoretical and methodological standards that should be expected.

[22] Martín, *Jondo,* p. 20.

[23] The most prominent advocate of the oriental influences was Andalusian composer Manuel de Falla who attested the existence of Byzantine, Arabic, and even Judaic musical elements present in some instances

of flamenco music. See de Falla, 'Análisis de los Elementos Musicales del Cante Jondo,' in de Falla, *Escritos sobre Música y Músicos,* pp. 1965-171, and de Falla, 'El "Cante Jondo" (Canto Primitivo Andaluz),' in Molina Fajardo, *Manuel de Falla y el "Cante Jondo,"* pp. 209-226.

[24] Martín, *Jondo,* p. 41. In his *Alegato contra la Pureza* (Plea against Purity) p. 46, José Luís Ortiz Nuevo even describes them as just a *camelo* (swindle).

[25] There are previous literary sources with some mention to *cantar y baile Gitano* (*Gitano* singing and dancing) as in the *Escenas Andaluzas* of Estébanez Calderón (published in 1847), but in none of these cases it is mentioned the term 'flamenco' to categorize this music. See for example Estébanez Calderón, *Escenas Andaluzas,* p. 252.

[26] The *café cantante* (literally meaning 'singing cafes') can be described as the Spanish version of the music hall or the cabaret. According to the information given by Juan de la Plata, the origin of the name *café cantante* is an adaptation of the French *café chantant.* Even though similar in many aspects to the traditional taverns, they had a stage in which they presented not only flamenco *cante* and dance, but also in some occasions short scenic plays (mainly comic or lyric) or other musical spectacles. Although most authors point out that the origin of the first *cafés cantantes* took place at the mid 19th century, Juan de la Plata attests their existence in Jerez de la Frontera at the time of the Napoleonic occupation, that is, between 1807 and 1812. See Juan de la Plata, *Los Cafés Cantantes de Jerez,* pp. 5-15.

[27] For example, it was on the stages of *cafés cantantes* that evolved the characteristic flamenco guitar accompaniment and also where the first great figures of flamenco singing became popular (as Silverio Franconetti (1829-1889)).

[28] For the first time singers take the status of popular stars as in the case of Antonio Chacón (1869-1929), La Niña de los Peines (1890-1969), and later Pepe Marchena (1903-1976).

[29] Some authors explicitly label this period as the 'renaissance' of flamenco (Leblon, *Flamenco,* p. 40) or the 'restoration' (Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco,* p. 105).

[30] *Peñas* are a kind of clubs assembling flamenco *aficionados*, devoted to the preservation and promotion of traditional flamenco. Although the first *peña* was created in 1949 in Granada (*Peña la Platería*), the movement became much more extended (even outside Andalusia) during the 1950s and 1960s.

[31] Quoted in Farley, 'Spain-Flamenco: a Wild Savage Feeling,' in Broughton, Ellingham, and Trillo (eds.), *World Music Vol. 1,* p. 286.

[32] The song closes the record of the same name that was published in 1990, the same year that the company Nuevos Medios published their first sampler of *nuevo flamenco* music under the title *Los Jóvenes Flamencos* (The Young Flamencos) and that the label *nuevo flamenco* began to circulate.

[33] The title has also a clear similitude to the known Bob Dylan's song *The Times They Are a-Changing* from 1964.

[34] Initially, the group was formed at the beginning of the 1980s by José Soto (1961), Ray Heredia (1963-1991), and Juan José Carmona Amaya (1960). When the two first abandoned the group they were substituted by Antonio Carmona Amaya (1965) and José Miguel Carmona Niño (1971), brother and cousin of Juan José Carmona Amaya. José Soto is the son of Manuel Soto (1927-2001), a known flamenco singer and patriarch of the Sordera family that counts among other important singers with José Mercé (1955). The Carmona's also belong to a relevant flamenco dynasty known as the "Habichuelas," but in this case most of them are renowned guitarists, such as Juan Habichuela (1933), father of Juan José Carmona and Antonio Carmona, and Pepe Habichuela (1944), the father of José Miguel Carmona. Finally, Ray Heredia was born in a *Gitano* family of flamenco dancers and was the son of the *bailaor* (dancer) El Josele.

[35] As common in *nuevo flamenco,* other 'foreign' instruments that appear throughout the record are the electric bass, the piano, the electric guitar, and the drums among others.

[36] A *falseta* is a short instrumental part within a flamenco song, played by the guitar, and that appears between the different *coplas* or groups of verses. Though some scholars associate it to the solo common in many popular music genres (as for example in García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Cante Flamenco*, p. 52), it is important to note that it is not an improvised part. In fact every flamenco guitarist count with a personal repertoire of *falsetas*, some original, some learned from other guitar players. In the case of the *falseta* by Diego del Gastor that Raimundo Amador uses in *Blues de la Frontera,* Calvo and Gamboa say that it resembles to the melody of a *jota*, a traditional music form typical from the Northeast of Spain (see Calvo and Gamboa, *op. cit.,* p. 79.)

[37] Father of two of the members of Ketama, Juan Habichuela is a known flamenco guitarist that has accompanied some of the most famous traditional flamenco singers as Manolo Caracol, Fosforito, Rafael Farina, or Enrique Morente among others.

[38] The *coplas* of the *soleá* consist of three or four verses each. In his *Colección the Cantes Flamencos*, Machado y Álvarez already collected 470 different *coplas* of *soleá.* The first one used in *...Y Es que Me*

*Han Kambiao los Tiempos* is a popular one that appears for example in Enrique Morente's record *Homenaje a Miguel Hernández* (1971).
[39] Smith, *The Moderns: Time, Space, and Subjectivity in Contemporary Spanish Culture,* p.176.
[40] Ibid., p. 4.
[41] The members of Ketama have always claimed that flamenco is a knowledge born within the *Gitano* home but they have also expressly stated that their intention was to 'take flamenco out of itself' (*estamos sacando el flamenco hacia afuera*). See Calvo and Gamboa, *Historia-Guía del Nuevo Flamenco,* p. 98.
[42] Born, 'Music and the Representation/Articulation of Sociocultural Identities,' in Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and Its Others,* p. 32.
[43] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture,* p. 171.
[44] Although the idea of hybridity has a long history and has been a central issue for various disciplines (from anthropology to linguistics), it is in its recent post-colonial reformulation that the concept has gained theoretical impulse
[45] Papastergiadis, 'Hybridity and Ambivalence,' in *Theory, Culture, and Society,* Vol. 22 (4), p. 41.
[46] An example of this argument can be found in the work of Jonathan Friedman 'Global Crises, the Struggle for Cultural Identity and Intellectual Porkbarrelling: Cosmopolitan versus Locals, Ethnics and Nationals in a Era of De-hegemonisation,' and that of Hans-Rudolf Wicker 'From Complex Culture to Cultural Complexity,' both contained in the book *Debating Cultural Hybridity* edited by Pnina Werbner and Tariq Modood. Both authors argument that culture as an analytic concept is always hybrid. In the filed of Musicology, it is worth mentioning the work of John Hutnyk that in his book *Critique of Exotica: Music, Politics and the Culture Industry* analyzes the meaning of cultural hybridity.
[47] Ibid., p. 43.

Imagine someone [...] who abolishes within himself all barriers, all classes, all exclusions, not by syncretism but by simple discard of that old spectre: *logical contradiction*; who mixes every language, even those said to be incompatible; who silently accepts every charge of illogicity, of incongruity [...] Such a man would be the mockery of our society: court, asylum, polite conversation would cast him out: who endures contradiction without shame? Now this anti-hero exists; [...] the confusion of tongues is no longer a punishment, the subject gains access to bliss by the cohabitation of languages *working side by side*: the text of pleasure is a sanctioned Babel.

Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*[1]

It would seem necessary to invent a new, historically reflexive, way of using categories, such as those of genre.

Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*[2]

## Chapter 1

## The *Gitano Atlantic*: the Impact of Flamenco in Modal Jazz and its Reciprocal Influence in the Origins of *Nuevo Flamenco*

### Introduction

Jazz music was invented in 1902 by Jelly Roll Morton. Or at least this is how it was according to Jelly Roll Morton himself. As it is known, in his business card he did not only present himself as the 'inventor of jazz' but also as the 'creator of ragtime music'[3]. In fact, this obviously hyperbolic statement has done a lot of harm to a musician otherwise regarded as one of the relevant figures of the beginnings of jazz. While some historians consider him 'the first great jazz composer'[4], Morton is usually recognized as one of the first musicians 'to liberate from the strictures of the composer-imposed interpretation of rags and take a freer and more jazzlike approach to melodic material.'[5] In that sense, he was one of the first pianists to improvise on themes composed by himself, that were mostly rags or pieces related to ragtime music. Born in a Creole family of New Orleans in 1890, Ferdinand Joseph Lamothe "Jelly Roll" Morton began his career in the mythic quarter of Storyville at the turn of the century, though he did not became famous until the 1920s after his first recordings in Chicago - as a leader of the Red Hot Peppers. His interpretative conception has been described as a characteristic mixture, on the one hand, of the orchestral, formal and harmonic elements of ragtime and, on the other, of the influence of blues perceived in his melodic lines. However, jazz literature has also underlined his reference to what he termed as the 'Spanish tinge', an element he considered an essential component of the first jazz.

It was in 1938, when Morton's fame had already fell into oblivion, that Alan Lomax sat him in front of a piano in a Washington recording studio where, during three days, he asked him to tell and play the story of his life. The resulting material was published both as a collection of records for the Library of Congress collection of folk music, and a book collecting all the interviews edited also by Lomax in 1950. In his reminiscences of the origins of the 'New Orleans style', Morton alludes to the differentiation of this new jazz music from the prevalent ragtime:

> All these people played ragtime in a hot style, but man, you can play hot all you want to, and you still won't be playing jazz. Hot means something spicy. Ragtime is a certain type of syncopation and only certain tunes can be played in that idea. But jazz is a style that can be applied to any type of tune.[6]

At the same time, he also highlights the coexistence of different musical cultures in New Orleans and how this circumstance was a crucial influence on the development of that particular musical style. In that sense, his words would bear witness to the multiple sources of jazz music, though, according to his view, the presence of Spanish music was a central one among them. As he mentioned it in reference to one of his first compositions, 'now in one of my earliest tunes, *New Orleans Blues*, you can notice the Spanish tinge. In fact, if you can't manage to put tinges of Spanish in your tunes, you will never be able to get the right seasoning, I call it, for jazz.'[7] Unfortunately, Morton did not give a specific account of what the word 'Spanish' meant to him or about the elements he found characteristic of this 'Spanish tinge' so fundamental, in his view, in the development of jazz. As a consequence, debates among jazz historians have been raised around the precise meaning he attributed to this now famous expression.

The most extended opinion is that what Morton describes as a 'Spanish' influence does not refer to a musical ascendancy coming directly from Spain, but rather from the Spanish-speaking Caribbean islands. Thus, for example, in an article centred on early New Orleans jazz drumming, John Doheney recognizes the presence of particular 'Spanish rhythmic features and melodic references' in many of Morton's piano compositions. He asserts that, especially in Jelly Roll's records, his music seems 'to reveal a "tinge," or rhythmic lilt, that sets jazz music apart from other music of the day.' But, when he asks himself about the origin of these influences Doheney affirms that:

> one must keep in mind that during Morton's time many musical devices that were considered exotic or out of the ordinary were assigned ethnic or national sources that may have had very inauthentic relationships with their true origins. In the case of the Spanish Tinge, the route taken was not a direct line of musical influence from Spain to New Orleans. Jelly Roll's Spanish Tinge is more likely Afro-Cuban in origin.[8]

An argument along these lines is maintained by John Storm Roberts in his book *Latin Jazz* when he states that any reference to 'Spanish' in the context of the birth of jazz should be understood in fact as 'Latin' –that is, from Latin America. Even though he also mentions the possible influence of Cuban music, he extends the geographical field of influences embraced by Doheney since he shows evidences of how the music of the popular Mexican Bands was specifically important in the context of pre-jazz in New Orleans. But, however influential this may have been, he also contends that:

> the New Orleans/Latin connection in the pre-jazz days went well beyond the Mexican Band, or the other Mexican groups of whose presence in New Orleans there are hints. Of the musicians mentioned by early jazz interviewees, around ten percent had Spanish names. Of these, some were definitely Spanish from Spain; others had been in New Orleans or at least the U.S. for at least a couple of generations.[9]

As an argument to sustain this assertion he also underlines how 'immigration from Andalucia to the New World was at a peak in the last couple of decades of the century.'[10] Even though Roberts does not give any other clue on this idea, it seems to recall the hypothesis advanced by Ernest Borneman a few decades ago that put flamenco in the centre of the debates around the roots and origins of jazz.

One of the many Germans that escaped the country when the Nazi's came to power, Borneman –initially formed as a psychoanalyst and sexologist– had been introduced to jazz by ethnomusicologist Erich von Hornbostel, and was an active jazz critic during the 1940s and 1950s. Known for his broad view of the music, he was one of the jazz writers who saw the roots of jazz lying outside, as well as inside, the United States. Of all his works, he is mostly known for two articles published in 1959, in which he suggested, among other things, the idea of a certain influence of flamenco in the music that predated jazz in New Orleans. Thus, in reference to the transcriptions made by Louis Moreau Gottschalk of the legendary Creole music played in Congo Square, he claims that:

> what these transcriptions establish is three things: the existence of a mature form based on African rhythm, African call-and-response structure, and Franco-

> Spanish tunes; a melodic profile almost identical with that of Creole jazz; the recurrence of a metrical scheme reminiscent of the Moorish elements in flamenco.[11]

Convinced that jazz developed from 'the music of French and Spanish speaking Negroes and Creoles,'[12] Borneman maintained that the confluence of African, European and Arabic elements that he identified at the roots of jazz was not a 'form of musical miscegenation but a reunion of two branches of the same family.'[13] Indeed his tenets were based on the believe that 'African and European music' were variants of the same idiom which he contended had developed along both shores of the Mediterranean and presumed had a common origin. According to him, elements from 'Asian music' were introduced to this common heritage by the Arabs during their advance into Europe. For that reason, Borneman underlined the mixing character of Spanish music –together with that of Portugal and Southern France– and thought that because of the familiar traits they found in this music, African Americans assimilated it in a process that led to the origins of New Orleans jazz. In a similar exercise of establishing far reaching transhistorical correspondences, Peter Van der Merwe contends in his book *Origins of the Popular Style*, that:

> the resemblance between blues singing and the Spanish *canto hondo* [*sic*], remarked on ever since people began to take serious notice of the blues, is almost certainly a matter of kinship going back to Near Eastern origins, and not direct influence, unless one counts an Andalusian influence on Senegambian music.[14]

Borneman's ideas have been criticized especially by jazz musician and scholar Gunther Schuller, also a German. In his renowned book *Early Jazz, Its Roots and Musical Development* published in 1968, Schuller regards as untenable the position that the only true jazz comes from a Spanish or Latin American influence. Even though he acknowledges the possibility that African slaves found certain similarities in the music of Spanish settlers, he asserts they were mostly superficial and coincidental. Moreover, he denies any plausible influence of flamenco for different reasons:

> first of all, flamenco music was probably the least exportable of all Spanish regional styles, and it is not likely that it was prevalent in New Orleans, for example. Furthermore, even in such other Spanish idioms that did transfer to the New World, the underlying structural conceptions were so different from African music that no easy assimilation could possibly have taken place. One need only point out that, while *some* Spanish music and *some* African music are both improvised, the nature of these improvisations is entirely different. Spanish improvisational techniques involve elaboration and embellishment more than they do strict variation. […] Compare this with African variational concepts. In a variation by an African master drummer, for example, what may already be relatively complex expositional material […] is varied, manipulated, augmented, diminished, fragmented, regrouped into new variants. All of this done, moreover, without any sense of embellishing.[15]

As it is evident, because of the historical record is scattered and in many cases nonexistent, it is impossible in practice to uncover the role of flamenco –if it had any– as one of the musical generators of jazz. Besides, as John Storm Roberts has underlined,

even though 'the early Latin influences in New Orleans seem to have been varied, they have often been disguised by a number of factors. One is the way in which jazz history until recently has been written.'[16] In any case, though, our interest in this chapter is not to unveil any kind of jazz foundational grounds. However, there are two essential ideas that must be noted here concerning the relationship between flamenco and jazz. On the one hand, we must underline how determinant the issue of ethnicity –as well as that of race– has been as the chief boundary within which jazz historiography has situated the music. As Scott Deveaux affirms 'ethnicity provides a core, a centre of gravity for the narrative of jazz, and is one element that unites the several different kinds of narrative in use today.'[17] This argument could also be applied to flamenco music since issues of race and ethnicity have been a central premise according to which flamenco music has been interpreted and experienced as I will analyze in the next chapter. As singular examples of the music of the 'other,' both jazz and flamenco have been a manifest and pervasive marker of difference. But, on the other hand, and despite the fact that many scholars discard this possibility, it is interesting to emphasize how the argument connecting Spanish music in general and flamenco in particular to the origins of jazz music has been part of some ideological conceptions with fundamental resonances in the development of both jazz and *nuevo flamenco*. Following these premises, in this chapter I will first focus on how these particular conceptions made flamenco a significant resource for jazz musicians concerning the crucial changes this music had during the 1960s. We will show how the appropriation of flamenco by influential jazz musicians became fundamental in the development of modal jazz, and how this process was underpinned by discourses connecting both *Gitano* and African-American ethnicities. Later, I will examine how crucial all these factors became in the development of *nuevo flamenco,* as if it was a kind of reciprocal response in which

innovative musicians such as Paco de Lucía also appropriated jazz in the re-imagining of flamenco that became known as *nuevo flamenco.* Obviously, the starting point of this enquire has to be found in what is usually pointed as the first significant 'flamenco inspired' jazz. I mean the innovative work of Miles Davis at the end of the 1950s.

**Making Sketches: Flamenco and Modal jazz**

Being one of the most influential musicians of the jazz history, Miles Davis has always figured in debates over the meaning of jazz in American culture. All through his long career he has been involved in most of the major shifts in modern jazz that have taken place during the second half of the 20th century –bebop, hard-bop, cool, big band progressive, fusion or jazz-rock– and in his last album he even experimented with a blend of jazz and hip-hop[18]. Also known for his commitment to the advancement of black consciousness and his fight for civil rights, he has been at the centre of many controversies and contradictory value judgments on himself and his music.

Miles Davis started his career as a jazz trumpet player during the second half of the 1940s, a period dominated by the frantic outbreak in jazz that was bebop. After a few years playing with such relevant musicians as Benny Carter, Billy Eckstine, Coleman Hawkins, and Charlie Parker, he started his own band in 1948, playing mostly in New York clubs. It was at that time that he began to experiment and change the elements of standard bebop. As pointed out by Robert Walser, 'Davis made use of a variety of risky techniques [...] in order to articulate musical sensibilities and models of virtuosity that were quiet distant from the beboppers' fiery technique.'[19] As a result, he developed a singular sound played almost in the middle register, characterised by 'a splendid lyricism and almost solipsistic tone'[20] that became a trademark of Davis's

individual voice and of the new style identified as 'cool jazz.' During the 1950s, these developments took place on two parallel ways. On the one hand, his many small group sessions, on the other, his large ensemble works arranged by Gil Evans. Among the former, his indisputable achievement was *Kind of Blue*, an album of legendary proportions released in 1959 and generally identified by many as the most famous jazz record of all time; among the collaborations with Gil Evans, his most innovative work was *Sketches of Spain.* In both cases stands out a significant connection to Spanish music in general and flamenco music in particular.

Jazz historians have considered *Kind of Blue* as the starting point of modal jazz[21] and *So What*, the most known piece of the record, has been usually presented as the canonical epitome of what is a modal jazz composition. A complete antithesis of the characteristic bebop elements, *Kind of Blue* represented a landmark of the modal approach to jazz improvisation that became highly influential from the 1960s onwards. In its common usage, the expression 'modal jazz' describes loosely a body of music characterised by the use of very few chords –in comparison to bebop compositions– or a slow-moving harmonic rhythm, in which a single chord may last for many measures. Even though these features are indeed more concerned to composition and accompaniment than to improvisation, modal jazz is usually associated with the idea that modes provide improvisers with the appropriate pitches to use in their solos giving a greater freedom of selection over a more stable tonal background. A characteristic element of jazz, improvisation, as stated by Ingrid Monson, 'has often been taken as a metaphor for freedom both musical and social, especially in jazz.'[22] Since it is associated with connotations of spontaneous or instinctive creation, improvisation has been regarded in Western culture as 'a craft rather than an art,'[23] and has been thus considered of a lesser value in comparison with composition. However, given its

unfixed and independent character, it has also been perceived as a musical process in which the performer achieves a greater level of autonomy. In this respect, jazz historiography has represented the emergence of modal jazz inaugurated by *Kind of Blue* as a move away from the constrictions of the chordal complexity of bebop and its framework based on tonality into a space where improvisers could deploy its creative voice with more freedom. In Miles Davis's words:

> what I had learned about the modal form is that when you play this way, go in this direction, you can go on forever. You don't have to worry about changes and shit like that. You can do more with the musical line. The challenge here, when you work in the modal way, is to see how inventive you can become melodically. It's not like when you base stuff on chords, and you know at the end of thirty-two bars that the chords have run out and there's nothing to do but repeat what you've done with variations. I was moving away from that and into more melodic ways of doing things. And in the modal way I saw all kinds of possibilities.[24]

Miles Davis saw the innovations he introduced with the modal jazz perspective as a new way for musical improvisation that freed musicians from the fast and strict repetition of chord progressions characteristic of bebop playing. Modal jazz instead, put the emphasis on the melodic aspect of playing, an aspect which has been usually perceived as the one that best represents the voice of the individual musician. Leroi Jones (Amiri Baraka) found in this a characteristic also shared by the blues. As he asserted:

> their music does not depend on constantly stated chords for its direction and shape. Nor does it pretend to accept the formal considerations of the bar, or measure, line. In a sense, the music depends for its form on the same references as primitive blues forms. It considers the *total area* of its existence as a means to evolve, to move, as an intelligently shaped musical concept, from its beginning to its end. This total area is not merely the largely artificial considerations of bar lines and constantly stated chords, but the more *musical* considerations of rhythm, pitch, timbre, and melody. All these are shaped by the emotional requirements of the player, *i.e.*, the improvising soloist or improvising group. [...] The implications of this music are extraordinarily profound, and the music itself, deeply and wildly exciting. Music and musician have been brought, in a manner of speaking, face to face, without the strict and often grim hindrances of overused Western musical concepts; it is only the overall musical intelligence of the musician which is responsible for shaping the music. It is, for many musicians, a terrifying freedom.[25]

In a very similar way, Samuel A. Floyd Jr. recognises the innovations introduced by Miles Davis's improvising style and also makes a link not only with previous jazz but even finds a connection with African music. In his words:

> for Davis and his sidemen, the playing of "changes" became passé, and their "time–no changes" approach to improvisation was accompanied by an emphasis on melodic invention, paraphrase, and thematic development that represented, essentially, a return to the improvisational concerns of early jazz. This emphasis

> also recalls the music making of African drum ensembles in which the master drummer sets patterns that are repeated and elaborated in interrelated and interlocking patterns.[26]

In its characteristically linear succession of musical styles, standard accounts of jazz history tend to establish a trajectory that leads from bebop to modal jazz, and from that to the 'pan-tonal' and free jazz tendencies of the 1960s. In this narrative, Davis's modal jazz innovations are interpreted as the catalyst that opened a dimension of aesthetic freedom in the jazz tradition, as the previous step in the path that brought jazz to avant-gardism. Beside this interpretation, though, there is a political and ideological aspect associated with this development. As Ingrid Monson points out, 'the implications of modal jazz were not, however, restricted to formal musical considerations. […] Modal jazz implies an interrelated set of musical and cultural issues, in which music functions, in David Stowe's felicitous phrase, as a "sign of a larger field of social forces."'[27] The freedom attributed to modal improvisation was indeed a freedom from the musical order of the European tradition. Taking a distance from the tonal, harmonic framework of the 'common practice,' meant also to take a distance from its racial, social, cultural, and political context. As Eric Nisenson states:

> Dizzy Gillespie once said that when the boppers listened to the great European repertoire, it was like "going to church". [...] The religious analogy implies that the great composers of classical music were patriarchal gods and that the best that jazz musicians could do was act as members of the congregation or obedient children. In other words, they were expected to embrace the commonly held belief that classical music is the pinnacle of music achievement for humankind

> and that the ultimate goal of a musician is to reach for that seemingly unobtainable level of artistry. The accomplishments of Western civilization have too often been used as a weapon against other cultures. […] The beboppers assumed this cultural bias to be the gospel truth. They simply wanted to be in the same pantheon, albeit on a lower tier. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, this attitude began to change. Jazz musicians started to look for inspiration beyond Europe and went back to their non-Western roots.[28]

The 'novelty' of Miles Davis's modal jazz was a leading example of this kind of 'look back' into the African-American musical culture within which jazz itself was originated. It is as if, to use the expression of Joachim Berendt, modal jazz implied a 'further Africanization of the music.'[29] As he puts it, disregarding the harmonic order that tied jazz to the music of the European tradition, black music became even more 'black' than it was. Under this perspective, Miles Davis's turn to modality is interpreted along ethnic and racial lines as a move away from 'the "dictatorship" of European harmonies, towards the free harmonization that exists in many African musical cultures.'[30] An argument in favour of this interpretation can be found in Davis's autobiography, when he quotes how *Kind of Blue* was inspired by the sound of the *mbira*, an African instrument he heard for the first time in a performance of the Ballet Africaine from Guinea in New York. Even though he contends that he did not succeed in his attempt, he recognizes how his purpose in most part of *Kind of Blue* was to reproduce the sound of this African finger piano, especially in songs like *All Blues* and *So What.*[31] Presented in this way, Davis's turn to modal seems a kind of natural 'return to the origins' under the inspiration of a certain racial primitivism. According to this, *Kind of Blue* is commonly described with a narrative that emphasizes its simplicity, its

primal expression, as 'an almost child-like fascination with the basic building blocks of music.'[32] However, it is important to have in mind how the emergence of modal jazz had its foundation in a highly intellectualized process of musical theory, based on the work of jazz composer and arranger George Russell.

First published in 1953 –though it was the result of a research project started during the 1940s– the book *The Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization,* by George Russell, exposed his intricate explorations on the field of music theory. To put it in a few words, his work introduced a systematization of the relationship he found between chords and scales, identifying the set of modes that would be associated with a particular chord. Departing from the traditional harmonic concepts he postulated the centrality of the Lydian mode, a mode that he identified as the one that better expresses the sonority of a major triad, instead of the major scale. Once he determined the importance of the Lydian mode, he established the relationship between specific modes and all the different chord qualities. In that sense, Russell's ideas on the issue of modality were developed long before the expression and conception of 'modal jazz' was put into circulation, and became the starting point of all its development.[33] Miles Davis was aware of Russell's work from first hand, since they knew each other for many years and had worked together in a record for the label Prestige, in which Davis group played arrangements and compositions by Russell. But, the ideas of *The Lydian Chromatic Concept* were also known and influential among many other leading musicians during the 1960s such as John Coltrane, Bill Evans, Art Farmer, Herbie Hancock, or Wayne Shorter. Of all these artists, John Coltrane is commonly acknowledged as the one that became the leading pioneer of modal jazz since, together with Miles Davis, he took it to its highest levels of experimentation.

As we have already mentioned, *Kind of Blue* is considered as the inaugural step into the practice of modal jazz. In fact, most of the musicians that participated in this seminal recording became later major figures in the modal jazz movement –John Coltrane played the tenor saxophone, Bill Evans was the pianist in all but one of the tracks, and to a lesser extent, Cannonball Adderley, who played the alto saxophone. From the description given by pianist Bill Evans in the liner notes of the record, we can realize how the main conception behind the whole album was the experimentation with modal improvisation within the framework of the diverse formal structures of all the pieces. Among them, two have been commonly outlined as the most relevant and influential. *So What*, the one that opens the record and became its most famous example, is a traditional thirty-two measures piece in an AABA form following a piano and bass introduction in free rhythmic style. But, contrasting with standard forms, in *So What* the first section is made of 'a simple figure based on sixteen measures of one scale [D Dorian], eight of another [E-flat Dorian] and eight more of the first.'[34] In other words, a whole piece of nine minutes constructed in only two modes, and only two chords, which became a model for many modal compositions. But, as Ted Gioia states, the song that closes the record, *Flamenco Sketches* 'took the modal concept even further.'[35] A ballad in very slow tempo, *Flamenco Sketches* does not have a written melody, and it is completely improvised. In his description of the piece, Gioia emphasizes how in *Flamenco Sketches*:

> traditional song form was abandoned in favour of interludes of indeterminate length; each soloist worked through a series of five scales, proceeding at his own pace, lingering on each mode for as long or as short a time as he wanted. This

approach gave the players unprecedented freedom, but also demanded a degree of austerity unknown in bebop.[36]

Being the main departure from standard jazz compositions of those included in *Kind of Blue*, *Flamenco Sketches* is also singular because is the only piece of the record in which, as the title states, flamenco music became a source of inspiration. In fact, *Flamenco Sketches* was not the first time that Miles Davis attempted to play a piece influenced by flamenco. *Blues for Pablo,* a song by composer and arranger Gil Evans contained in his *Miles Ahead* from 1957 –a couple of years before the recording of *Kind of Blue*– is considered the first approach of Davis –and Evans– to flamenco.[37] Even though in *Blues for Pablo* the influence of flamenco is more marginal and comes mediated by the music of Manuel de Falla that served as a source of inspiration, seen in perspective both pieces can be taken as a previous exploratory move towards Miles Davis's major flamenco project, also in collaboration with Gil Evans, which was his acclaimed album *Sketches of Spain*. Although it is true that during a stopover in Madrid as part of an European tour in 1956 vibraphonist Lionel Hampton recorded an album called *Jazz Flamenco*, we cannot find any musical evidence of the presence of flamenco elements in it with the exception of the sound of a 'swinging' castanets that simply ornament nearly all of the songs,[38] or the mention of the word 'flamenco' –and only its mention– in some titles such as *Bop City Flamenco*, *Flamenco Soul,* or *Hamp's Jazz Flamenco*. Most of the album is made by swing and bop themes with the exception of some Afro-Cuban oriented songs.[39] In clear contrast, *Flamenco Sketches* shows the definite influence of flamenco sound in its musical material since one among the series of five scales given to soloists to freely improvise on was precisely the characteristic flamenco Phrygian mode –played here over D[40]. It is the forth on the whole series, and

the improvisation of the musicians play the distinctive alternation found in flamenco between major and minor third. The rest of the modes present in the tune are the ones common to the other pieces of the record –that is, the Ionian, Myxolydian, and Dorian– but the flamenco Phrygian mode relates with them in a smooth and well articulated way. It could be argued that the contribution of flamenco music in such an influential and historical record as *Kind of Blue* is scant and could be considered a minor feature. However, seen in the context of Miles Davis's musical production it takes an exceptional meaning since *Flamenco Sketches* served as a kind of connection between the general cool jazz orientation of *Kind of Blue* and the experimental reworking of flamenco that was going to be accomplished in *Sketches of Spain* and that would become a landmark work for both jazz and flamenco.

Being the third large orchestral collaboration between Miles and Gil Evans, *Sketches of Spain* takes the presence of flamenco in particular, and Spanish music in general, to a higher degree. The album, that contains five songs, explores both flamenco as well as the symphonic music of Manuel de Falla and Joaquín Rodrigo, the most internationally known Spanish composers of the 20th century. As mentioned by Davis, it was precisely after listening for the fist time to Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez* that he decided to do a record inspired by those 'strong melodic lines.'[41] Once he presented the *Concierto* to Gil Evans, he was also captivated by the music, and it was Evans himself who suggested they had to find some other pieces in order to fill out an album, which finally contained five tracks. Apart from a composition by Manuel de Falla, two of them were compositions inspired by flamenco as revealed by their titles –*Saeta* and *Solea*. According to Miles, the other one –entitled *The Pan Piper*– was based on a vamp they took out from a 'folklore record of Peruvian Indian music'.[42] Mile's comment about the origin of this piece has always been taken for granted in jazz literature.[43] However, a

close analysis of *The Pan Piper* shows how in reality it came from a recording made by Alan Lomax of an *alborada,* a typical form of Galician folklore that appear in the same record in which they found the inspiration for *Saeta.*[44] In that sense, all the compositions of the record derived either from works by Spanish composers or from Spanish folk music.

In any case, the most important is that the relevance of *Sketches of Spain* goes beyond its development of the modal framework introduced by *Kind of Blue*, since as Gary Tomlinson affirms it is the most salient of the earlier instances of Davis's self-conscious incorporation of extra-American sounds, an approach that commanded his fusion albums of the following decades and opened a new path in jazz to be followed by many. As Tomlinson points out, the music of Miles Davis has always been concerned with a 'dialogical' dimension of embracing difference, integrating musical and cultural elements of various origins, and engaging in an interethnic exchange that remained consistent with an expansively defined jazz tradition.[45] In fact, Ingrid Monson outlines how modal jazz and its 'more open tonal frameworks served as musical crossroads facilitating the incorporation of transnational (especially non-Western) approaches to improvisation, timbre, and spirituality.'[46] Our interest here is to illustrate how flamenco played a central role on these developments, a role that has generally been overlooked.

Opening the album, the piece *Concierto de Aranjuez* is an adaptation from the homonymous composition by Rodrigo that, according to Davis, was the trigger that incited the *Sketches of Spain* project. Arguably the most known orchestral work for guitar, the *Concierto de Aranjuez* was written in 1939 and takes its name from the Royal Palace originally built by Philip II of Spain. As Rodrigo declared, it was inspired by 'a subtly stylized atmosphere of *majas* and bullfighters, of Spanish sounds.'[47] Since the beginning it is not difficult to find the echo of those flamenco *palos* (forms) with a

marked dancing character, like the *bulerías,* or the *petenera.*[48] From its three movements, it is only the *Adagio* the one chosen to be adapted by Davis and Evans. In fact, this second movement contains the most popular theme of all the *Concierto*, a theme from which many versions have been made and that has indeed become a musical metaphor of Spain.[49] Gil Evans's arrangement respected the structure of the *Adagio* but developed a big band oriented orchestration in which brass instruments and flutes substitute the original string parts. Apart from the incidental use of the harp, he also introduced the sound of the castanets and the tambourine, two instruments very common in the Spanish folklore that, even though they are not present in Rodrigo's orchestration, they give Evans's version an additional sense of Spanishness. The soloist parts of the guitar are played by Miles Davis on the trumpet. His interpretation follows the original guitar score though with a certain degree of personal elaboration and his characteristic sound does not seek to imitate that of the guitar but seems instead that tends to reproduce the sound of a singing voice. As we will see, the rest of the tracks – with the obvious exception of the already mentioned *The Pan Piper*– are in fact all versions of vocal pieces.

In a quite similar mood *Will O' the Wisp,* the second song of the album, is the version Davis and Evans made of the song *Canción del Fuego Fatuo* [Song of the Will-o'-the Wisp] from *El Amor Brujo* [Love the Magician], Manuel de Falla's most famous work.[50] *El Amor Brujo* was a work commissioned by flamenco singer and dancer Pastora Imperio,[51] which in its original version was conceived as a '*gitanería* in one act with two scenes,'[52] performed for the first time in Madrid in 1915. One year later, Falla developed a 'concert version' for symphony orchestra and in 1925 a 'ballet version' which is the one currently interpreted today. The argument of *El Amor Brujo* turns around the story of its major female character, the young *Gitana* Candelas, once in love

with a *Gitano* as seductive as unfaithful, that even after death his spectre keeps disturbing Candelas's romance with the attentive Carmelo, also a *Gitano*. As the term *gitanería* itself makes evident, the work's use of the image of the exoticized *Gitanos* is a clear example of the stereotyped setting of romantic legacy that we have described in the previous chapter. The interest of Falla for flamenco and its influence in his musical idiom, though under a tonal framework, is nowhere more evident than in *El Amor Brujo*, a work that has been even considered 'the expression, at the same time realist and transcendent, of the purest *canto Gitano andaluz*.'[53] As in the case of *Concierto de Aranjuez*, in the adaptation of Falla's composition in *Sketches of Spain,* Evans's arrangement follows accurately the original score, while Davis's interpretation elaborates on the melody of the soloist mezzo-soprano (Candelas). It must be underlined, thus, how both pieces were also one of the first instances of the exploration of the classical music idiom, a tendency that latter on developed in what jazz composer and historian Gunter Schuller termed the 'Third Stream.'

In clear contrast with these two pieces developed after the work of composers that draw upon flamenco, *Saeta* and *Solea* were inspired by the direct, unmediated influence of the flamenco *palos* of the same name.[54] The *saeta* is a kind of religious song that, like the *tonás* and *martinetes*, is sung *a palo seco* –that is, without any instrumental accompaniment. However, flamenco historians distinguish between the *saeta antigua* [ancient] or *tradicional* [traditional], whose origins they trace at the 17th century,[55] and the modern *saeta flamenca,* the one commonly interpreted nowadays following the pattern of *siguiriyas* (one of the oldest flamenco forms), and introduced by professional flamenco singers at the beginning of the 20th century.[56] *Saetas* are sung specifically during the processions of Holy Week in Andalusia, and singers address them to the *pasos* [floats] with sculptures representing Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary.

The term *saeta* literally means arrow or dart, and these plaintive and highly emotive songs are indeed described as a 'prayer directly addressed as an arrow to God or the Virgin […] always with the same intention: to incite devotion and penitence.'[57] Given that they are sung in the context of Holy Week processions, *saetas* tend to be framed by the sound of the trumpet, cornet, and snare drum fanfares that escort the *pasos* parade, and that play before and after the singer's interpretation.

As mentioned above, the *Saeta* in *Sketches of Spain* was an adaptation of an original *saeta flamenca* by a female singer recorded during a procession in Seville that appears in the record *Spain,* a compilation of Spanish folk music made by Alan Lomax at the beginning of the 1950s.[58] Gil Evans's arrangement used the original music of the fanfare (in D major) to which he added a short introduction based on the characteristic flamenco Phrygian mode (here in D) producing a curious effect as a consequence of the overlapping major and minor thirds of the two scales.[59] On the other hand, Miles Davis played the parts of the singer. As he recalls in his autobiography:

> I was supposed to be her voice on trumpet. [...] That was the hardest thing for me to do on *Sketches of Spain*: to play the parts on the trumpet where someone was supposed to be singing, especially when it was ad-libbed, like most of the time. The difficulty came when I tried to do parts that were in between the words and stuff when the singer is singing. Because you've got all those Arabic scales up in there, black African scales that you can hear. And they modulate and bend and twist and snake and move around.[60]

In fact, Miles playing imitates the vocal rendition of the singer improvising upon her melismatic singing, and all of his solo is based in only one scale (and even in a register

that never exceeds one octave), the already mentioned flamenco Phrygian mode, in which *saetas* are based. Nevertheless, it has been considered 'one of his most inventive and expressive solos on record.'[61] Jazz critics and historians have always underlined Miles ability to capture the fundamental nature of *saeta.* For Eric Nisenson, for example, 'Miles [...] seems almost to literally sing through his horn, expressing the deepest levels of grief that I have never heard in any other piece of music,'[62] while Ted Gioia considers that, at his most inspired moments, Miles could 'somehow manage to draw a primal cry from the horn. In such a deeply charged musical flow, even his "mistakes" were effective. They hinted at a depth of feeling that may have been undermined by a more meticulous approach, much as the mourner's sob cuts deeper than the orator's eulogy.'[63] Even flamenco singer Enrique Morente claimed once that 'Miles Davis is one of the best *saeteros* (*saeta* singers) of all times.'[64]

The last piece of the record, *Solea,* has much in common with *Saeta*. In that sense, Nisenson has also made reference to the trumpet part of Davis in a similar register of that evoked by *Saeta* stating that 'Miles plays for more than twelve minutes –the longest solo he had ever recorded. Yet not a note is wasted; the entire performance induces in the listener a trancelike state.'[65] Even though *Solea* is a long piece it is also composed using a single mode, the characteristic flamenco Phrygian mode used as well in *Saeta* (this time in A). However, contrary to the profuse references about the conception and recording of *Saeta* that can be found both in Miles Davis's and Gil Evans's biographies as well as on related jazz literature, there are not many mentions or comments about the genesis of *Solea*. The only comment by Gil Evans that appears in the liner notes of the record is that he chose this flamenco form's rhythm 'because it kind of swung and it was so conducive to development.'[66] The rhythmic pattern is indeed the most characteristic element of any flamenco form and is known by the name

*compás*. In fact, it refers to the specific rhythmic sequence or cycle of each *palo,* but it also includes harmonic and formal elements. In other words, when we talk about the *compás* of the *soleá* we mean the characteristic sequence of accents, chords, and the rhythmic pattern that are specific of the *soleá.*[67] In this case, though, Gil Evans only took this particular rhythmic pattern –that he arranged for the snare drum– since there are no chord changes in all of the song.

Concerning Miles Davis's comments on *Solea*, apart from mentioning how in this case he played 'the same kind of voice [...] on trumpet'[68] he did in *Saeta,* he only describes the basic sorrowful pathos the *soleá* has in flamenco and makes an interesting link with the blues when he affirms that '*Solea* is a basic form of flamenco. It's a song about loneliness, about longing and lament. It's close to the American black feeling in the blues. It comes from Andalusia, so it's African-based.'[69] Describing Miles's playing, Nat Hentoff made a similar connection when he asserted that in *Solea* 'Miles again performs with a depth of emotion and strength of rhythm that represent a compelling blend of the "deep song" of flamenco and the cry of the blues.'[70]

Indeed, *"soleá"* is the way Andalusians pronounce the Spanish word "*soledad*," which literally means solitude or loneliness, but also conveys the feeling of grieving or mourning that characterises most of these songs.[71] Although a poetic form named *soledad* is known since the 16th century,[72] this flamenco form seems to have been established about the middle of the 19th century in the quarter of Triana in Seville. In 1881, Antonio Machado y Álvarez collected nearly five hundred *coplas*[73] (verses) of *soleares* in his anthology of flamenco *cantes,* which proves it was the most popular flamenco form at the time.[74] In fact, we should rather talk of *soleares*, in plural, since there are many different kinds of *soleá,*[75] though all share the same musical characteristics. Considered by flamencologists as one of the two 'basic' flamenco *cantes*

–the other one being the *siguiriya*–[76] the *soleá* is one of the oldest flamenco forms and many other *cantes* follow its pattern characterised by its particular *compás* –the most important being the *cantiñas, bulerías,* and *alegrías.*

Seen in perspective, *Sketches of Spain* became a turning point both in Miles Davis's career as well as in jazz history. Apart from a good reception by audience[77] and jazz critics, its repercussion among jazz musicians was also of significant influence leading to a series of Spanish and flamenco inspired pieces.[78] To give an example among those that followed Davis and Evans's excursions –not only within the field of modal jazz but also concerning the field of flamenco– the most known one is undoubtedly the record *Olé* from 1961, by saxophonist John Coltrane (1926-1967). Coltrane knew the work of Miles at first-hand since he was a member of the Miles Davis quintet from 1955 to 1960, a period of great importance in his career since it was decisive in the development of Coltrane's characteristic sound. Although he did not collaborate in *Sketches of Spain*, he was familiar with the modal techniques introduced by Davis and Evans since he was acquainted with the work of George Russell and also participated, among other Miles albums, in the recording of *Kind of Blue*. Some have even considered him as 'the leading exponent of the 'modal' school of improvisation.'[79]

As other Coltrane albums of the period, *Olé* contains side-long compositions. It includes only four tracks since the two most important ones are of a considerable length –over eighteen and ten minutes respectively– basically as a result of Coltrane's elaborate improvisations. It is precisely these two pieces the ones that are developed with a clear modal approach in mind. Like in *Saeta* and *Solea,* the title track of *Olé* was based on a flamenco source, a song –and dance– known as *El Vito.*[80] One of those traditional Andalusian popular songs that can be traced back to the 18th century, *El Vito* became incorporated into the flamenco repertoire during the second half of the 19th

century. It consists of a single melody of sixteen bars in $\frac{3}{8}$ meter written using the flamenco Phrygian mode.[81] In a way similar to the new approaches introduced by Davis and Evans taking flamenco as its basis, in *Olé* Coltrane also departs from the language of his previous works. The original melody of *El Vito* that inspired the song is not the fundamental element upon which *Olé* is constructed –it appears only three times and when this happens is practically disguised. Indeed, and despite its long duration, the basic idea of a continuous vamp –played by the piano and two double basses– developed upon the flamenco Phrygian mode in B and its distinctive cadence is what sustains the whole piece, with its characteristic loose improvisations conveying a sense of endless time and energy. The other central piece of the record, *Dahomey Dance*, is a kind of modal blues based on a G Myxolydian mode and with a musical structure similar to the one described in *Olé*.

The same year in which *Olé* was recorded Coltrane was involved in other parallel projects, the records *Africa/Brass* –with the largest orchestral ensemble he ever used– and *Impressions* –that was not published until the next year. All these albums –including *Olé*– developed not only as part of Coltrane's interest in the aesthetic modernism of modal jazz, but also because of his involvement with non-Western cultures and musical traditions such as those of Africa or India. A particular idea of the 'East' was a paradigm of non-Western music for the jazz community of the time. The inclusion in this undifferentiated conception of the 'East' of rather diverse areas and heterogeneous cultures such as those of India, Africa, or the south of Spain was indeed shaped to very particular outcomes; the characteristics and particular elements that were emphasized by jazz musicians were all firmly grounded in contemporary African-American political and social concerns. In the words of Ingrid Monson, this collapsing of the non-Western world into a single entity 'resonated with the mainstream goals of

the civil rights movement which stressed similarity: integration, unity, common moral purpose, and equality before the law.'[82] To put it in other words, the literal resemblances found between jazz and the music from Africa, India, and even flamenco, and the musical devices incorporated from them may not be the only significant issue about the nod towards these musical traditions by Miles Davis or John Coltrane –among others jazz musicians. Of greater interest may be how cultural, social and political meanings became attached to the improvisational tendencies implied by the term 'modal jazz.' The more open forms, new harmonic structures, and unconstrained rhythmic patterns generated by the modal approach came to musically embody the goal for freedom and social recognition that was demanded.

The most important for us here, though, is to underline how –despite the fact that it is generally overlooked– flamenco also played an important role in the development of modal jazz. As the examples we have analyzed illustrate, flamenco was taken as a reference by jazz musicians that, like Miles Davis and John Coltrane, searched for new musical elements in their quest to attain a 'modern' sound and expand their music into new horizons. Flamenco became an inspiring source for them and some of its characteristic features were adapted to the particular needs of these jazz improvisers in the same way they did with the music of African or Indian origins. For this reason flamenco must be thus considered as part of the musical cultures that came to integrate this idea of the 'East' into which jazz musicians of the time crystallized some particular non-Western traditions. This is in fact something not new in the history of flamenco since, already in the 19th century, flamenco –as well as Andalusia as its place of origin and by extension the whole of Spain– was perceived with a degree of exoticism and difference that turned it into a part of 'the East inside the West.'

But, on the other hand, as it was the case with the links that were established with the music of Africa and India, the connection made between jazz and flamenco went beyond the mere musical level. The turn to flamenco as a source of inspiration was in a sense legitimized by a set of cultural and historical reasons that, at the same time, were in consonance with the political and social concerns associated with the modal jazz movement. The relationship between flamenco and jazz was underpinned by a shared discourse that tied both musical expressions by deep and rooted cultural and historical arguments that even enlarged this relationship between flamenco and jazz to African-American music in general. In fact, it is a common trait found in the incorporation or appropriation of foreign elements in the processes of cultural hybridity or mixture to see how cultural differences are either naturalized or neutralized within the body of the host culture. These arguments run in two different though related lines. On the one hand, they tend to emphasize the closeness and similarity between the particular musical expressiveness and pathos of both flamenco and African-American music while, on the other, the bond is found on the common social and historical experience of *Gitanos* and African Americans.

Among the multiple examples we can find, I would like to quote just a few interesting statements, some by relevant African American figures. The first corresponds to a souvenir in relation to flamenco that Langston Hughes mentioned in his autobiography published during the second half of the 1950s. Arguably the most important black writer of the first half of the twentieth century, Hughes's career spanned from the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s to the Black Arts movement of the 1960s and stood out because of his commitment to both the rights of black people as well as to his plea for the dignity and richness of black culture.[83] Hughes became acknowledged with flamenco during his stay in Spain as a war correspondent in Madrid at the time of

the Spanish Civil War. In one of his visits to the few remaining *tablaos* [flamenco bars or cabarets] in Madrid he became captivated by the voice and artistry of flamenco singer La Niña de los Peines.[84] Recalling those moments some years later in his memoirs, he not only highlighted the intensity and passion of her singing but he also established a clear correspondence between flamenco and blues:

> the guitars played behind her [Pastora Pavón, La Niña de los Peines], but you forgot the guitars and heard only her voice raising hard and harsh, wild, lonely and bitter-sweet from the bare stage of the theatre with the unshaded house lights on full. This plain old woman could make the hair rise on your head, could do to your insides what the moan of an air-raid siren did, could rip your soul-case with her voice. I went to see her many times. I find the strange, high, wild crying of her flamenco in some ways much like the primitive Negro blues of the deep South.[85]

The attachment not only between flamenco and jazz but also with blues has been rather constant. A parallelism between their characteristic voices, the themes of the songs, their origins, and their whole aesthetic dimension, has been permanently signalled to the point that even Alan Lomax described the 'real blues' as: 'America's *cante jondo*, not a whit inferior to that great Spanish art in vocal and instrumental skill.'[86] To give another example of this kind of correspondence let us mention an opinion comparable to that of Langston Hughes made some decades later by Don Pohren, a flamencologist of American origin who, also referring to the particular singing of La Niña de los Peines stated how 'jazz fans will note a remarkable similarity between Pastora and such early blues singers as Ma Rainey or Bessie Smith, particularly, in their earthy approach,

rough, untrained voices, and profound ... emotion.'[87] This assumption of a set of common meanings shared between the blues and flamenco is also familiar among flamenco musicians as in the case of the known guitarist Paco Peña who stated that 'flamenco is similar to the blues. It has a tinge of sadness, an element of fight and rebellion. It is pain and suffering with explosions of great happiness.'[88]

On a second level, resemblances between flamenco and jazz or blues do not make reference to the musical material in itself but tend to establish a set of parallelisms between the people associated with the origin of these musical expressions, which is to say between *Gitanos* and African Americans. Arguments tend to underline common traits such as the racial discrimination endured, the conditions of marginality, and a forced diaspora. We find an example in a book by Spanish musicologist José Luis Salinas Rodríguez dedicated to analyze and compare the social and cultural frames of jazz, blues and flamenco[89] in order to 'explain the possible formal and functional parallelisms between them, and to extract conclusions about the determining factors that motivated their origins.'[90] As he claims:

> if we compare the historical and social background of the *Gitano*-Andalusian and the black American people, we will find how both share a common tribal origin and how their settlings took place under conditions of slavery and marginality in a social milieu with ethnic and cultural characteristics very different from their own. This circumstance motivated their enclosing in the dominant social body, a situation in which appeared languages and manners shaped by inter-social determining factors. They had to adapt their own languages and manners to these new determinants keeping their traditional

elements when possible but also developing some new ones that included their own codes.[91]

Regarding this common constraint to adapt and transform their cultural backgrounds, Salinas also stresses how 'both Andalusian *Gitanos* and black Americans *notice* the music that surrounds them, *transform* it to their own sensibility, and *revert* it as a produce with its own specificity.'[92]

With a similar purpose to the work of Salinas, guitarist and musicologist Germán Herrero published a book intended as a comparative analysis between flamenco and jazz. Herrero thinks they share common historical origins to the point he finds a complete correspondence between the various chronological stages in the development of both flamenco and jazz.[93] At the same time, he also associates the common social origins of *Gitanos* and African Americans emphasizing how 'their deep roots are both in a low social class, very poor and oppressed. The historic and continuous persecution of *Gitanos* has nothing to envy to the estate of slavery to which were forced Blacks in North America.'[94]

This discourse has been echoed by musicians of both fields and in many occasions it has been indeed used to legitimize their work, helping to articulate their musical fusions. We can find a clear example in the extensive collaboration between two known figures in their respective fields: blues guitarist and singer B.B. King and *Gitano* guitarist and singer Raimundo Amador.[95] In an interview before one of their ensemble concerts, B.B. King declared how 'I hardly know how to explain this, but there is, I think, a kinship between flamenco and blues. [...] We have lots in common as people. So I think I want to say that Spanish music –flamenco– and American music –blues– is a marriage.'[96] And later, 'flamenco tells stories about the life we are living. It

tells stories about the life we wish could live. Just like the blues.'[97] On his turn, Raimundo Amador replied in a very close manner stating that:

> we are alike. We share many things. The singing is ... how could I explain it? Very moving. Flamenco and blues are very emotional. Blues [...] talks about their troubles and trials, about love and pain. Flamenco deep songs [*cante jondo*], like *siguiriya* or *soleá*, basically sing about the same stuff.[98]

A last example could be that of Miles Davis himself, who also suggested a certain reminiscence of a common origin between *Gitanos* and African Americans when, commenting on what he felt so familiar when listening to the recording of the *saeta* that was used in their version in *Sketches of Spain,* he made the following connection:

> the black moors were over there in Spain, because Africans had conquered Spain a long time ago. In the Andalusian area you have a lot of African influence in the music, architecture, and in the whole culture, and a lot of African blood in the people. So you had a black African thing up in the feeling of the music.[99]

What all these statements –among the many existent– manifest is how behind the musical examples to which we have made reference, there is a precise set of meanings assumed to authenticate them and justify their hybrid nature. Links and appropriations are represented as not arbitrary but rooted in a set of arguments that are even intended to explain why the reciprocal attraction felt by flamenco musicians towards African-American musical forms is so high. This now conventional

discourse(s) –depicting a certain brotherhood of blacks and *Gitanos*; of jazz, blues, and flamenco– has thus orchestrated a political relationship, since it has come to relate the intercultural links developed within the musical material with the common experience of socially deprived or marginal groups –a relationship maybe reliant on overly bounded notions of the relation of musical form or style to social grouping. In any case, as a consequence cultural borrowings become not only legitimized but even represented as something natural. In fact, this is not something exceptional since it is a common trait found in the incorporation or appropriation of foreign elements in the processes of cultural hybridity or mixture.

In accordance with these circumstances, and seen in a much more broad perspective, we can even affirm that, because of the way flamenco music and *Gitanos* –as they alleged originators– have become connected to African-American culture, they can also be considered integrated within Paul Gilroy's idea of the black Atlantic. In formulating this idea, Gilroy's aim is to transcend what he sees as the restricting claims for thinking about black cultural history of both the 'cultural insiderism' of the nationalist paradigms, and of what he terms the 'ethnic absolutism' –whether of the Eurocentric or Afrocentric variety. As he states:

> the specificity of the modern political and cultural formation I want to call the black Atlantic can be defined, on one level, through this desire to transcend both the structures of the nation state and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity. These desires are relevant to understanding political organizing and cultural criticism. They have always sat uneasily alongside the strategic choices forced on black movements and individuals embedded in national and political cultures and nation-states in America, the Caribbean, and Europe.[100]

For this reason he introduces the idea of an ‘intercultural and transnational formation’[101] that he calls the black Atlantic; a space defined by flows rather than places that somewhere else he presents as his ‘attempt to figure a deterritorialised, multiplex and anti-national basis for the affinity or ‘identity of passions’ between diverse black populations.’[102] In his opinion, to construct an encapsulated African-American tradition contained within the borders of essentially homogeneous nation states is totally inaccurate. Expressing his tenet in a ‘roots / routes’ pun and introduces the idea of the sailing ship as a new chronotope, Gilroy underlines how the problem relies in the tendency to give too much emphasis to static internal roots at the expense of dynamic external routes. In that sense, Gilroy’s arguments have underlined that culture develops through syncretic patterns and not along ethnically absolute lines which often risk reinforcing new exclusions. As a way out of this problem, Gilroy recurs to the concept of diaspora though he proposes a kind of reconfiguration of its conventional notion usually associated with the Jewish exile and that puts the accent especially on the ideas of memory and nostalgia by a community pulled apart of its common original source. Instead, Gilroy accentuates the idea of hybridity focusing on the processes that link diasporic communities across national boundaries. In Payne’s words:

> Paul Gilroy’s image of the “Black Atlantic” [...] evokes an imagined geography of the African diaspora, a space not reducible to an original source, but where divergent local experiences of widely dispersed communities interact with shared histories of crossing, migration, exile, travel, and exploration, spawning hybrid cultures.[103]

Taken this way, the concept of diaspora helps us to think about cultures in terms of contingency and indeterminacy, and of identities as something in motion rather than of absolutes of nature and culture. That is, of routes rather than roots.

Significantly, Gilroy also stresses the relevance of music in his idea of the black Atlantic. For him music is important within this context not only because of its popular status, but because of the fact that music challenges 'the privileged conceptions of both language and writing as preeminent expressions of human consciousness.'[104] Given that it was the only substitute offered to slaves for the formal political freedoms they were denied, it is not strange that Gilroy signals how 'the power and significance of music within the black Atlantic have grown in inverse proportion to the limited expressive power of language.'[105] It was music that enabled African Americans to assert themselves, establish alliances, and develop strategies of resistance. As a cultural form of exchange, dislocation, and ethnic affirmation, music has become for them a model of cognition of their own experiences. As Gilroy puts it:

> because the self-identity, political culture, and grounded aesthetics that distinguish black communities have often been constructed through their music and the broader cultural and philosophical meanings that flow from its production, circulation, and consumption, music is especially important in breaking the inertia which arises in the unhappy polar opposition between a squeamish, nationalist essentialism and a sceptical, saturnalian pluralism which makes the impure world of politics literally unthinkable. The preeminence of music within the diverse black communities of the Atlantic diaspora is itself an important element in their essential connectedness. But the histories of borrowing, displacement, transformation, and continual reinscription that the

> musical culture encloses are a living legacy that should not be reified in the primary symbol of the diaspora and then employed as an alternative to the recurrent appeal of fixity and rootedness.[106]

Gilroy's theoretical approach is undoubtedly original and compelling. It opens a new way to understand the whole series of transoceanic exchanges moving beyond racially essentialist ways of thinking, and positing instead the syncretic and hybrid nature of these transactions like the ones we have evaluated. However, in *The Black Atlantic,* Gilroy's focus on transatlantic bridges and connections concentrates exclusively on a geographical area comprising Africa (taken generally as a whole), the Caribbean, the United States, and Britain. For what we have seen in the previous pages, our argument here is that there are a set of political and cultural nexus that have linked the communities and the cultural texts we have analyzed, and it is in that sense that flamenco can be considered as one of the components of the diaspora of the black Atlantic. In fact, we have illustrated how musicians themselves have made the link evident, and pointed out the affinities and cultural elements in common. In that sense – as Gilroy underlines in the case of African Americans– *Gitanos*, also a diasporic people 'condemned to wander,'[107] have relied in music as their privileged mode of expression. Music has been the pre-eminent oral form through which common memories have been retained and passed on, and the crucial strategy through which they have not only confronted a racially repressive social system but also retained a sense of cultural integrity and forged collective cultural narratives.

It is true that different meanings and histories have operated in each case and that despite the similarities shared by both groups of people at various levels there are also very obvious differences. However, as Gilroy himself argues, 'it may be that a

common experience of powerlessness somehow transcending history and experienced in *racial* categories [...] is enough to secure affinity between these divergent patterns of subordination.'[108] At least this is what seems to have happened in our case of study. But, beyond these circumstances, another important fact must be taken in consideration, that of the impact that the incorporation of flamenco within this black Atlantic had for flamenco itself. That is to say, that the interest flamenco arose on these influential musicians in the history of jazz that like Miles Davis and John Coltrane drew upon this music in their search to overcome the Eurocentric harmonic tradition, was at the same time what triggered a later approach of flamenco musicians to the musical forms and styles of the African-American culture.

## Atlantic Crossings: a Signifyin(g) Echo

Characterized for its intertextual and dialogical approach, the whole of *Sketches of Spain* can be considered as a good example of the rhetorical strategy Henry Louis Gates Jr. found inherent to black vernacular culture and that he expressed by the term 'Signifyin(g).' It is in his influential book *The Signifying Monkey,* where Gates envisages 'Signifyin(g)' not only as a practice consisting of various imitative techniques, but also as a 'trope of tropes, the figure for black rhetorical figures.'[109] Marked by repetition and imitation it becomes also intensified by African American double consciousness in a way that Gates has singled out as a distinctive property of black discourse, developed upon the connotative and context-bound aspects of significance accessible to those who share the unique cultural values of a given community. Formulated in this manner, the trope of 'Signifyin(g)' underpins Gate's theory of black literary intertextuality grounded in the vernacular tradition while, at the

same time, the term itself illustrates the conception it comes to express since, as Gates makes explicit, 'the absent *g* is a figure for the Signifyin(g) black difference.'[110] To put it in other words, in a similar way to the expression 'différance' introduced by Jacques Derrida, 'Signifyin(g)' is an example of the aspects and processes to which the term itself refers. As Graham Allen clarifies:

> if 'signification' in Standard English, functioning on a horizontal plane of language, can be seen as a signifier pointing towards a signifier, then 'Signifyin(g)' represents a vertical revision and rhetorical play with standard signifieds, turning them into new signifiers. 'Signifyin(g),' in other words, is an act which opens up supposedly closed, unquestionable significations (relations between signifiers and signifieds) to a host of associated meanings any monological view of language would wish to efface.[111]

Although Gates's concept of 'Signifyin(g)' was developed focusing mainly on the field of African-American literature, many authors have applied his tenets to the study of African-American cultural practice in general and particularly to the sphere of music. In that sense, in *The Power of Black Music*, Samuel A. Floyd Jr. points up how there is a clear parallelism between these two spheres since the same kind of tropes we identify in black narrative traditions can be found in the field of music. As he puts it:

> for Gates, the vernacular is used to read and inform the formal, since the former contains the very critical principles by which the latter can be examined. So the vernacular tradition actually Signifies (comments) on the black literary tradition and can also be used for the development of critical strategies for black literary

> inquiry. Similarly, African-American music can be examined through the same vernacular tradition, with the rhetorical tropes of verbal provenance replaced with those of its own genesis. [...] In studying the use of these devices in black music, we come to see that these figures Signify on other figures, on the performances themselves, on other performances of the same pieces, on other and completely different works of music, and on other musical genres.[112]

The use of the concept of Signifyin(g) is thus appropriate when applied to musical texts and completely pertinent in relation to the case of those jazz musicians we have analyzed and that we can indeed point out as singular examples of a musical Signifyin(g). Gates himself made some references to music in the pages of his *The Signifying Monkey*, and in one of these references he underlined precisely the pertinence of his conception to the case of jazz emphasizing how:

> there are so many examples of Signifyin(g) in jazz that one could write a formal history of its development on this basis alone. [...] Improvisation, of course, so fundamental to the very idea of jazz, is "nothing more" than repetition and revision. In this sort of revision, again where meaning is fixed, it is the realignment of the signifier that is the signal trait of expressive genius. [...] It is this principle of repetition and difference, this practice of intertextuality, which has been so crucial to the black vernacular forms of Signifyin(g), jazz –and even its antecedents, the blues, the spirituals, and ragtime– and which is the source of my trope for black intertextuality in the Afro-American formal literary tradition.[113]

The same argument has been noted by Russell Potter in his book *Spectacular Vernaculars.* Interestingly though, he also underlines how recorded music has always played a determinant factor facilitating this process. As he asserts:

> early on, African-American traditions were able to draw upon recorded music as one of their key sources of continuity and communication; not only did rural and urban styles cross-influence one another, but the practice of making performances that copied, referred to, or set themselves in variation against previously *recorded* works became widespread. And, just as Henry Louis Gates Jr. has documented with African-American *written* traditions, the vernacular, aural/oral traditions of black music produced and framed these variations through the modes of Signifyin(g). While Gates outlines some quite specific modes within which verbal Signifyin(g) operates [...] it also functioned on a musical level, and it is on this level that the structural variations and styles of African-American music have developed. Simply put, Signifyin(g) is repetition *with a difference*; the same and yet not the same. When, in a jazz riff, a horn player substitutes one arpeggio for another in moving from key to key, ors shifts a melody to what would be a harmony note, or "cuts up" a well-known solo by altering its tempo, phrasing, or accents, s/he is Signifyin(g) on all previous versions.[114]

As we have showed in the previous pages, Signifyin(g) upon flamenco music drawn from recorded material, musicians like Miles Davis and John Coltrane established an intertextual relationship between jazz and flamenco that was instrumental in the development of particular critical strategies. With this practice they do not simply

integrated elements of flamenco within the jazz idiom enlarging its musical language and expanding its boundaries. Even though their contact with flamenco was not direct but mediated through recorded music, the kind of sonic mimicry they developed generated a dynamic interplay between two different musical materials and aesthetic traditions conferring to their music a manifest degree of double-voiceness, as if musicians were 'in two places at the same time.' It is also for this reason that one would expect a certain reaction from the side of flamenco, a reaction that would later lead to what now is known as *nuevo flamenco* as a distinct genre. Given the way that singular jazz musicians used flamenco elements in the transformation of their music, and given the reciprocal and consequential appropriation of jazz made by flamenco musicians, I will try to show how we can argue that it was "Signifyin(g)" upon jazz that flamenco musicians have developed a strategy to start a departure from the traditional forms; a departure that would become a re-imagining of flamenco that had to be known later as *nuevo flamenco*.

In the field of flamenco, the work of Davis and Coltrane did not have an immediate reception among Spanish musicians. In fact, a kind of 'response' to this sort of 'call' made from American jazz musicians came a few years later and under curious circumstances. After the Civil War, Spanish jazz scene did not start to recover the considerable vitality of the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s until the beginning of the 1950s.[115] Even so, though, jazz did not escape the obstinate Francoist censorship to any artistic or cultural activity[116] and, despite the visit of a few international musicians that enlivened the local scene, the country remained hardly aware of current innovations and no Spanish musician had projection outside its frontiers. The 1960s supposed a change to this situation with an increasing number of local groups and musicians, which were in consonance with a growing audience, and the emergence of some international

jazz festivals such as those of Barcelona and San Sebastián among others, that promoted the presence of renowned international figures. Also, and for the first time, some Spanish players began to achieve international recognition. It was the case of Pedro Iturralde,[117] a saxophone player who in 1967 was invited to participate with his group at the Berlin Jazz Days Festival. That year's edition was organized by the German jazz scholar Joachim E. Berendt who under the theme 'jazz meets the world' wanted to include some examples of interaction between jazz and other musical traditions from around the world.[118] In that sense, Iturralde's group was appointed to perform a fusion of jazz and flamenco. However, this was something which they had actually never done and it was indeed Berendt himself who suggested Iturralde to include the presence of a flamenco guitar player to a quintet in which Iturralde was in fact the only Spanish member.[119] Berendt's suggestion was accepted and the guitarist appointed to the enterprise was a young Paco de Algeciras, the first artistic name of Paco de Lucía. We can arguably affirm that the decision was a prophetical one because it was precisely de Lucía who, some years later, became the catalyst of the fusion between jazz and flamenco that became determinant in the emergence of *nuevo flamenco.*

It was thus in 1967, that is seven years after the publication of *Sketches of Spain*, and as a commission from a German festival, that a group of Spanish musicians attempted for the first time to emulate the work of Davis and Coltrane. As a result of the experience, they made a series of recordings that were published in the form of three records between that same year and 1968. The first was called 'Flamenco-Jazz' while the title of the other two came with an inversion of the same terms, that is under the heading 'Jazz Flamenco.'[120] This is precisely the first time –with due exception to the mentioned record of Lionel Hampton– that we have the terms 'jazz' and 'flamenco' combined in an expression to designate a specific music style. Though in practice both

expressions are used as synonyms, the common tendency has been to label the fusion between these musical traditions as 'jazz-flamenco,' since, as argued by Luis Clemente, in its origins and until the change that supposed the work of Paco de Lucía, it was flamenco that became integrated within the jazz field. In the words of Clemente :

> it seems that the most appropriate is to talk of jazz flamenco instead of flamenco jazz, since are precisely jazz musicians those that got into the flamenco ground more than the other way round. At the same time, the result of their work has been more fruitful and they have been much more prepared and musically opened than their flamenco counterparts, generally younger. The exception, of course, came with Paco [de Lucía].[121]

The recordings made by Iturralde's group with Paco de Lucía show a clear influence of the work of Miles Davis and John Coltrane, already evident in the songs chosen for the first record they published. As in *Sketches of Spain*, Iturralde also arranged musical parts from Manuel de Falla's *El Amor Brujo.* He took specifically two pieces, one being *Canción de las Penas de Amor* [Song of the Suffering Love], while the other was *Canción del Fuego Fatuo* [Song of the Will-o'-the Wisp], that is, the same arranged by Gil Evans though in this occasion for a quintet. The other two that completed the record were *Veleta de tu Viento* [Weathervane of your Wind], an original composition by Pedro Iturralde, and a version of *El Vito,* the same piece that inspired Coltrane's *Olé.* On the other hand, parallelisms are also evident concerning the treatment given to the flamenco material, which in general is also taken as the base for modal improvisation, while the sax playing of Iturralde usually tends to imitate flamenco singing in a way similar to that performed by Miles Davis.[122] However, and

despite the fact that in contrast to *Sketches of Spain* here we have the participation of the flamenco guitar, its presence tends to be reduced to the opening and conclusive sections introducing the theme upon which the jazz quintet develops the whole piece, being significantly absent from the central improvisational sections. This rather symbolic presence is something Iturralde acknowledges in the liner notes of the record when he explicitly thanks Paco de Lucía for 'adapting his conception to ours,'[123] making also clear that:

> in the making of this record, my intention has been to take flamenco as a source of inspiration and, taking it and its feeling as a ground to express myself in a free and sincere way by means of the improvisation within the rhythmic conception of modern jazz, to show that our music can be integrated, without losing its personality, to another contemporary and universal culture as it is jazz.[124]

Even though Spanish scholars have always considered this as a landmark in the development of jazz flamenco in Spain the truth is that this first experiment did not have any immediate continuity neither among jazz musicians nor in the field of flamenco. It took nearly two decades until this kind of fusion began to be developed as a differentiated style within flamenco and, as it has been mentioned, the central figure that initiated this development was Paco de Lucía. His work in that sense became seminal in the emergence and development of *nuevo flamenco*.

Paco de Lucía[125] was the artistic name of Francisco Sánchez Gómez, a flamenco guitarist born in Algeciras, in the province of Cádiz, in 1941, and that passed away on the 25th of February 2014 in Playa del Carmen, in Mexico. He was the youngest son of flamenco guitarist Antonio Sánchez Pecino, and was not the only flamenco musician in

the family since his brother Ramón de Algeciras was also a known guitarist and his brother Pepe de Lucía is a recognized flamenco singer that also collaborated with Paco in many occasions. At the age of seven his father and his brother Ramón began teaching him flamenco guitar, and according to them he "not only picked up the essentials, such as the techniques, *compases,* and feeling of each of flamenco's many forms, but began creating spontaneously his own material as well."[126] A few years later, when he was eleven, his father told him he had not enough money for him to continue in school and for that reason he concentrated exclusively on the guitar, practicing even twelve hours a day. At such an early age he already began to accompany his brother Pepe's *cante* as well as all the singers and dancers that frequented their house. In fact, at the time, the role of guitarists was basically to accompany flamenco singers and dancers, and this was the first activity that Paco de Lucía developed as a musician. His professional career began at the age of thirteen and the first record in which he appears was from 1961, when he was fourteen. It was not after some years later that he became known as the soloist that transformed the whole tradition of flamenco music.

Follower of the playing style of Niño Ricardo and Sabicas, his first public recognition took place in 1962 at the "Concurso Internacional de Arte Flamenco" in Jerez de la Frontera where he played with his brother Pepe. Since, according to the rules of the Concurso, he was too young to win one of the established prizes, he was awarded a special prize designed expressly for him. The money he received allowed him to move to Madrid where he met flamenco dancer and choreographer José Greco. He toured with Greco's troupe across the Americas and Europe, and in 1967 he recorded his first solo album entitled *La Fabulosa Guitarra de Paco de Lucía,* the one that initiated a profusion of recordings that became central in the evolution of flamenco and the development of *nuevo flamenco.* In fact, the recording studio was for Paco de Lucía a

literal laboratory in which he experimented new forms and sounds that influenced all kinds of musicians, not only those within the field of flamenco music. According to Don Pohren, "Paco's evolution can be followed pretty closely through his recordings. Recordings, as a matter of fact, are what make Paco hop. Normal, non-recorded concert work is far easier. [...] Records are another matter. Each is an historic statement."[127] This fact is in itself an important contribution that Paco de Lucía made to the transformation of flamenco tradition. Even though recordings of flamenco music exist since the end of the 19th century, they had tended to reproduce the normal field of action of flamenco, that of live performances. Musicians performed in the studio as if they were playing in front of the current audience of the café cantante, the tablao, or the concert hall. De Lucía brought about an important change to this situation. He was certainly not the first flamenco musician to have an extensive discography, but he was the first to take a special interest in the process of recording as a way to take flamenco beyond the traditional sphere it was occupying. The technology available in the studio was an element that he used as a mediator that facilitated the incorporation of foreign sounds to flamenco. In that sense, the recording studio became, in the hands of Paco de Lucía, a crucial place in the development of *nuevo flamenco.*

A turning point in Paco de Lucía's career began at the end of the 1960s when he joined singer Camarón de la Isla. This mythical union produced nine records between 1968 and 1977. Their work was revered by both flamenco lovers and flamencologists as well as it became extremely influential among young flamenco musicians. But, being the official accompanist of Camarón de la Isla during all this time[128] did not stopped his career as a solo guitarist. In fact, it was during the 1970s that de Lucía's albums started breaking new ground. For the first time he began to introduce unconventional and innovative elements into the repertoire of traditional flamenco. Most of these

innovations came from the field of jazz since, as pointed out by Gerhard Klingenstein, meeting jazz musicians Miles Davis and Thelonious Monk in the already mentioned Berlin Jazz Festival of 1967, “profoundly influenced de Lucía, and sparked a fascination for jazz that remained with him throughout his life.”[129] A seminal work in this respect was the album *Fuente y Caudal* [Fountain and Flow] released in 1973. The album immediately became a best-seller and it was the first time that a flamenco recording had such an impact among a sector of public that until then had never felt interested in flamenco.

The most popular song among all the tracks contained in *Fuente y Caudal* was the rumba *Entre Dos Aguas* [Between Two Waters] that became a number one in all the best-selling-records lists for several months. It is worth noting that the song’s title has an evident symbolic meaning that could actually become the motto of Paco de Lucía’s whole musical position. On the one hand, it makes reference to de Lucía’s home town of Algeciras, located where the Mediterranean waters join with those of the Atlantic Ocean. But on the other hand, it is quite obvious that this blending of waters is a reflection or a metaphorical way to express the fusion of flamenco with music elements from the other side of the Atlantic, and precisely with those of jazz music. Gerhard Klingenstein sustains this argument when he admits that “it may have referred at the time to the direction flamenco was to take, the choices between tradition or progress, purity or freedom.”[130] At the level of sound, Don Pohren recognizes how the record represents “the initiation of the flamenco combo”[131] because it was the first time that Paco de Lucía introduced such “foreign” instruments to flamenco tradition as the bongos and the electric bass. And in relation to the musical form that the song presents it also becomes very obvious that de Lucía was following the typical structure of a jazz standard in which a written (composed) melody that is introduced in the first time is

followed by subsequent choruses of an improvised character but that preserve the harmonic pattern of the melodic part. In this concern, he does not limit to chain different *falsetas*[132] together but he also introduces new improvised material and at the same times achieves a coherent melodic, harmonic and rhythmic structure throughout all the song. The way Paco de Lucía incorporated jazz music within the traditional body of flamenco music was a determinant element in the development of his singular and distinct style. But, at the same time, it was an essential factor in the approach of flamenco to the more general public[133] and also to an international audience since it was at this time that his tours across Europe and America began to be something common.

For what we have seen, the record *Fuente y Caudal* became a turning point in the career of Paco de Lucía and in the evolution of flamenco music in general. Apart from what has already been said, a singular fact is that at the end of the 1970s he made his last record with singer Camarón de la Isla, *Castillo de Arena* (1977). From this moment on, he stopped to make recordings as an accompanist to singers and concentrated on developing the innovations to guitar language in records such as *Almoraima* (1976) and *Paco de Lucía Interpreta a Manuel de Falla* (1978). As Pohren underlines, Paco himself sent out mixed signals about this:

> For a time he was reported to have said that the human voice is naturally too limited, that he prefers the nearly limitless possibilities of exploration and experimentation he finds in playing with other instrumentalists. Today, however, Paco says it has been basically the lack of time in his terribly busy schedule.[134]

De Lucía's recordings followed this new path and he was already celebrated as a first figure of flamenco guitar when during the 1980s he had already accomplished a

profound renewal of its language. At the beginning of this decade, de Lucía started a series of high profile collaborations with leading jazz musicians such as Larry Coryell, Al DiMeola, John McLaughlin or Chick Corea among others. These particular experiences not only gave him another major impulse for the development of a distinct jazz flamenco sound but also contributed to widen the position of Paco de Lucía in the international musical scene. However, even though these collaborations have been crucial in the development of de Lucía's hybrid sounds, it is worth mentioning how they must be understood as part of a conscious process he already had in mind. Thus, even though his first international collaboration began with the concert on December 1980 with McLaughlin and Di Meola that became the source of the record *Friday Night in San Francisco,* in 1978 de Lucía had already invited the Spanish jazz group Dolores to participate in two central tracks of his record *Paco de Lucía interpreta a Manuel de Falla.* At that time he made a clear statement about his intentions to transform traditional flamenco by introducing elements from other musical languages:

> we are breaking the tradition because there has been always the same for more than thirty years and I could even die if there was no change at all. We are able to play it with jazz, blues or rock. The purists don't like it because they want to live in a cave. Flamenco has been for many years the life of *Gitanos*, but now the young people think differently. It's the evolution.[135]

A definite step of this 'evolution' materialized when de Lucía founded his famous Sextet, integrating both flamenco and jazz musicians in a group that has been an indisputable jazz flamenco reference.[136] Although the Paco de Lucía's Sextet as a stable group was not mentioned as such until 1984[137] all its components already appear in the

de Lucía's record *Solo quiero caminar* (I only want to walk) from 1981, generally recognized as a very influential record in the evolution of *nuevo flamenco.* But what are the particular elements that can be pointed out in order to make such a statement? Undoubtedly, a good way to answer this question will be to focus on the first track of the album, a composition that encapsulates the characteristic features of Paco de Lucía's jazz flamenco sound.

*Solo quiero caminar*, the opening song that gives its name to the record itself, is presented in the booklet as following the form of the traditional flamenco *tangos.* Similar in its rhythm to the *rumba flamenca*, the *tangos* are written in 4/4 but in contrast to the *rumba flamenca* its melody and harmony are based on the flamenco Phrygian mode. As expected from traditional *tangos*, the song begins with and introduction by the solo guitar of Paco de Lucía evoking with a series of chordal cadences the characteristic sound of the Phrygian mode in E. In fact, the first bars of the song do not deviate from what is common in a conventional flamenco composition. But soon all changes with departures at three different levels, those of timbre, form and harmony. The most evident of all are undoubtedly the ones concerning the sounds of instruments foreign to traditional flamenco. Until recent decades, the voice has taken the leading role in flamenco consigning the part of the guitar to merely that of accompaniment.[138] It is in that sense that, as late as 1962, D.E. Pohren described guitarists as 'the anonymous flamenco heroes.'[139] Although Paco de Lucía was not the first player to give the flamenco guitar the role of soloist traditionally reserved only to the voice,[140] it is true that his tremendous success in the 1970s with records such as *Fuente y Caudal* supposed an inflection that changed the established situation and make him a figure that many young guitarist started to imitate. Concerning his influence on other guitarists, Gamboa and Núñez have emphasized how 'Paco de Lucía marked a complete shift in

the history of flamenco guitar. Every new record of the maestro has been awaited with expectation by both *aficionados* and colleges. For more than three decades, the guitar and the flamenco concept of Paco have been the mirror where to look at.'[141] One of the most remarkable innovations by Paco de Lucía in the context of flamenco sound has been the introduction of a series of instruments completely foreign to traditional flamenco initiated in 1973 with *Fuente y Caudal*. In *Solo quiero caminar* it is the case of the bass guitar and the flute –played here by Carles Benavent and Jorge Pardo (who also plays the saxophone in other songs of the record), two well known Spanish musicians with a jazz background– but it is also the case of an instrument known as the *cajón.*[142] Whereas de Lucía had used bass guitar and flute in the already mentioned record *Paco de Lucía interpreta a Manuel de Falla,* the *cajón* was introduced for the first time precisely in *Solo quiero caminar*. Even though it is usually assumed that it is a Spanish instrument –an idea that maybe the common appellation ca*jón flamenco* may contribute to extent– it is in fact original from Peru, and specifically characteristic from the Afro-Peruvian folk music. It was during a tour in South America that Paco de Lucía became acquainted with it and fascinated with its sound because, as he has mentioned in many occasions, it resembles very much not only the sound of the typical flamenco *taconeo* (heel tapping) but it is also very similar to the sound produced when the guitar is hit with the hand, a common recourse used by flamenco guitarists. The fact that the sound of the *cajón* does not disturb the existing conventions of flamenco would explain how it has become practically indispensable not only in jazz flamenco but in *nuevo flamenco* in general.[143]

As it could be expected, for purist *aficionados* the incorporation of new instruments was seen as 'an unacceptable innovation because of the imposture and the superficiality it brings along.'[144] Even though it is evident that the cases are not

precisely the same, the kind of response raised by the most traditionalist members of the flamenco audience to such a new feature recalls in a sense to the outrage that, according to rock ’n’ roll mythology, was generated when Bob Dylan “went electric.” In any case, the engagement with particular ways of shaping sound pioneered by Paco de Lucía and continued by a host of followers, have impinged on a particular set of cultural meanings. On the one hand, the debate has turned around the opposition between old and new, tradition and modernity. According to purists the use of new instruments is perceived as a technological invasion into an idealized, authentic cultural space. However, followers of *nuevo flamenco* understand it as a way to conciliate both aspects while at the same time becoming a means to update flamenco. In that sense, we have already pointed up how in the practice of introducing new sounds to flamenco Paco de Lucía and his partners have always demonstrated a particular concern in order that these new sounds do not disturb the conventional practices of flamenco. We have mentioned the case of the *cajón* which, for the reasons already explained is probably the best example. Another one would be the case of the electric bass, especially concerning the approach developed by Carles Benavent like in the instance of the *alzapúa,*[145] a characteristic technique of flamenco guitar playing which he introduced to the bass even when playing with jazz groups, but also because he started to use a five strings bass that, in contrast to the same case in jazz, the extra string is not added on the lowest register but on the highest with the intention, as he reveals, to play chords and have a sound closer to that of the guitar.[146] On the other hand, though, we must not forget the existence of a racial subtext in connection with this debate, since the notions of old and new, tradition and modernity have a distinct racial counterpart in which traditional instruments and techniques have been conceived as a characteristic *Gitano* contribution whereas the new technological ones are presented as a *Payo* influence. As we have seen

in the previous chapter, this responds to the deeply rooted racialized dimension within flamenco discourse which has its translation into a particular set of expectations. Gamboa, Núñez and Calvo recall a telling anecdote that can be a good example to this concrete dimension:

> it happened in one of those concerts when the group Pata Negra was near its end. The brothers Raimundo and Rafael Amador were indulging in an endless electric blues influenced duel whereas the audience was expecting them to take the flamenco guitars and play some of their songs. It was hopeless. Only continuous and dull rounds of twelve bars were coming out of the amplifiers. Diego Manrique was nearly yawning when he claimed: "Sometimes I curse the day in which the flamencos discovered rock."[147]

If we now turn the attention to the formal structure of *Solo quiero caminar* it is very evident that there are also clearly defined departures from traditional flamenco *palos*. As we have already mentioned, the conventional scheme of flamenco songs is based on the 'dialogue between the voice and the instrument [the guitar]'[148] although the role of the guitar is basically that of playing the accompaniment for the singer. As it is the case in many other flamenco forms the *tangos* tend to follow a common pattern made of sections that consists, in its basic structure, of an introduction by the guitar and an alternate succession of *coplas* and *falsetas.* In *Solo quiero caminar* the configuration is completely different. First of all, the most obvious fact is that the vocal parts have been reduced to a minimum expression.[149] The voice appears only in three small sections made of a short chorus with the exception of the last one in which the singer evocates one of the verses of La Niña de los Peines' repertoire –as if this mention would

underline the interest of not completely breaking with tradition. The rest of the song consists of an array of instrumental parts in which the guitar plays the leading role. This again reveals another influence derived from jazz since whereas the first instrumental sections present clear melodic themes –either played by the guitar or the flute– in the sections of the second half of the song the guitar of Paco de Lucía takes a soloist dimension with a definite improvisational character. In a way comparable to jazz, in which thematic sections are the base used for later improvisations, here the alternation of *coplas* and *falsetas* typical of flamenco is substituted for a much more complex structure dominated by improvised soloist parts, a clear reformulation of traditional flamenco musical form. Significantly, this same song opened the record *'10 de Paco'* that in 1994 a quartet of Spanish jazz musicians recorded as a kind of tribute to Paco de Lucía. The record consists of ten versions of the Paco de Lucía's most known songs interpreted in this occasion with a formation common in jazz groups (the same Jorge Pardo on flute and saxophone, pianist Chano Domínguez, acustic bass player Javier Colina and percussionist Tino di Geraldo). Although their version of *Solo quiero caminar* has a more jazzy treatment (with even some slight influences from Latin jazz) it is important to emphasize that concerning its structure, it respects the same scheme of sections of the original one.

A third and last aspect we have to take into account considering the innovations introduced by Paco de Lucía and his group is that concerning the level of harmony. In fact, the concept of harmony in flamenco is completely related to that of form since what characterises the different *palos* 'is not only their vocal and instrumental sections, but also a particular rhythm, melody and harmony.'[150] As we have already pointed out, the case of *tangos* and *rumba flamenca* constitute a good example of this peculiarity because they share many similarities in relation to rhythm and form but diverge at the

level of harmony. Thus, whereas the *rumba flamenca* is constructed using the major scale, the *tangos* are based on the flamenco Phrygian mode and its characteristic harmonies. As it has been mentioned previously, the typical and distinctive sound of flamenco music is usually associated with the use of this particular mode.[151] Although related to the standard Phrygian mode, the most common in flamenco is to raise half tone the III degree when the melody is ascending, while keep it normal on descending melodic movements. At the same time, the III degree is also raised in the case of the tonic chord and becomes thus major and not minor as in the Phrygian mode. This is the reason for which some authors tend to describe the *Modo flamenco* (flamenco mode) as a *Modo Frigio Mayorizado* (Phrygian/major mode) or even as a *Modo Frigio Armonizado* (Harmonised Phrygian mode).[152] Within this framework, the most characteristic harmonic feature in flamenco is its typical progression IV-III-II-I[153] which has a complete cadential character and is usually referred as *Cadencia Flamenca* but sometimes also as *Cadencia Andaluza.* Most flamenco *palos* using the flamenco Phrygian mode base the core of the song on this progression as is the case in *tangos.*

Even though *Solo quiero caminar* is based on the standard harmonic framework of *tangos*, a careful listening reveals also at this level a perceptible departure from the boundaries of traditional flamenco harmony, something that Paco de Lucía made explicit when asserted that 'guitar is living a very important moment because there is a revolution concerning the harmony. Flamenco is a very rich music, of an impressing rhythmic and emotive power, but we lacked harmony.'[154] Departures are found here, on the one hand, in relation to the harmonic texture since the guitar plays chords with intervals of 9$^{th}$, 11$^{th}$ and 13$^{th}$, something uncommon on traditional flamenco but completely usual in jazz. Expanding flamenco chord voicings in this way Paco de Lucía leads into a new perspective, broadening the characteristic sonic dimension of flamenco.

But, on the other hand, another feature that motivates the peculiar flamenco sound in *Solo quiero caminar* concerns the introduction of chords outside those comprised within the mode, basically secondary dominants of several degrees except the modal tonic (mainly the II, III, VII and especially the VI degree). This practice, again very common in jazz (as well as in other music styles) gives the song a certain modal fluctuation, a particular sound foreign to the common cadential structure of traditional flamenco.

In short, what this concise scrutiny of *Solo quiero caminar* wanted to expound is first of all the leading role of Paco de Lucía as one of the pioneers of *nuevo flamenco.* Following the steps initiated by Paco de Lucía and his Sextet many musicians have entered the field of jazz flamenco contributing to constitute it as a clearly defined music style. Even though it is not the interest of this chapter to establish a whole inventory of jazz flamenco musicians, we could at least make reference to some of the most significant ones, especially those that have had a particular relevance outside the Spanish frontiers. It is important to note how within the space of jazz flamenco have gathered musicians coming not only from either jazz and flamenco backgrounds, but also both *Gitanos* and *Payos*. In that sense, apart from the musicians that have collaborated regularly with Paco de Lucía –such as saxophone and flute player Jorge Pardo, bassist Carles Benavent, pianist Joan Albert Amargós, and percussionists Ruben Dantas– we must mention, among others, the pianists Chano Domínguez, Sergio Monroy, Juan Cortés or Diego Amador; bassist Javier Colina; sax players Perico Sambeat or Javier Denis; percussionists Guillermo McGill or Tino di Geraldo; and guitarists Niño Josele, Agustín Carbonell, Gerardo Núñez, Ángel Rubio or Juan Manuel Cañizares.

But, at the same time, with *Solo quiero caminar* I wanted to show how Paco de Lucía has drawn particularly upon jazz as a source of specific musical elements to help

introduce innovations to re-imagine that deep-rooted music style that is flamenco. For that reason, the influence of jazz has been an instrumental contribution to the development of the particular language of *nuevo flamenco*. But, most important of all, it must be pointed up how in this process Paco de Lucía has taken an approach equivalent to the one that musicians like Miles Davis or John Coltrane had taken previously in relation to flamenco. In that sense, the way in which the meaning of traditional flamenco has been disrupted by other interpretations and inscriptions made by *nuevo flamenco* resorts to the same strategy of Signifyin(g) to which we have referred previously. Thus, to put it in other words, Signifyin(g) upon jazz has been the strategy of *nuevo flamenco* to start a departure from the purist straitjacket articulating a response to received models and discourses while at the same time keep indeed faithful to flamenco's own tradition, which has been one of being always *at variance* from itself.

## Conclusions

As I have stated in the introduction of this chapter, the main argument raised here wanted to unveil the kind of dialog between jazz and flamenco that became crucial for the development of the modal jazz of the 1960s and how this situation was also central for the subsequent re-imagination of flamenco, a transformation that became known as *nuevo flamenco.* We have seen the leading role played by influential musicians in both genres as were Miles Davis and Paco de Lucía respectively. And we have also seen how important were ethnic discourses surrounding both jazz and flamenco as the instrument that helped to articulate these kinds of musical appropriations. But, in the case of *nuevo flamenco,* we can ask a very concrete question: has the process described here produced any changes in the context of Spanish popular

culture and in the perception of flamenco in particular? A way to answer this question is to turn back again to the field of African-American culture.

In the first part of his article *Musical Belongings,* Richard Middleton centres his analysis in the relationship between Western music and what has been called its "Low-other," a relationship that using examples that range from Mozart's *Magic Flute* to Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* and Paul Simon's *Graceland,* he recognizes as dominated by a twin strategy of assimilation and projection.[155] This idea is compared in the second part of the article to the much more complex negotiation between high and low in black America and South Africa as show the examples of Duke Ellington or South African jazz musician Abdullah Ibrahim. In this case, Middleton refers specifically to the emphasis that black cultural studies have put on 'an affirmative portrayal of black expressive culture as "a counterculture of modernity."'[156] Here, Middleton adopts Houston Baker's concept of *deformation of mastery*, one of the 'two different yet overlapping strategies of Signifyin(g),'[157] that, as he puts it, "by counterposing to the norms a knowingly alien discourse, performs an act of territorialization, an assertion of self which is "never simply coming into being, but always, also, a release from BEING POSSESSED."'[158] Drawing on this concept, Middleton asserts how the music of Duke Ellington and Abdullah Ibrahim 'might contribute to a "politics of reappropriation," by "answering back" to the assimilation/projection evident in *Porgy and Bess* and *Graceland*.'[159] In these musicians work we find, according to him, examples of Signifyin(g) that, contrasting to the monological mastery of Gershwin and Simon, enable a more pluralistic insight as well as a rejection of simple notions of authenticity.

What the case of *nuevo flamenco* reveals, as in the development of jazz flamenco that we have seen through the work of Paco de Lucía, is in fact another good example of a *deformation of mastery.* Underpinned by the existing discourses that

emphasize the putative shared cultural forms of flamenco and jazz, *nuevo flamenco* has turned to that music as a means to legitimate its change in relation to traditional flamenco, searching in this way to establish a kind of new territory overcoming the boundaries that have always contained flamenco. But at the same time, *nuevo flamenco* challenges the hegemonic values of *Payo* aesthetics formulated in the discourses that favour the so-called *flamenco puro* and deny the politics of crossover characteristic of *nuevo flamenco*'s fusion, achieving in this way –weather the musicians are *Gitanos* or *Payos*– the same status that 'non-*Gitano*' music styles have in Spain. *Nuevo flamenco* is thus an example of how, in the words of David Horn:

> signifyin(g) techniques create a space between text (whether that text be a specific piece, a pre-given form or a style) and performance, in which each is seen in a new light. Signifying performers establish and exploit a position of duality, placing themselves in the interplay between two expressive statements.[160]

Signifyin(g) becomes a powerful transformation that permits *nuevo flamenco* musicians to remain within the limits of a sedimented cultural form as is flamenco while, at the same time, be able to introduce changes allowing that culture to speak with a difference. Paco de Lucía is very graphic on this respect when, questioned about how can be achieved the mixture of flamenco's 'primitivism' and the quest for new harmonies, he answers:

> just with one hand grasping on tradition and the other one scratching around, searching. It is very important not to forget the tradition because it's there where

> you find the essence, the message, the basis. From it you can really go anywhere and escape, but never leaving this root, since, in the end, flamenco's identity, smell and flavour are there.[161]

As we have already mentioned, even though the concept of Signiyin(g) was developed within the field of literary criticism, Gates himself points out how relevant he believes his idea of Signifyin(g) is concerning the musical arena. Some relevant works have followed Gates' view and have applied his approach to the field of music.[162] In all of the cases, though, scholars have focused their studies exclusively to one specific objective, that of developing new understandings of African-American music. However, seen in a much wider context and for what he have seen in the previous pages, we can argue that the implications of the idea of Signifyin(g), have made plausible a most extensive application of the concept, embracing, as in the case analyzed here, other particular cultures (something that given the pervasiveness of African-American music in a global context would seem certainly reasonable). In fact, this is something that David Horn also indicates when he asserts that 'the frequent parallels that have been drawn –by Gates and others– between signifying [sic] and other concepts, such as the dialogical theory of Bakhtin, suggest that signifying may not be used to set African-American culture apart.'[163] It is true, as Horn also underlines that 'while not arguing for its uniqueness as an expressive strategy, writers such as Floyd insist on its important contribution to the formation and character of African-American musical culture in particular.'[164] But, at the same time, given that Signifyin(g) is not the passing of information, but its manipulation'[165] it is an expressive strategy not foreign to certain musical cultures as that of flamenco.[166]

Finally, we are also conscious of another problem that emerges if we take into account that the concept of Signifyin(g) can be easily assimilated to nothing else but a particular type of intertextuality, something that Gates himself had already envisioned when equating Signifyin(g) to 'a metaphor for formal revision, or intertextuality, within the Afro-American literary tradition.'[167] However, following Ingrid Monson in her study on jazz improvisation and interaction, it would be better to think of music as part of a process in which 'signifyin(g) as an aesthetic developed from interactive, participatory, turn-taking games and genres that are multiply authored.'[168] Something that again Paco de Lucía seems to illustrate when he affirms that 'I do not believe in the fusion of musics; only in the work between musicians.'[169]

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[1] Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text,* pp. 3-4.
[2] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious,* p. 107.
[3] Berendt, *The Jazz Book*, p. 8.
[4] Tirro, *Jazz: A History*, p. 155.
[5] Berendt, ibid. Also according to Berendt, 'in Morton we recognize for the first time the decisive fact that the personality of the performing musician is more important in jazz that the material contributed by the composer.'
[6] Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll*, pp. 61-62.
[7] Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll*, p. 62. As Morton attests, *New Orleans Blues* is a composition of 1902 that became very popular in town since 'all the bands in the city played it at that time.'
[8] Doheny, *The Spanish Tinge Hypothesis,* p. 8. For similar formulations of this same idea see also Stewart, *Cuban Influences on New Orleans Music*; Washburne, *Latin Jazz: The Other Jazz*; or Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*.
[9] Roberts, *Latin Jazz,* p. 4.
[10] Ibid., p. 5.
[11] Bornemann, *Creole Echoes. Part II*, p. 26.
[12] Borneman, *Creole Echoes, Part I*, p. 14.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Van der Merwe, *Origins of the Popular Style,* p. 50. In relation to the influence of flamenco in blues guitar playing it is interesting to note the argument of Gérard Herzhaft when he affirms that: 'Texan bluesmen play the guitar with the fingers [...] following the style of Spanish flamenco that had so much influence in their ancient Mexican possessions. [..] Arpeggios and solos do not exclusively use the pentatonic scales but favour the Spanish/Arabic Phrygian mode, and many Texan blues are even totally devoid of the alterations known as *blue notes*. The words and themes of most of them are also highly dominated by the North-Mexican tradition issued from Andalusia'. In Herzhaft, *Le Grande Encyclopédie du Blues*, p. 341 (my translation).
[15] Schuller, *Early Jazz, Its Roots and Musical Development,* p. 58.
[16] Roberts, *Latin Jazz,* p. 6.

[17] Deveaux, *Constructing the Jazz Tradition*, in Walser (ed.), *Keeping Time*, p. 421.
[18] As mentioned by Nat Hentof, Duke Ellington once likened Miles to Picasso, 'always changing, always up front somewhere by himself, taking risks, daring others to take risks.' See Hentof, *Jazz Is*, p. 135.
[19] Walter, 'Trumpets and Cornets', p. 466.
[20] Baraka, *Blues People,* 208.
[21] In fact, it is also pointed out that the first tentative into the world of modal jazz was the version of *Summertime* that appears on Miles Davis's album *Porgy and Bess* from 1958, with arrangements by Gil Evans. It contains a section with a long modal vamp with no chord changes. That same year, Miles recorded his album *Milestones* which title track became his first full modal jazz song.
[22] Monson, *Oh Freedom: George Russell, John Coltrane, and Modal Jazz*, p. 149.
[23] Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, p. 18.
[24] Davis and Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography*, p. 225.
[25] Jones, *Blues People*, pp. 226-227.
[26] Floyd, *The Power of Black Music*, p. 187.
[27] Monson, op. cit. p. 150.
[28] Nisenson, *The Making of Kind of Blue*, p. 10.
[29] Berendt, op. cit. p. 181.
[30] Ibid.
[31] See Davis and Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography*, p. 235.
[32] Gioia, *The History of Jazz,* p. 299.
[33] Though modal jazz put into practice the ideas developed by George Russell it is important to underline that his theoretical work is much more encompassing than its use in modal jazz. As Monson argues, 'it should be emphasized that Russell's theory is ultimately more comprehensive than the connotations which the term modal jazz later took on […] for modes underlie his approach to all harmonic situations.' See Monson, op. cit. p. 154.
[34] As described by Bill Evans in the liner notes of the album *Kind of Blue*.
[35] Gioia, *The History of Jazz,* p. 299.
[36] Ibid.
[37] See Nisenson, *The Making of Kind of Blue*, p. 157.
[38] Moreover, it is worth noting that, on the one hand, castanets are an element present only when flamenco is danced and they are even not an essential one. On the other hand, castanets are not an element exclusive of flamenco since they are used in nearly all kinds of folk music from the Spanish geography.
[39] Hapmton's *Jazz Flamenco* would be in fact a clear example of how 'Spanish' has been sometimes a term under which have been subsumed indistinctly the cultures of Spain and those of the Hispanic heritage in South America. What we find, for example, on the song *Hamp's Jazz Flamenco* is a swing oriented mambo that unmistakably recalls Pérez Prado's influence.
[40] In this case would be: D-bE-F-G-A-B-C-D'.
[41] Miles Davis became acquainted with *Concierto de Aranjuez* in 1959, through his friend the bass player Joe Mondragón. As he recalls in his autobiography, it was precisely Mondragón ('a Spanish Indian from Mexico') who prompted Miles to play that piece. The melodic lines of Rodrigo's work immediately captivated him and decided to follow Mondragón's advice. See Davis and Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography,* p. 241.
[42] Ibid.
[43] In that sense, even Gil Evans's biographer Larry Hicock –who dedicates a whole chapter to the conception of *Sketches of Spain* in his informed survey of the life and work of Evans– accepts that the inspiration for the tune came from Latin American music. See Hicock, *Castles Made of Sound: The Story of Gil Evans*, p. 108.
[44] The mentioned piece is *Alborada de Vigo*, a tune played on fiesta mornings in Galicia in order to wake up the neighbours. This version was recorded by Alan Lomax during his 1952-53 campaign in Spanish territory and appears in the record *Spain* from his collection *World Library of Folk and Primitive Music*. It is played by J.M. Rodríguez on the *pito* as Lomax observes in the notes that accompany the record. He describes the *pito* as 'a panpipe of eight holes, carved from one piece of wood with a horse-head for a handle'. Listening to the piece and given Lomax's description it is arguable to affirm that it is here where lie the inspiration for Evans and Davis's *The Pan Piper.*
[45] See Tomlinson, *Cultural Dialogics and Jazz: A White Historian Signifies.*
[46] Monson, *Oh Freedom*, p. 150.
[47] Quoted in Núñez, *Joaquín Rodrigo,* p. 7.
[48] See the analysis by Núñez, *Joaquín Rodrigo*, p. 21.

[49] In the field of jazz, another well known version is the song *Spain* that figures in the album *Light as a Feahter* (1972) by pianist Chick Corea. A premier jazz-fusion innovator, Chick Corea worked with Miles Davis in pivotal jazz-fusion albums such as *In a Silent Way* (1969) and *Bitches Brew* (1969). A deep lover of flamenco and Spanish music, which inspired his two-record set *My Spanish Heart,* Corea is also known for his collaborations with Spanish jazz and flamenco musicians –like Paco de Lucía, among others.
[50] *El Amor Brujo* was a well known work for Gil Evans since it already served as a source of inspiration for his composition *Blues for Pablo,* as mentioned above. However, whereas *Blues for Pablo* used just a single melodic phrase from *Danza Ritual del Fuego* [Ritual Fire Dance], Gil's arrangement of *Will o' the Wisp* was based more fully on Manuel de Falla's original song *Canción del Fuego Fatuo.*
[51] Pastora Imperio is the artistic name of Pastora Rojas Monje, born in Seville in 1889. One of the most popular flamenco singers and dancers in the Spain of the first decades of the 20th century, Pastora Imperio was also very famous abroad, especially in South America and even in Paris. Renowned especially by her arms movement, she was the one that generalized the use of the 'bata de cola' as the common dress of female flamenco dancers, a practice that became generally followed and is still the standard of flamenco aesthetics. She is also known for her filmic work in such popular movies as *La Reina de una Raza* [The Queen of a Race] (1917), *María de la O* (1936), or a film version of *El Amor Brujo* (1949).
[52] See García del Busto, *1914-1918: Europa al Sur*, p. 23.
[53] Tranchefort, *Guía de la Música Sinfónica,* p. 378.
[54] According to Stephanie Stein Crease, Gil Evans wrote some other arrangements for the album. While *Song of Our Country* (recorded for *Sketches of Spain* but not included on the album but added to the 1981 Miles Davis album *Directions*) is based on a melody by Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos, the others (that have never come to light) were based also on Spanish flamenco themes or Spanish folk songs (like the *Zortziko*, a musical form of Basque origin in 5/4). See Stein Crease, *Gil Evans: Out of the Cool: His Life and Music*, p. 212.
[55] As Alfredo Arrebola points out, the term *saeta* appears for the first time during the 17th century to refer to particular religious songs very popular in Andalusia such as the *saetas del Pecado Mortal* [saetas of the mortal sin] and the *saetas penetrantes* [penetrating saetas]. See Arrebola, *La Saeta,* p. 81.
[56] While some signal singer Enrique el Mellizo (1848-1906) as the probable first interpreter of the *saeta flamenca* (see Arrebola, *La Saeta*, p. 118, or Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco*, p. 395), the most common opinion is that its creator was Manuel Centeno (1885-1961) and it is generally accepted that the beginnings of the 1920s was the date of its introduction (see, for example, López Ruiz, *Guía del Flamenco*, p. 65, Rossy, *Teoría del Cante Jondo,* p. 142, or García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Cante Flamenco*, p. 69).
[57] Arrebola, *La Saeta*, p. 68.
[58] In fact, as it is mentioned in the liner notes, the recording was not made by Lomax himself but by *Radio Nacional de España,* the Spanish National Broadcasting Corporation that allowed its reproduction in Lomax's compilation.
[59] As it will be explained later, this is in fact a feature common in flamenco when using the flamenco Phrygian mode.
[60] Davis and Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography,* p. 242.
[61] Hicock, *Castles Made of Sound: The Story of Gil Evans*, p. 110.
[62] Nisenson, *The Making of Kind of Blue*, p. 169.
[63] Gioia, *The History of Jazz*, p. 296.
[64] See Miguel Mora, *La Voz de los Flamencos: Retratos y Autorretratos*, p. 435.
[65] Nisenson, *The Making of Kind of Blue*, p. 169.
[66] See liner notes of *Sketches of Spain*, p. 12.
[67] For a complete overview of aspects of musical theory particular to flamenco see Lola Fernández, *Teoría Musical del Flamenco.* For a specific analysis of the *compás* see Jose María Parra Expósito, *El Compás Flamenco de Todos los Estilos.*
[68] Davis and Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography,* p. 242.
[69] Ibid.
[70] See liner notes of *Sketches of Spain,* by Nat Hentoff, p. 12.
[71] The correspondence with the Portuguese term *saudade* is thus evident.
[72] See Vossler, *La Poesía de la Soledad en España.*
[73] A *copla* is the equivalent of a verse and is thus a part interpreted by the singer.
[74] In his *Colección de Cantes Flamenco* of 1881, Antonio Machado y Álvarez compiled a total of 773 *coplas* of different flamenco forms popular during the second half of the 19th century. Of all them, 470 were *soleares* while 177 were *siguiriyas*.

[75] Flamenco historians have determined that the different styles of *soleá* have been variants of an original form originated in Seville. For this reason each variant has been named after the geographic region in which they evolved. We have thus: *soleares de Triana, soleares de Alcalá, Soleares de Utrera, soleares de Cádiz, soleares de Jerez,* and *soleares de Córdoba.* For a description of each one see García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Cante Flamenco,* pp. 87-93, or Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco*, pp. 415-417.

[76] See for example Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco*, pp. 415-17, or García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Cante Flamenco,* pp. *87*-93 who also affirms that: 'The *soleares,* with the *siguiriyas,* are the two fundamental trunks of the great *cante* tree. It could be said that without *soleares* and *siguiriyas* flamenco would not exist' (p. 87). The distinction of *cantes flamencos básicos* (basic flamenco songs) was established by Molina and Mairena in his *Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco* (1963), and it is still accepted by flamencologists.

[77] It is interesting to note that, given the popular acceptation of their record, Evans and Davis's version of *Concierto de Aranjuez* was pivotal to the diffusion of Rodrigo's work. Composed in 1939 and premiered in Barcelona in 1940, the *Concierto* was practically unknown outside Spain. There existed only one recording of the music by Spanish guitarist Narciso Yepes from 1956, the one Mile's friend had played for him. After the publishing of *Sketches of Spain* in 1959, the *Concierto* began to attain its present popularity being one of the most performed concertos of the classical repertoire. However, it is also true that there were also disapproving purists coming from both jazz and classical fields. As Hicock explains in Gil Evans's biography, it seems that Evans was told that Joaquín Rodrigo himself was "very angry" at him for his arrangement. As Evans said: 'Teo Macero [the record's producer] told me that Rodrigo's lawyer wrote to him and lodged a complaint, wrote to Columbia [Records] from Madrid. So Columbia, being what they are, a conglomerate and arrogant and all that, they didn't even answer his letter. They sent him a check, his first royalty check for $40,000 and they never heard from that lawyer again.' See Hicock, *Castles Made of Sound: The Story of Gil Evans*, p. 114.

[78] To quote a few of them we can mention the own version of *Concierto de Aranjuez* by both the Modern Jazz Quartet and by guitarist Jim Hall, but also all those jazz compositions with a Spanish/flamenco echo such as: Spanish Steps, by pianist Hampton Hawes; *Spanish Brass,* by Roy Etzel; *El Cordobés*, by Paul Bley; *Music Matador*, by Eric Dolphy; or *Spanish Flames*, by clarinettist Jimmy Giuffre and guitarist Bill Connors. Already in the 1970s began a new wave of flamenco influenced compositions led, on the one hand, by the work of Chic Corea and his Return to Forever, and on the other, by the collaborations between flamenco guitarist Paco de Lucía and jazz guitarists Al di Meola, and John McLaughlin.

[79] Carr, Fair-weather, and Priestley, *Jazz: The Essential Companion,* p.105.

[80] It seems that, given the rapid and jerky movements of this dance, its name comes from its similitude to a disease known as *mal de San Vito* or *baile de San Vito* [Saint Vitus' Dance'], a popular name for the Sydenham's chorea or Chorea minor. See García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Cante Flamenco,* p. 161.

[81] For a detailed account of *El Vito* see Rossy, *Teoría del Cante Jondo*, pp. 254-255; and Hernández Jaramillo, *La Música Preflamenca,* p. 105.

[82] Ibid., p. 162.

[83] In that sense he is remembered for his poetic work with blues-like rhythms and blues inspired themes.

[84] La Niña de los Peines, which literally means 'The girl of the combs' was the artistic name of Pastora Pavón (1890-1969). Perhaps the most revered flamenco female singer of all times, she was part of a family whose members became first line flamenco singers (especially Arturo and Tomás Pavón). She is also known for being proposed by Federico García Lorca as the model of singer with *duende*. There are two exhaustive biographical books on La Niña de los Peines, one by Manuel Bohórquez Casado (*La Niña de los Peines,* 2000) and another one by Cristina Cruces Roldán (*La Niña de los Peines: El Mundo Flamenco de Pastora Pavón,* 2009).

[85] Hughes, *an Autobiographical Journey: I Wonder as I Wander,* pp. 332-333. Also quoted in Frías, *Nights of Flamenco and Blues in Spain. From Sorrow Songs to Soleá and Back,* pp. 146-147.

[86] Lomax, *The Land Where the Blues Began,* p. 9.

[87] Pohren, *Lives and Legends of Flamenco,* p. 115.

[88] Quoted in Frías, *Nights of Flamenco and Blues in Spain. From Sorrow Songs to Soleá and Back,* p. 141.

[89] In a last section he also introduces a comparison between them and Argentinean tango.

[90] Salinas Rodríguez, *Jazz, Flamenco, Tango: Las Orillas de un Ancho Río,* p. 15.

[91] Ibid*,* p. 28. The same opinion is maintained by Luis Clemente in *Filigranas. Una Historia de Fusiones Flamencas,* p. 17.

[92] Ibid., p. 35.

[93] See Herrero, *De Jerez a Nueva Orleans. Análisis Comparativo del Flamenco y del Jazz,* p. 109. In his opinion, the New Orleans beginnings of jazz would correspond to the beginnings of flamenco in Southern Andalusia, the Swing Era to the period of *Cafés Cantantes* in flamenco, the Dixieland Revival to the *Concurso de Cante Jondo* held in Granada in 1922, and the Bebop Era to the development of Opera Flamenca. See the table in p. 109.
[94] Ibid., p. 42.
[95] As mentioned in the previous chapter, Raimundo Amador is one of the most celebrated *nuevo flamenco* guitarists and singers and, together with his brother Rafael, was the founder of the leading *nuevo flamenco* group Pata Negra.
[96] Interview made by María Frías in the Plaza de Toros of Salamanca, Spain, on the 19th July 2002. See Frías, *Nights of Flamenco and Blues in Spain. From Sorrow Songs to Soleá and Back,* p. 150.
[97] Ibid., p. 152.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Davis and Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography*, p. 241. Curiously, a few years after Davis's autobiography was published, some flamenco scholars have recalled how during the 16th century around 100.000 black people were present in Spain and how they ended by being integrated by the local population. For this reason they claim that 'it is more than probable that such a considerable presence of blacks had contributed to the birth of flamenco.' See Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco,* p.472. Navarro García also argued for an African-American influence in flamenco dance. See Navarro García, *Semillas de Ébano.* Regarding the marginality of this people, Rodríguez-Valdés asserts how during the 16th century: 'to these three important groups [*Gitanos*, Moriscos, and Jews] a new group was soon added, that of black slaves who, with the arrival of gold and silver from America, saw how the mines where they worked began to close such as those of Guadalcanal and Almadén, among others. Having neither land nor a work, they tried to find their living as wanderers on the roads of the Baja Andalusia. This way, they began to be part of the minorities hidden in some particular locales or leading a wandering live.' See Rodríguez-Valdés, *Flamenco. Orígenes y Misterios*, pp. 8-9. On the other hand, in an interesting work, historian José Luis Cortés López reports the existence of slave trade in Spain as long ago as the 15th century and affirms not only the presence of black slaves in Spain before any other European country, but also claims that the American colonial and slave system was 'the transposition of a practice of exploitation already existent in certain areas of the Iberian Peninsula although in a lesser scale.' See Cortés López, *Los Orígenes de la Esclavitud Negra en España,* p. 8.
[100] Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic,* p. 19.
[101] Ibid., p. ix.
[102] Gilroy, 'Route Work: The Black Atlantic and the Politics of Exile', p. 18.
[103] Radhika Subramaniam in Payne, *A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory,* p. 144.
[104] Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic,* p. 74.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid., p. 102.
[107] Leblon, *Musiques Tsiganes et Flamenco,* p. 10.
[108] Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, pp. 158-159.
[109] Gates, *The Signifying Monkey,* p. 51.
[110] Ibid., p. 46.
[111] Allen, *Intertextuality,* p. 167.
[112] Floyd, *The Power of Black Music*, p. 7.
[113] Gates, *The Signifying Monkey,* p. 63.
[114] Potter, *Spectacular Vernaculars: Hip-Hop and the Politics of Postmodernism*, p. 27.
[115] For an account of the history of jazz in Spain see J.M. García Martínez, *Del Fox-Trot al Jazz Flamenco. El Jazz en España 1919-1996*, and also A. Papo, *El Jazz a Catalunya*.
[116] See García Martínez, *Del Fox-Trot al Jazz Flamenco. El Jazz en España 1919-1996*, pp. 123-127.
[117] Born in Falces, Navarra, in 1929, Pedro Iturralde started his career as a saxophonist at an early age and established in Madrid where he founded his quartet and became professor of the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música in Madrid from 1978 until 1994 when he retired. Iturralde and the Catalan jazz pianist Tete Montoliu have been the Spanish jazz musicians with much projection outside the country.
[118] Apart from the Spanish group of Iturralde, the other participants were groups coming from Indonesia, India, and Africa, though with the concurrence of some European or American musicians ('Tony Scott and the Indonesian All Stars,' 'Jazz Meets India with the Irene Schweizer trio,' or 'Jazz Meets Africa with Philly Joe Jones').
[119] At the time, Iturralde was accompanied in his quintet by Italian trombonist Dino Piana, German pianist Paul Grassl, Swiss double bass player Erich Peter, and Peer Wyboris, a Finnish drummer.

[120] It is worth noting that, even though recordings took place in Madrid during 1967 and 1968, the records were not published in Spain until 1974 due to legal problems. Paco de Lucía was the flamenco guitarist that also participated in all of the recordings with the exception of two themes in which appears another guitarist, Paco de Antequera.
[121] Clemente, *Filigranas. Una Historia de Fusiones Flamencas*, p. 20.
[122] It is in the song *Soleares* (another clear reference to *Sketches of Spain*) where this is more evident since it is a piece in which appears only the guitar of Paco de Lucía interpreting a *soleá* while the sax of Iturralde plays what would be the vocal part of this traditional flamenco form.
[123] See the liner notes of the record *Jazz Flamenco Vols. 1 y 2*, p. 4.
[124] Ibid.
[125] As the diminutive of Francisco is Paco and his mother was named Lucía, he adopted as artistic name Paco de Lucía.
[126] Pohren, *Paco de Lucía and Family: The Master Plan*, p. 56.
[127] Ibid., p. 75.
[128] After 1977, Camarón began to work with another important guitarist named Tomatito. However, Paco de Lucía also collaborated in Camarón's last record *Potro de Rabia y Miel,* from 1992.
[129] Pohren, op. cit., p. 100.
[130] Ibid., p. 81.
[131] Ibid. p. 80.
[132] The *falsetas* are the short instrumental sections that the guitar plays between *coplas.* In many occasions the *coplas* in a *cante* (song) are treated independently and, despite its improvised character, *falsetas* can be learned sequences that can be applied to different *cantes.*
[133] An example of this is the fact that he was the first flamenco musician to ever play in the Teatro Real in Madrid.
[134] Pohren, *Paco de Lucía and Family: The Master Plan*, p. 92.
[135] Clemente, *Filigranas. Una Historia de Fusiones Flamencas*, p. 42.
[136] Apart from Paco de Lucía, the Sextet counted with his brothers Ramón de Algeciras (also a guitarist) and Pepe de Lucía (a singer) on the 'flamenco section', while the jazz counterpart was formed by two musicians that came from the already mentioned group Dolores, such as Rubem Dantas (a percussionist of Brazilian origin) and Jorge Pardo (a flutist and saxophone player) to whom joined the bass player Carles Benavent. Some of these musicians –especially Pardo and Benavent– have also developed an important solo career within the field of jazz flamenco.
[137] The name 'Paco de Lucía's Sextet' as the designation for de Lucía's jazz flamenco group was used for the first time in the record *Live... one summer night* from 1984. Although this appellation has appeared only in another record (*Live in America*, from 1993) in practically all of de Lucía's works since the 1980s some of the Sextet's musicians –if not all– have collaborated at some extent.
[138] Flamenco historians have always underlined how the oldest of flamenco *palos* are those known as *a palo seco*, that is, sung *a capella* without the presence of any accompanying instrument like the *tonás, martinetes, deblas, carceleras* or *saetas*. Some consider that the introduction of the guitar as the instrument to accompany flamenco singers did not take place until the end of the 19th century while other historians situate it at the beginning of the 20th. See chapter six of López Ruiz, *Guía del Flamenco.*
[139] In López Ruiz, *Guía del Flamenco,* p. 92.
[140] Among the guitarist that departed from the secondary role of a mere accompanist and that Paco de Lucía has pointed out as his main influences are Ramón Montoya (1880-1949), Niño Ricardo (whose real name was Manuel Serrapí Sánchez, 1904-1972) and Sabicas (artistic name of Agustín Castellón Campos, 1912-1990).
[141] Gamboa and Núñez, *Nuevo Flamenco. Historia y Diccionario,* p. 18.
[142] The word *cajón* is commonly used in Spanish to refer to a drawer, but it is also the augmentative form of *caja* and for that reason it also means a big box or a case.
[143] In some of his 1970s records –like *Fuente y Caudal* (1973) or *Almoraima* (1976) – de Lucía had already introduced percussion instruments like the bongo drum, a fact that was already a novelty within flamenco. However, he was never completely satisfied with its sound basically because he found the characteristic harmonics of membrane instruments a little disturbing. In that sense this problem could be avoided with the *cajón* because it is completely made of solid wood. On the discovery of *cajón* by de Lucía, its introduction within flamenco and the opinions he has about the sound of this instrument see Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco*, pp. 90-95.
[144] López Ruiz, *Guía del Flamenco*, p. 104. In an interview with Silvia Calado in 2004, Carles Benavent recalls a significant anecdote: 'One of the first concerts during the first year I was with Paco de Lucía took place in Porto. Among the audience there was a group of flamencos that, when we came out to play

the *colombiana,* they stood up and started shouting: "Off with the man of the Chinese guitar!" At that time I was an undesirable person because of that plugged strange guitar. I was young, but I did not care. It did not last much time. After I recorded a *bulería* with Camarón de la Isla in his record *Calle Real*, Paco called me and told me: Carlos, it's done. [...] To play with Camarón was a guarantee; it was like playing with Miles Davis for a jazz musician.'

[145] The word *alzapúa* refers to a way of plucking the strings specific to flamenco. It is a compound word from *alzar* (to lift up) and *púa* (plectrum), though no plectrum is ever used in flamenco guitar playing. It is performed with the thumb and consists of three movements: first, the thumb plucks down the lowest note downwards; second, it does the same with the string or strings below the previous one; finally, next movement plays the same string or strings of the second movement but upwards in this case. Accent takes place in the second movement and is usually coupled with a hit on the guitar's soundboard. The result is a percussive sound characteristic of flamenco guitar playing. Carles Benavanet has adapted the *alzapúa* to the plectrum when he plays the bass.

[146] See the interview with Silvia Calado (2004).

[147] Quoted in Gamboa, Núñez and Calvo, *Nuevo Flamenco. Historia y Diccionario,* p. 48. Needless to say, Rafael and Raimundo Amador, the founders of group Pata Negra, are *Gitanos*, whereas Diego Manrique, himself a Payo, is one of the most significant and respected popular music critics in Spain.

[148] Fernández, *Teoría Musical del Flamenco*, p. 19.

[149] In fact this is the only song of the record in which appears a singer. The rest of the songs are all instrumental.

[150] Fernández, *Teoría Musical del Flamenco*, p. 15. See also Gamboa, *Cante por Cante,* pp. 6-7.

[151] In the previous chapter we have also emphasized how in flamenco discourses the flamenco Phrygian mode has always been associated with *Gitano* identity.

[152] There are not many studies concerning flamenco harmony and musical theory in general. Probably the main reason is because flamenco musicians do not use standard musical theory to think about their music. The first attempt to systematize flamenco from this point of view was the work *Teoría del Cante Jondo* (1966) by Hipólito Rossy. It was not until recent years that new works have focused on this field: *Teoría Musical de la Guitarra Flamenca* by Manuel Granados (in two volumes from 1998 and 1999 respectively), *Teoría Musical del Flamenco* (2004) by Lola Fernández, and *La Llave de la Música Flamenca* (2009) by Antonio and David Hurtado Torres. Needles to say, all this works take a look at flamenco from the perspective of academic music theory.

[153] For example: A minor-G Major-F Major-E Major (in E). Analyzed under the European common-practice system, the II degree is the dominant and sometimes is substituted by the VII or even the V. The VI degree is a subdominant as the III and the IV.

[154] Quoted in Clemente, *Filigranas, Una Historia de Fusiones Flamencas,* p. 43.

[155] See Middleton, *Musical Belongings: Western Music and Its Low-Other,* in Born and Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western Music and Its Others,* pp. 59-85.

[156] See Born and Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western Music and Its Others*, p. 24.

[157] Middleton, *Musical Belongings: Western Music and Its Low-Other,* p. 74. The other one being *mastery of form*, that 'denotes the minstrelesque "liberating manipulation of masks"' (ibid.), a strategy that, also identified in *nuevo flamenco,* has been treated in a previous chapter concerning the racial oppression endured by *Gitanos* as the ethnic group that has always been an all-embracing category for Spanish underclass in general and the 'minstrelesque liberating manipulation of masks' that *nuevo flamenco* has enabled to articulate.

[158] Ibid. Emphasis already in the original where Middleton quotes from Baker, *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance.*

[159] Born and Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western Music and Its Others*, p. 24.

[160] Horn, 'Signifyin(g)' in the *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*, p. 412.

[161] Quoted in Berlanga, *Tradición y Renovación: Reflexiones en torno al Antiguo y Nuevo Flamenco,* http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/transiberia/berlanga.htm, accessed 07-18-2010.

[162] For a list of works and an overview of the different musical approaches of the concept of Signifyin(g) see David Horn article in the *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*, pp. 411-413.

[163] Ibid., p. 413.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid., p. 411.

[166] Gary Tomlinson even goes further when he claims that 'the condition of African-American culture [...] provides a compelling instance of the dialogical condition of all culture.' In Tomlinson, *Cultural Dialogics and Jazz: A White Historian Signifies,* p. 262. Also quoted in Horn, p. 413.

[167] Gates, *The Signifying Monkey,* p. xxi.

[168] Monson, *Saying Something,* p. 87. Also quoted in Horn op. cit., p. 413.
[169] Quoted in Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco,* p. 88.

As subjects, people have the right to define their own reality, establish their own identities, name their history. As objects, one's reality is defined by others, one's identity created by others, one's history named only in ways that define one's relationship to those who are subject.

bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking feminist, Thinking Black*[1]

All is race; there is no other truth.

(Disraeli, *Tancred, or the New Crusade*[2]

## Chapter 2

## *'Gitano Americano'*: *Nuevo Flamenco* and the Re-imagining of *Gitano* Identity

### Introduction

Produced in 1995 by the Andalusian director Chus Gutiérrez,[3] the film '*Alma Gitana'* (*Gitano* Soul) serves as a good introduction to grasp the context of new racial configurations in Spain at the end of the 20th century, that is, at the time that *nuevo flamenco* emerged. The film, set in Madrid, tells the story of Antonio, a young *Payo* (non-*Gitano*), that leads a free life without any ties nor any clear idea of what he wants to do. He works as a waiter but he is also an occasional *bailaor* (flamenco dancer). His life changes when he meets Lucia, a young middle-class *Gitana*, with whom he falls in love. Lucía's father owns an antique shop in Madrid and her brother plays in a *nuevo flamenco* group. She studies art restoration and, though she shows a deep respect for *Gitano* traditions –centred on family and virginity– she yearns for living her own live. She is convinced that her future is with Antonio but problems arise. Her family do not permit a relationship 'against the law', a ruling against which doesn't help Antonio's lack of compromise.

The central theme of the film, the story of an impossible love between a *Gitana* (gypsy woman) and a *Payo* recalls immediately the still pervasive myth of Mérimée's *Carmen* and could be taken easily as its contemporary update. It is true though that, considered in counterpoint with *Carmen*, the story of *Alma Gitana* clearly differs in significant key aspects. On the one hand, it is evident that the shift in time –the century and a half between Mérimée's book and Gutierrez's film– is coupled by a shift in space: from the underdeveloped suburban quarters of a city in the South of

Spain where the story of *Carmen* is located to the cosmopolitan capital of a Spain already assuming its new 'Europeanness.' On the other, the inversion of gender and class roles between the stories projects a curious mirror image: in *Carmen* she is the underclass *femme fatale* surrounded with magic and mystery that captivates the Spanish law-abiding officer don José, in *Alma Gitana* he is the womanizer dancer that threatens the dispassionate life of a young middle-class *Gitana* respectful of tradition[4].

But the most interesting for us here is the parallel contrast that can be found at the level of sound. Thus, if we turn now to the musical soundscape that frames the story of *Alma Gitana* we will observe that most of the music that makes up the soundtrack of the film (apart from three original instrumental pieces) consists of ten songs by known *nuevo flamenco* artists and groups such as Camarón de la Isla, Ketama, Ray Heredia, or José el Francés among others. In a sense, it could be seen as a concise anthology of that kind of music given that all these songs show the crossover of sounds and styles characteristic of *nuevo flamenco*. On the whole, they accord with the semblance of newness and modernity that permeates throughout the story. There is only one exception to this ensemble of songs, yet a very significant one. It is a song by Ramón el Portugués –a known flamenco singer who describes himself as an 'orthodox'[5]– that opens the recording of the film soundtrack, as the touchstone by which the rest of the soundtrack can be recognized as *nuevo flamenco*. Being entitled like the film for which it was specifically composed, the song *Alma Gitana* carries the distinctive expressive means of traditional flamenco. Its lyrics consist of a single refrain that is repeated only twice:

| Mi corazón siente como tu cuerpo | My heart feels how your body |
|---|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| Embrujado se mueve | Moves bewitched |
| En mi memoria | In my memory |
| Y me cautiva el recuerdo | And I'm captivated by the remembrance |
| Y atraviesa mi pensamiento | And it goes through my mind |
| Quisiera ser y no puedo | I would like to be but I cannot |
| Sintiendo como alma gitana | Feeling as a *Gitano* soul |

The solo, unaccompanied singing of Ramón el Portugués recalls to any flamenco aficionado the known vocal style called *a palo seco* (that literally means without any instrumental backing) which, like the *tonás* or the *martinetes*, are usually named as *cantes primitivos* (primitive songs). Moreover, his voice, embodying all the qualities traditionally associated with the so-called *Gitano style* (mainly raspy and torn voices, dissonance, and a deeply emotive rendition) deploys a melody flowing through richly elaborated melismas in the flamenco Phrygian mode also characteristic of traditional flamenco and associated with *Gitano* identity[6]. The chromatic flow that confers it a wandering character seems to strive to escape from a tonic to which the melody unfailingly returns. And this happens especially in the last two verses where the highest pitch in all the song is reached after the also longest interval we hear, while the singer articulates a sudden, unexpected cry, after which the tonic is reached anew by descent. All these characteristics, as well as the disturbing feelings articulated by both the lyrics and the melody, contrast with the more mainstream sounds and festive character of the *nuevo flamenco* songs that assemble the rest of the soundtrack.

As a contrasting voice among the panorama of new sounds that permeate the film soundtrack, the song *Alma Gitana* seems to evoke the background from which *nuevo flamenco* originates and to which it obviously responds. In a sense, it can be

seen as a "visible (audible) remainder" in the pathway to the current situation of interplay and fusion; a remainder that, like the lurking image of *Carmen,* recalls the racial stereotype that has persistently portrayed the 'unique feeling' of a '*Gitano* soul.' In that way, it is quite undeniable that both *Carmen* and *Alma Gitana* draw on a very well rooted image of the romanticized *Gitanos*, an image constructed under the Orientalist ideology that Edward Said critiqued, and an image still present at the core of the flamenco imaginary. What becomes unambiguously manifest in both texts are the constrictions that racial conceptions impose to the relationship between all of the characters, and how race and class relations have been inextricably connected. In other words, story seems to be the same: some lines cannot be crossed.

At a time of many reconfigurations in Spanish society, *nuevo flamenco* brought to the field of identity politics a new perspective on race relations: a redefinition of the perception of Spain's internal Others, the *Gitanos*. Since the establishment in Spain of the new Constitution of 1978 that guaranteed equal rights to "ethnic minorities," racial dimensions seem to have been erased from current cultural discourse(s) while racism and racist attitudes against *Gitanos* remain filling the pages of Spanish newspapers and the heads of people. Even those scholars that, constructing a solid and informed critique, have distanced themselves from traditional flamencology and its conceptions seem to think that issues of identity have been either bypassed or suffocated. Thus, for example, Steingress observes that '[p]ost-modern flamenco uses tradition to create something new from a sensibility that goes beyond the ethnic and national conventions and borders of the culture',[7] while Cruces Roldán considers that '[t]he mercantile generalization of flamenco has helped to erase, even for the popular perception, the identitary sense of the *cante* ... even though it has had unpaid effects in the acknowledgement and dignity of the genre.'[8]

Accordingly, following the point made by Radano and Bohlman (2000) in his sharp critique of musicological orthodoxy, the aim of this chapter is to move away from those musicological projects –so common in flamenco studies– that perpetuate the 'invisibility of race'[9] and aims to situate the discussion of *nuevo flamenco* identity politics within the existing conversation about cultural politics and race. First, I will explore the genealogy of the discourse that has pervasively connected flamenco and its origins to *Gitanos,* paying special attention to both the way flamenco has contributed to the construction of the *Gitano* stereotype while at the same time this same stereotype has been also exploited in a tendentious historical perception of flamenco. I will later analyze, with a couple of musical examples, how the use of modern and foreign sounds and the way they have been shaped in *nuevo flamenco* music, has confronted the mentioned discourses and transformed the experiences of *Gitanos,* being instrumental in the re-imagining of the *Gitano* identity.

## Flamenco's Racial Imagination

Literature about flamenco is vast and long-standing. Since its origins in a narrow, localized area in the south of Andalusia, flamenco has drawn the attention of enthusiasts and scholars not only from the rest of Spain, but also of many outside the country. A clear evidence of this interest is the profusion of writings that, whether directly or indirectly, have made reference to the genre, and that can be traced as far back as the middle of the 19th century, that is, at the time of flamenco's configuration. The perspectives and themes covered are, as might be expected, very diverse. There is, however, a recurrent, transhistorical topic running through most of flamenco literature, a remarkable feature that would certainly draw the attention of even a

flamenco newcomer. I mean the omnipresent reference to the origins of flamenco music. A quick look to any flamenco bibliography shows how the obsessive urge to uncover its roots has become one of the main concerns of authors all over history. Yet, the most striking is to realize how, blurring the boundaries between myth and history, the conventional interpretation surrounds its inception with an aura of mystery and secrecy even though, at the same time, it invariably points to the *Gitanos* as its originators. José Luís Ortiz Nuevo[10] has summarized the basic assumptions of this conception in what he calls the two 'commandments' of the orthodox 'doctrine': first, the idea that flamenco originated in an ambience of absolute intimacy –a kind of a mysterious and hidden environment that many identify with the image of the 'cave' and the 'oil lamp' where the secret gatherings of the *Gitano* community were supposed to take place;[11] second, the belief that flamenco loses its essence and degenerates as soon as it becomes commodified and accessible to all –especially in the public space of the tavern, and the *café cantante* (a kind of cabaret or music hall) by means of professional artists. Certainly there is not a single, official history of flamenco particularly concerning the period of its genesis. Nevertheless, a passionate debate has been permanently installed around the role played by *Gitanos* in the development of the genre, as well as around the significance given to the *Gitano style* in the aesthetic value of the music. And a debate not only confined within scholarly circles since it has reached both musicians and audiences where it is still present.

Not surprisingly, a great deal of flamenco literature reveals (at least until the recent decades) a substantial lack of rigorous research. The vast majority of the studies are the product of some kind of pseudo knowledge which some have qualified, at the best, as a 'methodological subjectivism,'[12] while others have unmistakably

regarded as a clear example of 'parochialism.'[13] Timothy Mitchell states explicitly that:

> most of what we think we know about flamenco derives from one parochial construction or another. Today's outside investigator must beware of them all. It would certainly be inadvisable to use allegedly expert sources to document an account of flamenco without providing some indication of the expert's background or ideological affiliation ... Thus, there is a point in flamenco studies at which the desire to penetrate to the psychological core of the music slips into an exercise of fantasy, another at which pity for victims becomes subtle collusion in their subordination, another at which the burning need to criticize the Establishment ironically leads to the idealization of patriarchal and racialist attitudes, another at which the desire to restrain the excesses of commercialism becomes elitism, another at which biography dissolves into hagiography.[14]

It is true that since the 1990s the first steps to deconstruct this extensive edifice of traditional flamencology were taken and that flamenco began to be of some concern to the academic world in the work of authors as Génesis García Gómez, Gerhard Steingress, and Timothy Mitchell – all of them university based and whose work has been qualified by William Washabaugh as 'scientific flamencology,'[15] and by Enrique Baltanás as *nueva flamencología* (new flamencology).[16] It is also true, however, that traditional discourses have deeply influenced the music and its reception all along flamenco history. Accordingly, it is these notions of flamenco,

however mystified they are, that we must have in mind in the study of *nuevo flamenco* since, in a sense it is as a response to them that *nuevo flamenco* can be interpreted.[17]

For Génesis García Gómez[18], the grounds of this academic disinterest that has always accompanied flamenco can be tracked down at the end of the 18th century, with the repulse of the Spanish Enlightenment's intellectuals to any form of popular and local culture. A viewpoint entirely coincident with that of Hispanist Jo Labanyi when she claims that 'critical writing on modern Spanish culture ... has systematically made invisible whole areas of culture which are seen as non-legitimate objects of study because they are consumed by subaltern groups.'[19] Under the perspective of these enlightened thinkers –rooted in a deep concern for the need of modernization of Spanish society– the popular and the local were an expression of obscurantist irrationality, fostered by forces against progress. They had no interest in those forms of culture that they thought did not respond to "universal reason" and that embodied a curb to "progress." Rather, they stressed the need for a total indoctrination in religion, morals, dress, and language.

Indeed, under the Bourbon king Carlos III (1716-1788) and his court of Francophile royalists, the enlightened ideas were underpinning a project of reform policies eyed with suspicion by the majority of the population who expressed their dissatisfaction through exaggerated loyalty to Spanish culture and traditions, being Andalusia and its local folk the major source of inspiration after the pervasive idea that the Andalusian people was the one that preserved, better than any other one, the essence of the authentic and genuine Spanishness.[20] This phenomenon, initially restricted to a youth suburban milieu that favoured the more marginal and 'evil' side of popular culture (the one widely associated with *Gitanos*), was known as *majismo*[21] and those who followed its program were called *majos* and *majas* (as the ones

portrayed by Goya); they set themselves in opposition to those members of the upper classes who cultivated French fashions, the *afrancesados*. However, the reaction of a great part of the aristocracy, that saw the program of imported reforms orchestrated by these intellectuals as a direct menace to their long-established privileges, was rather the opposite. They turned their eyes to the popular classes and adopted their manners, language, clothing, dances and music, an attitude much censured by the reformists. In fact, both groups, *majos* and *afrancesados*, participated in the search for national identity stimulated by the monarchy, but divided along clear class lines. The new Spanish bourgeoisie –still incipient in comparison with other European countries– and those aristocrats, who served the government, envisioned a modern Spain especially open to French influence. The popular classes and a great portion of the aristocracy developed their indigenous brand of patriotism appropriating and re-creating distinctive elements associated with the *Gitano* subculture –regarded as free, rebellious, and unbound by society's rules.[22]

Under the wave of the French Revolution, the process of reforms was interrupted for fear of a spread of the revolutionary outbreak in Spain, and a few years latter, the Napoleonic invasion, the resulting War of Independence (1808-1814), and the French military intervention of 1823 to restore the Bourbon dynasty precipitated the end of the enlightened enterprise. It was to a large extent as a reaction against the foreign occupation that a great portion of the conservative sectors of society endorsed the reactionary working-class reinvention of Spanish tradition embodied by *majismo*, now a part of a broader movement encompassing all of the arts known as *casticismo.*[23] These circumstances favoured that, at this time, it was forged the myth of a Spain with a singular and distinct identity; of a nation which proclaimed the preservation of its old mores and traditions –some of them allegedly rooted at the time

the Arabs settled down in the Peninsula– as an exclusive element that accentuated its difference in relation to other, more modern and advanced European countries.[24] Andalusia, regarded by *casticismo* as a repository of an age-old tradition, aroused a special fascination, as was also the case at the end of the 18th century with the attraction for the idealized *majismo.* Undeniably, the social and economic situation of the south of Spain had a direct influence on this preservation of old customs. Mostly an underdeveloped region dependent on agriculture and with nearly all of the land concentrated in the hands of a few absent landlords, the *señoritos*, Andalusia did not benefit from the emergent industrial development that the northern areas of the peninsula experienced during the second half of the 19th century –a situation that persisted until the last decades of the next century.

Developed as a distinct musical genre against this background of confronted ideological positions and intricate class relations, flamenco music became a major instrument for the construction of difference. Since then, flamenco has always been a contested terrain where various classes and social groups have disputed questions of value, authenticity, and identity, demonstrating that significant cultural capital was at stake. Crucial in that sense has been the figure of the *Gitano* subject. As a central element in the articulation of alterity all through Spain's history, it has persistently needed to be nurtured, interrogated, and preserved. In that sense, and paraphrasing Radano and Bohlman, we can assert that in flamenco discourse, the racial is 'the ground on which the musical experience and its study has been erected.'[25] This process has been advanced by means of those essentializing tendencies that we can already find in the early references of the flamenco literature.

The first mention to individual singers and to particular gatherings liven up with what has conventionally been called "primitive flamenco," are found in a

collection of *cuadros costumbristas*[26] by Serafín Estébanez Calderón (1799-1867), published in 1847 under the title *Escenas Andaluzas*. The book is a compilation of previous newspaper articles that describe, from an ethnographic perspective, Andalusia and its people. Allusions to music and musicians are very scarce though significant since they point to what later became a crucial signifier of *Gitano* identity in music. In one of his most quoted *escenas,*[27] Estébanez Calderón describes a party that took place in 1831 in Triana, the legendary *Gitano* quarter of Seville, a space providing a meeting place for the members of the Andalusian underclass with both upper-class *señoritos* and foreign tourists, and also a space of transgression where the latter could find a relaxed environment where to enjoy unconventional pleasures such as the music and dancing of the low, racial Other. The relation of artists given by Estébanez Calderón constitutes the first genre inventory and the first list of professional singers, dancers, and guitarists. Among all them, he focuses particularly on two male singers known as El Planeta and El Fillo. Most significant to us is to observe how Estébanez Calderón describes them as embodying two contrasting styles, which he characterizes not only by the way they were dressed but especially by their distinct vocal quality, a seminal distinction that has permeated ever since the flamenco imaginary. On the one hand, El Planeta, is portrayed as an elegant, refined singer, identified with the most sophisticated kind of *majismo.* On the other, Estébanez Calderón relates how El Fillo sang with a harsh and rasping voice –that some have even described as *voz aguardentosa* (spirituous voice),[28] a quality that in Estébanez Calderón's depiction runs alongside his shabby and sordid look, characteristic of the more marginalized and rough *majos*[29]. Despite the disapproval of El Planeta, El Fillo's voice was highly prized by the audience, since it was regarded as the one that reached the deepest regions of *cante*, and became linked to forms of

flamenco viewed as the purest and most authentic ones. It was significantly this *voz afillá* (as it was later labelled), and overlooking the fact that both El Planeta and El Fillo were *Gitanos*, the one that became associated with the *Gitano* style, as it is still today as seen in the singing of Ramón el Portugués mentioned above.

Even though he never mentioned the word 'flamenco' in his reports, the account of Estébanez Calderón has been traditionally acknowledged as the first reference to the origins of this music. Indeed, his description of the two contrasting vocalities of El Planeta and El Fillo introduce for the first time what became the grounds on which later codifications of flamenco have anchored their differentiation of a pure and authentic flamenco –that which became associated with the so called *Gitano* style– and other kinds of this music considered non-*Gitano*, not the 'real thing.' In other words, we find here a clear example of how, since its earliest manifestations, flamenco music has been crucial in the discursive production of racial identities in Andalusian and, by extension, Spanish society. After Estébanez Calderón, many other scholars throughout flamenco history have reproduced this same binarism, usually warning about the danger that 'adulterated' forms represented to the 'real' music. In the span of around one hundred and fifty years (that is from the mid 19th century through all the 20th century), we can identify three particular moments in which this process of racialization through music became highly influential.

The first major step in the construction of flamenco's racial imaginary is found in the work of Antonio Machado y Álvarez (1846-1893) –best known under the pen name Demófilo– who has been considered the founder of Spanish folklorist studies.[30] His interest in flamenco started in 1869, and from that moment until 1880 he published a few articles on the subject. It was in 1881 when, encouraged by the eminent German linguist Hugo Schuchardt,[31] he published the monograph *Colección*

*de Cantes Flamencos*, a crucial work in the history of flamenco studies since, as we will see, it introduces the arguments and themes on which has turned all the following flamenco literature and its debates. Mainly a compilation of a great number of *coplas* –that is, the lyrics of flamenco songs, which he classified according to its musical *palos* (forms)– Machado y Álvarez states in the *Colección* his conceptions about the genre and its origins, both in the preface and in the multiple marginal notes throughout the text. In spite of its gaps and contradictions, Demófilo's *Colección* has been commonly acknowledged as the founding text of flamencology.

As one of his main arguments expounded in the *Colección,* Machado y Álvarez significantly comes to the conclusion that flamenco was the product of the 'amalgam and confusion' of the 'poetical conditions of the *Gitano* race with the Andalusian one.'[32] Calling attention to the fact that, at the time, 'flamenco' was used as an equivalent term of '*Gitano*,' he speculated that those hybrid modern forms evolved from a pre-existent *Gitano* music. The logical thread he entwined to attain this argument was as simple as untenable: given that the terms 'flamenco' and '*Gitano*' were in fact synonyms, and that flamenco music revealed a deep Andalusian influence, there must have been a 'primitive' and 'pure' *Gitano* music from which flamenco should have evolved, even though no traces from it are left. Following this line of thought, he divided the repertoire of flamenco songs that he collected in two groups, drawing a distinction between the specific *Gitano* forms which he identified as completely differentiated from those emanating directly from Andalusian folklore, the music of the *Payos.* He contends that all these *palos* (*soleá, toná, liviana, seguidilla, martinete*) share a similar pathos, since 'sad and melancholic sentiments' predominate in all of them conveying 'the deepness of the music and the feeling of the *Gitanos*.'[33] Among these forms, Machado y Álvarez gives emphasis to the

*seguidilla* (also known as *seguiriya* or *siguiriya*), as ‘the most *Gitano* of them all,’[34] since *seguidillas* are for him ‘delicate poems of sorrow, real tears of the *Gitano* people.’[35]

A cornerstone in the edifice of racialized discourses of flamenco, Demófilo’s narrative and his representation of Gypsyness carries the double trace of ‘authenticity’ and ‘alterity.’ The instrumental use he made of racial categories in his construction of a discourse of flamenco music is connected to the way he used music as a vehicle for the aesthetic and discursive construction of race. A few months after the publication of the *Colección de Cantes Flamencos*, Hugo Schuchardt published his study *Die Cantes flamencos* as a kind of ‘written conversation’[36] with his friend’s work – particularly concerning the origins, the nature, and character of the *cante Gitano*. Very knowledgeable about the influence of *Caló* (the language of *Gitanos*) on the Andalusian dialect and the literature of the 19th century –as part of a not new *Gitanophilia*– Schuchardt showed how what Machado y Álvarez took as a process of degeneration of a pure *Gitano* music was in fact the product of a process of “gypsyfication” that musicians, whether *Gitanos* or not,[37] developed in order to attain a wider audience seduced by otherness. In that sense he claimed that ‘the *Gitano* element of the flamenco *cantes* is fictitious, accidental, and extrinsic.’[38] Even though he acknowledged the key contribution of *Gitano* musicians to flamenco, Schuchardt related the advent of this genre to the inception of a new poetic style that, although it became labelled ‘*Gitano*,’ it was the product of non-*Gitano* writers, imbued with the themes of romantic *Gitanismo* and the presence of *Caló* expressions, that was refashioned later by *Gitano* singers. As Steingress puts it:

> the integration of the *Gitano* cultural element was carried out after a fictitious "gypsification" of the Andalusian poetry and music that, at the same time, enabled the direct participation of *Gitanos* and their professionalization as flamenco artists. ... It is for this reason that 'flamenco' is not a synonym of '*Gitano*,' since it designates instead the ensemble of *Gitanos*, *Gitanas* and *Agitanados* ("fictitious *Gitanos*") that, under the influence of romantic *Gitanismo*, began to develop a new artistic genre different to the *costumbrist* folklore.[39]

Schuchardt's study appeared in the journal *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, and though it was available to Machado y Álvarez and the circle of folklorists of Seville, it was inaccessible to them because none of them spoke German. Unencumbered by the thesis of Schuchardt, Demófilo's work became the point of reference of subsequent flamencology. It was not until 1990 that *Die Cantes flamencos* was translated for the first time, precisely at the moment in which the deconstruction of the premises of traditional flamencology began its course.

Being a major contribution to the construction of the *Gitano* racial stereotype, throughout Demófilo's work resonate the romantic ideals that were underpinning both the poetics and the politics governing his representations of *Gitanos*. Indeed, in spite of being committed to the precepts of Positivism, his *Colección de Cantes Flamencos* shows the influence of the background in which Machado y Álvarez was educated, that of Social Darwinism and Krausism.[40] As Encarnación Aguilar observes, 'the essentialist concepts inherited from Romanticism and Krausism will keep being of influence to him and will definitively characterize all his conception of the popular.'[41] Given the general ignorance existing about this social group, the idealization of the

*Gitano*, born at the end of the 18th century, developed a simplified and unified image spread mainly by literary works and to which *Gitanos* draw upon themselves. Paradoxically, *Gitanos* became "gypsified."[42] In a sense, the racially loaded figure of the *Gitano* corresponded to an embodiment of the exoticism of the popular, especially because, in the context of Romanticism, the category of '*Gitano*' did not refer imperatively to the members of a particular 'pure race,' but to an stereotyped image to which members of diverse social classes became profoundly attracted and even identified.[43] Being unaware of Schuchardt's study, whole generations of flamenco scholars reproduced and circulated the racialized image of the romanticised *Gitano* that we find in Demofilo's work, an image still lurking in many perceptions of flamenco music.

A second, crucial stage regarding the racial genealogy of flamenco occurred at the beginning of the 20th century when the debate on the value of flamenco music became particularly conspicuous. At the time, the *flamenquismo* craze of the end of the 19th century had its detractors in a group of intellectuals who, like the writer Eugenio Noel, lamented the negative effect they attributed to flamenco, a music that, as Noel claimed, was 'little by little overpowering the country, and devouring its energies.'[44] A devoted follower of the *Regenerationismo*'s ideas of Joaquín Costa,[45] Noel started in 1913 a committed and passionate campaign against the evil he perceived in bullfights and especially flamenco, promoting its substitution with a more 'virile' classical music. As many intellectuals of the day, he always manifested a vivid repulse for *Gitano* culture (and popular culture in general), and in his writings he even used metaphors of illness to describe *flamenquismo* as a 'horrible plague.'[46] Noel's discourse focused mainly on showing what he identified as the virtues and vices of races.[47] As Charnon-Deutsch points out, in his perception of *Gitanos* as a

degenerate race and flamenco as a culturally inferior form, Noel was deeply influenced by the racialized theories of Cesare Lombroso, the founder of the Italian School of Positivist Criminology, as well as by the ideas of the naturalist George-Louis Buffon and the anatomist George Cuvier. They all had singled out 'undesirable races' such as the Roma by pathologizing them.[48]

*Antiflamenquismo* was especially pronounced in the 1920s, when the claims against the bastardization of flamenco in the persistently popular set of the *café cantante* were still filling the pages of the Spanish bourgeois press. It was at this time that a group of intellectuals (among whom were two of the most internationally recognized figures of the moment, the composer Manuel de Falla and the poet Federico García Lorca) attempted an important rehabilitation of the Gypsy artistic heritage. As it was the case with Noel and the *Regeneracionistas*, they censured the alleged corruption of flamenco brought about by urban popular culture, although, in clear contrast with them, they thought flamenco could still be redeemed. Behind their ideas –and those of the Spanish intelligentsia of the 1920s in general– there was the influence of European modernist trends, and particularly primitivism. Inspired by the aesthetic movements outside the country, they felt a certain need to vindicate the musical heritage that foreign composers such as Debussy, Rimsky-Korsakov, or Stravinsky had not only praised but even incorporated into their music. Convinced of the value of flamenco for both Andalusian and Spanish culture, the members of this new movement –labelled by Mitchell as 'avant-garde primitivism'[49]– developed a redefinition of flamenco focused on the concepts of purity, primitivism and race. Thus, in opposition to the common term *cante flamenco* they introduced the expression *cante jondo* (deep song) in order to differentiate what they considered the most 'pure' and 'primitive' forms –that is, those acknowledged to bear the *Gitano* seal

such as the *seguiriya*– from those believed to have degenerated into a kind of pseudoflamenco intended to appeal the urban masses. In a celebrated public lecture of 1922, García Lorca made this point clear stating that:

> *Cante jondo* comes close to the thrill of the bird, the crowing of the rooster, and the most natural music of forest and fountain. It is, therefore, a most rare example of primitive song, the oldest in all of Europe that carries in its notes the naked and spine-chilling emotion of the first oriental races. Maestro Falla, who has studied this matter deeply and upon whom I base myself, affirms that the seguiriya gitana is the archetypal song of the *cante jondo* group and roundly declares that it is the only song on our continent that has preserved in all its purity, in composition as well as in style, the qualities that belong to the primitive singing of oriental peoples.[50]

A few lines latter, he identifies these 'oriental peoples' as the 'tribes of *Gitanos*' that entered the Peninsula at the beginning of the 15$^{th}$ century, claiming that:

> It is to them [the *Gitanos*] to whom we owe the creation of these songs, soul of our soul; to them we owe the construction of these lyrical channels through which escape all the pains and the ritual gestures of the race. And these songs, Sirs, are the ones some […] have tried to enclose within the stinking taverns or the brothels.[51]

Under the leadership of Falla and García Lorca the legendary *Concurso de Cante Jondo* (a *Cante Jondo* contest) was organized in Granada that same year in

order to rescue the 'racial purity of flamenco' they saw so much in danger: 'Sirs, the musical soul of the people is in serious danger. The artistic treasure of a whole race is falling into oblivion!'[52] Not surprisingly, the reference to *Gitanos* played a central role in this rescue-fantasy since, as we have seen, both Falla and Lorca believed on the essential contribution of *Gitanos* to flamenco, following the ideas developed some decades before by Demófilo. In the case of García Lorca, *Gitanos* and flamenco became since then a continuous influence to his work. A clear example is found in his celebrated *Romancero Gitano* (1928) and *Poema del Cante Jondo* (1931), where he elaborates on *Gitanismo* and sustains the myth of a mysterious and tragic people living outside the confines of the bourgeois society. A myth that, expressed in terms of 'cry, blood, death, *sonítos negros* (black sounds), or *duende'*[53] he helped to attain universal recognition, reproducing the racialized image of the *Gitanos* he contributed to sustain. However, as Charnon Deutsch affirms:

> By exalting the Gypsy as poetic object, Lorca lent prestige to the community that would have international reverberations, but his relation to the actual Calés otherwise differed little from that of other *señoritos* whose patronage system was responsible for perpetuating mercenary relations with Caló entertainers.[54]

Although the *Concurso de Cante Jondo* did not achieve the public success expected, interest for flamenco increased progressively among the audiences. A few years later, though, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War supposed a complete change to this panorama. After the major break that the Civil War supposed to culture in general, flamenco saw a revival during Franco's dictatorship. In fact, the regime

made an ideological use of flamenco as a key icon of its propaganda both outside and within the country. On the one hand, flamenco music and dance became instrumental in the representation of an exotic Spain, in order to seduce potential tourists. Echoing the romantic myths, the image of the *Gitano* was taken to crystallize the essence of the Spanish character, becoming a distillation of all that was appealing, and exploitable, about Spain in general. On the other hand, and despite the regime acknowledged a certain degree of cultural heterogeneity (under the notion of 'regional differences'), as Santaolalla affirms Francoism's emphasis on a unifying idea of nationalism stressed shared historical and cultural legacies, as well as underlined Spain's non-European ethnic and racial traditions.[55] The writer Francisco Almazán summed up very well how both strategies worked very well together when he asserted that 'Franco's Spain, isolated and blocked internationally, needed a prideful national symbol of its worth to show the world and to reduce, finally, its internal diversity to a firm, clear and manageable unity.'[56]

This reinvention of Spanish national identity drew extensively on Andalusian cultural practices. However, it was precisely the racialized image of *Gitanos* and flamenco the one that became the 'prideful national symbol' pointed out by Almazán, a fact that some scholars accentuate when they allude to this period as that of *Nacionalflamenquismo*.[57] In his article *La Invención del "Cante Gitano"*[58] (The Invention of *"Cante Gitano")* William Washabaugh suggests that Franco flirted with *Gitanismo* as a way to suppress the pretensions of Andalusian nationalism. This willingness shown towards *Gitanos* was used by the Spanish government as an argument to deny the charges of intolerance towards cultural diversity. In fact, the risk for the regime was minimal since *Gitanos* were not a politically organized group. Undoubtedly, this paved the way for *Gitanophiles* to glorify and mystify the

contribution of *Gitanos* to flamenco, settling what we can identify as the third stage of the racial genealogy of flamenco we have been tracing. Indeed, this context gave rise to a new wave of works committed to claim the *Gitano* racial origins of flamenco, and to cement its national character.[59] Among them, the one of the poet and intellectual Ricardo Molina[60] and the *Gitano* professional singer Antonio Mairena[61] is commonly accepted as the most important one. Their *Gitano*-centric essentialism was followed by many authors who unquestionably reproduced their theories –like José Caballero Bonald, Blas Infante, José Monleón, Félix Grande, Fernando Quiñones, and Bernard Leblon among others– and it is still embedded today in the discourses of traditional flamencology.

Ricardo Molina published several books devoted to the study of flamenco music,[62] but his *Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco* (The World and Forms of *Cante* Flamenco), written in 1963 in cooperation with Antonio Mairena, has been the most influential work on the way flamenco has been conceived and represented during the second half of the 20th century. As a matter of fact, nowadays it is still considered as the 'bible' of orthodox aficionados.[63] It is true that some of Molina's later books are also interesting for our purposes as, for example, his *Misterios del Arte Flamenco* (Mysteries of Flamenco Art) from 1967, which he presents as 'the study of the *cante* from a racial, social, and cultural point of view.'[64] The same can be said of Antonio Mairena who, in 1966 compiled a collection of three records entitled *La Gran Historia del Cante Gitano* (The Great History of *Cante Gitano*), intended to trace a sonic genealogy of flamenco in order to sustain his *Gitanocentric* theories. The same tenets that he echoed, even more categorically, in *Las Confesiones de Antonio Mairena* (The Confessions of Antonio Mairena), a sort of autobiographical work published in 1976. However, it is in *Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco* where both

Molina and Mairena introduced all their conceptions about the role played by *Gitanos* in the creation and development of flamenco music, those that, in its essential form, were reproduced in the works that followed.

Even though, already in the 1960s, the concept of race began to be challenged by anthropologists, *Mairenismo* –as these set of ideas became known, given that Antonio Mairena was not only its instigator but also its visible figure– developed a discourse of flamenco fundamentally derived from the use of racial categories. Drawing uncritically upon the work of Demófilo commented above, the arguments of *Mundo y Formas* are conceived in order to prove, beyond all doubt, how *Gitanos* were the exclusive originators of flamenco, endorsing in this way the interpretative style and the forms traditionally associated with *Gitanos*. Even though they despise nearly all of the studies on flamenco published until that moment, and assert that 'the only serious source of information is orality, the *cante* itself, and the singers,'[65] on the whole, the book reproduces the ideas introduced by Demófilo trying to develop a theoretical ground that could attest to this particular interpretation of flamenco.

Thus, central in their argument is the notion of an original and pure *cante Gitano*, that later became 'polluted' in contact with the Andalusian folklore giving rise to what would become known as *cante* flamenco. Taking the argument advanced by Demófilo, they think that this pure *cante Gitano* would have appeared at the beginning of the 19th century, and they postulate that the reason we have no record from it until half century later is because it remained 'secluded in a hermetic, sometimes almost sacred environment, since it was a private and traditional matter of the Andalusian *Gitanos*.'[66] They acknowledge –in clear contradiction with their own arguments– that *Gitanos* did not create the *cante ex nihilo*, but appropriated the different musical traditions they found in the South of Spain.[67] However, assuming

the existence of a putative 'hermetic age' in which the *cante* was formed and preserved within the privacy of the *Gitano* home,[68] allows Molina and Mairena to articulate their discourse around the concepts of secrecy, mystery, purity and racial pride, so pervasive throughout the book. Moreover, in his *Confesiones*, Mairena even reinforces this correspondence between racial and musical purity when he formulates a new concept, that of *Razón Incorpórea* (Incorporeal Reason), in order to make even a more mystical claim regarding the idea of *Gitanos* as the only ones who can really create and understand the *cante*. In his definition of the concept, Mairena asserts that:

> Incorporeal Reason is our honour, the basis of *Gitano* culture, the ensemble of our traditions and of our ancient rites: something that only a proper *Gitano* understands and that only *Gitanos* experience. Incorporeal Reason is unintelligible and non transferable outside of ours, because one cannot know what one cannot feel.[69]

In the end, the work of Molina and Mairena can be seen as a reformulation of the racial conceptions that, as we have outlined, have accompanied the representation of flamenco since its origins. And it does so responding to the particular historical context in which it took place. In that sense, it would be a mistake to interpret *Mairenismo* simply as being on the service of Francoism. It is true that Francoist ideology favoured the kind of racialist mythology that *Mairenismo* contributed to construct, but as Mairena underlined, their work was envisaged as a 'little testament for my people –the Andalusian *Gitano* people–' in order 'to preserve our own environment, our life, our *cante* […] since, if a *Gitano* does not have his *cante*, his charm, his *duendes* [...] he would be a second-rate citizen.'[70] As some authors attest,[71]

the *Mairenist* narrative has to be understood as a response to a *Gitano* identity crisis at a time of changing cultural and social patterns. The economic improvement of Spain as a consequence of the *Planes de Desarrollo* (Development Plans) initiated by the government in 1963 to promote the industrialization of the country, resulted in a progressive loss of the social structures in which evolved the *Gitano* traditional way of life. The work of Molina and Mairena came to resist this situation with their particular underpinning of the *Gitano* value system and racial pride.

However, the reception of *Mairenismo* did not attain the expected effect among *Gitanos*. On the one hand, the repercussion of Mairena singing style had its main influence among non-*Gitano* singers like José Menese, who raised more support for the cause of *Mairenismo* than Mairena himself, and was recognized by him as his privileged heir.[72] Yet, curiously enough, Menese –who has always declared 'being lucky of having a voice sounding *Gitano*'[73]– has been recognized as the 'most representative singer of the rebelliousness against Franco's dictatorship that flamenco could achieve.'[74] On the other, as pointed out by Gamboa and Mitchell,[75] the main followers of the ideas of *Mairenismo* were precisely non-*Gitano* intellectuals and aficionados, the inheritors of those 19th century authors who romanticized the image of *Gitanos*. Aware of the social and cultural changes that the belated modernization of Spain was bringing about, they relied on the reconfiguration of Otherness embodied by *Mairenismo*, as a strategy to reconstruct the borders of those social spaces that racial difference helped to delineate.

So far, we have tried to illustrate the major role that flamenco has played regarding the ideological construction of difference in the context of Spanish modernity. In that sense, the field of flamenco is a good example of the point made by Radano and Bohlman when they affirm that 'music participates in many of the

aesthetic and discursive constructions of race, and race provides one of the necessary elements in the construction of music.'[76]

All through its history, the effects of the 'racial imagination'[77] have been instrumental on the way flamenco has been conceived and represented. Significantly, racial difference became an index of and a metaphor for cultural, social, gender, and ethnic differences. And it is these –still widely accepted– essentialized conceptions summarized above, that *nuevo flamenco* artists have had to negotiate in their cultural practice. As I will try to show in this chapter, *nuevo flamenco* music has always been in a constant dialogue with the racialized subjectivities advanced by traditional flamenco discourses; those discourses that, still today, perpetuate the reproduction of the *Gitano* racial stereotype.

## The *Gitano* Stereotype and its Ambivalence

In the introduction of an article entitled *La Dinàmica de la Tradición* (The Dynamics of Tradition), anthropologist Cristina Cruces Roldán emphasizes how 'flamenco was born from a plural aesthetics,' and that 'it was the *popularization* of flamenco –that is, its progressive, though ultimate insertion in the field of the show business– what would endorse the transit between this popular plural aesthetics and a *codified norm*.'[78] In other words, flamenco as a genre appeared at the same time it began to be codified, and indeed, as a result of this codification. As she also underlines, 'only some styles, artists and forms were the chosen; they were redefined and from then, they became *legitimate*, and … tradition was *initiated*.'[79] To this we have added, in the previous pages, that the 'choice' of particular styles, artists and forms was not arbitrary, but structured along racial lines in a way that determined the

diverse ideological representations all through the history of flamenco. It is in that sense that we must understand the assertion of Cruces Roldán that 'flamenco had already been *interpreted* before it was born, and it was destined to be *reinterpreted* throughout its still short life. This has modelled stereotypes that have underpinned multifarious fundamentalisms.'[80]

As one of the strategies to sustain social boundaries, stereotypes are specifically clear-cut, invariable, and rigid since are designed to exclude. They are related not just to abstract or neutral structures in society, but to particular divisions corresponding to social groups usually in struggle with each other. In the case of Spain, as a result of the hegemony exercised by non-*Gitanos*, their 'whiteness' has become naturalized as the norm, as a non-marked racial identity. Unlike this 'invisibility,' *Gitanos* have been subject to processes of categorization and stereotyping in which flamenco has been instrumental in the propagation of an interested definition of identity. In that sense, the racialization of flamenco discourse has relied on the construction of well delimited stereotypes to support its claims of difference. The 'othering' of *Gitanos* rested upon a process of binary discursive opposition, what Abdul JanMohamed –in his analysis of colonialist literature– describes as the 'economy of Manichean allegory.'[81] In other words, the essentialized connection made between a set of two identities presented as fixed, homogeneous, and completely divergent has been expressed by means of a series of opposed concepts. Thus, on the one hand, the signifier '*Gitano*' has always been related to concepts such as art, tragedy, inaccessibility, deepness, spontaneity, purity, primitivism, tradition, and the Orient; on the other, the signifier 'non-*Gitano*' has been associated with technique, lyricism, the public sphere, virtuosity, academicism, contamination, creation, modernity, and the West.[82] For what we have previously

seen, this sharply delineated categories have not only been invested with specific meanings in concrete historical situations, but have even become ambiguous at those particular moments in which the conflation of *Gitano*, Andalusian, and Spanish identities have been mutually interchangeable signifiers. And it is in reference to these concrete racial stereotypes, and through the materiality of *nuevo flamenco* music that Young *Gitanos* advanced the construction of a new, hybrid identity. In order to explore this process, first of all we must understand the workings of the stereotyped *Gitano* identity having in mind how in the modern European imagination the construction of the figure of the *Gitano* is inextricably linked to the orientalist discourses of Romanticism –from which the myth of Carmen, recalled at the beginning of this chapter, is its most salient icon.

Although North European artists and scientists had already shown interest for the Orient during the Enlightenment, it was during the 19th century that this attraction became much more intense and pervasive. As part of the rejection of industrialization and the changes brought by this process, Romanticism developed an increasing interest for idealized pre-industrial societies. The idealization of a pre-modern past –such as that of the Middle Ages– became a characteristic romantic trope also expressed by the idealization of exotic lands and cultures. This cult of the exotic was particularly developed in the scholarly discipline called Orientalism, a term used to refer to the European 'invention' of the Orient, and mainly associated with the ideas of Edward Said.

In his seminal work *Orientalism*, Said drew upon Foucault's theories of discourse and epistemological power to offer a new critique of colonialist thought. Thus, on the one hand, *Orientalism* used the concept of 'discourse' to give a new perspective to the study of colonialism while, on the other, Said applies the

Foucauldian idea that knowledge is not innocent but deeply engaged with the operations of power to demonstrate how the ideas about the 'Orient' circulated in Europe were an ideological support of colonial domination. For Said, Orientalism was grounded upon the belief in Western superiority and the conviction that, since the East could not understand itself, it was the prerogative of the West to interpret it and represent it. In that sense, Said's semiotic of Orientalist power was presented in a way that had all the resonances of Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony,' since it was conceived by Said as a system of representations designed to have authority and control over the East. The 'study' of the Orient was then a political vision of reality structured upon a binary opposition between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them"). As a consequence of this, and at the level of representation, it is central in Said's view the tenet that 'the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image.'[83] As he argues, this image was grounded upon a dialectic between self and other that became crucial to European self-conception, setting up an allegedly superior Western self in relation to an allegedly inferior non-Western other. This dialectic has a clear example in the dichotomy between *Gitanos* and non-*Gitanos* mentioned above that, like colonial discourse relies on over-simplifying and stereotyped binaries, even though it was not taken into account in the work of Said.

Since its publication in 1978 –and even though it has been considered as the foundational text of postcolonial studies, *Orientalism* has been extensively criticized.[84] Among the common indictments directed against it, analysts censure *Orientalism* for advancing a monolithic and totalizing theory that disregards the potential of resistance –whether within or outside the West– and draws a too neat division between East and West; a division that, being projected outwards, some

authors consider it masks and overlooks splits found within Western society itself. Clearly, as a consequence of the fact that Said devoted his study almost exclusively to French and British imperialism in the Middle East, *Orientalism* ignored not only the situation of other European nations involved in this enterprise, but also the existence of other 'oriental' peoples and cultures that endured the effects of orientalist practices within the limits of Europe itself. The idea of John MacKenzie that 'the building of empire is first an internal process with internalized others … [who] are more likely to be rival Europeans'[85] is in that sense significant to our analysis since it accords with our reference both to the European construction of Spain and to other marginalized groups such as the *Gitanos*.

As it is widely accepted, Spain was a fundamental space for the romantic imagination. It was during the first half of the 19th century, and after the Napoleonic invasion of the Peninsula, that Spain became fashionable especially –though not exclusively– among French travellers and artists. Hundreds of travel books and novels contributed to portray the country as embodying all the qualities idealized by the romantics, that is, as a primitive, savage, and exotic place. Above all, it was Andalusia, its landscape, its people, and its oriental legacy that attracted the interest of European tourists in search of an escape from their domesticated bourgeois existence.[86] As Charnon Deutsch puts it:

> Whether their personal preference was for meridional, oriental, or medieval nostalgia, Andalusia seemed to fulfil every romantic's notion of an exotic locale. At roughly the same time that the Orient was "invented," as Edward Said put it, by Europeans, Andalusia was constructed as a dream world where time could be slowed, life savoured to its fullest, and the disturbances and

hypocrisy of the modern, "civilized" world of large European capitals avoided.[87]

To put it in other words, Spain, and particularly Andalusia, offered all the elements searched by the romantics to satisfy their desire for exoticism. Or, as Mitchell formulates it, 'Andalusia was a place where one could see the Middle East without leaving the West.'[88] This 'orientalization' of Spain in general and Andalusia in particular could be then interpreted as a 'missing chapter' in the whole history of Orientalism, as an issue neglected by Said himself. Not surprisingly, the figure of the *Gitano* played a central role in this process since they were seen not as non-Spaniards but as 'super-Spaniards.'[89] In fact, as stated by José Colmeiro,[90] another aspect neglected by Said is the particular double bind of Spanish culture in the relation with the master narrative of Orientalism. Thus, on the one hand, Spain has been a European Christian culture that has repressed a constitutive element of its historical identity, projecting it onto the figure of the exoticized *Gitano*. On the other, it has been a mirror of oriental culture constructed by other Europeans upon the stereotype of the *Gitano* as a symbolic representation of the whole of Spain. This duality manifested by the stereotype of the *Gitano* as both the most essential manifestation of Spanishness and the expression of difference within Spain, has its parallel in the also dual perception of the *Gitano* way of life. Thus, the attraction enlivened by the perception of its free will and liberty is contrasted by the fear and repulse arisen by their supposedly degenerated manners, their appearance, and their customs. For Colmeiro, this dual experience would explain how Spain and *Gitanos* themselves have been constituted in romantic literature as an internal other[91] to European modernity. However, what makes the case even more intricate is, as we have seen,

that at some particular historical moments Spain's own representation has been condensed in this same stereotyped construction of the Andalusian *Gitano*.

For Homi K. Bhabha, one of the key figures of postcolonial criticism, this apparently contradictory phenomenon, as exemplified by the *Gitano* stereotype, is not an exception, but rather something very common. In his influential book *The Location of Culture* he introduces a series of concepts with the objective to undermine the simple polarization of the world into self and other, and devotes a particular care to the discourse of stereotypes. It is precisely in the chapter called 'The Other Question' where he analyses this matter in detail, as it is made evident by its subtitle: 'Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism.'[92] Even though colonialism has unmistakably been a political and economic relationship, Bhabha manifests how it has been supported by cultural structures to give it coherence and a sense of justification. Since there is no evident reason that colonial relationships should exist at all, one explanation that has been used to justify them is the supposed inferiority of the colonized people that has been circulated through a vast repertoire of stereotypical forms of representation in which, like flamenco discourse, racial characteristics have been one of the most common signifiers. In that sense, Bhabha's main intention is to analyse the constructions of difference that enable the practices of racial and cultural divisions. As he argues, these practices are the ones that constitute the base of the ensemble of discriminations he calls –also in Foucauldian terms– 'colonial discourse.'

Since, as he states, one of the most important features of colonial discourse is 'its dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness,'[93] he identifies the stereotype as its major discursive strategy. He emphasizes how stereotypes have been developed in order to fix individuals or groups

in one place, denying their own sense of identity, though, unlike traditional analyses, he does not assume this fixity as a stable and solid normative. For this reason, his reading of colonial discourse suggests that:

> the point of intervention should shift from the ready recognition of images as positive or negative, to an understanding of the *processes of subjectification* made possible (and plausible) through stereotypical discourse. […] Only then does it became possible to understand the *productive* ambivalence of the object of colonial discourse –that 'otherness' which is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity. What such a reading reveals are the boundaries of colonial discourse and it enables a transgression of these limits from the space of that otherness.[94]

This particular reading, so centred in the relationship between subjectivity and the stereotype is of special relevance here since, as we will see, offers to us an interesting and original perspective in order to explore both the poetics and the politics governing the representation of *Gitanos* in flamenco and *nuevo flamenco* music.

As we have seen, already in the first lines of 'The Other Question' Bhabha underlines how, by means of the practice of stereotyping, colonial discourse seeks to produce a knowledge about the Other in which it becomes fixed as unchangeable, known, and predictable. With this he recalls in fact the premises introduced by Said, even though he immediately reformulates them by emphasizing what he describes as the 'ambivalent' nature of the stereotype. As the foundation in which colonialism bases its power, stereotypes seem to be stable, but this stability is something that

Bhabha shows is not quite as assured as it is seems. For him, a clear example of this is precisely the fact that, despite the colonized are fixed as unchanging, they are identified with images that tend to evoke disorder, disruption, and licence, that is, the same circumstance we have mentioned in relation to the case of *Gitanos*. Thus, unlike Said's Orientalist representations, Bhabha does not interpret the stereotype as a simple assertion of difference, but as a 'complex, ambivalent, contradictory mode of representation, as anxious as it is assertive.'[95] Introducing this change of perspective regarding the stereotype –a change that he underpins on the concept of 'ambivalence'[96]– Bhabha's intention is to show that the supposed success of colonial discourse in its domination of the colonized is only illusory. For him, colonial power is anxious and never achieves the stable and final distinction between the colonizers and the colonized that it strives for. Indeed, he claims that this anxiety opens a gap that can be exploited by the colonized in order to counter the oppression they endure. And, as David Huddart maintains, this emphasis on agency is precisely Bhabha's main originality, as his close readings seek out moments in which the colonized resist the colonizer, despite structures of violence and domination.[97] Or, as underlined by Santaolalla:

> when Bhabha refuses to accept fixity as an essential constituent of the stereotype and replaces it with his concept of ambivalence, he is not only rejecting deterministic and dogmatic modes of analysis, but also empowering the Other –that subject which is 'at once an object of desire and derision' (Bhabha, 1983: 19)– with destabilizing potential. Because the stereotype is 'as anxious as it is assertive.' the discourse which strategically uses it inevitably

exposes its slipperiness and ambivalence in the very process of proclaiming its authority.'[98]

Thus, as Bhabha's work attests, the colonial context he has studied shows how the construction of identity is always problematic as a site of both fixity and fantasy. Robert Young emphasizes how his main concern is to demonstrate the ambivalence in colonial subjects, and he achieves this goal by articulating the inner dissension within a colonial discourse structured according to the conflictual economy of the psyche.[99] Grounded in this form of otherness, both 'anxious and assertive', that is the stereotype, its authority remains open and, as the genealogy of the *Gitano* stereotype has also proved, requires for its successful signification a necessary repeatability. But it is this openness, derived from the stereotype in so far as a 'form of splitting and multiple belief,'[100] what renders the disruptive and subversive quality Bhabha attributes to colonial identity. Elaborating upon the concept of 'ambivalence' and the particular 'currency' it gives to colonial stereotype, he develops the idea of hybridised subjectivities from which he found an inspiring model in the work of psychiatrist and revolutionary activist of West Indian origin Frantz Fanon who, as Bhabha underlines, evoked the condition of the colonial subject precisely through the orders of image and fantasy.

## Hyphenated Identity: the Logic of Splitting and Doubling

A primary figure of postcolonial theory, Frantz Fanon has been regarded by Donald E. Hall as one of the 'key theorists of the colonized consciousnesses[101] –the other one being, of course, Homi K. Bhabha. In fact, Bhabha recognizes the great

influence of Fanon praising him as 'the purveyor of the transgressive and transitional truth.'[102] Born in 1925 in the then French colony of Martinique, Fanon studied medicine and psychiatry in France and later worked as a psychiatrist in colonial Algeria where he became actively involved with the armed struggle for the Algerian independence. He was strongly influenced by the writings of Jean Paul Sartre on anti-Semitism,[103] from which he draw his model for the analysis of white racism, and the poet Aimé Césaire,[104] though he was very critical of his concept of *Négritude* for considering it a form of essentialism. Fanon's first book *Black Skin, White Masks* (originally published in French in 1952 under the title *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*) is a significant study of the psychological and cultural alienation motivated by colonialism. It was his most influential work on Bhabha[105] since the psychoanalytic perspective to colonial subjectivity that he develops in it granted Bhabha with an inspiring approach for his analysis of the conditions and effects of colonialism in the domain of identity.

One of the aspects of Fanon that has impinged on Bhabha's thought is the 'self-division' he observed in black people and that he attributed unquestionably to the forces of colonialism. In *Black Skin, White Masks* he reworked the Lacanian schema of the 'mirror stage' in order to theorize over the experiences he felt himself regarding his awareness of being a divided subject. In that sense, he contented that:

> when one has grasped the mechanism described by Lacan, one can have no further doubt that the real Other for the white man is and will continue to be the black man. And conversely. Only for the white man The Other is perceived on the level of the body image, absolutely as the not-self –that is, the

> unidentifiable, the unassimilable. For the black man […] historical and economic realities come into the picture.'[106]

And later he observes that:

> it may perhaps be objected that if the white man is subject to the elaboration of the *imago* of his peer, an analogous phenomenon should occur in the Antillean, visual perception being the sketch for such an elaboration. But to say this is to forget that in the Antilles perception always occurs on the level of the imaginary. It is in white terms that one perceives one's fellows.'[107]

As introduced in the title of the book, Fanon's main intention is to show how the 'black skinned' subject adopts 'white masks' to try to construct himself in relation to the image to which he is confronted. This particular economy of desire results, as he contends, in a split subjectivity that reflects the distressing schizophrenia of the colonized people's identity. Though Bhabha takes Fanon insights as one of his points of departure, he nonetheless diverges in quite a significant way. Recalling the division located between the 'black skin' and the 'white masks', he reworks Fanon's arguments and thinks 'it becomes possible to cross, even to shift the Manichean boundaries'[108] he pointed out, and thinks 'it is possible […] to redeem the pathos of cultural confusion into a strategy of political subversion.'[109] Bhabha recognizes that the very place of identification, caught in the tension of demand and desire, is in itself a space of splitting. But, at the same time, he also asserts that the splitting of the 'Black skin/white masks' 'is not a neat division; it is a doubling, dissembling image of being in at least two places at once.'[110] In Bhabha's reading of Fanon, this

dislocated colonial subject is situated at the edge, in a space of tension of meaning and being in-between the black and the white bodies, from where a strategy of subversion emerges. In occupying 'two places at once' the colonial subject can become 'an incalculable object, quite literally difficult to place'[111] that causes authority to be both repeated and displaced, which in Bhabha's approach means that it is resisted.

But how can we put to work these highly elaborated theoretical concepts in the study of *nuevo flamenco?* If we try to map this postcolonial approach to subjectivity and identity to the sphere of *Gitano* culture and *nuevo flamenco* in particular, we can certainly find a clear resonance. First of all, we must recall how, as we have seen in the previous pages, flamenco music has been an important field of identity negotiation within Spain all along its history. In this concern, we have also illustrated how crucial has been in its articulation the role played by racial signifiers in the construction of the *Gitano* stereotype. On the other hand, as Peter Manuel already underlined in an article of 1989, the new forms of flamenco were active contributors to the process of change in Spanish identity politics. As he stated, his aim in this article was to explore 'the panoply of flamenco-related hybrids that have flourished in recent decades and now form an intrinsic part of Spanish culture' with the aim of providing 'an introductory attempt to contextualize the modern flamenco aggregate of styles in its sociocultural background.'[112] In his inquiry he recognized the role of what he termed 'flamenco pop' –since it was not until the decade of the 1990s that the label '*nuevo flamenco*' became common currency– as a vehicle 'to influence and articulate aspects of modern urban social identity.'[113] Indeed, in the last decades, and with the contribution of a mass dissemination that has equated the presence and visibility of *nuevo flamenco* to other forms of popular music within Spain, this music has become an important symbol of the new *Gitano* consciousness and a field of negotiation

between tradition and modernity, *Gitano* and non-*Gitano*, sameness and difference, Self and Other. As a matter of fact, no other cultural form has been so instrumental for Young *Gitanos* as a way to keep control of their identities.

As also underlined by Manuel, already in the 1970s, what he calls the 'flamenco pop' scene started its diversification with the particularly influential contribution of the eclectic experiments of the now internationally recognized guitarist Paco de Lucía and his partner the *Gitano* singer Camarón de la Isla. Concerning Camarón, he also points to him as one of the key musicians that 'have self-consciously used flamenco as an explicit and concentrated vehicle of gypsy identity.'[114]

Born in 1950 in a *Gitano* family of San Fernando –a village near Cádiz– José Monge Cruz, was later known as Camarón de la Isla or simply Camarón, a nickname given to him by his uncle because he was very thin, with blond hair, and pale skin for what, according to his uncle, he resembled a *camarón* (shrimp). The appellative *de la Isla* came from the fact that the city of San Fernando is located in the *Isla de León,* one of the islands in the bay of Cádiz. He always brought into prominence the central role of flamenco for the *Gitano* culture[115] and after his premature death in 1992, at the age of forty-two, he became immediately a legendary figure of flamenco. He is still today one of the most respected and influential flamenco singers.

His mother was a basket weaver and his father a blacksmith, both jobs very common among *Gitanos,* but they were also well known flamenco singers even though they never worked at a professional level. The Monge's house was a place that had gathered many flamenco *fiestas* where the young José had the chance to listen to some great singers at the time such as Manolo Caracol or Antonio Mairena. Given that his father died when he was still a kid, he left school very early and at the age of

seven he began to sing for money at the train station as well as in some taverns in San Fernando. His professional career also started at a premature age, after he won the first prize in the Concurso Flamenco del Festival de Montilla in Córdoba when he was only twelve years old. In 1966, when he was sixteen, he also won the first prize at the Festival del Cante Jondo de Mairena de Alcor, after which he moved to Madrid where he worked many years at the *tablao* Torres Bermejas. It was there where in 1968 he met and also young Paco de Lucía for the first time. This duet became not only one of the most celebrated of the whole history of flamenco, but their collaboration has been also recognized as a kind of a stylistic revolution in the development of the genre. Paco de Lucía and Camarón de la Isla worked together in a very intense way from 1968 to 1977.[116] Apart for numerous tours they published nine records together that were acclaimed by both the critics and the aficionados. But, as mentioned in the previous chapter, since the moment that de Lucía started his solo career, Camarón began to work with other guitarists, especially with Tomatito (José Fernández Torres), another brilliant flamenco musician that accompanied him during the last eighteen years of his life.

During the years that Camarón de la Isla worked with Paco de Lucía, both musicians carried out a continuous evolution that departing from a clearly orthodox style progressively introduced more personal and innovative traits. Their collaborative work appealed an increasing number of followers and turned Camarón into the most commercially successful singer of modern flamenco. Recalling those times, Paco de Lucía once affirmed:

> It was necessary to listen to Camarón only once to realize he was a genius. Now he is God for the flamenco aficionados, but at that time I had to argue

> and fight with them because when I was claiming his greatness these same aficionados that now revere him used to tell me that he was a copy of Mairena or somebody else. It took time for him to be admired, possibly because of the attitude of purists. We were living on the margins of the law of these flamenco people. [...] We never conceived a record as a kind of revenge because we were young and we didn't have any fear at all.[117]

Already in the title of the first record they published together in 1969, it was made clear that their work was a collaborative one, and the same happened with the next four records. In that sense, it is very significant that they all were entitled *El Camarón de la Isla con la Colaboración Especial de Paco de Lucía*. It is for this reason that they were known to aficionados by the titles of their opening tracks, respectively as follows: *Al Verte las Flores Lloran* (1969), *Cada Vez que Nos Miramos* (1970), *Son Tus Ojos Dos Estrellas* (1971), *Canastera* (1972), and *Caminito de Totana* (1973). Even if in the next four albums a formal title was introduced, they also kept mentioning the *Special Collaboration of Paco de Lucía.* This single and apparently anecdotic fact is already an element that represents a graphic and clearly stated departure of tradition. Up to that moment, in most traditional flamenco records the singer was the 'star' and the guitarist played a secondary role. Even in many occasions, a single singer was accompanied by different guitarist in the same album and they were usually mentioned in low characters at the back cover. The same can be said in relation to the graphic design of the cover of the first five albums, in which appears not only the image of Camarón but also the one of Paco de Lucía, sharing also here the same level of relevance. After 1973, both artists had achieved an individual recognition, especially after the great success of de Lucía's album *Fuente y*

*Caudal.* Even though they continued playing and recording together four more years, their careers started to follow individual paths, a thing that can be also visualized in the fact that in their four last records together, only Camarón's image appears in the record cover.

In the previous chapter we have already mentioned the innovative style of Paco de Lucía and his re-imagining of the genre for which he has been recognized as one of the precursors of *nuevo flamenco.* In relation to the features that characterised the innovations that made of Camarón such an influential singer among *nuevo flamenco* artists, all of them concern the personal singing style that he kept developing during the years that he worked with de Lucía. First of all, his impressive vocality has always been praised for his solid and accurate tuning, a particular feature that was immediately acknowledged and acclaimed especially by the common flamenco connoisseurs. Having a trained ear for flamenco music, they could easily recognize Camarón's quality as above the rest of singers, even those that had precede him and that Camarón himself had claimed as his teachers. But flamenco guitarists, that having to match his playing to the melodic flow of the singers' voices, were the ones who pointed to this characteristic feature of Camarón as one of the most exceptional. Especially if we have in mind the microtonal inflexions so characteristic of flamenco singing. Paco de Lucía himself made it clear when he once openly recognized that:

> José had the qualities of a musician, and this is something not quite common among *cantaores*... In general terms, flamenco people don't know why someone sings well, but the secret of Camarón's great power as an artist was his ability for tuning. In all the things he made, whatever difficult or crazy they were, there was tuning. [...] He had a magical ear.[118]

Another highly valued trait of Camarón's singing was his also accurate sense of flamenco *compás*. That is, he had a deep knowledge of not only the distinctive rhythmic pattern and the sequence of accents of every single flamenco form, but also of their characteristic harmonic rhythm. His insight in this respect allowed him to venture in a creative and playful experimentation with these musical elements. This was something that Camarón himself pointed out in some occasions as when he stated that "if in a particular song I feel I can overlap two *compases* in one, then I'll certainly do it! I'd like to see somebody else doing it! We have enough "purist" singers that still sing without moving a single step from what has always been done."[119] His virtuosity in this respect matched that of Paco de Lucía and also supposed a challenge for other singers since as underlined by José Manuel Gamboa in his thorough *Una Historia del Flamenco*:

> Paco and Camarón, Camarón and Paco [...] inaugurate an artistic cycle and propose a harmonic, *acompasada* and "ultra tuned" conception for the flamenco eternity. Since this moment on singers must be well tuned and adjust to the measure, otherwise their shortcomings will become too much evident.[120]

But a final and important characteristic trait of Camarón's singing style was undoubtedly the expressive use of his voice's timbre. As it has been underlined in the previous pages, since the origins of flamenco, voice timbre has been not only one of the most valued qualities of the singing, but it also became an element used to articulate particular ethnic images of *Gitanoness.* There are different types of flamenco voices, all described with a great variety of adjectives. We have for

example, the voice *fácil* (easy), the voice *laína* (sharp and vibrating), the voice *cantaora* (fresh and flexible), etc. But the tendency to perceive the voice *afillá* (harsh, raspy and low) as the most *Gitano* one has been a common trope throughout all the history of flamenco. The general tendency is to conceive this kind of voice as the one with a most dramatic quality, intensity, or *jondura* (deepness), and it has also been associated to the most primitive *cantes.* On the other hand, flamenco singers have always recognized that the voice *afillá* is probably the most demanding one, especially concerning the tuning. Also in this matter, Camarón was an unquestionable and recognised master. His voice was described by many as "the expression of *Gitanoness*" and had such an impact that "all *Gitanos* adored him [...] and all young *Gitanos* started to imitate his voice."[121] Jan Farley summarized very well the characteristics of Camaron's voice and the singularity of his innovative vocality in the following words:

> His high-toned voice had a corrosive, rough-timbred edge, cracking at certain points to release an almost ravage core sound. This vocal opaqueness and incisive sense of rhythm, coupled with an at times near-violent emotional intensity, made him the quintessential singer of the times, with a voice that seemed to defy destiny. Even at the gentlest, Camarón's voice would summon attention –"a fracture of the soul," critics called it– and he would phrase and match cadences in astonishing ways, yet always making the song appear as if it was composed for exactly that manner. To his guitarist-collaborator, Paco de Lucía, the voice "evoked on its own the desolation of the people. My soul left me each time I heard him –he gave to flamenco a wild, savage feeling." It was a verdict echoed elsewhere in almost Christ-like terms. As one of the

> obituaries put it: “Camarón’s despair was our consolation. His desperation soothed us. The infinite sadness if his voice gave us tranquillity. He suffered for us. His generosity liberated us from misfortune.”[122]

Camarón’s innovations in flamenco music gained momentum with his collaborative work with Paco de Lucía. But it was precisely once both artists decided to follow separate careers, and after a silence of two years, that Camarón published a revolutionary album entitled *La Leyenda del Tiempo.* Recorded in 1979, *La Leyenda del Tiempo* has been recognized as a historical turning point in the history of flamenco and a seminal work in the development of *nuevo flamenco.* Music critic Don Snowden refers to it stating how:

> El Camarón de la Isla, almost universally regarded as the greatest flamenco singer of all time, put aside his classic partnership with Paco de Lucía to record with different musicians and incorporate rock and jazz elements on an album often called the Sgt. Pepper’s of flamenco. It was a radical, daring step by a singer in his late twenties who opened the door for a whole wave of musicians and bands who are still major figures in Spanish music. It cemented the legend of El Camarón de la Isla as a towering creative force who, much like Bob Marley in reggae, brought flamenco into the present without losing the essence of the root tradition.[123]

A key figure in the conception of *La Leyenda del Tiempo* was producer Ricardo Pachón. A traditional flamenco connoisseur, Pachón combined his job as a civil servant at the Area de Cultura de la Diputación de Sevilla and the Junta de

Andalucía with his work as a producer and manager of both flamenco musicians and Andalusian progressive rock bands. He was responsible of the first records of Lole y Manuel and Veneno, but he had also worked with important bands in the Andalusian rock panorama such as Imán or Smash. Concerning *La Leyenda del Tiempo,* he was the composer of some of the songs and was also responsible of the selection of texts to be sung by Camarón. An important contribution in that sense was the adaptation of known poems by Federico García Lorca such as in the songs *La Leyenda del Tiempo, Romance del Amargo, Homenaje a Federico, Mi Niña Se Fue a la Mar* and *Nana del Caballo Grande.* But, on the other hand, he was also responsible of the graphic design of the record that he conceived as if it was that of a rock star, that is, a radically different image from the traditional visual conception of Camarón's former records. Camarón himself appeared with new look that departed from the common image of *Gitano* masculinity. Also in that respect he wanted to move away from traditional conceptions and modernize the image of *Gitanos*. As Pacheco recalled:

> The huge break that this record brought about was rounded off by its black and white cover in which Camarón appears with a beard, and that came out of Mario Pacheco's camera. Needless to say, from that moment on he became an unsettling icon. The flamenco *Gitanos* began to wear beards and to comb their hair like Camarón [...] He became, suddenly, the Prince of a people lost in the mist.[124]

For this reason, this is a record that must be understood as a turning point in the history of flamenco at different levels. It certainly was a crucial departure from traditional flamenco at a musical level. But given the influence it had among young

*Gitanos,* with *La Leyenda del Tiempo* Camarón was also at the centre of a complete re-imagining of *Gitano* identity.

As remarked by Don Snowden, the record does not seem to be radical on the surface. In fact, half of the songs correspond to traditional flamenco *palos* such as *bulería, cantiña, rumba, tango* or *alegrías.* But even in these cases the songs are shorter than in traditional flamenco, having in that sense a conception more similar to that of rock or pop. As stated by Snowden, "Camarón doesn't muster the spiraling flourishes and unbridled passion of the straight flamenco material, but his vocals fall perfectly in the rocker pocket."[125] Also, given that Pachón and Camarón wanted to introduce new sounds in his first record together, they offered the opportunity to participate to musicians with different backgrounds that had previously worked with Pachón. Thus, in *La Leyenda del Tiempo,* Camarón collaborated with three different groups: Veneno (a rock-flamenco group formed by Kiko Veneno, and the brothers Raimundo and Rafael Amador that later would join in the *nuevo flamenco* group Pata Negra), Alameda (a band formed in 1977 that blended progressive rock and flamenco), and Dolores (a jazz fusion band which featured flute and sax player Jorge Pardo that later worked many years with Paco de Lucía). But it was also in this occasion that Camarón worked for the first time with flamenco guitarist Tomatito who became his favourite accompanist for the rest of his career. With such a confluence of musicians coming from diverse musical backgrounds, the eclecticism of *La Leyenda del Tiempo* seems quite obvious. As in the innovative *Fuente y Caudal* by Paco de Lucía, *La Leyenda del Tiempo* juxtaposes the traditional flamenco instruments and sounds with those of jazz and rock. The sound of the electric bass, electric guitars, electric piano, flute, drums, different kinds of percussion instruments, and even such foreign instruments to traditional flamenco as the sitar and synthesizers as the

Minimoog, gives the album such an expanded dimension that transformed the traditional flamenco soundscape of the previous Camarón records.

*La Leyenda del Tiempo* became a definite inflexion of flamenco music in the whole panorama of Spanish popular culture after the end of General Franco's dictatorship. The perception of flamenco music in Spain started to change as well as the audience, which began to incorporate a whole new sector of young public, both *Gitano* and *Payo.* As Ricardo Pachón stated, "with *La Leyenda del Tiempo* the people of rock and jazz began to pay attention to a flamenco musician for the first time. And to a *Gitano* as well, because the barrier of racism has always been constant."[126] From the moment it was published till his death in 1992, Camarón only recorded six more records, all with the resonances of the new path he had opened in this 1979 recording. Among the few records that Camarón published after the huge success of *La Leyenda del Tiempo,* it is important to mention here his work *Soy Gitano*, the best-selling album in the whole history of flamenco. After his profuse work with Paco de Lucía, the 1980s represented the discovery of Camarón for a mass audience. As José Manuel Gamboa describes it, "his most accessible work [...] begins with *La Leyenda del Tiempo* and then continues with *Como en Agua* (1981), *Calle Real* (1983), and in a permanent *crossover* reaches its climax with *Soy Gitano.* It was the first album in the history of flamenco to achieve a Gold Record."[127] *Soy Gitano* was recorded in 1989 in Estudios Pañoleta, in Seville, but also Abbey Road Studios, in London. As in *La Leyenda del Tiempo,* apart from flamenco musicians such as guitarists Tomatito and Vicente Amigo, important musicians from the field of jazz participated in the recording of *Soy Gitano.* Among them it is worth mentioning bassist Carlos Benavent and drummer and percussionist Tino di Geraldo, who also worked in many occasions with Paco de Lucía as members of his *Sexteto*. The record contains eight songs but the

most interesting for us here is the first one that also gives its name to the album. In fact, there is arguably no other place in which Camarón made a more explicit reference to the idea of *Gitano* identity than in his *Soy Gitano* (I am *Gitano*), a song that became immediately one of the most popular ones of the singer's repertoire. At the same time, *Soy Gitano* is not only a good example of the elements of musical fusion characteristic of *nuevo flamenco,* but a relevant instance of the re-imagining of *Gitano* identity. Even though Camarón always defended the authority of traditional flamenco and acknowledged how he learned to sing listening to the 'old' canonical singers, he was very questioned since the moment in which he began to introduce particular stylistic innovations that departed the well delimited grounds of traditional flamenco. He used to justify these innovations as a way to articulate his particular subjectivity, as when he stated that:

> flamenco is already done, but on top of what has been done we can keep creating without cheating or mystifying. Why must we all do the *soleá* the same exact way as if we were a recording? If I can add something personal, to enrich it without disfiguring what the *cante por soleá* is, why am I not going to do it?'[128]

First of all, the song is an example of fusion that departs from the traditional concepts of musical form in flamenco music because it is constructed using what is a very singular mixture of two flamenco *palos,* which are known as *tango* and *taranto*. The flamenco *tango* –a form some scholars have related to its Argentinean homonymous though there is no clear evidence of such a connection– is considered one of the oldest and basic forms of the *cante* with an attributed *Gitano* origin from

the Southwest of Andalusia. On the other hand, the *taranto* belongs to the family of the *tarantas*, a group of the flamenco *cantes de Levante*, that is, the part of the flamenco repertoire of the Eastern areas of Andalusia, that according to tradition are not so related to the *Gitano* corpus. Apart from being the most important form in its group, the *taranto* is also peculiar because it is the only one with a measured rhythm.[129] This whole mixture we find in *Soy Gitano* is based on the flamenco Phrygian mode –considered as one of the characteristic marks of flamenco *Gitano*– and has a very vivid rhythm in 4/4 time that makes it very appropriate for celebration and dance.[130] But, *Soy Gitano* is also interesting because of the introduction of some unconventional elements in flamenco. One the one hand, we have to mention the collaboration of musicians coming from the field of jazz such as bassist Carles Benavent (known for his work with Chick Corea among others international figures) and percussionist Tino di Geraldo whose interpretation, though adapted to the flamenco idiom, adds to *Soy Gitano* a jazzy tinge that opens the sonic scope of the song. On the other, the move away from traditional flamenco is also advanced by the presence of an arrangement for a string orchestra as well as the singular intervention of the Indian tabla. The introduction of these elements result in a significant departure from the repertoire of flamenco sounds, but a departure that is paradoxically rooted or tied to the overshadowing *Gitano* vocality of Camarón and the sound of flamenco guitars of two prominent guitarists as Tomatito and Vicente Amigo. In that sense also, the song becomes an explicit vehicle of an essential *Gitano* identity as when in the chorus a collective group of singers accompany the raspy voice of Camarón making reference to one of the most visual and unmistakable traditions of *Gitano* weddings:

| | |
|---|---|
| Soy *Gitano* | I am *Gitano* |
| Y vengo a tu casamiento | And I come to your marriage |
| A partirme la camisa | To tear my shirt |
| La camisita que tengo | That little shirt of mine |

This confluence and juxtaposition of elements, both expected and unexpected, that intersect within the sonic fabric of the song result in an ambivalent space that deform the image of an essentialized identity. In that sense, *Soy Gitano* can be taken as an example of the conflictual positions pointed by Bhabha in his rejection of the reliance on stereotypes as a secure and fixed point of identification.

Camarón de la Isla has been recognized as one of the most influential flamenco musicians of all times. Even though his work was initially criticized by flamenco purists, his influence has even reached singers in the field of traditional flamenco. But it is obvious that as one of the musicians that opened new and modern ways for the expression of flamenco, his work has been followed by those musicians within the limits of the label *nuevo flamenco.* A good example of Camarón's influence and an example that relates to *Soy Gitano* in that it also departs from the essentialized idea of *Gitano* subjectivity, can be found in the *nuevo flamenco* group Navajita Plateá. It is in his song *Gitano Americano* where we can find a clearly direct and explicit reference to a divided, hybrid subjectivity. Navajita Plateá (literally meaning 'Silvery Little Jack-Knife') is a group born in Jerez de la Frontera, a town from the Andalusian province of Cádiz described by Pierre Lefranc as one of the vertexes of the so called '*jondo* triangle.'[131] Curiously, the name of the group was given by the managers of BMG-Ariola, the record company with which they recorded their first record, in a clear example of the influence that the industry has had in the

development of *nuevo flamenco.*[132] Despite a considerable number of musicians participate in their records and concerts, the group is formed by only two members, the singer Ildefonso de los Reyes (also known as "Pelé") and the guitarist Francisco Carrasco Soto, both *Gitanos* from the *El Barrio de Santiago*, the *Gitano* quarter of Jerez. Since the appearance in 1994 of their first record, also called *Navajita Plateá*, many of their songs manifest an explicit interest to musically express a change in the formulation of racial and cultural identity. In a clear way to state their conception regarding the field of identity politics, not only the song *Gitano Americano* is the one that opened this first record, but also it is followed but two songs –*Cante Jondo Americano* (American *Cante* Jondo) and *The New Model Gipsy "La Nueva Moda Gitana"*[133]) –that also elaborate on this same idea, though from a different perspective.

As it is obvious, right in the title itself we have the most clear parallel to the 'Black Skin' and 'White Masks' complex pointed to by Fanon and developed later by Bhabha. The *Gitano*, dark skinned core of the equation assumes his other side, that which adopts and appropriates a 'white', American 'mask.' The lyrics make it very clear:

| | |
|---|---|
| Desde tiempos tan remotos | From a remote past |
| Son los negros y los gitanos | The Blacks and the *Gitanos* are |
| Los que sienten el compás | Those that feel the *compás*[134] |
| Con los pies y con las manos | With both feet and hands |
| Los negros sienten su blues | Blacks feel their blues |
| Y los gitanos su flamenco | And the *Gitanos* their flamenco |
| Y yo les canto a ustedes | And I sing to you |

| | |
|---|---|
| De la manera que siento | The way I feel |
| Yo soy gitano Americano | I am a '*Gitano* Americano'[135] |
| Me gusta la Coca-Cola | I like Coca-Cola |
| Y los perritos calientes | And hot dogs |
| La hamburguesa de McDonald's | McDonald's burgers |
| Y un Winston entre los dientes | And a Winston between my teeth |
| Y me tienen que aceptar | And you must accept me |
| De la manera que soy | The way I am |
| Fusiones con el compás | Fusions with the *compás* |
| Es lo que a ustedes les doy | Is what I'm giving to you |
| Yo soy gitano americano | I am a '*Gitano* Americano' |
| Yo me puedo imaginar | I can imagine |
| Un traje de lunares | A polka-dot dress |
| La Estatua de la Libertad | The Statue of Liberty |
| Bailando por soleares | Dancing by *soleares*[136] |
| Yo soy gitano americano | I am a '*Gitano* Americano' |

In a metonymical strategy, they take Black people and the blues, and such visible American icons as the Winston cigarettes and the McDonald burgers, as a way to express the changes that, despite of being 'real' *Gitanos*, they have assumed in their identities. A set of changes that, as a kind of Fanonian 'mask' make them different, departing from the traditional stereotype of the *Gitano*. Opposite to the perception of Fanon's colonized, though, the *Gitano Americano* does not assume a 'white mask' in order to hide its 'black skin', since feeling proud of its *Gitanoness* he appropriates the foreign in order to reflect and construct the hybrid identity of a 'modern' *Gitano*.

But, the ‘splitting’ –wanting to remain the same but be like another– and the ‘doubling’ –desiring to be in two places at once– so characteristic of Bhabha’s reading of Fanon, is also manifest in the musical material of Navajita Plateá’s song. On the one hand, and as it is common in the whole of *nuevo flamenco* since the innovations introduced by such influential musicians as Paco de Lucía, Camarón and Enrique Morente, a double use of old and new, home and abroad instruments is very evident. Thus, beside the use of the flamenco guitar, we find the use of the *cajón*, the electric guitar, the bass and also, at some moments the sound of a slide guitar that gives the song a particular American country tinge –something quite original that is also present in some other songs and records of the group. At the same time, there is the voice of “Pelé” with the typical flamenco melodic expression, though not so raspy as the standard voice of traditional flamenco. But, it is at the level of musical texture where the ‘splitting’ and ‘doubling’ is made more manifest being the most singular and innovative element in this particular song. The instruments mentioned are associated at the level of rhythmic meter in two different groups. In a very unique structural construction, we find on the one hand, the bass, the slide guitar and the *cajón* playing in 12/8 time, while on the other, the electric guitar and the flamenco guitar, together with the voice, follow the characteristic *compás* of the flamenco *palo* known as *bulería*. As in some of the most characteristic flamenco forms, the *compás* of *bulería* follows a pattern of twelve beats that constitutes the rhythmic unit of the song. The strong accents are on beats 3, 6, 8, 10 and 12, though it is also common to put them on beats 3, 7, 8, 10 and 12. In any case, the important here is how Navajita Plateá overlap this characteristic flamenco rhythmic pattern to the 12/8 time already mentioned. What comes out is a well blended and very subtle mixed rhythm that gives a very singular ambivalent character to the song. As becomes evident when listening

to the song, this 'mathematical' fusion of the two rhythmic patterns is so smooth that is even hard to discriminate between them. Taken as a whole, it seems as if all through *Gitano Americano* there was a kind of 'double voice' playing from the core of the song itself.

Both *Soy Gitano* and *Gitano Americano,* represent two different yet related ways in which *nuevo flamenco* music has contributed to the re-imagining of *Gitano* identity in a particular time of Spanish history. As Paul Julian Smith stresses in his analysis of contemporary Spanish culture, since the mid-1990s the presence of flamenco and *Gitano* themes have acquired an unprecedented prominence in Spanish popular culture, a prominence that he points up as a clear symptom of recent social change. As shown in the examples presented here, we can agree with his interpretation when he recognizes how the figure of the *Gitano* takes the role of an alterity that can be understood as both something close as well as a supplement within Spain. In that sense, he thinks that at this moment in history the *Gitano*

> is presented as a new, hybrid subject, both strange and familiar, who is at once a response to and a displacement of Spaniards' confrontation with a more radical otherness: that of global immigration to the Spain that was for so long a nation of net emigration.[137]

However, Smith's reading of the new *Gitano* subjectivity as a kind of 'screen for a more immediate social relation which cannot be projected so safely into the distant past,'[138] should not make us forget how, as we have argued, the construction of a new hybrid subjectivity advanced by *nuevo flamenco* music is a way to contest the essentialist representations, otherwise still so present in the contemporary Spanish

society. These essentialist categories have had and still have the power to see and experience *Gitanos* as 'Other'. Internalized by *Gitanos* themselves, they have also been crucial to their process of subject formation. This would help to understand why Young *Gitanos* have not simply obliterated or abandoned these categories as if they were a kind of false consciousness. In any case, they do not turn to them in search of an authenticity to affirm an existing collective 'one true self.' Instead, as we have seen in the examples of *Soy Gitano* and *Gitano Americano*, it is rather a certain re-imagining of the past that demands an imaginative recognition, on the one hand of what was rooted and familiar, but on the other of what we continually create. As part of a conception of identity as a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being', this development gives way to an unsettling sense of difference which, in fact, cannot be perceived as pure otherness.

## Conclusions

Since its first documented presence in 1425,[139] *Gitanos* have lived in Spain for more than six centuries. However, they are still considered as an Other. It is true that in the last decades one of the most remarkable changes in contemporary Spain has been the fact that it has become an increasingly multi-ethnic society –a phenomenon related to the intensification of global migratory flows. Nonetheless, *Gitanos* are still regarded as the most conspicuous image of otherness, an otherness that over the centuries has been crucial to support unity among Spaniards (*Payos*) divided by class, region, culture, and language. As underlined by Isabel Santaolalla, representations of *Gitanoness* 'have almost exclusively carried either the mark of criminality and marginalization or the double trace of 'exoticism' and 'authenticity.'[140] Even in

common language expressions, *Gitanos* are still associated with negative connotations as not log ago Jordi Pujol –who was the President of the Generalitat (Catalonia's government) for more than twenty years– urged the citizens of Barcelona not to behave 'like *Gitanos*' during the Olympic Games that had to be hosted in the city in 1992.[141]

*Gitanos* in general and Young *Gitanos* in particular, have been always devoid of the social power necessary to struggle for the validity of their own definitions and values. For this reason, they have searched for a means to transgress the deep-rooted dichotomous coding of cultural difference and to develop the construction of hybrid subjectivities which re-examine the racialized image circulated by the dominant conventions. This has been crucial for Young *Gitanos* to gain visibility within the field of representation, helping them in this way to define themselves in their own terms and re-imagine their own identity. As the previous pages have tried to show, the space of popular culture and particularly that of *nuevo flamenco* has been a central site for these experimentations. It has been manifested in the shift in *Gitano* subjectivity that, as in the examples mentioned above, has embodied an important change in the *Gitano* politics of representation. Most important of all, especially in the case of *nuevo flamenco*, this re-imagining has opened up the murky space of ambivalence and complexity, which had been always repressed by an 'either/or' approach to identity. As we have argued, a referential work to grasp this phenomenon has been that of postcolonial cultural theorist Homi Bhabha, who has invested political optimism in the view that hybrid formations and subjectivities might subvert the dominant codes and help to elaborate a critique of essentialism.

As a consequence of this phenomenon, it is evident that since the end of the 20th century a change of patterns has began to take place so that the image of *Gitanos*

has become more 'respectable' and even fashionable within Spain as well as abroad –a situation that differs in a very recognizable manner from earlier periods as mentioned above. But, as Isabel Santaolalla has emphasized, the most significant about this change is how 'in beginning to share international fascination with 'roots' and the 'exotic,' Spain has sought to incorporate its own local ethnic subjects into the more global flux of images. Significantly, this is done in ways that emphasize those images that construct them as modern, eclectic, and hybridizing agents.'[142] As a clear example of that she alludes to the spectacle *Pasión Gitana* by flamenco dancer Joaquín Cortés, a show that had a huge international success and turned Cortés into a 'glamorous ethnic sex icon.' To this example we can obviously add many others coming from the field of *nuevo flamenco* as the case of Camarón de la Isla (still after his death in 1992 the most influential flamenco singer) and the group Navajita Plateá mentioned in the previous pages as just two examples among a vast number of groups and individual artists.

But, to end this chapter, I will like to situate such a significant shift in *Gitano* identity politics in a much wider context, showing how it has much in common with the shift in racial and ethnic representation that Stuart Hall described in his influential article 'New Ethnicities'[143] from 1988. Focusing on the British context, Hall examined the effects of hybridization on contemporary culture and suggested that a change was taking place in black cultural politics. As he put it, in the British case this change was characterized by the existence of two clearly discernible phases. The first was 'the moment when the term 'black' was coined as a way of referencing the common experience of racism and marginalization in Britain and came to provide the organizing category of a new politics of resistance.'[144] It was a moment of homogenization, of assembling a diversity of histories, traditions, and identities that

allowed 'the black experience' to be formulated 'in terms of a critique of the way blacks were positioned as the unspoken and invisible 'other' of predominantly white aesthetic and cultural discourses.'[145]

Blacks, like *Gitanos*, have always been the objects rather than the subjects of the practices of representation. For this reason, Hall underlines how the cultural politics and strategies developed under the struggle to come into representation were predicated on two principal issues addressed to changing what he calls the 'relations of representation': first, 'the question of *access* to the rights of representation;' second, 'the *contestation* of the marginality, the stereotypical quality and the fetishized nature of images of blacks, by the counter-position of a 'positive' black imagery.'[146]

In a later period, Hall distinguishes a new phase in black cultural politics, although it does not imply this new moment replaced the earlier one, since in fact both can coexist. However, it is true that, as he contends, the struggle takes new forms and to a certain extent it restructures the different cultural strategies in relation to one another. For Hall it is better to understand the shift in terms of 'a change from a struggle over the relations of representation to a politics of representation itself'[147] since, as he asserts, the regimes of representation in a culture play a constitutive role, not merely a reflexive one.

What is at issue in this second phase, which Hall characterizes as the 'end of the innocent notion of the essential black subject,'[148] is:

> the recognition of the great diversity of subjective positions, social experiences and cultural identities which compose the category 'black;' that is, the recognition that 'black' is essentially a politically and culturally *constructed*

category, which cannot be grounded in a set of fixed trans-cultural or transcendental racial categories and which therefore has no guarantees in nature.'[149]

In other words, this moment is characterized by an awareness and manifestation of the existence of a great diversity in the experience of black subjects, and as a consequence of this, by the undermining of the essentialist notion of 'race.'

It is also worth noting here that, although expressed in other terms and another context, George Lipsitz discussion over Gayatri Spivak's concept of "strategic essentialism" echoes in a sense Hall's distinction of these two different (though sometimes overlapping) moments he recognizes in black identity politics. First of all, in his discussion Lipsitz underlines the propensity of popular culture for serving as a site to experiment with new identities, whether this offers opportunities as well as dangers. To illustrate this point he contends that:

> when people confront obstacles to direct expression of their aspirations and interests, they sometimes take a detour through fictive identities. These may seem simply escapist. They may involve the appropriation, colonization, or eroticization of difference. But appearances of escape and appropriation can also provide protective cover of explorations of individual and collective identity. Especially when carried on by members of aggrieved communities – sexually or racially marginalized "minorities"– these detours may enable individuals to solve indirectly problems that they could not address directly.'[150]

In that sense, he turns to Spivak's argument that explains how, under some particular circumstances, individuals and groups choose to emphasize their common history and interests appealing to a "strategic essentialism" that –in a way similar to the first moment discussed by Hall– disregard the heterogeneity of the group with a clear purpose, that of raising unity around common needs and desires. However, as argued by Lipsitz, in other cases individuals and collectives tend to invoke what he terms a "strategic anti-essentialism" in which they celebrate the fluidity of identities in order to highlight an aspect of one's identity that sometimes is not easy to be expressed directly.[151] As an example of this "strategic anti-essentialism" he quotes the case of Young Maoris and Pacific Islanders in New Zealand that began to adopt African-American styles and slang in the late 1980s because, as they argued, Black Americans provided them the strongest image they could identify with in popular culture. As Lipsitz explains, when critics suggested that the prominence of African-American models were the result of the success of American cultural imperialism and the debasement of Maori traditional culture the answer was that, on the contrary, African-American imagery was an instrument to fully realize what the Maoris had already lost in their own country. One of them affirmed that:

> with our links to the land broken, our alienation from the mode of production complete, our culture objectified, we have become marginalized and lost. This is not to say beaten. And this is what we have in common with black America.'[152]

For Lipsitz the key of "strategic anti-essentialism" is to see how these groups 'can become "more themselves" by appearing to be something other than themselves.'[153]

Even though there are some evident differences between the case of *nuevo flamenco* and the instances examined by Hall and Lipsitz –such as the fact that, in the British situation, the signifier 'black' grouped different communities (both Afro-Caribbean and Asian) with many divergences, but that were treated as 'the same' (i.e. non-white, 'other') by the dominant culture, and thus shared a common experience of marginalization[154]– on the whole, the shift in cultural politics discerned by Hall, as well as the contrasting strategies pointed out by Lipsitz have points in common with the changes we have described in *nuevo flamenco,* especially if they are considered in relation to the political character of the re-imagining of a new subjectivity. The deep changes experimented by Spanish society during the second half of the 20$^{th}$ century (and especially after Franco's death in 1975 and the restoration of democracy and civil rights) have had a complete impact to the way of life of *Gitanos* as it was the case with the Young Maoris mentioned by Lipsitz. And the way Young *Gitanos* responded was also similar, that is with an appropriation of cultural elements of African-American origin such as jazz music, but also other musical genres as blues, rock, salsa, etc. This engagement with difference has been instrumental in order to stimulate possibilities for the loosening and destabilising of the *Gitano* cohesiveness, turning the homogeneous *Gitanoness* of traditional Flamenco discourses into something capable of temporal and spatial change, emphasising in this way its performativity. In that sense, *nuevo flamenco* can be seen as a way of wrestling with previous inscriptions of the term *Gitano* and performing, by means of the music, a re-imagining the *Gitano* subjectivity.

It is true, however, that this new '*Gitano Americano* subject,' to use the metaphor introduced by Navajita Plateá, has not departed substantially from previous formations in respect to gender. It keeps being resolutely male and in some cases

reinforces gender hierarchies even as it challenges racial ones. Again, this is also common to a great deal of black politics since, as highlighted by Stuart Hall, the fact that they have been 'constructed, addressed and developed directly in relation to questions of race and ethnicity, has been predicated on the assumption that the categories of gender and sexuality would stay the same and remain fixed and secured.'[155] In a similar way, traditional *Gitano* identity has been stabilized not only around a deep concern over the concept of race but also over that of masculinity. Thus, despite the existence of *Gitano* female musicians among *nuevo flamenco* artists –such as, la Niña Pastori, Aurora, Ginesa Ortega, La Chica, or even groups as Las Niñas– that have began to break new ground in the field of a specific feminine subjectivity, the world of *nuevo flamenco* has been certainly dominated by masculinity and in that aspect it hardly differs from traditional flamenco. In any case, though, as the instance of a 'politics of representation itself' in the hands of Young *Gitanos*, the articulation of a hybrid subjectivity has been constitutive of a new form of political agency, more positional, plural and diverse, and less fixed, unified or transhistorical.

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[1] bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking feminist, Thinking Black,* pp. 42-43.
[2] Disraeli, *Tancred, or the New Crusade,* (1847) quoted in Young, *Colonial Desire,* p. 93.
[3] Born in Granada in 1965 and educated both in Madrid and New York, Chus Gutiérrez is currently the most known Andalusian female director. All through her career she has always shown a special interest for subjects concerning social conflict in Spanish contemporary society. Thus, her films range from the experience of deracination endured by Spanish emigrants (*Realquiler* -'Sublet'- 1991; *Poniente* –'West'- 2001); the neglect of the public system of education (*Adolescentes* –'Teenagers' 2004); or the drama of the families of North African immigrants dead in their attempt to reach the Peninsula (*Retorno a Hamsala* –'Return to Hamsala' 2008). It is also worth mentioning her film *El Calentito* (2005) set in the 80s Madrid and portraying the cultural phenomenon of 'la movida' in which she was also involved as a founder member of the all-girl flamenco-rap group 'Las Xoxonees.'
[4] In fact, director Chus Gutiérrez revealed in a press interview that the anti-racist aim of the film *Alma Gitana* was simply to 'reverse stereotypes.' See the interview by Cristina Estrada in *Ya* (4th of February 1995). Also quoted by Paul Julian Smith in *The Moderns*, p. 171.
[5] From an interview in the internet magazine deflamenco.com

[6] As Peter Manuel explains in his article *Andalusian, Gypsy, and Class Identity in the contemporary Flamenco Complex,* those *cantes* with a marked modal character constructed around the familiar flamenco progression (Am-G-F-E in E Phrygian) have been the ones associated with *Gitano* origins, so that, as he states, 'modality *per se* is strongly associated with gypsy identity' (p. 55).
[7] Steingress, G., *Flamenco Postmoderno: Entre Tradición y Heterodoxia. Un Diagnóstico Sociomusicológico. (Escritos 1989-2006)*, p. 109. (Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine).
[8] Cruces Roldán, *Antropología y Flamenco. Más Allá de la Música (II),* p. 23.
[9] See Radano & Bohlman, *Music and the Racial Imagination.*
[10] Ortiz Nuevo, *Alegato Contra la Pureza*, p. 32.
[11] See, for example, Grande, *Memoria del Flamenco*, p. 112, and López Ruiz, *Guía del Flamenco*, p. 15.
[12] Steingress, *Sociología del Cante Flamenco*, p. 158.
[13] Mitchell, *Flamenco Deep Song*, p. 17.
[14] Mitchell, ibid, p. 17.
[15] Washabaugh, *Flamenco. Passion, Politics and Popular Culture*, p. xii.
[16] Baltanás, p. 59 of the Introduction to his edition of the *Colección de Cantes Flamencos* by Antonio Machado y Álvarez.
[17] A proof of this is that, for the majority of *nuevo flamenco* musicians, the appellation *flamencólogo* (flamencologist) still has negative resonances. In a clear disavowal of their discourses and criticisms to *nuevo flamenco*, some like Raimundo Amador (guitarist, singer, and founder of *nuevo flamenco* group Pata Negra) even call them *flamencólicos* (flamencoholics) in a clearly scornful attitude. See, for example, Clemente, *Raimundo Amador y Pata Negra*, p. 104.
[18] García Gómez, *Cante Flamenco, Cante Minero. Una Interpretación Sociocultural*, pp. 49-65.
[19] Jo Labanyi, 'Introduction: Engaging with Ghosts; or, Theorizing Culture in Modern Spain', in Jo Labanyi (ed.), *Constructing Identiy in Contemporary Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 1.
[20] See Caro Baroja, *Temas Castizos*, p. 39.
[21] In the first chapter of *Temas Castizos* (1980), anthropologist and historian Julio Caro Baroja traces a social history of *majismo*, and locates its origins in the slums of two precise geographical focus: one centred in the Andalusian cities of Seville, Jerez and Cádiz, the same three locations that all historians identify as the places where flamenco originated; he places the other one in Madrid, though he makes clear it was imported by the migrants from Andalusia.
[22] Indeed, the attempt made by Esquilache –the secretary of state for war and finances– to forbid the wearing in Madrid of the *majo*'s long capes and slouch hats –on the ground that they made it easy for criminals to disguise themselves– led to the one violent riot of Carlos III's reign. The injudicious decree had been issued during a moment of widespread working-class irritation over the high price of grain and the taxes exacted to pay for improvement of roads and street lamps in Madrid. The king had to accept the demands of a crowd raging outside his palace: the removal of the Neapolitan secretary, the revocation of the dress code for the people of Madrid, and a lowering of food prices. Ever after, *majismo* served as an expression of working-class solidarity.
[23] A term derived from Spanish *casta* which means lineage, race, breed and the feminine of *casto* meaning pure, unmixed.
[24] As a matter of fact, until Franco's death in 1975 and the restoration of democratic institutions that took place after 1978, Spain had remained a country dominated by autarky at the economic level and preservation of national self-sufficiency at the political level. However, from the 1960s the country began to open its frontiers to tourists in what became an important income to its impoverished economy. Conscious of the interest in an exotic Spain that attracted most of the visitors, Franco's regime exploited the image of difference. It was in that sense that a particular narrative of a Spanish identity characterized by its difference when compared to other European countries became common currency and was used by Franco's *Ministerio de Turismo* as a well known advertising slogan: *Spain is different.* In spite of the changes brought about after the democratic transition and the incorporation within the European Union the image of a 'different' Spain is still pervasive and even now is somehow exploited by some tourist sectors.
[25] Radano and Bohlman, *Music and the Racial Imagination,* p. 2.
[26] The *costumbrismo* –a term derived from *costumbre* (the Spanish term for custom or manner) – is a literary genre that was in vogue in Spain during the 19th century. Circumscribed within the ideas of *casticismo*, it is characterised by its interest in the description of local manners and mores, sometimes with didactical and/or nationalist purposes. The expression *cuadros costumbristas* refers to short pieces of writing depicting particular scenes such as a dancing and singing party.

[27] Estébanez Calderón, S., 'Asamblea General de los Caballeros y Damas de Triana y toma de hábito en la órden de cierta rubia bailadora' [General Assembly of the Gentlemen and Ladies of Triana and taking of vows in the order of a certain blonde dancer], in *Escenas Andaluzas* (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1983 [1847]), pp. 243-272.
[28] See García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Cante Flamenco*, p. 28.
[29] These two kinds of *majismo* were conventionally known as *majos cocíos* and *crúos* (cooked and raw *majos*). For a concise description of them see Génesis García Gómez, *Cante Flamenco, Cante Minero*, pp. 15-18.
[30] In 1881, he was the leader of a group of young Sevillian scholars who founded the society *El Folk-Lore Andaluz* inspired in 'The Folklore Society' established in London in 1878. On the same year he also contributed to the foundation of its counterpart *El Folk-Lore Español*. Moreover, he is also known for being the father of Antonio Machado Ruiz, one of the most distinguished Spanish poets of the 20th Century, and his brother Manuel, also a renowned writer.
[31] Born in 1842 in Gotha, Hugo Schuchardt was a distinguished specialist in Romanic philology interested in the influence of social and cultural factors in the mutation and evolution of languages. In 1879 he visited Sevilla with the intention to carry on field work around the phonetics of Andalusian dialect. It was in this occasion that he met Machado y Álvarez, who was the person that introduced him to the world of flamenco music.
[32] Machado y Álvarez, *Colección de Cantes Flamencos,* p. 78. Ironically, the hybrid condition that Machado y Álvarez underlines as characteristic of the origins of flamenco –understood by him as a corruption of a genuine, primeval *cante Gitano*– is the same feature purists argue as a censure to *nuevo flamenco*.
[33] Ibid. p. 82.
[34] Ibid. p. 81.
[35] Ibid. pp. 84-85. In close relation to this argument, in his introduction to the flamenco *cante*, García Lavernia holds that '[t]he most appropriated voice for the *siguiriya* is the so called *afillá* (a name given for imitating the voice of El Fillo). See García Lavernia, op. cit. p. 75.
[36] Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, p. 17.
[37] In fact, one of the singers that Machado y Álvarez prices the most as a master of *cante Gitano* (and the only one to whom he devotes a short biography in the *Colección*), is Silverio Franconetti, a follower of El Fillo, whose mother was a non-*Gitano* Andalusian and his father an Italian from Rome. Franconetti was the owner of several *cafés cantantes* in Sevilla, and one of the informers of Machado y Álvarez.
[38] Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, p. 50.
[39] Steingress, *Sociología del Cante Flamenco*, pp. 111-112.
[40] Krausism consisted in the translation and reformulation of the ideas of Karl C.F. Krause (1781-1832), a German philosopher follower of Kantian idealism. Developed in Spain during the second half of the 19th Century, Krausism was, rather than a strict philosophical school, a complex intellectual, religious, and political movement. Gathering the members of the bourgeois and liberal left, it championed the rationalization of the Spanish culture. Though the Krausists strove to avoid conflict, they clashed directly with the Spanish Catholic Establishment, and in 1867 the Krausist professors were expelled from their chairs in Madrid. Restored in 1868 after the *Gloriosa* revolution, they advanced the elimination of Catholic influence in the system of education. In this, one of their enterprises was the reconstruction of the history of Spanish people through their aesthetic manifestations –an interest for the popular of clear Herderian resonances.
[41] Aguilar Criado, *Cultura Popular y Folklore en Andalucía. Los Orígenes de la Antropología*, p. 139.
[42] A phenomenon that seems to parallel, though in a different context, the influence that blackface minstrelsy had in black musicians.
[43] In that sense, Caro Baroja showed how romantic *Gitanismo* was comparable to the interest that upper-classes had shown in *majismo*. See, his *Ensayo sobre la Literatura de Cordel*, p. 325.
[44] Noel, *Raíces de España,* p. 286. Also quoted by Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy,* p. 205.
[45] Born in a modest family of peasants in Aragón, Joaquín Costa (1846-1911) was a politician, economist, lawyer, and historian who became the leader of the intellectual Spanish movement known as *Regeneracionismo* that emerged at the end of 19th century. Its main concern was to analyze the causes of the decadence of the Spanish nation from a scientific point of view, in order to bring the country back to the status it had in the past.
[46] Noel, *Escenas y Andanzas de la Campaña Antiflamenca*, p.169.
[47] See Jesús Vicente Herrero, *El Ideario Costista de Eugenio Noel*, p. 5.

[48] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy,* p. 205. On Noel's conception of 'race' see Jesús Vicente Herrero, *El Ideario Costista*, note 26, pp. 12-13.
[49] Mitchell, *Flamenco Deep Song*, p. 160.
[50] García Lorca, *Importancia Histórica y Artística del Primitivo Canto Andaluz Llamado "Cante Jondo",* (public lecture given at the "Centro Artístico" in Granada on the 19th February 1922; reproduced in Molina Fajardo, *Manuel de Falla y el "Cante Jondo"*, p. 181. Translated by Mitchell, *Flamenco Deep Song*, pp. 167-168).
[51] Ibid., p. 186.
[52] Ibid., p. 178.
[53] In Spanish, the expression '*tener duende'* literally means to have a magic or a special appeal. However García Lorca used the term in order to refer to a kind of trance or hypnotic state in which a flamenco singer was supposed to deliver the most sublime rendition.
[54] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy,* p. 207.
[55] Santaolalla, op. cit. p. 55.
[56] Quoted in Álvarez Caballero, *Del Nacionalflamenquismo al Renacimiento*, p. 110, as well as in his article *Francisco Almazán, escritor y flamencólogo*. (I use the translation made by Washabaugh in his *Flamenco. Passion, Politics and Popular Culture,* p.46.)
[57] The term was introduced by Francisco Almazán himself, a Madrilian writer known for his articles in *Triunfo*, a magazine of the Francoist era that was the most critical with the regime (though always under the filter of censors). See Álvarez Caballero, *Francisco Almazán, escritor y flamencólogo.* It is also interesting to mention that the popular genre known as *copla andaluza* suffered a similar process of appropriation by the regime and became renamed *copla española*.
[58] William Washabaugh, *La Invención del "Cante Gitano,"* pp. 64-68.
[59] Some of them are: Cándido Ortiz Villajos' *Gitanos de Granada* (1949), Anselmo González Climent's *Flamencología* (1955), Domingo Manfredi Cano's *Los Gitanos* (1959), Rafael Lafuente's *Los Gitanos, el Flamenco, y los Flamencos* (1955), J.M. Caballero Bonald's *El Cante Andaluz* (1956), Manuel García Matos' *Historia del Cante Flamenco* (1958), and J. Amaya's *Gitanos y Cante Jondo* (n.d.).
[60] Ricardo Molina Tenor (1917-1968), was a poet from Córdoba cofounder of the literary journal *Cántico*. His most known work, though, is that within the field of flamenco research and criticism, a work that he initiated after meeting the known flamenco singer Antonio Mairena. Their first project in common was the organization of the *Primer Concurso Nacional de Cante Jondo en Córdoba* that took place in 1956.
[61] His real name was Antonio Cruz García (1909-1983). He was member of a *Gitano* family from Mairena de Alcor (a village in the province of Seville) that settled there on the 18th century. In his youth he worked as a blacksmith in the family business, and did not start a professional career as a flamenco singer until the 1930s following the steps of the famous *Gitano* singer Manuel Torre. However, his popular recognition did not begin until 1962, when he was granted the valued prize known as the *Tercera Llave de Oro del Cante* (Third Golden Key of *Cante*).
[62] *Cante Flamenco* (1965), *Misterios del Arte Flamenco; Ensayo de una Interpretación Antropológica* (1967), *Obra Flamenca* (1977).
[63] See Gamboa, *Una Historia del* Flamenco, 173. Indeed, Mitchell qualifies *Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco* (1963), by Molina and Mairena, as 'the closest thing to a textbook flamenco students have ever had.' See Mitchell, *Flamenco Deep Song,* p. 203.
[64] Molina, *Misterios del Arte Flamenco*, p. 23.
[65] Molina and Mairena, *Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco*, p. 11.
[66] Ibid. p. 21.
[67] Ibid. pp. 27-30.
[68] Ibid. p. 35.
[69] Mairena, *Las Confesiones de Antonio Mairena,* p. 80.
[70] Ibid. p. 3.
[71] See, for example, Mitchell, *Flamenco Deep Song*, pp. 203, 212, and Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco*, p. 181.
[72] Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco*, p. 184.
[73] Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco*, p. 236.
[74] Ibid. p. 234.
[75] Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco*, p. 183, and Mitchell, *Flamenco Deep Song*, p. 209.
[76] Radano & Bohlman, *Music and the Racial Imagination*, p. 8.
[77] As conceptualized by Radano and Bohlman in *Music and the Racial Imagination*, p. 5.

[78] Cruces Roldán, *Antropología y Flamenco. Más Allá de la Música (I)*, p. 95.
[79] Ibid., p. 96.
[80] Ibid., p. 98.
[81] See JanMohamed, *The Economy of Manichean Allegory,* in Ashcroft *et. al.*, *The Postcolonial studies Reader*, pp. 18-23.
[82] See Cruces Roldán, *Antropología y Flamenco. Más Allá de la Música (I)*, p. 102.
[83] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 1-2.
[84] See, for example, Robert Young, *White Mythologies* (especially chapter 7); John MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts*; Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory*; James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (chapter 11); or Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture.*
[85] MacKenzie, *Orientalism. History, Theory and the Arts*, p. 35.
[86] In his book *La Andalucía de los Libros de Viajes del Siglo XIX* (Andalusia in the Travel Books of the 19th Century), his author Manuel Bernal Rodríguez studies the image of Spain in general and Andalusia in particular as it was given in the travelogues of mainly French and British travellers who were visiting the country during the 19th century. Generally taking the form of a diary, in many occasions the events were narrated in a way that resembled that of a novel. Also of interest is the concise anthology of texts that appear in the second part of the book and that give clear examples of the way these foreign travellers portrayed the country.
[87] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy,* p. 59.
[88] Mithcell, *Flamenco Deep Song*, p. 112.
[89] See Mitchell, *Flamenco Deep Song,* p. 113.
[90] See Colmeiro, *Exorcising Exoticism*, p. 129.
[91] As noted by Colmeiro himself, *Gitanos* were not the only 'internal others' in Europe and he points to Jews, Basques, Greeks, Cossaks, and Ukrainians among other ethnic minorities (to which we could certainly add the Irish) that would fall in the same category, just as women, homosexuals or the insane. In any case, though, *Gitanos* are considered for him the ones closest to home and the most easily exoticised.
[92] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 66-84.
[93] Ibid. p. 66.
[94] Ibid. p. 67.
[95] Ibid, p. 70.
[96] Bhabha takes the concept of 'ambivalence' from Freud who introduces it in order to explain the simultaneous existence of contradictory feelings –love and hate, desire and fear, affirmation and negation– that a subject has for a single object. As Freud maintains, this co-existence would induce the organization of certain psychical conflicts that would impose to the subject specific contradictory attitudes. Freud developed this idea, specially, in his 'Notes upon a Case of Obsessional Neurosis (The "Rat Man"). For him, 'ambivalence' expresses the co-existence of the two kinds of instincts he differentiates, that is, the death instincts or 'Thanatos' and the life instincts of 'Eros.' On the other hand, this phenomenon is also crucial in the Object-Relations theory of Melanie Klein.
[97] See Huddart, D., *Homi K. Bhabha,* pp. 5-6.
[98] Santaolalla, *Ethnic and Racial Configurations in Contemporary Spanish Culture*, p. 57.
[99] See Robert Young, *White Mythologies*, p. 186.
[100] Bhaba, *The Location of Culture,* p. 77.
[101] Hall, D.E., *Subjectivity*, pp. 114-115.
[102] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture,* p. 40.
[103] Basically Sartre's work *Anti-Semite and Jew*, from 1946.
[104] Also of West Indian origin, Aimé Césaire is best known for his invention of the term 'Négritude' at the end of the 1930s in order to describe mainly a positive celebration of black experience that had been generally dismissed as barbarism.
[105] A prove of that is the fact that Bhabha wrote the foreword for the translation of 1986 published by Pluto Press, and that and adaptation of this same foreword was included in *The Location of Culture* under the title 'Interrogating Identity. Frantz Fanon and the Postcolonial Prerogative'.
[106] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 161, note 25.
[107] Ibid, p. 163.
[108] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 62.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid, p. 44.
[111] Ibid, p. 62.
[112] Manuel, *Andalusian, Gypsy, and Class Identity in the Contemporary Flamenco Complex*, p. 47.

[113] Ibid, p. 62.
[114] Ibid, p. 54.
[115] See for example Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco*, p. 47.
[116] Even though the last time that Paco de Lucía accompanied Camarón was in the record *Castillo de Arena* from 1977, he also collaborated in some other Camarón's records, especially in his last work *Potro de Rabia y Miel* published in 1992, the same year that Camarón died.
[117] Quoted in Calvo & Gamboa, *Historia-Guía del Nuevo Flamenco,* pp. 42-43.
[118] Ibid. p. 42.
[119] Quoted in Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco,* p. 83.
[120] Ibid.
[121] See the magazine section in http://www.deflamenco.com/revista/cante/camaron-de-la-isla-3.html
[122] Jan Farley in Broughton, Ellingham & Trillo (eds.), *The Rough Guide to World Music,* Vol. 1, p. 283.
[123] Review of *La Leyenda del Tiempo* by Don Snowden in http://www.allmusic.com/album/la-leyenda-del-tiempo-mw0000334413. The reference to Sgt. Pepper's come from José Manuel Gamboa as quoted in Clemente, *Filigranas,* p. 30.
[124] Pachón, *Vida de una Leyenda,* in *El País,* 9/08/2012.
[125] Snowden, op. cit.
[126] Interview to Ricardo Pachón in the Spanish newspaper *El Mundo* (11/12/2013).
[127] Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco,* p. 84.
[128] Ibid.
[129] For a detailed account of the *tango* and the *taranto* see García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Cante Flamenco,* pp. 98-99, 120-122, and Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco*, pp. 425-427, 429.
[130] In fact, *tangos* are considered, like *bulerías* and *fandangos*, one of the principal forms of *cantes festeros* (that is, party songs).
[131] Lefranc, *Le Cante Jondo*, p. 9.
[132] See Gamboa, and Núñez, *Nuevo Flamenco. Historia y Diccionario*, p. 111.
[133] It is obviously significant the fact that they give the title of the song not only in Spanish but also in English, as another prove of both their intention to mix and hybridize, and also as a way to show their modernity and openness to the foreign, to the new.
[134] Though the word *compás* is the Spanish term for bar or measure, it is also used in flamenco to refer to the particular rhythmic pattern, chords, and accents of the different styles or *palos.* In that sense it is common hear flamenco musicians using expressions such as "*compás* of bulería", "*compás* of soleá", "to sing *a compás,"* etc.
[135] The expression literally means an American *Gitano*.
[136] *Soleares* is the plural of *soleá,* one of the oldest flamenco *palos*.
[137] Smith, *The Moderns. Time, Space, and Subjectivity in Contemporary Spanish Culture,* p. 162.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Documents attesting the early presence of *Gitanos* in the Peninsula are scarce. As most historians affirm their arrival must have been not a massive one but in reduced groups that had come in different waves. In any case, the first document that attests the presence of *Gitanos* in Spain is a safe-conduct issued by the king of Aragon Alfonso V (1416-1458) authorizing the entrance of a group of *Gitanos* in January 1425. It is not until 1462 that we find another document attesting the presence of *Gitanos* in the Andalusian city of Jaen. See López Ruiz, *Guía del Flamenco*, pp. 11-12.
[140] Santaolalla, *Ethnic and Racial Configurations in Contemporary Spanish Culture*, p. 58.
[141] See Dolç i Gastaldo, *De la pirámide invertida al Políticament Correcte: del significat a la connotació*, p. 173. Also quoted in Santaolalla, op. cit. p. 58.
[142] Santaolalla, *Ethnic and Racial Configurations in Contemporary Spanish Culture*, p. 59.
[143] Hall, 'New Ethnicities', in *Black Film British Cinema,* pp. 27-31. Also reproduced in Morley and Chen, *Stuart Hall. Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, pp. 441-449 from where I quote.
[144] Ibid. p. 441.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid. p. 442.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid. p. 443.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads*, p. 62.
[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid., p. 63.
[153] Ibid.
[154] In relation to this, it is interesting to note how some historians have showed evidences that, all through history, the signifier '*Gitano*' was a term that embraced people not only from this particular ethnic origin. Thus, under this category there were also people from other ethnicities, mainly the *Moriscos* –the Moslems that converted to Christianity in order to avoid the expulsion of the peninsula– as well as the Jews (in most of the cases, though, we have evidences that prove how people from both groups had made a public conversion just because it was the only alternative they had to stay in Spain, but kept faithful to their believes and followed their religious practices in secret). But apart from them, under the term '*Gitano*' there were also those outlaws with ways of life in the margins of Spanish society. See for example Caro Baroja, *Temas Castizos*, pp. 116-137, and Barrios, *Gitanos, Moriscos y Cante Flamenco* (in Barrios, *Ese Difícil Mundo del Flamenco*, pp. 113-192). In the fourth chapter of his book *Flamenco Deep Song*, Timothy Mitchell makes reference to this thesis and underlines how 'mode of life is a crucial determinant of gypsyness' (p. 59). In that sense, he conceives the marginal life-style of *Gitanos* as a factor leading to ethnicity and even recalls the psychodramatic theory of Jacob Levi Moreno in order to point to flamenco as a kind of expression of trauma. See Mitchell, *Flamenco Deep Song*, pp. 51-71.
[155] Hall, 'New Ethnicities', p. 445.

Music is inscribed between noise and silence, in the space of the social codification it reveals. Every code of music is rooted in the ideologies and technologies of its age, and at the same time produces them.

Jacques Attali, *Noise*[1]

Only a thoughtless observer can deny that correspondences come into play between the world of modern technology and the archaic symbol-world of mythology.

Walter Benjamin, *Arcades Project*[2]

## Chapter 3

## *Flamenco Universal*: Circulating the Authentic

### Introduction

In 1989, and as part of the eighteenth edition of the *Congreso Nacional de Actividades Flamencas* (National Congress of Flamenco Activities) in Seville, the show *Nuevas Formas del Flamenco* (New Forms of Flamenco) was staged. It was conceived as a presentation of a few *nuevo flamenco* groups to give the audience members a glimpse of the new configurations that flamenco was taking. However, only a few numbers of the participants in the congress attended the show, and most of them found it literally outrageous: musicians departed from traditional flamenco forms and they used synthesizers, saxophones, flutes... There was even smoke on the stage! At one moment, José Luís Ortiz Nuevo –the director of the *Bienal de Arte Flamenco* of Seville, and a known advocate of *nuevo flamenco*– appeared on stage to present the *nuevo flamenco* group La Banda del Niño Jero.[3] Once the group was introduced he ended his speech with a quasi cry of war:

¡Viva el flamenco! ¡Muera el siglo XIX![4]

[Hurrah for flamenco! Death to the 19th century!]

Given that flamenco emerged as a differentiated musical genre precisely around the middle of the 19th century and that, throughout its history it has been claimed as a significant element of both Andalusian and Spanish culture, one might find Ortiz Nuevo's words a little surprising, if not to say rather incoherent.

Like here, we know that flamenco has always given rise to the most passionate reactions. In general terms, the responses evoked by *nuevo flamenco* have always tended to take extremely polarized forms reliant on overtly bounded notions that have expressed either the manifestation of a staunch defence or, on the contrary, the most conspicuous neglect. As he has underlined in his singular work *Alegato contra la Pureza* (Plea against Purity), Ortiz Nuevo himself contends how:

> we could draw a clear dividing line and establish, at both sides of this border, two fields where, according to their particular affinities, the different flamenco enthusiasts meet:
>
> On the field of nostalgia: those that obsessively regret how much has been lost, and hail the modern with severe disdain since it does not conform to the norms of their creed.
>
> On the field of obstinacy: those that feel how life grows from past to future and believe that enjoying the well known does not prevent them from awaiting even deeper and more beautiful moments, even if they might be different.[5]

While, at some points Ortiz Nuevo asserts how both positions need not to be exclusive,[6] it is clear that his sympathies undoubtedly lie with those on 'the field of obstinacy.' However, in his apparently illogical claim, he did not disdain traditional flamenco and its champions but was conjuring two different though related issues as he later exposed in *Alegato contra la Pureza*. On the one hand, the idea of referring to flamenco as a cultural practice conventionally presented as authentic and pure, as a deeply seated tradition that must be preserved intact, while on the other, there was the question of circulation and consumption of flamenco, that is, its relationship with the

media and the cultural industries, and the controversies caused by addressing flamenco to a massive public. Even though, in relation to *nuevo flamenco,* it is obvious that both issues have played a central role at a moment of re-configuration and re-imagining of the genre, one of the aims of this chapter will be precisely to illustrate how they have been constant throughout flamenco history since its inception.

*Nuevo flamenco* developed at a moment of increasing flows of music across the world. It is commonly argued that this panorama of globalization of music has been the main reason behind this process of hybridisation between flamenco and some other musical styles and that this underlying cause has resulted in a spread of flamenco beyond its usual borders, developing at the same time an appeal to new audiences. But it is also important not to forget that, behind this mentioned flow of musical sounds lies a flow of industrial interests that has run parallel to the production of discourses that music –and world music in particular– has gone through during the recent decades. The case of *nuevo flamenco* is a good illustration of this situation. As has been suggested earlier, it is possible to find in *nuevo flamenco* the convergence of a musical genre traditionally perceived as having a 'folk' status, with a heterogeneous and transnational set of popular music genres which have interacted in the hands of individual musicians. At the same time, though, keeping in mind the evolution of the genre we must not overlook the crucial role played by the music industry, not only in the way that *nuevo flamenco* has been produced and marketed but also (and consequently) in the way it has been constructed as a distinct musical genre.

It is for this reason that the straightforward argument that situates *nuevo flamenco* in the orbit of an idealized celebration of global pluralism and cultural diversity needs to be examined in detail, and the same must be said of the argument that portrays the new genre as just a commodification of flamenco. And the revision of these

arguments must be done paying due regard not only to the particular circumstances in which *nuevo flamenco* developed but also by a reading of *nuevo flamenco* in relation to the whole history of flamenco itself. With this idea in mind, in this chapter I will focus on the central ideological debates around the issues of authenticity and the so-called 'commercialism,' a set of debates that have governed not only the way *nuevo flamenco* has been represented but that have also determined its actual material forms. Tracing the history of flamenco from the point of view of its production and reception, I will show how the opposition between traditional flamenco, as authentic, pure and private, and *nuevo flamenco,* as commercial, unauthentic and destined to a mass public, is part of a discursive construction. Finally, and in relation to the issues already described, to conclude the chapter I will explore the particular modes of production enacted by *nuevo flamenco* focusing on the idea of 'mimesis' as an approach to theorize the strategic way in which *nuevo flamenco* musicians have appropriated tropes, technologies and material culture.

## Authentic Flamenco, that Old Commodity

In 2008, as part of a commercial campaign to publicise its catalogue of flamenco music, the Spanish branch of the multination company Universal Records issued a booklet under the title *Flamenco Universal.* Its forty-nine pages consist basically of a full list of its flamenco records including a reproduction of all the covers and a brief account of the most relevant artists. As evident in the short text that introduces the booklet as well as from the attached combination of modern graphic design and old black and white pictures of iconic places associated with flamenco and Andalusia (such as the *Gitano* quarter of El Albaicín in Granada, or the village of Ronda in the province

of Málaga) flamenco is presented, on the one hand, as a local and authentic cultural phenomenon that must be considered part of a 'universal culture,' while, on the other, underlining both its capacity to evolve and be transformed at the same level as other musical styles around the world. Thus, as stated in the introduction of the booklet:

> Flamenco is an art that goes beyond the natural limits of its cradle, Andalusia, to reach the most distant countries thanks to some artists that exported their art beyond its plains and rocky grounds, hills and slopes, bushes and almond trees... and made it a universal art.
>
> [...]
>
> Flamenco is like Andalusia, a land that finds its raison d'être in its diversity. By means of all these artists and their different music you will be able to embark on a wonderful journey across the history of flamenco from its purest and ancient aspects until its fusion with new music genres such as jazz, bossanova or Latin rhythms.[7]

Apart from the obvious play with the company's name, the idea of presenting flamenco as part of a 'universal culture' was not casual since, at the time, there was a formal nomination in place to have flamenco recognised as part of UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage, a nomination that counted with the support of many institutions and organisations from both Andalusia and the Spanish State as a whole. In fact, a first, unsuccessful attempt took place in 2005 and it was not until five years later during the fifth convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage in Nairobi in November 2010 that flamenco was finally granted this distinction. In terms

very similar to those used in the Universal Records booklet, the nomination document underlined that:

> Andalusia is the heartland of flamenco. [...] Flamenco does, though, have roots in other bordering regions of Spain, and has expanded into the central and northern regions of the country. Flamenco has become a worldwide, cross-border phenomenon, open to new trends, at the centre of an intercultural dialogue without which it would be inconceivable.
>
> [...]
>
> The product of a long process of creation and intercultural dialogue, it stands out for the weightiness of its tradition and oral transmission, the diversity of its forms, the existentialism of its messages, the quality of its lyrics and its capacity to influence musical forms worldwide.[8]

Even though the association of flamenco to the idea of something "universal" might suggest interesting questions, my intention here is not to focus attention on the arguments and the assumptions elaborated to sustain this nomination; nor will I address the concept of 'universality' in itself and the implications it has when applied, as in this case, to a particular musical tradition. Instead, what I want here is to evaluate the views expressed above in the UNESCO's and other texts as an example that reveals the complex and often contradictory representations of flamenco and the struggles they imply over its musical propriety as well as the process of meaning negotiation that this situation has always implied and that has been central in the development of *nuevo flamenco*. Both texts tend in this sense to bring together two explicitly oppositional views of flamenco. Thus, while accentuating the purity and authenticity of flamenco's

roots in a supposedly isolated and genuine territory in the heart of Andalusia, at the same time they also stress the diversity and heterogeneity of this music, open to interactions with other musical forms. They reflect, in fact, the common view that portrays flamenco as having two completely different faces, one of privacy or even secret circles and that of the public space. The hegemonic discourses tend, however, to attribute different values to these contrasting representations. William Washabaugh summarized this fact stating that:

> existing discussion would have one believe that all beauty, truth, and meaning lies in flamenco's moments of intimacy and that commercialized flamenco, by contrast, is the site of mystification, superficiality, and artificiality. The banalities of commercialized flamenco are so insulting to the authentic tradition that, as Yogi Berra would say, they aren't even worth ignoring.[9]

In his book Washabaugh devotes a whole chapter –entitled 'The Histories of Flamenco'– to address what he identifies as the four different lines of flamencological argumentation that have constructed a particular story of the flamenco tradition. According to him, these four such stories are labelled "Andalusian," "*Gitano*," "populist," and "sociological."[10] As he states, they can be differentiated because in each case their narrative account departs significantly in some particular issues since they are built around distinct ideological principles. He points out how each one has been widespread for a long time and, each claims itself to be the real and only true history of flamenco. Significantly, though, he emphasizes how apart from their various disagreements, they all share a singular and important point of view. As he formulates it: "common to all four is the claim that commercialization has clouded or erased the

true meaning of flamenco music."[11] Indeed, this is precisely the most recurrent argument utilised by flamenco purists in order to censure *nuevo flamenco.* As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, the label *nuevo flamenco* refers to the work of all those musicians that blend foreign and modern elements with traditional flamenco in a process of musical fusion of flamenco with a variety of other genres. Even though the term appeared during the 1980s its precedents go back a few decades and some scholars mention the interest of jazz musicians such as Miles Davis to incorporate flamenco into their music as the 'roots' of *nuevo flamenco.* In this sense, the most common arguments against *nuevo flamenco* tend either to emphasize the complete diversion from established forms and traditional sounds, or strongly disapprove the departure from the customary intimate spaces of flamenco music into a massive reception. A few examples will help to illustrate this point.

In a chapter of his *Guide to flamenco* in which he assesses the 'new tendencies' in flamenco music, Luis López Ruiz clearly opposes the outcomes of fusion between flamenco and other music styles arguing that:

> With the claim to modernize and bring flamenco up to date, what musicians do [...] is just to create a monster with a hybrid head with rock eyes, pop ears, a salsa mouth, a Maghribian nose and a flamenco façade. Most of the times, these renewing trends do not show a flamenco music running on new rails as a product of a supposed evolution but *other trains* rambling by the tracks of flamenco.[12]

Although he surprisingly presents himself as not completely against the evolution of flamenco, he clearly deplores the fact that flamenco has become popular and accessible to a massive public:

> Flamenco has never been a popular musical art, in the sense of having a wide diffusion among people. It has always attracted only to a minority. To say it in a few words, flamenco has never sold well. But at present, with the new methods of commercialization and the advent of musical fusions, its range has increased and now reaches many sites. [...] This is really popular; this really gets to many people and many places; this really sells. And we have nothing against it. It usually sounds well and delights people. It is music, no doubt, it has its own values and it achieves its goal. But things must not be confused: it is not flamenco.[13]

López Ruiz views summarize very well the common point of view of those musicians, academics, music critics, and flamenco enthusiasts that align themselves with the tenets of what is known as flamenco *purism*. And he does so in what could be taken as their leitmotif when he explicitly states that 'if it is new it is not flamenco, and if it is flamenco then it is not new.'[14]

To give another example, I can read the words of Aurelio Gurrea, a known Andalusian flamencologist, who in a conference during the *Primer Congreso de Críticos de Arte Flamenco* [First of Congress of Flamenco Art Critics] held in 1992 in Jaén, proclaimed a clear warning:

> The critic of flamenco must be tough in his commentary when condemning the use of musical instruments alien to the flamenco cultural tradition, and even when this is interpreted with the guitar, he must also deplore those *toques* that

> sound closer to *bossanova* than to *bulerías*, and this, believe me, happens very often.[15]

Similarly, the views given by José Caba Povedano, an important member of the *Peña Cultural Flamenca Torres Macarena,* one of the most active in Seville, touch on exactly the same ideological assumptions.[16] Even though he recognizes that flamenco has never been a fixed, unchanging music, in an article in the flamenco journal *Arco Flamenco* in which he addresses the new features introduced by *nuevo flamenco* he sees a pure commercial interest that he finds inexistent in previous moments of flamenco history:

> The innovations of today are not the same as the ones we had in the past. At that time, it was the people in the *fiestas* who in a disinterested, free and spontaneous way, were adding or taking away what was found convenient in order to attain a moment of climax. In these conditions we welcome the forms and instruments considered appropriate, as could be, for example, a xylophone or an electric organ. But the evolution of flamenco that some now pretend to engage in is one directed by a group of people most of whom are just clever artistic agents, more expert in marketing than in anything else, or even pseudo-artists that pretend to substitute the quality they lack with a bunch of well designed eccentricities.[17]

Examples like these abound and they all reproduce the same kind of complaints. In one way or another, they reject *nuevo flamenco* approaches drawing on the same arguments outlined above. In fact, most of the criticisms that manifested this same discrediting of the commodity character they attribute to *nuevo flamenco* tend to share the same tenets. These tenets clearly recall Theodor Adorno's basic thesis on popular

music as Washabaugh also points out emphasizing how 'indeed, many of the flamenco historians who seem willing, if not eager, to disagree at every turn, nevertheless share this same Adornian disparagement of commercialized artistry.'[18] Even though some of the criticisms concern the formal aspects of *nuevo flamenco,* especially in relation to its characteristic musical fusions with a variety of other styles, the most prominent attacks are those regarding the field of production in which, as Richard Middleton has signalled, Adorno's approach is at its strongest since: 'generally within his social theory of music, Adorno insists on the priority of production defining the musical language, determining meaning and moving music history forward.'[19] Fusion is thus seen as a purely commercial strategy with only one objective that of producing records for massive selling. Moreover, no mention at all is made to their reception assumed to be completely homogeneous, passive and predictable.

A crucial point in all traditionalist visions of flamenco is that, in a way that has similarities to Adorno's critique, they contend there is a neat division between two kinds of music. On the one hand of the split stands the music that complies with its character as a commodity while, on the other, there is the 'self-reflective' music that confronts and resists any attempt to be treated as a commodity.[20] As outlined by Max Paddison, for Adorno: 'music of category one –the uncritical and unreflective type– has an 'objective' character, in that it has become identical with the collective tendencies of society itself, which it affirms, and automatically reflects.'[21] This is a music that, according to Adorno, shows what qualifies as 'standardization,' that is a music based in established and recognizable formulae complying in this way with the interests of the cultural industry. Or, to put it in Marxian terms, a music in which 'its value in exchange –its marketability– is reified into an objective characteristic of the commodity itself.'[22] Concerning its self-reflective opposite, Paddison emphasizes how for Adorno:

> It is a non-standardized, radical music; which formulates its self-reflection within its actual compositional structure (although what this means in practical terms is not always clear). In so doing, it not only reflects the tendencies of society by passively mirroring them (as, Adorno maintains, does popular music) but simultaneously and actively opposes these tendencies by its negation of standardized meaning within its own structure.[23]

Needles to say, according to the discourses of flamenco purists, this last category would be appropriate for traditional flamenco while all sorts of *nuevo flamenco* are regarded as belonging to the first one. As we have seen, *nuevo flamenco* is considered a kind of music conceived to 'sound well' and 'delight people,' and for that reason believed to be a pure product of the assembly line –for some a 'monster' made of heterogeneous bits– and marketing techniques. Its main objective is just to please as many people as possible. Instead, traditional flamenco is presented as an autonomous music, the meaning of which is only accessible to a small minority of people and becomes thus committed to an authentic self-expression.

As it has been emphasized in relation to Adorno's views, one of the problems with the discourses of flamenco purists is that they tend to have an absolutist view of *nuevo flamenco,* which conceives it as an undifferentiated whole with a complete lack of distinction. As I have tried to show in previous sections of this thesis, *nuevo flamenco* is far from being such a homogeneous style and it would be better to think of it as a term encompassing a vast diversity of flamenco-related styles. And certainly, it is not difficult to find some particular musical examples within the sphere of *nuevo flamenco* that have been conceived as blatant commercial appropriations of flamenco music.

Many of them have drawn upon one of the most festive of flamenco *palos,* the rumba, a circumstance that was not new since can be traced back to the 1960s. But, arguably among the most conspicuous examples that can be remarked here there is the project DiGitano by producer and disc jockey J. J. Valmorisco. Although the record is claimed to be the result of 'an encounter between techno music and flamenco,'[24] it is basically a collection of eleven tracks conceived for the dance floor not different from the other works of Valmorisco, which in this case mix electronic grooves and the sound of flamenco voices and guitars. The record was presented as 'the last frontier of electronic rhythms in the service of what's probably the most beautiful music of the world, flamenco,'[25] though the outcome seems to prove rather the opposite, that is putting flamenco in the service of Valmorisco's interests. A similar situation can be found in the records of Azúcar Moreno, a duo of two *Gitano* young women that under the direction of producer Raul Orellana worked for CBS Records and began to explore the international market with the record *Mix in Spain* from 1987. Their most successful albums though, were those produced under the direction of Miami based producer Emilio Estefan.[26] Or, to give just one more example, I can mention the work of Chambao, a chill-out oriented group that used flamenco as the base of their distinctive sound. In their first record, edited by Sony Music Spain, they even include a chill-out version of *Volando Voy*, one of the most popular songs by flamenco singer Camarón de la Isla that appeared in *La Leyenda del Tiempo*. In any case, though, to dismiss *nuevo flamenco* as a whole considering all its forms as a pure commercial manipulation, reveals nothing but a lack of knowledge of the style. On the other hand, another clear contradiction appears when musicians like Paco de Lucía, Camarón de la Isla or Enrique Morente –among others who have been taken as the leading figures that have traced new paths to be followed by *nuevo flamenco* artists– are deeply respected by purists

who even recognize how they have developed a new, progressive language of flamenco. In that sense, their music does not rely on superseded aspects of traditional structures as Adorno points out as one of the chief characteristics of uncritical music. Quite the opposite, they have indeed been acknowledged by all as the leading innovators of flamenco language.

Another important remark around this division must take into account how the different values conferred on traditional flamenco and *nuevo flamenco* have also been determined by a distinction between different social spaces. In that sense, the split between these two musical categories has been related to the opposition between the private and public spaces of flamenco. The common tendency of flamenco discourses has been to consider privacy as a context in which music is an undisputed manifestation of authenticity. On the contrary, public settings have always been assumed to work exactly in the opposite direction that is being a context in which music is invariably nothing else but a pure manifestation of banality. While these last cases are considered to be driven only by a simple commercial interest and the intention to attract to a massive public, the first one has been always regarded as the only place capable to embody the real expression of flamenco, that reserved only to a few. This conception has been highly widespread and even Cristina Cruces Roldán, who has carried out an incisive critical analysis of flamencology from the perspective of anthropology and has opened an interesting field of study with her ground breaking work on flamenco as a professional activity, recognized once how:

> I had assumed in my first writings that flamenco's 'purity' was not so much a question of musical styles or fashions, but a question related to the social spaces in which it materialized. Thus, the point was to magnify the private uses of

> flamenco in front of its consumption on the stage. It is now maybe necessary to demythologize some beliefs and arguments such as the 'purity' of the private in front of the contamination of the commercial, the absolute truth in front of the falseness of the stage, freedom in front of the imposition of money, in which I believed myself. Even though it is something that could irritate the defenders of the pristine innocence of popular culture, flamenco has always been seized by the double dimension of use and exchange, even if its forms and meanings have been very disparate. The public flamenco is as old as it is the private one.[27]

Aware of how professionalism has always been a problematic concept within traditional flamenco discourses and their idealized representations, in a later work Cruces Roldán has no doubt to forcefully affirm that 'flamenco has been a cultural product inseparably connected to its commodification.'[28] Pointing out that the distinction between a private and a public flamenco has relayed on inaccurate arguments,[29] she also asserts how:

> both social forms have actually been embodied in flamenco through all its history, which has lived in parallel the world of the *fiesta* and that of the stage, leisure and business, festivity and work. In fact, the codification and popularization of flamenco as an artistic genre during the 19th century is concerned not only with the aesthetic and ideological keys of Romanticism, but also with the bourgeois idea of the art market deregulation, in which flamenco appeared as the distilled product of the 'traditional' and the 'popular' even though it was in fact a new and completely *modern* product.[30]

As acknowledged by Cruces Roldán, and however specific this dichotomous categorization may seem to the moment in which *nuevo flamenco* began to develop, the fact is that is not something new in the history of flamenco. The outright rejection of *nuevo flamenco* for appropriating traditional flamenco and turning it to a commercial form addressed to a mass audience reveals to be completely unfounded if one takes into account the whole history of flamenco. In order to prove this, I must put the arguments so far exposed into a historical perspective in other to show how the same criticisms directed to *nuevo flamenco* have indeed pervaded flamenco discourses through all its history. For this reason I must recall the three historical moments I have identified in my second chapter as the crucial stages in the construction of flamenco's racial imaginary in order to unveil how, in a clear correspondence, these same occasions were also dominated by a parallel concern with a claimed commercial manipulation of flamenco. This concern was manifested as an anxiety over the putative loss of flamenco's authenticity.

As I have already introduced in the previous chapter, folklorist Antonio Machado y Álvarez, also known as Demófilo, is recognized as the founder of flamenco studies. His *Colección de Cantes Flamencos* published in 1881, is not only the first notice we have about different flamenco forms or *palos* –those in vogue at the moment– but also about the social conditions in which the first flamenco developed. He was the first interested not only on the gathering of materials (basically the lyrics of nearly eight hundred *coplas*) but also on the musicians and their audiences, developing his own theory of flamenco. As also mentioned previously, in his search for the origins of flamenco he assumed how it was a music that had been originated within the private homes of Andalusian *Gitano* families. However, a careful reading of the *Colección de Cantes Flamencos* reveals how this racial theory is in complete contradiction with some

other observations made by Machado y Álvarez himself. In that sense, while he puts special emphasis on the *seguidillas* as one of most interesting flamenco forms since he claims they are the best expression of the *Gitano* people, when analyzing concrete songs he must recognize how 'there is a very small number of them that make reference to some custom, usage or tradition of the *Gitano* race.'[31]

In fact, as Enrique Baltanás emphasizes, Machado y Álvarez never mentions in his writings the expression 'domestic' or 'homely' when he refers to the origins of flamenco. In another obvious contradiction to his own theory, in the introduction to the *Colección* he clearly affirms how '[flamenco] *cantes* have their origin in the tavern.'[32] It is precisely in a public space –first that of the tavern and later the one of the *café cantante*[33]– that he not only became acquainted with this music but was indeed also the place of his 'field work.' All the material he collected and published later in the *Colección* came from the professional singers he met especially in Sevillian taverns and *cafés cantantes*. Machado y Álvarez makes this evident when in his own words recognizes how flamenco cannot be considered a truly Andalusian (or Spanish) folk music since, 'the people, with the exception of *cantadores* (professional flamenco singers) and *aficionados*... does not know these *coplas*; it does not know how to sing them and have never heard most of them.'[34] It is for this reasons that he considered that this was a kind of music 'characteristic not of all the people, but of a class within it.'[35] The work of many current flamenco scholars such as Génesis García Gómez, Gerhard Steingress or José Luis Ortiz Nuevo have arrived at the same conclusions, confirming how flamenco was already born as a public spectacle.[36]

It is then, in the urban and public context of the tavern and the *café cantante,* and in front of what Machado y Álvarez depicts as a heterogeneous audience as he explicitly indicates[37] that flamenco develops as a differentiated musical genre at the same time

that it begins to be commercialized as a public spectacle. The spread of these spaces during the second half of the 19th century was very fast and not only within Andalusia but also in many cities all over Spain.[38] Machado y Álvarez knows the phenomenon from first hand since one of his best informers was Siverio Franconetti (1829-1889), not only the singer he considers as 'one of the best *cantaores,* unbeatable in the *cañas, polos* and *seguidillas gitanas,*'[39] but also the owner of several of the most popular *cafés cantantes* in Seville. It is for all these reasons that it becomes really surprising when in the same biography he devotes to praise the figure of Silverio, he radically contends that 'the *cafés* will kill completely the *cante Gitano* in a very short time despite the enormous efforts made by the singer of Seville.'[40] The reason for him is clear: 'the public imposes his authority [...] and since the majority is not intelligent and is not used to discern between what is good and what is bad [...] the singers [...] must accommodate to the tastes of those who pay.'[41]

A witness of the increasing popularity of the genre manifested in the rising number of *cafés cantantes* and their audiences, he feared the loss of those particular forms he considered the most authentic, and for him this meant the most '*Gitano*.' As stated by him, his main concern was to realize how 'these *cantes* [...] will loose little by little their primitive character and originality and will become a mixed genre to which people will keep calling *flamenco* [...] though they will be just a confuse mixture of very heterogeneous elements.'[42] Ironically, though, as Washabaugh rightly asserts the authenticity so desired by Machado y Álvarez is nothing but a fake since:

> the invented songs of the *cafés* were reconstructed as authentic songs [...] by preserving their linkage to Andalusian street life. But, also, in order to survive, the flamenco songs of *cafés* had to be promoted to the middle classes, whose

> expectation was that if flamenco songs were culturally valuable (i.e. "real"), they would not bear marks of authorship or signs of their development from street life. [...] The celebration of the street was consistent with Romanticist impulses, but the suppression of the linkage of music to the street was necessary if this music was to seem well-defined, was to appeal to diverse audiences, and was, thereby, to earn its stripes in popular perception as real music.[43]

At the end of his introduction to the *Colección,* Machado y Álvarez summarizes the main objective of his work arguing that he was moved 'to study the important and interesting facts that these productions offer for the knowledge of the nature and evolution of the human spirit and the biological laws to which it is subject to.'[44] Grounded in both his evolutionist and romantic ideas Machado y Álvarez constructed a biased and prejudiced image of the numerous data he collected. Thus, the evolution he describes does not seem one of a natural or biological kind as he contends but rather a social and cultural one that leads from the tavern to the *café cantante* in what was the dissemination of flamenco as a spectacle in public spaces to what he depicted as an interclass audience. Located on the popular quarters of the cities (like Triana in Seville), most current scholars agree how the great majority of their audiences were made up by Andalusian lower classes to which it was actually addressed.[45] They were certainly also frequented by members of the bourgeoisie, representing for them a kind of bohemian spaces which embodied the possibility of transgression. But, as Cruces Roldán has emphasized they supposed for low classes their access to this particular cultural manifestation, otherwise reserved to the *señoritos* able to pay the cost of a *fiesta*:

> The generalization of flamenco as spectacle in commercial spaces with a business character at the middle of the 19th century takes place in the *cafés cantantes*, which played an important role in the maintenance and recreation of rhythmic and musical structures, and also nurturing shows of a great social acceptance, available to a working class absent of other elitist cultural gatherings.[46]

It is also in that sense that Baltanás challenges *Demófilo*'s interpretation when he affirms, from a rather Benjaminian perspective, that 'what happened was a social and aesthetic dignifying of *cante*, a broadening of its audience, a greater social irradiation of flamenco.'[47]

The ideas of Machado y Álvarez have proved very influential throughout all the history of flamenco and, as we have seen, they still prevail among many flamenco scholars, musicians and aficionados.[48] However, at every particular moment they have been reformulated according to the current context. As mentioned in chapter one, this happened conspicuously at two particular times in the development of the genre. The first one came about during the 1920s in relation to the well known *Concurso de Cante Jondo* that took place in Granada in 1922 under the guidance of the respected figures that were writer Federico García Lorca and composer Manuel de Falla. The second had Antonio Mairena and Ricardo Molina as their most visible ideologists and rose during the 1960s.

In spite of the fast expansion of *cafés cantantes* that took place during the last decades of the 19th century, already around 1910 their number had decreased radically. It was not because the popularity of the music had declined but precisely the opposite; flamenco had stepped into the stage of the theatre. The progressive disappearance of the

*café cantante* became thus substituted by a new form of flamenco spectacle, what later became known as the *ópera flamenca.*[49] This transition was experienced as a way to dignify the genre, and compelled flamenco artists to adapt to this new and much more professionalized space and their larger audiences. In that sense they focused on a much more sophisticated staging –especially concerning flamenco dancing– and this was also the occasion for the introduction of new *palos* like the *malagueñas, cartageneras,* and what became known as the *cantes de ida y vuelta.*[50] It is in that context that we can talk for the first time of flamenco artists as having the status of stars, at the level of the other musical genres in vogue at the time such as the *cuplé* and the *copla.*[51] The most important among them were figures like Antonio Chacón or Manuel Torre, and the younger singers Pastora Pavón 'La Niña de los Peines,' Manolo Caracol and Pepe Marchena.

It was as a reaction to the corruption of flamenco that they saw in these staged spectacles, that the group of intellectuals leaded by Manuel de Falla and Federico García Lorca organised the *Concurso de Cante Jondo*[52] that took place in Granada in 1922. As I have already mentioned, they conceived it as a kind of crusade to save 'pure' flamenco from the extinction they feared as imminent as the words of Manuel de Falla stressed:

> This beautiful treasure –the *cante puro* from Andalusia– is not only threatening to collapse but it is also on the verge of disappearing forever. And there is even something worse, which is the fact that, with the exception of some scarce singers still in practice and a few retired ones already lacking in expressive means, what rests of it is nothing but a sad and regrettable shadow of what it was and what it should be.'[53]

Moved by what they saw as the related concepts of 'purity' and 'race' they planned a contest with the intention of reviving what they believed were the remainders of the authentic and original flamenco. For that reason they decided to open the contest exclusively to non-professional singers and accept only the interpretation of some specific *palos* (obviously those considered the most primitive and *Gitano* like *martinetes, tonás, serranas, polos, livianas,* etc.). Professional singers found this decision not only offensive but also a mistake. As recalled by a journalist in an article from June 1922, they thought that on the one hand this would lead to a very low quality of the contest since 'any amateur that sings well gets a contract at once;'[54] and on the other, they demonstrated how the kind of *palos* requested were known only by a few *cantaores*, all of them professional. The response of the organizers was immediate, and they procured the presence of professional singers as Antonio Chacón (who was appointed president of the jury), Manuel Torre (from whom García Lorca said he was 'the man with most culture in the blood'[55]), La Niña de los Peines, and La Macarrona (the only dancer present in the contest). But also, in an initiative rather incoherent according to their rules and beliefs, to ensure the good level of the participants, a few months before the contest they organized schools of flamenco in which professional singers helped amateurs to improve they singing skills.[56] On top of this, it must be stressed that the contest was actually planned as if it was one of those flamenco spectacles which it was supposed to critique. Thus, its initial location was changed for a bigger one in order to increase the number of attendants and, for this reason, some historians have suggested that the real winner of the contest was in fact the *Centro Artístico y Literario* (the association in charge of the practical organization of the event) that collected a significant sum generated by the rather expensive tickets.[57]

The repercussion of the *Concurso de Cante Jondo* was not minor, but its main consequence was paradoxically in complete opposition to the objective pursued by the organizers. Instead of discrediting large flamenco spectacles or turning the interest towards non-professionalized flamenco, the popularity of *ópera flamenca* continued to increase. The fact is that many artistic agents saw in it the model for a potential commercial venture and a great number of contests took place the following years. Many of these *Concursos* were in fact fake contests since most of them were organized by the musician's managers themselves in order to promote their represented artists who always were the 'indisputable' winners. This way, the award achieved was used as a lure to attract the interest of audiences to these flamenco singers.[58] As a consequence of all this, the tendency of flamenco spectacles was to become even larger than they were before the *Concurso de Cante Jondo* was organized.

After the Civil War (1936-1939) that devastated the country, the decade of the 1940s saw a revival of theatrical flamenco. Even though never reached the popularity of the *copla,* in some cases *óperas flamencas* became very successful as was the case with Pepe Marchena, who with his characteristic soft voice –and even the use of falsetto– became the main victim of purists. Also successful were the series of tours made by Manolo Caracol in company of singer and dancer Lola Flores with their spectacle *Zambra 44* inspired by the *Gitano* venues of the same name that took place in the Sacromonte quarter in Granada. However, the 1950s saw the progressive decrease of these large audience spectacles[59] and the rise of a new form of flamenco public shows, that of the *tablao.*

The *tablao*[60] is usually envisaged as a modernization of the *café cantante.* In comparison to *óperas flamencas* both the size of the stage and the number of public attending the spectacle reduce their dimensions.[61] The same can be said in relation to

the artists, which are obviously less numerous and it was even common to count with the participation of only one singer. In any case, though, flamenco dancing was an important element of *tablao*'s shows and dancers were thus always present. Emerged during the 1950s and developed during the 1960s and 1970s, the spread of these new locals run parallel to the rapid grow of the tourist industry when the Francoist regime began to open the country to foreign visitors in what became an important income to an otherwise impoverished economy. Even though this fact has been usually argued as a reason to denigrate the quality of these spectacles or the artists involved, flamenco historians have emphasized how aficionados figured among the regular public of *tablaos.* But also they point up how they were crucial in the formation of new musicians. As emphasized by Gamboa and Nuñez:

> during the sixties and the seventies, but including also the second half of the fifties, the true school of professionals was the world of *tablao.* It was in this ambit that all the bright hope among artists gained experience, learning to gain confidence in front of the public, to dominate rhythm and *compás,* discovering the secrets of *cante...,* getting instructed in the profession. It is difficult to find an exception among all the artists of that time.[62]

Elsewhere José Manuel Gamboa insists on the role of *tablaos* as the places in which *nuevo flamenco* artists became professionalized (from Paco de Lucía and Camarón to Ketama and Pata Negra among others), but also underlines how first figures of flamenco were not alien on these stages: 'all the great [flamenco artists] answered the call of the *tablao,* and many among them were artistically educated or ended their training in them. From there, if they were recognized, artists were claimed by larger

stages.'[63] Important flamenco artists have thus always been involved with *tablaos* and in fact, as it was the case with Silverio Franconetti at the time of *cafés cantantes,* some *tablaos* were even owned by relevant flamenco singers.

It was precisely at the time in which *tablaos* were a flourishing public event that a revival of the discourse of flamenco purism emerged. The leaders in this case were flamenco singer Antonio Mairena and writer Manuel Molina. As mentioned in the previous chapter, they developed a historical narrative of flamenco –commonly known as *Mairenismo*– based on the central idea that *Gitanos* were the only originators of flamenco and that during centuries it remained 'secluded in a hermetic environment and in occasions almost sacred; it was the private and traditional stuff of Andalusian *Gitanos*.'[64] According to their arguments, it was not until around 1860 that flamenco came out of the *Gitano* homes to become a public activity at the *cafés cantantes.* But, as a part of its essentialist *Gitanocentric* core, *Mairenismo* has always deplored any commercial or mass-mediated flamenco event.[65] In that sense, even though in *Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco* Molina and Mairena emphasize the importance of the audience as what 'really creates the favourable atmosphere for the *cante,*'[66] they clearly state how:

> the flamenco audience can be reduced to just two different kinds: the properly flamenco one, right and *cabal,* and the inappropriate or massive one, attended by large numbers. [...] The natural audience is that composed by only a few: from six to twenty persons, knowledgeable and passionate for the *cante.* Only in this case the singer will be at ease. Only in this way the *cante* may flourish in complete freedom.[67]

Underpinned in an uncritical reading of Demofilo's work, Molina and Mairena's ideas reproduce the same arguments characteristic of the thread of purist discourse that we have pointed out in its pivotal moments in flamenco history. What is important to note is that these same arguments are still reproduced nowadays in the discourse of traditional flamencology and are common currency among orthodox flamenco aficionados. And this is precisely the ideological background that was hegemonic at the time in which the label *nuevo flamenco* appeared.

## The Advent of *Nuevo Flamenco*: Within and Without Tradition

It was more than a century after the first references we have of flamenco music and musicians that the term *nuevo flamenco* emerged during the decade of the 1980s to denote a conscious departure from the traditional flamenco music core. Apart from the overall differences concerning its sounds, forms and conceptions, a significant change also took place in relation to the reception of that music since apart from live performances a great importance was given to records edition. Even though some *nuevo flamenco* groups started their professional careers in *tablaos,*[68] the field in which the new genre actually developed was that related to the record industry. This is not to say that recorded music became a substitute for a 'real' musical event, but the fact is that *nuevo flamenco* groups shared the same means of circulation common to those groups in the sphere of rock and pop. In that sense, live performances of *nuevo flamenco* also began to take place in clubs or as part of concert tours, being differentiated in this way to the specific spaces of traditional flamenco. The response of flamenco purists was to censure this situation according to two particular circumstances. The most common criticism accused *nuevo flamenco* artists to yield to commercialism, portraying their

music as a simple manufactured product to attend the imperatives of the top selling list. At the same time, though, some voices raised also the issue of the artificiality of the record, something that for them betrayed the real essence of flamenco music. It is in that sense that singer Curro Malena once claimed that 'this thing of checking minutes and seconds and using so many devices doesn't match with an art of the blood.'[69] Or that flamenco critic Fernando Quiñones stressed how 'the record is nothing else but an approach, never the real *cante* or its emotional world,'[70] while, as pointed out by Luis Clemente, Andalusian writer José María Pemán gave the name '*chivatófono*' to the record player, that is 'a machine that takes back oral tradition, that betrays flamenco's mythology.'[71]

The debate around this new setting and the changes it brought, especially at the level of the mediated diffusion of the music, was obviously deep and intense, as a continuation of the historical thread I have described so far. Again, though, a look back into flamenco history reveals how some supposedly new situations have a long past behind. I am pointing out here to the fact that flamenco recordings are known since the end of the 19th century, that is, from practically the inception of this music as we know it. Even though no research has been done concerning this feature of flamenco up to date, in 2003 the *Centro Andaluz de Flamenco*[72] in Jerez edited a two CD's album with a selection –forty-for tracks in total– of the numerous phonograph recordings of its collection. In the booklet notes that accompanies the album, Ana María Tenorio Notario relates the recording of this incipient flamenco to a shared interest at the turn of the century for the 'popular and folk manifestations, and among them flamenco was at the top. In the ancient catalogues of records and cylinders flamenco appears usually in the chapters concerning regional and folk songs.'[73] The singularity of such an important collection is also emphasized by Gamboa in his *Una Historia del Flamenco,* where he

underlines, though, how these recordings were also made with a clear commercial interest in mind:

> We must celebrate that flamenco music has one of the most important sound catalogues in the world, concerning both its quality and quantity. [...] To put just an example, at the time of the first jazz recording made by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band in 1917, we already had a twenty years experience of flamenco products. In 1890 the first wax cylinders began to be used in Spain, and were commercialized for the first time between 1895 and 1898. Among the first recordings to be advertised were those of [flamenco singer] Juan Breva from 1895, that were recorded in Seville.'[74]

Since that time, the recording of flamenco music has been a continuous and prolific activity, with its obvious ups and downs. The profusion of recordings cover practically all the history of flamenco and even count with an abundant record collection of those artists so revered by purists. A proof of this is can be found in the available edition of the complete recordings of traditional flamenco singers as La Niña de los Peines –a total of thirteen CD's spanning from 1910 to 1950– or Antonio Mairena –a collection of sixteen CD's with recordings from 1941 to 1973.[75] It was also by this means that flamenco had its first big international expansion and recognition during the decade of the 1950s. It is true that flamenco has always been a music that has attracted interest from outside Spain. It was not strange thus to find some flamenco artists –especially dance companies– that during the first half of the 20th century had been touring not only around European capitals but also on some important cities on the United States. However, the edition of the first recorded anthology of flamenco music

on 1954 entailed an important change on the way this music began to be spread and appreciated outside the country. Promoted by a group of French intellectuals, the task of selecting an array of different *cantes* to give a comprehensive glimpse of the different flamenco forms was accorded to the guitarist Perico el del Lunar.[76] A total of nine singers recorded thirty-three different *palos* and the work was published in France by Ducretet and Thomson achieving the Prix de l'Académie Charles-Cros. Given the interest and success achieved abroad, a few years later the Spanish firm Hispavox issued the record in Spain.

Traditional flamenco has thus never been alien to the medium of the record industry. In that sense it must be emphasized how it has not remained unaffected by the changes brought about at the level of circulation by *nuevo flamenco*. Indeed, at present time, many flamenco artists have the same status of stars characteristic of popular music genres, and their careers turn around the outcomes of the record industry as their counterparts in the field of *nuevo flamenco.* In other words, at the level of professional artists, traditional flamenco is, as all mass mediated music, also subject to commercial imperatives, a fact that has continuously been overlooked by those purist discourses that deplore the commercialism of *nuevo flamenco* and the lack of control over their work by *nuevo flamenco* musicians. Concerning this particular issue, a common disdain has been grounded on the known fact that the label *nuevo flamenco* was created precisely by a record company, the firm Nuevos Medios.

Since the 1960s, we can find clear precedents of groups and musicians of the rock and pop sphere that turned to flamenco as a source to give their music a distinct and singular 'Spanish' accent. All these works were manifest appropriations of flamenco at the service of the commercial interest of record companies that carefully took control not only of the musical but also in most of the cases of the visual aspects

according to the image they wanted to sell. Let us just mention here a few examples such as the work of Rafael Farina who succeeded with songs like 'Twist del Faraón,'[77] the 'Balada Gitana' by El Duo Dinámico –one of the most celebrated and popular groups in Spain during the 1950s and 1960s– or some of the songs by Los Pekenikes ('El Vito' and 'Los Cuatro Muleros') or Los Brincos ('Flamenco,' 'Borracho,' and 'A Mí con Esas').[78] The 1970s saw its full development and the emergence of labels such as the related *Gypsy Rock* and *Sonido Caño Roto,* or the later *Rock Andaluz*. The best example of the first is the group Las Grecas, a duo of two *Gitano* sisters that after working for several years in some *tablaos* in Madrid (as Los Canasteros and Caripén) was formed in 1973 under the direction of the CBS's producer José Luis de Carlos. Their first record, in which participated some of the best session musicians and arrangers of the company,[79] appeared in 1974 under the title 'Gypsy Rock.' As de Carlos stated on the back of the record, the idea was to achieve a fusion of 'originally disparate elements' that were:

> the astonishing expressive force of these very young *Gitano* voices and the electrifying power of the youngest and most international sonic *attitude* that we know: rock. [...] Flamenco music does not appear as such, only in some melodic and harmonic cadences (and not in all of the songs) as well as in the rhythmic structure of some others (originally *tangos*). The union is made above all on the expressive side.'[80]

A year later de Carlos produced a similar work with the men quartet Los Chorbos, from the slum quarter of Caño Roto in Madrid that gave name to the record 'Sonido Caño

Roto' and to a whole array of groups that shared the same musical features (such as Los Chichos, Los Chunguitos, or El Luis among others).

During these same years Gonzalo Garcíapelayo, a producer of the record company Movieplay,[81] fosters the advent of what he termed '*Rock con Raices*' (rock with roots) that later became labelled as *Rock Andaluz.* Even though, in comparison to *Gypsy Rock,* this was a phenomenon originated in Andalusia, it was also 'channelled from offices in Madrid.'[82] This was the case of basically non-*Gitano* Andalusian rock groups –mainly with a progressive rock orientation– that showed an explicit interest for flamenco. The most notable were the groups Triana and Smash. However important in the history of Spanish rock, the movement of *Rock Andaluz* disappeared at the beginning of the 1980s and, as affirmed by Clemente the influence of flamenco music was also very slight: 'they don't use flamenco guitar very much and their music, rather than based on flamenco, shows only a certain flamenco sound or character.'[83]

After the end of Franco's dictatorship and the restoration of democracy, Spanish society experienced deep changes that had an important effect on the field of culture in general. The most crucial and innovative movement originated in Madrid at the beginning of the 1980s and became known as *La Movida.* With special repercussions in the field of popular music it rapidly spread its influence all over Spain. The political and socioeconomic situation of Spain at that moment facilitated the emergence of such a movement in a society avid for change. Most of the musicians turned their eyes to the musical panorama of Britain and the United States in a conscious concern to modernize the Spanish musical scene and put the country in the international map. The burgeoning life of Madrid during the transition and the first years of the democracy was evident in the intense cultural scene from which flamenco was not excluded as the city had always been an important centre in the history of the genre. However, it was in the field of pop

where the most radical changes took place as it addressed a bigger audience, in part because the groups tended to reproduce, in Spanish key, the novelties that were coming from abroad. This challenging tendency was encouraged by some sectors of the mass media but did not counted at first with the support of the record industry. This situation favoured the advent of a string of independent companies such as DRO, GASA, Tres Cipreses, Twins, and Nuevos Medios.[84]

It was within this particular context that *nuevo flamenco* emerged under the patronage of one of these independent companies, the firm Nuevos Medios.[85] Since its foundation in 1982, its manager and first producer Mario Pacheco paid special attention to those young musicians that were arising, with new purposes, from the field of flamenco. As a photographer, Pacheco became involved for the first time with flamenco artists participating in such innovative works as *La Leyenda del Tiempo* (1979), a record by Camarón de la Isla that was 'produced as those of the stars of rock'[86] and immediately became a reference for all those musicians interested in giving flamenco a new sound. But it was with Nuevos Medios that Mario Pacheco played a crucial role not only in the development of *nuevo flamenco* as a musical genre but also in its inception as a singular generic label. In 1990 Nuevos Medios issued the first sampler with songs by some of the artists that had recorded for the company since its foundation. Containing a total of eighteen themes, the record encapsulated the whole array of different musical manifestations that were associated with the concept of *nuevo flamenco.* But most significant of all is that this collection was presented under the title *Los Jóvenes Flamencos* (The Young Flamencos) underlining the novelty of the project but also emphasizing how it was conceived not outside the tradition of flamenco. As proclaimed in a promotional leaflet written for the occasion:

> *Nuevo flamenco* exists! The compilation *Los Jóvenes Flamencos* made by Nuevos Medios has shown how a new generation of artists is producing the most interesting and innovative pop music of Spain. And the only one understood and appreciated by the international audience. And they do it anchored in a very rich musical tradition: out of the tradition there is nothing else but plagiarism.'[87]

At the time, and despite the recognition it had from abroad, flamenco was still a music of minorities in Spain, with a few obvious exceptions in Andalusia. In contrast, the new label 'sought to offer a product acceptable world-wide and to access the pop circuit.'[88] Undoubtedly, the forms presented by *nuevo flamenco* were more similar to those of pop or rock and thus a music that could appeal to young people, a sector of population with the greatest weight in the selling figures of the record companies and with a slight interest for traditional flamenco. As stated by Mario Pacheco, 'it was flamenco music for those that do not like flamenco. We were just putting the young flamenco at the same level of the pop of *La Movida.*'[89] This fact also facilitated its diffusion by the media and musicians became easily known to huge audiences all over Spain. Multinational companies did not stand aside and soon the most acclaimed musicians started to sign contracts with them.

In his examination of the role of labels in popular music, Simon Frith focuses on the ways in which genre labels are used to organize the processes of music making, music listening, and music selling. He stresses how 'popular music genres are constructed –and must be understood– *within* a commercial/cultural process; they are not the result of detached academic analyses or formal musicological histories.'[90] *Nuevo flamenco* is a good example to illustrate this idea since no musicologist –or flamencologist– made reference to the phenomenon as a whole until it became

constituted as such after the label emerged for commercial reasons. Despite the heterogeneity of sounds, images, and even behaviours, the strategy was to present the novelty as a solid tendency in order to structure the material to be sold. As Frith argues, the problem faced by record companies of 'how to turn music into a commodity is solved in generic terms.'[91] He even asserts that 'genre is a way of defining music in its market, or alternatively, the market in its music.'[92] However, even though the paper of the market in the process of labelling is determinant, as the case of *nuevo flamenco* proves, commercial arguments are not the only ones that govern a musical genre as Franco Fabbri argues and in fact Frith acknowledges.[93] Fabbri defines genre as 'a set of musical events (real or possible) whose course is governed by a definite set of socially accepted rules.'[94] As he also points out:

> in most musicological literature which has tackled the problem of genres, from positivists to very recent examples, the formal and technical rules seem to be the only ones taken into consideration, to the point where genre, style and form become synonymous.[95]

Even though he does not deny that each genre has its typical forms (if the opposite is not always true), Fabbri has considered instead various types of rules such as semiotic rules, behaviour rules, economical and juridical rules, and social and ideological rules. However, he also emphasizes how:

> knowledge of the rules of a genre by one of its participants is almost always of an ideological nature, and this, amongst other things, has stopped many militant critics (often militant in one genre only) from carrying out a scientific study of

musical systems and their genres without prejudice. Ideology can not only give more importance to certain rules compared to others, but can actually conceal some.[96]

Since *nuevo flamenco* conceived as a genre actually embraces a cluster of music genres with a highly diversified array of influences (blues, jazz, salsa, rock, pop...), formal and musical conventions can hardly be a central argument to bring them all together under the same label. Therefore, what hold this variety of musical sounds together is, above all, a particular set of ideological assumptions which, in turn, the music itself comes to underpin.[97] I do not mean that formal or stylistic elements are in this case irrelevant since a concrete flamenco aesthetics (vocality, instrumentation, harmony, forms, performance, etc.) is always pointed out as a central signifier. What I mean instead is that, above all theses considerations, it is after certain ideas about those particular musical manifestations (sometimes used as part of commercial strategies) that *nuevo flamenco* comes to be reified and legitimated.

These ideas and values about *nuevo flamenco* are entrenched by means of discursive practices. Not only the way record companies label and promote it, but also the way musicians talk about their music, the way scholars describe it and the associations they make, the way *nuevo flamenco* fans relate to it, and even the way *puristas* blame it, they all come to configure *nuevo flamenco* as such. Modes of thought are thus the ground upon which this music is articulated as a discrete entity. But, on the other hand, discourses about *nuevo flamenco* do not only forward the categorization of the music but also impinge directly on its materialization. Following the Foucaultdian constructivist perspective that discourse produces the objects of knowledge, Bruce Horner formulates this argument when he affirms that 'the discourse used to describe

popular music has material consequences for how that music is produced, the form it takes, how it is experienced, and its meanings.'[98] But, according to the historical perspective I have tried to summarize in this chapter, the case of *nuevo flamenco* is just another step in the way discursive practices have governed flamenco music since its origins. And most significant of all, it seems clear how a single concept has been permanently the *point de capiton* that has anchored –or 'sutured,' to use a much more Lacanian (or Zizekian) term– all the meanings and assumptions by which flamenco (and *nuevo flamenco*) has been evaluated and understood. This concept is obviously no other but the idea of 'authenticity' since the opposition between what is categorized as 'authentic' and what is considered instead 'commercial' has underpinned the history of flamenco since the times of Machado y Álvarez.

Given the insistence on fusion, mixing and hybridity common in many statements concerning the practices of *nuevo flamenco*, it may seem contradictory to point out to authenticity –a term that assumes the existence of a real and actual essence– as a key concept relevant to the way this music is conceived. The fact is that 'authentic flamenco' has always been associated with *Gitanos* that, as Spain's low other, have been permanently constructed as premodern, pure and uniform, and thus musically unchanging. Discourses that have claimed the authenticity and purity of flamenco have reproduced in that sense the colonial perspective directed to non-Western cultures since they have taken flamenco as the musical manifestation of an insider exotic culture. As Timothy D. Taylor puts it:

> Western culture is neither pure nor impure because it is owned. It is constructed as outside the purview of such ideas as authenticity. But other cultures' forms

> are available to be constructed as pure or impure when they are not owned, and even, sometimes, when they are.[99]

In the way flamenco has endured this tendency to exoticism, it has been represented as a folk music developed as the product of an uninterrupted oral tradition. As I have tried to show though, this is basically a 'flokloristic distortion,' a case that is obviously not unique to flamenco.[100]

In fact, on a much broader panorama this circumstance has many points in common with the contemporary phenomenon of world music. As a label that also emerged at the end of the 1980s, the term 'world music' was conceived as a sales category to refer to any kind of music of non-Western origin as well as to the music of ethnic minorities within the Western world.[101] As claimed by Simon Frith, even though the general idea behind world music was an assertion of Western difference, his personal experience showed a peculiar situation since:

> As a rock critic in the late 1980s on most world-music mailing lists, I was always more aware of the authenticity claims of the music sent to me than of its exoticism. The difference at stake wasn't between Western and non-Western music but, more familiarly, between real and artificial sounds, between the musically true and the musically false, between authentic and inauthentic musical experiences.[102]

He even asserts that:

> The very fact that ethnomusicological expertise was needed to guarantee the authenticity of what was being sold called into question the notion of authenticity itself. It was soon clear, for example, that "the authentic" worked in retail terms as a redescription of the exotic.[103]

According to this view, the claims to authenticity and the persistent relationship to traditional flamenco common in *nuevo flamenco* discourses could be interpreted as a way to assert this music's truthfulness and avoid the conspicuous indictments of commercialism. But, with any doubt, a much more comprehensive and accurate picture of the situation of *nuevo flamenco* can be found in Steven Feld's in-depth and acute analysis on the discourses and commodification practices of world music and world beat.[104]

In his influential article from 1994, Feld dissects the complex layering of representations and investments that characterize the material and discursive practices of world music and world beat. In his analysis he focuses on two different concepts in which he relies in order to describe this process. On the one hand, he draws upon Murray Schafer's idea of "schizophonia" intended to describe 'the split between an original sound and its electroacoustical transmission or reproduction.'[105] The concept refers to the increasing separation of sounds from their sources since the invention of phonographic recording and, as pointed out by Feld, while it has for Schafer a 'suspiciously anxious view of the impact of technology on musical practices and sound environments, it also has the familiar devolutionary ring of mass culture criticism.'[106] In that sense, Feld relates Schafer's schizofonia to concepts such as Walter Benjamin's "aura," Jacques Attali's idea of "repeating" or even Baudrillard's "signature," since, as he asserts, all these terms 'help us focus critically not just on the process of splitting but

on the consequent status of the "copy" and contestation of its "authenticity" as it seeks to partake of the "legitimacy" granted to an "original."'[107] However, after the developments of the recent decades that have situated us in a digital era in which the use of technologies that make possible to record, edit and own any sound from any source at a level probably unsuspected by Schafer,[108] Feld clearly emphasizes how the idea of schizophonia must be taken not as phenomenon that we can situate in a single moment in history but rather as a process, and as such it must be contextualized. As Feld puts it:

> Schizophonia thus needs to be imagined processually, not as a monolithic move in the history of technology, but as varied practices located in the situations, flows, phases, and circulation patterns that characterize particular cultural objects moving in and out of short and long commodity states, transforming with the experiential and material situation of producers, exchangers, and consumers (Appadurai 1986), located in historically specific national and global positions vis-à-vis late capitalism and "development" (Castoriadis 1985), cultural domination (Schiller 1976), modernity and postmodernity (Berman 1983; Harvey 1989).[109]

But, on the other hand, Feld also turns to the concept of "Schismogenesis" introduced in 1936 by anthropologist Gregory Bateson in order to characterize those processes of differentiation that result from an ensemble of cumulative interactions and reactions. For Bateson, this differentiation, or progressive change, can take two different modes named "symmetrical," in the case where the differentiation is egalitarian and competitive, and "complementary," when it is hierarchical. Feld concentrates only on "complementary schismogenesis," which involves cycles 'where the mutually

promoting actions are essentially dissimilar but mutually appropriate, e.g., in cases of dominance-submission, succouring-dependence, exhibitionism-spectatorship and the like.'[110] Even though in this complementary pattern the reactivity between the parts can lead to various outcomes, including the destruction of the system, as Feld underlines Bateson's view tends to point out more on situations of self-regulation, correction, and feedback in a variety of social formations.

It is by juxtaposing both concepts that Feld claims we find the best way to figure out the 'material and discursive developments related to the intensified commodification and industrialization of world music'[111] since the 1980s. The situation is described by Feld with the following words:

> Sounds have increasingly been mediated, split from their sources, and, following the explosion of world musical products and marketing in the last ten years, we are in the throes of a major trend, where musical activities and the emergent discourse surrounding them exhibit a complementary schismogenetic pattern. The opposition or mutual differentiation scenario of this pattern rhetorically contrasts claims of "truth," "tradition," "roots," and "authenticity" –under the cover term "world music" (or, in the lingo of some zealous promoters, "real world music")– with practices of mixing, syncretic hybridization, blending, fusion, creolization, collaboration across gulfs, all under the cover term "world beat."[112]

I personally cannot think of a better way to describe the common differentiation between traditional flamenco and *nuevo flamenco* as I have tried to explain so far.

While Feld's analysis concentrates on tracing the existent relationship between, on the one hand, third-world creators and, on the other, first-world musicians, record companies and fans, with a marked anxiety concerning the asymmetrical power to control technologies, we can easily associate traditional flamenco and *nuevo flamenco* to his description of the fields of world music and world beat respectively. In that sense, while traditional flamenco has been represented as both a music with a long standing tradition and as a blatant example of musical diversity (not only within Spain but also as an Other to European western music in general), *nuevo flamenco* shares all the characteristics that are usually attributed to world beat as a music characterised by the processes of fusion, collaboration and syncretic hybridization. But, at the same time, the idea of complementary schismogenesis as applied by Feld can be a good way to understand the situation of mutual differentiation that occurs between traditional flamenco and *nuevo flamenco,* at least concerning the homogenization-heterogeneization dialectics that takes place at the level of musical style. Thus, the debates that the issues of authenticity and appropriation have permanently raised concerning *nuevo flamenco* are also perfectly coherent with the same sites of struggle that Feld points out as central in the relationship between world music and world beat. As he recognizes:

> The practices of and discourses on world music and world beat are in an increasingly politicized, polemicized zone in which the key struggles are over questions of authenticity –the rights and means to verify what Frith called "the truth of music"– and the dynamics of appropriation, particularly the rights and means to claim musical ownership.[113]

The fact is that, as we have seen, *nuevo flamenco* discourses have never dismissed traditional flamenco. On the contrary, they have always made explicit a profound respect for tradition and have claimed it as a source of inspiration. For this reason, as a way to figure out the explicit anxiety concerning these issues we must think instead that *nuevo flamenco* has simply a distinct way of conceiving authenticity. A way congruent with the one that Steven Feld also indicates as characteristic of world beat, that is: a 'new, postmodern species of "authenticity," one constituted not in isolation or difference but in creolization proper, an authenticity precisely guaranteed by its obvious blendings, its synthesis and syncretism.'[114]

But, given this situation, Feld poses the following question: 'if authenticity and appropriation are the sites of struggle, how is complementary schismogenesis located in the current practices of producing world music and world beat?'[115] For him a place to look for the answer is in the practice of cooperative collaborations. In the international collaborations to which he refers, the mixing of curatorial and promotional but at the same time also appropriative roles played by western musicians (most of them pop stars at an international level) has as a result, according to Feld, an increasing blur of genre lines between world music and world beat. As he emphasizes, the main consequence of this situation is clear:

> While fans and critics debate the political intentions of the artists or the implications of stylistic fusion for "the end of tradition" or "authenticity," record companies profit substantially through market saturation and greater audience familiarity. In other words, escalating a blurred-genre market means that sales of world beat promotes sales of world music and vice versa.[116]

Such pattern has also its correspondence in the field of flamenco since one of the consequences of the success attained by *nuevo flamenco* has been an increase of interest towards traditional flamenco that at the present time has reached a high level of popularity and recognition. In that sense, as a consequence of the debates over 'the political intentions of the artists or the implications of stylistic fusions for "the end of tradition" or "authenticity"' [117] the attention towards flamenco in general and traditional flamenco in particular has experienced an unexpected growth. And as pointed out by Feld concerning world music, also in the case of flamenco this has resulted in an increasing concern for the promotion and circulation of flamenco by record companies that have profited of the interest raised and of the greater audience familiarity with the genre. Going back to the beginning of this chapter we have a perfect example of this circumstance in the *Flamenco Universal* booklet issued by Universal Records. On the one hand, the booklet in itself shows an unprecedented investment by a record company in Spain to the marketing of what has generally been considered as a minor, local genre. Flamenco's increasing popularity, both inside and outside Spain, began to transform this music in an interesting commercial product. But, on the other, if we pay attention to the musicians included in it we realize how under the label *'Flamenco Universal'* there are not only traditional flamenco artists (as the recognition of flamenco as part of UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage could make us suppose) but an overall representation of *nuevo flamenco* musicians. With no reference at all to the label *'nuevo flamenco'* on the whole booklet, we find in it a great diversity of works and musicians that goes from some 1950s recordings by Antonio Mairena, la Paquera de Jerez, Sabicas, Niño Ricardo, El Lebrijano, or Fosforito, and those of present day traditional flamenco singers as José Mercé, Carmen Linares, or Manuel Cuevas, to the whole discography of Paco de Lucía, and Camarón de la Isla, and the most relevant recordings

of *nuevo flamenco* musicians such as Pata Negra, Ketama, or even the so called *'soulería'* of Pitingo.[118] As Feld emphasizes, one of the results of the blurred-genre market in the cases he analyzes is that 'sales of world beat promotes sales of world music and vice versa.'[119] And the same applies to the case of flamenco and *nuevo flamenco*, at least according to Universal Records expectative.

Two years after the publication of *From Schizophonia to Schismogenesis,* Steven Feld exemplified the ideas introduced in his essay with the study of a very particular case. He analyzed the ways in which the music of equatorial forest peoples of Central Africa, usually subsumed in common speech under the generic term "pygmy," have been used by a remarkable panoply of Western popular musicians.[120] Drawing upon the notion of "mimesis" he introduced a new concept that completed his theorization about the arguments he had previously developed. I am referring to the concept of "schizophonic mimesis" that he described with the following words:

> By "schizophonic mimesis" I want to question how copies, echoes, resonances, traces, memories, resemblances, imitations, and duplications all proliferate histories and possibilities. This is to ask how sound recordings, split from their source through the chain of audio production, circulation, and consumption, stimulate and license renegotiations of identity. [...] At the same time their material and commodity conditions create new possibilities whereby a place and people can be recontextualized, rematerialized, and thus thoroughly reinvented.[121]

However, even though Feld's words seem to proclaim a positive and transformative power, his inquiry reveals a different side of the situation. Feld criticises that many

artists around the world have appropriated pygmy music, incorporating or transforming it into their own music. As he underlines, most of these musicians overlook the reference to the music's source. For this reason he questions whether it is acceptable of artists to appropriate music for its own profit at the same time as he censures how, in this process, pygmy music becomes "lost in translation" when artists use and transform it into something that was not its original intention. In a moment in which 'musical commodification is now dominated by acceleration and amplification,'[122] Feld makes clear that what we have as a result is that:

> the cultivation of a transnational arena of global musical discourses and practices is now characterized by a mutualism of splitting and escalation. This escalation –of difference, power, rights, control, ownership, authority– politicizes the schizophonic practices artists could once claim more innocently as matters of inspiration, or as purely artistic dialogue of imitation and inspiration.[123]

The panorama described by Feld does not seem certainly very hopeful. Even though, as he indicates, recent works show a higher concern for the future of the equatorial rainforests and their inhabitants, 'this heightening is paralleled by romantic and patronizing renditions of an old theme, the pygmy as timeless primal other.'[124] In other words, the tendency is to keep reproducing the old colonial schemes. As summarized by Georgina Born:

> Taken as a whole, Feld's material suggests that, speeded on by ever more efficient technologies of appropriation and objectification of music and by the

> profit-augmenting imperative of the multinational conglomerates, we are witnessing a new phase of neocolonial relations in culture, *definitively extractive* in their economic dynamics whatever the complex and two-way flows of aesthetic hybridity.

Given the similar practices of appropriation that can be traced in the case of *Gitanos* and flamenco, it raises the question whether the circumstances and the outcomes concerning the development of *nuevo flamenco* represent another example of the situation described by Feld. In a way similar to that of pygmy music, flamenco has also been mediated and appropriated, both inside and outside Spain, by musicians from fields as diverse as those of jazz, rock, pop, or even electronic music. But my argument here is that to think that *nuevo flamenco* reproduces the same situation theorized by Feld would be a mistake. In fact, there are many examples that prove how 'copies, echoes, resonances, traces, memories, resemblances, imitations, and duplications' in the hands of *nuevo flamenco* musicians, have proliferated new 'histories and possibilities' in the way it has appropriated other (foreign) sounds in order to re-imagine flamenco music. As I have already stated, it is true that under the label *nuevo flamenco* can be found some particular cases as the ones mentioned by Feld. But, in any case, this does not override the positive and transformative power that the genre has brought about, at least within the sphere of Spanish popular music. From the multiple instances that could be pointed out in order to underpin this statement I will concentrate in Enrique Morente's album *Omega* and the work *Blues de la Frontera* by the group Pata Negra, two significant *nuevo flamenco* examples of the mimetic practices described by Feld.

**Mimetic Sounds**

Born in 1942 in el Albaicín,[125] in Granada, Enrique Morente is one of the most important singers of the recent history of flamenco. Together with Paco de Lucía and Camarón de la Isla, they constituted what can be termed as the first generation of *nuevo flamenco* musicians since they were the ones responsible of the progressive transformation and modernization of flamenco into what later crystallized as *nuevo flamenco*. Even though he did not have any family ancestors in the field of flamenco, he became attracted for this music since his childhood. His first contact with flamenco came from the hand of known figures in Granada as the singers Cobitos (Manuel Celestino Cobos), Juanillo el *Gitano* and Aurelio Sellés, as well as the members of the Habichuela family, one of the most prestigious "flamenco dynasties" of Granada since the beginning of the 20th century.[126] He began to sing in public when he was sixteen years old, first in some festivals around Andalusia and then in different *tablaos* when he moved to Madrid. It was in Madrid were he met some of the most important singers of the time such as Pepe de la Matrona, Rafael Romero, Pericón de Cádiz, Perico del lunar or Bernardo de los Lobitos, who introduced the young Morente to the professional flamenco circles of the city.

His first records were published in 1967 and 1968 with guitar players Félix de Utrera and Niño Ricardo. Even though in these starting works he showed a deep knowledge of traditional flamenco singing, he already made evident his original vocal personality. During the 1970s he worked with guitarist Manolo Sanlúcar with whom he offers a series of concerts under the eloquent title *Flamenco: Nueva Era* (Flamenco: New Era). In an interview from 1975 he claimed:

> Flamenco is something alive; it was born in a particular moment but keeps still growing if modern singers are able to contribute new things. There is no doubt that my personal stance goes this way, and that's not new because is the traditional path with just present-day approaches.[127]

In 1978 he recorded *Despegando* (Taking Off), an album that clearly showed the interest in the renewal of *cante* that he progressively developed during the following years. In the 1980s he published two important records with a sound that departs from traditional flamenco. First *Cruz y Luna* (1985) in which he introduces drums and keyboards, and one year later he publishes *Sacromonte* with the guitars of Tomatito and Isidro Sanlúcar, but also flirting with a sound conception foreign to flamenco. However, it was during the 1990s that Morente devoted to his most heterodox and experimental works even though at the same time he was acknowledged as one of the best traditional flamenco singers by institutions such as the Cátedra de Flamencología of Jerez de la Frontera or the Ministerio de Cultura of Spain that granted him the Premio Nacional de Música. In 1993 he recorded with Nuevos Medios an album entitled *Negra, Si Tú Supieras,* with an explicit influence from salsa, in which he worked with members of *nuevo flamenco* group Ketama, as well as jazz and rock musicians such as Tino Di Geraldo, Antonio Ramos and David Amaya. In the album *Alegro Soleá y Fantasía de Cante Jondo,* from 1995, he explored the confluence of flamenco with the sounds of a symphonic orchestra in a record inspired by a clear classical music conception. However, the most celebrated record in Morente's entire career was undoubtedly *Omega,* an album published in 1996.

Acknowledged as his most risky an ambitious album, *Omega* is a really collaborative work. Even though Morente shares the album credits with Lagartija Nick,

an alternative rock band from Granada, there is a great number of musicians that participated in the record.[128] The genesis of the album began when Antonio Arias, the leader of Lagartija Nick, proposed Enrique Morente to add some voices in one of their songs. Morente did not accept proposing instead to work with them in something new and much more original. It was this way that the song *Omega* (the one that became the first track and the title of the album) was recorded as a single project. Convinced of the exceptionality of the material recorded, Arias visited the multinational Sony Music in Madrid –Lagartija Nick's company at the time– in order to turn their project into an album.[129] Given the peculiarities of the material –departing from traditional flamenco as well as its more commercial configurations– the company refused, and when Morente himself tried to contact Universal Records they did not even reply. In any case, he was decided to carry out the project and for nearly two years he kept working with the quartet and also invited many of his friends among the best flamenco musicians. The album was finally published by a small independent record company named El Europeo Música. In a way similar to what happened with Camarón's *La Leyenda del Tiempo, Omega* was initially received with great disdain, especially among traditional flamenco critics that otherwise had always held Morente in high esteem. In any case, the record became soon one of the references of *nuevo flamenco* and has been even claimed as '*el disco que rompió el flamenco.*'[130]

*Omega* consists of a total of thirteen tracks. Except for three songs, the lyrics of the album adapt poems by Spanish poet Federico García Lorca, mainly from his book *Poeta en Nueva York*. Even though most of the tracks are original compositions, a first remarkable trait is that Morente and Lagartija Nick adapted four songs by Leonard Cohen –one of them being *Pequeño Vals Vienés* (Take this Waltz), in which Cohen also drew upon one of García Lorca's poem. In fact, Morente recognized once in an

interview that ‘it was with this song that I discovered *Poeta en Nueva York.*’[131] Morente had already used García Lorca’s poems in a previous work, but he emphasized that the unique style of *Poeta en Nueva York* had been a deciding factor in the whole conception and development of the record. As he stated:

> In *Poeta en Nueva York*¸ Lorca made a clear break with his previous writing, creating a completely new style that I think is more close to painting than to poetry. That’s why, at the beginning, [the record] seemed too much lunatic, but once you climb the first hill, everything becomes easier. It is curious that once you play something for a while, what was strange becomes familiar; darkness takes shape and becomes something much closer. [...] The truth is that I haven’t done any concession. In a record like this, the most anticommercial is making concessions.[132]

The work of García Lorca was in that sense pivotal in the production of *Omega,* not only because, as Morente underlined, his poems had a crucial role in the shaping of the record’s singular style, but also because it became the link that propitiated the inclusion of some of Leonard Cohen’s songs in the album, enlarging in this way the scope of the record beyond the borders of flamenco. As Morente recalled:

> I chose [*First we take*] *Manhattan, Hallelujah 2, Priests* and *Take this Waltz.* [...] In this way, the record has ended up being my flamenco vision of *Poeta en Nueva York* with a guest artist, Leonard, who is a great poet.

It is in the way that Morente traces resonances and echoes with the work of Leonard Cohen, introducing Cohen's music into the characteristic soundscape of flamenco, that a first mimetic approach is developed in the record. Two of the songs chosen by Morente are from the album *I'm Your Man,* an album that also supposed a turning point in Cohen's career since marked his further move to a more modern and pop sound. The songs adapted by Morente are *Pequeño Vals Vienés,* his version of *Take this Waltz* (a song based in García Lorca's poem of the same name), and *Manhattan,* in which Morente adapts *First We Take Manhattan,* with both music and lyrics written by Cohen. Even though these are the songs with the slightest presence of flamenco sounds in *Omega,* the characteristic vocality of Morente ground these versions in an unequivocal flamenco territory. The only flamenco instrument used in *Pequeño Vals Vienés* is the *cajón*. Even though the song follows the common ¾ measure of the Waltz time, as in Cohen's original version, the *cajón* here plays this same measure according to a characteristic twelve beats cycle of flamenco rhythm in a way that resembles the typical fandango pattern. In any case, the way in which Morente sings the *ayeos*[133] –also very common in fandangos– in *Pequeño Vals Vienés* is what makes the song gravitate towards a clear flamenco sound. And in relation to *Manhattan,* from the beginning the song sets a genuine rock orientation, clearly marked by the solid rhythm of the drums and the sound of electric guitar with a typical distortion effect to which is added the repetitive sound of the bass playing the tonic of every chord. But soon, in a clearly mimetic approach, the flamenco guitar plays a continuous pattern that resembles the accompaniment of the synthesizer in Cohen's original song. The guitar takes a much more soloist presence in two short moments at around the middle of the song and also at its end, in a kind of short solo very similar to the flamenco *falsetas* but here with manifest jazz resonances. A final flamenco element introduced in *Manhattan* is the

common *palmas,* the sound of clapping hands that punctuate the rhythm of the song, at concrete points. Again, though, it is the vocal parts that drag the song to the flamenco sphere, here in a juxtaposition of the male voice of Enrique Morente with that of her daughter Estrella in what was the first time she ever appeared in a record.

The two other Leonard Cohen songs in *Omega* are *Aleluya,* a version of Cohen's *Hallelujah 2* from his album *Various Positions* from 1984, and *Sacerdotes,* the Spanish translation of *Priests,* a song that in fact Cohen himself has never recorded.[134] In contrast to *Manhattan, Aleluya* starts in a clear flamenco arena, with the guitar of Vicente Amigo and the *cajón* of Tino di Geraldo framing Morente's singing in the distinctive *compás* of the *soleá,* though significantly here the song does not follow the flamenco Phrygian mode but the harmonic structure of Cohen's original song. After the first verse, Morente's voice cries the first *Aleluya* in the song giving entrance to the first chorus. It is here that the rock sounds enter the song with the drums forcing the music to break the *compás* of *soleá* and follow a rock oriented rhythmic structure. At this point, Morente's voice seems to vanish into a low register with a high level of resonation and is accompanied by the sound of an also ethereal female choir. However, once the next verse begins, the electric guitar and the bass suddenly mute their presence and when Morente starts to sing, the drums begins to mimetize the unequivocal *soleá* pattern. It seems as if the sound of the drums becomes captured by the flamenco rhythm. This juxtaposition between verse and chorus is reproduced until the end of the song. On the other hand, in *Sacerdotes,* Morente takes the music of Cohen into a fully flamenco soundscape. With no original version that sets the frame to follow, here Morente turns Cohen's *Priests* in a literal flamenco *tangos.* There is only the presence of flamenco instruments with the characteristic quaternary measure of *tangos* and what is even more interesting he adapts the melody in a way that at some points he even introduces the

typical Phrygian cadence of *tangos.* On the whole, apart from the resemblances in the melody, the other remainder of Cohen's *Priests* in Morente's version can be found in the lyrics.

But, undoubtedly, the most interesting song for us here is *Omega,* the record's first track and also the one that gives the album its name. In fact, many of the singularities described in Morente's versions of Leonard Cohen's songs, are in a way derived from *Omega* given that this was the first song to be recorded and the one in which Morente and Lagartija Nick shaped the characteristic sound of the album. *Omega* is also the most complex and elaborated song of the whole record, a song that lasts nearly eleven minutes. The origin of the lyrics have been commonly attributed only to García Lorca's poem *Omega, Poema para Muertos* [Omega, Poem for the Dead] from his 1936 collection *Poemas Sueltos.* However, even if this poem constitutes the core of the song's lyrics, some other verses have a different origin. Thus, while the opening verse comes from *Luna y Panorama de los Insectos* [Moon and Panorama of the Insects] –another García Lorca's poem from his *Poeta en Nueva York*–, in two other verses Morente also introduces the lyrics of two flamenco songs. One comes from the *siguiriya* entitled *Aqueos los Golpes,* popularized by flamenco singer Antonio "El Chaqueta,"[135] while the other comes from the *soleá Tu Vienes Vendiendo Flores* that Morente had already recorded in his previous album *Despegando.* This particular "cut'n'mix"[136] process in which Morente and Lagartija Nick juxtapose traditional and modern, local and global references, is in fact a reflex of the musical construction of the song.

*Omega* opens with the contrast between, on the one hand, the long and sustained sound of the electric guitar with a distortion effect playing constantly a pedal on the tonic, and on the other, the voice of Morente singing the first verse of the song with

characteristic flamenco melismas. The only accompaniment to his voice (apart from a few nearly inaudible *ayeos*) is a vocal sound that keeps marking the accents of the rhythmic pattern of the *siguiriya.* After this opening of a rather ethereal texture, due to the intense use of the reverb effect, this vocal pattern becomes suddenly substituted by the sound of the rock drums that changes to a common 4/4 measure. The flamenco guitar also appears for the first time while Morente sings the second verse and as the sound of the electric guitar starts to vanish progressively. At around half of the song this texture dilutes into the confrontation between the constant and steady beating of the drums, and the voice of Morente. This confrontation is what drives the song to its climax, a moment in which the sampled voices of historical flamenco singers such as Antonio Chacón, Manuel Torres or Pastora Pavón (La Niña de los Peines) enter the song in a quasi ghostly presence. As described by Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights in the introduction of his book *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location*:

> We are left with the crude confrontation of the spectre of flamenco and the 'bones' of rock in the unmediated slow beating of a drum. This stripped-down duality of drum and voice is eventually overturned by Morente's almost shamanic invocation of 'lost' voices from the flamenco tradition. [...] These samples are layered over each other until they seem to be clamouring for release, crowding the soundstage to the point of saturation.[137]

From this point the song progresses to its end contrasting moments of Morente's intense singing with moments in which the rock band deploys all its powerful sound. In the last verse the confrontation seems to decrease closing the song with the presence of both flamenco and rock instruments accompanying Morente's voice.

The encounter between the languages of flamenco and rock, and the way they are treated in *Omega*¸ reveal a very particular kind of hybridity. Here, rather than building an idealized space of confluence or a celebration of pluralism and cultural diversity, we have a complex and interesting confrontation with a different intention. In their sharp analysis of the song, Biddle and Knights summarize the point in an excellent way:

> It seems to conjure up a liminal 'interspace' between a historicized imagination of flamenco and the rock sensibility, which no doubt many contemporary commentators would articulate 'simply' as an example of musical hybridity. According to the liberal-global hypothesis, this mythic interspace could be viewed as a utopian space in which regional, national and other ideological affiliations are levelled out. However, we must also inflect the notion of hybridity in order to be able to recognize the power relations at work in this mixing of styles here: in any encounter of musical types there are never simply even-handed or playful encounters free from the operations of ideology. On the contrary, what is at work here, it seems to us, is the complex and contested encounter of a music seeking to re-regionalize itself with a more generalizing (perhaps even globalizing) musical style.[138]

A point that Morente's own ideas seem to validate when he asserted that:

> Breaking with certain forms and taking political consciousness, I was avoiding to be classified in a particular school or style because I thought the world was bigger than Andalusia and that flamenco was not anymore reduced to the place

of the rural roots. Instead it had moved to the city and it had to be confronted with other cultures, musics, persons and ideologies.[139]

*Omega* reveals in that sense a perfect example not only of the particular way in which *nuevo flamenco* musicians have appropriated tropes, technologies and material culture, but also of the complexity of flamenco's engagement with ideas of the local and the global, of tradition and modernity. Another interesting example can be found in the work of Pata Negra.

One of the most important bands of *nuevo flamenco*, Pata Negra[140] was formed by two brothers, Raimundo and Rafael Amador Fernández,[141] though counted in all of their records with the collaboration of many musicians mainly coming from jazz and rock backgrounds. *Gitanos* born in Chapina, a shanty town near Triana in Seville, they come from a family of flamenco guitarists that became the first influences on both musicians. It is in the world of traditional flamenco that they grew up and at an early age (in 1972, when Raimundo was only fifteen and Rafael fourteen) they already appeared on the record *Triana* by the Familia Montoya.[142] Later they also collaborated with Lole y Manuel and Raimundo also played flamenco guitar and bass on the landmark album *La Leyenda del Tiempo* by Camarón de la Isla. However, they have always acknowledged how their musical references, apart from flamenco, were found especially in rock and blues records among which they have underlined the work of guitarists such as Jimi Hendrix, Eric Clapton, or B. B. King, that not only turn them to discover the sound of the electric guitar but also the use of the plectrum (which they applied also on flamenco guitar).[143]

Undoubtedly, Pata Negra's most successful and influent record was their fourth album *Blues de la Frontera,* published by Nuevos Medios in 1987. The first two albums

were recorded by a multinational company that did not promoted the group since, according to members of Pata Negra, they found their music not really interesting. Given the situation, Pata Negra accepted the offer of Nuevos Medios to publish *Guitarras Callejeras,* an album with previously recorded material, and one year later they started the recording of *Blues de la Frontera,* their first project totally conceived under the policy of Nuevos Medios. It was considered by the Spanish music magazine "Rock de Lux" as 'the best Spanish record of the decade' and was chosen as the best 'Spanish roots record' by Iberpop.[144] It also was the first record by Pata Negra to have an international distribution and was published in Britain, the United States, and even Japan.[145] On the whole it is a collection of ten tracks that, even though diverse in their form and content, they all have in common the characteristic hybrid style of Pata Negra's music in which taking flamenco as a point of reference they incorporate elements from blues and rock, but also from jazz and even reggae.[146] Among them I would like to point out to *Blues de la Frontera* and *Camarón* as two clear examples of mimetic practices within *nuevo flamenco.*

The title of *Blues de la Frontera* plays with the double meaning of the Spanish word 'frontera.' It literally means 'border' and in that sense it conveys the idea of not being a conventional blues but a blues that is on the verge of being something else. In this case, that something else is obviously flamenco, but putting the accent on the 'border' that the title underlines, it makes clear that we are in a hybrid space (not exactly one thing but also not the other). On the other hand, though, the word 'frontera' also makes reference to the name of Morón de la Frontera, an Andalusian city near Seville, itself an important place in flamenco music history. The reference to Morón de la Frontera is due to the fact that one of the musical themes of the song comes from a *falseta* composed by Diego del Gastor, a flamenco guitarist born in Morón. Indeed, the

dialogue between both flamenco (acoustic) and electric guitars is what constitutes the essential anatomy of this instrumental piece that counts only with the accompanying percussive sounds of the *cajón* (played here by Ketama's singer Antonio Carmona) and the characteristic flamenco hand clapping.

*Blues de la Frontera* follows the underlying harmonic structure of blues in the scale of A, though in a 3/4 bar not common in blues. All the twelve sections or stanzas that make the song[147] have the cyclic twelve-bar pattern common in most of the blues with the typical four bars on the tonic, followed by two bars on the subdominant and two more on the tonic, and finally two bars on the dominant and the last two bars on the tonic. There is the only exception of two stanzas, numbers three and ten. These two stanzas are those in which appears the already mentioned *falseta* by Diego del Gastor, and that are the two unique moments in the song with no reference to blues sounds but only to traditional flamenco.[148] As mentioned before, there is a kind of dialogue between the flamenco and the electric guitar evident in the fact that each one plays the leading role in a practically consecutive order through all the stanzas of the song. The improvised character of their melodies tends to draw upon the characteristic sound of the blues but accentuated right through with some elements of the typical phrasing of flamenco music. Although Raimundo Amador –Pata Negra's leading guitar player– has always quoted B. B. King as his main source of inspiration there is no mention or explicit reference in the record to him or any other blues musician. However, after the success that *Blues de la Frontera* obtained in Spain and the interest it began to achieve at an international level, Raimundo Amador sent a copy of the record to B. B. King and claimed 'I'm going to play with him!'[149] It happened a few years later when he appears in a couple of songs in Raimundo's record *Gerundina* from 1995. But what makes this

song particularly interesting is the way Pata Negra have merged the use of the conventional blues progression with the distinctive rhythmic structure of the *bulería.*

The *bulería* (also named in plural as *bulerías*) is one of the most popular flamenco *palos* of the group commonly known as *cantos festeros,* that is, a series of joyful and vivid forms conceived for the *fiestas.*[150] Unquestionably, the most peculiar trait of the *bulería* is its rhythmic structure based in the alternation of binary and ternary accents in a pattern of twelve beats.[151] Many authors tend to write down the *bulería* pattern according to the principles and notions of Western music theory as the consecutive association of two 3/4 and three 2/4 bars. But, since this is a conception totally alien to the way it is perceived from the flamenco perspective, as Lola Fernández or José María Parra Expósito underline the way that better represents the flamenco point of view is to take the twelve beats as a whole and just 'transcribe it as twelve quavers and group them together according to the accentuation.'[152] In the case of the *bulería* the accents are placed on the first, third, sixth, eighth, and tenth beats. And this is the precise rhythmic cycle that the group Pata Negra combines with the constant 3/4 bar of their blues. Though the *bulería* pattern is more evident in the interpretation of the *cajón* (with some variants) and in the way that the rhythmic guitar accompaniment it is accentuated, it underpins the whole edifice of the song and is an arguable way to account for their use of a 3/4 bar so foreign to the blues idiom. In other words, what we have in *Blues de la Frontera* is a clear imitation of blues' elements that are integrated to the rhythmic pattern of the *bulería.* This precise intention to amalgamate two different musics, two different traditions, is made evident in the way that the members of Pata Negra have always qualified this song as a *blueslería*, that is, a *bulería* that mimics the characteristic sound of the blues expression.

On the other hand, in the same record, the song *Camarón* also constitutes another clear example of this particular process of mimesis. As the title makes clear, the song is dedicated to Camarón de la Isla, which not only Raimundo had joined in *La Leyenda del Tiempo* but that also always showed the deepest respect and interest for the music of Pata Negra.[153] In this occasion the piece is based on a flamenco *palo* known as *tanguillos* (sometimes referred also as *tanguillos de Cádiz,* as this is its place of origin). Since *Tanguillos'* harmony is based on the major scale and do not use the twelve beats cycle so distinctive of other flamenco *palos,* some flamencologists tend to consider them as a minor form within flamenco.[154] As its major characteristic, *tanguillos* have a compound duple meter that is transcribed with a 6/8 measure, but it is common the use of polyrhythm with the superposition of patterns in 2/4 or 3/4 to the standard measure, as evident in Pata Negra's song.[155] Concerning its structure and lyrics, *Camarón* contains two different stanzas and a chorus. While the first stanza and the chorus are original by Pata Negra, the central one is part of a poem dedicated by Carlos Lencero to Camarón de la Isla and that it was reproduced in *La Leyenda del Tiempo.* The musical character of this central stanza follows the typical melodic style of the *tanguillos*. However, what is singular here is that the rest of the song, and in particular the chorus, imitate the melody of one of the most known compositions of Eric Clapton, the song *Lay Down Sally.* Indeed, all in *Camarón* shows a direct resemblance with *Lay Down Sally,* a feature already evident in the instrumental introduction in which Pata Negra tend to reproduce the characteristic shuffle of the Clapton's song though adapted to the rhythmic pattern of *tanguillos.* Something similar occurs with the principal riff played by the accompanying flamenco guitar and even the solo sections that, as mentioned by Gamboa and Núñez, tend to depart the most peculiar Pata Negra's style resembling in that way to Clapton's "slow-hand."[156]

As the cases referred by Steven Feld, the album *Omega* and the work of Pata Negra can be seen as examples of the processes of mimesis he described. In both situations there is an imitation, an appropriation of others' music mediated by recorded sound, sometimes even to produce a clear confrontation as in the case of Morente's *Omega*. However, there is an obvious and important difference that makes both cases to be significantly divergent. In the case of pygmy pop it is through the recordings made by ethnomusicologists and anthropologist that Western popular musicians come to own these sounds as a source for a work that in no circumstance credits the origin of this material or gives any kind of compensation to their creators. A feature rather common in the context of the musical industry in which, as Feld emphasizes, reproduces a situation of uneven power, rights, control, ownership, and authority. However, the case of Morente and Pata Negra shows rather the opposite, an inversion of roles, since it is them that draw upon foreign sounds or the recorded music of important Western popular musicians as a source for their own compositions. And in a way similar to the cases pointed out by Feld, here Pata Negra not only makes no reference to the sources used but even any credit is given to Eric Clapton or B. B. King. Coming from an oral culture, that of flamenco, in which copying or imitating is not only something acceptable but a very common practice, Pata Negra have proceed in the same way concerning the copyrighted music of these Western popular music stars as they would do in the case of a flamenco colleague (as the use of Diego del Castor's *falseta,* also not acknowledged in the record, comes to prove). It is 'a brother's kind of thing'[157] as Herbie Hancock claimed to Steven Feld when asked if he felt any legal or moral concern about copying a fragment of pygmy music for his record *Headhunters.* It is in that sense that the process accurately and acutely reported by Feld tends to be reversed. Though he has rightly deplored the mechanisms and the outcomes of these new patterns

of mediation and the asymmetrical power relations that they have reproduced, examples like the one of Morente or Pata Negra show how this process must not always be condemned or praised in advance. At least at the level of the musicians' capacity to answer back even from a peripheral position, and using the same mechanisms.

## Conclusions

Mimesis has been a concept that has pervaded aesthetic theory in the West since the times of Plato. But, as Matthew Potolsky underlines:

> Mimesis has always been more than a theory of art and images. From its very origins in Greek thought, mimesis connected ideas about artistic representation to more general claims about human social behaviour, and to the ways in which we know and interact with others and with our environment.[158]

As Potolsky also indicates, in contemporary thought it has informed research in very different areas such as psychology, anthropology, educational theory, feminism, postcolonial studies, or political theory among others. In that sense, the many fields of knowledge, and the different meanings and attitudes that mimesis has drawn out attest for the preponderant significance it has had and keeps having for Western thought. Significantly, by the end of the 19th century, the context of colonialism and imperialism favoured the contact of Western intellectuals with a whole range of diverse pre-modern cultures, whose ideas about imitation, and in particular about their conceptions and practices of magic, became a central area of interest among social theorists (mainly anthropologists). A few decades later, these works influenced many authors that offered

new ways of thinking about mimesis in modern society as well. Among the thinkers that focused on the relationship between mimesis and modernity, Walter Benjamin's ideas became very influential in his way of conceiving mimesis in relation to social practice and intersubjective relationships and not just as a rational process of artistic expression and representation.

In his short essay *On the Mimetic Faculty* from 1933, Benjamin describes mimesis as an essential and innate human property. According to him, our capacity to mime transcends that of nature and is directly connected to our cultural activities. As he puts it:

> Nature creates similarities. One need only think of mimicry. The highest capacity for producing similarities, however, is man's. His gift of seeing resemblances is nothing other than a rudiment of the powerful compulsion in former times to become and behave like something else. Perhaps there is none of his higher functions in which his mimetic faculty does not play a decisive role.[159]

But, what Benjamin also highlights is that, as all human faculties, mimesis has a history; it is a characteristic human product, and as such, it has changed with historical development. For him, this mimetic faculty has gradually eroded in the course of history:[160]

> The direction of this change seems definable as the increasing decay of the mimetic faculty. For clearly the observable world of modern man contains only

> minimal residues of the magical correspondences and analogies that were familiar to ancient peoples.[161]

However, this does not suppose that the mimetic faculty has completely vanished from modernity. For Benjamin, 'the question is whether we are concerned with the decay of this faculty or with its transformation.'[162] Although in modern life we do not encounter the centrality of mimesis that was common in pre-modern times, Benjamin thinks that we still rely on the mimetic faculty, though one that has been very much transformed. Even though, in *On the Mimetic Faculty*, he asserts that in modern times 'language may be seen as the highest level of mimetic behaviour,'[163] it is nonetheless known that in *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* he also suggests that modern technology takes us into a new kind of perceptual contact with the world through mechanical (not to speak of electronic) reproduction. In other words, modern technology offers a new way for us to recover that mimetic faculty, particularly in relation to music since the mimetic possibilities offered by modern technologies have completely changed the way musicians approach to sound material.

Elaborating on Benjamin's tenets, anthropologist Michael Taussig stresses the mimetic faculty as an essential characteristic of human beings and asserts its great significance since he conceives it as 'the nature that culture uses to create second nature, the faculty to copy, imitate, make models, explore difference, yield into and become Other.'[164] Confirming Walter Benjamin's insight regarding the rebirth of mimesis with the invention of mimetically capacious machines, as the camera and the phonograph, Taussig also points out how 'mimesis as a necessary part of thinking the concrete involves world history, especially that confluence of colonial factors resulting in primitivism.'[165] In that sense, scrutinizing an example of 'a foundational moment in the

equation of savagery with mimesis'[166] –such is the encounter of young Charles Darwin with the natives on the beach at Tierra del Fuego that leaves him 'full of wonder at the mimetic prowess of the primitives'–[167] Taussig signals how the expansion of European colonialism was also a decisive element in this rebirth of mimesis. As he asserts:

> It was above all that auratic moment of "first contact" with the primitive that gave Europeans their first image of the mimetic treasure which lay, if not within, then between the collective bodies in contact with one another.[168]

This intimate connection between primitiveness and mimesis and its link with modern technological development –as in the significant case of the reproduction of sound– has undoubted parallels with the situation concerning the case of *nuevo flamenco,* and the discourses involved. Flamenco has always been represented with a primitivist bias as the essential expression of a people –whether Andalusians in general or more commonly *Gitanos* in particular–, a musical expression anchored in the past that, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, has been well delimited by ideas of tradition and authenticity.[169] And it is even curious to see how the most staunch defenders of the idea of *Gitanos*, as the only generators of flamenco, have always depicted them emphasizing the same characteristics attributed to 'savages' in the colonial encounters with alterity mentioned by Taussig, especially when arguing that:

> *Gitanos* do not create: they assimilate, they integrate, and at the same time they let their influence to be felt. Their substitute their truly creative incapacity with wit, ductility, and a malleable attitude.[170]

In other words, *Gitanos* represented as shear masters of mimesis, as talented mimetic creatures. But, on the other hand, we also have the relationship that flamenco has always had with the technical reproduction of sound. From the first wax cylinders to the most recent digital productions, flamenco has been tied to the mediation of sound recording. And even though this relationship has been governed by industrial interests, and in spite of the champions of authenticity and tradition, it has also contributed to the development and evolution of flamenco as a musical genre in a way that we could consider flamenco records as also a part of its tradition.

And it is indeed in complete connection to these two singular factors that *nuevo flamenco* became a differentiated musical genre. Rejecting simple notions of authenticity that obviate flamenco's continuous history of cultural exchange and technological mediation, *nuevo flamenco* musicians have in fact re-imagined a musical genre in a way paradoxically consistent with flamenco tradition. It is in that sense that *nuevo flamenco,* through a deliberate imitation and appropriation of other people's music, can be considered as a crucial factor in musical but also social and cultural change. A change in the hands of 'young flamencos' who, through the mediation of recording technology, create a 'second nature,' just developing their human 'faculty to copy, imitate, make models, explore difference, yield into and become Other.'

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[1] Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music,* p. 19.
[2] Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, p. 461.
[3] Niño Jero is the artistic name of Pedro Carrasco Romero, a flamenco guitarist of Jerez de la Frontera. A former partner of Lole y Manuel, he participated in the celebrated flamenco shows *Macama Jonda* and *La Tierra Lleva el Compás* and later formed his own *nuevo flamenco* group, La Banda del Niño Jero.
[4] As reported in Calvo and Gamboa, *Historía-Guía del Nuevo Flamenco,* p. 16.
[5] Ortiz Nuevo, *Alegato contra la Pureza,* p. 20.
[6] For example when he affirms that: 'there is no contradiction or antagonism between the two different ways the [flamenco] art has to manifest itself alive: the indoors *fiesta* of the chosen ones and the warm of the large public. Even more: they need each other. Both are needed for creation to develop and never disappear.' In Ortiz Nuevo, *Alegato contra la Pureza,* p. 32.

[7] No author, copyright or edition information is given on the booklet. This introduction appears in page 3 and ends with an 'enthusiastic' suggestion: 'Enjoy it... And now, at the best price!!!'

[8] See the *Nomination File Nº 00363 for Inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, p. 3. Accessible at http://www.google.es/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=nomination+file+00363+nairobi+2010+unesco&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDAQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.unesco.org%2Fculture%2Fich%2Fdoc%2Fdownload.php%3FversionID%3D07338&ei=XWdeUaCHCZOxhAe5uYCoBg&usg=AFQjCNHspUi0Ds3jNVWNnCxthg1UPKEHlA.

[9] Washabaugh, *Flamenco. Passion, Politics and Popular Culture,* p. 31.

[10] The "Andalusian" story emphasizes the Andalusian character of flamenco music and its argument goes on to say that in the nineteenth century, this Andalusian song style was popularized in the taverns of southern Spain and through this popularization flamenco emerged as a 'crystalline human expression.' In contrast to this account, a second one contends that flamenco is the ethnic music of *Gitanos*; an origin they argue was obscured when the music became popular and professionalized in the late nineteenth century. According to the third account, the one labeled as "populist," flamenco is essentially a voice of opposition, a "weapon of cultural resistance" which, like other such weapons wielded by the marginalized people of Andalusia, cries out for "salvation from the conditions of poverty and abandonment, from the pain of prejudice and social oblivion." Finally, according to Washabaugh, by emphasizing a few critical features of flamenco social history, the sociological history of flamenco is a demystifying modernist account of the power of economics and politics to blur the vision and numb the mind of people in everyday life. See Washabaugh, *Flamenco. Passion, Politics and Popular Culture*, pp. 32-39.

[11] Ibid.

[12] López Ruiz, *Guía del Flamenco,* pp. 169-170.

[13] Ibid., p. 175.

[14] Ibid., p. 167.

[15] Speech given by Aurelio Gurrea at the *Primer Congreso de Críticos de Arte Flamenco*, held in October 1992. Reproduced in Clemente, *Filigranas. Una Historia de Fusiones Flamencas*, p. 7.

[16] *Peñas* are a kind of flamenco clubs that originally appeared in Andalusia but can now be found all over Spain and even abroad. These kind of private spaces are basically devoted to the preservation and cultivation of interest in traditional flamenco. As pointed out by William Washabaugh, the first *peñas* 'were formed in the 1950s, formalized, licensed, and, one must suppose, subjected to surveillance as were so many similar associations in Spain. These predominately male clubs focused on the serious –meaning depoliticized– appreciation of the art of flamenco. They provided a forum in which flamenco aesthetes could pursue issues of artistic purity wholly detached from any practical public interests.' See Washabaugh, *Flamenco. Passion, Politics and Popular Culture,* p. 111.

[17] Reproduced in Clemente, *Flamenco de 'Evolución,* p. 71.

[18] Washabaugh, *Flamenco. Passion, Politics and Popular Culture,* p. 31.

[19] Middleton, *Studying Popular Music,* p. 61. In their book *Doing Cultural Studies. The Story of the Sony Walkman,* du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay and Negus characterize this approach as 'the production of consumption perspective' (see p. 86 ss.).

[20] Here I have followed both Middleton, in chapter two of *Studying Popular Music* (pp. 34-63), and Paddison, in chapter three of *Adorno, Modernism and Mass Culture* (pp. 81-105). Both give an excellent thorough and critical overview of Adorno's writings on music.

[21] Paddison, *Adorno, Modernism and Mass Culture*, p. 87.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., p. 89.

[24] From the booklet of the record DiGitano by Juan José Valmorisco with Clara Montes, Tomasito, Elena Andújar, Nono Gracía, Curro Navajita, Eva Durán, Nono Carrasco, Falo and La Tana. As recalled in the liner notes of his record of 2002, the idea 'was born after a year of sonic research after discovering one day in the beaches of Cadis that mixing 'La Canastera' by Camarón with some electronic bases a collective frenzy raised among the dancers.'

[25] Ibid.

[26] According to Luis Clemente, as a result of their work at the 'Estefan factory' one of the songs of their 1994 album *El Amor*, appeared in the sound track of the film *The Specialist.* See Clemente, *Filigranas*, p. 114.

[27] Cruces Roldán, *Flamenco y Trabajo* (1996). Quoted in Clemente, *Flamenco de Evolución,* p. 75.

[28] Cruces Roldán, *Antropología y Flamenco. Más Allá de la Música. Vol. 2,* p.250.

[29] She emphasizes how this distinction does not take into account the physical space in which flamenco music is performed, nor the size of the audience. According to her, these concepts should rather rely on

how these spaces are appropriated. See Cruces Roldán, *Antropología y Flamenco. Más Allá de la Música. Vol. 2,* p.250.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Machado y Álvarez, *Colección de Cantes Flamencos,* p. 84.
[32] Ibid., p. 79.
[33] According to the information given by Juan de la Plata, the origin of the name *café cantante* is an adaptation of the French *café chantant.* Even though similar in many aspects to the traditional taverns, they can be described as a kind of small music hall or cabaret. In that sense, they had a stage in which they presented not only flamenco *cante* and dance, but also in some occasions short scenic plays (mainly comic or lyric). See Juan de la Plata, *Los Cafés Cantantes de Jerez,* pp. 5-15.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., p. 80.
[36] See García Gómez, *Cante Flamenco, Cante Minero;* Steingress, *Sociología del Cante Flamenco*; and Ortiz Nuevo, *¿Se Sabe Algo? Viaje al Conocimiento del Arte Flamenco según Testimonios de la Prensa Sevillana del XIX.*
[37] Machado y Álvarez describes this heterogeneous audience as made up by: 'the gloomy and weary worker, the merry and noisy student, [...] the loutish aristocrat, side by side with the industrialist and the merchant, [...] the ruffian and the bullfighter. See Machado y Álvarez, *Colección de Cantes Flamencos,* p. 80.
[38] García Lavernia gives an illustrative list of the names of many *cafés cantantes* from all over the country and remarks that 'the spread of the *cafés cantantes* widens the geographical framework of flamenco, since apart from those in Seville, Triana, Jerez, Cadiz and Málaga, new *cafés cantantes* appear in Córdoba, Madrid, Bilbao, Granada and Barcelona. See García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Cante Flamenco*, p. 43.
[39] From the biography of Silverio Franconetti, the only one that Machado y Álvarez annexed at the end of his *Colección de Cantes Flamencos*, p. 269.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid., p. 80.
[43] Washabaugh, *Flamenco. Passion, Politics and Popular Culture,* p. 43.
[44] Ibid., 89.
[45] See for example Juan de la Plata, *Los Cafés Cantantes de Jerez*; Blas Vega, *Los Cafés Cantantes de Sevilla*,; Ortiz Nuevo, *¿Se Sabe Algo? Viaje al Conocimiento del Arte Flamenco según Testimonios de la Prensa Sevillana del XIX*; Sevillano Miralles, *Almería por Tarantas. Cafés Cantantes y Artistas de la Tierra.*
[46] Cruces Roldán, *Antropología y Flamenco. Más Allá de la Música. Vol. 2,* p. 251.
[47] Baltanás, p. 28 of the Introduction to his edition of the *Colección de Cantes Flamencos* by Antonio Machado y Álvarez.
[48] Ortiz Nuevo has encapsulated them, in an obviously simplistic manner, in what he calls the two commandments of purism: 'First: the [flamenco] art is born in the reserve of the intimate. Second: when it begins to be sold, its essence tends to be prostituted and it degenerates.' See Ortiz Nuevo, *Alegato contra la Pureza,* p. 32.
[49] Musically speaking, this kind of spectacles had not much in common with operas. As recalled by one of the first promoters of these shows (Carlos Hernández 'Vedrines') the name *ópera flamenca* came out from a cheer by the mother of La Niña de los Peines (who owed her popularity to this kind of spectacles) at the end of *seguiriyas:* "¡Ole, y viva la ópera flamenca!" (See Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco,* p. 213). However, according to Cruces Roldán, the label 'opera' to denote a flamenco spectacle was used for the first time by an impresario that realized that he could benefit in this way form the low taxes of these musical spectacles. The new name became immediately accepted and the designation *ópera flamenca* was common currency until the 1960s. (See Cruces Roldán, *Antropología y Flamenco. Más Allá de la Música. Vol. 2,* p. 251.
[50] Literally meaning 'round trip' *cantes,* the expression refers to hybrid flamenco forms like the *milonga, vidalita, guajira, colombiana,* and even the *rumba* that were inspired by the American folklore. The name *ida y vuelta* was given because there was the idea that these forms were in fact brought to America by Spanish migrants and had 'come back' to the Peninsula with an American tinge.
[51] The *cuplé* was the Spanish version of the French imported *cuplet* that came to substitute the Spanish *tonadilla.* Usually interpreted by female singers with an overstated dramatic performance, the most popular *cuplés* were those with double meaning and veiled sexual references. Very popular during the first decades of the 20th century, it declined during the 1930s in favour of the *copla,* which even though was already known during the 1920s it was during Franco's regime that it achieved its biggest success. A

comprehensive study of the *cuplé* is found in Salaün, *El Cuplé (1900-1936)*, while among the most important works on the history of the *copla* are Ignacio Román, *Crónicas de la Copla;* Reina, *Un Siglo de Copla;* and Manuel Román, *Los Grandes de la Copla: Historia de la Canción Española.*

[52] The heading used to announce it in all the posters and bills was *Concurso de Cante Jondo (Cante Primitivo Andaluz),* making explicit in that way the believe in a supposed 'primitive' *cante,* the only one that would be accepted at the contest.

[53] Manuel de Falla, quoted in Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco*, p. 204.

[54] From an interview with the most notorious professional *cantaores* from Seville by a journalist known as "Galerín" published in *El Liberal* on the seventh June 1922. Reproduced in Molina Fajardo, *Manuel de Falla y el "Cante Jondo,"* p. 107.

[55] See Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco,* p. 440.

[56] In the application for subsidy to the Town Council of Granada, organizers stated clearly how: 'it is the people that we must address and it is for the people that we do it all. We will establish a kind of schools or academies in several Andalusian cities where during four or five months *canatores* of the highest prestige will initiate the young to these ancient songs.' See Molina Fajardo, *Manuel de Falla y el "Cante Jondo,"* p. 165.

[57] Ibid., p. 142.

[58] See Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco*, pp. 208-211 for an outline of the commercial repercussions of the *Concurso de Cante Jondo* as well as for an account of the different contests that followed and the professional artists involved in them.

[59] While the *ópera flamenca* tended to disappear progressively, the 1950s saw the advent of the flamenco festivals held during the summer period. Since then they have always been common throughout all of Andalusia.

[60] The word *tablao* is a misspelling of *tablado,* which is derived from *tabla* [a plank or board]. It generally refers to a small stage or platform and for this reason it became used to name these little flamenco locals.

[61] Unlike theatrical spectacles and as was the case with *cafés cantantes* and taverns, *tablaos* were small locals that also offered drinks and in many cases food to their customers.

[62] Gamboa and Nuñez, *Nuevo Flamenco. Historia y Diccionario,* p. 9.

[63] Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco,* p. 158. 'Larger stages' at this time were basically the flamenco summer festivals that began to be common all around Andalusia.

[64] Molina and Mairena, *Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco,* p. 21. According to them 'the primitive *cante* flamenco would have been formed very slowly (from the 16$^{th}$ to the 18$^{th}$ century) in the provinces of Seville and Cadis' (p. 33).

[65] This is at least bizarre since Antonio Molina himself was not only a very popular singer of his time, present regularly in many *tablaos* and festivals all over Spain, but also a flamenco artist with a profuse discography.

[66] Molina and Mairena, *Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco,* p. 145.

[67] Ibid. The word *cabal* literally means 'correct, and proper.' It is commonly used within the context of flamenco to refer to what is understood as the most depurated flamenco rendition.

[68] See Gamboa and Nuñez, *Nuevo Flamenco. Historia y Diccionario,* p. 9. As they point out, 'it was the world of *tablao* that displayed a greater expressive freedom and where the first daring voices with a new style emerged.'

[69] In Clemente, *Flamenco de Evolución,* p. 76. A *Gitano* singer from Lebrija, near Seville, Curro Malena is a known upholder of *flamenco puro,* has always claimed how 'I cannot go to *tablaos*; in them the purity of the *cante* gets lost.' (See Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco,* p. 100). However, in spite of his also negative opinion concerning the recording of flamenco, he has made various records such as *Calor de Fragua* (Cambayá Records, 1992) and *Carbón de Caña* (Auvidis Ethnic, 1994).

[70] Quoted in López Ruiz, *Guía del Flamenco,* p. 21.

[71] Ibid., p. 68. A '*chivato*' is an informer, someone who reveals certain information especially against others. In other words is a kind of traitor who is unable to keep some information secret. José María Pemán, born in Cadis in 1898, is especially known for his poetry. As González Climent mentioned in his *Flamencología,* most of his poems show the influence of flamenco (p. 76).

[72] The *Centro Andaluz de Flamenco* is a public institution run by the *Junta de Andalucía* (the regional government) since 1993. Its main objectives are the protection and preservation of all kind of documents, recordings, objects and diverse elements related with flamenco, as well as the promotion of research and diffusion activities.

[73] Tenorio Notario, in *Cilindros de Cera. Primeras Grabaciones del Flamenco*, p. 9.

[74] Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco,* p. 387.

[75] It is important to note that, concerning Antonio Mairena's first recording, Álvarez Caballero recalls how 'Mairena confessed that he was really thrilled and looking forward to it, but that he had to delay it since his *cante* was old fashioned and not commercial.' See Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco,* p. 209.
[76] One of the preferred guitarists by many flamenco singers to accompany their *cante,* Perico el del Lunar was working at the time at the Madrilian *tablao* Zambra. When he was appointed to produce the mentioned anthology he assumed the selection of the best singers for each of the flamenco forms he thought had to be represented, being himself the only guitarist to accompany them all. A few years later he was requested for a similar project that this time took place in Mexico but did not attained the favourable outcome of the first. See Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco,* p. 331.
[77] The lyrics of this song of 1962 makes clear that: 'They have planned to end with the grace and angel of the beautiful Spanish folklore, with a foreign dance they call the "twist madisón." But I don't care about it when I have to dance since I start with some twist steps but then move to a garrotín. [...] I dance the twist to the Spanish style.' The same year, El Niño de Murcia recorded his "Flamenco Twist" with a very similar content and an iterative chorus repeating constantly '*Gitano* dances to the Twist.' See Clemente, *Filigranas,* p. 109.
[78] From all these groups with a clear influence by The Beatles, the most famous was undoubtedly Los Brincos who not only showed the influence of flamenco in many of their songs but also on their looks and clothing. See Clemente, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.
[79] One of the biggest record companies of Spain at the moment, CBS had a team with some of the most prestigious musicians and composers of the time as Johnny Galvao, Manolo Gas, Luis Cobos, Paco Cepero and Felipe Campuzano. All of them participated in the recording of this record that became a top seller for a long time. Camarón de la Isla always praised the music of Las Grecas and a later recognized Paco de Lucía, it became inspiring for them concerning their musical projects of the 1970s.
[80] As quoted by Clemente, *Flamenco de Evolución,* p. 70.
[81] Although Movieplay was a Spanish company (founded as in 1966 under the name Sonoplay that was changed two years later) it was a project of Argentinean composer Adolfo Waitzman (who had worked for Philips) and Belgian Jo Linten (owner of Movierecord), in collaboration with the French company Barclay (directed in Spain by Alain Milhaud). It became one of the leading record companies in Spain during the 1970s. In 1983 it became Fonomusic, a company that was acquired by Warner in 2002.
[82] Ibid., p. 135.
[83] Ibid., p. 134.
[84] Crucial in the development of *La Movida*, most of these independent companies tended later to disappear or to be incorporated by multinational companies.
[85] As a recording company, Nuevos Medios produced the works of known groups of *La Movida* as La Mode, Golpes Bajos or Semen Up, but was also in charge of the distribution of foreign groups as New Order and The Smith's. Some years later also distributed in Spain the records of ECM, Narada, Pablo, and Rykodisc/Hannibal among other companies.
[86] Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco,* p. 82.
[87] Quoted in Gamboa and Núñez, *Nuevo Flamenco. Historia y Diccionario,* p. 72.
[88] Ibid.
[89] As he also mentions, a great care was also taken concerning even the cover design of records since they wanted to make clear this was something new. In an interview reproduced in Calvo and Gamboa, *Historía-Guía del Nuevo Flamenco,* p. 133.
[90] Frith, *Performing Rites,* pp. 88-89.
[91] Ibid., p. 76.
[92] Ibid.
[93] See Fabbri, 'A Theory of Musical Genres: Two Applications' in Horn and Tagg (eds.), *Popular Music Perspectives,* pp. 52-81; and Frith, *Performing Rites,* pp. 91-93.
[94] Ibid., p. 52.
[95] Ibid., p. 55.
[96] Ibid., pp. 58-59.
[97] Without this ideological frame, most of the music now categorized as *nuevo flamenco* would probably be labelled as pop, rock, salsa... maybe with the qualifying *aflamencado* as happened with former commercial experiments.
[98] Horner, 'Discourse' in Horner and Swiss, *Key Terms in Popular Music and Culture*, p. 18.
[99] Talyor, *Global Pop,* p. 22. Given the relevance that the concept of authenticity has had in the recent decades, he also affirms that 'had Raymond Williams lived a little longer, "authenticity" would surely have been one of his keywords.' Ibid., p. 21.

[100] An often mentioned case is that of the blues, generally been considered as having many parallel traits to the predicament of flamenco. As Richard Middleton argues, in the case of blues, this process came 'to extract and privilege one part of the repertory, to idealize it, to write the history backwards, *from* the 'survivals' *to* the (reconstructed) origins, and to 'museumize' the music (for 'folk blues' was always about to die out).' See Middleton, *Studying Popular Music,* p. 143.
[101] As pointed out by Steven Feld or Simon Frith among others, the label 'World Music' appeared also at the end of the 1980s as a term adopted by a number of British record companies in order to promote more successfully the non-Western music of their catalogues. Later, the term was also used to refer to the work of Western musicians who draw on non-Western sources. See Feld, 'From Schizophonia to Schismogenesis: On the Discourses and Commodification Practices of "World Music" and "World Beat"' in Charles Keil and Steven Feld, *Music Grooves: Essays and Dialogues*, pp. 265-266; and Frith, 'The Discourse of World Music' in Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western Music and Its Others*, p. 305-306.
[102] Frith, ibid. p. 307. For him, as an ideological category, world music can only be understood by reference to the rock world (roots rock) from which it emerged
[103] Ibid., p. 308.
[104] Feld traces the difference between the already mentioned term 'World Music' and the label 'World Beat.' According to him, this last one has more specific referents and was introduced in the 1980s by musician and radio personality Dan Del Santo. The term refers to 'all ethnic-pop mixings, fusion dance music, and emerging syncretic populist musical hybrids from around the world, particularly from urban centres,' and became used rapidly by both the radio and the music industry. See Feld, *op. cit.,* p. 266.
[105] Ibid., p. 258. As mentioned by Feld, the term was introduced by Schafer in *The Tuning of the World*, on 1977.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid., p. 260.
[108] It is in that sense that Feld describes this situation as 'the final stage of schizophonia.' See Ibid*.,* p. 259.
[109] Ibid., p. 260. The references mentioned by Feld are: Appadurai, Arjun, Introduction in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* ed. Arjun Appadurai, 3-63, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986; Castoriadis, Cornelius, 'Reflections on "Rationality" and "Development,"' in *Thesis Eleven* 10/11, pp. 18-36, 1985; Schiller, Herbert, *Communication and Cultural Domination,* New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1976; Berman, Marshall, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity,* London: Verso, 1983; Harvey, David, *The Condition of Postmodernity,* Oxford: Basil Balckwell, 1989.
[110] Bateson, *Steps to an Echology of Mind,* New York: Ballantine, 1972, p. 109. Quoted in Feld, *op. cit.,* p. 265.
[111] Feld, *op. cit.,* p. 265.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid., p. 270.
[114] Ibid., p. 266.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid., p. 272.
[117] Ibid.
[118] A term derived by mixing 'soul' and *'bulería,'* it refers to the work of singer Antonio Pitingo, whose music intends a fusion that 'blends the *Gitano* race with the spirit of soul and American gospel.' See the already mentioned *Flamenco Universal* booklet, p. 44.
[119] Feld, *op. cit.,* p. 272.
[120] The paper *The Poetics and Politics of Pygmy Pop* appeared originally in the *Yearbook for Traditional Music,* vol. 28 (1996), pp. 1-35, and was later published in a shortened version in Born, and Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western Music and Its Others,* pp. 254-279, from which I quote.
[121] Ibid., p. 263.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid., p. 264.
[124] Ibid., p. 273.
[125] El Albaicín is Granada's old Muslim quarter. It was declared a world heritage site in 1984, along with the famous Alhambra. It is adjacent to the Sacromonte quarter. During the 19th century the area became home to an important *Gitano* community.
[126] Among the most known members of the Habichuela family it is worth mentioning guitarist Juan Habichuela (who accompanied important singers as Manolo Caracol, Juan Valderrama, Fosforito, Rafael

Farina and even Enrique Morente), his brother Pepe Habichuela (also a guitarist that worked with already mentioned singers but also Camarón de la Isla), and the three members of *nuevo flamenco* group Ketama, Juan José Carmona Amaya, Antonio Carmona Amaya and José Miguel Carmona Niño.

[127] From an interview in the magazine *Vibraciones* nº 6 (1975). Quoted in Clemente, *Filigranas,* p. 31.

[128] Among them flamenco guitarists Vicente Amigo, Tomatito, Juan Antonio Salazar, El Paquete, Isidro Muñoz and Juan Manuel Cañizares; bassist Javier Losada; pianist and keyboards player Tomás de Miguel; percussionists Tino Di Geraldo and El Negri; and many singers playing backing vocals, including Morente's daughter Estrella Morente.

[129] A good history of the album and its repercussion can be found in Galindo, *Omega: Historia Oral del Álbum que Unió a Enrique Morente, Lagartija Nick, Leonard Cohen y Federico García Lorca.*

[130] See the article by journalist Jesús Miguel Marcos in *Público* (2/05/2011).

[131] See the article by Miguel Moral, "Morente viaja con Lorca hasta Manhattan" in *El País* (9/12/1996).

[132] Ibid.

[133] *Ayeos* or *ayes* are a kind of pain or sorrow exclamations, and sometimes even a heartrending cry, upon the word "Ay" that introduce or accompany many *cantes.* Verónica Almaida Mons has even described them as "a ritual and sacred cry". See Almaida Mons, 'Rito y Ritmo: el Cante Jondo,' p. 113.

[134] Apart from Enrique Morente, the only two singers that have recorded a version of Cohen's *Priets* are Richie Havens (in his album *Richard P. Havens, 1983* from 1969) and Jennifer Warnes (in her 1987 tribute album to Leonard Cohen entitled *Famous Blue Raincoat*).

[135] A version of this *siguiriya* by Antonio "El Chaqueta" can be found in the double album published in 2001 by Calé Records to commemorate the *29 Congreso Internacional de Arte Flamenco* held in Algeciras that same year.

[136] I use here the expression invoked by Dick Hebdige in his book *Cut'n'Mix: Culture, Identity and Caribbean Music.*

[137] Biddle, and Knights (eds.), *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location. Between the Local and the Global,* p. 13.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Calvo and Gamboa, *Historia-Guía del Nuevo Flamenco,* pp. 47-48.

[140] The name means literally 'black leg' and is used in Spanish as an expression to convey the high quality of a particular thing. Its original use comes from the designation of the best cured ham made with the commonly known as Iberian pigs.

[141] Raimundo was born in 1950 and Rafael one year later, in 1960. Their younger brother Diego Amador is also a known *nuevo flamenco* pianist.

[142] The record even contains one song by Raimundo Amador, *El Polígamo*, inspired by his experiences of the Polígono de San Pablo, a quarter outside Seville in which many *Gitanos* were forced to move.

[143] See for example Calvo and Gamboa, *Historia-Guía del Nuevo Flamenco,* pp. 65-91, or Clemente, *Raimundo Amador y Pata Negra,*

[144] See Clemente, *op. cit.,* p. 112.

[145] Clemente recalls how the record had a good international reception and quotes as an example the review by Diane Gordon that appeared in the magazine Guitar Player: 'New flamenco's bad boys whose overt collisions of styles are even brasher that Ketama's. Flamenco never rocked so hard.' See Ibid., p. 114. Nuevos Medios echoed the international success of the record to claiming that: 'Pata Negra and its powerful musical language (flamenco, *Gitano*, and modern) have attracted the attention of the world press. Never before had Spanish popular music been so deeply analyzed, nor had a Spanish group so requested outside our country. Pata Negra has already succeeded in France (in the Bourges Festival and in Paris) and will soon be in New York, Switzerland, and London.' See Gamboa and Núñez, *Nuevo Flamenco. Historia y Diccionario,* p. 56.

[146] In *Blues de la Frontera* the only reggae oriented track is the song *Lunático*, while in the same record they make a particular version of the jazz standard *How High the Moon* by Nancy Hamilton and Morgan Lewis.

[147] In fact the song ends in a fade out that leaves the listener with the feeling that the cycle could be repeated endlessly,

[148] It is curious to note that while the first time the *falseta* last for twenty-four bars, the second time it appears it has a duration of only twenty-three bars.

[149] Clemente, *Raimundo Amador y Pata Negra,* p.180.

[150] García Lavernia describes the *bulería* as 'the typical festive and boisterous *cante* and one of the most *Gitano* among all the flamenco forms. In its origins, it was basically a *cante* conceived just to accompany the flamenco dancing, but it became magnified by the best singers so that it grew into an independent *palo* during the last third of the 19th century.' See García Lavernia, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[151] As Lola Fernández points out, the *compás de doce* (literally the twelve [beats] bar or measure) is 'one of the most singular features of flamenco music [...] characteristic of some *cantes.* There are different kinds of accentuation but always within a cycle of twelve beats.' The *compás de doce* is thus not exclusive of the *bulería* since it is also present in the *soleá,* the *siguiriya*, the *alegrías,* or the *petenera.* The difference among these *palos* consists in the place where the accents are placed. See Fernández, *Teoría Musical del Flamenco*, pp. 34-47.
[152] Ibid., p. 43. On the rhythmic pattern of the *bulería* and its variants see also Parra Expósito, *El Compás Flamenco de Todos los Estilos,* pp. 84-86. Both authors follow the popular way of representing the twelve beats cycle as a watch in which, depending of the *palo,* one group or another of 'hours' are the ones that are accentuated.
[153] In one occasion Camarón even asserted that 'Pata Negra is making precisely what we are looking for.' See Calvo and Gamboa, *Historia-Guía del Nuevo Flamenco,* p. 67. In any case, Camarón was not very pleased with the song just because the lyrics made reference to their parents that had recently died, a theme considered taboo among *Gitanos*. See ibid., p. 77.
[154] Even though they are related to the *tangos*, given their musical characteristics and its cheerful and light character some scholars underestimate the *tanguillos*. For example, García Lavernia asserts that *tanguillos* 'are very easy to sing. [...] Their transcendence within flamenco is minimal. Only because of their kinship with the *tangos* they must be considered as a flamenco form. It is a *cante* of entertainment [...]. No singer must be mentioned as a [*tanguillos*] interpreter.' See García Lavernia, *op. cit.*, p. 100. In spite of this negative rendition, the truth is that some important traditional flamenco singers like Chano Lobato or Pericón de Cádiz have always interpreted the *tanguillos* in a regular basis. On the other hand, themes like *Casilda* by Paco de Lucía, or *Ketama* by the homonymous group, are also *tanguillos.*
[155] See Fernández, *op. cit.,* pp. 50-51, for some examples of polyrhythm in *tanguillos.*
[156] Gamboa and Núñez, *Nuevo Flamenco. Guías de Audición*, p. 9.
[157] Feld, *The Poetics and Politics of Pygmy Pop*, p. 257.
[158] Potolsky, *Mimesis,* p. 2.
[159] Benjamin, 'On the Mimetic Faculty,' in Demetz (ed.), *Reflection,* p. 333.
[160] In *The Dialectic of Enlightenment,* Adorno also refers to the decline of mimesis throughout history and imputes it to the development of reason. In this way, he considers mimesis as the repressed underside of the Enlightened project: 'civilization has replaced the organic adaptation to others and mimetic behaviour proper by organized control of mimesis, in the magical phase; and finally, by rational practice, by work, in the historical phase.' In Horkheimer and Adorno, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment,* p. 180. Also quoted in Potolsky, *Mimesis,* p. 145.
[161] Benjamin, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid., p. 336.
[164] Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity,* p. xiii.
[165] Ibid., p. 70. Although Taussig recognizes how Benjamin also makes a certain reference to primitivism, his point of view is different since as he contends: 'far from resting mimesis on a psychological or biological base-line such as a "faculty" and buttressing it with notion of "the primitive," as Benjamin does in his essay on the mimetic faculty [...] can we not create a field of study of the mimetic which sees it as curiously baseless, so dependent on alterity that it lies neither with the primitive nor with the civilized, but in the windswept and all too close, all too distant, mysterious-sounding space of First Contact?' See ibid., p. 72.
[166] Ibid., p. xiv.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid., p. 73.
[169] An association with a primitivist orientation that is also recalled in the Universal Records booklet that I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter: 'in this catalogue you will find many examples of this [flamenco] art that [...] emanated from the insides of a people, the *Gitanos* from Andalusia, to express the fundamental human feelings.' See the already mentioned booklet on page 3.
[170] López Ruiz, *Guía del Flamenco,* p. 13. Comments about the lack of creativity of *Gitanos* and praising their mimetic capacity are also found in Lemogodeuc and Moyano, *Le Flamenco*, p. 23, and Herrero, *De Jerez a Nueva Orleans,* p. 37.

Peoplehood is not merely a construct but one which, in each particular instance, has constantly changing boundaries. Maybe a people is something that is supposed to be inconstant in form. But if so, why the passion? Maybe because no one is supposed to comment upon the inconstancy.

Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class. Ambiguous Identities*[1]

## Conclusions

In his autobiography published, in 1994, Manu Dibango recalls the most common criticism that has been addressed to his music with the following observation:

> "Stick to African music!" How many times have I heard this *diktat,* from critics as much as musicians from the continent? I have found myself stuck, labelled, locked in behind prison bars. At the beginning of the eighties, African musicians freed themselves from anonymity by the colours of their music. But this feature was then turned into a concept, on which the opinion makers began to focus. These people plant only what's in fashion according to the season; they don't let Africans escape these narrow constructs. *They* will accept *you* –or not.
>
> [...]
>
> Being an African musician means you play tam-tams: beyond that, no admittance. Thus the path is effectively barred to those who want to create by keeping their difference. If your head is too weak, it gives in. Having locked in the Europeans, the trap snaps shut on Africans. It's crazy the way the Afro-Parisian rumour mill finds "traitors" of all kinds. It gives Mory Kanté and Touré Kunda a beating when their stars rise into the Top 50, saying, "They've betrayed Africa." Their compatriots think badly of them. What *don't* people reproach them for in the name of their roots? Their past sticks to the soles of their shoes. Weight comes from tradition, but you need rhythm to move forward. The thing is not to get left behind by time, and we don't have any time to lose.
>
> All this pressure has made the pot explode. Papa Wemba, Zairean king of SAPE (Société des Ambianceurs et des Personnalités Elégantes), has altered his

> orchestrations. Ray Lema –another composer from Kinshasa, who now lives in Saint-Maur–, has gone through the same thing. As he confided to Ariel de Bigault, actress and filmmaker: "People asked me to play a melodic line that 'sounds Pygmy.' I'd play six and they'd keep one. If it was too jazzy, they cut it out. So I'd hear two Ray Lemas. I couldn't find myself anywhere in it anymore. If there aren't a few palm trees on stage, the audience says, 'He's a fake African.' I bring neither sun nor palm trees and I get called a bad African."
>
> Within the African community, consensus is far from reached: how to react to these pressures? It's like the fable of the Devil and God –whites perverting blacks, tradition threatened by the terrible effects of Western technology.[2]

A renowned saxophone player, born in 1933 in Cameroon at the time of French colonial occupation, and from parents coming from different ethnic groups,[3] in 1949 Dibango went to college in France and since then has been living alternating periods in Africa and Europe. As a musician, he has been especially recognized for his mixture of African-American and West African styles,[4] and international success arrived in 1973 with *Soul Makossa*[5] though, as the previous quote attests, had an ambivalent reception both within and outside his native country. Certainly, Dibango's music does not have a direct relationship to *nuevo flamenco.* But by mentioning his work and including his views here I want to point out how, even though *nuevo flamenco* is a very peculiar and specific case, it is one with many parallelisms to other musics struggling to find their place in the global context. The issues mentioned in the reproduced fragment of his autobiography and the terms on which he has expressed them, clearly recall the arguments and observations raised extensively by (and often against) *nuevo flamenco.* The reference he makes to issues such as authenticity, roots, tradition, change,

commercial success or ethnicity, and even the experience of having "the path [...] barred to those who want to create by keeping their difference" could perfectly apply to the situation experienced by many *nuevo flamenco* musicians. In this sense, the most useful outcome for us here is to note how both Dibango's music and the criticisms it has experienced reverberate with the production and reception of *nuevo flamenco*.

Despite its singularities, it would be a mistake to consider *nuevo flamenco* as a unique, isolated case in the panorama of popular music around the world. In fact, it would not only be a mistake to ignore the musical diversity that –in many occasions contemporary to *nuevo flamenco*– has been developed following a similar pattern of mixture of different musical backgrounds (both traditional and modern, self and other, past and present...), but it would also be a misrepresentation of *nuevo flamenco* to consider it in isolation of these other musics. Being a local phenomenon that draws on, and situates itself among, global musical cultures, *nuevo flamenco* has developed as a distinct genre within Spanish popular music, and the way it has been instrumental in the re-imagining of *Gitano* identity, the way musicians have mimetized diverse musical styles within the frame of flamenco music, and the way the parallel discourses have been both a cause and a consequence of these changes, must be perceived and understood from a broad theoretical framework that leave room for the complexity and dangers of these encounters. And for me, the theoretical point of view that seems to suggest itself over and over in this context is none other than the one framed and expressed by the conceptual categories of globalization and hybridity; two different and independent notions that, at least in the case of *nuevo flamenco*, appear to be in complete correspondence.

Theories of globalization have developed in relation to the increasing connectivity and interdependence so characteristic later modernity. The term was

introduced in the 1980s and was basically employed to describe the great expansion at an international level that economic markets were experiencing as a specific development in late 20$^{th}$-century capitalism. In fact, most of the debates around the concept of globalization were initially formulated exclusively on economic and political terms. They have become a way to review both ideas of modernity as well as issues concerning the evolution of capitalism as a world system that operates across national borders by flows of finance and information rather being controlled by a centralized economic or political power. In such a world in which increased connectivity reaches into the farthest localities, local experience is completely transformed as well as confronted by a global frame to which it becomes undeniably tied. For this reason, it tends to imply uniformity as its principle and, especially at an economic level, there has been the tendency to think that this advanced global capitalism would have a direct reflex on the cultural sphere. Thus, a frequent argument in cultural theory, but also very well extended as a common popular notion, has been the idea of a current global cultural homogenization, generally expressed in the form of commodification and consumerism. But, as the profusion of analytic works of the last decades prove –most of them coming from the field of sociology– the relationship between the phenomenon of globalization and culture is far from being that of a simple reflexivity. As John Tomlinson has underlined:

> Globalization lies at the heart of modern culture; cultural practices lie at the heart of globalization. [...] This is not a reckless claim: it is not to say that globalization is the single determinant of modern cultural experience, nor that culture alone is the conceptual key that unlocks globalization's inner dynamic. It is not, therefore, to claim that the politics and economics of globalization yield

> to a cultural account which takes conceptual precedence. But it is to maintain that the huge transformative processes of our time that globalization describes cannot be properly understood until they are grasped through the conceptual vocabulary of culture; likewise that these transformations change the very fabric of cultural experience and, indeed, affect our sense of what culture actually is in the modern world.[6]

In Tomlinson's view, culture as a concept and as something working in relation to the 'complex connectivity' that he identifies as the characteristic condition of the modern world, must be understood as a 'dimension' of a globalization conceived as a 'multidimensional' phenomenon. The idea of multidimensionality is certainly very appropriate because, as Tomlinson recognizes:

> The complexity of the linkages established by globalization extends to phenomena which social scientists have laboured to separate out into the categories into which we now, familiarly, break down human life: the economic, the political, the social, the interpersonal, the technological, the environmental, the cultural and so forth. Globalization arguably confounds such taxonomy.[7]

In relation to culture, then, we must have in mind that globalization has transformed the way in which people construct meaning. And, indeed, *nuevo flamenco* emerges in this framework as a good example of this transformation. Placing flamenco music in the flow of global culture, *nuevo flamenco* has reshaped *Gitanos*' sense of identity and their experience of place, but also the perception of the internal and the external elements of a well delimited cultural field, as well as the shared values, conceptions, myths, and

desires that have developed around a locally situated cultural experience. As the previous pages have tried to argue, *nuevo flamenco* has been instrumental in re-imagining *Gitano* identity, while at the same time it has reformulated the distinctive characteristics of the genre, transforming the whole traditional conception of flamenco. This transformation had its precedents in the reciprocal influence of flamenco in the field of jazz, but it has developed in conjunction with other essential changes in Spanish society. These changes concern the historic period known as the "transition," which took place in Spain since the end of the dictatorship. After being secluded for many years, the transition brought the modernization of the country and the opening to external influences, a situation that transformed the cultural landscape of Spain favouring the emergence of *nuevo flamenco.* The great development of the Spanish mass media at this time became also another element central in the formation of the genre as well as was the way in which musicians made use of new technologies. But, at the same time, we have tried to show how this transformation has neither been a straightforward process, nor one devoid of opposition. It is for this reason that it must also be emphasized that *nuevo flamenco* is a good example of how the understanding of globalization as the conjunction of a series of simultaneous and connected processes – involving not only the field of economy but also those of politics, technology, communications, and culture– implies that the interdependence among these processes is not free of disagreements, contradictions, or opposite forces. That is to say that globalization must not be understood as an even and straightforward operation but as one involving a dialectical relationship between conflicting principles and tendencies.

In his examination of the topic of globalization and culture, Jan Nederveen Pieterse contends that the debates have been accompanied by opposite notions of cultural difference, a circumstance that the perspective of the growing connectivity

already mentioned has tended to increase. He identifies three paradigms on cultural difference, each one representing a particular politics of difference and involving different subjectivities and wider theoretical assumptions. The first of them, what he terms "cultural differentialism," is arguably the oldest view on cultural difference and is represented by the idea of a "clash of civilizations."[8] As outlined by Nederveen Pieterse, 'the imagery is that of civilizational spheres as tectonic plates at whose fault lines conflict, no longer subsumed under ideology, is increasingly likely.'[9] The idea of dividing the world into civilizations is not new and, as he also underlines, is an old fashioned conception already left behind by new historiography. However, what is the most interesting approach for this thesis is that of 'culture being presented as the new fault line of conflict.'[10] According to this view, culture and ideology are merged in a single frame, and culture is defined as just 'the set of characteristics which distinguish one group from another.'[11] As Nederveen Pieterse points out, this conception would imply that any bicultural, intercultural, multicultural, or transcultural practices might not be strictly 'cultural' at all. 'Whichever mode of communication or intercourse different groups would develop to interact with one another would not be cultural for culture refers only to intergroup diversity.'[12] In other words, this model of culture(s) conceives them as 'separate, impenetrable units,' a view that would clearly match the perspective of the defenders of authenticity, but that is completely at odds with the current definition of culture in anthropology as learned and shared, and as such, always open-ended.

The second paradigm of cultural difference identified by Nederveen Pieterse is that of "cultural homogenization." In this case there are also old precedents in the classical theme of universalism though presented currently in 'its modern forms of modernization and the global spread of capitalist relations.'[13] It is for this reason that it

is generally associated with the tenets of cultural imperialism and the notion of westernization. Many times it has ironically been presented as the 'McDonaldization thesis,' since 'modernization and Americanization are the latest versions of westernization. If colonialism delivered Europeanization, neocolonialism under U.S. hegemony delivers Americanization.'[14] However, multiple studies of transnational capitalism and culture (including concrete examinations of the McDonald's economic policy through ethnographic research around the world) have found that, in fact, 'capitalism has proceeded not through global homogenization but through differentiation of labour markets, material resources, consumer markets, and production operations.'[15] In this sense, the loss of diversity claimed by the cultural homogenization paradigm is not only inaccurate but the situation tends to be precisely the opposite: an increase of the variety of material and cultural outputs would appear to be the case; a situation that brings us to the next of the paradigms.

The third and last paradigm singled out by Nederveen Pieterse is the one of "cultural hybridization." As he underlines, it differs fundamentally from the two previous ones and it is indeed excluded from these other paradigms. A distinctive element in this case is the fact that there is not the precedent of an older theorem to which it relates. However, as a term describing the cross-breeding of different species, 'hybridity' has been used in the field of biology but has also direct historical associations with colonial ideologies since:

> It springs from the taboo zone of race thinking because it refers to that which the doctrines of racial purity and cultural integrism could not bear to acknowledge the existence of: the half-caste, mixed-breed, métis. If it was acknowledged it was cast in diabolical terms.[16]

This genealogy of the concept would explain how the main area in which it has gained currency within cultural criticism has been that of the processes of identity formation. In its current use, though, hybridization reflects the postmodern sensibility of cultural cut'n'mix –as opposed to the ethos of order and neat separation by tight boundaries characteristic of modernity– subverting general claims to purity and authenticity. It is in this sense that the concept is generally used in academic discussion alongside other cognate terms such as 'liminality,' 'syncretism,' or 'creolization.' In all these instances attention is directed to the margins where cultural differences come into contact, destabilizing and blurring cultural boundaries constructed around oppositions such as past and present, inside and outside, or inclusion and exclusion, and as an antidote to essentialist notions, it opens new windows.

On the one hand, Nederveen Pieterse emphasizes how each of the paradigms he has identified has a different politics of multiculturalism. 'Cultural differentialism translates into a policy of closure and apartheid,'[17] and follows the principle of purity. 'Cultural convergence translates into a politics of assimilation with the dominant group as the cultural center of gravity,'[18] and follows the idea of a cycle of emanation, dissemination, and divergence. Finally,

> Cultural mixing refers to a politics of integration without the need to give up cultural identity while cohabitation is expected to yield new cross-cultural patterns of difference. [...] It resolves the tension between purity and emanation, between the local and the global, in a dialectic according to which the local is in the global and the global is in the local.[19]

But, on the other hand, he also makes clear that each of these paradigms also involves a different take on globalization:

> According to cultural differentialism, globalization is a surface phenomenon only: the real dynamic is regionalization, or the formation of regional blocs, which tend to correspond with civilizational clusters. Therefore, the future of globalization is interregional rivalry. According to the convergence principle, contemporary globalization is westernization or Americanization writ large, a fulfilment in instalments of the classical imperial and the modernization theses. According to the mixing approach, the outcome of globalization processes is open-ended and current globalization is as much a process of easternization as of westernization, as well as of many interstitial influences.[20]

As I have tried to show with the arguments and examples presented in the previous pages, *nuevo flamenco* can be categorized as a singular case of cultural hybridization. Influenced by the seminal work of Miles Davis, *nuevo flamenco* musicians have crossed the boundaries that, according to the discourses of purists, have historically delimited the field of flamenco music. Mixing traditional flamenco not only with jazz but with a great variety of musical styles (mainly within the African-American musical space) *nuevo flamenco* musicians have destabilized and transcended these very well policed limits. At the same time, *nuevo flamenco* discourses have underlined the genre not as yielding to the seduction of otherness, but as a transformation and a re-imagining of identity. As a hybrid music that has transgressed this boundary, *nuevo flamenco* has always been depicted by purists as a form of danger, loss and degeneration. However, evoking both narratives of origin and encounter, the recognition

and respect for traditional forms of flamenco that have been always underlined by *nuevo flamenco* discourses reveal the ambivalent character also characteristic of this music. Purists have always sought to make the claim that traditional flamenco is to be understood and cherished as a cultural heritage. Hence young musicians seeking to expand the field of their identity and experiencing the world differently to their parents, have deployed a complex set of attachments and detachments to the tradition.

But maybe the best way to show the hybrid character of *nuevo flamenco* is through the analysis of a final musical example. It is another song by the group Ketama, entitled 'Puchero Light', which also appeared in their 1990s album *Y Es que Me Han Kambiao los Tiempos* mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis. The title of the song already deserves especial attention. First of all, the Spanish word 'puchero' has a number of distinct meanings. While it literally means cooking-pot, it also refers, like the word 'potaje,' to a kind of stew made of a mix of products including a range of vegetables and pulses as well as meat. There is not a single recipe since sometimes it is made simply from the ingredients to hand and there are many variants like the 'puchero *Gitano*,' which is a dish with a symbolic meaning because it is present in important *Gitano* family festivities such as Christmas. Eventually, a last meaning of 'puchero' is that of food in general and for that reason sometimes the expression is even translated as 'daily bread.' In any case, it is a word generally used in a colloquial context and has domestic resonances. The word 'light,' instead, is obviously an English term that here qualifies the 'puchero' in the sense of 'easy to digest' food but, in the other hand, it is also important to mention that, as an non translated foreign expression used to indicate 'low fat' products, it is a term that in Spain still has a certain association to the idea of something new and modern. We can see, then, that the title of the song already reveals the hybrid perspective in which the music is based –on the one hand the field of

domesticity and tradition, on the other, that of the foreign and the modern– and announces the cultural crossover that the song vindicates and materializes.

The lyrics of 'Puchero Light' are structured in four verses, each one making reference to four different locations and their characteristic music. The first one focuses on 'the pretty land of Cuba,'[21] 'where beauty is everywhere and the women dance to the rhythm of the *tumba,* the *paila,* and the *bongó,* that peculiar rhythm that you have carried around the world.' The second verse follows the same pattern, this time centred on Brazil. In the third, the singer reminds the 'Harlem nights, so full of blues and jazz,' 'where I want to be singing jazz with my brother the black.' After this "travel" across the American lands whose music has been the central reference of *nuevo flamenco* musicians, the last verse "returns home" and proclaims Ketama's underlying attitudes:

| | |
|---|---|
| Y aunque hagamos música universal | And though we make universal music |
| Ketama somos gitanos | (We,) Ketama, are *Gitano*s |
| Y es la cultura de un pueblo | And it is to the culture of a people |
| Lo que nosotros cantamos. | That we are singing. |
| Vivencias que hemos "tenío" | The experiences we've had |
| Con la guitarra en las manos. | With the guitar in our hands. |
| Ketama busca la vida | Ketama tries to make a living |
| Como los buenos gitanos. | Like the good *Gitano*s. |
| *Gitano* de viejas cadencias | *Gitano* of old cadences |
| Que cumples tus leyes | That are faithful to the laws |
| Y a tu pueblo enseñas | And teaches to your people |
| Que no se pierda lo nuestro | Let's not loose (what is) ours |
| Nuestra cadencia flamenca. | Our flamenco cadence.[22] |

Musically speaking, the song *Puchero Light* follows the style known as *sevillanas,* though with a particular set of original departures. A festive dance form, *sevillanas* are considered as a 'flamenco style with a folk ancestry,'[23] and for this reason most of the authors follow Molina and Mairena and qualify them as a '*cante folklórico aflamencado.*'[24] That is, they are a *cante* that originally came from the Andalusian folklore and that once incorporated within the flamenco tradition, it became interpreted according to the flamenco musical features. *Sevillanas* have a 3/4 measure and even though many use the Major and Minor modes, those following the flamenco Phrygian mode (or even a combination of both) are very common.[25] The structure of *sevillanas* has four verses with a well definite configuration made of a musical introduction of six or twelve bars, followed by a section of six bars called the *salida* (start), and three more sections with singing that are called *coplas.* The first and second *coplas* are made of twelve bars while the last one has only ten.

Although *Puchero Light* has all these characteristic musical elements, it departs from the traditional *sevillanas* in a very significant way. In convergence with the lyrics, the three first sections combine the standard harmony and rhythm of *sevillanas* described so far with elements characteristic of the music of Cuba, Brazil, and the blues respectively. Thus, the first verse, written in F sharp Major, begins with the sound of the claves and incorporates a *montuno* on the piano as well as the sound of the *bongós* and wind instruments common on salsa music. The "Brazilian" verse, which is introduced by a musical quotation of the classic melody of Jobim and de Moraes's *Garota de Ipanema,* modulates to E Major and shows also a clear change on the soundscape as here appears the sound of some of the distinctive Brazilian percussion instruments. The third verse turns back to F sharp Major and deploys some blues features as a harmony based on dominant chords (on I, IV and V degrees), a peculiar walking bass line that

here adapts to the rhythmic pattern of the *sevillanas*, and the recognizable sound of the blues scale on the melody, the guitar, as well as on the violin. Finally, the last verse changes to the common flamenco sound, a shift also underlined by a change in the leading voice, interpreted in this section by a different singer. The harmony is constructed on the flamenco Phrygian mode, here on G sharp, while the instruments used tend to circumscribe the presence of the guitar, and the clapping hands that, with the electric bass, are used as a common element throughout all the song. The only instruments added are the *cajón flamenco* and a short appearance of the violin at the end.

'Puchero Light' is a good illustration of *nuevo flamenco* music not only by its musical features but also by the arguments made explicit in the lyrics and that correspond to the common *nuevo flamenco* discourses as it has been developed in the preceding chapters. But, the song is also a good instance to see the place of *nuevo flamenco* in relation to the theoretical debates I have mentioned previously. As an example of cultural hybridization, in 'Puchero Light' we have not only a simple juxtaposition of musical elements from diverse origins but also a precise and calculated intermingling of these elements. It is as if flamenco is inserted into three different locations which have in common an African-American[26] musical background. It is evident that globalization has brought about a much more physical mobility than possible in less mobilized times. But, its most significant consequence in the field of culture is in fact the transformation of the localities themselves since, as underlined by Tomlinson, 'complex connectivity weakens the ties of culture to place,'[27] a tendency grasped in the idea of deterritorialization. However, even though deterritorialization implies the progressive disappearance of the relationship between everyday lived culture and territorial location, Tomlinson makes clear that:

> this is not typically experienced as simply cultural loss or estrangement but as a complex and ambiguous blend: of familiarity and difference, expansion of cultural horizons and increased perceptions of vulnerability, access to the 'world out there' accompanied by penetration of our own private worlds, new opportunities and new risks.[28]

But, as he also points out, 'it is important to stress that deterritorialization is not a linear, one-way process, but one characterized by the same dialectical push-and-pull as globalization itself.'[29] This particular idea is also well exemplified in 'Puchero Light' since the ambiguity in the place-culture relationship arisen by the mixture with other kinds of music is immediately counterpoised by a firm sense of origin or what could be viewed as a clear sense of a cultural "home," a condition that has been theorized under the concept of reterritorialization. In that sense, therefore, it can be said that *nuevo flamenco* becomes inscribed into a certain liminal space both borderless and indigenous at the same time. Borderless in the sense that Ketama are conscious they 'make universal music,' but indigenous since they are also as conscious that, as *Gitano*s, their music is part of the 'culture of a people,' a particular 'cadence' that whichever the changes are it 'must not be lost.' *Nuevo flamenco* shows how, in a context of globalization, identity patterns have progressively increased its complexity in a process characterized by the way people have tended to claim their local attachments but at the same time have made evident their interest in taking part of global forces and lifestyles. What this implies is that, in a globalized world, particularity has gained value. And particular hybrid cultural practices like *nuevo flamenco* help people articulate such complex identities and produce a critical form of consciousness. But to celebrate *nuevo*

*flamenco*'s hybrid condition as a way to generate transgressive power without admitting that it also raises new problems would certainly be a mistake.

For instance, and given the backcloth of a Romanticist discourse that has been the touchstone which has traditionally validated any flamenco expression, it is no wonder that the arguments that have favoured hybridity have tended to be rejected according to the fear of loss –of authenticity, purity, wholeness. But what must also be taken into account is that the perspective that celebrates *nuevo flamenco* as a new hybrid music created as a result of mixing "flamenco puro" with other well delimited musical cultures is clearly reproducing the same essentialized discourses it wants to overcome. It is in this same sense that, in the foreword to Néstor García Canclini's work *Hybrid Cultures,*[30] Renato Rosaldo argues that the book is an example of the use of the concept of hybridity that 'never resolves the tension between its conceptual polarities.'[31] As he asserts:

> On the one hand, hybridity can imply a space betwixt and between two zones of purity in a manner that follows biological usage that distinguishes two discrete species and the hybrid pseudo-species that results from their combination. [...] On the other hand, hybridity can be understood as the ongoing condition of all human cultures, which contains no zones of purity because they undergo continuous processes of transculturation (two-way borrowing and lending between cultures). Instead of hybridity versus purity, this view suggests that it is hybridity all the way down.[32]

As Tomlinson points out, this second interpretation of hybridity 'is to be preferred because it does justice to the now widely accepted view that culture is, of its 'nature,'

fluid, dynamic, protean, ever-changing –and at no point in history fixed, established, static.'[33] This perspective would certainly undermine the essentialist arguments of traditional flamencology and 'resolve the tension between its conceptual polarities.'[34] But, if we consider flamenco as a hybrid music 'all the way down,' then in what sense can *nuevo flamenco* be considered as a departure of traditional flamenco (that is, what is the *nuevo* in *nuevo flamenco*) or how can it be taken as subversive?

A way out of this riddle can be found on Pina Werbner's reading of Bakhtin conception of hybridity. In his work on the dialogic imagination, Bakhtin describes a 'hybrid construction' as 'an utterance that belongs [...] to a single speaker, but that actually contains mixed within it two utterances, two speech manners, two styles, two 'languages,' two semantic and axiological belief systems.'[35] But, most important here is how, in his conception, Bakhtin also makes a distinction between two different kinds of hybridity that he terms 'organic' and 'intentional.' Applying Bakhtin's linguistic arguments to culture and society in general, Werbner counterpoises these two types of hybridity and argues that while organic, unconscious hybridity 'does not disrupt the sense of order and continuity,'[36] intentional hybrids are:

> Build to shock, change, challenge, revitalise or disrupt through deliberate, intended fusions of unlike social languages and images. Intentional hybrids create an ironic double consciousness. [...] Such artistic interventions –unlike organic hybrids– are internally dialogical, fusing the unfusable.[37]

While, in some cases it can be in itself a matter of debate, the hybrid intentionality in the case of *nuevo flamenco* has always been made explicit in its discourses and, in that sense, it is a kind of hybridity 'which enables a contestatory activity, a politicized

setting of cultural differences against each other dialogically'[38] as Robert J. C. Young emphasizes as the most characteristic of intentional hybridity. However, "intentionality" in this case must not be understood from an idealistic point of view as an unproblematic process since, as I have tried to expose through all the chapters, it has undergone a complex negotiation.

In the recent decades, we have seen a growing intensification on the use of the concept of hybridity in order to supersede the progressive disdain of the essentialist views on culture and identity. Even though, as Nikos Papastergiadis affirms, 'hybridity has been a much abused term,'[39] it has been nonetheless instrumental in addressing the ambivalence towards fixity and mobility that, like in *nuevo flamenco,* has been so characteristic of contemporary culture. Its common use in postcolonial theory associates it to situations of diaspora, migration, and displacement. Although it is true that *Gitano* culture has always been characterized by being migrant and nomadic, we have seen how, in the case of *nuevo flamenco*, the basic agent in the cross-cultural process of interaction has been that of the globalized mass media. It is for this reason that, in this case, we had better talk of a "virtual diaspora," a diaspora that paradoxically has taken place without a physical displacement but that has given as a result a phenomenon of cultural hybridity that has posed powerful questions as to the uses of difference in Spanish society. As Papastergiadis asserts:

> By taking matter out of one place and putting it in another, there is both the disruption and reordering of the conventional codes and structures. Displacement can lead to either confusion or insight. Hybridity not only refers to the ambivalent consequences of mixture but also the shift in the mode of consciousness. By mixing things that were previously kept apart there is both

> stimulus for the emergence of something new, and also a shift in position that can offer a perspective for seeing newness as it emerges.[40]

If *nuevo flamenco* can bring any critical challenge to the dominant cultural assumptions and social structures of contemporary Spain it is precisely by developing a new, ambivalent form of consciousness issued as a consequence of the processes of mixture. Juxtaposing external elements to the claimed attachment to tradition, *nuevo flamenco* deploys an ambivalent relationship between transgression and the idea of the boundary. The crossing of boundaries (whether of tradition, the nation, racial, ethnic...) is played according to a particular dialectic of transgression and recognition and it results in the ambiguous duality of reaffirming what is supposed to be transcended.

Nowadays, the mixing of cultural elements and the crossing of boundaries that cultural hybridity brings about has become an ordinary experience. But, even if the meaning of boundaries is certainly not constant, Nederveen Pieterse is very clear when he underlines that 'all this does not mean that boundaries fade or vanish; they never will because boundaries are a function of power and social life.'[41] Some boundaries may wane or even disappear, but at the same time others remain or will arise. As he also concludes:

> Acknowledging the contingency of boundaries and the significance and limitations of hybridity as a theme and approach means engaging hybridity politics. This is where critical hybridity comes in, which involves a new awareness of and new take on dynamics of group formation and social inequality. This critical awareness is furthered by acknowledging rather that by suppressing hybridity.[42]

[1] Wallerstein, 'The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity' in Balibar and Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class. Ambiguous Identities,* p. 77.
[2] Dibango, *Three Kilos of Coffee: An Autobiography,* pp. 125-126.
[3] His father was a Yabassi while his mother was a Duala. In his autobiography he asserts how 'I am a divided man. Born of two antagonistic ethnic groups in Cameroon, where custom is dictated by the father's origin, I have never been able to identify completely with either of my parents. Thus I have felt pushed towards others as I made my own path.' See ibid., p.2.
[4] His main musical influences come from the field of jazz, soul, and funk, while at the same time he draws upon styles like the Cameroonian makossa or the rumba-Congolaise, this last one itself a fusion. Dibango has also collaborated with different musicians such as Fela Kuti, Herbie Hancock, Don Cherry, Fania All Stars, or Ladysmith Black Mambazo among others.
[5] Nikolo and Ewens recount how *Soul Makossa* became 'a massive hit worldwide, with nine different versions in the *Billboard* chart at one time. Its rhythm was even adopted by Michael Jackson on his *Thriller* album. Back home, *Soul Makossa* paved the way for a new generation of artists to combine traditional inspiration with hi-tech recording facilities.' See Nikola and Ewens, 'Cameroon,' in Broughton, Ellingham, and Trillo (eds.), *The Rough Guide to World Music,* Vol. 1, p. 441.
[6] Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture,* p. 1.
[7] Ibid., p. 13.
[8] The most known upholder of this idea is Samuel Huntington who in 1993, as president of the Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University, introduced the concept in a controversial paper that originated an extensive debate.
[9] Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture,* p. 45.
[10] Ibid., p. 47.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., p. 48.
[13] Ibid., p. 51.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Lowe and Lloyd (eds.), *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital,* p. 13. Quoted in Nederveen Pieterse, op. cit., p. 54.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., p. 58.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., pp. 58-59.
[20] Ibid., p. 59.
[21] For the complete lyrics of *Puchero Light* in Spanish see the booklet of Ketama's record *Y Es que Me Han Kambiao los Tiempos*. Here I just translate their most significant lines and ideas.
[22] Here, they play with the musical meaning of *cadencia* and its figurative sense as the conformity to the established and conventional cultural practices of *Gitano*s, that is, the conformity to the "law."
[23] Álvarez Caballero, *La Discoteca Ideal del Flamenco,* p. 409. According to him the precedents of the *sevillanas* can be found in a form known as *seguidilla castellana.*
[24] Molina and Mairena, *Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco,* p. 311-321. They established three types of *cantes aflamencados*. The most important and numerous is the group of *cantes* derived from Andalusian folk music forms (apart from the *sevillanas,* the *alboreás, marianas, nanas, bamberas, zambra,* or *el vito* among others). The other two are those with a Galician or Asturian ascendancy (the *farruca* and the *garrotín*), and those with a South American origin or so-called *cantes de ida y vuelta* (the "round trip" *cantes* such as the vidalitas, rumbas, colombianas, guajiras and milongas). For a list and description of the different kinds of *sevillanas* see García Lavernia, *Así Se Descubre el Flamenco*, p. 158, who also follows Molina and Mairena's description and categories.
[25] While the *sevillanas* in Major or Minor modes tend to concentrate the harmony of the song on the contrast between the I and V degrees (with the IV adding a little variety), those in the flamenco Phrygian mode use some more chords though always resting on the characteristic cadence between the II and I degrees.
[26] And I take here the category "American" in its broadest sense and not only its common use that restricts its meaning to the U.S.
[27] Tomlinson, *op. cit.,* p. 29.
[28] Ibid., p. 128.
[29] Ibid., p. 148.
[30] *Hybrid Cultures* (1995) is the English version of *Culturas Híbridas: Estrategias para Entrar y Salir de la Modernidad*, (1990), now a classic book in Latin American cultural studies by Argentinean

anthropologist Néstor García Canclini. In it he discusses the specific nature of Latin American modernity and its relationship to tradition exploring the different processes of hybridization that took place especially during the 1980s and that he recognizes as a departure from *mestizaje* and syncretism.
[31] Renato Rosaldo in García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures,* p. xv.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Tomlinson, *op. cit.,* p.144.
[34] As Enrique Baltanás affirms: 'flamencology has never been able to solve the contradictions between art and folklore, or between mixture and purity. At most it has been contented with the simple enunciation of dualities: *Payos* and *Gitano*s, *Cante Grande* and *Cante Chico*, the *jondo* and the flamenco.' See Baltanás' introduction to Machado y Álvarez, *Colección de Cantes Flamencos*¸ p. 58.
[35] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination,* pp. 304-305. Also quoted in Hawthorn, *A Glossary of Contemporary Literary Theory,* p. 159.
[36] Werbner, 'The Dialectics of Cultural Hybridity,' p. 5. In Bakhtin's words, in organic hybridization there will be mixing and fusion, 'but in such situations the mixture remains mute and opaque, never making use of conscious contrasts and oppositions.' In Bakhtin, *op. cit.,* p. 360. Also quoted in Young, *Colonial Desire,* p. 21.
[37] Werbner, 'The Dialectics of Cultural Hybridity,' p. 5.
[38] Young, *Colonial Desire,* p. 22.
[39] Papastergiadis, *Hybridity and Ambivalence,* p. 39.
[40] Ibid., p. 57.
[41] Nederveen Pieterse, *op. cit.,* p. 120.
[42] Ibid., p. 121.

## List of Tracks of the Accompanying CD

The details about the albums from where these tracks have been taken from can be found in the discography that can be found at the end of the thesis.

01. Ketama, '...Y Es que Me Han Kambiao los Tiempos,' *...Y Es que Me Han Kambiao los Tiempos*
02. Ramón el Portugués, 'Alma Gitana,' *Alma Gitana O.S.T.*
03. Navajita Plateá, 'Gitano Americano,' *Navajita Plateá*
04. Camarón de la Isla, 'Soy Gitano,' *Antología*
05. Miles Davis, 'Flamenco Sketches,' *Kind of Blue*
06. Miles Davis, 'Saeta,' *Sketches of Spain*
07. John Coltrane, 'Olé,' *Olé*
08. Paco de Lucía, 'Solo Quiero Caminar,' *Solo Quiero Caminar*
09. Enrique Morente & Lagartija Nick, 'Omega,' *Omega*
10. Elena Andújar, 'Tanguillos de la Abuelita,' *Digitano*
11. Chambao, 'Chambao,' *Endorfinas en la Mente*
12. Pata Negra, 'Blues de la Frontera,' *Blues de la Frontera*
13. Pata Negra, 'Camarón,' *Blues de la Frontera*
14. Ketama, 'Puchero Light,' *...Y Es que Me Han Kambiao los Tiempos*

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