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# Flamenco and Its Gitanos An Investigation of the Paradox of Andalusia: History, Politics and Dance Art

Rosamaria Cisneros-Kostic

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**Rosamaria E. Cisneros-  
Kostic**

*Candidate*

**Theatre and Dance**

*Department*

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality  
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\_\_\_\_\_, Chairperson

Accepted:

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Dean, Graduate School*

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Date*

**Flamenco and Its Gitanos  
An Investigation of the Paradox of Andalusia:  
History, Politics and Dance Art**

**BY**

**Rosamaria E. Cisneros-Kostic**

**BFA-Dance University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2006  
M.A., Theatre and Dance, University of New Mexico, 2009**

**THESIS**

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

**Master of Arts**

**Theatre and Dance**

The University of New Mexico  
Albuquerque, New Mexico

**August, 2009**

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## **DEDICATION**

To the woman who made this real and to the man who made it possible:

Mama, gracias por ser la madre que eres. Aunque no lo sabes, te adoro, respeto y agradezco todo que has hecho por mí. La vida no nos ha dado la oportunidad de enterdernos muy bien, pero algún día espero que puedas aceptar cuanto te he querido y necesitado. Gracias por enseñarme lo que es vivir el Flamenco. I love you up to the sky!

Haluk, you brought logic into my life and because of you, I landed on the stars. You have taught me how to find real peace and offered me the space to practice my yoga and dance my beliefs. Thank-you for being my best friend, colleague and number one fan. Because of you this thesis made it to paper.

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**ABSTRACT**

Andalusia, Spain is considered the birthplace of flamenco. The art form not only embodies but represents the complex, multifaceted Andalusian identity. The southern region is a land of contradictions which includes the Gitano/Roma culture. The Spanish Gitano community laid the foundation for what we now call flamenco. The amalgamation of the cultures which existed in Spain informed the genre. These influences are explored with a thorough analysis of the of the Gitano/Roma nation. I document their journey from India to Spain and unravel the core elements of their identity. I focus on flamenco history and break down the song, guitar and dance techniques while discussing the emotional and paradoxical nature of the genre. I examine how eugenics, the Bullring, concepts of honor and shame, as well as flamenco, feed the Andalusian paradox. Flamenco under the dictator Franco, became an icon of Spain and as a result the female body was commodified. Gender roles are examined and a discourse on power is established. I conclude that this study represents an important contribution to the understanding of Andalusia, flamenco and the Gitano/ Roma nation. With the transmission of the arts, social, political as well as gender complexities are revealed.



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## INTRODUCTION

Dance is political as well as educational. It can be a tool used to navigate through historical events or periods, as well as pedagogical curriculums. This thesis was written to investigate the paradoxical nature of the southern region of Spain known as Andalusia. Andalusia is a land of contradictions where the arts, politics, as well as its people enable the paradox of the province. Being born into a Spanish Roma family, living among *Gitanos* in Spain, and my own quest to clarify identity, have been the motivating factors for writing this thesis. The impetus for this work has been my mother. She laid the foundation, taught me the basics of flamenco, and thoroughly instilled in me the values and ideals of what it means to be a Spanish *Gitano*. The background that I have always carried with me has influenced my academic interests.

Understanding flamenco on an intuitive level drove me to want to comprehend the art form as an historical one. Flamenco was born from a combination of many cultures that resided in Andalusia, but it was the Roma community that brought the core, spirit and essence of flamenco to Spain. While settling in the south, the Roma encountered Moorish, Jewish and Spanish communities which ultimately created what we now know as flamenco. This environment that included such a diverse group of people has led to much controversy. Many debates exist around which culture influenced flamenco “more.” This thesis analyzes these many debates while focusing on the Roma community as valid contributors to the form. This is an important investigation because many scholars, who have written about flamenco, write from an outsider’s perspective. However, as an American Roma as well as a dancer and a woman who has lived in Spain

for many years, my perspective offers insight into an often misunderstood and misrepresented world. I write as a scholar as well as a mover, who innately comprehends the flamenco art form as well as the Roma tradition. This thesis looks at the complex nature of the Roma alongside the regional contradictions and analyzes how they nurtured flamenco.

The framework of what a paradox is, how these tensions are reinforced, as well as the management of these cycles, are thoroughly analyzed from a historical, artistic, as well as political perspective. My goal with this thesis is not only to oversimplify and polarize the notions that make up Andalusia, but I want to highlight the complexity, diversity and ambiguity deeply mixed into the fabric of the Spanish culture. The main point I want to make is to emphasize that cultures and art forms have a symbiotic relationship and flamenco is a clear reflection of such a paradox. The Roma culture has always been a marginalized community within Spain yet revered for their performance artistry. This contradiction creates a tension between both cultures which is revealed through flamenco. I analyze how such relationships are formed and why they continue to be. I also scrutinize the gender inequalities which exist in Spain and how the country perpetuates such beliefs through their use of the arts, social gatherings like the bull fight and religious holidays, in conjunction with propaganda from the church and its political leaders. This thesis is an important contribution to the understanding of Andalusia, flamenco and the Roma nation. With the transmission of the arts, social, political as well as gender complexities are revealed. This investigation adds to scholarly as well as artistic, performance studies because it is an interdisciplinary research which combines dance, music, oral history and traditions with social, political and historical discourse.

The first chapter *Gypsy/Roma History: From India to Spain*, defines what a paradox is and how it affects Spain. I thoroughly describe Andalusia, its culture, as well as the manner in which these customs create a multifaceted identity. From there I contextualize historical events and deconstruct Roma history throughout Europe, and situate the Spanish Roma community in the larger picture. There is an overview of the laws passed against the Roma in Europe, as well as a close analysis of some primary Anti-Roma laws accepted in Spain from the early fifteenth century until the twentieth century. With the contextualization of the Roma in Europe as well as Spain, a discussion of sedentary versus nomadic tendencies among the community, alongside a summary of Roma slavery, is explored.

In an attempt to highlight the tensions within Andalusia, a detailed writing of what the Roma nation is and why they have influenced the region was necessary. There has been a limited amount of research conducted on the internal structure of the Roma community. With this in mind, the *Gypsy/Roma Identity: The Core Elements* chapter was written, outlining the three important elements of the infrastructure with a detailed analysis of each group. The main categories included under this chapter are the family and social structure, the Roma's informal law system known as the *Kris*, the manner which the Roma mourn their dead, education and health within the nation. Alongside this breakdown of each group, work and art exchanges between the Roma and non-Roma communities are analyzed. Limited work exists on the discussion of Roma identity and what has been written does not offer a comprehensive analysis of the various parts of the culture. My writing is exposing this often misunderstood and disregarded community, while it is respectfully informing those non-Roma individuals on the Roma culture. This

writing matters because I enter the discourse using my own experiences as a reference point, while employing scholarly compositions to support my arguments.

In the *Science and Art in Spain: from Eugenics to the Bullring chapter*, I explore the how Richard Cleminson reconstructs the historical uses of eugenics and replays for us the past and how those circumstances affected Spain. I use his theories to support the relationship between Roma, Spain and eugenics and analyze how science affected the psyche of Spanish society. In this chapter there is a detailed discussion of honor in Spain from a literary as well as metaphorical perspective, followed with an analysis of how the notion of honor weaves into the social fabric of Spanish communities. This writing sets up the conversation of the Spanish bullfight and how this artistic practice, reflects the Andalusian mentality towards women, men, as well as animals. I argue that the Andalusian culture is obsessed with honor and the bullfight, because it relies on these representations to instill its ideology of domination and shame into its community members. I conclude the chapter with a final claim that the fascination and enthusiasm placed on eugenics and honor, offers insight in to the Andalusian paradox and the reasoning behind its manners and views towards the Roma.

The *Flamenco History: Analysis of the Palos, Emotions, and the Paradox* chapter begins with a brief introduction of the importance of dance throughout Spain's history. I continue by contextualizing flamenco in that history, deconstructing the universal elements of the form, while categorizing the language and explaining the jargon that is often used in the field. I present an analysis of the three basic parts of flamenco: singing, guitar playing and dancing and then break-down the three main categories which are known as *Cante Jondo*, *Cante Intermedio*, as well as *Cante Chico*. Then a brief overview



of the flamenco *palos*, styles, is offered with basic components that are particular to each group. I construct a genealogical tree as well as a chart that organizes all of the styles into neat categories. The section continues with an analysis of the emotional side of flamenco and concludes with a detailed discussion of how the Andalusian and Roma conflict, has affected the art form and the manner it reinforces inequalities between Roma and non-Roma.

In the chapter titled *Café Cantantes Period: The Golden Age of Flamenco*, I look at the period and argue that this was the beginning of the appropriation of the flamenco art form. I discuss how flamenco during the *cafés cantantes* changed not only aesthetically, but also metaphorically, as well as intellectually. I use the term intellectual, because flamenco has not always been honored as an art form which cultivates the wisdom of a people. It has been labeled as a fiery, passionate dance which showcases the artistry of the female body. This section looks at how flamenco was for some traditional families, a way to document history, as well as culturally transmit customs and a way of life. This chapter also discusses how certain settings within the timeline of flamenco, were catalysts for the passing of traditions, where others were conducive to assisting in the commodification of flamenco. The elements of profit as well as the differences between traditional and commercial performance arenas, are described. I also explore the question of the female body onstage and how the stereotypes of what a flamenco dancer should look like, was born during this period. The *cafés cantantes* era, also known as the Golden Age of flamenco, is known as the highpoint of flamenco. Many artists and historians discuss this period as if it were the best time for flamenco; meaning that this was when flamenco peaked and since then it has been on a steady decline. This chapter

analyzes the reasoning behind this rationale and weaves in the political climate of Spain during this period.

The last chapter, *Franco, The Stage, and Flamenco* discusses the dictator Francisco Franco and includes a thorough analysis of his personality, political agenda, as well as the affects of his regime on the artistic culture of Spain. The discussion of censorship under the political leader and its influence on flamenco are considered. This part of my thesis looks at the dynamics of women onstage within the flamenco sphere as seen through the documentary series “Rito y Geografía” (Rite and Geography). Gender roles are examined as I look at popular culture during Franco’s Spain. Franco portrayed the Roma community in a stereotypical, negative and degrading light, yet juxtaposed that erroneous image by highlighting the mystique of a Roma, and romanticizing their demeanor, using the flamenco series as the vessel to manipulate discourse. Onstage, a Roma is revered. Offstage, a Roma is unaccepted and invisible. I explore how flamenco is culturally patterned and connected to the human history of the Andalusian culture and the Roma injustices. Dance is an empirical indicator of the body’s history and this chapter reveals sexist, classist and racist ideas that revolve around the Roma, which were stressed during the age of *Franquismo*. The appropriation of the body weaves this entire chapter together and I conclude this section by analyzing the changes which occurred with flamenco singing and dancing. I briefly discuss the study of technique and choreography and how this process has led to the modern day appropriation of the art form. I use Theatre and English Professor, Joseph Roach to analyze the power of accessories and how the details of a costume contribute to the misuse of flamenco. In

conclusion, I end on a hopeful note. I argue that commercial flamenco could be an educational tool, which can offer insight into the history and culture of flamenco.

## SUMMARY AND SURVEY OF LITERATURE:

### **Chapter One:**

The main sources for this historical analysis are Jean-Pierre Liégeois, Angus Fraser, and Ian Hancock. The strongest supporting evidence for the migration out of India, is best described by Ian Hancock and Heinrich Grellmann. The westward migration of the Roma nation is touched upon by some authors like Jan Yoors (1967) and Bernard Leblon (2003). The most thorough discussions can be found in Fraser's The Gypsies, and Hancock's We are the Romani People, which is currently used as a textbook for many university courses. For the analysis of the laws passed by European authorities involving the Roma nation, I heavily drew from Fraser's work and Amy Motomura's 2003 essay "Gypsy Legislation in Spain, 1499-1783". Their work along with Leblon's Gypsies and Flamenco, shaped the understanding of Spanish Laws passed against the *Gitano* community.

### **Chapter Two:**

My discussion of the Roma identity as a "whole" is built upon the core ideas of French Roma scholar Jean-Pierre Liégeois Gypsies An Illustrated History and Carol Silverman's "Negotiating "Gypsiness": Strategy in Context". The work of Hungarian academic and politician, György Schöpflin, on the notion of identity in his (2000) Nations, Identity, Power, has influenced our discussion of Roma identity. The works of literary theorist and cultural critic Edward Said, add to the investigation of *Orientalism*, within the Roma context. While we further this analysis of the "us and them" mentality

through the works of Ralph Sandland. The concept of the in/out paradigm is thoroughly analyzed in Stanley Brandes' in Metaphors of Masculinity Sex and Status in Andalusia, Hancock's We are the Romani People, and Judith Okely's "Deterritorialized and Spatially Unbounded Cultures with Other Regimes." Their work supports the field studies of the social structures within the Roma community, carried out by anthropologists Yoors (1967) and Patrick Williams (2003). These field studies contributed to researchers like Caffrey and Mundy, and Vogel and Elasser who deconstructed the education system within the nation. Margaret Beissinger, an expert on east European languages and literature, and a member of the board of directors for the Gypsy Lore Society, contributes to our discussion of the in/out groups through her work on the Romanian Roma musicians and the role of performance in the Roma community. In our section of work exchanges, I draw upon Portuguese sociologist, Maria Casa-Nova, to clarify the differences between Roma and non-Roma. Kertész-Wilkinson's, "Song Performance: a model for Social Interaction among Vlach Gypsies in South-eastern Hungary" article which focuses on the manner that performances reflect the intrinsic and extrinsic components of the Roma nation. I use this article in my discussion of the relationship between performance in/out groups. I conclude the chapter with Starkie (1935), Braid (1997), and Stewart (1998) who highlight the symbiotic relationship between the Roma and *Gadje*.

### **Chapter Three:**

My discussion of eugenics draws heavily from Richard Cleminson's Anarchism, Science and Sex. Stephan Bynum, William Tucker and Mark Haller contextualize the history of eugenics in the nineteenth century. Their exploration of *Criminal anthropology*

and *Social Darwinism* along with Morel's ideas of *Heredity* contribute to this section. Cleminson (2000), Carter (2002), and Duster (2006) focus on Spain's gradual shift to the field of eugenics. Douglas, Jones, and McKendrick explore the relationship between honor and eugenics. Ana Ivanova's The Dance in Spain and Melveena McKendrick, "Honour/Vengeance in the Spanish "Comedia": A Case of Mimetic Transference?" thoroughly analyze honor onstage within Spain. My main source for the significance of the bullfight is the work of Douglas and Mullin. My analysis of gender relationships and the bullfight uses the investigations of Marvin, Douglas, Brandes, and Gilmore.

#### **Chapter Four:**

The contextualization of dance in Spain and the importance of the art form in the country follows the ideas of Ivanova and Stewart. Flamenco and its basic components are deconstructed with the help of Leblon's Gypsies and Flamenco, Robin Totton's Songs of the Outcasts, and Greg Noakes online article for the Saudi Aramco World Magazine. The debate of *Gitano* history in relation to flamenco is explored via flamencologists, Serrano and Elgorriaga, Pohren and Totton. Musicologist and historian Claus Schreiner and Flamenco artist, Teo Morca add to our discussion of flamenco, history and the its spirit. Feminist Janet Wolff and David Gilmore analyze the contradictory behavior of the Andalusian society and reveal how this affects flamenco.

#### **Chapter Five:**

Italian anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Tullia Magrini's analysis of dance within a Mediterranean society, begins the chapter on the *café cantantes*. Our discussion of the *café cantantes* period is built heavily upon Katherine Tomas and Timothy Malefyt. They contextualize the period and thoroughly investigate the peñas and the cafés. Juan

Serrano and Jose Elgorriaga's Flamenco, Body and Soul An Aficionados Introduction (1990) and Loren Chuse's The Cantaoras (2003), also contribute to the discussion. Chuse goes further and introduces the effects of costumes on flamenco and her observations are supported by Joseph Roach. The investigation of the sexualization of the female body onstage, uses Mitchell (1986), Santaolalla (2002), and Chuse (2003). Their research is in accordance with Peter Manuel's "Andalusian, Gypsy, and Class Identity in the Contemporary Flamenco Complex", and Serrano and Elgorriaga's expert analysis of class distinctions within the cafés. The chapter concludes with a detailed discussion on the commodification of the flamenco art form, supported by Mitchell (1986) and Serrano (1990).

### **Chapter Six and Conclusion:**

Anthropologist William Washabaugh has done extensive research on the Documentary Series, *Rito y Geografía*. His groundbreaking research assisted in the creation of the 1996 Flamenco Passion, Politics and Popular Culture. Chuse and Brandes follow Washabaugh's contributions, but Ribeiro de Meneses' Franco and the Spanish Civil War contextualizes the role of the Church and the pre-Franco dictatorship. His analysis also documents Spain during the six year Spanish Civil War. The main sources for the post-war era are Paul Preston and Javier Tusell. Their analysis on the regime's use of propaganda, Franco's character and his ability to affect the society's psyche, are all important to my discussion of gender and *Gitano* inequalities. In Aceña and Martínez Ruíz's "The Golden Age of Spanish Capitalism: Economic Growth without Political Freedom" and Sasha Pack's "Tourism and Political Change in Franco's Spain" both offer insight into the economic climate of 1950's and 1960's Spain. Brandes, Ribeiro de

Meneses, and Harvey analyze the roles of women under the regime. I combined their thorough investigation with Merino and Rabadán exploration of censorship laws, to support my ideas on the regimes treatment of *Gitanos* and women. Corkill's "Race, immigration and multiculturalism in Spain," Tusell's Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy 1939 to the Present and Jordan's "How Spanish is it? Spanish cinema and national identity" offer insight into the symbiotic relationship between *Rito y Geografía* and tourism. The crux of the chapter, the information that links the documentary series with the *Gitano* community and the gender inequalities of the regime, are drawn from Ivanova (1970), Brandes (1980), Washabaugh (1996), Stewart (1998) and Chuse (2003). The thesis ends with an analysis of *Duende*. Our closing lines are from the Andalusian poet Gabriel Garcia Lorca's essay titled "The Duende: theory and divertissement".

## CHAPTER ONE- GYPSY/ROMA HISTORY: FROM INDIA TO SPAIN

### ***Paradox Overview***

**“Paradox: some ‘thing’ that is constructed by individuals when oppositional tendencies are brought into recognizable proximity through reflection or interaction.” (Lewis, 761)**

A paradox encompasses opposing perspectives and contradictory findings. From the early Greeks to the Existentialists the ultimate paradox of "self and other" has existed and affected how societies and cultures function. Paradoxes reveal themselves through language, political, social, and cultural exchanges, as well as artistic models. Equally important to the manner it is realized, is the way a paradox is managed within its environment, which is Spain for this thesis. Marianne Lewis writes...

Researchers suggest three, often-interrelated means of managing paradox: acceptance, confrontation, and transcendence, Schneider proposes that acceptance- learning to live with paradox-offers a sense of freedom. ...Other researchers, however, call for actors to confront paradox, discussing their tension to socially construct a more accommodating understanding or practice. ...Lastly, transcendence implies the capacity to think paradoxically. Watzlawick explains that actors cannot break out of reinforcing cycles by using first-order thinking- slight alterations to the logic and behaviors they have used in the past- ...Critical self- and social reflection might help actors reframe their assumptions, learn from existing tensions, and develop a more complicated repertoire of understanding and behaviors that better reflects organizational tendencies. (Lewis, 764)

Using Lewis’ framework, what the Andalusian paradox is and how it affects flamenco will be analyzed. As established, a paradox has \*two or more elements \*that are constructed yet apparent through self or social reflections. A paradox is comprised of two independent components and their relationship creates a tension, which is nourished, influenced, and enabled by an individual's perceptions. Yet the contradiction lies in that, an individual is not only influenced but molded by family, community, culture, region



and nation. These interrelated components are constantly changing yet dependent of those changes. The complex nature of human life for the most part involves an effort to balance opposing forces. It is the association between these elements, which creates a conflict.

Language and behavior often sustain contradictions. Language feeds the paradox by defining, thus polarizing, both sides. According to Freud, the ego is threatened by paradoxical situations which then produce anxiety in the individual. The defense mechanism then maintains and even protects the paradoxical contradiction out of fear and embarrassment. This results in maintaining the contradiction while momentarily reducing anxiety. As the paradox remains unresolved, oppositional tendencies are brought into close proximity of one another, nourishing aggressive behavior.

By suppressing the relatedness of contradictions and maintaining the false appearance of order, defenses may temporarily reduce anxiety. But suppressing one side of a polarity intensifies pressure from the other. The result is a strange loop. In attempting to reduce the tensions, actors' defensive behaviors initially produce positive effects but eventually foster opposite, unintended consequences that intensify the underlying tension. (Lewis, 763)

This logic explains why flamenco is an art form that represents the Andalusian paradox. My intent is to form a discourse around the tension found within the Roma community and the flamenco genre. For this purpose, I will regard the Spanish and Roma communities as two separate cultures, which are dependent on each other. The stereotypes placed on the Roma by Spanish society build a racial tension between the groups. Flamenco and the art venues that surround the form, lend themselves to negotiate some of the racial, cultural and social issues that surround both the Spanish and Roma communities. When Roma share their lifestyle, beliefs and values, there often is an image that is formed which Spaniards find objectionable. Yet, when members of the Roma community share their artistry with non-Roma communities, they often are respected and

allowed to disclose their personalities. These contradictory interactions nurture a paradox within the Roma culture that does not want to assimilate and is only accepted if they are sharing flamenco. I will begin by considering Andalusia in an effort to understand the relationship of flamenco to the Roma community's cultural identity. It is important to note that Gypsy and Roma are often interchangeable adjectives. For this writing I will solely use Roma when referring to the Gypsy/Roma community, and /Gitano/ when focusing on the Spanish Roma population.

## ***History of Andalusia***

The *Gitano*<sup>1</sup> community laid the foundation for the flamenco art form. Spanish Roma are a people who live in the south of Spain, in a region called Andalusia. The land itself represents a paradox within its history. During the Roman times, the third century BC until the fifth century AD, Andalusia, which at that point was governed from Córdoba, was one of the most civilized and wealthiest areas of the Roman Empire. In the year 711 under Arab general Tariq ibn Ziyad, landed at Gibraltar with around ten thousand men, mostly *Berbers*<sup>2</sup>. At its peak, in the tenth century, Córdoba was the biggest and most dazzling and cultured city in Western Europe. Islamic civilization lasted longer in Andalusia than anywhere else in the Iberian Peninsula and it is from the medieval name for the Muslim areas of the peninsula, *Al-Andalus* that the name Andalusia comes. The irony lies in that Andalusia through the Roman and Muslim Empires was the governing region of Spain, and now is the poorest land; wrought with a history of oppression yet revered for its architecture, festivities, and most relevant to this writing:

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<sup>1</sup> *Gitano*- Spanish word for *Roma/Gypsy*. In this writing, it is used solely in reference to Roma/Gypsy who come from Spain. Oftentimes *Roma/Gypsy/Gitano* can be used interchangeably, but for my purposes, I will use the term strictly for the community of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> *Berbers*- Indigenous people of North Africa west of the Nile Valley.

flamenco. Under the last centuries of Moorish rule, Andalusia was a prominent cultural and economic force. When the Castilian Christian *Reconquista*<sup>3</sup> began in 1492, Moorish Andalusia began to decline with the fall of Granada, causing it to be the poorest sector of all of Spain.

Moorish Andalusia was the wealthiest and most populous region of Spain, its economy buoyed by commerce, intensive canal-based agriculture, and textile production. Its cultural life was arguably the most cosmopolitan in Europe, synthesizing the learning and arts of the Arab, Christian, and Jewish communities, which co-existed in relative harmony. (Manuel, 48)

Andalusia was and is still considered the melting pot of Spain. It is an area where Jewish, Moors and Spaniards, under the Muslim Empire in Spain, all co-existed. *Gitano* and North Africans lived in the region of Andalusia rather than in any other part of the country, because there is a long history of that area serving as a host to these minority groups.

The region is known for its extremes. It is a place that is still the most traditional of all of Spain, hosting Holy Week in March, the April Fair, and serving as the crib of flamenco and its *Gitano* culture. However, Andalusia also is famous for the painful history of oppression, conquest, violence and conflict that is inscribed in its architecture, cathedrals, and Jewish neighborhoods. The province is an area with rich traditions, yet a land of contrasts. It is a region that has been wrought with stereotypes yet known for its beauty. There are many contrasting opinions that shape Andalusia's image. On one hand it is known for its splendor, artistry, music, and architecture, and on the other hand it is branded with an image that Andalusians are poverty stricken, ignorant beings.

All of those stereotypical 'Spanish' images come to life in Andalusia: flamenco, bullfighting, Sherry bodegas, beach cabanas, gazpacho, horse breeding, religious rituals, Gypsy music, and fiestas that take over entire communities. Andalusia has forests of dark

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<sup>3</sup> *Reconquista*- Spanish Inquisition

pine, embankments of sheer rock, flowers of tropical radiance, wildlife sanctuaries, streets lined with orange and lemon trees, whitewashed houses with inner courtyards, black-iron window grilles, mantillas, long flounced dresses, skin-tight dark trousers, Cordoban brimmed hats, fans, guitars, and a climate to swear by. But Andalusia is not mindless sun-drenched retreat. The real world intrudes. A particularly haunting Andalusian reminder of the intransigence of fate pervades the atmosphere. Death still comes in the afternoon here, hooded penitents recall unspeakable acts in the name of the Inquisition, and the darkness may carry the spine-tingling wail of the *saeta*- that lament of the faithful during Holy week. Despite the international high life on the Costa del Sol, Andalusia also continues to have one of the highest unemployment rates in Spain. (Packard, 557-558)

This contrasting view not only is perceived by Spaniards, but is also perpetuated by Andalusians. Andalusia is the largest sub region of the Iberian Peninsula and there are many invisible lines that separate its inhabitants. People are divided between rich and poor, male and female, manual and domestic worker, urban and rural landowners, untamed and traditional lifestyles and left and right political thinkers and supporters.

Andalusia is a land of startling contrasts. An agrarian society, its people are rigidly divided into rich and poor. In the countryside, the leisured landowners and the illiterate workers who till their estates live together cheek-to-jowl in compact pueblos. But despite their physical propinquity, they have little personal contact. Set apart not only by wealth and class, they are also polarized politically into extremes of Left and Right, those who want radical social change and those who abhor it. They are further divided by religion into pious and irreligious. (Gilmore, 1)

These divisions are found all throughout Andalusia. Although classifying the region and separating its members into neat categories creates the illusion of clarity, in reality, Andalusians are known for their facades. Typically there is a public and private demeanor expected from Andalusians and known to many throughout the country. Southerners of Spain are stereotyped as having a public image that differs drastically from the person in private. Andalusians are known to be your best friend. They have a reputation of immediately offering the security of loyalty and the honesty of relatives. The stereotype says that at first glance you can trust the Andalusian, but be wary because the intrinsic dynamic of the community shows another side that dictates sly behavior and

often times clever actions. It is believed that the smiling face greets you at one corner and next is secretly bashing you at the next. For this reason, Andalusia is viewed as a region with a complex set of rules that dictates the inhabitants' behavior. These rules are obeyed and understood by most Spaniards. Society and behavior cannot be separated and the subtleties of the region are clearly found within the actions of its inhabitants. Aggression, to a southerner is not openly expressed. It is masked with a smile and later negatively discussed with a crowd.

The Andalusian, however, is careful not to express this aggressively through violence. He is civilized, as they say, a man of his culture, of his time and place. More than most people, he knows the value of the rules which protect him from aggression and chaos. So, directed by his culture, rather he releases it through concealed and covert symbolic avenues: backbiting, gossip, ridicule, slander, and indirect accusation. (Gilmore, 52)

This calculating behavior might seem hypocritical to many non-Andalusians, but it also represents the paradoxical nature of the region and its inhabitants.

Culture has the power to manipulate people. When I use the term culture I am implying that traditions, norms, cultural identity, geography as well as history, all effect the individuals from the community. The Andalusian culture that is highly influenced by the region's past, has affected the psyche of its inhabitants. Southerners are not only living in a region that is known for its contradictions, but have themselves embodied these paradoxical characteristics.

The same disconcerting combination of opposites occurs in people's emotions, and in their social relations. The immediate impression of a brightly harmonious and hospitable society soon reveals a darker more ominous side, an underground of tensions and secret rancor. This emotional ambivalence displays itself fleetingly, but indelibly, in brief lapses, contradictory statement and actions, ambiguities, asides, private outbursts, confessions, and indictments. (Gilmore, 3)

Can a region be known for its paradoxical characteristics and its inhabitants be removed and not identified by with such an image? In my opinion, they cannot be separated. People are archetypes of the land they come from and inevitably are affected by the

customs that surround them. For better or for worse there are darker sides to all human beings, and as Gilmore points out, the painful history carved in the walls of the Andalusian architecture, is also etched into the southerners' psyche.

## **Andalusian Community**

Despite having this image of being two-faced and untrustworthy, Andalusia is also known for its sense of community. What sets the south apart from other regions of Spain, is the community created by the inhabitants of the Andalusian population. Southerners might appear to be open with their emotions and honest with their beliefs. Yet the inhabitants of the region create a sense of community by concealing their real emotions and by not being sincere with their public. Community is a huge part of the Andalusian dynamic. Just as there is a public and private domain that southerners maneuver in and out of, the public opinion carries much weight on how individuals discuss one another in private settings. The public sect dictates how people act. There is a fear deeply embedded in the psyche of the Andalusians. The possibility that someone might find out what one has done in the privacy of their own home, is a dangerous weapon. Therefore, in an effort to protect their public image, there is an intense need to safeguard private behavior.

When confronted with the possibility of public censure for some foibles or solecism, what people fear –if you ask them- is talk. Andalusians have a word for this. Such concrete labeling of a nebulous thing no doubt reflects linguistically the reification of the concept of the group as a threatening, objectified force. They say they are afraid of *loquediran*. The locution is really three words, *lo que diran*, spoken all in a single breath and it means “what they will say.” What they will say always corresponds to the worst paranoid fantasy of persecution. (Gilmore, 35)

The need to protect one's public image is highly linked with the contrasting nature of the region. Andalusians are not encouraged nor necessarily *allowed* to be whom they are, but

instead they must shift back and forth between their public and private facades. The paradoxical nature of Andalusia and its inhabitants, lends itself to the discussion of the *Gitano* people, culture and their artistic contributions.

## ***Gypsy/Roma History***

The Romani (plural Romanies or Roma), also known in other languages as ‘Gypsy’ in English, ‘Cingene’ in Turkish, ‘Tsigane’ in French, ‘Gitanos’ in Spanish, are a group of people that are living alongside other countries, but not living with them. This explains the numerous other names the Roma have been labeled. The group of people could best be known for their two identities- “their own actual Romani identity and the one that is familiar to most non-Romanies and which is reflected by those many other names.” (Hancock, xvii) Romani is the politically correct term that is desired by most historians, but “the word ‘Gypsy’ continues to be used, and the transition to ‘Roma(nies)’ is a slow one.” (Hancock, xviii). The complexity of terms and variety of adjectives used to describe the Romani culture, represents the difficulty in recounting the origin of the people. Although, many Roma communities prefer to be called Roma, Spanish Roma often embrace the term *Gitano*.<sup>4</sup>

The image that surrounds the Roma community is one that is full with contrasting opinions. The Roma people have had an exposure to multiple influences which has perpetuated the derogatory overtones attached to the group. The reason for such a plethora of opinions when it comes to the facts of who the Roma are and where they

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<sup>4</sup> *Gitano*- Spanish word for *Gypsy/Roma*. In this writing I will use the term when referring to the Spanish *Roma* community. Although *Roma* and *Gypsy* are interchangeable, I will only use *Roma* when speaking of the “Roma Nation.” *Gitanos* do not associate the term with a negative image and accept and sometimes even proud of their culture.

come from, arises from their customs of oral traditions. They were an unlettered people who did not document their history and traditions in the western way that historians do today. They based their traditions, customs, culture, as well as their exchanges with others, on verbal accounts. The lack of information that exists in scholarly settings is due in part to the lack of interest in the field. The other problem is that the Roma are such an exclusive group, who are governed by their laws of freedom and privacy, that to document their behavior is counterintuitive to their innate ways. This is slowly changing as Roma scholars are internationally appearing and beginning to document what once was solely an oral folklore. It is within the last one hundred and fifty years, that there have been waves of academic works, which have attempted to fill in the blanks of the Roma history.

This story of the wandering people has aroused a curiosity within many scholars, activists, students, artists, and especially Europeans. The Roma have lived within the European nation for centuries. This is important to highlight, as it will affect our discussion of flamenco and *Gitanos*. The dynamics of a culture are difficult to describe in one or two chapters. Jean- Pierre Liégeois' term *mosaic* can be used to depict the Roma and their unique history. Liégeois believes that if one wants to discuss the entire Roma population, culture, and its people, a series of books and anthologies needs to be written by a collective rather than by one person. He also argues that the similarities and differences between the branches of the Roma community are endless. His term *mosaic* fits the Roma population for many reasons, but I will use it to explain the history of the group.



The Roma community is in constant flux and although there seem to be many character traits that follow the Roma and their historical background, what makes them unique is that they are a people without a homeland. The fact that they are a landless community, who live among host countries, creates a mystic yet unsettled demeanor, which causes them to be perceived as a “homeless” people living off others. Liégeois’ *mosaic* can define why they are a group of people with a complex history.

The world’s Gypsy populations form a mosaic of small diverse groups. Two essential considerations follow. First, a mosaic is a whole whose component features are linked to one another. The whole is structured by these links that run through it. The Gypsy populations can be considered as forming an organized whole even though its structure is not rigid, but ever-changing. Over and above the variety, a meaningful configuration still remains. Second, each component of the whole has its own special features, which make it appear, when viewed in isolation, quite different from every other component of the mosaic: its texture is special, and its substance may be too. No description of the parts, and the analysis of any particular part cannot be generalized as a whole. At the same time, the parts, while essential to the composition of the whole, acquire their importance and their *raison d’être* only in the framework of the whole that holds them together. (Liégeois, 49-50)

Roma seem mysterious by nature but perhaps the outside world has not only classified but also branded them with this characteristic because of their unusual and numinous nature. The historical background that surrounds the Roma community, displays them as living within many different countries, yet having no concrete land to call home. This is the paradox of the Roma people. Although Roma are traced back to India, many host countries view them as homeless beings who have migrated to *their* land and who live off *their* commodities.

I intend to describe the Roma migration throughout Europe and will concentrate my analysis on the *Gitanos* in Spain. This does not deduce that the Roma journey ends in Europe, in fact it carries on into Latin America and the United States. However, I will not touch on those topics as this would require a much lengthier discussion, which does not have any affect on my historical argument with flamenco.

## ***Roma Migration***

Roma are a group of people that migrated to Andalusia through Europe and North Africa. They are a culture that finds their roots in the Northwest region of India. Heinrich Grellman, a Roma scholar, analyzed the Roma language, Romani, and found that it was primarily composed of Sanskrit words, “many words still in pure form, and the most closely resembled the dialects spoken in northwestern India.” (Grellman,12). Grellman therefore concluded that Roma did originate in India but began to appear in what is now Turkey, around 855 A.D. It is believed by Grellman and other historians, that the Roma left India due to the arrival and attacks, of the non-Aryan Indian language speakers. With the spread of Islam occurring because the expansion of the Byzantium Empire around 1000 A.D., the Roma in India began their initial migration towards what is now known as Europe. “Just as Islam had spread eastwards into India, initiating the move of our ancestors out of that part of the world, Muslim expansion towards the West, particularly initiated by the Seljuk Turks, was also the primary reason why they moved into Europe.” (Hancock, 8)

As the Roma moved west traveling by foot and their *taligas*<sup>5</sup>, their presence became known in various other parts of the world. By the early fourteenth century, Roma were in Greece, Germany, Transylvania and by the fifteenth century, they had been spotted in Zurich, France and Sisteron.

As the migration moved towards the northwest and on towards Europe, new words from other languages were picked up and added to the vocabulary and these help to provide a map of the route that was taken. The presence of many words adopted from Persian (for example, *baxt* ‘luck’) and some Kurdish (*vurdon* ‘wagon’) show that the migration must have passed through Iran; Armenian and Greek words (such as *kocak* ‘button’ and *zumi* ‘soup’ show passage through what is now Turkey; Slavic and Romanian words (*dosta* ‘enough’ and *raxuni* ‘smock’) indicate a presence in the Balkans. (Hancock, 9)

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<sup>5</sup> *Taliga*-Roma wagons or caravans

Language is a key component that offers insight into the Roma lineage. Their route and concrete date that places them in each European country is debatable, but rough estimations serve as a guide to the family tree and their roots. However, much emphasis has been placed on the links between language and location. Contemporary scholars, like Gretchen Williams, have also researched the link between language and the Roma migration. Her work, coupled with that of Ian Hancock's has offered some perspective into the inconclusive past, yet some scholars believe that the physical traits of the Roma can be landmarks, which offer insight into the historical puzzle of their history. Angus Fraser argues that language is not enough of an indicator to locate the positions of the Roma within a blurred past. In his book The Gypsies, there is a discussion on the anthropological work that has been done on the physical differences between the Roma and Europeans.

The results of the most extended comparative anthropometric survey of gypsies attempted by a physical anthropologist- Professor Eugene Pittard- were published in 1932. ...he reached the conclusion that the typical Gypsy population was slightly taller than the European average, with legs comparatively long in relation to the torso; their heads tended strongly towards dolichocephalic (long-headed', i.e. relatively long and narrow) skulls, with black hair, smallish ears, wide eyes with heavily pigmented irises, and long, narrow, straight noses. Pittard awarded them *plexion*, [*teint légèrement basané*], jet-black hair, straight well-formed nose, white teeth, dark-brown wide-open eyes... (Fraser, 22)

Pittard's work from the physical anthropological perspective is informative yet not conclusive. These hypotheses might be suggestive but not definitive, which is why scholars have used language to map out the Roma journey.

As discussed earlier, Roma left India and entered Persian territories around 855 A.D.. These ideas are based on the lexicostatistic studies that have been done on Romani, the language. By the 1340's we see Roma in Greece and Italy, but by the fifteenth

century they eventually settled in the Balkan region, France, Denmark, England, Scotland, Russia and Spain. It is here where I wish to concentrate my discussion of Roma history. Spain is the heart of this work and although I will weave European Roma history into the conversation, the focal point will be Spain and its *Gitanos*.

## ***Roma In Spain***

It is believed that Roma entered northern Spain in 1447 to join with the colonies that had migrated earlier through the south, via North Africa. Although many historians debate this point today, many Spanish *Gitanos* believe this to be true.

In 1425, they were already residing in Barcelona. It is presumed that Iberian Gypsies entered the peninsula from both France and North Africa, but exactly in what sequence or proportions they came via the northern and southern routes is still open to question. (Brandes, 53)

Brandes point highlights the complexity in identifying exact dates. The Roma route is difficult to map out but from many of the *Gitanos* I have encountered, their belief has also expressed acceptance of Brandes historical opinions. Among the many Roma that I have spoken to while living in Seville or traveling through other parts of Andalusia, the African route is common discourse. This general acknowledgment by Spanish *Gitanos* offers insight into the often disputed past.

Many scholars when discussing Roma history in Spain address the issue, others tend not to and simply graze over it. I will analyze this debatable past by listing many respected authors in the field and sharing their take on the moment in history. It might appear that I am simply listing those that agree with my hypothesis, but what I hope to highlight is that there is more convincing information circulating stating that the African route is part of the *Gitano* history. I also would like to point out that I am not denying that Roma entered Spain through the Northern part of the country, via France, because history

shows they did. I merely want those non-believers to embrace the fact that Roma also entered Spain through North Africa. I think there is room for both theories to co-exist. It is believable that the northern *Gitanos* that primarily settled in Barcelona around the fifteenth century, are different from those of southern Spain, simply because of their location and their surroundings. The southern *Gitanos* appear to have assimilated and absorbed the Spanish customs because they have lived in the south of Spain for over 700 years; which has allowed them ample time to absorb Spanish customs from the region.

Other theoreticians insist that there was another migration of gypsies to Spain long before the XV century. This migration, they say, took place in the VIII century, when many gypsies entered Andalusia as camp followers of the invading Muslim forces. This theory is reinforced somewhat by the notable differences found between the gypsies of northern and southern Spain. Language, customs, temperament and even general aspect of the two vary considerably. The gypsies of the north are, generally speaking, far more determined aloof from Society and typically “gypsy” in appearance, while those in the south, whose families have theoretically been in Spain seven centuries longer, have mixed to a considerable degree with the inhabitants of Andalusia, losing much of their gypsy appearance and many of their customs in the process. (Pohren, 39)

This technique, as established earlier with Fraser’s discussion of those anthropologists who used physical characteristics to map out the journey, is not definitive but can serve as a glimpse into an inconclusive past.

Another scholar who has written on the *Gitano* route into Spain, via North Africa, is Amy Motomura. In her essay, “Gypsy Legislation in Spain, 1499-1783” she maintains that the *Gitanos* might have entered Spain through the south. “Their presence recorded in *Annales de Catalunya*, is believed to have been part of a mass movement of thousands of Gypsies into Barcelona. It seems, however, that there were some Gypsy movements into Spain through North Africa before the 1440’s.” (Motomura, 143) Motomura’s case is not rare, but neither is the argument which states that Roma never entered Spain through North Africa. Among those that believe that *Gitanos* only went through the Pyrenees, are

scholars like Bernard Leblon. He states in his book, Gypsies and Flamenco, that “Gypsies began to make their way into Spain from 1425, via the Pyrenees.” (Leblon,14) Leblon continues by describing how the *Gitano* were perceived by government officials and members of the monarchy, but makes no reference to the North African route nor acknowledges the debate. He simply bypasses the theory as if it does not exist. This is a trend among those scholars who only believe that Roma entered Spain through the north.

My point in highlighting contrasting viewpoints is to show that the authors who believe that Roma came solely from the north of Spain, never quite explain nor clarify why there are many *Gitano* families living in Andalusia. Most *Gitano* clans have settled and assimilated among southern territories. I will use this truth as an artifact of the North African entrance into Spain. The *Gitanos* living in Barcelona are remnants of the northern entrance and the voyage which took place in the fifteenth century. However, the acknowledgment of the Roma communities in the south is due to the arrival via North Africa but also in part because of the laws passed during the next three hundred years.

To continue talking about Roma history from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century, the perceptions of the host countries towards the community need to be discussed, along with the laws passed, the work exchanges between both parties, as well as the artistic conversations that were beginning to happen. I will first contextualize perceptions of Roma within Europe and then I will focus on *Gitano*’s within Spain.

### ***Perceptions of Roma***

The perception of Roma in all of Europe has been a negative one. Throughout history Roma have been labeled as vagabonds and grouped with the outcasts of society. “For most of the five and half centuries that Gypsies have been in Europe, they have been

lumped together with vagabonds and vagrants, in laws and commentaries alike.” (Liégeois, 102) They have primarily been viewed as a threat to society because of the unique components that make up their Roma *mosaic*. These distinctive elements have kept Roma communities on the outskirts of society. Due to their nature of loving freedom and the carefree spirit that fed this fear of reckless beings, the Roma were never accepted in Europe.

The Roma are a people who have wandered for centuries, living among their host countries, yet never fully assimilating. As Pohren describes *Gitanos* are “usually dirty, ignorant of *payo*<sup>6</sup> ways (as we are ignorant of theirs), superstitious, violent, clannish... and at the same time clever, fun loving, faithful, tender, proud, individualistic, and (virtue of virtues) free.” (Pohren, 34) It is the nature of a Roma that intimidated the European community. The Roma are a people who had been outcast for living their life unattached to material possessions. They found peace living among nature, roaming in clans of about twenty people, as well as enjoying a life with little respect for material things. They were a misunderstood people who have often posed threats to their host countries. Beginning in the sixteenth century up until the eighteenth century, those threats were deeply embedded in the European mentality.

They continued to be viewed as criminals simply because of their position in society and, on top of that the special racial prejudices remained, together with religious hostility towards what was seen as their heathenish practices and sorcery. More generally they suffered from the tide of repression that was rising everywhere against vagabondage and the ‘sturdy beggar’. The authorities could not come to terms with rootless and masterless men, with no fixed domicile and useless as workforce: in their eyes, that status was in itself an aberration, at odds with the established order, and had to be put right by coercion and pressure of the gyves. (Fraser, 129)

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<sup>6</sup> *Payo*- Spanish word for non-Roma. Often interchangeable with *Gadje*.

Those fears developed from the lack of information that existed on the Roma, as well as the perceptions that have followed them for centuries. The opinions have not been positive and have reinforced a negative image. Nomadic tendencies, along, with work exchanges, and political regulations fed this negative impression. What allowed the separation, has come from the imaginary line that has made an invisible boundary for each group. This division between the Roma and non-Roma, became markers of identity that prohibited true integration.

### ***Roma and Gadge***

The distinction which has always been made between Roma and non-Roma is centuries old. Throughout history, Roma have been protective of their clans and have separated themselves from any non-Roma community. This does not mean that Roma never interact with non-Roma, but it highlights that there is a line drawn as to how close they will get to the *Gadge*.<sup>7</sup> In an effort to clearly describe the relationship between Roma and non-Roma or Roma and *Gadge*, I will use the terms *in-group*<sup>8</sup> and *out-group*<sup>9</sup> which are used by Margaret Beissinger and have come to be used across disciplines. *In-group* will be used to describe those who are following the Roma traditions, customs, language, and inner-workings of the culture. *Out-group* will explain those living among the Roma community but not necessarily agreeing, nor accepting the culture and its idiosyncrasies. Further into this paper, I will describe in more detail the symbiotic relationship between

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<sup>7</sup> *Gadge*- Spanish word for non-Roma. Often interchangeable with *Payo*. Term is used by members of the Roma community.

<sup>8</sup> *In-Group*- term used to describe those who are following the Roma traditions, customs, language, and inner-workings of the culture. This term is in reference to those individuals, primarily members of the Roma nation, who understand, abide and respect the inner-workings of the community. There can be individuals who are not Roma who might be considered part of the in-group, but this is rare.

<sup>9</sup> *Out-Group*- term used to describe those individuals who live among the Roma community but are not necessarily agreeing, nor accepting the culture and its idiosyncrasies. Roma often view anyone who is not part of the nation, as a member of the out-group.



both groups and will critically analyze how these titles have fed into the identity of both the Roma and non-Roma communities.

Historically most groups or communities received their knowledge of the Roma from fictional literature and media rather than the Roma themselves. This encouraged an exaggerated idea of who the Roma were which left a negative impression on the *Gadje* community. These images and opinions were so deeply entrenched that people failed to see the Roma for who they were. The superficial ideas that had circulated about the Roma and the preconceived notions that the *Gadje* had of them, affected the way future generations treated them. The Roma were considered to have no *real* form of national identity because they came from no specific land. However, there is a form of identity that exists among the in-group, although the out-group does not always know it. The out-group created an image of the Roma which fed into a stereotype that followed them for centuries to come.

Roma women were often viewed as “loose women” who had little to no morals. The physical appearance that was associated with the Roma was one of “dark skins which made them seem ugly and reprehensible; their long hair and earrings and outlandish attire were offensive to many.” (Fraser, 122) The way literature had painted the Roma community affected how people defined the group in many other settings. This impression was not only captured on paper and canvas by artists in Europe, but was dramatized by writers as well as members of government. Images of the Roma were falling into fixed patterns where fear was attached and Spanish Parliament as well as the public opinion, was associated with resistance towards the Roma. The community attracted criticism because of how they chose to live their life: free and unattached to

anything material. What seemed like ambiguous customs to the *Gadje* left room for uncertainty to develop outside the Roma community. The confusing nature felt like disorder to the out-group. Because of this the *Gadje* focused their efforts towards the Roma in an attempt to control them and their traditions.

Those traditions and characteristics specific to the Roma are the free-spirited nature, the ability to relocate at any given time, the lack of a steady job, as well as the association of fortune-telling and a begging lifestyle. These traits have been associated with the Roma throughout history but an important trademark of the community is the nomadic tendency that the group has embraced. Nomadism is a tradition of the Roma people. It became part of their identity. This characteristic will affect the frame of mind of the European nation. The *Gadje* feared the Roma nation for various reasons and Roma nomadism played a clear role in feeding this or encouraging this apprehension. The *Gadje* connection to anxiety will contextualize many of the laws that were created, forced, reinforced, as well as opinions that were born from these decision-making policies.

## **Roma Nomadism**

Nomadism is a term used to describe the Roma community. The Roma are known to be a nomadic people but often it is a title that not only labels but defines them. Roma are not any one thing. Although they tend to participate and engage in nomadic trends and can be compelled to live a traveling lifestyle, this is simply one characteristic of their entire culture. In the past Roma have been viewed as wanderers of Europe. They have been an isolated group that has always spurred much controversy. Part of the reason why

they have been seen as such contentious figures, is the lack of concrete information that exists around the culture.

There are different degrees of nomadism that exist for the Roma communities. It seems that no matter what choice is made by the Roma, to be either nomadic or sedentary, the *Gadje*, tend to find ways to manipulate discourse and paint them as a negative element of society. This relationship creates a paradox between the in-group and the out-group members. Regardless of the lifestyle a Roma chooses to live by, they are always seen as a wanderer, nomad, or a relocater. This perception serves many functions for the *Gadje* and fulfills different meanings, which are later used against them. It establishes the Roma as a flexible people who are detached from lands and who constantly shift and change their demeanor instantly, depending on the situation. This creates the perception of false identities that cannot be trusted by the out-group.

For sedentary people, nomadism, whether real or imagined, is dangerous and perverse, a threat to the stability of civilization. If for Gypsies nomadism symbolizes a lack of attachment to places and events, for non-Gypsies it is also a symbol, indeed the very basis of their rejection. Gypsies live from day to day, and in the West that happens to be synonymous with improvidence, a great defect. The ants have always criticized the grasshoppers, but have always envied them too. Whether as beggar princes or princely beggars, the Gypsies, with their weird music and dance, serve as public opinions scapegoat, all the more angrily rejected exactly because they are attractive, all the more strictly prohibited because they are so elusive, leading an exasperatingly ambiguous life on the margins of society. (Liégeois, 139)

The paradox that revolves around the Roma community is why the culture is difficult to not only define but “control.” The Roma past is not linear and the nomadic characteristic of the population, affects the perceptions the *Gadje* have towards them. This lifestyle, posed a threat to the European countries who were hosting the Roma communities. Their presence was tolerated but not welcomed. Some European nations judged Roma on their

way of life and not so much on their race or origin, but later in this discussion we will see how this also changed.

The nomadic lifestyle which was exercised by the Roma was attached to other social interactions; Begging, the inability to hold steady jobs, as well as fortune telling, all became associated with the nomadic way of life. Their existence was seen as a direct opposition to the European nation and customs. This inspired those in power to act on their fears and push for change. Those changes came in the form of new laws by the *Gadje*.

## **Roma and Laws**

Legislature and Parliament are important factors which come into our discussion of Roma history. Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century there were numerous attempts by European countries, to control and oversee the problematic Roma. There was a general consensus that Roma should be governed by those who were not Roma. It was believed that Roma were not capable of leading themselves and the threat they posed to society was one that needed to be handled. This mentality led to a series of rules and regulations from the *Gadje* onto to the Roma community. This illustration will give brief examples of some European countries and the laws they passed, along with the outcomes of those acts. Spain's relationship to *Gitanos* mirrors that of the rest of Europe, but this broader picture of European laws will allow me to contextualize Spain within that framework.

Although anti-Roma laws were springing up all throughout Europe, it is important to note that they were not always carried out and enforced to their fullest potential. Different countries made up several rules, each catered to the Roma problem in

their land. Some laws were ruthless while others were fed by an intention to control with little retention in real life. England is a great example of a country who passed many acts yet fell short in enforcing them. In 1530, there was an act which stated that anyone supporting or condoning Roma or their behavior, would be fined 40 Sterling Pounds and “any Gypsy so transported and staying for a month was to be deemed a felon and deprived of the privileges of sanctuary and of ‘benefit of clergy’.” (Fraser, 131) Although these laws existed they were not exercised with frequency. This is important to note because at different points throughout history, the perceptions towards Roma change. England highlights this relationship. In one sense, Roma were threatening while at other moments they were allowed to stay. However, the laws that worked with the Roma community were a no-win situation for them. If they resided in the country, they were condemned to give up their idle ways. These laws were supposed to provide those Roma born in England an opportunity to “better” themselves, but this too had little impact on the Roma community identity and actions. Elizabeth’s Act of 1562 stated that any Roma living in England or Wales who would not give up their Roma ways, were sentenced to death.

Elizabeth’s Act of 1562 was the last of its kind directed specifically against Gypsies in England and Wales. It remained on the statute book, though latterly not enforced, until repealed in 1783 as being ‘a Law of excessive Severity’. The last time that anyone was hanged in England for being a wondering Gypsy appears to have been in the 1650’s, when the Assizes of Bury St. Edmunds 13 people were condemned and executed for this infamy. (Fraser, 133)

In Scotland similar laws were passed by Puritans and Calvinists but with a much heavier tone. Although death seems like the highest form of punishment, and it is, in Scotland, Roma were not only deemed as a threat but were persecuted with much more frequency. They were treated as second-class citizens and were the scapegoats of the

country. Therefore, when crimes were committed, Roma were the first to be blamed. Even in instances where they were falsely accused they were still punished simply for being Roma.

In 1626 some Gypsies arrested by the Sheriff of Haddington on suspicion of arson did escape the death penalty because they were found to be innocent and in fact to have prevented the fire: Charles I's clemency extended as far as downgrading their punishment to perpetual banishment. A few years later, in 1630, when the Earl of Cassillis sought directions on what to do with some Gypsies who had been apprehended but not accused of any particular crime, he was told by the Privy council to put the statute 'to due and full execution' against as many of them as clearly fell within its terms. And in 1636 the Privy council ordered the Provost and Baillie's of Haddington to dispatch another band of Gypsies- the men by hanging and women without children by drowning, while women who did have children were to be whipped and burnt in the cheek. (Fraser, 139)

This case in Scotland illustrates the harassment and the unlawful actions that have been directed towards Roma throughout some parts of Europe. Although these are extreme measures, some countries like France took much lighter approaches.

Roma in France, during the early 1560's were for the most part unaware of authorities and their laws. They roamed, wandered and went about their business within their own set of norms, as if they were the only habitants of the land. At the turn of the century, things began to shift towards a positive direction. Roma and their musical talents began to earn the respect of the noble clergy. Kings and Queens were hiring the Roma musicians for entertainment purposes as well as for personal use. They were being invited to the courts anytime representatives of royal authority or provincial Parliaments came to France. This went on for approximately fifty years and was a positive era for the community. This is not the only time that we see the Roma embraced by the *Gadje* for their musical talents. This occurs at different moments throughout history and I will delve further into this relationship at a later point in this writing. However, for now it will be pointed out simply to discuss the Roma presence in France.

Nevertheless, by 1607, things changed once again and Roma were deemed as the wicked beings that needed to be controlled by government. “Even Henry IV showed no great consistency: in 1607 he invited Gypsies to his court to dance for him. Gradually, however, from the middle of the seventeenth century... police action against Gypsies began to be more vigorous and sentences more harsh...” (Fraser, 144) These actions not only affected Roma in rural areas but those in mountainous regions were also persecuted. The problem, which Louis the XIV and his court ran into, was that they did not have enough labor to enforce their laws. They tried to implement the Acts when possible, but bands of Roma ran off into the mountains making it much harder for them to be caught and killed.

So far as Gypsies were concerned, a last refuge for groups of significant size appeared to be in the mountains and forests of Alsace and Lorraine, with convenient frontiers nearby. The Basque country and the eastern end of the Pyrenees were also favored terrain, no doubt partly for similar reasons. ...Since France’s neighbors were applying similarly repressive legislation, there was not much incentive for Gypsies to leave. (Fraser, 145)

As Fraser points out, similar actions and laws already existed in Spain. This region is important to our discussion of Roma history, as it will highlight the in-group and out-group mentality that I spoke of earlier.

In a political sense, Roma and *Gadje* co-existed, but on a social level Roma and non-Roma were separating themselves. There was resistance from both sides that continued to perpetuate the in/out categorization, which had existed in past centuries. Roma, in many societies, were affected by the legislation that host countries had approved. In many ways, as Parliaments passed laws and acts against the Roma, they returned to their survival mechanisms which included distancing themselves from the *Gadje*. There was a sentiment among many Roma clans that the *Gadje* always found ways to manipulate policy and existing laws in their favor. It was difficult to measure the

Roma community for various reasons. Oftentimes the challenges arose from rules that had been dictated by the out-group, which would trigger a defensive response in the Roma nation.

Among those laws passed which illustrated the *Gadje* mentality, was when some countries required that all members carry a national identification card that could prove their identity. Roma tend to roam and fail to carry documents that prove their “existence.” In some places, the in-group abided but consequently distanced themselves further from the out-group. This occurred because the Roma felt that the need to document ones’ identity was a *Gadje* mentality that affected but did not define them. So they tolerated the law yet did not embrace it. The documenting /census of any group of people was beneficial on a political level where the state and government officials profited. In one sense, some of the host countries were attempting to rid the lands of Roma identity, but then were requiring them to have legal documentation. This monitoring of how many individuals were in any given region, seemed like an important factor but in reality it demonstrated the control the *Gadje* wanted over the Roma.

These types of surveys that were imposed on the Roma community had hidden motives and were attached to pragmatic attitudes. The many negative connotations that followed the Roma population allowed states to exaggerate certain events and to negatively influence *Gadje* community members.

Statistics about the number of Gypsies are uncertain. The various official figures differ even in order of magnitude, since the criteria used (who is a Gypsy?) are always politically determined (and often vague). Some countries minimize the number of Gypsies or even deny their existence (so as to facilitate a policy of assimilation and deny cultural problems). Others inflate the numbers in an effort to exaggerate the alleged difficulties caused by Gypsies as an excuse for keeping them out. Moreover, most gypsies will not declare themselves as such in a census, partly because centuries of persecution have encouraged them to be cautious and partly because the word ‘Gypsy’ is meaningless in Gypsy culture itself. Statistical studies therefore provide no more than an



illusion of accuracy, and comparative studies of different countries or periods are generally worthless. (Liégeois, 45-46)

This discussion of policy and government needs to be touched on briefly, as I highlight another paradox that is pertinent to our conversation of Roma history. For centuries, Roma were feared. Without any factual reason to support the *Gadje*'s embedded fear, the group was outcast by some countries and not even considered a real people by others. Perhaps it is because of the negative stereotypes that have surrounded the group for centuries, coupled with their numinous history that has created such contrasting and paradoxical imprints. In Slovakia, Roma were not recognized as an ethnic minority while in other countries like Romania, they were enslaved for their customs and culture. Expulsion, slavery and detachment are all pertinent to the dialogue of Roma perceptions. In the next section, I will offer a brief overview of why Roma were thrown out of some countries and enslaved in others. These historical accounts will contextualize the relationship that the *Gadje* and Roma have in future encounters.

## **Expulsion**

In some countries, expulsion seemed like the solution to the Roma problem. The popular fear justified much of the rooted hatred and policy that was created by the *Gadje* to expel the Roma. In Spain, it was believed that the mere presence of such an uncouth people was itself a danger to society. The threatening demeanor and the ghosts that followed the Roma had manifested into the psyche of the *Gadje*, therefore justifying their sense of assault towards the Roma. The aggression displayed locally and governmentally affected the actions taken towards Roma communities. Ideologically, they posed a threat to society and needed to be dealt with. Expulsion or banishment seemed like the only way to solve the problem.

The Gypsies, moving about in their nomadic groups, were seen as physically threatening and ideologically disruptive. Their very existence constituted dissidence. The state therefore resolved to kill them or to drive them to neighboring states (which then did exactly the same thing), or to colonies overseas. When, over the centuries, this tactic of expulsion proved limited or ineffective, the only alternative was to confine the dissidents: in prisons, in factories, or under daily police surveillance on the fringes of society. (Liégeois, 104)

As we saw in England, France and Spain, laws were created and attempts to rid these people from other countries turned to slavery as a solution. With efforts and laws unable to rid Europe of the Roma community, enslavement was the next step for some countries. Expulsion proved not to work in “resolving” the Roma problem. The presence of the Roma culture, its people, and its music was found throughout Europe. Many European countries tried to evict the Roma but this proved nearly impossible. Perhaps some countries found it easier to host the Roma and create new ways to control and restrain them from certain activities, rather than expel them.

## **Slavery**

Slavery is an important part of our discussion of Roma history. As I have established earlier, the community has not only been outcast and treated poorly because of its unique spirit as a people, but also because of their culture and exclusive tendencies. The fear that was deeply embedded in those members of government who misunderstood the Roma community, took their ideals further. Slavery became a tool that was used at different points throughout history. When analyzing the enslavement of a people during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire needs to be recalled.

By the end of the thirteenth century, we know that many of the Roma in the Balkan region were carried there with the Ottoman invasion. It is not clear in what

fashion, but there is enough evidence to show that the Turkish armies might have used the Roma as servants and even artisans servicing the armies.

...the first Roma in the Balkan principality of Wallachia (now part of present-day Romania) arrived as free people, who found an economic niche based upon the skills they had brought from India and the Byzantine Empire - mainly metal-working, carpentry and entertaining. ... Roma, who had at first established a loose working relationship with the feudal landlords, became associated with particular estates and by the early 1300s were being included in parcels of property given by one owner to another and to the monasteries; the earliest documentation refers to such tributes being made to monasteries before 1350 while Crowe argues for an even earlier date: By the thirteenth century, [Roma] began to be enslaved for a variety of economic, military, social and possibly racial reasons" (1991:61). The condition of slavery so defined, however, emerged later, out of the increasingly stringent measures taken by the landowners, the court and the monasteries to prevent their Romani labor force from leaving the principalities... (Hancock, <http://www.geocities.com/~Patrin/slavery.htm>)

This brutal reality of slavery towards the Roma, was harsh. Many Roma died yet the ideology of slavery lasted for generations. Another country, which is important to mention, as they were the European country where slavery existed for the longest time, is Romania. In Romania, Roma were viewed as a possession, which needed to be handled 'properly'. Racism became the main justification for the crude acts of violence that were acted upon them. Eventually, such an attitude led to a form of slavery. Roma fell victim to a ruling system that not only stripped them of their human rights, but forced them to assimilate within their host country. Romania tried to ban nomadism, their language, music, dance, etc. They were singled out and punished for not only following the laws which commanded them to assimilate but for being themselves and expressing their culture.

The enslavement of Gypsies in the Romanian principalities, which ended only in 1856, is the worst case of enforced restriction. Here, from the fourteenth century onwards, Gypsies were not expelled but instead became slaves of the state, the clergy, or the lords. The master had the right to beat and chain them. They were worse off than the 'Bohemians' in western Europe: sometimes chained hand and foot, or even by the neck; hung over smoke as a punishment; thrown naked into the snow or icy rivers. (Liégeois, 110)

The racial identity of the Roma affected the entire *Gadje* perception. For over four hundred years, Romanians enslaved Roma. The issue of slavery represents the paradox of not only the *Gadje* but the relationship of the Roma and their host country, Romania. As Prince of Hohenzollern-Veringen said in a speech, “if we accept that South-Eastern Europe is a paradoxical issue, we shall have to do the same about the Roma minority. In fact, one is tied to the other.” (Prince Radu, [http://www.ifri.org/frontDispatcher/ifri/manifestations/conferences\\_1031842048599/public\\_P\\_manif\\_conf\\_radu\\_1068825040883?language=us](http://www.ifri.org/frontDispatcher/ifri/manifestations/conferences_1031842048599/public_P_manif_conf_radu_1068825040883?language=us)) Although there were attempts throughout the four hundred years to abolish the institution known as slavery, the country never really succeeded.

It took many years to abolish slavery because Romanians benefited from the tradition. Perhaps the attempts by political parties were a start but acts were ruled out because Romanians failed to comply to government laws. “It was during the Russian occupation of the Danubian principalities in 1828-34 that some tentative moves in the direction of emancipation began to be made, only to be stifled. Public opinion might be changing, but the owners were not yet ready.” (Fraser, 224) Although there was a shift happening, people could in theory ban slavery and allow the freedom of the Roma but in reality were unable to release them. It was not until 1855 that slavery was outlawed in Romania.

These accounts of a tumultuous past, illustrate the complexity of a people. Returning to Liégios idea of the mosaic, Roma incorporate multiple truths. We have seen how government laws, public fear, misperceptions and slavery all feed the discussion of the Roma past. These realities are part of the mosaic. The land, its people, and the Roma

are all interconnected and form a paradoxical unit. Romanians cannot erase their history of judgment and slavery over the Roma cannot be discussed without mentioning the realities of slavery that were endured.

## **Detachment**

*Gadje* perceptions were constantly changing throughout history. During the seventeenth century some countries felt detached from the Roma culture. We have seen that many European nations felt susceptible to the Roma presence, but not all host countries and their governments saw the Roma community as a threat. Slovakia was detached from most of the stereotypical views that surrounded the Roma community. Their refusal to even acknowledge them as a national minority, highlights the lack of importance the Slovaks paid to the Roma. This is not to say that Roma in Slovakia did not suffer from poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and other negative outcomes, because they did. The difference is that the country was not as concerned with their presence and Slovakia did not try to assimilate the Roma by force.

Although they were quite numerous (some three hundred to three hundred and fifty thousand in all), representing nearly 10 percent of the population, in some districts in Eastern Slovakia, Gypsies were not recognized as a national minority. They were therefore not considered an ethnic group, and the authorities saw their language as no more than an impoverished jargon. (Liégeios, 111)

The fact that slavery could be justified in some countries by the *Gadje* and in other countries the Roma were not even considered an ethnic minority, represents the paradox the group is living within. In Romania, Roma were detested and the extermination of a culture was attempted. In Slovakia, the Roma were not even thought of as a real ethnic identity. These contradictions and assumptions made by the *Gadje*, allowed direct and outright crude rejections to take shape. There were presumptive actions by the *Gadje* and

an attitude that assumed that it knew what was needed by the Roma, in order for them to become civilized. This mentality placed the *Gadje* in a position of power, where they forced their ideals on the Roma community. The imposing of *Gadje* terms on a culture, planted seeds of banishment and nourished the actions of enslavement.

To restrict or prescribe what or how someone should act, live, work, and eat, creates a tension between the in and out groups. The system that the Roma culture abided and the rules that they followed, allowed them to become a community that lived an adaptable lifestyle who were still compliant to the social structures in place. However, many host countries felt threatened by their lifestyle and the Roma presence in their country. Perhaps it stemmed from the negative stereotypes that were attached to the Roma society. This allowed the *Gadje* to feel that they must 'control' and monitor the Roma because their identity was in constant flux. The Roma community was deemed unstable and their lifestyle appeared to be also. However, the Roma remained an exclusive culture because of their unique ways. Although their customs were not understood nor respected, Roma tried to maintain their traditions as long as they could. This was not always easy, as we will see with the next discussion of sedentary Roma and the lifestyle that was imposed and adopted by some of the clans.

## **Sedentary Roma**

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Roma were witness to the industrial shifts occurring in Europe. Due to these changes, there was a wave of settlement by the nomadic. Roma clans all over the continent were beginning to station themselves permanently among villages and towns. There they could co-exist and live in their bands of twenty or more people, yet not directly assimilate with the *Gadje*. Roma started

changing their nomadic tendencies and adopted a sedentary lifestyle. In 1880, there was a census collected in Hungary; at that point, the country was three times its twentieth century size. It concluded that five percent of the total population was comprised of the Roma community; from that five per cent, ninety per cent of those living in Hungary were sedentary Roma. “It was reckoned that, of the 274,940 Gypsies who were identified, almost 90 per cent were sedentary, 20,406 being half-settled and only 8,938 fully nomadic.” (Fraser, 211) These statistics illustrate the shifts occurring closer to the twentieth century, Nomadic tendencies were beginning to disappear among some of the populations. Among those communities that were embracing a sedentary lifestyle, are the Spanish *Gitanos*.

Spanish *Gitanos* in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were forced to assimilate. As a result from the eighteenth century they were no longer nomadic. In southern Spain, *Gitanos* have become a stationary group. “While nomadism is an important feature of many of these groups, other artisan, trading, and entertaining minorities, such as Spanish *Gitanos* and most East European Gypsy populations, are sedentary and have been for centuries.” (Soulis,143 ). *Gitano*, are a unique component of the Spanish society, but more importantly to the Andalusian region. Their presence has not always been appreciated but they have left their mark in Spain. Further into this paper I will delve into the contributions of the Roma in Europe as well as Spain, but for now I want to recall one fact. In the examination of the laws in Spain, I will point out that for almost three hundred years there were a series of laws, which pushed for the assimilation of the *Gitanos*. The Kingdom of Castile tried to remove the minority groups who would not conform to Christianity, but were unsuccessful in doing so. Consequentially, laws

were passed which called on the assimilation of the *Gitano* and *Gadje*. Integration was not fully possible because becoming sedentary did not mean assimilation, but there was a shift in the mentality of the Roma community. After 1772, there was a decline in the amount of nomadic *Gitanos* in Spain. From that point on, there was a higher number of *Gitanos* in Andalusia. “In 1785 some 12,000 Gypsies were identified in Spain, rather more than two-thirds of them being in Andalusia, the poorest region, where Seville, for example, had 600, Jerez 386, Cádiz 332, Málaga 321, and Granada 255.” (Fraser, 182) This number reflects the transition of nomadic *Gitanos* to a more sedentary lifestyle.

This way of life had a number of outcomes. Roma and specifically *Gitanos* from Spain, began to engage in a number of exchanges. Occupational as well as artistic conversations began to happen, and the exclusivity of each group was compromised while nourished through interactions. The development of such interactions required the groups to interrelate, sometimes promoting a positive outcome and other times not. At this point in the writing, I will describe what the Roma identity consists of and how the Roma cherish this individuality. Before I explain in detail the exchanges that occur between the Roma and non-Roma, I will highlight the *Gitano* community in relation to the laws passed in Spain. This history will offer insight into the flamenco/*Gitano* relationship.

## ***Gitano* History and Laws**

As discussed earlier, it is presumed that *Gitanos* entered the north of Spain in 1447 while there were already some *Gitanos* in the south. We will pick up our story here. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Spain was experiencing many shifts. 1492 was an important year; the reconquest of Granada from the Muslims was happening alongside



the beginning stages of the Age of Exploration while the first Anti-Gitano Laws were being passed. With so many changes taking place, Spanish rulers attempted to deal with the *Gitano* population in the country. The next series of events which occurred, could be divided into two groups: goals and methods. As Motomura defines, the goals of the Spaniards were to expel or assimilate the *Gitanos* but the manner that they carried out these plans, their methods, included coercion and persuasion.

The first one hundred years were filled with exile, compulsion, intimidation, as well as galley service methods. The laws eventually changed and focused more on the assimilation and integration of the *Gitanos*, but in the beginning, cruelty was the tone of the agenda. The brutality and harshness of the laws, were reminiscent of the English and their policies. Just like in other countries, Spanish citizens were resentful as well as hostile towards the *Gitanos*. “Supporting the Gypsies strained the lower class’s resources, and the Gypsies seemed to be a threat to Spanish safety, religion, and culture.” (Motomura, 143) The negative perceptions that were circulating were coming from the top down. Government officials as well as the Catholic kings were instilling these ideas into society. The church had a problem with *Gitanos* because of their refusal to convert to Catholicism. Christianity did not allow room for such mystical beliefs. As Motomura points out, for three hundred years each monarch changed and amended decrees of legislations with religious ideals in mind. Motomura quotes Father Pedro de Figueroa when he says that...

Their actions place the Faith in grave danger because they live an impious life, they intend nothing but wickedness, and their life goal is the greater neglect of their soul. Their deceptions are either pacts with the demon, or lies in order to steal... I was correct to call them vassal of the demon because a band of Gypsies is no other but an arm of Satan. (Motomura, 144)

The first laws passed were in 1499, just seven years after the expulsion of the Jews and three years before the removal of the Muslims. “A decree of Catholic Kings (the Pragmatic Sanction of Medina del Campo) stated the Gypsies’ options bluntly: either they became sedentary and sought masters, or after 60 days they would be banished.” (Fraser, 98) This first *Pragmatic*<sup>10</sup> passed on March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1499, was followed by a second in 1502. This new Pragmatic was not as focused on expelling the *Gitanos* but on using them for their own Royal benefit. The amendments, which followed, allowed the *Gitanos* to stay up to three months and after that point were forced into the galleys. Those who refused were severely beaten and forced to work. In 1539, the Pragmatic was redefined and stated that all *Gitano* men between the ages of twenty and fifty were to be put in galleys for six years.

King Charles the I, who became Emperor Charles V after bribing his way to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire in 1519, renewed these provisions several times and added some refinements of his own: those caught wandering for the third time could be seized and enslaved for ever; and those who did not settle or depart within 60 days were to be sent to the galleys for six years if between the ages of 20 and 50. (Fraser, 99)

There were many revisions to these laws. Each time they were more severe punishments outlined. By the 1550’s Castilian *Cortes*<sup>11</sup> were relentless towards the *Gitanos* and created harsher laws which were more restrictive on their lifestyle and way of being. Now women were under attack and any female who dressed like a *Gitano* was punished. This time around, any able-bodied male was sent to work in the galley. As Fraser points out, there was a compulsion for law-making yet a defective implementation of those laws. The Spanish justice system was flawed. The first one hundred years were defined

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<sup>10</sup> *Pragmatic*- used as a noun; this is an imperial decree that becomes part of the fundamental law of the land.

<sup>11</sup> *Cortes*- Spanish word for courts. “The Cortes is the most powerful governmental institution of the state. It is made up of a lower house, the Congress of Deputies, and an upper chamber, the Senate.” (<http://countrystudies.us/spain/>)

both by the amount of laws that were made and also for the ineffectiveness of those laws. You could use Motomura's classification of goals and methods, and suggest that these first one hundred years established the goals of the Spaniards, to expel the *Gitanos*. The next one hundred-and-fifty-years classified the new methods of controlling the population of Spanish *Gitanos*.

Laws were extreme yet ineffective. However, after the 1550's there was a triumph on Spain's part in following through with the agenda. The goal was not only to solve the *Gitano* problem by expulsion or annihilation, but now assimilation and extermination of the *Gitano* identity was the main objective. What was beginning to happen was that the country was not acknowledging the *Gitano* identity at all. In order to expedite assimilation laws, there was an erasing of the *Gitano* past. "...the denial of Roma ethnicity led the Spanish into relentless suppression of every manifestation of distinctiveness, such as language, costume, lifestyle and traditional trades." ( Leblon, 20) Extermination was key, but not in the same tone as Romania, England or Scotland. Instead Spain felt that assimilation and the erasing of their identity was the best way to solve the problem. This obliterating of a people was inspired by Philip II. He pushed for a forced assimilation package, which was to break up the *Gitano* families and displace them all throughout the country. "They suggested that Gypsy men and women be separated and forced to marry non-Gypsy peasants, and that their children be raised in orphanages until the age of ten." ( Motomura, 148) The tone of Phillip II's laws laid the groundwork for the future. Both Phillip III and Phillip IV pushed for more assimilation of the *Gitano* community. They continued what Phillip II had started, which was the erasing of the *Gitano* identity. They treated the *Gitanos* as Spaniards and not as separate entities.

This conceptual shift blurred the character of the community and instilled the idea that *Gitanos* are errant Spaniards.

This law was extremely coercive and most brutal up to date. ...It said that “those who call themselves Gitano’s are not so by origin or by nature but have adopted this form of life for such deleterious purposes as are now experienced.” Thus, because Gypsies were supposed to be merely delinquent Spaniards, he declared that “Gitano” was no longer a word. Gypsy dress and customs were to be abandoned and their colonies to be broken up: Gypsies could not participate in performances, speak Romany, live in their traditional Gypsy barrios... marry each other or meet with other Gypsies. The punishment for these offenses were six years in the galleys for men and flogging and banishment for women... (Motomura, 149)

A trend was occurring. *Gitanos* were not only forced to assimilate but the punishment for violating such laws was extreme. Although many members of the monarchy idealized their agenda of assimilation, the reality was that the laws were ineffective. Because of this, there was a new movement to hunt down the *Gitanos* and exterminate or enslave them in the galleys. This shift came from the economical realities of the 1600’s. Phillip IV found himself in one of the deepest economic depressions of Spain. Consequently, the pragmatic king changed some of the laws and allowed the *Gitanos* to stay in the country. By 1639 he had amended the laws to state that all *Gitano* men had to row in the galleys. As we have seen before, in theory, these laws worked but in reality, they fell short from completing their goal.

In 1692, under Charles II, there was an ambiguous tone to the *Gitano* policies. Assimilation and annihilation were both stated as the goal but the methods were vague. “Under Spain’s next ruler, Charles II, Gypsy policy became even more muddled than before. He took steps both to assimilate and exclude Gypsies, making his goals somewhat unclear.” ( Motomura, 151) The ambiguity of his laws had little affect on the *Gitanos*. With the marriage of the Hapsburgs and Bourbons, the Bourbons used a new approach. This time a set of laws stated that *Gitanos* were to be hunted and at any sign of resistance,

were to be shot. The pursuing of *Gitanos* was severe and the bounty hunters of Spain followed them into the mountains and outskirts of the country. There *Gitanos* were forced into galleys or killed. This complex system continued for many years. “Gypsies were excluded from many areas throughout Spain, and indeed, their approved places of residence were limited to forty-one specific towns across the country.” (Motomura, 153) By 1726 laws got worse, *Gitanos* especially women, were outlawed from certain cities, especially those where royal engagements took place. They were not allowed to leave their assigned cities, enter churches and would not be seen by any judicial system in Spain. By 1747, there were yet another set of laws, which pushed for a *Gitano* raid. This time the hunts were more effective but galleys were no longer used.

Ferdinand VI accepted the bishop’s advice, and the raid was carried out at the end of July 1749, with military assistance. According to calculations made at the time, between 9,000 and 12,000 Gypsies were marched off in it. In deciding where to employ them, the governments’ options had recently altered. The galleys had been abolished in 1748, improvements in naval technology having made them redundant, and the main alternative now lay in transforming the navy yards and arsenals into penal establishments, where the chained prisoners could perform the heavy labor of construction and maintenance. (Fraser, 164)

Most of the men seized in the raids ended up in the arsenals. The conditions were horrendous and for approximately sixteen years, *Gitanos* lived in facilities where diseases, malnourishment, along with exhaustion, were the norms. This was the reality for the *Gitanos* captured in the raids, but those who were still “free” were hunted in a ruthless manner. At night, those cities hosting the *Gitano* communities were searched and *Gitanos* were taken out of their homes and sent to the arsenals. Eventually, by 1763, some of those captured during the raids were released. Under Ferdinand VI’s successor and half brother, Charles III “attempted to set free the men held from the 1749 raid. He was strongly opposed by his advisors for two years, but in 1765 he succeeded in releasing

the Gypsies.” (Motomura, 154) By 1772, the government was accepting the *Gitanos*. Spain recognized them as a people and granted them the same rights that Spaniards had to education, health care and employment. This shift is unclear yet significant.

In 1778, Charles III’s policies broke with previous legislation entirely and made no distinction between *Gitanos* and Spaniards. This trend continued for the next fifty years and while government was changing its tone, *Gitanos* were settling throughout the country. This shift does not imply that the *Gitano* persecution had come to an end, but it does reflect that the monarchy took less of an interest, on a political level, of the Roma community. When the topic of Franco and the flamenco art form enters our discussion, we will see how government input will resurface and affect the *Gitano/Gadje* relationship. For now, our analysis of the Roma nation will end with the *Gitano* community. Although they continued to travel throughout the rest of the world, that history is not pertinent to our discussion of flamenco.

### ***Summary of Chapter***

In summary, the migration of the Roma nation from India to Spain resulted in centuries of persecution. This complex history polarized communities and created a tension between the Roma and *Gadje*. The forced expulsions coupled with acts of slavery and cruel treatment, enabled the nomadic tendencies of the Roma nation. The culture, over the course of time, became sedentary in some countries, yet in those communities were still denied their basic rights. Among those who were outcast to their host country, was the *Gitano* community from Spain. The in-depth discussion of the laws passed in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth century contextualizes the tension between both groups. This relationship affected future exchanges that eventually included the arts.

The complex Andalusian identity is reflected in the art form yet the paradox of the region includes the *Gitano* community but is not limited to them. As discussed, the southern land had a complex history that lent itself to the incubation of flamenco. This symbiotic relationship needs to be analyzed but the understanding of who the Roma are will assist in the deconstructing of this connection. The next chapter *Gypsy/Roma Identity: The Core Elements* will expose nuances of the culture which will offer insight into the Roma/*Gadje* relationship.

## CHAPTER TWO- GYPSY/ROMA IDENTITY: THE CORE ELEMENTS

### ***Chapter Introduction***

In an effort to understand the social exchanges between the *Gitanos* and Andalusians, there needs to be an understanding of the Roma as a collective. Therefore, an analysis of the nation's identity must be thoroughly discussed. The Roma are autonomous groups who have a history of experiencing hostility, endured centuries of expulsion and forced movement, while maintaining a high degree of economic adaptability. The identity of the Roma is difficult to describe because they are a group of diverse communities with different needs and have a range of capabilities, living in wide variety of different geographical, social, political and cultural environments. Throughout history, there has been a gross simplification of their rather complex system. This collective is filled with subgroups and so in an effort to answer the question of what a Roma is and how that identity is formed, I will draw on Liégeois' term of the *mosaic* one more time.

This image of a mosaic is a metaphor for the Roma identity. Because of their nostalgic past, elements that feed into the identity of the Roma, are the collective visions of a shared origin which is associated with ancient traditions, moments and geographical places as well as their social memory. I will try to depict the Roma people and their multiple communities by describing how the construction of identity happens within, as well as outside, Roma society. I will divide their identity into two parts: *intrinsic*<sup>12</sup> and

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<sup>12</sup> *Intrinsic*-actions of the Roma community that are only shared with members from the nation or "in-group." These elements that are specific to the Roma community make up the private aspects of their identity.



*extrinsic*<sup>13</sup>. These categories will be used to describe the numerous exchanges between the Roma and *Gadje*, as well as how boundaries are defined and redefined. However, before I elaborate on these two components, I want to delve into the process of how identity is formed and why it is important to our discussion of the Roma community's survival and distinctiveness. The Roma community sometimes behaves as a collective and operates as a solid unit. This ideology is a building block in the construction of Roma identity.

Collectives function by establishing domains where customs are common and specific to that group. These norms are presented and expressed within a framework particular to that community, which allows for the embodiment of such ideas and rituals to turn into a cultural reproduction. These manifestations are then symbols as well as signs of recognition which allow a communal discourse to form. Identity involves a hierarchy of norms which affects and acts as a regulator of actions and behaviors. This hierarchy must include a collective that is "judgmental" of certain activities while condemning others. These regulators anchor the collective within the larger body of society where "a system of moral regulation is, therefore, central to collective existence; the absence of it means anomie, fragmentation and desolation." (Schöpflin, 2) Active and passive components of identity construction allow members to navigate safely between the essentials and the nominal. These assumed identities help people make sense of the world they live in. It anchors them in a core of beliefs and values, which allow them to maneuver in and out of their group securely.

Members affix themselves to these groups and hierarchies for various reasons. For the Roma community, identity is at the core of describing who they are. Unlike citizens

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<sup>13</sup> *Extrinsic*- actions from the Roma community that occur due to the mixing of Roma and *Gadje*.

from other countries where there is a sense of nationalism which is composed of a common language, as well as a land to call home, the Roma community does not have this per se. True they originated from India, but they are defined by their dispersal throughout the world, and are usually considered guests in host countries. These factors affect how we must measure their identity. Other communities, when self-identifying, might use language, political affiliations, birth land and rights, as well as geographic boundaries. When those components are not present and constant among all of the members of that community, different characteristics serve as the markers of identity. For the community, the three main components of Roma identity are measured through the family and social structure, the Roma and *Gadje* interaction, and their attitudes on health. These three branches will be discussed in great detail further into this section, but for now I want return to the importance of identity within the Roma community.

Roma identity is important because it allows for self-preservation as individuals as well as a culture. Because there is not one Roma culture, but instead multiple components that comprise the whole, to try to make a list of specific traits falls short and does not really describe them as a people.

Definitions of ethnicity that list traits are clearly insufficient in explaining the Gypsy case. Naroll, for example, defines an ethnic group as a group of people who share fundamental cultural values expressed by unified cultural forms. The Rom do share fundamental cultural values; however their cultural forms are not shared. Perhaps the underlying cultural structure of life is shared, but its manifestations are variable because Gypsy culture is situationally dependent. There is not one Gypsy culture but rather a Gypsy worldview that produces many variations of Gypsy culture depending on the particular environment. (Silverman, 273)

It is important to keep Silverman's definition in mind when thinking of the Roma community. Oftentimes the recognition of them as a people who not only exist but have an effect on the world, is denied. Many *Gadje* consider the Roma to be a made up

personality. This has occurred because of the negative perceptions that have surrounded their history and identity. Nevertheless, they are a collective who believe that they, as a community, form a nation of multiple backgrounds. “Romani people see themselves belonging to a diverse nation of Romani people, who, although dispersed throughout the world, share similar historical, cultural, and linguistic ties which set them apart as a nation of people.” (Smith, 244) This sentiment along with their distinctive actions that maintain their autonomy, set them apart from other nations.

These divisions between cultures are not always self-regulated. Often times, identity is affected by the information circulating outside the specific community, rather than what is solely in it. For example, a Roma is perceived by the *Gadje* as inferior. This opinion exists because of the molds established by the *Gadje*. These norms remain in place and any individuals not adhering to the standard(s), are then different and somehow less. Many of the images of the Roma are a result of a much bigger structure, which could be analyzed using Edward Said’s concept of *Orientalism*<sup>14</sup>. Said’s work highlights the assumptions made by various paradigms of thought, which use stereotypes to steer discourse in a certain direction. These models divide rather than describe or examine the issue, and this way of seeing has often been used to identify what a Roma is. One approach that has been applied to analyze the Roma identity is to depict them in relation to the host countries norms. Because of the uncertain information surrounding the Roma community, the *Gadje* use themselves as a reference point to discuss the Roma population.

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<sup>14</sup> *Orientalism*- “As depicted in Said’s *Orientalism*, the West created a dichotomy of the West versus the East, and attributed specific characteristics to each, including civilized versus barbaric, advanced versus backward, virtue versus vice, rational versus irrational, and knower versus known.” (Askew, 131)

...this ambiguity surrounding the term gypsy is in fact of more relevance to 'us' ( the house-dwelling population) and our understanding of ourselves, our modernity, and our civilization, than it is to 'them' (travellers): that 'gypsy' is best understood as a projection of our own profound sense of ambiguity concerning modernity. To put this differently, one might say that modernity is in relationship of difference to its other. (Sandland, 385)

This mentality nourishes the foundation of *Latent Orientalism*<sup>15</sup>. By the *Gadje* anchoring themselves as the norm and the Roma as the individual outside that model, reinforces what Said would argue is the institution of Orientalism. This mindset affects how the *Gadje* perceive the Roma, and as a result influences the Roma identity.

'Gypsy' conceptually, transfers this fragility from 'us' to 'them', and as such is seen as a strategy for the deferral of contradiction. Judith Okely ...argues that for the house-dwelling population gypsies are seen as "closer to nature" and "wild and free". Lloyd in a similar vein, has argued that 'travellers' occupy a profoundly symbolic role... representing a lack of order, non-conformity and a freedom from the everyday rules of life which apply in the non-traveling world'. (Sandland, 391)

As Sandland highlights, the impressions of the *Gadje* towards the Roma affects how discourse is formed. Although the construction of identity seems to be independent of other groups, this is simply not true. To illustrate this point, in *Chapter 3- Science and Art in Spain: From Eugenics to the Bullring*, I will analyze the effects of eugenics and how the biological features of the Roma led the *Gadje* to study them on a scientific level. In closing, the construction of identity is not always voluntary, although there are always active and flexible components that go into the formation of that identity. The identity of a Roma is vital to understanding who they are as a people. This point of entry will allow me to engage in the analytical discussion of the intrinsic and extrinsic elements of the Roma community.

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<sup>15</sup> *Latent Orientalism*- is the unconscious, untouchable certainty about what the Orient is. Its basic content is static and unanimous. The Orient is seen as a separate, eccentric, backward, silently different, sensual, and passive. It has a tendency towards despotism and away from progress. It displays feminine penetrability and supine malleability. Its progress and value are judged in terms of, and in comparison to, the West, so it is always the Other, the conquerable, and the inferior. (online, <http://www.english.emory.edu/Bahri/Orientalism.html>)

In *Chapter 1- Gypsy/Roma History: From India to Spain*, I introduced two terms: *in-group* and *out-group*. In-group describes those individuals following the Roma traditions, customs, language, and inner-workings of the culture. Out-group depicting those living among the Roma community, but not necessarily agreeing nor accepting the culture and its idiosyncrasies. These two terms return and will be clarified in more detail. The in-group and out-group labels come into our discussion of the intrinsic and extrinsic elements of the Roma identity. The intrinsic elements of the Roma population are only shared with what would be considered the in-group members. The extrinsic components of the Roma identity maneuver between the in-group and out-group members. As stated earlier, the three main elements of the Roma identity are the importance of the family and social structure, the Roma and *Gadje* interactions, and views on health. These three elements define what a Roma “is” and each piece falls into an intrinsic or extrinsic category. Now, I will begin the discussion of the three components using the intrinsic and extrinsic labels as the model to simplify each grouping.

### ***Family and Social Structure***

The family and social structure of the Roma community is crucial when describing their identity as a whole. Constant among all of the groups is commitment to the family unit and community. They are a close knit group of people who not only value and respect their society, but place great importance on how that unit functions collectively as well as with individuals who are not Roma. Community is central to the Roma identity because through this circle an infrastructure of principles, morals and standards are upheld. The Roma identity has lasted centuries of persecution because of their ability to rely on one another and their oral tradition.

Their social organization is forever fluid, yet has an internal vitality. The inner cohesion and solidarity of the Gypsy community lies in the strong family ties which are their basic and only constant unit. The larger groups of family units, the horde, they call the *Kumpania*. ...They keep in touch with each other through a web of secret contacts. Unlike the Jews, they share neither a Messianic visionary cult nor the consciousness of a great historical past. Oral Traditions survive only through strong genealogical awareness. (Yoors, 5)

This awareness is embedded in their everyday interactions with one another. They are constant and deliberate with their actions. This sense of community describes the intrinsic components of the society. The Roma identity functions in an internal structure as well as an external one. I will describe the intrinsic elements of their identity and describe how this affects their community.

Interpersonal and intrapersonal interactions feed into the identity of an individual, community, culture, region and nation. The intrinsic components of the Roma community rely heavily on intrapersonal dialogues which are reflected in the interpersonal interactions with its community members. Their essence as a people is unique because they have endured years of persecution. They are special not in their character but in the way they live out that character. They are a people who try to stick together and honor their traditions. Those traditions do not necessarily draw on a continuous past but on an assumed continuity which makes those rituals part of the collective memory. This shared remembrance feeds into the dialogue of the Roma as a whole. In some clans, they only remember up to four generations of history, there is a nostalgic element to the Roma identity. There is an idealizing of a past which has been lost that romanticizes the history as well as a reinvention of a tradition that occurs. One way to see how they honor their past is through the discussion of how they mourn their dead.

## Mourning the Dead

Anthropologist Patrick Williams has observed the manner that Roma mourn their dead. Among the Roma, much individuality is removed from the mourning process, and instead the person is viewed as a community member, and not only an individual from a particular family. This is not to say that Roma are not individuals within their culture, but to associate a name with the instance of death is uncommon. If a member of the Roma community dies and they are from a particular clan, the member will not be “Carmen Amaya,” instead she would be, “one of the mothers from the Amaya clan.” This gesture of removing the individual from the equation allows for an archetypal figure to emerge. Death and mourning become not about a particular human being, but instead the action of a dying mother as a representative and communal figure. This universality of death becomes something that every member from the community can feel. Words are specifically chosen and not names in an effort to evoke feelings from a collective group, and not simply individual members of the clan. This period of mourning calls on the community to unite. The proper name becomes forbidden to use and must be extracted from everyone's everyday vocabulary.

This distinct way of mourning brings what the Roma call integrity or *mulle*<sup>16</sup>, to the forefront. Integrity is a unique characteristic that finds its way into the Roma society. The members of the community revolve around *mulle* and always carry with them this sense of integrity.

It is out of respect that the dead are not evoked or only evoked with extreme precaution. The possibility of mistake torments the dead, error would be a breach of respect,” which in this situation involves the dead's tranquility, the breaching of this which would drive the deceased to turn and trouble the tranquility of the living. The reason a departed possessions have to be destroyed or used as *mulle* objects, that is, with ‘respect,’ lies in

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<sup>16</sup> *Mulle*- Roma word for integrity.

the need for integrity: one should not step in someone else's tracks, or when evoking the past, one should take extreme care to not change these traces in any way. (Williams, 12)

This unique way of honoring the dead raises many questions for the countries hosting the Roma's stay. The community will spend all the money of the deceased on a funeral and burn the member's *taligas*<sup>17</sup>, as an example of how the material objects are not nearly as important as the emotions of that particular person. The feeling and the essence of the deceased leave a residue that *Gadje* tend not to understand. *Gadje* struggle with the fact that Roma react to death in what appears to be forgetting the dead by choosing not to ever utter their name again. Some could view this custom as an action of rebelling against the established codes of mourning. Nevertheless, to the Roma it has nothing to do with deconstructing a unit of order, instead it is a way to allow emotions to be the main impetus for gathering. By dichotomizing a death to "my mother, your mother" the spirit is lost and the universal quality is removed. The Roma attempt to include everyone in the grieving process, allowing for the reality of life's contingency to take shape. This example illustrates the conscious decision that is made when it comes to building community among the Roma. Collectively they understood that one could never say the name Carmen Amaya again. Contrary to what *Gadje* think would happen, that Carmen would be forgotten, the simple act of choosing not to say her name is a memorial in which the essence of who she was is glorified, by respecting the things she loved and did.

In this way, Roma build a unique relationship with one another. The death of a clan member then becomes the business of the entire community. Families come together to decide how they are going to remember the individual, and how *mulle* will be carried out. Integrity is reestablished through the solidarity found within the community. The

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<sup>17</sup> *Taliga*- Roma wagons.



Roma community appears to handle situations in a different way when compared to the *Gadje*. What seems an antithetical gesture is a step towards sharing what I consider the Roma paradox. The courage to mourn in a group is one example of how they build internal community through the sharing of emotions. It is difficult to expose sadness and what makes this action bearable is that there is an innate understanding by the other members of the clan, which dispels feelings of insecurity.

### **Unwritten Law System: *The Kris***

Within the process of mourning, *mulle* was introduced. The integrity of Roma is not only a part of their bereavement rituals. It is also a component of the *Kris*<sup>18</sup>, their Unwritten Law system of control. In every culture there is a normative way of existing, an established way of doing things and an expected social intercourse that tends to occur. However, the normative does not always lead to a universal code of how everyone should behave. The Roma are a perfect example of a culture that has established their unique way of dealing with various situations, in a space where another norm is practiced. To clarify what I mean, I will use the example of the Roma community's *Kris*. The *Kris* is a court within the society that controls the actions of its members. It serves as a tribunal system of justice for the many clans within the Roma nation. Many tribes have their own form of *Kris*, and often times the informal justice system can serve as a unifying component of the Roma nation.

The kris is basically a meeting of group members in which a specific conflict relating to inter-group relations, mainly between families, is discussed and some resolution of this dispute is reached. It should be said, though, that this does not encompass all of the reasons for which a kris can be called. For example, the kris has been called to discuss how Gypsies should approach governments with regards to claiming reparation payments from those killed in Nazi Germany. The kris is also called when there is a dispute

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<sup>18</sup> *Kris*- Roma unwritten law system of control.

between different Gypsy groups. In this sense the kris can be seen as creating international law amongst distinct Gypsy communities. (Caffrey and Mundy, 254)

As Mundy and Caffrey established, the *Kris* is an informal system that functions as a decision making body that discusses the differences between clans while also being a third party external to disputes. This is important to reiterate because although each community has their own version of the *Kris*, the system is universal among all clans. This highlights the metaphor of the mosaic once again.

The Roma are a nation but not a homogenous one. Because there are so many clans that comprise the Roma people, the *Kris* is an intrinsic element of that larger body. The *Kris* is a primary means of social control that functions to maintain order within the community, and it serves to preserve the culture of the society. The *Kris* maintains unity while maintaining balance among the Roma individuals. It is comprised of elders of the community and those who have “shown themselves to have good skills in conflict resolution and a particularly good knowledge of the principals upon which the Rom should act.” (Caffrey and Mundy, 255) Members of the community choose the *Krisnitorya*<sup>19</sup>, who are not judges and differ in the way some Western judicial systems work. They do not offer a final judgment and there is no ruling of one party over another. They merely offer suggestions and their function is to re-establish balance among the entire Roma unit. In essence, it is a higher form of teaching used to maintain social order among the Roma individuals. The *Kris* waits for all disputing parties to be satisfied with the courts suggestions and does not dismiss anyone’s concerns or feelings. In essence, there is a higher code of ethics at work because no assumptions are made concerning the individuals or families in the court, and judgment is not passed nor is judgment a part of

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<sup>19</sup> *Krisnitorya*- members who chair the *Kris* and have the most influence over its decisions.

the *Kris*' goal. The *Kris* serves as a place where individuals own up to their faults and in that, the integrity or *mulle* of a person or family, is restored.

The process through which individuals are revealed to be guilty or liable to make reparations is one which does not directly involve the use of any specialized third party at all, but rather makes the individual and his or her kin responsible for the enforcement of a decision, a decision which is made by themselves. (Caffrey and Mundy, 256)

This might sound contradictory because earlier I said that the *Kris* does not pass judgment on members approaching the court. This is true. The manner which individuals restore their image among other members of the clan is by facing and being completely honest in their company. Community is an intrinsic part of the Roma society and this component can be used as a form of punishment for those who attended the *Kris*. Punishment occurs within the visibility of the community. Because the community supports the system, they also follow what the *Kris* suggests. Therefore, if fault is not admitted in front of the *Krisnitorya*, then the community also takes offense. In some way this constructs a sense of pressure from the community on its members, but it also holds them to a higher standard. Shame is a serious offense in the Roma community and members will try never to bring upon themselves or their kin a judgment or sentiment of disgrace. When shame is admitted and branded onto a clan, the individuals must move away and in a way preserve their Roma community by removing themselves from it. "This entails the guilty party voluntarily moving away from the group in which they have been living in order to avoid these against whom an offense has been committed." (Caffrey and Mundy, 257) Although harsh, the degree of integrity that the Roma uphold maintains a form of democracy. Members do not have laws imposed on them nor is there a system of regulations that the member goes through to 'prove' their rehabilitation. There is no form of punishment or curing of a person; instead, there is an internal system

which honors an ideology of integrity. Community is idealized and individuals must act accordingly.

This sense of community does have a hierarchy. As stated earlier, the *Krisnitorya* is comprised of individuals who have an understanding of the Roma infrastructure. This body of people is made up primarily of men. Although women are not excluded per se, from holding position in the *Krisnitorya*, they rarely are found in that rank. Along those same lines, when disputing parties assemble in the *Kris*, elderly and children are given priority. "...it would appear that the elderly command greater respect and thus greater "rights" to protection against certain types of behavior than younger members of the community. Also, ...Gronfors notes that the very young are likewise protected from acts of violence against them." (Caffrey and Mundy, 260) The concepts of "rights" are unique among the Roma community. Its elders and children are valued along with the main goal being the preservation of unity. Among the *Kris*, there is no universal right and wrong. In this manner, individuals are not attacked but actions are deemed threatening to the community as a whole and it is this which needs to change, not the individual. Therefore, there is a desire to change the act and the repercussions of the action and not the offender. It reiterates the point I made earlier, that the *Kris* does not function in a manner where people see the need to cure or reform an individual, but instead they need to help this individual refine their actions. "In contrast to what Foucault has referred to as the constant searching for knowledge of the individual offender, the main concern of the Roma justice is with the correction of the act and not with the correction of the offender." (Caffrey and Mundy, 260) This removes any blame on the accused and allows room for growth. Therefore, addressing the individual in each circumstance, without a preset mold,

preserves the community by always addressing what that individual needs. To fix the offender uses the ideology that laws should be imposed by a third party. This external system, which enforces principals not valued by the community, is dangerous and threatening to them as a nation. The Roma community and its *Kris* do not have formal agents that set agendas or state which topics have priority. Everything is vital and if taken to the *Kris* will be dealt with. However, the established ideology favors and values its elders and children.

Gypsy communities are ones in which no formal agent exists to set the agenda regarding which offenses are a priority and which are not. As a result, there is a much closer fit between the priorities of the community and the kinds of cases which get dealt with by it. Moreover, the kris system is one which treats each case as unique, that is, as an opportunity for making law as opposed to merely dispensing it. (Caffrey and Mundy, 263)

In closing, the community is fully involved. There are no professionals appointed. The *Krisnitorya*, which is a collective of elected wise members, allows the community to anchor itself in its ideals while preserving a core element of their culture. This component of the *Kris* makes up a part of the in-group's intrinsic identity. This identity is constructed not only in the manner which in-group members approach, act and react to the *Kris*, but also in how they educate their people. To highlight another manner which community is established among the Roma, I will describe the manner which children are educated within Roma circles. This analysis continues our discussion of the first components of Roma identity, which are family and societal structures.

## **Education within the Roma Nation**

The Roma nation has a unique outlook on community. It is idealized and its principals always have the whole in mind. Up to this point, we have established that the intrinsic components of the society are based on its idiosyncrasies when dealing with

death, justice, and the manner which people uphold integrity. Now I want to delve into how its members learn such rituals and beliefs. The Roma community places great importance on educating their young. The in-group and the out-group differ in the way they pass on traditions from one generation to the next. The Roma's intrinsic value of community stays at the forefront of the situation.

A child's identity is shaped by the norms, values, and behaviors of the culture in which he or she is raised. In the Romani Gypsy society socialization occurs via the extended family network. ...Romani children are encouraged to show independence from an early age, they rarely receive physical punishment and they learn to understand and read the verbal and non-verbal communications signals of adults in their community at a much earlier age than their non-gypsy counterparts. Traditional Romani education is community education. (Smith, 243)

Education among the in-group is community-centered but within the out-group this differs. Schooling is not regulated nor guided by structures that divide individuals; instead, there is interconnectedness among all generations. The community raises the child. This cultivates a sense of individuality and a personality where the child learns to explore its surroundings. An independent nature is not only encouraged but also instilled at a young age, and this conduct allows the intrinsic elements of the in-group to be passed on.

In most Gypsy communities the family and the extended kinship network are the primary influences in a Romani child's life. ...Family members teach Gypsy children to respect adults, themselves, and the group by including them in the day-to-day activities of the community. ...In traditional Romani communities children are encouraged to be independent from an early age. This prepares them for the social and economic responsibilities of adolescence when they will be expected to marry, work full-time, and raise a family on their own. Independent behavior is reinforced in a number of ways such as encouraging children to seek and prepare their own food, dress themselves, put themselves to sleep without supervision, and care for younger children. (Smith, 245)

These rituals cultivate the in-group's identity. However, there are often time clashes between the manner, in which in-group members want to raise children and how out-group members feel things should occur. The state or host country tries to enforce a

dominant set of values on to the Roma community, but this is not always possible. Tension arises because assumptions from the *Gadje* presume that all Roma households “view school as important, that parents are literate and, therefore, able to understand the nature of their children’s school work, ...provide adequate time and space to do homework, and they often assume that money is available for school uniforms, books, and school activities.” (Smith, 244) This is simply not true. Roma communities do not have these ideal settings for their children. However, it is important to remember that this assumption of what is ideal is based off the *Gadje* standards not the Roma. Many Roma are victims of structural violence where racism, poverty and a lack of access to essential services have inhibited their own understanding of the *Gadje* lifestyle. In return, a feeling of distrust has been lodged into their psyche, so they choose not to partake in any activities of the outside world, even for educational purposes. One should not discern that Roma communities do not value education, because they do, but their idea of education is not limited to a classroom. To the Roma nation, *Gadje* institutions are not “direct fits” with the Roma standards.

The in-group places a high importance on their community and way of co-existing. The out-group can be a threat to those principals and thus the Roma attempt to keep their autonomy by being exclusive from influences of the outside world. “Increasingly the intrusion of outside influences such as television, videos, the radio and school affect the willingness of Romani adolescents to accept traditional practices and gender assigned roles.” (Smith, 246) Because of this, the *Gadje* influence is deemed negative and so the intrinsic components of the Roma community and how they educate their children are idealized. This in return causes friction between the Roma communities

and *Gadje* within the host country. Oftentimes the in-groups actions, customs and conduct is misinterpreted by out-group members. However, their actions are deliberate and clear from the in-groups perspective. Their educational system maintains the order and nourishes the Roma identity, while it instills values unique to the Roma community into its future generations.

The people-oriented learning environment in which Romani children are educated is, therefore, a distinctive feature of the Romani education system. This education system incorporates a number of values associated with maintaining social cohesion. For example, the needs of the Romani community are considered to be more important than an individual's need for social mobility. Family and the extended kinship network provide children with a sense of security, permanency, and confidence. (Smith, 247)

These values are transferred to the individual, which affects how the community as a whole exists. This individual character is fostered at a young age and the autonomy the Roma nation has, is a reflection of this character instilled and cultivated by its individuals and its education system at a young age.

Another important component of their education system is the use of storytelling. Because they are a nation who honor an oral history tradition, the use of storytelling is critical in understanding the interactions between generations. It is used not only to teach children how to read verbal and non-verbal communication, but also to instill a sense of pride among children. Storytelling lays the foundation for future interactions between Roma and non-Roma individuals. To learn the power of speech is eventually a part of a survival mechanism by the Roma. Work and artistic exchanges, as well as the preservation of traditions, become dependent of storytelling techniques. Later into this paper I will describe in more detail how storytelling and the ability to read and use verbal and non-verbal gestures is crucial in the many exchanges between the Roma and non-Roma, but for now I will simply introduce it for the sake of clarifying how important it is



to the intrinsic identity of the Roma. “Knowledge in traditional Romani society is passed on orally. It is usually associated with the wisdom of the elderly, who remember traditional customs and stories and have gained insight and intelligence through life experiences.” (Smith, 249) Oral tradition is maintained through storytelling. These in-group tactics preserve the Roma identity and allow it to flourish for future generations.

Another component of the Roma education system is non-verbal communication. As touched on earlier, this form of speech is important to the discussion of work exchanges. Therefore, I want to elaborate a bit on how non-verbal communication is established within the in-group. Because the Roma nation throughout history has engaged in migratory practices, their preservation tactics have also developed. Within the Roma community, learning how to survive has been critical. Activities and school related events are important models that should instill life-lesson facts where children learn to work for the betterment of their clan and community. Children should not engage in frivolous activities or joyous game playing that have no tangible attachment to surviving. Abstract ideas and facts mean nothing to the Roma community, therefore education is not solely about learning from others. Instead, it is about being capable of engaging in actions and decision-making choices that are important to the survival of the community. One should learn these values from elders and honor their non-verbal teachings by embodying them, in hopes to pass them on in the future.

A Romani child spends most of the day in the family camp, at the home of a family member, or accompanying a member of the family on a job, where he or she may or may not interact with non-Gypsy people and their environments. The classroom, by comparison, is a place which children must attend every day, and where they are taught by a teacher who is not a family member. In most mainstream classrooms, ...children are expected to remain seated in a closed environment where rules exist about orderly behavior, attentiveness and discussion. (Smith, 248)

The mainstream *Gadje* classroom is not in agreement with Roma values. The relationship between children and adults is non-dual in a Roma circle but within the *Gadje* model, the teacher has knowledge, which is imparted and sometimes deposited into its students. On the other hand, the Roma classroom develops and nurtures confidence and independence in their children. It fosters a resilience that is unique to their intrinsic way of living. They co-exist with their surroundings and this relationship with their world requires a unique educational approach. The Roma system cultivates an understanding where tangible work ethics are instilled and upheld. This is why school to a Roma member should preserve principles and teach young individuals ways in which they can participate in non-verbal conversations. For example, a nomadic past inculcated an entire language that was only spoken within members of the in-group. This dialect was non-verbal and taught its children how to leave trail signs on their journey. *Patrins*<sup>20</sup> left were a form of communication for clans traveling on the same journey.

Children learn to read and understand verbal and non-verbal adult communication skills such as language, gestures, postures, facial expressions, whistling signals, vocalizations and hand signals at an early age. *Patrins* or trail signs, for example are coded messages usually constructed from items found in the natural environment such as sticks, pebbles and branches. These messages are left at particular points along the road by nomadic and semi-nomadic Romanies. ...Children learn about the preparation of trail-signs by watching adults creating them and observing where they are placed. This form of non-verbal communication helps children to remember certain landmarks and features of the surrounding landscape, and it familiarizes them with the particular routes along which the group is traveling. (Smith, 247)

Reliance on both verbal and non-verbal communication is critical. Roma take education seriously and refuse to justify their customs to those members of the out-group. *Gadje* tend not to understand the various reasons that Roma do things the way they do, but this is partly due to the inability to appreciate the various components of their identity.

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<sup>20</sup> *Patrins*- Trail signs left as a form of communication for clans traveling on the same journey.

These intrinsic traditions maintain order, continuity, and cultivate a thread of homogeneity among the various Roma clans. Mourning the dead, educating the young and honoring an oral history tradition, are implicit among the Roma community. When the in-group and the out-group meet, sometimes what was once hidden from the *Gadje*, now becomes visible to them. The interculturalization of both groups occurs but not at the price or attached to the loss of the ethnic identity of the Roma. Instead it is seen as an adaptation from the in-group towards the out-group. This adjustment made by the Roma, sets up a boundary which is either maintained or crossed, based on situations. The boundaries made between each group are central to the discussion of Roma identity.

### ***Boundary Crossing and Boundary Maintenance***

The in-group and out-group have always lived along side one another but have not always embraced each other's cultural idiosyncrasies that define their identities. The Roma are a unique people who function in a manner that have one goal in mind, to preserve their identity and community. This protection of their intrinsic traditions affects how they interact with the non-Roma community. The nation's extrinsic customs and manners are a reflection of a much bigger objective. The goal of the in-group is to uphold their standards but, when functioning outside of their immediate circle, they must adapt accordingly to the out-group to survive. This next part of our discussion analyzes that moment when the in-group and the out-group meet or prepare to engage in dialogue. I will label all of the shifts from the interaction extrinsic elements of the Roma identity. Both intrinsic and extrinsic components feed the Roma sense of self, and the *Gadje's* role is an important factor.

Roma struggle to establish a sense of collective nationality because they have no “real” nation to call home. What is unique to them is the infrastructure of their community and the manner in which they protect it and their collective identity. The Roma, as a collective, exist in relation to the individual members of their community as well as to those who are not part of it. “Collective and individual identities exist and impact one another reciprocally. In this sense, there is a continuous construction of self both explicitly and through doxa, the world of implicit meanings.” (Schöpflin,1) For the Roma community the art of boundary-making and the use of filters towards the *Gadje*, are used not only to protect their customs but also as a tool for survival. The persecuted race has endured an array of abuse and discrimination. This coercion, consequently has forced the Roma community to protect their identity and the boundaries that come along with their self-preservation tactics.

There is a need to protect what is within to “ensure that ideas external to the community are never received in full, for if they were, they could devastate the sense of collective self by introducing a tidal wave of innovation which the receiving community had no cognitive means of ordering.” (Schöpflin, 3) Establishing identities can be inclusive and exclusive. The manner that this process occurs grows from certain beliefs. “Identities are anchored around a set of moral propositions that regulate values and behavior, so that identity construction necessarily involves ideas of “right” and “wrong”, desirable/undesirable, unpolluted/polluted etc.” (Schöpflin, 1) Often boundaries of no real content dichotomize individuals and communities into right and wrong. These lines are at times blurred when discussing the Roma community, because they live among their host countries and cultivate a distinct ethnicity while they partially assimilate yet stay true to

their traditions. In essence, the Roma partially blend in yet only for the sake of convenience. Within their community, they live according to their beliefs and customs.

This paradox is a major component of the boundary crossing/boundary maintenance tension that makes up the Roma identity. Their ethnic identity is made up of two basic principals: to conceal rather to reveal and to be capable of being socially situational. “A large part of Gypsy ethnicity consists of concealing rather than demonstrating ethnic identity at appropriate times.” (Silverman, 266) This awareness of knowing when to do what is part of the extrinsic composition of the Roma wholeness. For example, Roma are conscious of the negative stereotypes that exist concerning them. name. Because they understand how the out-group views them, they see the interaction between the *Gadje* and the Roma as a moment to not only mask their intrinsic identity but to take on a public face which allows them deal with the *Gadje*. Acting accordingly proves to clan members that they are “real” Roma, upholding the community’s standards.

When dealing with non-Gypsies, Gypsies may sometimes perpetuate and exaggerate the common gahze stereotypes of themselves. Gypsy fortune-telling advertise themselves as spiritual, psychic, religious, foreign, erotic, and exotic healer, gifted with supernatural powers. Gypsies encourage this stereotype not only because it promotes business by fulfilling gahze expectations, but also because it serves to conceal the in-group culture. In effect, the outside world is presented with a surrogate Gypsy culture. (Silverman, 266)

As Silverman points out, the stereotype acts as a shield for the Roma, while increasing sales for the community’s benefit. This relationship makes the extrinsic dialogue a moment where the intrinsic traditions are protected. Opposing relations lead to the construction of groups. These groups categorize individuals and reinforce stereotypes, thus leading to a social system that allows animosity towards the other. Another example of this type of behavior where we see the Roma act out simply as a defense mechanism, is with an account by Jan Yoors.

Yoor, an anthropologist, living among a Roma clan describes one incident where a *Gadje* was watching a Roma. The Roma father was not pleased with the external stare imposed on his son, so in response to the non-verbal dialogue, there was a crude scratching of the private area that was carried out. This in effect made the *Gadje* leave.

The Rom sometimes resorted to scratching themselves persistently in the presence of unwelcome Gaje. With the strangers' departure all scratching ceased. A number of times I have seen old people who disapproved of what they felt was the undue interest of outsiders, start coughing violently, driving the Gaje away by the implication of some contagious, dreaded lung ailment. (Yoor, 51)

To the non-Roma community, this could be interpreted as savage and rude behavior. What the *Gadje* fail to see is that this is an act, a dramatization of sorts that was used by the Roma as a defense mechanism as well as a protective measure. However, these theatrical non-verbal demonstrations, consequentially continue to perpetuate the negative perceptions that revolve around the Roma. This behavioral paradox is present and embraced by members of the in-group. These relationships are central to the Roma identity. Looking closer at this paradox, I will bring into the discussion Spanish *Gitanos* within Andalusia, and highlight the tension between both groups and serve the later discussion of flamenco and the Franco regime.

Within the south of Spain, we have established that Andalusia is an area that is known for its contradictions. I also have elaborated on the laws passed by the Spanish government concerning the Roma presence in the country. The *Gitano* community has not always been respected by the *Gadje* population, and similar to the in-group/out-group paradigm that exists within the rest of the Roma nation, when we focus on Spain, the tension is also present. There is a paradox between these two branches of Spaniards and when the Roma and non-Roma meet, their differences are evident.

Andalusia is commonly known for being a land where reputations, class and traditions affect how the public view its members of the community. Titles and the use of classifying individuals, are used to the benefit of everyone in the country because it maintains order while it reaffirms the ideas of the region. These titles are used to categorize and make sense of the Andalusian population, which includes the Roma community. When the Spaniard labels the *Gitano*, they usually have attached negative derogatory words and adjectives to the community. “Gypsies are said to be inordinately dirty and malodorous. They are also said to be inferior to Castellanos intellectually...” (Brandes, 56) This mindset is transparent and the *Gitanos* are aware of the *Gadje*’s attitude. In return this has also affected how the Roma act when encountering members of the out-group. They too have adopted their own use of titles. “The same can be said for the pejorative Roma term *payo*<sup>21</sup> (literally, “clown” or “churl”), which has essentially the same meaning, with derogatory overtones, as the term *Castellano*.” (Brandes, 57) These terms and labels have become so deeply engrained in the Spanish culture that some embrace them as reality. Members from each group on some level internalize the terms and live them out. As established earlier, the Roma community uses their stereotypes for their own benefit. They find pride in being able to adapt and not conform to the upper class. But, as Brandes points out, sometimes the stereotype is internalized regardless of the members awareness or not.

At the same time, those of the lower class assume a certain defensive pride in the fact that they are unfettered by the excess *etiqueta*<sup>22</sup> of the elite; unlike those of the upper-class these commoners claim, they can use the same utensils throughout several courses of a meal or even on occasion eat with their hands or share a single platter or bowl among all members of the family. In reality, of course, lower-class people have internalized the image that the upper-class people have of them. They feel awkward and graceless, loud

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<sup>21</sup> *Payo*- pejorative Roma term which literally means clown or churl.

<sup>22</sup> *Etiqueta*- Spanish word for etiquette.

and crass, and generally untutored in the social amenities as practiced by the elite. They perceive themselves, in other words, as imperfectly or only partially socialized. ( Brandes, 30)

Although I agree that both groups internalize parts of their stereotypes, I disagree with the extremist perspective of Brandes point. I do not believe that the lower-class naturally accepts the label and “of course” feels inferior to the upper-class. This is an example of what Said would identify as an *Orientalist’s* approach to the understanding of a community that is different from their own. The Roma take pride in being capable of treating the *Gadje* as outsiders. This is part of who they are as an ethnic whole. Therefore, not all lower-class individuals interact with upper-class, simply because this is their only option; some communities have a choice and use it wisely and as a mechanism for survival.

Honesty needs to be clarified within the in-group/out-group relationship. For the Andalusian region, honesty does not always have a positive tone. Oftentimes, honest qualities can lead to negative interpretations. In some instances, being honest has left individuals as victims, where their trustworthy character was used against them. The reversal and manipulation of what is true has often made a respectable trait a dangerous one. For example, in a common saying from Spain, there is a phrase which states that “You should never tell the truth to anybody”. This saying cautions against being completely honest with anyone. “To expose these to anyone, even to a close friend or spouse, is to lay oneself open to possible victimization by providing others with knowledge that can be exploited to their own personal advantage.” (Brandes, 160) The analysis of this saying within this context, can offer insight into why the Roma are such a threat to the *Gadje* society. The *Gitanos* of Spain are not afraid to reveal their emotional and charismatic nature. In essence, they are honest with their feelings and do not refrain



from acting out for the sake of the other. Although they manipulate their actions when confronting the out-group, they do not conform to society's standards. Their actions could be deemed honest in comparison to the *Gadje*, and so one could argue that the out-group members victimize the in-group members for being different from mainstream society. The *Gadje*, on the other hand, veil their emotions but not out of preservation for the community, but out of compliancy to the innate public structure.

A mal tiempo Buena cara" ("In bad times [keep a] good face"), instructs another common proverb. The good face should be maintained not as we might think, merely out of stoic ability to keep our worries to ourselves. Rather, it is a defensive device, a way to keep our worries to ourselves. Rather it is a defensive device, a way to prevent people from discovering our problems, lest they use them against us to cite them in a celebration of our misfortune. ( Brandes, 160)

As Brandes points out, the use of this proverb is a defense mechanism that maintains the status quo.

Another moment where the in-group/out-group paradigm is upheld, is with the use of jokes within the Andalusian community. Jokes are a component of the southern culture that both *Gitanos* and *Gadje* accept and use. In the south of Spain, it is common discourse that *bromas*<sup>23</sup> have a target where someone is victimized.

With *bromas*, as with situation jokes in general, there seems to be a definitive role differentiation between the antagonist and the victim. But the antagonist carries out his action in an entirely good-natured spirit, and the victim is aware instantly that he has been the butt of a humorous exchange. Antagonist, victim, and audience- if there is one- laugh, and all parties are left with a satisfied feeling when the incident is over. No harm intended and non-rendered. (Brandes, 116)

However, not all teasing is free from victimization. Jokes can be used to maintain order and reaffirm the boundaries that already exist between the in-group and out-group members. In a critical observation of the socializing pattern of the region, we see that jokes divide both groups as well as culturally endorse the inferior and superior

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<sup>23</sup> *Bromas*- Spanish word for jokes.

relationship that exists between both the *Gadje* and *Gitanos*. The rapport between the Roma and non-Roma is asymmetrical and the use of *bromas* asserts the dominance and control that the *Gadje* have over the Roma people.

In everyday town life, the joking between lower-class Castellanos and Gypsies is noticeably asymmetrical. I would attribute this asymmetry primarily to the infinitely sharp cast boundaries between Gypsies and Castellanos, particularly to the unthreatened superior status of the latter. (Brandes,126)

Even with the use of jokes, we can examine the crudeness and lack of intolerance towards the *Gitano* culture. This reaffirms the stratification of the community. I return to Liegois' term "mosaic" to close out this section. Earlier I discussed that among the Roma nation a shift is made to maintain the boundaries that exist between the Roma and *Gadje*. These intrinsic and extrinsic elements are contained within the whole of the Roma nation, but do not exclude the *Gadje* community. The three parts that make up the "mosaic" are the family and societal interactions, the Roma and *Gadje* relationship and the importance of health. It is important to note that the *Gadje* are a component of this "mosaic." Their role within the nation and why they have become a part of the Roma identity, will be defined within the work and art exchanges section. Later into this writing, I will clarify these relationships. However, before I do this, I want to describe the third part of Roma identity: Health within the community.

## ***Health***

The final discussion of health will complete our analysis of Roma identity. As we have seen, the Roma community has a distinct way of surviving as well as co-existing. They have their own system of communication and when it comes to health issues and concerns, this practice is community oriented and unit based also. "They have a sophisticated communications system whereby Roma communities in any geographical

area are in close contact with one another and pass along important information about health, welfare, and legal counsel.” (Anderson and Tighe, 283) In this manner, traditions are instilled into younger generations and passed on. Among those customs, we see the idea of *Merimé*<sup>24</sup> emerges.

*Merimé* is a word used to describe the core beliefs pertaining to issues of health among the Roma community. The word literally means dirty, stained, or unclean. These definitions are associated with the Roma community and are used to describe an element of their identity. The nation associates their ideas of health around the purity codes of *merimé*, sometimes spelled *marimé*. The Roma culture has a social infrastructure in place. As discussed earlier, community preservation and boundary maintenance are key components of the “mosaic.” Health and the system of *merimé* feed into the intrinsic and extrinsic relationship between *Gadje* and Roma. “...their pollution beliefs can now be seen as a core element of their cultures, serving to express and reinforce an ethnic boundary and to delineate a fundamental division between Roma and *gadzo*.” (Fraser, 244) *Merimé* is exclusively a Roma belief system. This component falls into the intrinsic part of their identity but also affects the extrinsic side too. *Merimé* is a taboo system that maintains order between Roma men and women and Roma and *Gadje*. The stratification that happens within the society regulates while it creates boundaries between members of the community. Here we see that in-group and out-group relationships are upheld with the help of *merimé*.

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<sup>24</sup> *Merimé*- Taboo system within the Roma community that informs all interactions between male and female and Gypsy and Gadje. It is a concept of defilement which at its roots has several names among varying Roma communities. “The Rom and many the Gypsies from south-eastern Europe use the word *marimé* (‘unclean’), drawn from Greek; *moxado* is the Romani form in England and Wales and *megerdó* that in Poland, both meaning ‘stained’.” (Fraser, 244)

Among the Roma community, health is an important element of their survival that includes a set of codes that must be followed. *Merimé* dictates proper behavior and when a Roma is deemed polluted, this is among the worst insult a Roma can bear.

And for a Gypsy to be declared polluted is the greatest shame a man can suffer, and along with him his household. It is social death, for the condition can be passed on: anything he wears or touches or uses is polluted for others. For a people whom communal life is a major importance, and where marriages, baptisms, parties, feasts and funerals are frequent social occasions, such a sentence as much feared and very effective punishment. Among the Rom, the only way *marimé* status can be revoked is by convening a *kris*. (Fraser, 245)

When these rules are not obeyed, pollution or contamination is branded on the individual. However, there needs to be brief discussion of what is deemed polluted and what is not. Body parts, the female's lower body, people, objects, and certain conversations can all lead to *merimé*. These are taboos among the Roma community because they threaten the purity of their rituals. *Merimé* is a concept that seems abstract and because of the historical inconsistencies among the Roma, some *Gadje* see the culture and its concept as disorganized. However, there are certain ways to wash clothes, dishes and body parts that uphold the ideals of *merimé*. There are also gender distinctions that are highlighted within the taboo system.

The lower body, particularly of the woman, is considered *marimé* and everything associated with it is potentially defiling-genitalia, bodily functions, clothing touching the lower body, and the allusions to sex and pregnancy. Strict washing regulations are enforced, such as separate basins, towels and soaps for the two body zones. A sparkling clean kitchen may still be declared *marimé*: a bowl in which clothing has been washed must not be used for washing face towels and tablecloths or cooking utensils and crockery, and a woman's clothes have to be washed separately from others. She is more polluted, and hence subject to greater restrictions and isolation, during her most sexual periods- puberty, menstruation, pregnancy and immediately after childbirth. (Fraser 245)

A woman is seen as the biggest threat to health. She in many ways can bring *merimé* to men thus making them polluted and unfit to maneuver within the community. This relationship between man and woman and the power and subordination between each

gender will be analyzed further when honor among Spaniards is discussed in a later section. However, returning to the rules that are specific to the Roma and to the customs that keep *merimé* away, boundary maintenance needs to be re-introduced as an extrinsic component to the in-groups' model of health. By upholding their health patterns, Roma not only keep order among themselves but clearly define distinctions between the *Gadje* and Roma. For example, anthropologist Carol Silverman was describing a situation where she witnessed the use of *merimé* to create a boundary between she and another Roma family. In her field study, she describes an interaction where a Roma was asking her bride price. The bride price is the dowry used when a family sells their daughter to another family and marriage is agreed upon. Silverman was working with a family that for our purposes I will call Family X. Family Y was asking for her hand in marriage. Family X quickly tried to show that Silverman had *merimé* and because of this was unfit for marriage.

On one occasion while traveling with a family, the mother introduced me to our Gypsy host as a daughter. Subsequently the host expressed interest in me as a bride for his son. The father, frightened that the host was too serious and wishing to avoid earnest marriage negotiations, quickly changed my status to *gazhi* tutor. In order to prove I was not worth marrying, he told the host that I drop towels on the floor and step over them, and use the same cloth to dry my face as my body. All of this was untrue, but he had to expose my ignorance of Romania (Rom traditions) to prove I was a *gazhi*, and thus undesirable. (Silverman, 264).

As this story clearly articulates, the Roma view the *Gadje* as *merimé* because of their actions. If the *Gadje* behaves and engages in polluted behavior then their environment is also *merimé* and off limits. The Roma see the out-groups environments as second rate to their community and way of living. The in-groups' customs uphold a higher standard which keeps the Roma free of *merimé* and because of this, the Roma try to keep interactions between the groups to a minimum.

Although education has been discussed, I will recall that analysis because it will assist in the understanding of the *merimé*. Health and education are linked and this linkage offers another example of how the in-group/out-group mentality is reinforced. *Merimé* dictates how Roma communities should live their lives. Many Roma isolate themselves from the conventional classroom because they see that it brings *merimé* while it degenerates their core values. The Roma society does not only disagree with the pedagogical approaches within the mainstream classroom, but also feel the *Gadje* environment is a polluted one. School is seen as an equalizer and certain customs like using a public restroom, eating cafeteria food, undressing in a locker room or encountering sex education, all bring Roma children *merimé*.

Another area of conflict involves the toilets. Rom children are toilet trained very early and observe extreme cleanliness. There is not scatological humor in Rom Communities. Men and women do not leave the company of strangers or a guest to go to the toilet. It is not unusual for families to rent a separate apartment and use only the toilet facilities. ...Within Rom tradition asking to go to the restroom is *merimé*. And of course the general design and condition of many public restrooms also would be considered *merimé*. The locker room might be *merimé*. ... For certain traditional families, a pregnant teacher might be *merimé*. ... and all other courses that Rom parents feel should be left in the hands of the family. (Vogel and Elsasser, 71)

To a Roma there is no reason to attend school because, apart from it homogenizing the children, it also brings *merimé*. By upholding their health standards that are intrinsic to their community, the Roma resist conformity to the out-groups way of life. *Merimé*, the institution and the idea of health are partly responsible for the divisions between the *Gadje* and Roma. Although there is pride and an essence to the Roma community that is unique to them, this separating of in-group and out-group continues to perpetuate the alienation of one group from the other. There is no true integration by either party but simply a skewed vision of coexistence from each community.

We have established that health is an intrinsic part of the Roma society. When Roma are among themselves, they understand the innate rules that keep them free of *merimé*. However, in-group members are also aware that there are moments when the line of separation between the *Gadje* and Roma must be crossed. An example where the health component of the Roma identity is intertwined with the *Gadje*, is when a Roma is ill. In these types of situations, the intrinsic parts of the community are protected but at times also shared. In a study by two graduate students working as nursing assistants in a hospital, they observed and documented the doctor/Roma interactions. In an article documenting that situation, Anderson and Tighe describe the intrinsic and extrinsic elements they noticed in the Roma community. The two nurses, as members of the out-group, were able to witness the sense of camaraderie that exists within the society. “This cultural solidarity appears to extend far beyond local or even state boundaries to an almost international awareness among Gypsies of other specific Gypsies in other cities and countries and of way to reach one another.” (Anderson and Tighe, 284) The nurses were also able to sense that the Roma kept their distance from the *Gadje*. In a few instances, they observed that Roma parents encouraged their children to stay away from *Gadje* in the hospital. The two learned that “Romany is, and is expected to remain, a language of Gypsies alone; that Roma law is determined by “the council” and has its own systems of reward and punishment; and that marriage to a *Gadje* is taboo.” (Anderson and Tighe, 284) These observations are critical because they highlight that even when there is limited interaction between both groups, each is aware of the others’ customs. This indicates that Anderson and Tighe also witnessed first hand the importance placed on health.

The Roma society always carries its values and traditions into every situation. In matters of health and when dealing with doctors, clans turn to the community for guidance. Because Roma families are wary of *Gadje*, including *Gadje* doctors, they will usually go to a doctor that has been seen by other members of the nation. Anderson and Tighe observed this behavior when working in the hospital. “The fact that a certain doctor or hospital had once cured a Roma was communicated via the extensive social networks for years after the event...new patients went to previously tested care givers. In one instance families traveled to cities in four states...” (Anderson and Tighe, 284) The larger community, an intrinsic component of the Roma nation, plays a role in the decisions that involve the interactions with the *Gadje*, thus making those moments extrinsic parts of the identity.

The Roma place great importance on their health, so when a member of a clan is sick, the entire clan suffers. When trying to deconstruct how the intrinsic and extrinsic elements of the culture affect everyday interactions with the *Gadje*, illness highlights this distinction.

Health is highly valued by the Gypsies and, when illness struck, they demanded the best specialists and offered to pay any price. Whole families were in crisis over one sick member whom accompanied to, and remained with at, the hospital in defiance of all visiting rules and regulations. (Anderson and Tighe, 284)

Their persistence and motivation to receive the best care, is common among most clans. Roma refuse to conform to the *Gadje* standards and in some situations, they will break hospital rules to show their support to the ill family member. Their determination to support the sick member(s) reflects the resilience that the culture has as a whole and the collective identity.



Earlier in this section I introduced the notion of *Mulle*<sup>25</sup> and how it was upheld when a Roma member dies. I will bring back that discussion to highlight how *mulle* and *merimé* are interconnected. Within the in-group there is a proper and improper way to handle the body of the deceased. Patrick Williams talks about the distinct way that the community mourns the dead and how material items are burned yet a body is never cremated but offered a proper burial. In this fashion, *mulle* is present and *merimé* is honored. Among the community, there is a belief that a dead body is a polluted body and because of this, *merimé* is automatically present. What happens is that the in-group suddenly relies on the out-group to handle the corpse. “As elsewhere, the Roma have little respect for the priest who conducts the burial service, especially since he is charged with dealing with the corpse.” (Okely,158) In this moment the intrinsic dynamics of the Roma community are forced into an extrinsic exchange. This interaction crosses the boundary that is established by the Roma, but it is necessary to maintain principles of health.

In conclusion, health and the taboo system of *merime* uphold the Roma’s ideal of *mulle*. The communities rely on one another to survive. Whether maintaining boundaries, educating their young, convening when someone is ill or gathering as a unit to preserve their traditions, all of these components play a key role in the formation of identity for a Roma. Due to their nomadic tendencies along with the geographical diversity that contribute to the Roma “mosaic,” their collective identity is central in understanding them as a people and nation.

It is important to remember that when two cultures interact there is biculturation that occurs. Whether or not the Roma community acknowledges this exchange, it is

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<sup>25</sup> *Mulle*- Romany word for integrity or respect.

present and their identity is changed and not necessarily for the negative. In some instances, it can be an inspiration to protect what is concretely part of the identity but might question what is not there. This highlights how hierarchy is used within a community, but also illustrates how the values of that community can be challenged. In return, the group is forced to work as a unit in relation to the outsider of that group. In the next section, I will look closer at the exchanges that occur between the Roma and *Gadje*.

### ***Roma Exchanges***

In order to understand the social exchanges between the *Gadje* and Roma, I will make a generalization which claims that each group relatively believes that the other is an outsider to their customs and will always remain so. However, the Roma communities dispersed throughout the world live among host countries and inhabit space within another countries dominant culture. This is important to note before any thorough discussion of work or art exchanges can happen, because during the interactions between each society a new system occurs. Both *Gadje* and Roma are changed by the new encounter, thus leading to an amalgamation of both identities. Whether either group acknowledges the change or accepts that each influences the other, is not the main focus here. I intend to show that both cultures share a geographical space which leads to a symbiotic dependency between the two.

In addition the long tradition of Gypsy cultural innovation is overlooked and devalued. The Gypsies pioneering example of cultural coherence has often been dismissed as hybrid or even diluted if not “degraded.” Yet hybridity has its cultural integrity. Gypsy culture is created sometimes through conflict and usually through specific exchange. In contrast to the classical paradigms, Gypsy culture emerges from culture contact, rather than being an isolate destroyed or undermined by contact. (Okely, 152)

The Roma have always been global citizens and “could in no way be associated with a single territory which was theirs alone.” (Okely, 152) Due to their unique cultural beliefs

and their strong desire to maintain their Roma identity, they feel separate from the *Gadje* but in many ways are still connected to them. We see this relationship underscored when the Roma interact with the *Gadje* for economical, social and artistic purposes. As a culture, the Roma unit is constantly changing on an external level. Yet the core is fundamentally attached to family, social structure, unwritten law system and ideas of health.

In fact we already have in the Gypsies or the Roma a centuries-old tradition of interlocking cultures between the Gypsies and non-Gypsies variously named Gadzos or gorgios by Gypsies. Rather than being confronted with a sudden change, Gypsies have changed all along, through time and space. They are both an example of culture in the borderlands and of continuous meaning-making in the face of a dominant encircling system with the greater political and economic power. (Okely, 153)

When uncovering where these markers of identity come from, the manner in which people are socialized offers insight. The interaction leads each group to adapt to the other. As stated earlier, the hybridization of each group is inevitable, but conflict arises when one group does not want to acknowledge the changes that come along when two cultures live beside one another. This happens whether welcomed or not and this tension will be highlighted after a brief overview of specific exchanges between these two groups.

## **Work Exchanges**

Cultural and social exchanges occurred frequently throughout the Roma migration. Amongst those transactions were economic trades which made the Roma's presence known although not always well received. Roma worked in various types of jobs. They were consumed primarily by the production of tinning, metalworking, basket making, as well as fortune telling. Amid all of these, metalworking is among the oldest. Within the Byzantium Empire, before the Roma made their way into Europe, they were

skilled in metalworking. This is known by a close analysis of *Romani*<sup>26</sup>, the language. Just as linguist approaches have been used to gain insight into the history of the culture, the same tactics have been applied to the historical aspects of work exchanges. It is known that Roma not only developed but held the occupation of metalworkers since the fifteenth century. “During the reign (1471-1516) of Vladislav II of Bohemia, ... as ruled in Hungary- Gypsies were sufficiently well established as metal-workers to be entrusted with the making of weapons and other warlike material.” (Fraser, 110) Although this trade has been carried out by the Roma for centuries, one should not presume that the skill was always well received.

As stated earlier in the negative perceptions discussion, the jobs carried out by the Roma community instilled disdain into the European psyche. Those occupations held by the Roma were often considered menial work saved for the lower class citizens of a country. They became known for their advanced handiwork and oftentimes replaced the *Gadje* products. They were excellent manufacturers of baskets, combs and jewelry, apart from their tool and small crafts. The trade guilds were also influenced by the negative perceptions of the non-Roma communities and thus made the craftsmanship of a Roma threatening to the monopolies of the times. European countries prohibited the Roma from entering normal occupations and they were encouraged to stick to their blacksmithing, shoe repairing and metalworking trades. The Roma became known for their superior craftsmanship which resulted in discrimination and were eventually forced to stop.

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<sup>26</sup> *Romani*- The official Roma language; sometimes-spelled Romany. It is important to note that Roma communities have often adopted the language of their host country and have used this to communicate with Roma and non-Roma. Few people speak Romani although there is an effort to preserve the dying tongue. Historical insight is gained when analyzing the language, but very few clans know, and use the dialect. (Fraser, 10-13)

The craft guilds had laws passed to prevent Gypsies from working at trades which were competitive to them. One of the laws stated that no Gypsy smith could work in the city or town limits. If they did do work outside the city limits it must be done in an enclosure of some sort out of view of anyone passing by. This law made it impossible for the Gypsies to survive at the metalworking and small crafts that had been their traditional livelihood. (Hancock, <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/histories/victims/romaSinti/gypsies2.html#tradeguilds>)

Although Roma had been banned for their artisanship by the seventeenth century, it is important to note that they held such jobs for centuries. At various points, laws were passed and pushed onto the Roma community in many different countries. Part of the persistence from the *Gadje* to control the workforce and restrain the Roma from entering their field goes back to our previous discussion of negative perceptions. Non-Roma and the Church were threatened by a people who could appear so detached from constancy. To the *Gadje*, jobs offered stability. Many Roma were known to move from job to job or fairground to fairground. This numinous nature was threatening to the *Gadje*, but to the Roma such a lifestyle was an ordinary practice. The Roma were accustomed to having jobs where a certain amount of flexibility, autonomy, and freedom could be nurtured.

The Roma were among the poorest people in Europe, if not the poorest, often living in slums if they were sedentary and if nomadic were just as unfortunate. They were an uneducated people limited in their options within the work force. The Roma, as the rest of the working class, relied heavily on making money as a means of survival. However, their ability to choose the type of occupation they would engage in was more self-directed than within the non-Roma society. Although Roma were banned from some professions, there was some consciousness in choice as to their occupations. The community found ways to make the labor force fit their needs and cultural identity. No matter what job the Roma member performed, independence was nurtured.

Even in the occupations of an industrial type, they tended to be found in those where they could nurse some degree of independence: metalworking (notably smithery) was the most important, followed by construction work (brick-making and clay-working) and wood-working (e.g trough-making). Dealing was also strongly represented (mainly horse-dealing for men, hawking for women). (Fraser, 212)

The common characteristic among all of these trades is self-employment. The Roma are a people who not only loved their freedom, but also deeply yearned for the individuality that these types of jobs permitted. They are a group of people who liked to have the liberty to leave any circumstance and at any time. These jobs allowed self-governance and kept them unbound to any person, place, or thing. Their autonomy as a people allowed a certain flexibility. This dexterity offered them power over their actions, which reinforced an independence from the *Gadje*. Although the Roma were detached from the *Gadje's* work life and customs, they were dependent on them to purchase or consume their products. This did not keep the Roma from thriving off the self-regulating nature of their culture. It is precisely this spirit and willingness to perform second-class jobs which comprised the Roma "mosaic."

Gypsies attach great importance to their social life, whereas work is a mere appendage of their personality, a necessary evil in a substance economy. In that sense it can be said that the Gypsy 'plays the boiler-maker', or 'plays the carpet-seller', or plays the fortune teller without really getting involved. What counts for a Gypsy to live a life that is possible only because the multitude of petty dependencies on the gadze customers results in a kind of independence. (Liégeois,83)

The independence that Liégeois speaks of, the freedom to work how and when they please, even if it means performing some of the most unpleasant jobs, fuels the symbiotic relationship between groups. The *Gadje* needed the Roma to carry out certain jobs, while the Roma wanted to maintain their freedom.

Although Roma enjoyed living freely, oftentimes in the outskirts of towns and villages, this was not only to the benefit of the Roma. There was an advantage to having them on the outskirts of a town or village. In England, the Roma did the jobs that others

would not or could not do. For some *Gadje*, the work exchanges were enough to tolerate the Roma in the region.

...they supplemented the economic and social life of the village by offering their goods and services to a population which, being distant from shops and towns, was not otherwise catered for. They appeared as purveyors of gossip and news, sellers of cheap wares (often made by themselves), repairers of household goods, seasonal laborers, or they could function as itinerant entertainers, enlivening village festivities by their talents in music, song, and dance. ...Since they relied on settled folk to buy the goods and services which they presented for sale, what they offered and the areas they traveled had to change, and their lives became attuned to new seasonal rhythms in which the more densely populated areas loomed larger. (Fraser, 217)

As Fraser points out, both groups were interdependent of the other. This relationship represents how the Roma maintained parts of their identities yet interacted with the *Gadje* for economic benefit. We see the boundary crossing and the boundary maintenance in full view.

As times were changing, the Roma were also forced to adapt to their new environments. Because they lived among host countries and in many ways relied on the dominant culture to survive, they too had to negotiate their place in society. However, the Roma community has historically maintained their autonomy in the midst of change. No matter what job held or during what time period, the Roma have always adapted to their surroundings and have done so by maintaining their identity and a certain independence from the *Gadje*.

Thus it was that, in the face of urbanization, industrialization and other European pressures, Gypsies showed themselves able to maintain their autonomy by exploiting opportunities created by the dominant system. They resisted temptations to go over to wage-labour, as so many others were doing. Most- even when settled- seem to have clung tenaciously to some ideal of community and independence and self-employment. (Fraser, 221)

The independence that Fraser speaks of reinforces identity but also perpetuates the in-group/out-group mentality discussed earlier. Roma will often labor within the *Gadje* workforces but under their own terms. In an analysis by Maria Casa-Nova, she observed

that Portuguese Roma do not see work as a prestigious thing. Roma see labor as a part of life that is carried out but not nursed. Roma refuse to pay attention and prioritize work, although they are aware that they need work to survive. As I stated earlier, a part of the Romas' psyche does not place value on material possessions, and work can often be used as a means to gain wealth. For the Roma, work is a part of life and the money made from the interactions with the *Gadje* support the infrastructure of the Roma. The nation has found that a way to maintain group protection is to share their wealth within their own community. This has allowed them a certain freedom in the preservation of their collective. An example of this is seen in the manner Maria Casa-Nova shares a story about how the Roma support one another through the distribution of their wealth.

Reciprocity and solidarity in times of economic, social, and emotional fragility of its members are essential for the maintenance of group cohesion. A stingy Gypsy who accumulates wealth without sharing it with others is viewed as an *apayar*, that is to say, someone who is becoming a non-Gypsy, deviating from the Gypsy spirit. This duty of sharing is in the first place restricted to close family (parents, brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles, grandparents, first cousins), and in the second instance to other types of relative and, finally, other Gypsies from the community or from other communities. Nevertheless, sharing is not always voluntary; it usually results from the group pressure on the individual who shares in order to avoid exclusion from community and in order to establish reciprocity at moments of individual fragility. (Casa-Nova, 106)

Casa-Nova describes an internal component of the Roma nation, which offers insight into why some members choose the type of jobs they obtain. This is the Roma way of doing things, one that includes an ethic of caring for one another. This ethnic and communal solidarity is buttressed by the moral idiom of brotherhood. Wealth made from Roma/*Gadje* exchanges is redirected, so the extrinsic practice is reshaped to honor an intrinsic custom. However, the same wealth that is offered to the other community members in a time of need, is also seen as a moment where the Roma might have "sold out." Scholar Michael Stewart discusses instances where social inequalities among



various households in the Roma nation, were viewed as negative interactions. “Since getting rich goes hand in hand with developing good relations with powerful *gajos* it often seems to less successful Gypsies that the rich are breaking their ties with the Gypsies.” (Stewart, 93) Although this disapproving tone can affect some communal actions, the overall feeling is that sharing is a foundation to preserving identity.

In an effort to understand how these work exchanges fed into the Andalusian paradox it is important to note that the Roma struggled with the ability to comply to the *Gadje* work terms. Instead of being submissive, they found ways to stay-true to their free-spirited nature yet work within the parameters of the *Gadje* world. This allowed the in-group/out-group distinctions to take place while nourishing a paradox. The contradiction highlights how the non-Roma needed the Roma to carry out some second-class jobs, while critiquing them for their life-style and inability to adhere to *Gadje* standards. These exchanges also underscore how the Roma avoid *Gadje* jobs in an effort to maintain their nature, but also demand that they stay members of the lower-class, living in slums and being at the mercy of the *Gadje* to purchase their goods. This tension, although removed from the performance arena, affects the manner the Roma and non-Roma interact in artistic endeavors. To clarify the manner in which social interactions affect creative conversations, a detailed explanation of art exchanges will follow.

## **Art Exchanges**

Art is a reflection image of identity on a personal as well as societal level. It mirrors thoughts, ideology, as well as beliefs and personality traits. Individuals share webs of signification, historical traditions alongside a specific worldview. This

worldview informs one's individual perspective and these viewpoints affect meanings and actions. Performance is an agent of folklore. Folklore is an important component of the Roma identity and in an effort to understand how the Andalusian paradox fed into flamenco, the artistic and creative sides of the Roma nation must be discussed.

These artistic exchanges between the Roma and non-Roma should not be seen as simple reflections of identity but instead a means of active mediums where identity is constructed, embodied, negotiated and transformed. "Yet the relationships between folklore, culture and identity are complex and are often oversimplified. Folklore is not a static expression of homogenized identity but is dynamically motivated by and expresses issues of differential identity." (Braid, 45) Folklore is an important component of the Roma community because it combines the practical with the esoteric, and allows room for improvisational creative agents to enter their adaptable nature. Folklore can have psychological or moral motives as well as entertainment and artistic functions. For this writing, I will highlight the manner in which folklore affects the intrinsic as well as extrinsic elements of the Roma nation. Artistic exchanges, in our case musical, are a medium where the performance highlights the importance of community.

Performances are a form of tradition, but neither is static. Just as with traditions, performances are also active agents of folklore that offer insight into the past but also allow change for the future. This is important because art, and more specifically performances, can underscore where a culture comes from and how they have changed. In this sense, the performers are creative agents as well as historians who are constituting, maintaining and negotiating narratives of the communities past, as well as maintaining their identity. Musical exchanges have a purpose where they

...are agents in the making of cultural difference as they seek both to blur as well as to clarify the boundaries between themselves and other groups in society. Through their discourse on ethnicity, class, culture, and politics, Romani musicians manipulate boundaries between themselves and others in order to associate themselves with the socially powerful, disassociate themselves from the powerless, and enhance their market niche and status. (Beissinger, 26)

Music performed can be a form of manipulation used in various ways. As Beissinger observed in her field study with Romanian Roma, musical exchanges can take three different angles and be used in distinct fashions. Using her categorization, Roma use art to negotiate identity between; Roma and *Gadje*, Roma to their immediate Roma family, and Roma to other Roma from their community. For our purposes, I will mainly concentrate on the manner which they use musical expressions to create, maintain and negotiate their identity.

It is important to highlight that performances change depending on the audience. This is particularly true for the Roma nation. Roma treat performances with the same distance that they do other parts of their identity. There is an awareness of boundary maintenance and boundary crossing. "Traveler performances among community members, for example, will call forth differing expressions of identity than will performance interactions that include outsiders such as folklorists or government officials." (Braid, 47) Just as Braid has pointed out, traditions as well as performances are influenced by their surroundings; so the *Gadje* audience members affect the Roma, for better or for worse. The other side to this logic is that a Roma performance transmits facets of the Roma identity and offers glimpses of their reality. If we follow this thinking, authentic markers of Roma identity might be expressed in their artistic endeavors. When these exchanges occur, it is an opportunity for the *Gadje* to also be changed. It is in many

ways an invitation for the outsider to see and understand the Roma struggle, identity and reality.

Such performances are ways of transmitting ritualistic and symbolic meaning to the Roma and non-Roma. As Kertész-Wilkinson puts it, “Song and dance performances of the Hungarian Vlach Gypsies embody a range of symbol systems which constitute Rom identity.” (Kertész-Wilkinson, 99) Roma performances should be viewed as displays of past experiences and creative outlets which are more than verbal exchanges. Performances for a Roma can evoke the use of all of the senses while it relies on sound to bring up memories that can trigger emotions. Art undergoes changes when in a Roma context and within the nation, and there is a belief that what makes it Roma, regardless if it is a Roma song or not, is their style and spirit.

Regardless of whether a song is Hungarian or Romani or even Vlach Romani melody with a Hungarian text, the performance itself must be perceived of as ‘Vlach Gypsy’ both in style and spirit. A poor performance can lead to a song that is ‘Vlach Gypsy’ by all other measures being rejected by its Rom audience as ‘non-Vlach’. (Kertész-Wilkinson, 108)

This is key in understanding the overall purpose of artistic Roma exchanges. Roma do not perform simply to make money or for mere entertainment reasons; there is another innate intention. The drive to perform on an extrinsic level is to survive and earn a living, but on an intrinsic level it is to honor the ever changing Roma identity. There is a consciousness in how the Roma perform for *Gadje* and how they share within their own unit. Although the Roma are aware that the moment of contact is an opportunity to impress the non-Roma, a choice is made in how they impact the outsider. The Roma knows that a performance is treated with “the same general rules which govern their everyday actions and feelings in public and private, also operate in musical

performance.” (Kertész-Wilkinson, 112) In one sense the Roma are sharing an internal component of their identity but are doing so in a discrete way. These exchanges are moments of negotiation where a Roma is making a choice and has an intention of impressing, entertaining, alienating, or engaging. The goal of a performing Roma, when in the company of other Roma, changes as opposed to when surrounded by *Gadje*.

Musical performances encompasses all the socially important rules that divide non-Gypsies and non-Vlach groups from the Rom as well as the internal divisions between genders and generations. ...therefore the social significance of public among the Vlach Rom lies partially in the renewal and reinforcement of the ethnic, kinship and gender boundaries of the social structure but also, at the same time, in their transcendence through musical aesthetics and thus in the creation of a model for a democratic, fuller way of life. The aim in public is to express the *same* idea, or ‘truth’ in varied ways, whereas in a private context it is to express *different* individual experiences, or ‘truths’, through the same medium. (Kertész-Wilkinson, 116)

This relationship highlights what Beissinger would call the Roma to non-Roma category.

In this relationship, the Roma are engaging extrinsically, while preserving the intrinsic community.

Thus, the intrinsic components of the Roma nation are not always positive and the manner that Roma view other Rom who are outside of their immediate circle, can also be contradictory. As Margaret Beissinger has noted, the Roma identity is made up of another paradox. She discussed how two subgroups of the Romanian Roma nation, the *Lăutari*<sup>27</sup> and the non-*Lăutari*, viewed one another with disdain. “...Will Guy remarks that the “Roma are at the same time proud and ashamed of being Roma. Proud of their music and dancing...[yet] ashamed of their drinking and fighting.” Education is an important

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<sup>27</sup> *Lăutari*—“The gypsy musicians, *lăutari*, have had a major influence on the dance music of Romania. In towns and villages with *lăutari*, the superior musicianship of the gypsies has replaced the local Romanian musicians. After WW2 the *lăutari* who used to play in cafes and restaurants organized themselves into orchestras and found themselves playing a repertoire of the café music in concert halls. This development of popular ensembles gives us the distinctive “Romanian” sound we hear in many popular recordings.” (Online, <http://www.eliznik.org.uk/RomaniaMusic/lautari.htm>)

marker to many *Lăutari* “as a sign of acculturation.” (Beissinger, 38) This contradiction highlights how the Roma have an internal system of stratification, and choose which characteristics are “good” and which are “bad.” This underlines how on an intrinsic level, identity is negotiated and constantly changing within the Roma community. There is a distinction made between those Roma who believe that the uneducated are a disgrace to the nation because of their ignorance and boisterous ways, and Roma who feel that others are too educated, thus making the Roma, too *Gadje*. As Michael Stewart underlines, some stratify one another and claim that some individuals are more Roma than others.

*Romungros*<sup>28</sup> are generally viewed as more assimilated and desirous of assimilation than the Vlach Roms—qualities that provoke disdain among other Roms. “So despised were the Romungros,” observes Stewart, “that the very term *muzsikus* (musician), which was one of their own qualifying ethnonyms, was used in Romany as a general term for two-faced behavior. These ‘sell-outs,’ who used their Gypsiness when it suited them (as musicians) but denied it when it did not (when they might be associated with the even more despised Romany-Speaking Gypsies), were in a sense worse than the *gazos* [non-Roms]” (Beissinger, 39)

The intrinsic community of the Roma nation is complex and lives within a paradox. Another component of the Roma nation where identity is related to artistic exchanges is that of one group of Roma scorning another for their artistic capabilities. In a story by Margaret Beissinger, she describes how one clan was asserting that another was of bad character, the allegation was born, in her opinion, from an envious heart.

I was pulled aside and advised not to call on those other lautari. They were “disreputable,” I was told by my lautar hosts; furthermore, they would “rip me off,” and I “should know that they are nasty tigani.” These invectives persisted during my stay as my informants aggressively attempted to dissuade me from journeying to the nearby village. It later emerged that the lautari who had been denounced by their peers were actually far better known musicians and had an excellent reputation. ...The lautari embittered by fewer occupational opportunities felt antipathy toward those for whom the job opportunities were greater. (Beissinger, 42)

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<sup>28</sup> *Romungros*- Hungarian Roma

This story highlights how animosity between two clans due to an artistic element, can affect how one discusses and attempts to destroy the image of the other, by making false accusations of their identity.

Moving to an entirely different perspective, the importance of another paradox needs to be highlighted, Roma and their relationship to music. What makes a performance and art exchange so powerful is the paradox that the music is born and dies in a single moment, yet the memory of the instant lives on after the live encounter.

Narrative performances can also function as negotiations of identity since they can keep working long after face-to-face interaction has ended. They can persist in memory as entextualised wholes that are carried away from the performance interaction and can be thought with and thought through in attempts to understand the world. (Braid, 48)

This is crucial in understanding how the Roma community interacted with the *Gadje* throughout history. Musical and artistic talents were key in gaining tolerance by the European nation. As stated earlier in the *Roma History: From India to Spain* chapter, *Gitanos* were able to win the hearts of royalty while honoring their own traditions. This is paradoxical by nature because as history has shown us, the Roma were detested in almost every country in which they resided. How is it that they were able to earn respect for their musical rituals? The answer follows the same contradictions that have been highlighted with other facets of the Roma identity. The Roma were accepted solely in one venue while rejected in others. As Fraser points out,

...their natural performing ability was soon evidence all over Europe. But during the nineteenth century, in three countries in particular- Hungary, Russia, and Spain- Gypsies rose to a position of considerable eminence as professional musicians, to a point where they became almost part of the national identity. (Fraser, 200)

This contradiction created a tension between the Roma and *Gadje* that carries into the discussion of flamenco. However, these interactions reflect why the boundary-making and boundary-crossing mechanisms were created. They were necessary for the

preservation of the intrinsic Roma identity. The Roma community was aware of the hypocritical actions by the *Gadje*. In some instances they were allowed to perform for the *Gadje*, yet on a regular basis were held in contempt by the *Gadje* when not in a performance setting. “Yet the respondents viewed the Romani musicians somewhat less negatively than the others.” (Beissinger, 33) There are various reasons that such behavior was imposed on the Roma community. Perhaps it stems from the fear established during the early encounters between both groups. On the other hand, as discussed in chapter one, the nomadic traditions nursed feelings of resentment from host countries, which produced actions of subordination. *Gadje* resentment of Roma created an inter-ethnic tension that was some how released, compromised, or tolerated when engaging in performance venues. However, the Roma, aware that the *Gadje* will always have prejudices towards them, choose to converse or share with the *Gadje* because they too profit from this inconsistent relationship. As Beissinger noted, “... the practice of their profession in some ways inverts the broader authority relations within society. In the context of performance, Romani musicians gain a control and status that they lack in everyday life.” (Beissinger, 34) Sometimes the divisions protect the Roma and other times it allows a false sense of power to exist for the community.

The *Gadje*, in most situations throughout history, have viewed the Roma community in a positive light when discussing their musical traditions. These artistic customs have been honored yet criticized by many non-Roma. Some *Gadje* see the Roma as master manipulators but not original creators of the musical forms in which they engage. “It has been proved that the Gypsies are not creative musicians: they have always been born imitators as well as the deftest flatter on earth. They took music they found in



the various countries, adapted it to their own personality and gave it certain powers of suggestion.” (Starkie, 83) This belief highlights the paradox the Roma musicians live in. In some instances they are considered geniuses and in others manipulators. There also is a thread woven in the discourse that states that Roma need stimulants to cast their spells. “Everywhere it is the same orgy: the Roma needs a great many stimulants to assist him in weaving his spells over the *gorgio*. The exuberant and Dionysiac spirit are not produced simply by the swaying music-by lights, ...wines.” (Starkie, 89) The belief that the Roma takes the ordinary and repeats it rather than creating it, is hidden in these types of statements. In conjunction with believing that the Roma have no musical traditions of their own and simply borrow from the *Gadje*, alongside the idea that they need stimulants to perform, is a reflection of a deeper belief system. This mentality highlights the nominal mentality of the *Gadje* community towards the Roma. However, the Roma nation is also guilty of such biased opinions. There is a belief among Roma that they are great musicians and are the only ones that can bring their essence to the music, thus giving it a unique spirit. This belief guides the idea that the *Gadje* should not play music. “...a Romani musician asserted that the “never should anyone but a Rom play music... The *gadzo* will never learn what the Rom knows. And in adjacent Hungary, an urban Romani musician commented that “you can’t learn how to play Roma tunes, you’ve got to know it.” (Beissinger, 36) This mentality reflects the cultural essentialist school of thought that justifies Roma actions towards non-Roma individuals. Yet this highlights the paradox in which both communities are engaged. The Roma community has never been free of *Gadje* influence, and the *Gadje* communities have been active agents influencing Roma behavior, which is often despised by the non-Roma community. “Due to their peripheral

position in the social division of labour, Gypsies have never established self-contained communities. Thus the given (dominant) musical environment has always had a strong impact upon the local Gypsies' music culture." (Kovalcsik, 46) Although communal involvement is an essential part of how the Roma community produces and shares its artistic traditions, "The development was facilitated by the essentially communal nature of traditional music. Singing figures as a most important, in fact a ritual part of communal gatherings." (Kovalcsik, 48) The manner that *Gadje* represent the Roma is contradictory.

First, though Romani ("Gypsy") culture is often portrayed in lay print and media in excessively stereotypical terms-as indiscriminately exotic or romantic on the one hand, or untrustworthy and even criminal on the other- in practice, Romani culture is, like any culture, diverse, hybrid, and complex. Romani culture defies monolithic depictions, as my portrayal of a socio-occupational group of Romani musicians and their heterogeneity demonstrates. (Beissinger, 49)

In closing, each community shapes and perpetuates how it views the other.

### ***Summary of Chapter:***

This chapter has established the many ways that the Roma community has preserved, maintained and re-created their identity to satisfy an intrinsic or extrinsic purpose. I have identified the various ways that markers of Roma identity are captured through education, health, art and work exchanges, along side family and social structures. These components have highlighted how the Roma

...experience a stratified world that is not only imposed on them but they strategically impose on others. They are unquestionably enclosed by socially inflicted boundaries, but they themselves are also agents of boundary-making as they articulate connections with and distinctions from the world around them. (Beissinger, 49)

These often-arbitrary lines are important markers of identity. The negotiations between the intrinsic and extrinsic components of the Roma nation often reveal a tension that

exists between the Roma and non-Roma. This conflict is important to the overall discussion of the Andalusian paradox as well as the flamenco art form. The manner in which the *Gadje* and Roma must interact with their artistic and work related exchanges affected the art of flamenco as we know today. How the Roma perceive themselves is crucial in understanding why the *Gitanos* and Andalusian interacted the way they did. This relationship fed into the multifaceted Andalusian identity.

## CHAPTER THREE- SCIENCE AND ART IN SPAIN: FROM EUGENICS TO THE BULLRING

### ***Chapter Introduction:***

Depending on your point of view, art and science can differ greatly, yet this chapter seeks angles from which they have common traits. For example, both are a means of investigation. Both involve ideas, theories, and hypotheses that are tested in places where mind and body come together, the laboratory and studio. Artists, like scientists, study materials, people, culture, history, religion, mythology— and learn to transform information into something else. In particular, this chapter highlights the manner in which eugenics, which I regard as a scientific study, and the way that art onstage, come together to add to our discussion and understanding of Andalusia, Spain.

### ***Eugenics History***

The premise of eugenics in Europe starts in the mid-1800's and continues on into the mid 1930's. Eugenics was a scientific study of the influences that improve the innate qualities of human race. Eventually it lead to social and political ideologies in which the medicalization of a society allowed for the body to represent an article of dispute. The individual and the nation were part of a development where elitist beliefs affected how science was carried out. I start the chapter by discussing eugenics and, as Richard Cleminson points out in Anarchism, Science and Sex, its “chameleon-like ability to widely appear in different guises in order to seduce supporters from widely differing collectivities, both scientific and social, across national borders and supposed ideological

divides” (Clemenson, 9). Then I continue with the discourse of the Spanish eugenicists, contextualizing how and why Spain was attracted to the field. Let us start our discussion with a definition of eugenics.

**Eugenics: (noun) the study of or belief in the possibility of improving the qualities of the human species or a human population, esp. by such means as discouraging reproduction by persons having genetic defects or presumed to have inheritable undesirable traits (negative eugenics) or encouraging reproduction by persons presumed to inheritable desirable traits (positive eugenics).**

There is a scientific and a social component to eugenics. Eugenics formed a complex fabric where politics and art were interconnected and science was used to justify racist ideas and actions. Eugenics was taken up in diverse ways and was a movement which brought together medical doctors, social activists, scientists, and politicians.

Sir Francis Galton is considered as the father of eugenics. Galton’s core idea, which was inspired by the controversial theories of his cousin Charles Darwin, was that genetic codes were the basis of human abilities and thus, those pedigrees were inherited rather than nurtured.

The new evolutionism, of the 1860’s was of great importance to the rise of eugenics in giving it a new scientific rationale and its indispensable terminology. The first essays into the dangerous territory of human hereditary and social policy by the “father” of eugenics himself, the scientist, traveler, geographer, and statistician Francis Galton, occurred in 1865 shortly after reading the *Origin of Species*. Evolution gave Galton ideas that, clustered together in a new fashion, formed the kernel of eugenics: the significance of hereditary variation in domestic breeding, the survival of the fittest in the struggle for life, and the analogy between domestic breeding and natural selection. (Stephan, 22)

The basic ideals of eugenics can be found from the beginnings of humanity. Galton’s innovation was the scientific approach based on Darwin’s theory of evolution and crystallized the process of natural selection. Galton envisioned a society where rigid structures could create an aristocratic makeup where the Aryan elite and gifted, could produce similar descendants. Eugenics began to separate people in a physiological and

genetic manner. The idea that humans were socially more adept than others due to their genes, not only stratified people into good and bad or right and wrong, but it turned them into products that could be easily discarded. “Socially successful individuals and groups were taken to be genetically and innately well endowed; the poor and unsuccessful were viewed as products of poor hereditary.” (Stephan, 27) Eugenics supported the theory that environment had nothing to do with the character of a human. “Ancestry, rather than social life, was taken to determine character; hereditary was now all.” (Stephan 28) Scientists, who supported the eugenic school of thought, agreed that the genetic make-up of a human was not a commodity that could be purchased, instead gifts inherited by ancestors. These theories validated those who felt that inferior human beings could be replaced, erased or discarded.

Eugenics was used to create certain scientific and social criteria which lead to the stratification of individuals into superior and inferior beings. Sterilizations and other deliberate attacks towards darker skinned and lower class people became common and justified.

The lower classes breeding in the slums, the permanently unemployed, the poor alcoholics, the mentally ill sequestered in insane asylums- and their supposed hereditary unfitness- were now targets of eugenicists’ agitation. Daniel Kevles says, moreover, that by 1930 human sterilization had become for many eugenicist the “paramount programmatic interest.” The introduction of the compulsory sterilization of the unfit was also, of course, by far the most dramatic alteration in the traditional norms governing the Western family and individual rights to reproduction. (Stephan, 30)

Eugenics had several manifestations which affected social, cultural and political aspects of society. Forced sterilization and segregation laws as well as marriage restrictions were outcomes of the philosophy. Racial hybridizations were looked down upon and the idea that a group of elite could “save” a race through the practice of a positive eugenics, was common. The Aryan aristocracy was encouraged to mate and procreate bountifully

breeding a better citizenry, while the “undesirables” were kept from reproducing. The extermination of a defected race was viewed as a remedy instead of a tragedy.

Scientific and social progress, not to mention prosperity, could be ensured by the suppression and elimination of the weak by the strong, by the triumph of machine gun over bow and arrow, by unrestrained trade and competition, and by generally “sticking it to the other guy” with impunity. (Tucker, 28)

People found in eugenics an answer to social problems. When something as powerful as science represents a “solution” to societal “problems,” governments believed. Eugenics promised a logical and practical method to cleanse societies; to limit the breeding of the insane, the feeble minded, and the criminals of a society, felt like an optimistic ideology that people could have faith in. Eugenics was the racist pseudoscience determined to wipe away all human beings deemed “unfit,” preserving only those who confirmed to a Nordic stereotype. This stereotype became the poster child of what suitable people should be who could produce proper societies. According to these upper-classes, criminals and the lower class “degenerates” needed to be eliminated. In an effort to describe other European nations who supported eugenics, the study of criminal anthropology needs to be briefly discussed.

## **Criminal Anthropology**

Criminal anthropology is a term used to describe the Italian school of thought of the late nineteenth century. Among those anthropologists who believed that criminals were born with inferior physiological differences, which were detectable by the physical appearance of the offender, Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, and Raffaele Garofolo enter our historical timeline. They were the forerunners in the criminal anthropological field, but it was Lombroso’s work which will influence our discussion of eugenics. According

to Lombroso, who was an Italian Jew, Italians could be classified into two races where the southern Italians were more prone to criminal activity, due to having less Aryan blood than their northern counterparts. According to Lombroso, physical characteristics were a sign of defective and degenerative people.

The French psychiatrist Benedict Augustine Morel was an important figure for criminal anthropology. “Morel believed that ‘poisons’, in which he included alcohol, opium, miasmas, the poison of cretinism, and other substances, could stimulate a downward spiral within a family.” (Bynum, 200) Morel’s ideas of criminal anthropology were interwoven into the blue print of eugenics. He held that physical imperfections of a human could be monitored and by controlling the “defected” human race, one could prevent the burden of human tragedy.

Morel and his followers believed that degeneration could be recognized by various physical and psychical abnormalities- the so-called stigmata of degeneration- which included odd, asymmetrical heads, malformed teeth, ears, and jaws, and other deviations from the normal. Because Morel stressed alcoholism as both a cause and result of hereditary degeneration, his conclusions had special impact on temperance movement in both England and America. (Haller, 14)

Lombroso, combining his own work with Morel’s ideas, concluded that people with physiological ‘abnormalities’ were hosts to genes that would affect society.

According to Lombroso, different types of criminals tended to have different traits. Thieves were characterized by small, restless eyes, thick eyebrows, a crooked nose, thin beard, and narrow receding forehead. Sex criminals had bright eyes, a cracked voice, blond hair, and a delicate face. Murderers had cold glassy eyes, a hooked, aquiline nose (like a bird of prey), large cheeks and jaws, long ears, dark hair, and canine teeth. Lombroso believed that the born criminal was a distinct anthropological type of mankind, closely related to other varieties of human defectives. (Haller, 15)

This Italian school of criminal anthropology shaped other parts of Europe as well as the world. The idea of inferior or superior blood led to the classification of body parts where characteristics carried merit within multiple societies. Eugenics began to separate people in a physiological and genetic manner. Race was a term that was negotiated and



renegotiated throughout history. As the ideas of eugenics spread, nations adopted and modified political, social, scientific, and cultural norms. Eugenics was a movement that underwent many changes, and the interest in this school of thought, led to a shift where other countries began to invest politically as well as scientifically.

Ideas do not keep fixed identities as they travel through space and time; nor do they occupy previously empty social or intellectual spaces. They are rather complex parts of social life, generated within that social life, reflective of it, and capable of affecting it. Evolution meant different things England than in France; Einstein's relativity acquired a different signification in Italy than in the United States. Ideas, even scientific ones, are always selectively reconfigured across cultural frontiers and the result is a science subtly shaped by local traditions-cultural, political and scientific. (Stepan, 33)

By the early twentieth century, eugenic societies sprang up throughout all of Europe. The leading forces in the world were Germany, the United States of America, and France, but Spain was also beginning to invest in the field. At the turn of the century there was a sense among people that societies needed doctors. "Political and social thought began to depict society as a functioning or malfunctioning body, which required the care- both moral and physical- of the expert physician in order to guarantee optimum health." (Cleminson, 37). One could say that this trust in science came with the changes occurring in Europe. The entity was undergoing urbanization and an industrialized shift, which might explain why countries like Spain, were open to such progressive ideas like eugenics. Along those same lines, other European nations were placing eugenics in the same category as other movements, which allowed governments as well as scientists, to ingest and trust the eugenic school of thought.

In these countries 'eugenics' as brought from northern Europe was crafted on to and grew along side existing local theories and practices, such as French child-centered 'puericulture' and other theories on child bearing and care of the mother such as 'maternology'. In this way, eugenics became a mobile scientific-ideological programme, engaged by different groups to serve their own political ends whose only objective in common was to 'improve the population'. (Cleminson, 45)

Although many European countries were attracted to the field, Spain was among the last to get involved in the movement. For centuries, Spain had been considered, from a scientific viewpoint, the most underdeveloped of all of the European nations. “Even though modern ideas such as degeneration theories, criminology, and sexual pathology did have a resonance in Spain, the country has often been associated with an image of backwardness with the respect to scientific developments, a judgment which goes back to the late eighteenth century.” (Cleminson, 58) Spain was considered backwards by others because of political, religious and geographical reasons, as well as their negative work ethic and lack of efficiency to produce results. By the 1880’s Spain was considered a dying nation and was in need of a facelift. Up until this point, Spain struggled to make itself a credible producer of scientific research, but by embracing eugenics, Spain was placing itself on the map of the modernizing European entity.

### ***Sex Education in Early Twentieth Century Spain***

By the early twentieth century, Spain had reconstructed and projected a new image, one that was emulating its predecessors. Within the same vein, there was a sexual discourse occurring in Spain. With sexual education, newsletters, organizations, and political campaigns all supporting a newer, advanced Spain, it is no surprise that the ideas of regeneration could slip into everyday discourse of medical and social networks. Journals like *Sexualidad*<sup>29</sup>, whose objectives were to fight disease in Spain, became an accepted norm that spoke out for racial improvement. “*Sexualidad* in this way is

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<sup>29</sup> *Sexualidad*- “first weekly publication dedicated to the field in 1925: *Sexualidad*, directed by the psychiatrist Antonio Navarro Fernandez. Over 160 issues provide a clear statement on the review’s objective which was to fight disease and degeneration from a social hygienic and moralist point of view. Making explicit references to the ‘truth of sexuality’, and the need for racial and familial regeneration, the medium adopted by *Sexualidad* to achieve these aims was a combination of scientific knowledge on sex and a pronounced moral but not necessarily Catholic standpoint on sexuality and family.” (Cleminson,79)

exemplary of the modernist project of social and sexual regeneration through ‘scientific eugenics’.” (Cleminson, 79) With a cultural climate embracing the ideas of eugenics, by 1910, the science was institutionalized in Spain. Within ten years the country had woven the philosophy into their foundation. However, by the 1930’s, politicians and scientists were in support of eugenic research and were funded by European monarchies and more specific the Spanish governmental assembly. “They also coincide in invoking the power and competence of the state, either through educational reform or obligatory legal statutes, to back eugenics and give it the necessary support to become established as part of the national culture.” (Cleminson, 89) Scientists like Dr. Enrique Diego Madrazo were convinced that eugenics could only be instilled through democratic political systems or its dictators. This highlights how the state had an affect on the social mindset of the Spaniards. In this fashion, eugenics was interwoven into the cultural, social, and political structures of the country. During and after the Republic, the state was becoming the voice which set the tone for later leaders. This mentality is not limited to the scientific arena. This mindset resurfaces when we analyze the art and flamenco world. However, that analysis will come later in this writing when I discuss the Dictator Franco and his influence on flamenco.

Spanish monarchies were backing uniformity and were instilling the idea into the Spanish population that the need for racial cleansing was necessary. The government convinced Spaniards that the only way to increase the moral fibre of society, was with eugenics. This yearning to better society, led the *Gadje*, those that are not Roma, to study race on a scientific level. Since the Spanish culture had obviously embraced the foundations of the eugenic rationale, I will illustrate how this thinking was then directed

towards the Roma community in an effort to exterminate them from Spanish society. Historically, Roma were considered to be a race that was biologically different in make up. There was scientific research that tried to prove that they were born as thieves and as a degenerate race.

It is significant that during the nineteenth century this stereotype increasingly assumed the form a scientific theory of hereditary. It was suggested that the psychology, the behavior and the moral character of Gypsies were determined by their biological inheritance. ( Carter,142)

Thus, the *Gitanos* posed a perceived threat to Spain. When people feel threatened and are surrounded by governmental propaganda that promises a 'cleaner' society, individuals follow their superiors and act accordingly. This mentality was adopted by some *Gadje*, and thus the yearning to sanitize Spain, came with the washing away of the *Gitanos*.

Madrazo argued that it was necessary to examine the laws of inheritance in order to do away with those members of society who filled up mental institutions, hospitals, and prisons. Certain groups, such as Gypsies, were dismissed as intellectually inferior with no scope for improvement. ( Cleminson, 82)

In conclusion, the study of eugenics on an international as well as national level, changed the Spanish mentality forever. The discourse built during the years which Spain immersed themselves in the field of eugenics, was imbedded in the Spanish psyche. The study of eugenics left a mark on the aristocratic group, which bled into the anxieties of the nation. This tension permitted the *Gadje* to discriminate and mistreat the *Gitano* population.

## **The Effects of Eugenics**

The intolerance of the Spanish nation towards the Roma people, fed the inferior and superior schemas in the country. There have been attempts to connect race and genetics with social patterns, to justify the reasoning behind inequalities not only in

Spain, but also in other parts of the world. Eugenics has been used to define the terms “savage” and “primitive” opposite of “civilized beings” and has supported the stratification of not only people but cultures. Eugenics justifies that human beings are limited in their brain capacity and intellectual understanding, depending on their racial background. Entertaining this idea of eugenics not only affects the study of genetics, but it also is applied to the stratification of culture.

It followed that, once selected individuals from “inferior cultures” came to live in “superior cultures,” there would be a limit as to what their brains, of lower development capacity, could handle. Writing exactly a century before this claim would be made again by Arthur Jensen, Spencer noted in 1869 that black children in the United States could not keep up with whites because of the former’s biological and genetically endowed limits, “[blacks]” intellects being apparently incapable of being cultured beyond a particular point. (Duster, 491)

This idea that superior and inferior cultures exist supports the Spanish *Gadje* mentality towards the *Gitano* community. Eugenics not only held up the establishment of hierarchies, but it was precisely this mentality which led to the diatribe against *Gitanos*. The contradictory stereotype of the *Gitano* as uncivilized, savage, mystic and master of cosmic forces with the ability to read palms, cure illnesses, and perform magic, created the essential paradox of flamenco. The romanticized *Gitano* is one that dances around the term “exotic,” thus they are idealized as foreign beings, in a place where the norm is the “Spanish” way of life. To understand why the *Gitano* community is the accepted “exotic” of the Andalusian existence, I will first describe how the Spaniard views honor and its relationship to shame. Then I will explain why honor is protected and how this ideal is reflected in the bullfight.

## ***Honor in Spain***

Honor is a social mentality. It is not monolithic nor a static concept. It has existed within Spain's history and has its presence in today's society. In an attempt to understand honor, I will explain the two definitions that are often used when discussing the concept. I will describe the manner which honor is won or lost, and then give examples of how honor is used within the performing art world. This will then allow the discussion of the bullfight to proceed.

Honor as a virtue, is seen in Spain as something that one is born into and which is granted from birth. It is the idea that your lineage is of a noble background which automatically places you in a higher caste. This is not to say that Spain has a caste system in place but it is rather a social system which is used to organize the communal groups. "Some authors implied that honor could be gained by *obras buenas* (good works), while aristocrats answered that honor was a question of birth, thus evoking the idiom of purity to justify precedence." (Douglas, 247) This type of honor as a virtue is linked to the inferior and superior relationships that exist in Spain. Groups that are affected by this idea of honor are women, lower-class individuals, as well as *Gitanos*. Later in this paper, I will discuss how honor has influenced the perceptions of *Gitanos*, but now I will return to the analysis of the trait.

When explaining honor as a virtue, the role of women needs to be covered. Within Spain, a patriarchal system exists. The structure is linked to this idea of honor. In Catholic Spain women are seen as inferior to men from birth. It is believed that women maintain their honor only in relation to men. A woman preserves her purity via her virginity and her honor is contingent on her sexual relations.

Purity means virginity, or having sexual intercourse with only her legitimate husband. Any inference that a female has had sexual intercourse before marriage makes her a *sinvergüenza* (shameless one) and virtually unmarriageable. Virginity is thus a woman's most prized and vulnerable possession, and the most vaunted characteristics of one of the most worshiped national idols- Mary, mother of Christ. (Douglas, 248)

This mentality makes the woman dependent on a man. Therefore, her honor relies on the relationship she has with a man, while he is exempt from the same beliefs. He has the ability to maintain and gain honor through certain actions, while she can only lose her honor, never to regain it. To explain how it is that man gains honor, the clarification of honor as a precedence has to enter our conversation.

Honor as a precedence is tied to that of a man but also to his reputation within a public sphere. Honor as a precedence is linked to social reputation. There is no distinction between "the concept of honor and that of social reputation which were virtually indistinguishable." ( McKendrick, 318) People lived in a society where perceptions and reputations were linked with honor. A man's status could earn him honor within the eyes of other men. The ways he could gain honor and prestige were reliant on his wife or how he controlled the women in his life. "Men, by contrast were considered socially constructive. They demonstrated this by controlling themselves and/or their women. Women cannot be held responsible for their honor; but it is the definition and role of men to guard and contain feminine honor." (Douglas, 248) This mentality assumed that women were incapable of controlling themselves and thus were at the mercy of men. Women were deemed a disobedient object that needed to be subordinated and it was up to the man to dominate her. This is where nation and religion are one.

Gender roles were not only defined but male and female spaces were also classified. By fulfilling their roles, men were able to maintain their honor in the eyes of the public, where the public consisted virtually only of men. A woman's place was to be

in the house, while the “men want nothing to do with the house; it is not their arena. Male space is the public arena, and their only interest in the home is to keep their females in it.” (Douglas, 248) This harsh reality fed into the ideals of honor. Honor as a precedence was maintained and earned for a man. It was important for him to keep his wife in her place because she was capable of ruining his honor. If a woman defied her role and sexual place in society, by either having intercourse out of wedlock, or by sleeping with another man while married, she could lose her honor. The irony is that this too could shame a man. Such actions by a woman implied that man was unable to control his wife and that he was a weak person. Although this relationship seems like a co-dependence, the difference is that man has the opportunity to gain honor again, independent of his wife, but only in the eyes of other men.

Males in contrast to females, can gain honor (bestowed, vertical), the *honores* that order men into social hierarchies, as compared to the essential honor of equality. Male honor, is defined in its social dimension; it is a way of association. Thus male honor can only be received from others, with a measure of deference: “No man can grant himself honor and no man can command honor from his associates if they are unwilling to give it.” The fact that in order to gain honor it must be recognized by others is what leads to the necessity to prove over and over again one’s honor in the public sphere. (Douglas, 249)

Man can turn shame into honor by public displays of masculinity. Aggression is deemed a respected value and any disclosure of the quality is respected by other men. This need for a public display of honor is an obsession within the Spanish culture. Because the public arena was a space where rituals, idioms and values came together to form honor, a discussion of how this obsession entered other parts of the culture, is necessary.

Honor was not only upheld in social domains. The stage was an instrument which was used to instill ideals of honor. This obsession that Spaniards had with the concept of honor seeped into the cultural and artistic realms of society. By describing how honor was established in different creative arenas, we will begin to understand how this value



found its way into the bullring. The theatre and drama world was a cultural expression that wove themes of honor into its discourse. Honor on stage dates back as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth century. During this period, honor was a convention rather than a social phenomenon. Honor was found in many of the literary dramas of the Golden Age. Authors like Lope de Vega and Pedro Calderón used it as a literary tool because they understood that there was a desire by the Spanish to see such values on stage. “No doubt honor moved people so forcibly, as de Vega remarked, because it was something which men have always esteemed, and which in certain periods of Spanish history was near to becoming an obsession in the lives of many nobles, and even others.” (Jones, 32) Spanish audiences felt the need to see honor on stage because it reminded them of themselves. Honor, as a dramatic tool was effective for it allowed the beginning stages of mimesis to occur. “The plays are in a sense metaphors of a nation’s psychopathology at a specific time in history.” (McKendrick, 322) It is important to see how honor operated on a socio-historic level, to begin to understand its use as an artistic or creative outlet.

Earlier in my discussion, I described two types of honors; honor as a virtue and honor as precedence. Each of these categories was found on stage but in uniquely crafted ways. When honor as a virtue was used in a theater it was depicted as decency. Nobility during Spain’s Golden Age contained the idea of “clean blood.” There was agreement among the aristocratic clergy that those who were noble had clean blood, thus having honor. Onstage, the “clean” being was marked by a distinguished wardrobe. “For the purposes of Spanish theatre, therefore, honor and *limpieza*<sup>30</sup> are one and the same, a seamless garment that formed an essential part of every stage hero.” (McKendrick, 319) Throughout Spain’s history, there were markers of identity used to indicate who was of

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<sup>30</sup> *Limpieza*- Spanish word for clean. Term used to refer to someone who is of clean or pure blood.

noble background and who was not. These material possessions were again used in the public domain by those who socialized and advertised their nobility and place in society.

How a man lived and dressed, how many houses, servants, coaches, horses, hounds, and silver dishes he possessed, were integral parts of legal proof of *nobleza*, to which witnesses were required to attest if necessary. Thus, appearances quite literally mattered since they had tangible socio-economic effects, and what your neighbors thought of you -*-el qué dirán-* was crucial, as often only they could provide testimony of your nobility. (Mc Kendrick, 326.)

With these markers of identity, honor was established. The theatre used these social hierarchies on stage, as a mirror that could feed the Spaniards obsession for honor.

Earlier I discussed how a woman is seen as an extension of man. It was believed that woman could cause a man to lose his honor. This form of honor, honor as precedence, was also used as a dramatic tool. In many performance instances, when honor was at question, conflict was usually present. Within plays from the Golden Age, the concept was used with themes of love and religion. "...how successful Spanish honour was in promoting action and conflicts, whether in the *comédias de capa y espada*<sup>31</sup>, or in a large number of more serious plays where honour conflicted not only with love, but (for example) with duty, friendship, or religion..." (Jones, 34) The conflict onstage, which Jones speaks of, was a reflection of Spain's society. When honor as a precedence made its way within the dramatic and literary discourse, it was always in relation to women. Honor onstage was a mirror for the reality found offstage.

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<sup>31</sup> *Comédias de capa y espada*- Spanish for (Comedies of cloak and sword). "17th-century Spanish plays of upper middle class manners and intrigue. The name derives from the cloak and sword that were part of the typical street dress of students, soldiers, and cavaliers, the favourite heroes. The type was anticipated by the plays of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, but its popularity was established by the inventive dramas of Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina. The extremely complicated plots deal with the frustration of an idealized love by the conventional Spanish *pundonor* ("point of honour"). The affairs of the lady and her gallant are mirrored or parodied in the actions of the servants; the hero's valet (the *gracioso*) also supplies a common-sense commentary on the manners of his masters. After many misunderstandings, duels, renunciations, and false alarms about honour, the plays usually end happily with several marriages. In the 19th and 20th centuries the term "cloak-and-dagger" referred to espionage, both real and fictional." (Britannica Encyclopedia online, [www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/121944/cloak-and-sword-drama](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/121944/cloak-and-sword-drama))

...in real life the pursuit and retention of social status, on stage the pursuit and retention of an honour which, although it always has a significant social dimension in terms of opinion, is dramatized most typically and certainly most powerfully in terms of man's relation to women. (McKendrick, 322)

Honor onstage, in association to women, was a different manifestation of the same obsession. Offstage, it was believed that a man could lose his honor because of a woman. These themes of love, honor and the female, kept coming up in the works of Spanish authors because the audience wanted to see themselves onstage.

The relationship between drama and life where honour was concerned was a close one, but it was not a direct one. ...the drama transposed it into a different register. The Spaniard who gazed at his image in the theatre's mirror saw not a man at the mercy of public gossip whose only recourse was to a law which could give redress but never satisfaction, but the much more reassuring silhouette of a hero who, by applying the harsh code of honour of which he was the compliant victim, could impose himself upon the threat to his reputation, suppress dishonor, and avenge insult without recourse to any but his own resources. (Mc Kendrick, 332)

Mc Kendrick's discussion of honor within the literary field highlights the power of the stage. A performance arena has an intuitive way of streaming into the innate parts of the human psyche. It is important to note that the stage was a location where honor was cerebralized, but the blueprint of the theatre, its physical arrangement also promoted inequalities. Some theatres known as *Corrales*,<sup>32</sup> had separate sections for women to sit, *cazuelas*<sup>33</sup>, which were guarded by men. These *cazuelas* were below the area where the government officials sat, which highlighted another contradiction. The Church always disregarded theater because religion was such an important part of Spanish law-making and culture. However, in 1587 a law was passed stating that women could be performers,

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<sup>32</sup> *Corrales*- were the public theatres that were home to secular plays. They were constructed in existing open-air courtyards, where galleries and boxes were private areas with roves built into the walls that had to be reserved ahead of time. These theatres were for the elite as well as a form of mass entertainment. In the beginning the theatres were temporary but eventually became permanent. The stage was erected at one end, and the entrance was at the opposite end. Audiences could stand during plays on the yard floor and these seats were much cheaper. Many of the theater goers were called "mosqueteros" (musketeers) who ate and had conversations during the shows. (Ivanova, 73)

<sup>33</sup> *Cazuelas*- sections of the *Corrales* theatres that were only for women.

but women were banned in 1596. In 1599 actresses were allowed onstage only if they were a relative of a male company member, and only if there was no cross-dressing. So we see that the theatre had a special section for its government official audience members, yet opposed the theatre and its use of female actresses. These theatres allowed the honor of virtue and the honor of precedence to stand side by side, yet to exist independently of one another.

Although honor onstage was depicted either through heroism, nobility, and dominance over woman or as moments where a man earns rank among other men, the link between all of them is that each component reflected a larger part of the culture's psyche. This relationship between honor and shame, leads us into our discussion of the bullfight. The bullfight is known for its aggression of man over beast. Within the bullring man dominates the animal which in the end earns him honor. The public display of masculinity over a wild animal is a metaphor of the hierarchical system that exists in Spain. As Tynan states, "To anyone who believes in hierarchy, at least ideologically, the bullfight needs no explanation. The inferior must be ruled by the superior." (Douglas, 255). In conclusion, honor enables behavior that is cultivated within the bullfighting world. The control of one group over the other, whether it be male to female or Spaniard to *Gitano*, are all instigated by the Spanish code of honor. This standard is at the core of the bullfighting mentality.

## **The Bullfight in Spain**

The bullfight, is a trademark of Spain. This event, is a reflection of society which will influence our discussion of flamenco, *Gitanos* and the Andalusian paradox. It is essential to discuss the bullfight because it highlights the gender and social inequalities of

not only the country but specifically the Andalusian region. We have to begin by examining the bullfight a cultural emblem rather than a sporting event that people attend. Spaniards engage in the bullfight and not only embrace but also embody its ideals. The displaying of blood and gore are a dramatization of the domination and infatuation that Spaniards have with victimization. The beginning segments of a controlled *corrida*<sup>34</sup> lead to a climatic, brutal finish where either the bull “wins” or the matador “assassinates”. It is precisely this mentality that cultivates certain social behaviors. When audience members attend a bullfight, they enter with a specific frame of mind, knowing that blood will be shed and either shame or honor will be displayed.

In order to understand Spain, and more clearly the south of Spain, the bullfight needs to be examined. Honor is a huge component of the Spanish society. Pride is a key characteristic of the Spanish bullfight. The bullfight is viewed as a multi-voiced symbol, where honor is at stake. It is believed that in the ring, honor can be won or lost with the defeat and “proper” killing of the animal. Many spectators fail to see the importance of the bullfight not only to Spain, but more importantly to the south of Spain. The bullfight is unique to Andalusia. It is a rich tradition in the south, where Spaniards view the *corrida*, a Spanish bullfight, as an institution that dictates the social order of the region.

Honor has been the structuring value for most of Spanish society, but it is based on the definition of male and female. In the bullfight, the relationship between the torero and the bull is homologous to that between man and woman in Spain. Since the sexual hierarchy often represents the social hierarchy, the bull fight is a metaphor that makes a statement about the social order. (Douglas, 242)

Bullfights highlight formal hierarchies which need to be contextualized within history. Before I continue my discussion of the male/female relationship in Spain, I will situate the bullfight within its past.

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<sup>34</sup> *Corrida*- Spanish word for bullfight.

The bullfight dates back to the eleventh century. It was originally an aristocratic privilege which was accepted by other upper-class individuals. The bullfight was executed by men on horses with aerial lances and was deemed a noble sport. However, within the same time period, there were men on foot engaging in the beginning stages of the bullfight.

There are also records of poor Christian and Moorish bullfighters who fought on foot for money in popular spectacles dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In the *Siete Partidas*, the 13-century law code drawn up by Alfonso X, those who fought bulls for money were called infamous (or without honor) and were banned from so doing. After the *Siete Partidas* the bullfight became exclusively a mounted aristocratic game given to the public for the celebration of any great event. (Douglas, 245)

As Douglas reminds us, even before the age of exploration, bullfighting was an event where honor was interconnected with being a man. This marriage between the bullfight and the human represents a much deeper psychological connection that Spain has to its colonial past. In an essay by anthropologist Molly Mullin, she makes the argument that the relationship that humans and cultures have with animals, offers insight into other human relationships. She claims that these human-animal connections highlight colonialist tendencies.

Although many are trying to depart from colonialist program of identifying the essential natures of cultures, anthropologists investigating human beings and their relationships with one another have continued to find it especially useful to analyze humans' relationships with animals, including the meanings assigned to animals, ways of classifying them, and ways of using them-whether as food, stores of value, commodities, signs, scapegoats, or stand-in humans. (Mullin, 207)

If we go further with Mullin's idea that if animals are used as a commodity which could be disposed or dismissed and ill-treated, then this too can carry over towards humans and then certain behaviors can be understood. Spain's colonial past, although difficult to empathize with, has relevance in our discussion of bullfights.

Bullfights have become part of Spain's national identity. It is throughout its history that we see the bull interwoven into its uniqueness as a country. Spain, as a whole has not always been a single entity. Throughout its past, the nation has been divided between right and left political parties, where the right defended the 'national' views and the left, was 'anti-Spain'. These dichotomies, which existed through the nineteenth century, have made it difficult for Spain to cultivate a "National Identity." I am not concluding that bullfighting alone has unified the country, but I am suggesting that it has offered the nation an "'ethnic identity' as composed of two or more cultures." (Douglas, 126) This ethnic identity has fed a national identity which today is still associated with Spain. This single entity, which has been needed for Spain to prosper, is orchestrated with the mapping out of national holidays. When observing *fiestas*<sup>35</sup>, and *fiesta* cycles, cultural and religious ties are joined which highlight characteristics of Spanish culture.

Any community of any size in Spain, celebrates a number of fiestas. In the past these fiestas were usually coordinated with the Christian calendar and cycles of agricultural work at intervals of forty days. Labor time was anti ethical to festive time, a contrast that remains today. Rather than material production, fiestas celebrate and produce social identities. ...Prat who writes that the fiesta is a symbolic moment when the community expresses its "attitudes about its ecological, historical, expressive, esthetic, religious, economic, social, and political relationships."(Douglas, 128)

These elements that construct social identities have influenced the overall country. Douglas shows us how the bullfight is coordinated with regional *fiestas*. Throughout all of Spain's major cities, Madrid, Seville, Valencia, Pamplona, Bilbao, and Zaragoza, are marked with what is called a *fiesta mayor*, the major cultural or religious event which is unique to that city or region. For example, in Seville, the April Fair is celebrated with the conclusion of Lent. In Madrid the day of *San Isidro* is followed by *San Fermín* in Pamplona. *Semana Grande* is recognized in Bilbao while the *Vigen del Pilar* happens in

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<sup>35</sup> *Fiestas*-festivals that are considered important markers and celebrations of ethnic/cultural identity.

Zaragoza. Each of these cities has a direct relation to a religious entity, yet is also celebrated as a *fiesta*. The important note to make is that each of these cities, with the observation of its national holiday, also coincides with the taurine calendar. Regions, starting with Valencia and working clockwise back up to Zaragoza, each start their bullfighting season with accordance of the *fiesta*.

Each of these six cities mentioned above sponsors a series of bullfights during its fiesta mayor. These bullfights, when taken in order, are talked about as if they form a cycle. ...Most people I spoke to, whether fans of bullfights or not, were aware of the three to five most important bullfights and knew when the season begins and ends. (Douglas, 130)

When using Douglas' argument that the bullfight is a part of the religious fiesta cycle, then we can deduce how it is that the bullfight has helped unite Spaniards.

Although the country is connected through the bullfight, each area has certain characteristics that are specific to that region. These elements are highlighted in the bullring yet are used only to separate and differentiate cities. The distinctions made from bullfight to bullfight are inconsequential when the event is used as a marker of Spanish identity. Although the event has become a national ritual, the occasion offers insight into the male/female hierarchy, which highlights social and gender norms.

## **Bullfight as a Metaphor**

Bullfights became popular in Spain during the nineteenth and twentieth century. The bullfight is a gory artifact that serves as a metaphor for the Andalusian community. Bullfights have been present and around for centuries and this historical performance, which is still carried out today, has had the power to affect the thinking of these modern times. "...the performance of a cultural item itself has the power to influence the social structure or an individual's position in it." (Brandes, 9) There are certain values, attitudes,



and experiences which are found in the bullring, that are still a part of the Andalusian culture. To understand why the bullfight is so important to the Spanish culture, I will first discuss the need for such an event.

Bullfights, along with other types of social and cultural gatherings, create a mass performance where values are instilled. In Brandes book, Metaphors of Masculinity, he describes many public events in the town of Monteros, where community gatherings illustrate the desire that some Spaniards have to break free from everyday norms. Spain is a country that has a strong religious background which is also coupled with the subordination of women. In Monteros, there are a series of events, like the parade of Giants and Big Heads or the Olive Harvest, where these ideas of dominance over submission are reenacted. The parade of Giants and Big Heads is an event that occurs where papier maché figures approach from the Monteros town Hall. These figures are giants that are dressed in gowns that remind you of a king and queen. Then members from the community, dressed in oversized papier maché heads which come down to their necks only to reveal their bodies yet disguising their faces, run down alongside the King and Queen. The Big Heads portray many different characters ranging from “Popeye, the Devil, a Witch, a Chinese, and a Black African.” (Brandes,21)

For about forty-five minutes the Giants and Big Heads wind their way through the most important, centrally located streets and plazas of Monteros, with a crowd of children following. The Giants, tall and domineering, walk together at a slow, even, dignified pace. The Big Heads swarm around them, skipping, running, and jumping erratically; they seem intrusive and disruptive, a chaotic element compared with the stately Giants. The Big Heads pause at several plazas where townspeople are gathered and rush around in unpredictable directions, bopping people with their stuffed cloths. (Brandes, 22)

This parade is a performance of the relationship between the controlled and dignified and those uncivilized. It is an escape from reality for those men who are wearing the Big Heads and acting the part. The actors wear the masks as a license to engage in savage

behavior. One could argue that the masks, the costumes, as well as the gestures that are found in the parade, themselves are an escape from Spain's expected norms of etiquette. Because the country is so heavily influenced by reputations and the *loquediran*<sup>36</sup> mentality I discussed earlier when examining Andalusia, it is no surprise that such events are needed within the region.

Brandes argues that the event of the Giants and Big-Heads is a metaphor for the socially constrained Andalusians. The occasion "juxtaposes a dominant, organized, emotionally controlled group against one characterized by subordination, disorganization, and emotional abandonment." (Brandes, 32) This relationship between both groups, civil and uncivil, is similar to the socially charged environment of the bullring. The same way that the parade highlights the dynamic of power and control, the bullfight is also a dance between the matador and bull, skilled and savage. The arena is a performance space where everyday people break free from the constraints of organized society, to witness the killing of a bull. This action illustrates how the country has a deep yearning to step away from protocol, and in the process of witnessing a performance, they too become part of a performance.

Agriculture in Spain comes into our discussion of the bullfight. The country has a large olive industry that requires much attention during the months of December until March. During this season, laborers come together to work in the fields. Throughout this period, workers from differing classes meet and are forced to labor together. In that process, communities are formed where men and women interact in various manners. In

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<sup>36</sup> *Loquediran*- Concept within the Andalusian community; used as a threatening force within the society. "They say they are afraid of *loquediran* . The locution is really three words, *lo que diran*, spoken all in a single breath and it means, 'What they will say.' What they will say always corresponds to the worst paranoid fantasy of persecution." (Gilmore, 35)

some instances, on the actual fields, the men perform the higher work and the women carry out the lower work. Brandes suggests that this is not a coincidence. He argues that the olive harvest is a metaphor for the gender hierarchies that exist in Spain. Brandes believes that men do the upper tree work while the women are crouched on their knees collecting the olives from the ground.

This is the job of the women, who throughout the long days of the harvest remain on hands and knees, picking up olives, placing them in baskets, and transferring them finally to large burlap sacks. Whether standing on the ground or sitting on the branch of an olive tree, men are invariably situated at a markedly higher level than women, who during most of the harvest remain crouched below. (Brandes, 144)

These physical actions are a manifestation of a much bigger element of the culture. The relationship between men and women, which is highlighted in Brandes discussion of the olive harvest, is also deeply rooted in Andalusia.

The olive harvest is a time when roles are inverted and new identities can be acquired. During the harvest, women and men interact in a fashion that in most scenarios would not be normal. “Like the pageant of Giants and Big-heads, the harvest is an occasion when normal relations between the sexes and classes are both affirmed and symbolically reversed.” (Brandes, 140) Women talk to men in a manner that in other venues, would be deemed unlady-like. Women joke with men in a vulgar fashion and layer their words and phrases with sexual innuendos. This in effect creates a situation where women are not assuming their roles and are escaping from their reality.

In conclusion, the olive harvest is another example of the outlets “needed” by some Spaniards. There is a degree of compliance found within the Spanish psyche. Society expects certain positions to be filled, and for the most part, these roles are assumed by many. Events like the olive harvest offer venues where people can step away from the shackles of society. “The olive harvest, I would contend exists as much to

provide a release from inhibitions as it does to collect olives.” ( Brandes, 150) It is true that the olive harvest and parade of the Giants and Big-Heads are illustrating the same need that some Spaniards have with the bullfight, but now I will discuss how this event displays another element of the regions folklore.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the bullfight is a reflection of the Spanish culture, some of its values and belief systems, as well as its view towards women. “The bullfight works not only on an individual level but also serves to legitimize or critique a society of hierarchical divisions.”(Douglas, 254) The public display of male aggression and violence when in a contained environment is not only accepted, but a cultural norm. The men in Andalusian society are expected to act masculine. Bullfights, the arena, and the bullfighting industry not only reinforce these ideas but enable the disrespect of men towards women. In Marvin’s essay, “The Cockfight in Andalusia, Spain: Images of the Truly Male” he makes the conclusion that the cockfight is a reflection of the patriarchal Andalusian region. Using Marvin’s study and Mullin’s argument of animals being a representation of human-human relationships, I will show how the bullfight really is an event that perpetuates inequalities.

By creating a cultural event in which these qualities can be revealed before an audience, men who attend the cockfight are able to reflect on the qualities, and the importance of the qualities is reinforced. The event becomes like “a story they tell themselves about themselves.” The analysis of the story reveals certain men’s views of what they are and how they ought to be. (Marvin, 61)

Attending a *corrida*, or in Marvin’s case, a cockfight, one is looking into a mirror which reflects its vision towards women. Marvin’s investigation of cockfights in Spain supports the theory that bullfights also reinforce social customs. Within the bullfighting discourse, there are many male/female references and sexual innuendos.

The bullfight is a defense against femininity. The bullfighter and the bull are locked in a homosexual battle to see who will penetrate whom. The torero's masculinity triumphs when his sword kills the bull, and the bull is made feminine in the act of dying. Ingham notes, however, that even at the beginning of the fight, the bull has several feminine characteristics, such as being a physical virgin as well as a virgin to the cape, and the torero does carry a large "penis," his sword. (Douglas, 243)

The feminizing of the bull and the many implications of the male and female anatomy are not only found in the dialogue of the sport, but also in its history. In the past, the bullfight was used to celebrate weddings. In these rural parts of Spain, bulls were to be injured but not killed. In these instances, the *corridos* were primarily used as metaphors for the first night shared between the husband and wife.

Marriage was one of the events celebrated by bullfights. According to most investigators, the earliest bullfights recorded in Spain are *toros de boda* (wedding bulls). The first recorded bullfight took place in 1080 at the aristocratic wedding of *infante* Sanch de Estrada and doña Uraca Flores. Other early marriage bullfights occurred in 1108, 1124, and 1180 at aristocratic weddings. In some rural parts of Spain, the tradition continued on a popular level until the 19th century. In these events the *novio* (bridegroom) took great care to choose a good bull, which he and his friends then ran usually on a rope, past the house of his *novia* (bride). The bull was not killed; rather, the object was to make it bleed. Alvarez de Miranda notes that "this could allude to the near marriage" (or breaking of the hymen-male penetration of female). (Douglas, 245)

The bullfight not only alludes to the male dominance over the female but it includes a sexual discourse where the bull is a metaphor of gender relationships.

These events, whether they be cockfights or bullfights have ideological messages of masculinity. They instill masculine values into its audience members by perpetuating ideals of what strong men should look like. When describing what a "real" man is, the portrayal of pride is attached to bodily descriptions. Pride is believed to be possessed only by those who exercise self-control and who can struggle to achieve one's goal regardless of adversities and obstacles which come up. "The true man in this culture should be virile, courageous, assertive, in control of himself and his environment and, if possible, in control of others as well." (Marvin, 64) This account of manliness in

combination with the sexual discourse of men and female body parts enters the bullring in many ways. On one hand, a strong matador is one that has *cojones*<sup>37</sup>. If he has the “balls” to enter a bullring, then he must possess elements of pride and characteristics of a “real” man.

A true man should possess *cojones* (balls); it is this which allows him to act as a man ought to act; to have *cojones* allows men to act in difficult and dangerous circumstances. Sexual potency, courage, ability to assert oneself, and domination are all intimately linked. Although, anatomically all men have testicles (unless they are deformed or castrated) not all men are able to reveal, on a behavioral level, the quality of having *cojones* which is associated with, derived from or projected onto testicles. Therefore to say of a man, “el tiene cojones” (he has balls), is not a reference to his anatomy but to the fact that he possess the quality valued in a “true” man. (Marvin, 65)

The use of language is important to note. When trying to understand how it is that bullfights perpetuate masculinity, speech is a main component. The dialectical manner which masculinity is instilled is also an element of the male/female relationship. As stated earlier, the metaphors of sexual relationships and innuendos of female body parts encourage the bullfight to not only reinforce these ideals but they highlight the inequalities of the region. The bullfight has been used as a metaphor to illustrate the Andalusian ideology of male dominance over females. In this next section, I will discuss how the event not only inculcates these ideas, but the ring is a symbol of how the male should learn to control the woman. I later highlight how this relationship of man and woman, is also used to support the dominance over other cultures like the *Gitanos*, those beings that are less civil.

Earlier in this paper, I established that the bull is feminized in the bullring. I have also stated that pride and masculine characteristics are found within the arena. Through language, gestures, and public displays of aggression man learns how to dominate the

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<sup>37</sup> *Cojones*- Spanish word for testicles, which is often used in a vulgar manner.

woman. In Gilmore's discussion of male supremacy, he argues that men tend to reveal their beliefs of what strong and real men are, primarily in public venues. It is mainly when other men are watching that these aspects come out. Gilmore suggests that the act of making the masculine gestures public, then becomes a performance where judgment is passed on one's manliness.

In Andalusia, men are men, therefore, only through public demonstration of machistic qualities. Again, society judges. A man is held publicly accountable. He is tested. Obviously the emphasis on virile display holds inevitably a competitive implication: men are measured against other men if only by invidious comparison. Performance is everything. (Gilmore, 133)

Using Gilmore's idea that men prove their manhood when in the company of other men, then it is no surprise that the bullfight is another moment where they are showcasing their masculinity. However, it is important to note that men are not the only people to attend. Women are also spectators to these events and thus, they are enabling such behavior and inequalities by tolerating such displays. As author Pink discussed, "The traditional role of women in bullfight was that of the 'beautiful spectator'." (Pink, 61) With a close analysis, the performance element of the bullring allows the male to display its dominance over the bull. In addition, if the bull is supposed to represent the woman, then this cultural event clearly is not only instilling but enabling the ideological messages of masculinity.

I argue that ideologically, at least, the bull is female, an animal structurally equivalent to a woman. The role of the male is to control, contain, and finally kill the bull. I show that the popular image of females in (southern) Spain is that if not controlled by men, they are extremely dangerous and upsetting to the social order due to their sexual nature. It is through the treatment of the bull and the transference of language usually reserved for the *toro* bravo and the bullfight to women and the erotic relations between the sexes that the parallels between the bull and the female can be seen. (Douglas, 243)

The bullfight is space where the matador performs in the company of the bull, only to lead in an attempt at killing it. This is a metaphor for how the man feels compelled to control woman in society.

In Spain, animals, whether they be hens or bulls, have been considered wild creatures. In the culture, there is an understanding that such animals need to be tamed and controlled. This manipulation and domination over undomesticated animals slowly became a sign of power. To exude this control over the savage was respected throughout all of Spain. Eventually, this mentality which was influenced by Social Darwinism, was directed towards human beings. Returning to Mullin's argument, which makes a case that the way humans treat animals, is a reflection of how they treat other human beings, returns to our discussion of the bullfight.

Bullfighting as a cultural event has become a part of Spain's national identity. In that process, it has served as a reflection of the society where male and female relationships are unequal and destructive. Using Mullin's theory, the subordination of females should not come as a surprise because the behavior directed at bulls is a consequence of the manner which female and bulls are connected. This demoralizing link made between woman and animal, that both are savage beasts which need to be controlled, will influence our discussion of why the *Gitano* community was treated in unjust ways.

### ***Summary of Chapter***

Science was considered to deliver truths. When the study of eugenics encouraged a new social framework, which created racist and negative rhetoric, the explosive outcome lasted for years. Science was always associated with prestige and the field of



eugenics shaped a racial separation that fostered social and political changes. This propaganda affected many aspects of Spain, which included the performance arena. Art did not exist in a vacuum. It was surrounded by villages, people, politicians and scientists. Although eugenicists were not directly related to the performance arena, individuals living in the community absorbed the rhetoric of the times. When society was encouraging individuals to fear, detest and control those things deemed “unfit”, then implicitly the language was absorbed. This speech was making its way onto the stage, which brought public ideas into a private setting.

Traditions were passed on from generation to generation and communities drew on realities that were not experienced but delivered. Throughout Spain’s history, the *Gitanos* were literally as well as symbolically, divided by the *Gadje*. Scientists in Spain dehumanized the body through eugenics and in doing so, they targeted the *Gitano* community. This deconstruction of physiological characteristics created concepts of good and bad, and savage and noble. The European entity was socially constructing an identity that was related to status. Markers of identity were measured through physical features and in a world where skin tone mattered, these ideas of purity or tainted, were clearly linked to the *Gitano* community. This scientific culture did not diminish aggression, but instead fueled the unconscious drive to purify and tame society and all of its “wild creatures.” The irony lies in that this mentality was eventually projected on Spain’s women, *Gitanos* and animals.

Within the bullfight, politics were veiled but the essence of the Andalusian culture was present. These entertainment venues reinforced concepts of power and authority and allowed Spaniards to not only escape from societies customs, but to authenticate the

gender inequalities that existed in the culture. These traditions became ironic practices of social discourse. Similar to the eugenics community that not only believed but also instilled in its society that racial purification was necessary, the same process occurred within the bullfighting arena. Audience members were convinced that man needed to control beast, and in that altercation, power was restored. The negative ideas that the Spanish society formed towards the bullring was born in the context of a Spanish identity. To be Spanish was to be pure, noble, and abide to the gender norms. These same ideals transferred over into many aspects of society.

In summary, during the nineteenth century, treatment towards the *Gitanos* of Spain was contingent on the eugenicist scientists. Parallel to that fact, bulls were at the mercy of the human. These conceptual boundaries between scientists and *Gitanos*, male and female and male and bull, have been blurred. This contradiction has affected the Andalusian culture and nourished the paradox of the region. This tension between scientists and *Gitanos*, male and bull, and women and men, reflect the complex, multifaceted Andalusian identity.

## CHAPTER FOUR- FLAMENCO HISTORY: ANALYSIS OF THE PALOS, EMOTIONS AND THE PARADOX

### ***Chapter Introduction***

This next chapter will closely examine the *Gitanos* of Spain within the flamenco art form. I will offer a brief overview of why art and more specifically dance, are important components to our discussion of the complex Andalusian identity. I will then highlight the main elements of flamenco, followed by an analysis of the many styles within the form. I will conclude with an exploration of the paradoxical nature of flamenco and how it mirrors other contradictions of the region.

Dance in Spain has existed for many centuries. The Spanish courts were similar to those of other European countries, in regards to development of dance forms. “The right conditions were there to further the progress of classical ballet in Spain which was developing on similar lines to those in the rest of Europe at the time.” (Ivanova, 86) Dance throughout the Spanish empire, was viewed in various ways. In some instances it was used to celebrate religious occasions, and in others it was seen as an honor to battles won. Dance was a way which people showcased class. The Queen of Spain, “Maria Teresa, was admired for her dancing.” (Ivanova, 85) Royalty was associated with movement, dance represented status and was used as a badge of prestige that only the elite few could learn. Apart from imperial connections, dance was also linked to the Church. The union between dance and Church symbolized the power that dance carried throughout the ages in Spain.

Dance was used to describe and promote religion. Since the years of Ferdinand and Castile, there was a link between the two domains. Throughout history, dance was in every aspect of Spanish culture, and during the sixteenth century there was a shift to forge dance with Spain's national identity. Dance was embedded in the Spanish psyche because it was seen as a vehicle to unify the country. Dance allowed hope for a national identity that was solely Spain's. With the history of the country consisting of foreign rulers and systems of government under the church, the need and desire to create a characteristic that was uniquely Spanish was clear and present. The country was forming a fresh identity and under that new personality, dance was a key component.

The Spanish people were savoring the experience of being one nation, with one crown and religion. National customs began to take precedence over all others. The Moors had been driven out, the reign of the Catholic kings established, and the population converted to one faith. Gone was the tyranny of the feudal lords and the old *bailes de feudalismo* gave way to a new uninhibited kind of movement. The Spanish folk literally danced for joy. A relic of those times exists in an old dance still in existence in Catalonia, where one group of dancers represent the rich, another the poor; they dance together and then change places with each other. This was the sort of device used as a means of expressing movement, in dance form, the pride the Spaniards now felt in their new-found union. (Ivanova, 65)

For the purpose of this writing, I will briefly cover dance in Spain in a general manner as it will contextualize flamenco within its history. However the most important trait I want to highlight is the connection between dance and national identity. Why was dance such a part of Spain's political distinctiveness? Because it was connected to faith, and identity was associated with the Church and the Church was associated with dance.

Spain has been called the 'Land of Faith'-with good reason for faith was everywhere present as it continues to be today. Throughout the ages, dancing in Spain has been closely connected with the Faith; to such an extent that at one point dancing in the church had to be proscribed, was then condemned in religious processions and in the fifteenth century it was finally forbidden. (Ivanova,60)

The Church used dance to deliver the religious message to the masses. Citizens were illiterate and the country used movement to educate them. Dance was always a part of the

culture because it was in many aspects of society. “It was impossible to escape its impact for it was everywhere present in convents, monasteries, churches, palaces, theatres, taverns, streets, patios and in the wide open squares where everyone would meet.” (Ivanova, 71) This echoes the importance of art within the country but highlights the regional character that might have been portrayed in each of these dances. As mentioned in the bullfighting section, festivities reflected provincial charm; the same was true for dance.

It is vital that I remark on the pride that individuals took in their own region or more specifically, their city. Ivanova comments on the manner, in which Spaniards were not only patriotic but also territorial.

Every Spaniard I met seemed to be imbued with an almost mystic love of the earth upon which he was born.... North, south, east, west, it is all Spain but, apart from the fact that all the inhabitants are Spanish, they cling to their own race, language and customs, and it is precisely their song and dances that help them maintain their much prized individuality and this is part of the urge for racial self-preservation. (Ivanova, 164)

This protective mechanism encompasses political, artistic, and religious ideologies. Spain consists of fifty provinces that overlap one another and the country could divide its song and dance arts into four categories: the north hosting the *Jota*, the south the *Fandangos*, the central and western part of Spain the *Seguidilla* and the east the *Sardanas*. Although a thorough evaluation of these regional styles will not add to my investigation, it is important to note. I also did not mention flamenco in the classification of the dances. Ivanova suggests that flamenco became a part of the southern identity within the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Today flamenco is always associated with Spain and considered to come from Andalusia. This chapter will clearly define what flamenco is, where it comes from, how it evolved over time and will conclude with an analysis of the paradox that exists within the form.

## ***Realities of Art***

There is a truth revealed in art. Art can offer insight into a culture, it can be a dialogue between groups of people, and has the ability to rebel against an existing status quo. Art is not disconnected from life. It is an expressive medium that for some cultures is a language through which beliefs are articulated. Art is a dialect that draws on real life experiences and can be a vehicle that joins two separate worlds while fostering and molding an entirely new one.

The 'truth' of art may lie either in revelation of fundamental relations normally obscured by the mask of appearance or else in the discovery of one's genuine identity in the Dionysian loss of normal self, but in both instances artistic truth is experienced as abnormally powerful and convincing in contrast to our muddled mundane experience. (Stewart, 79)

Art has the capacity of purging emotions while expressing schools of thought. It can be an interchangeable vessel that lies at the core of many communities. Art has the power to reveal a reality that is often not otherwise examined. This truth found within art, lends itself to dance. Dance is a series of motions with an organized intention that has an aesthetic and inherent value. It is an empirical indicator of the body's history that has meaning, a purpose, it can create and nurture traditions, while serving as a creative outlet. Flamenco as an art form, highlights the history of the *Gitano* community. It reveals sexist, classist, and racist ideas that revolve around the *Gitano*. Flamenco embodies the history of the *Gitano* community and underscores the contradictions of the region. It is a form of oral history where behaviors, gestures, poetry, dances, music, and emotions all come together to document the past of a people, as well as a region. Flamenco was born from the interaction between the *Gadje* and *Gitanos*. The roots of flamenco stem from the

everyday life of the *Gitano* community. It was their truth which lent itself to the corporal language now known as flamenco.

### ***Gitano History within Flamenco***

*Gitanos* were not guest workers in the flamenco field. They brought the intangible characteristics of their community, emotions, and way of relating and molded them into a tangible circle that can be seen in flamenco singing, dancing, and guitar playing. *Gitanos* were a people that knew how to maneuver and adapt to situations. They were able to shift intrinsically and extrinsically into many different settings, because they had a strong grounding in their community. As described in the *Gypsy/Roma Identity: the Core Elements chapter*, the negotiation between the in-group and out-group members is forever present. Within our discussion of flamenco history a similar template exists. Roma and *Gadje* debate over the origins of the art form. Similar to *Gitano* history, flamenco roots are also highly argued. The art form, contrary to popular opinion, is approximately two hundred years old. It is a recent development considering the many years that the Roma community has been in Europe. The theories that exist in the field represent the tension between the *Gitano* and non-*Gitano* societies.

Two opposing views emerge when flamenco history is discussed. Some individuals, communities and historians believe that the art form is not a Roma invention, but rather an Andalusian phenomenon that included the *Gitanos* of Spain.

Certainly the Gypsies are important, but flamenco is not exclusively theirs. They have been largely responsible for its survival, and they like to think it belongs to them. But the Gypsies did not bring their own music to any country they settled in. What they did was adopt the music of that country and bring to it their own particular style of musicality, their strong rhythmic sense, and their tendency to dramatize. They have been the catalysts, but flamenco developed from the melting pot of Andalusia. (Totton, 14)

On the other hand, historians like Bernard Leblon argue that

... there are now enough demonstrative arguments and formal musicological data available to easily refute those who claim, for example, that when the Gypsies arrived in Europe in the fifteenth century they possessed no musical tradition of their own at all, or they are utterly incapable of artistic creativity. (Leblon, 64)

When looking at such a complex history disputes are expected. Within the flamenco debate, individuals make claims that are often historically inaccurate. Leblon warns that one needs to be cautious and critical of the manner in which information is interpreted, because discourse has been influenced by affirmations that have not been supported by factual evidence. He also suggests that these types of claims against the *Gitano* flamenco connection are in reality associated with the racist, stereotypical and the controversial images that have surrounded the Roma community for centuries. “As we know, ignorance is at the root of all racial prejudice. It is ignorance which has given rise to diametrically opposed attitudes towards the Gypsies: attraction and repulsion, fascination and hatred.” (Leblon,64) Such feelings are seeded in resistance where a lack of acknowledgement of the *Gitano* as valid contributors to the form have been the guiding forces behind such opposition. As another scholar, Robin Totton explains, flamenco was seen as “low-stuff” and neglected as a vital art form. These anti-*Gitano* attitudes are oftentimes coupled with the exclusion of other cultural influences. Among them are the Jewish and Byzantine theories, which state that flamenco also has roots in these cultures.

*Sephardic Jews*<sup>38</sup> originated in what was once known as the *Iberian Peninsula*<sup>39</sup>.

They are also referred to as *Sepdardi* or *Sephardim*. They left Spain during the Reconquest, which took place in 1492. Those who remained after the fall of Granada fled

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<sup>38</sup> *Sephardic Jews*- is a Jew with family origins in the Iberian Peninsula. This includes both the descendants of Jews expelled from Spain under the Alhambra decree of 1492, or from Portugal by order of King Manuel I in 1497 and the descendants of crypto-Jews who left the Peninsula in later centuries. (online, [http://www.zionism-israel.com/dic/Sephardic\\_Jew.htm](http://www.zionism-israel.com/dic/Sephardic_Jew.htm))

<sup>39</sup> *Iberian Peninsula*- is located in the extreme southwest of Europe, and includes modern day Spain, Portugal, Andorra and Gibraltar and a very small part of France.



to the mountains along with the Muslims and *Gitano* to escape the Inquisition. This melting pot of outcast cultures was forced by exile to share their sorrows and joys. It is through this interaction that some historians believe flamenco developed. Among flamencologists and artists, there is a common belief that the *Peteneras*<sup>40</sup> was originally a song of the Sephardic Jew. The evidence comes from a verse that refers to a beautiful Jewess on her way to a synagogue. This would date the song back as far as 1492, when the Jews and the synagogues disappeared from Spain. Although the Sephardic Jews vanished from Spain in the late fifteenth century, echoes of their haunting music linger in flamenco melodies such as the *Peteneras*. Another theory linking flamenco to a Jewish ancestry is found with the relationships between religious flamenco songs known as the *Saetas* with those from the Jewish community. Other scholars opposing the Jewish influence claim that the *Saeta* has nothing to do with the flamenco art form.

The analogies Azara draws between certain Jewish religious songs and the *saetas* of Andalusian processions are entirely without foundation, since the examples cited are very modern creations, in particular the *saeta* of Manuel Centeno, adapted to the *seguriya* model. Moreover, all one need do is listen to Sephardic songs, preserved up to the present day among the descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492- and in particular their versions of *romances*- to observe that these have nothing whatever in common with flamenco. (Leblon, 67)

The debate of who contributed what, is ongoing. Finally we must consider the Byzantine influence. Historians like Anna Ivanova have compared *Cante Jondo*<sup>41</sup> to Byzantine liturgical music. Oftentimes the Byzantine theory is interchangeable with the Arabic influence on flamenco, yet those distinctions are also highly debatable. Arabic music was played in the Andalusian region for over seven hundred years. These musical

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<sup>40</sup> *Peteneras*- is a flamenco palo in a 12-beat meter.

<sup>41</sup> *Cante Jondo*- also known as “Deep Song” is a vocal style in flamenco. Often considered the oldest and purest form of the genre.

influences were intertwined with Arabic poetry and are considered by historians to have helped shape flamenco.

As flamenco artists and critics began to explore the elements of *gitano* performance, they rediscovered the rich Arab influence in flamenco. The art form's basic building blocks—sung poetry and music—were borrowed from the Arabs and Berbers who ruled al-Andalus from 711 to 1492, when the Moors were expelled from Spain. T.B. Irving notes in his book *The World of Islam*, "Gypsy music and *cante jondo* go back to the *zajal* [sung Arabic lyric poetry] and the five-tone scale." The percussive elements of *jaleo* are still found in the folk music of North Africa and its reliance on drums, tambourines and hand-clapping. The vocal conventions of flamenco can also be traced back to Arab precursors. For example, the vocalizations "Ay-ay-ay!" and "Ay-li-li!" are found throughout *gitano* performance, usually in introductory or transitional passages, and come from the traditional refrains of blind Arab mendicants, "*Ya 'ain!*" ("O eye!") and "*Ya tail!*" ("O night!") respectively. (Noakes, online source)

The issue of Jewish or Arabic influences is far from resolved. My purpose is to highlight the debate and enter the conversation from an objective perspective. In an effort to do this, I will discuss the historical aspects of the art form starting with the origin of the word flamenco and its definition. Then I will deconstruct flamenco from the singing, guitar playing, and dancing perspectives.

## ***Flamenco History***

Flamenco, the art form, is a disputed style of music, song and dance that situates itself in Spain, particularly Andalusia. The art form is made up of three basic components, *cante*<sup>42</sup>, *toque*<sup>43</sup> and *baile*<sup>44</sup>. These three elements serve as the framework of the art. The term flamenco encompasses these three components while revealing a debate arising from the word itself. When looking at the root of the word, there are multiple misunderstandings that grow from the diverse theories that exist. Among the first is

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<sup>42</sup> *Cante*- Spanish word used for singing; Oftentimes jargon for flamenco artists, historians, fans, critics, musicologists and flamencologists.

<sup>43</sup> *Toque*- Spanish word for guitar playing. Used for my purpose to describe guitar playing within the flamenco art form.

<sup>44</sup> *Baile*- Spanish word for dance. Used for my purposes within the discussion of flamenco dancing.

George Burrows' claim that the word flamenco has a Flemish and German background. The English writer, while traveling in Spain in the 1830's, wrote a book called Los Zincali where he declared that *Gitanos* were originally German (Germanos) and Flemish (Flamencos), thus the root of the word flamenco.

Critics agree that this is the first recorded mention of the word flamenco in conjunction with gypsies. However the Flemish theory is questionable, according to Molina, because the gypsies who settled in Spain did not go through Germany or Flanders, and there is no recorded evidence of flamenco being used to refer to gypsies during the sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth century. (Serrano and Elgorriaga, 30)

Burrows' claim has been rejected by most but it is still part of the discourse. Another theory argues that the word has Egyptian roots and is linked with the Arabic words "felag-menju" meaning fleeing peasant. "Again Molina argues, saying that since the word appears late in the eighteenth century and since its reference to gypsies cannot be documented during the previous centuries, it is doubtful that flamenco could come from Arabic." (Serrano and Elgorriaga, 30) This Egyptian theory has also been disproved. The final association of the word is linked to the *Gitano* community. In another book, this time by Manuel García Matos, he suggests that the word flamenco comes from the jargon of the late eighteenth century. He uses flamenco to depict a flashy, flamboyant individual with a fiery personality. "It depicts the gypsy with his lean and arrogant figure, his gracious, brilliant walk and gestures, the keenness of his temperament and passions-pure flame." (Serrano and Elgorriaga, 31) Some historians believe this last theory has a logical and realistic kernel of truth. As mentioned earlier, many facets of flamenco the word and the art form, are uncertain.

What we do know to be true is that the *Gitano* community is a main component of the flamenco world. The flamenco genre is oftentimes referred to as an artifact of the *Gitano* community. This writing contends that flamenco, at a base level, was brought to

Spain by the *Gitano* travelers. It evolved into what we now see and know as flamenco, but the essence, spirit and soul of the form was brought by the *Gitanos*. I disagree with individuals who claim that *Gitanos* had no musical traditions and simply borrowed or as some have put it “Gypsies steal chickens= Gypsies steal music”. (Leblon, 64) This is false. *Gitano* communities do have musical roots, though the acknowledgement of this is rarely documented. However, it cannot be denied that the Andalusian environment affected the development of flamenco. The uniquely symbiotic nature of the *Gitano* and the land nurtured flamenco. We see this in the manner the music was cultivated, how it was brought to the stage, and the tension between the *Gitano* and *Gadje* communities.

Flamenco’s paradoxical nature has produced discussions of many kinds. For the moment, I want to strip away all of the historical debates that revolve around the art form, and examine the language that is at the center of flamenco. When I use the term language I am referring to the universal elements that flamenco encompasses. Within flamenco, themes of love, death, life, happiness, sex, struggles, marriage and humanity are all found and expressed through some medium of the art form. These topics are pertinent to every human being, and it is in this manner that flamenco speaks a universal language. At its core, the term *Quejío*<sup>45</sup> is found. *Quejío* is the tragic out cry and the lament that is rooted in the form. It is the product of the awful situations and realities that the *Gitanos* endured on their journeys throughout the world. The persecuted race often found in the hills, fleeing persecution of many kinds, brings the *quejío* core to life. This part of the language, the *quejío*, is a component of the flamenco world that anyone can understand. The seed of suffering represented in the song, dance and music, is the foundation that has

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<sup>45</sup> *Quejío*- Tragic outcry and the lament that is rooted in flamenco.

allowed flamenco to represent an outcast group and the diversity of a region, along side the nature of the form.

Flamenco is the art of the *Gitano* and Andalusian people. Before flamenco was commercialized and commodified, the artists developing the form were not musically or physically trained. Little attention was paid to profit gain and requiring stages or vast audiences was unheard of. Flamenco was not a form of entertainment but instead a way of life where lower-class citizens expressed their fears, happiness, lament, laughter, frustration and many other emotions, via the art form.

From the very beginning, it was the power, the art, and the inspiration of the individual that shaped the growth of the many branches of flamenco, for it has always been the individual that expressed his inner feelings and emotions and life itself. ...Before there was ever a thought of flamenco going on stage- when flamenco was being expressed behind closed doors and in open fields around the pueblos of southern Spain- the natural creative drive of the individual for personal fulfillment was changing and evolving flamenco. (Morca, 44)

Naturally, flamenco has evolved and developed into grand performances. This will be discussed in the analysis of the *Café Cantantes* era and the affects of Franco's regime on flamenco. For now, I want to highlight that flamenco is constantly changing. As I discussed in *Chapter Two- Gypsy/Roma Identity: The Core Elements*, the process of tradition is not static. A ritual evolves each time it is performed. This is the nucleus of flamenco. Each moment that a person gets up to sing, play or dance, they are a different being, therefore bringing something fresh to the moment. "And so, unlike folk music, flamenco is constantly changing, not only with the times, but with each singer, and every time he opens his mouth to sing." (Totton, 18) Antiquity is interwoven with modernity, and the evolving character of flamenco creates a tension which nourishes the complex Andalusian character. This identity is rooted in the nature of the *Gitanos*. Flamenco was and is an outlet for *Gitanos* to share their sadness, happiness, sorrows, fears, insecurities,

tendencies, values and suffering. This art form was born from a people who traveled and wandered for years.

To deconstruct the tension flamenco embodies, one needs to understand the dialectical nature of the flamenco vocabulary, which is unique and finds its place inside a world of opposites. Although flamenco artists produce beautiful music, using the guitar, the <sup>46</sup>*compás*, the dancer's footwork and the singers voice, the themes, stories and the emotions conveyed are anything but tender. On some level, flamenco has a raw quality which is born from the pain and suffering of its *Gitano* ancestors. The beauty of flamenco is not found in the showcasing of the *classical body*<sup>47</sup>, instead it is the grotesque which makes flamenco so captivating. "An art that turns its guts inside and out and refuses to hide behind the mask of beauty- that is real flamenco. Clearly this is not some superficial form of entertainment. Flamenco does not please. It is inherently not pleasing." (Schreiner, 96) As Schreiner points out, flamenco has a raw quality to it that highlights the tension and the *quejío*. Originally, flamenco was an unrefined art that evoked and required passion from its performers. It brought out the emotional aspects of the human mind and body. It was a penetrating force that worked as an outlet for the *Gitanos*. What became known as flamenco is a combination of the *Gitano* experiences and the Andalusian culture. These two main components gave birth to the *cante*, *toque* and *baile*. After a discussion of each of these elements, I will highlight how the art form represents the paradox of both the *Gitanos* and the region.

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<sup>46</sup> *Compás*- flamenco term for rhythm.

<sup>47</sup> *Classical Body*- A term used by Janet Wolff to describe what she calls the civilizing process. "Emerging from this process of gradual exclusion and privatization of areas of bodily functions and emotions is what Bakhtin called the "classical body." The classical body has not orifices and engages in no base bodily functions. It is like a classical statue. It is opposed to the "grotesque body," which has orifices, genitals, protuberances. (Wolff. 84)

## ***Flamenco Basics***

Within flamenco there are many elements that come together to form the musical and artistic traditions. To simplify the vocabulary and make a cohesive story, it is useful to separate the terms into primary and secondary groups. The terms in the primary group are the rudimentary basics that would have to be present for flamenco to exist. The secondary group encompasses words that can be seen as jargon or that serve as decoration to the art form. The terminology in the secondary group is important to flamenco and plays a crucial role, but is not critical in understanding the overall history. I will outline the components of each but will leave some expressions out of the secondary group. The remaining terminology will be listed in a glossary that can be found in the appendix.

The three pillars of flamenco are the *cante*, the singing, the *toque*, guitar playing, and the *baile*, the dancing. These main elements serve as the foundation of the primary group. Everything is built from the *cante*, *toque*, and *baile*. Within flamenco, there is a term known as *compás* which is a twelve count rhythm that underlies everything happening within the flamenco art form. As Totton puts it, no discussion of flamenco would be complete without a thorough analysis of *compás*. “It means slightly different things according to the context. In Spanish music it simply means the bar of measure...To the flamenco it also means the rhythmic unit of the song. ...Compás also means to stick accurately to that unit while making rhythmic variations within it.” (Totton, 22) The *compás* is a structure that allows for personal freedom. Because flamenco encompasses complex rhythms, the *compás* of each style must be clear, strong

and consistent. Within flamenco there are up to 50 styles, also known as *palos*<sup>48</sup>. These *palos* can have a 12 count *compás* but are not obliged to be 12 count rhythms. Each *palo* has specific verses, also known as *letras*,<sup>49</sup> which adhere to certain syllabic rules. *Letras* fit into *tercios*,<sup>50</sup> also known as sections of a song. Sometimes *tercios* are changed and a new *palo* or style, is introduced within the same *compás* rhythm. However, this combination of *palos* is not always used by performers. *Palmas*<sup>51</sup> is another term often used to describe the hand-clapping which holds the *compás*. All of these components are part of the primary group of the flamenco art form.

The secondary components are equally as important but again, stem from the primary elements. To illustrate what I mean I will give an example using dance, *baile*. Within the primary group we established that dance is a key component to the flamenco art world. Out of *baile* a secondary term would be *braceo*,<sup>52</sup> arm movements during a dance. Although *braceo* is important to flamenco, the actual term is simply jargon; it decorates one of the pillars of the form. The following analysis of the flamenco *palos* will include vocabulary from the secondary group.

## Singing Analysis

In an effort to understand the complexity of the flamenco art form, I will take a few of the *palos* and describe elements that are particular to each. I will begin this section by unfolding the basics of the *cante*. A singer within the flamenco framework uses four

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<sup>48</sup> *Palos*- song styles within flamenco; also Spanish word for stick.

<sup>49</sup> *Letra*- verses within the flamenco cante.

<sup>50</sup> *Tercio*- sections of the songs.

<sup>51</sup> *Palmas*- hand-clapping which holds the *compás*.

<sup>52</sup> *Braceo*- Spanish word for arm movements during a dance.



basic principals: the *Melisma*<sup>53</sup>, *Ayeo*<sup>54</sup>, Repetition, and Rhythmic patterns. Each of these is used to unearth the deep rooted feelings and emotions within the human psyche and body. The four elements are tools that the singer works with while abiding to a specific template. The *cantaor*<sup>55</sup> or singer, is not obliged to follow this format and often veers away from it but most singers respect these four components. To clarify why this structure is so important to flamenco we must consider the secondary elements and deconstruct their place in the hierarchy of flamenco.

The *cantaor* is the most important figure in the form and is the building block of flamenco. It is the *cante* from which the guitar playing and dance grows, so each is at the mercy of the singer. The singer sets the tone which is why their actions and decisions become critical in the overall composition of the moment.

The *cantaor* uses his [or her] voice as an exploratory instrument. With it he searches his inner feelings; he pokes scratches and delves into them. When he finds resistance in the form of contradictions, he attacks in order to clarify his feelings. Then his voice becomes a hot iron, burrowing a long deep tunnel leading to their core. (Serrano and Elgorriaga, 56)

This core that Serrano and Elgorriaga speak of are also metaphors for where the *cante* falls in the hierarchy of flamenco. *Cante* is the central figure around which all other elements revolve.

This structure, which I will label as the singer's template, begins with *melisma*. *Melisma* is a tool that "allows the *cantaor* to adjust the beat of the melody to the stressed syllables of the verses. It is also one of the more effective ways of exploring feelings". (Serrano and Elgorriaga, 57) The *ayeo* is a section within the introduction that helps the

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<sup>53</sup> *Melisma*- tool used by the singer to adjust the melody.

<sup>54</sup> *Ayeo*- a tool used by the singer to warm throat up while on stage.

<sup>55</sup> *Cantaor*- Spanish word for singer. Oftentimes jargon for flamenco artists, historians, fans, critics, musicologists and flamencologists.

cantaor find the key and warm up his throat. Moreover, the *ayeo* is used to suggest the depth or the cadence of the style s/he is going to perform. The *ayeo* is a series of “ay’s” which also communicates to the guitarist and others involved. It is a way to begin to find the *quejío* of flamenco. From there, repetition is used within various parts of the song and oftentimes verses, phrases, or single words are repeated to make a point or create a mood. The final tool is the adherence to the rhythmic pattern of the style in which they are working. For example, a singer cannot use 4/4 rhythm when it is within a ¾ meter. The *cantaor* must follow the *compás* but should not be confined by it. The beauty of flamenco is that the strict structure allows room for creativity. This is a beautiful contradiction of the form. Artistic inventiveness of flamenco begins only when abiding to the strict *compás* of the style. Thus the cleaner one is with the rhythm, the more effective they are with their technique. In conclusion, the singer uses these four tools, the *melisma*, *ayeo*, repetition, and rhythm to navigate a template. This template will be followed by not only the singer but the guitarist and dancer as well.

Flamenco is a dialogue among many and each member in some way, shape or form abides to the basic template of a flamenco song. The skeleton that is laid out for the singer, guitarist or dancer to follow is comprised of the *temple*<sup>56</sup> (warm-up), the *planteo*<sup>57</sup> (introduction where the theme is stated), the *tercio grande*<sup>58</sup> (central section), *alívio*<sup>59</sup> (relief that balances the song), *valiente*<sup>60</sup> or *pelón*<sup>61</sup> (daring or feisty section), and the *remate*<sup>62</sup> (the resolve or closing of the phrase or *letra*). This is a rough guide. Oftentimes

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<sup>56</sup> *Temple*- Spanish word used for warm-up.

<sup>57</sup> *Planteo*- introduction within the song where the theme is stated.

<sup>58</sup> *Tercio Grande*- known as the central section within the song.

<sup>59</sup> *Alívio*- known as a relief within the song where balance is restored for the performers.

<sup>60</sup> *Valiente*- Spanish word for daring.

<sup>61</sup> *Pelón*- feisty section within the song.

<sup>62</sup> *Remate*- resolve within the song which closes phrases or *letras*.

singers veer off this path and repeat or change the order in which these elements are used. It is valid for most *cantaors* to find their own journey within the template; mixing the order of the structure is acceptable, yet most performers know this basic outline. Apart from the tools and template there are also categories which break up the art form and these main groups allow the singer to explore and express emotions.

*Cante jondo*<sup>63</sup>, *cante intermedio*<sup>64</sup>, and *cante chico*<sup>65</sup> are the three sections that divide the singing, although the singer, dancer, and guitar player all abide with the breakdown. Each variant conveys a mood that is specific to that category and within that category there are branches, called *palos*. Our first category is the *Cante jondo* the oldest form of flamenco and the intense and sad form of *cante* which deals with anguish, pain, suffering, death, and religious sentiment. Under this unit, the *toná*, *martinete*, *carceleras*, and the *debla* *palos* are registered. The second category *cante intermedio*, meaning intermediate, is a less profound yet moving style that can have a *Middle Eastern*<sup>66</sup> musical undertone to its character. The *cante intermedio* is between the *cante grande/jondo* and the *cante chico*. It can carry a heavier mood, but this too depends on who the singer is and how they are executing the verses. The last category is the *cante chico*, which literally means “little song”. This style of *cante* primarily deals with themes of love, humor, and happiness, oftentimes including the *palos* of *alegrías*, *bulería*, and *tangos*. In an effort to unravel each of the different singing categories, I will describe the *palo*, give an example of how the verses are structured in that *palo*, and then illustrate in

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<sup>63</sup> *Cante Jondo*- category within flamenco that is known to contain the deepest and saddest song styles.

<sup>64</sup> *Cante Intermedio*- category within flamenco that is known to contain the songs that are not sad nor happy; forms that are in the middle.

<sup>65</sup> *Cante Chico*- category within flamenco that is known to contain the happier and lighter song styles.

<sup>66</sup> *Middle Eastern*- I use the term in a musical context. I am referring to music which comes from North Africa, Central and East Asia. Middle Eastern and North African music includes very complex rhythmic structures and generally has a tense vocal overtone.

a numerical fashion its *compás* and where the stresses or accents fall. All of the stanzas used come directly from Robin Totton's Songs of the Outcasts. I am using her *letras* (verses) and translations. (Tutton,85-125)

FIGURE 1-FLAMENCO TRIANGLE

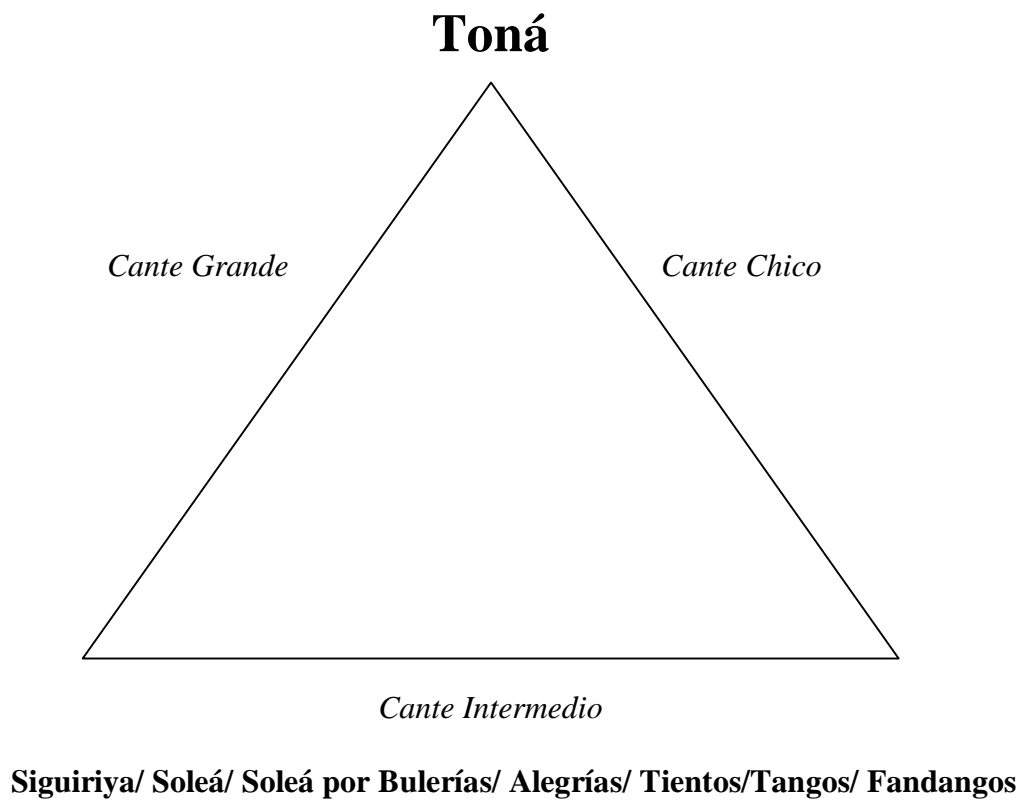
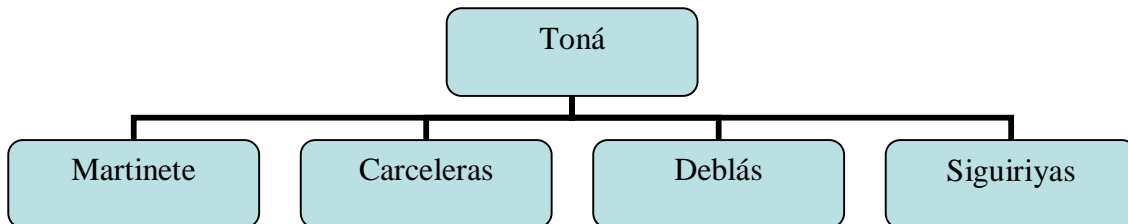


FIGURE 2-CANTE GRANDE/CANTE JONDO



### **Cante Grande/Cante Jondo**

#### ***Toná:***

The *toná* is known as the matrix of all flamenco songs. It consists of four verses of 8 syllables each. It deals with themes of oppression and the turbulent life of the *Gitanos*. The *toná* gave birth to other *palos* like the *martinete*, *carceleras*, and the *deblá*, which is a *cante* with religious content. “The *toná* is the first and most important grafting of the gypsy temperament on the Andalusian folklore. It derives its name from the Spanish *tonada*, meaning accent.” (Elgorrianga and Serrano, 65) The *toná* grew out of Spanish ballads and is the foundation of flamenco. It is rhythmically free and known to be a *palo seco*<sup>67</sup>, a capella. As a form often sung a capella there is no *compás* to follow, although some modern day musicians use the twelve-count rhythm of a *soleá* when performing it.

Toná Letras:

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<sup>67</sup> A *palo seco*- term used within flamenco to signify a song sung a capella.

Desgraciaíto aquél  
Que come pan de mano ajena  
Siempre mirando a la carita  
Si la ponen mala or buena

He's an unhappy man  
Who lives on another's bread  
Always looking at his face  
to see what mood he's in.

### ***Martinete and Carceleras:***

The *martinete* and *carceleras* are cousins to the *toná* and belong to the same family of *cante jondo*. Although they are often done *a palo seco*, when this style is performed, an anvil is used to mark time, which references blacksmith workers of the Andalusian caves. The *martinete* originally did not follow a strict *compás*, but when it was put on stage, it adhered to the *siguiriya compás*. The *martinete* verses or stanzas have four eight-syllable lines, rhyming in assonance abcb. The subject matters of the songs deal with the imprisonment or persecution of the *Gitanos*. The *martinete* and *carceleras* are similar to the *toná cante*.

### **Martinetes Letras:**

A mí me llaman el loco  
Porque siempre voy callao  
Llamarme poquito a poco  
Que soy un loco de cuidado.

They call me the crazy man  
Because I never speak:  
Call me "softly softly,"  
I'm crazy by caution.

Si la mamaíta mía de mis entrañas  
Levantara su cabeza  
Y me viera como me veo  
Se moriría de tristeza

If the mother of my heart  
Looked up and saw me  
As I see myself  
She would die of sorrow.

### **Carceleras Letras:**

Andamelos pasos, mare,  
Que me saquen de aquí  
Que me tienen a mí encerraito  
Por lo que no cometí

Do what is needed mother,  
To get me out of here.  
They've got me locked in  
For something I didn't do.

### *Siguiriya:*

The *siguiriyas* (also known as the *seguiriyas* or *seguidilla Gitana*) are in the family of *cante jondo*. It is similar to the *tonás* in that it can be done *a palo seco*, but is known as a *Gitano* adaptation of a Spanish classical musical form. “The name *seguiriyas* seems to be derived from that of the Spanish Ballad *seguidilla*. We say seems, because Luis Antonio de Vega believes it could be a diminutive of the Arabic *segura*.” (Elgorriaga and Serrano, 71) Its content deals with loss, love, lament, sickness, dying family members and the tragedies of life. The *letras* are four verses where lines 1 and 3, are 7 syllables and lines 2 and 4, are 5 syllables. It was not danced to until the twentieth century.

Its *compás* is a 12 count rhythm where the accents are on the 1,3, 5, 8, and 11.

**1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12**

### Siguiriya Letras:

#### *Anguish*

Penas tiene mi mare  
Penas tengo yo  
Y las que siento son las de mi mare  
Que las mías no.

My mother has her troubles  
And I have mine  
My mother's are the ones I feel  
Not my own.

#### *Love*

Cuando yo me muera  
Te pido un encargo;  
Que con las trenzas de tu pelo negro  
Me amarres mis manos.

When I die  
I ask you a favor:  
Bind my hands together  
In the locks of your long black hair

#### *Prison*

A la luna le pío  
La del alto cielo

I beg the moon  
Up there in the sky

Como le pío que le sacan a mi pare  
De donde está metío

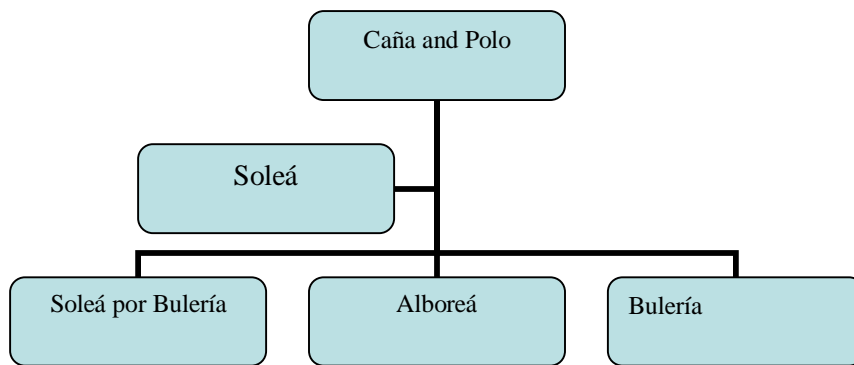
I beg it to get my father out  
From where they've put him

#### *Death*

Pal hospital yo me voy,  
Por Dios, compañera,  
Pa no dejarte morirte sola  
Me voy a tu vera.

I'm going to the hospital,  
For God'd sake, companion,  
I won't let you die alone:  
I'm going with you.

FIGURE 3-CANTE INTERMEDIO



### **Cante Intermedio**

#### ***Caña and Polo:***

The *caña* and *polo* are old forms that are mentioned in the eighteenth and nineteenth century and belong to the *cante intermedio* category. The differences between both are minimal, which is why they are grouped within the same family. “Their common features dominate: both are sung to a rigid form consisting of a four-line verse with an *ay!* repeated in a sequence, sounding rather as a refrain, after the second and fourth lines. Both have the soleá compás and are accompanied as a soleá.” (Totton, 116) The *soleá* style was born from the *caña* and *polo* but is far more popular today. However, when the *caña* and *polo* are danced to, they do not have the same heavy character they used to have



in the past. They are much lighter in style and the dramatic nature is not so present. The *letras* deal with themes of pain or love.

Its *compás* is a 12 count rhythm where the accents are on the 3, 6, 8, 10 and 12:

1 2 **3** 4 5 **6** 7 **8** 9 **10** 11 **12**

Caña and Polo Letras:

En el querer no hay venganza  
Y tú has vengado de mí  
Castigo tarde o temprano  
Del cielo te ha de venir.

Love has no place for vengeance  
And you took revenge on me  
Heaven, sooner, or later,  
Will send you your punishment.

***Soleá:***

The *soleá* is style of flamenco that falls under the *cante intermedio* category. Some believe that it originated from Cádiz or Seville but this has yet to be proved. It is a style that is more self contained than the *siguriya*, which ends up giving it a balanced quality. The term *soleá* stems from the Spanish word *soledad*, or loneliness. However, the *soleá* also deals with aspects of love. “Love is one of the main themes of the *soleares*, love in all its dimensions: for sweetheart, mother, brother, wife, friend; love as joy and as despair, as desire and as disillusion.” (Elgorriaga and Serrano, 79) Its *letras* are 3 or 4 verses with 8 syllables and it has a  $\frac{3}{4}$  rhythm. The *soleá* has laid the foundation for the *bulerías*, *alboreás* and the *soleá por bulerías*.

Its *compás* is a 12 count rhythm where the accents are on the 3, 6, 8, 10 and 12:

1 2 **3** 4 5 **6** 7 **8** 9 **10** 11 **12**

Soleá Letra:

Malas lenguas van diciendo  
Que tu no cameles a nadie  
Cuando sé que por mis huesos

The gossips are saying  
That you don't love anyone  
When I know that your desire for me

Tú andas perdiendo carnes.

Is wasting you away.

***Bulería:***

The *bulería* is a *palo* and is a rhythm. It dates back to the nineteenth century and is believed to have originated in Jerez, Andalusia. It is a rhythm that has been tagged onto the ending of the *soleáres* and *alegrías*. The *bulería* stems from the Spanish word “burlar” and “bulleria”, literally meaning to mock and make fun of. It is this energy that is always present in the style and the singer can use words that “may be anything: satirical, caustic, topical, sentimental- whatever mood the singer feels like conveying- and in any number of lines from three upward.” (Totton, 104) The *bulería* permits the greatest space for improvisation. It is a fast paced *palo* and the singer, guitar player, and dancer are required to have precision and speed within the complex rhythm. Each style requires technique, musicality, and agility, but the *bulería* is unique in that it demands momentum and dexterity. It is a technical *palo* that also requires a certain amount of cleverness and inventiveness within the *compás*. The *bulería* has three or four octosyllabic lines.

It *compás* is a 12 count rhythm where the accents are on the 3, 6, 8, 10 and 12 or on the 3,7,8,10, and 12.

1 2 **3** 4 5 **6** 7 **8** 9 **10** 11 **12**  
or  
1 2 **3** 4 5 6 **7** **8** 9 **10** 11 **12**

**Bulerías Letras:**

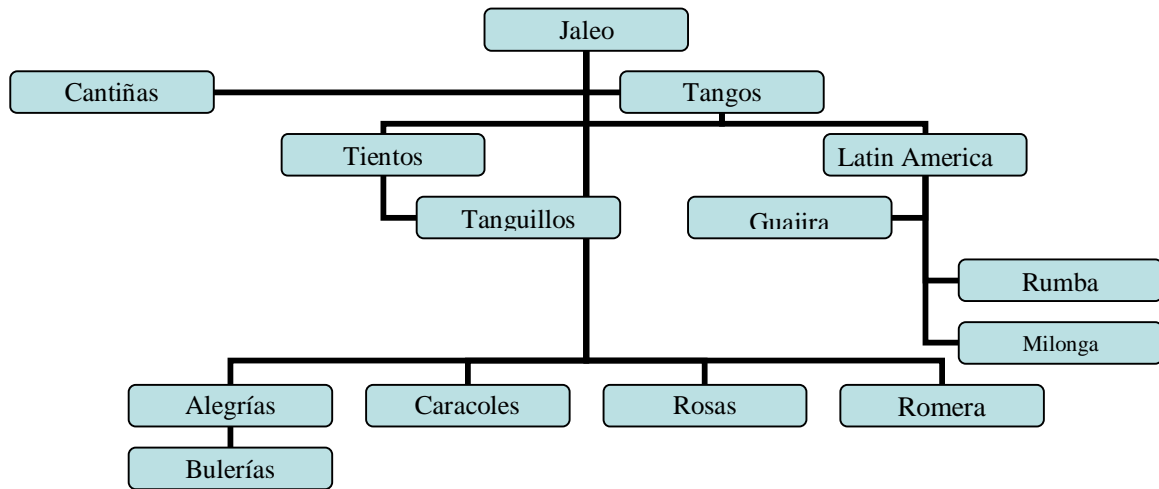
No quiero na contigo  
Te rebelas con mi mare  
Eres mi mayor castigo

I dont want anything to do with you  
You rebel against my mother  
You’re my worst punishment.

Tirando piedras por las calles  
Y a quien le dé que lo perdone

I’m throwing stones out of the window  
And if they hit anyone, I’m sorry.

FIGURE 4-CANTE CHICO



## Cante Chico

### *Tangos*

If we have established up to this point that the *siguiriyas* are consumed with the tragic themes of life and the *soleá* is a much more balanced *palo*, then the *tangos* are at the other end of the emotional spectrum. They are a festive, humorous, and almost lighthearted form. The *tangos* gives birth to the *tientos* and the *tanguillos*. “The *tango* is a festive song and dance and its two aspects are the *tanguillo*, humorous, frivolous, and the *tientos*, serious and solemn.” (Elgorriaga and Serrano, 83) The *tangos* and the two offspring, travel through all the faces of irony. It is an 8 beat phrase and has a 4/4 rhythm. The *tangos* are often attached to the *tientos*, which close out the song, similar to the *soleá por bulería*. The Spanish *tango* is not to be confused with the Argentinean tango. There is no relationship.

Its *compás* is counted in 2's, 4's, and 8's but is displayed as three phrases of 4. Its accents are on beats 2, 3 & 4 .

1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

#### Tangos Letras

Quítare de la esquina  
Chiquillo loco  
que tu mare no te quiere  
ni yo tampoco.

Get away from my corner  
Crazy boy  
Your mother doesn't love you  
And nor do I.

Gitana mi madre  
Gitana mi abuela  
Y la madre de mis hijos  
Es canastera.

My mother is a Gypsy  
My grandmother too  
And the mother of my children  
Is a basket weaver.

#### ***Tientos:***

The *tientos* are cousin to the *tangos*. They are oftentimes attached to the ending of a *tangos* similar to the way a *bulería* is attached to the end of a *soleá*. The *tientos* differ from the *tangos* in that they deal with themes of love but have a slower more solemn quality. It has a 2/4 time. *Tientos* derives from the Spanish word *tentar*, "to try out" and was originally used when discussing new instruments. The *tientos letras* are often 3 or 4 lines of 8 syllables.

Its *compás* is counted in 2's, 4's, and 8's but is displayed as three phrases of 4. Its accents are on beats 2, 3 & 4.

1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

#### Tientos Letras:

Te voy a meter en un convento  
que tenga rejas de bronce  
pa' que tú pases fatigas  
y de me cuerpo no goces

I shall put you in a convent  
with bronze bars  
that you may suffer  
and never again enjoy my loving.

## *Alegrías*

The *alegrías* belongs to a family called the *cantiñas* and these are by far the most cheerful and common. The *alegrías* originated in *Cádiz* and the style that was created specifically for dance. It is in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time and has a festive cadence. The character of the *alegrías* is unique and up until the nineteenth century they were the prototype of *cante chico*. Today it is as popular as the *bulería*.

Its *compás* is a 12 count rhythm where the accents are on the 3, 6, 8, 10 and 12:

1 2 **3** 4 5 **6** 7 **8** 9 **10** 11 **12**

### Alegrías Letras

De que tu pases y no me hables  
Qué cuidadito se me daba chiquilla a mí  
!ay! que yo no como ni bebo  
con Buenos días de nadie.

You passed me without speaking  
And that upset me, girl,  
I can't eat or drink  
When people ignore me.

Tiré un tiro en el agua  
Cayó en la arena  
Confianza contigo,  
Niña, no hay quien la tenga,

I threw a stone in the sea  
But it fell on the beach  
No one can have  
Any trust in you, girl.

El sentío me da vueltas  
Compañerita de mi alma  
(de mis entrañas)  
y yo me arrimo a las paredes  
hasta llegar a tu puerta

My head spins round  
Girlfriend of my soul  
(body and soul)  
I have to lean on the walls  
Until I reach your door.

como tu eres bonita mucho presumes  
que te vas a poner más alta  
que van las nubes  
que van las nubes.

Being so pretty  
You set yourself higher  
Than the clouds  
Than the clouds.

## **Fandangos:**

The *fandangos* are a component of the *cante chico* but they are a unique case. The *fandangos* were influenced by folk dances of the north of Spain and by the Portuguese *cante* known as *fado*<sup>68</sup>. Although much is debated about this *palo*, some believe that the *fandango* has Moorish roots and might have appeared in Spain as early as the seventeenth century, yet this has not been proved.

According to the *Diccionario Etimológico de Corominas*, fandango derives from the Portuguese *fado*, meaning fate. Molina thinks that the fandango is Arabic in origin because it resembles the Arabic-Andalusian *zambra*. The *fandangos* spread throughout Spain, settling in different regions, adapting to local customs, and taking on local names: *muñeira*, *jota*, *fandango*. In Andalusia the *fandango* was adopted with enthusiasm to the point where not only each province of the region developed its own style but also many towns within the region. (Elgorriaga and Serrano, 89)

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<sup>68</sup> *Fado*- translated as destiny or fate, is a music genre which can be traced from the 1820s in Portugal, but probably with much earlier origins. In popular belief, *Fado* is a form of music characterized by mournful tunes and lyrics, often about the sea or the life of the poor. However, in reality *Fado* is simply a form of song which can be about anything, but must follow a certain structure.

The *fandangos letras* are often times rural in nature and deal with themes of harvesting fields, fishing, and pride. The *fandangos* have a  $\frac{3}{4}$  rhythm and are festive, fun and can be danced by a single couple to the accompaniment of castanets, guitar, and songs sung by the dancers. At the end of certain measures, the music halts abruptly and the dancers remain rigid until the music is resumed. However, like with many other *palos*, there is room for individuality within the song and dance.

Its *compás* is a 12 count rhythm where the accents are on the 3, 6, 8, 10 and 12:

1 2 **3** 4 5 **6** 7 **8** 9 **10** 11 **12**

### **Fandangos de Almería and Cádiz**

Viva el reino de Almería  
 Donde nacen los tempranos  
 Viva el reino de Almería,  
 Tierra de los minerales,  
 Mujeres guapas y bravías  
 Y de los hombre cabales

Long live the kingdom of Almería  
 Where the grapes grow early  
 Long live the kingdom of Almería,  
 Land of minerals,  
 Where the women are wild and pretty  
 And the men are the best.

En el año de la pera  
 Dijeron los de Facinas  
 A los de la Ventolera,  
 En el año de la pera:  
 Las mejores tagarninas  
 Son las de nuestra ladera.

In the year when the pears were good,  
 The Facinas folk said,  
 To the folk from Ventolera,  
 (in the ear when the pears were good):  
 “we’ve got the best thistles  
 growing on our side of the hill.”

## ***Flamenco Groupings***

\*There are an upward of 50 *palos* within flamenco history. I have grouped some of the most commonly sung, played and danced to, however there are many within each family. The following categories are to document those *palos* not listed in my description or in the flamenco tree and to connect them with their respective relatives. I use words like cousins or family members to illustrate that these are one giant family tree. Further into this writing I will show a genealogy tree with some of the *palos* attached to their appropriate branches.

- ❖ Tonás: tonás, martinetes, carceleras, debla, and romances
- ❖ Siguiriyas, livianas, and serranas
- ❖ Soleáres, including Alboreás and soleáres por bulerías
- ❖ Bulerías
- ❖ Tangos, tientos, and tanguillos
- ❖ Cantinas: Alegrías, caracoles, mirabrás, romeras, and rosas
- ❖ Polo and caña
- ❖ Peteneras
- ❖ The Fandango family: verdiales, fandangos locales, fandangos de Huelva, rondeñas, malagueñas, jaberías, fandangos, personales or fandangos grandes, granaínas
- ❖ Cantes de Levante: tarantas, tarantos, mineras, cartageneras, and others
- ❖ Farruca and Garrotín
- ❖ Cantes de ida y vuelta: guajiras, rumbas, milongas, and colombianas.
- ❖ Zambras: zambras, alboreás, moscas, and cachuchas
- ❖ Songs influenced by flamenco: Saetas, villancicos, sevillanas, campanilleros, bamberas, nanas, pregones, temporeras, and cantes de trilla.

It is important to note that this grouping of *palos* is taken from Totton's Book Song of the Outcasts. (Page 85) The Genealogy Tree is a skeleton of the main *palos*. There are a few missing but this is for the sake of simplicity. The tree has many braches but the documenting of those for our purposes would be jargon that neither supports nor shapes my argument. Please note that Image 2 is an extension of Image 1, and Image 3 stands alone because the *fandangos* were influenced by Image 1 and 2 but also from regional folk dances.



FIGURE 4-THE FLAMENCO GENEALOGY TREE

IMAGE 1:

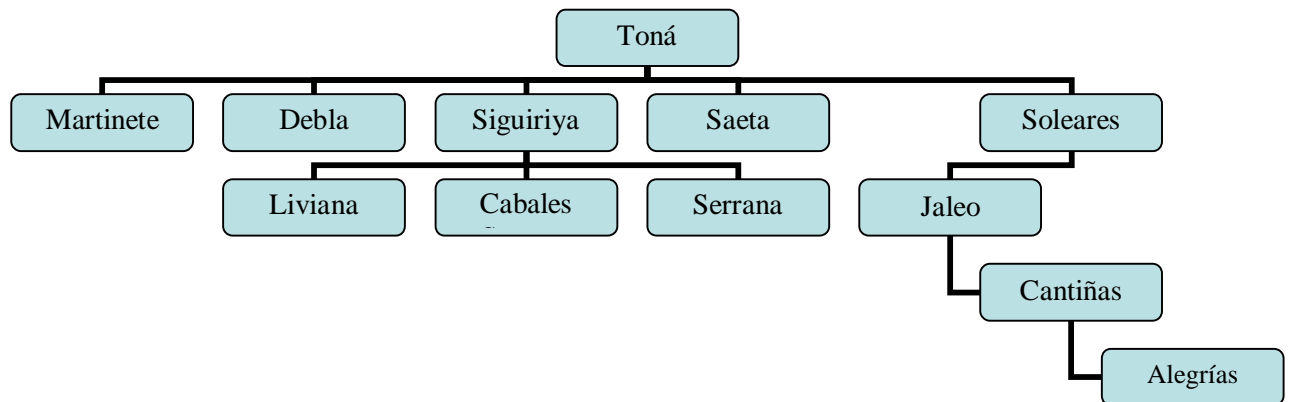


IMAGE 2:

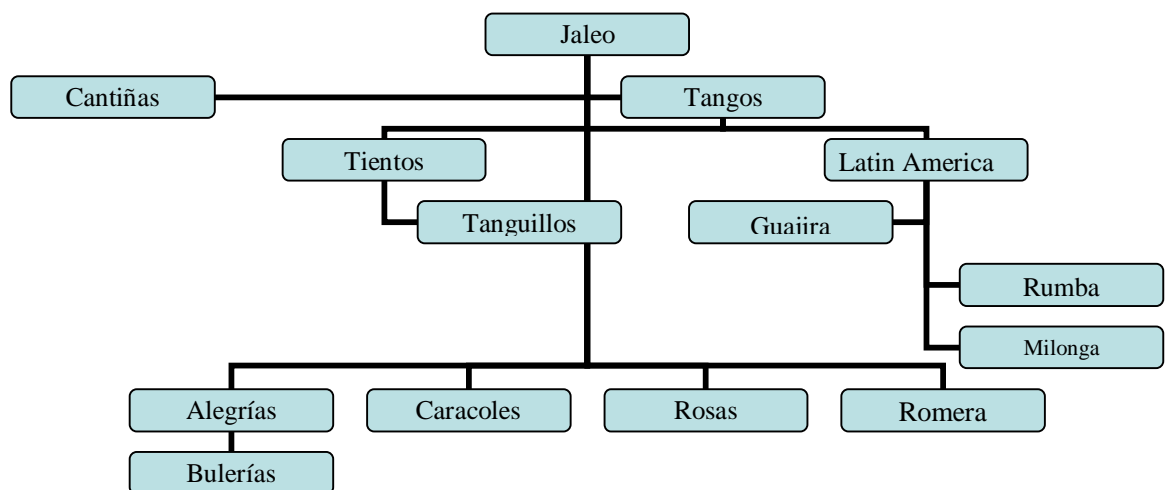
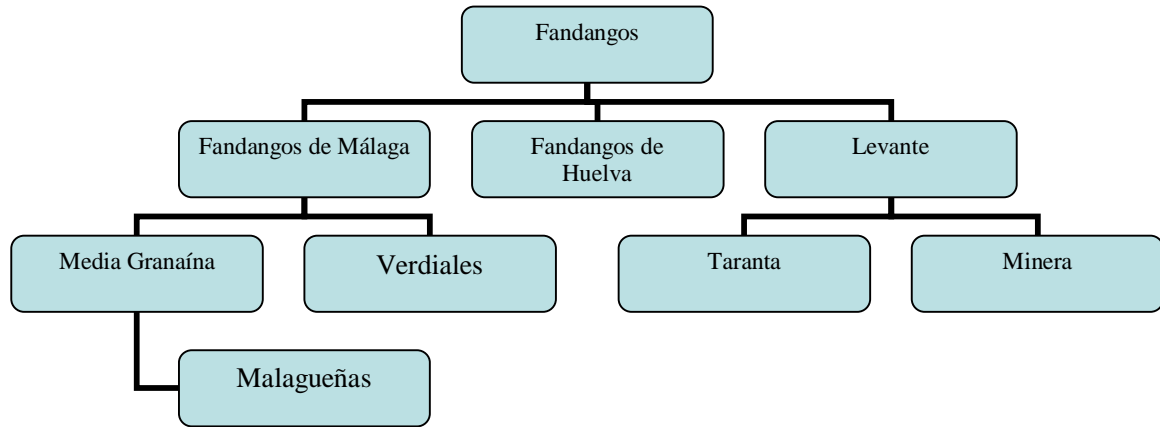


IMAGE 3:



## ***Guitar Analysis***

It is important to point out how the guitar made its way to Spain. The guitar was introduced into Europe via Spain by the Arabian singer and musician, Ziryab. “...in the ninth century A.D. Ziryab was called to Córdoba by the reigning *Califa*<sup>69</sup> (Arabian ruler) to teach the court musicians songs and their accompaniments on a four stringed guitar-type instrument.” (Pohren, 73) After some time, Ziryab added two more strings and what we know to be the guitar was born. It is thanks to the Arabic musicians of the ninth century that Europe was introduced to this instrument, but it is only recently that the guitar was considered an art form.

The guitar is the second component of our primary group. All guitar playing is known as *toque*. The word encompasses different elements but means that all flamenco is

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<sup>69</sup> *Califa*- Arabian Ruler.

played on the guitar. Similar to the *cante* within flamenco, *toque* is also divided into categories: There is *toque jondo* and *toque of the soleáres*. “*toque jondo* is a subdivision of the overall *Toque*; (b) the *toque* of the *soleáres* ( all of which is played within the traditional framework and basic *compás* of the *soleáres*) ... is included in the subdivision of the *toque jondo*” (Pohren, 69) Guitar playing in flamenco is just as complex as the *cante*. Within the hierarchy of flamenco the *cante* will always be above the *toque*, which means that the musician must accommodate to the singer and dancer. *Toque* within flamenco also adheres to the *compás* of the style. It is a crucial part of playing and the goal of the guitarist is to make the *compás* a subconscious element, which will allow for improvisation and a greater sense of freedom. As we have seen with the *cante*, the singer has the freedom to veer off the framework if they so please, this holds true for the guitarist as well.

Within the discussion of *toque*, right and left hand technique needs to be deconstructed. The four elements that make up the right-hand technique are the *rasqueado*<sup>70</sup>, the *pulgar*<sup>71</sup>, *arpeggios*<sup>72</sup> and *trémolos*<sup>73</sup>. Each of these plays an important role and facilitates the flamenco spirit and expression. The *rasqueados* is the running of the fingers on the individual strings. “The meaning of the term is also generally extended to include the strumming (stroking) of the strings by the fingers as a group, propelled by crisp wrist movements.” (Pohren, 70) The *pulgar* is literally the thumb and is known to

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<sup>70</sup> *Rasqueado*- flamenco right-hand guitar technique that consists of the running of the fingers on each string.

<sup>71</sup> *Pulgar*- flamenco right-hand guitar technique which consists of the use of the thumb.

<sup>72</sup> *Arpeggios*- flamenco right-hand guitar technique which consists of the thumb striking the bass string.

<sup>73</sup> *Trémolos*- flamenco right-hand guitar technique which encompasses the striking of the bass string by the thumb and any combination of fingers.

be the fastest finger of the hand. This is critical in creating sounds that are specific to flamenco music. "...guitarists who employ only right-hand techniques of the pulgar and rasqueados, are who play outstanding jondo flamenco." (Pohren, 70) The *picado*<sup>74</sup> is the third element of the right-hand technique. It is known as a technique that develops rapid finger motions. "The picado is the alternate striking of a string by the index and middle fingers, or, less commonly, by the middle and ring fingers, the index and ring fingers, or, rarest of all, the index and little fingers." (Pohren, 70) *Arpeggios* consist of the thumb striking the bass strings. It is a broken chord where the notes are played or sung in sequence, one after the other. "There are various types of two and three finger arpeggios which can be classed as forward, reverse, circular and combinations." (Pohren, 70) The final component of the right-hand technique is the *trémolo*. The *trémolo* encompasses the striking of the bass string by the thumb and any combination of fingers. There are three, four and five sound *tremolos*, with the five finger version being the most common in flamenco. These last two elements of the right-hand technique, *arpeggios* and *trémolos*, were not added until the 1860's, a period known as the *café cantantes*. This period will enter our discussion when considering the Franco regime and its affects on flamenco, but for now it is important to note that they were among the last things to be added to guitar playing.

Left-hand techniques are much simpler in explanation but as difficult to play. *Ligados*<sup>75</sup> or chording is the technique of pulling the finger down and off the string. This technique can be used by all of the fingers, excluding the thumb. The sound produced is

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<sup>74</sup> *Picado*- flamenco right-hand guitar technique which uses the index and middle finger.

<sup>75</sup> *Ligados*- Left-hand flamenco guitar technique which consists of chording which is the technique of pulling the finger down and off the string.

rapid yet slurred and when well developed, entire sections of guitar playing can be played with little right hand input. As Pohren puts it, the guitarist is the unsung-hero of flamenco. They must work and perfect their own instrument, the guitar, while mastering the art of accompanying. This can often be challenging as the guitarist must learn the singers template and understand what the dancer is saying with their footwork and dancing. The combination of so many components requires a tremendous amount of technique and understanding of not only the *compás* and *palos*, but also of the other artists singing and dancing.

The outstanding accompanist has to know all of the *cantes* and *bailes* almost well enough to sing or dance them himself, and he must also be blessed with an instinct which permits him to anticipate the next move of the singer or dancer. He has to be able to follow the caprices of these performers, know when to stop , when to insert *falsetas*, how to blend himself with their moods, how to carry the singer or dancer to his climax. For the good accompanist definitely improves the performance of the other performers. (Pohren, 74)

Instinct plays a key role and the negotiation between the guitarist and the singer, or the guitarist and the dancer, relies on this virtue. Another secondary component of the *toque*, is a term known as the *falsetas*.<sup>76</sup> *Falsetas* are solos inserted by the guitarist at different moments throughout the song. They are used as a resting device for the singer, can be interjected to sustain or break a mood, and can be used to display the abilities of the musician. *Falsetas* are important to the overall structure of flamenco. As established, *toque* is a fundamental component of flamenco. The *cante* and *toque* relate, negotiate, and encourage one another within any performance.

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<sup>76</sup> *Falsetas*- solos inserted by the guitarist at different moments throughout the song.

## ***Dance Analysis***

The final analysis of a primary element is the deconstructing of dance. Adequate scholarly work is lacking when the topic of dance within flamenco surfaces. Flamenco *baile* combines the exploration of the rhythmical structures and the blending of the individuals personal expression and interpretation within the framework of the *cante* and *toque*. The key to flamenco dancing is the combination of the upper and lower body. Within the hierarchy of flamenco, the dancer is the lowest on the totem pole, but is considered a valid component of the overall entity.

As stated earlier, there are clearly Arabic, Persian, Greek, Jewish and Spanish influences within flamenco. Indian dance elements are interwoven into the *baile* and when comparing Indian Bharatanatyam and Kathak with flamenco, the similarities arise. “One commentator has traced a direct link to four major Indian cult dances (Katak, Kathakali, Manipuri and Bharatanatyam).” (Claus, 93) Both Indian and flamenco use an extraordinary amount of footwork, spins, and hand gestures, which link the two forms. Apart from the Indian influence there is also a direct correlation with the Arabic culture. Some scholars believe that the use of the upper body by the woman has a direct link to the *Gitanos* and the Koran. For both sects, the displaying of the lower body, particularly the legs, is deemed unacceptable. Women dancers, in the past, did little footwork and left most of the lower body movements to the men.

Arabic influence can still easily be heard in *cante jondo*. In the case of the *baile*, the concentration on movements of the upper body- hands, arms, and hips- as well as on footwork, probably goes back to Arabic sources as well, since the Koran, not to mention the moral code of the gypsies, forbade a woman to show her legs. But the dances of the Arabs, who occupied Andalusia from 711 A.D. on, had already been influenced by the gypsies who came through North Africa from India, that is to say, these dances, in all likelihood, already contained Indian elements. (Claus, 94)

As Schreiner has highlighted, the Indian and Arabic influences are clear. The Jewish and Christian elements are a bit more debatable. Some believe that the folk dances and religious ceremonies of Spain impacted the dancing while others disagree. As stated earlier, little research has been done so it is important to acknowledge the debate, yet view it critically.

Similar to the *cante* and *toque*, the dancer also uses jargon to describe their discipline. The upper and lower body use specific vocabulary that aid in the understanding of the dance. I will start with the lower body and work my way up to the head. Footwork, also known as *zapateado*<sup>77</sup>, within flamenco is a primary element. There are different steps and combinations of sounds that make the *zapateado* effective. Each part of the foot creates a unique sound. The *media planta*<sup>78</sup> is used to describe the ball of the foot, where the *tacon*<sup>79</sup> is known as the heel. The *planta*<sup>80</sup> is the entire sole of the foot and the jab is also known as a *tacon*. These elements come together to make phrases that fit within the *compás*. In the past the footwork was divided by gender roles. Originally, the male was the only dancer that used the *zapateado*. Women were primarily occupied with and encouraged to express the dance solely through the upper body.

A slightly arched back is the classic bailaora stance, but is now often overly exaggerated. The arms are held in a smooth curve, unbroken by the bend of the elbows. A woman's arms are supposed to execute undulating, caressing, almost sensual movements and her splayed fingers trace curling arabesques. The arm movements of male dancers are tighter, more restrained, even austere, portraying gestures that are highly geometric and descriptive: Arms cutting through the air like swords. (Claus, 97)

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<sup>77</sup> *Zapateado*- Spanish word for footwork in flamenco.

<sup>78</sup> *Media Planta*- used to describe the ball of the foot in flamenco dance technique.

<sup>79</sup> *Tacon*-jab or heel.

<sup>80</sup> *Planta*- entire sole of the foot strikes the floor.

This has changed as women have developed their lower body technique to match their male counterparts.

Footwork for a flamenco dancer is viewed as a connection to the earth. The lower part of the leg, from the knee down, should be used as a hammer which does not stomp on the floor but rather dig into it to produce a rounder sound. A *plie*, bent knees, is also important as it allows the body to have a grounded feeling that can produce a weighty quality. The hips, las *caderas*<sup>81</sup>, are evenly placed and swing from right to left, aiding in the use of the *zapateado*. The abdominal muscles are always engaged. The torso is long yet a bit forward and, once it is in position, arched back. This opens up the chest and creates a bold quality. The arms, *braceo*, follow the classical dance pathway, known as the gateway. This path requires the elbows to be bent and the shoulders to be turned inward. The hand movements, *floreo*<sup>82</sup>, are extensions of the arms and are seen as the final expression of the core. The neck is elongated and the chin is down. All in all, the combination of the *zapateado*, *braceo*, *floreo* and the head position complete the analysis of the terminology within the genre.

The use of costume is also important to the *baile*. Apart from the actual physiological differences in the dance, the clothing reinforces the distinctions between male and female. Men in the past have been known to wear dark trousers with a flared sleeved shirt and sometimes *bolero*<sup>83</sup> vests. These vests were eventually worn by women

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<sup>81</sup> *Caderas*- Spanish word for hips.

<sup>82</sup> *Floreo*- hand movement used during flamenco dancing.

<sup>83</sup> *Bolero Vest*- A bolero vest design borrows the outline of a matador jacket and also the high hemline and collar. It has a U-shaped neckline and the hemline sits in the middle of the ribcage.



when performing typical male dances like the *Farruca*<sup>84</sup>, but this did not happen until the 1940's and 1950's. Women primarily wore skirts or dresses that excentuated their curves. These dresses were colorful and bright with polka dot patterns. Although costumes have evolved, there are still traditional garments that are in use today. Among those is the *bata de cola*<sup>85</sup>, the train skirt. This dress is specific to a female dance and has never been used by men. The *bata de cola* is typically decorated with ruffles and flounces and has been known to be used during *alegrías* and *cañas*. However, this too has changed and many have used the dress to perform *Zambras*, a style of dance found within the *cante medio*, unlike the *alegrías* which is a *cante chico palo*. Another component that is only used by the female dancer is the *manton*, the shawl, and the *pienete*, the Spanish comb. The flower in the hair is another item used to decorate the dancer. As for the men, they simply use suits, slacks, boots and a dress shirt. They tend to not decorate themselves with too much and leave the flourishes to the women.

The next component of flamenco dancing is the balance between the footwork and *braceo*. This combination is what allows the dancer to express individuality, personality, as well as support the singer and guitar playing. Dancers have been viewed as the final expression out of the three components: *cante*, *toque*, and *baile*. But in many instances it is the dancer that the audience relates to first. "The popular public considers the dancer the attraction, with the rest of the *cuadro* serving as noisemaking satellites." (Pohren, 59) It is important to note that flamenco dancing encompasses *compás*,

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<sup>84</sup> *Farruca*- is a form of Flamenco music, probably originating in the Galicia region of north-western Spain. It is a light form typical of *cante chico* and is traditionally danced only by men. Seldom is the style accompanied by the *cante*.

<sup>85</sup> *Bata de Cola*- train skirt used as a costume in flamenco.

technique, footwork, arm work as well as a dialogue between all of the other performers. Flamenco steps do not have symbolic meaning but could be viewed as a metaphor for the suffering of its ancestors. Just like with the *cante*, flamenco dancing brings its own experiences to the forefront, while honoring the past. It is a tradition that is always changing.

The truth is that the techniques and movements in flamenco are not symbolic in themselves, and that in a solo dance no actual story is being told. The dancer utilizes the techniques and movements of his dance to help him express his inner self, and whatever passions or moods are affecting his inner self at the time he is dancing. For this reason the guitarist and the singer are so necessary for the dancer, as they set the mood, and incite the inner force of the dancer so that he must release these passions through his dance. Consequently, the same movement or technique can denote tragedy or gaiety, love or hate, depending on the manner in which it is done. (Pohren, 65)

*Baile* expresses the inner self while the body serves as a vessel to express its deep thoughts, emotions and ideas. It is not only what you do but how you do it that is crucial to flamenco dancing.

An alternative way to look at flamenco dancing is to place it next to another popular art form. Author Madeline Claus juxtaposes flamenco to ballet. She compares both styles and situates flamenco at the opposite spectrum of ballet. "Ballet takes to the air, seeks to be light, almost weightless in its movements and to hover by using spectacular gymnastics, while flamenco is concentrated downward toward the ground." (Claus, 95) She describes ballet as an extroverted dance which requires ample space and many superficial elements, to create the illusion of ballet. On the other hand, flamenco is an introverted form that requires no more than a table top and a singer or guitarist. Claus describes the maturity that is required by the flamenco dancer because the art form draws from life experiences. When a dancer comes to the moment they are also bringing

everything that has been witnessed by them up to that point. The more emotional baggage and experience a person can carry, the more they can offer the audience. “By contrast some of the great flamenco dancers only earned their reputations when experience had given their act a certain depth and maturity.” (Claus, 95) Apart from the experience and personality, the flamenco dancer, like the guitarist, also follows a template and their instinct. The dancer begins with a *salida*<sup>86</sup>, *llamadas*<sup>87</sup>, *desplantes*<sup>88</sup>, *remates*<sup>89</sup> and *cierres*<sup>90</sup>. All of these are tools the dancers’ can use to build the emotional and physical expressions so desired.

In conclusion, the singer has four tools- the *melisma*, *ayeo*, rhythm and repetition- that they use to navigate the three categories which divide flamenco: *Cante Jondo*, *cante intermedio*, and *cante chico*. The guitarist uses right and left hand techniques to support the *cantaor*, yet has freedom when using *falsestas*, his guitar solos. Finally, the dancer joins the overall composition by combining upper and lower body movements which include the *zapateado*, *braceo*, *floreo* and *compás*. Each primary element has secondary counterparts that are used to bring together everyone involved to form a unit. The singer will be followed by the guitarist, and the dancer will trail both the *cantaor* and *guitarista*<sup>91</sup>. All in all, they come together and reflect the Andalusian paradox but are driven by the emotional outlet flamenco offers.

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<sup>86</sup> *Salida*- Entrance step used by a flamenco dancer.

<sup>87</sup> *Llamadas*-literally means to “call”. The opening of a dance; signal to the guitarist and musician that dancer is about to start dancing.

<sup>88</sup> *Desplantes*-technically a point in the dance that marks the end of a section.; can be a highpoint or climax in the dance.

<sup>89</sup> *Remates*- way of ending the song, either by raising the pitch or speeding up.

<sup>90</sup> *Cierres*- the closing of a series of steps; some dancers use it interchangeably with *desplante*.

<sup>91</sup> *Guitarista*- Spanish word for guitarist.

## ***The Emotional Side of Flamenco***

Emotions serve as an internal guidance system that play a key role in the survival, decision making, boundary setting and communication frameworks that exist within the human psyche. Emotions are a valuable source of information that influence our actions. All humans have basic emotional needs that can be expressed with feelings. Flamenco encompasses a wide variety of sensations and the *cante*, *toque* and *baile* are the basics, which serve as the key to accessing the palette of emotions within any of the performers. The ability and willingness to express a buried feeling is what makes flamenco so complex. Flamenco is an art form that displays the conflict between the ideas of the *Gitanos* and the worldview of the Spaniards. At first flamenco was far from being a political statement. It was an emotional release and reaction to immoral behavior from outsiders. These displays of passion were found within the singing, guitar playing and dancing and must be analyzed to understand the multi-faceted Andalusian identity.

Internal emotions combined with external components, created a visceral display of suffering that can be seen in the facial expressions and gestures of its performers. The cries and the voice variations within the *cante* clearly articulate the inequalities of the marginalized society. Flamenco evoked a mood that was unpredictable in part because of the rhythm, but also because of the *Gitano* demeanor and nature. “Gypsies call their songs ‘slow.’ This refers to the protracted, mournful, performance style. Their mood is of resignation, of misery accepted.” (Stewart 87) These representations of pain were transformed into proud and stoic demeanors. We see this with the carriage of the arms, the length and elegance of the neck, as well as the rawness of the voice. Yet this capacity

to display conflict is one that highlights the fraternal spirit that *Gitano* have with one another on and off stage.

The ability to balance elements is the core of any flamenco performance. The manner which the singer, guitarist and dancer relate mirrors that of their ancestors. The strength that happens with flamenco onstage stems from the innate sense found within the *Gitano* community and their ability to listen deeply to their surroundings. As Stewart explains, “To talk is to demand attention. To pay attention, to attend, is to respect and to honor” (Stewart. 83) What he noted was the pride found within a *Gitano* and their ability to sense a situation and its outcome. They take pleasure in being able to judge a character and to interpret human beings, their gestures and actions. To embody a feeling, figure out what that feeling means and the ability to react accordingly, is a moment of praise for any *Gitano*. This interaction between the mind/body connection and their surroundings, reminds a *Gitano* that they are in touch with the present moment. This presence that is needed to pass judgment, whether good or bad, is one that *Gitanos* feel practiced in. They are connected to their feelings and know that they can sense a contradiction. This awareness is how balance onstage occurs as well as the manner which emotions are explored.

Ethnologist Mattijs Van de Port highlights the relationship found within flamenco and the *Gitano* community. As stated earlier, art reveals a truth where the integral connection between history and a people, is displayed. Flamenco highlights this relationship and serves as a moment of control where the *Gitano* manipulate the rigid world of bourgeois elite-ness.

The ideal is to give the customer the feeling that he's being understood. Didn't I tell you that we Gypsies are great judges of character, great psychologists! When, for example, a customer enters a restaurant, or, let's say, when a big gathering of fifteen to twenty persons comes in, you start to play... [Continuing to whisper]... and then you watch their faces. (Van de Port, 291)

Flamenco is a vehicle that the *Gitanos* use to have a sense of belonging and also to exhibit their emotional intelligence. Having the ability to access a space where historical information and emotional suffering is combined with a musical expression, is key to understanding the Andalusian experience. The music brings past experiences and cruelty placed on *Gitanos* by other cultures, into a network of communication. Art, in this case flamenco, becomes a means of expression. The mistreatment no longer exists within a circle of pain, but instead the emotions allow a didactic relationship to take shape. Flamenco is not only an outlet of emotions and an artifact of history. It also begins to bridge cultures where moral, logical and aesthetic ideals are combined to influence behavior.

### ***Flamenco Paradox Analysis***

Flamenco clearly embodies a series of contradictions that makes the art form paradoxical by nature. Among these tensions, a flamenco artist must be strong yet tender, technical but willing to improvise and controlled yet passionate. These opposite characteristics feed into the Andalusian identity. The disposition of one element reflects the nature of the other. If flamenco is considered to be from Andalusia, then these contradictions must be a part of the region, and vice versa. The technique of the art form feeds into the Andalusian paradox. Flamenco is structured in a way that follows specific *compás* while it requires its performers to abide to strict templates. The moment that

technique is embodied and fully understood, is when participants earn the “right” to change the order of the *cante*, or when certain personality traits can be inserted. Those who improvise onstage can begin to explore the emotional palette of their art. This highlights another contradiction within the form. If flamenco contains and expresses passion while it constrains and restrains, then why is it that only when a performer has understood the *compás* can they express their individual character? The answer is twofold. Any artist entering the flamenco circle must come to it with their own experiences and unique personality traits. From there, years are spent learning, listening, absorbing and embodying the technique and *compás* of flamenco. It is only after this process that the performer can improvise and interject their passionate nature and emotional responses.

The other explanation is that the assortment of tones found within flamenco represents the historical tensions that were present in the region. In Andalusia, *Gitanos* and *Gadje* interacted. The proper demeanor and behavior of the Spanish society, the example of the *classical body*<sup>92</sup>, was set aside when the *Gadje* engaged with the *Gitano*, the grotesque figure, on an artistic level or within a performance venue. The *Gitano* was no longer savage but instead their nature was seen as a strength that drew from their tumultuous past. These interactions confused the status quo yet maintained it in a contradictory manner. Each community needed the other to survive. The *Gadje* was drawn to the emotional palette of flamenco and its *Gitano* counterparts, while they were

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<sup>92</sup> *Classical Body*- Referring to Janet Wolff’s theory of classical being the accepted, civilized member of society and grotesque being the uncivil, brute figure. “Emerging from this process of gradual exclusion and privatization of areas of bodily functions and emotions is what Bakhtin called the “classical body.” The classical body has not orifices and engages in no base bodily functions. It is like a classical statue. It is opposed to the “grotesque body,” which has orifices, genitals, protuberances. (Wolff, 84)

inspired or reacting to the cruelty being inflicted on them by the *Gadje*. This emotional outcry of the *Gitanos*, fed the spirit of the art form. Flamenco became a journey through the emotional facets of the human psyche, which appealed to those individuals or communities which might have been restrained in other aspects of their life. In conclusion, the classical embraced the grotesque. The rawness of flamenco could only be explored with a deep understanding of the strict *compás* and structures of the form. The existence of one relied on the other.

This combination of *Gitano* and *Gadje* components, fed and eventually nourished another paradox. The *Gitano* was an outcast to the Spanish society in most situations, but when on stage was revered. The *Gadje* community received the *Gitanos* in certain venues while in others, excluded them. This contradictory behavior was sustained because the region needed to consume flamenco. It allowed the southern culture a moment to witness and judge something other than themselves. In *Science and Art in Spain: From Eugenics to the Bullring* there was a thorough discussion about honor on stage and the way it was used as a tool to reflect Spanish society's beliefs. With flamenco, an art form that was born from the amalgamation of many cultures, when put on stage served as a mirror to the region but also was a marker of identity. The witnessing of flamenco was an opportunity to see a form of oral history but also a moment to view something that was different from the everyday norm. Because *Gitanos* were a marginalized community, the stage put them in the spotlight yet made them vulnerable to *Gadje* judgment. I hypothesize that the *Gadje* community defined who they were by knowing what they were not. If flamenco represents a paradox embodied, *Gadje* might have feared this



contradiction yet felt the urge to observe and judge it. The irony is that the *Gadje* did influence flamenco; the genre symbolizes not only the *Gitano* community but the *Gadje* one as well. I will support this theory using Gilmore's analysis of the "evil eye" social construct.

Gilmore's study of the Mediterranean eye argues that southern cultures use the metaphor of an "evil eye" to represent a core belief.

It is also one of the oldest continuous spiritual "constructs" in the Mediterranean world. In the small villages and remote places of southern Europe, people believe that certain individuals in their communities have spiritual capacity which resides in the retina of the eye. When looking at a person or object which they particularly admire or envy, these people emit this power as a pathogenic beam which hurts or kills the object seen. The evil eye, then is a modern form of optical witchcraft. It is of course understandable, given the cultural and psychological emphasis on ocular phenomena in these shame cultures, that this witchcraft should reside in the organ of sight, in the eye of the other. (Gilmore, 168)

Using this analysis, the power of the eye becomes clear and we can understand how the contradictory mentality which accepts the *Gitano* in one moment, yet ostracizes them in another was maintained. Within Andalusian culture, the eye is a tool that can make or break a person, a society or a community. The Mediterranean community not only relies on the *loquediran*<sup>93</sup> mentality but reinforces it with the use of the eyes. Andalusia strengthens these beliefs in many different ways. The simple act of walking down the street can turn into a moment where judgment is passed and information is ascertained. Within the region, the street is known to be a stage or at least they treat it like a performance, where one is on display in front of an audience.

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<sup>93</sup> *Loquediran*- Concept within the Andalusian community; used as a threatening force within the society. "They say they are afraid of *loquediran* . The locution is really three words, *lo que diran*, spoken all in a single breath and it means, 'What they will say.' What they will say always corresponds to the worst paranoid fantasy of persecution." (Gilmore, 35)

The people are on view; they are walking about to be seen, preening to expose themselves at their best. The town is all eyes. Important dignitaries may use the occasion to sit before their clubs and casinos, where they silently observe the parade for all involved: Those parading have the satisfaction of performing well on the stage, of putting their best foot forward. The performance is well rehearsed and prepared; nothing can go badly wrong. And those watching secretly may take delight in seeing without being seen. The paseo is, again, voyeuristic and exhibitionistic at the same time and a pleasurable reversal of the daily game hide- and-seek. (Gilmore, 160)

This game eventually feeds into the overall nature of the Roma and non-Roma relationship. The *Gadje* allow the *Gitano* to perform for them as well as with them, while in other situations the Roma are disregarded. Using Gilmore's metaphor of the street representing a stage, I conclude that the *Gitano* is not only overlooked but written off. The dismissal of the *Gitanos* in one venue is met with the glorification of them in the other.

Yet another contradiction arises. The Mediterranean "evil eye" construct suggests that for an Andalusian seeing is believing. "If you mention something valuable to an Andalusian he wants to see it, wants to eye it. To express that something is good or true he points to his eye, ...and in seeing to experience it, feel it. The ultimate judge or reality and of worth is sight..." (Gilmore, 156) This form of ocular judgment represents why the *Gitano* is allowed on the performance stage yet not on Gilmore's metaphorical stage, the street. Flamenco allows the *Gitano* to come out of the dark mountainous caves and into the bright light of the *Gadje* community. By seeing the *Gitano*, it reinforces the negative beliefs the *Gadje* have towards them. Using Gilmore's analysis, the eye is a tool that can pass moral or immoral judgment on a person or group of people. So the *Gitano* is allowed onstage so that it can be critiqued for its grotesque ways. This is the paradox, that in some

instances the Roma are applauded for their raw strength and display in the flamenco art form, yet in other moments if the *Gitano* is within view, scrutiny begins.

We have established that the eye is a modern construct associated with witchcraft and that the street is a modern stage that the Roma can not freely enter. As Gilmore points out, the structures in place keep the *Gitano* community out of sight and permit those Spaniards with the “proper” behavior to be seen. However, the emotional rawness and the facial expression of flamenco are anything but tender or civil, yet the *Gadje* is drawn to it when it is on a performance stage. Why then is the hard face of the *Gitano* or of the flamenco artist performing, appealing and accepted only when it is onstage? The answer lies in the paradox of the region. Being a witness to such a “bad face” is proof that someone is of “bad character.” “A man has a good face which feels and responds to the sun of public opinion, or he has a hard face which is sensitive- an immoral mask. If he is good, he has shame; his face is sensitive. Or if he is bad, the people say he has a callous face or has “too much face.” (Gilmore,155) The Andalusians believe that through facial expressions an assessment can be made. So if flamenco is an emotional outcry for the *Gitano* community and those individuals cast out by society, then the *Gadje* watching that crude flamenco character come to life, only strengthens their judgment and reaffirms their negative beliefs of the Roma community. It allows them to be witness to the “bad” *Gitano*. It is a moment that can be used to justify the crude actions carried out towards the *Gitanos*.

With the analysis of flamenco from a historical, musical, artistic and emotional perspective, the connection between the Andalusian paradox and the body can begin. The

paradox of the region is reflected in the flamenco tradition and its physical manifestations. The dance elements which include *control and release movements*<sup>94</sup>, raw facial expressions and sensual yet strong gestures, feed into the gender roles that are set in place by the Spanish society. They are all found on the flamenco stage. The female dancer has the right to be a strong woman onstage, yet is not allowed to be that in everyday encounters. The powerful woman is only tolerated and encouraged within a flamenco venue. In a previous chapter, there was a thorough discussion of how the woman was treated as an object. Women were expected to stay at home where their main purpose was to uphold a man's honor, by following the strict rules of social norms. Yet the artistic venue allows for another interaction to take shape. Onstage the woman is allowed to represent a strong, boisterous character, where her nature is anything but gentle or submissive. In a performance venue a female has control over her body and can guide those audience members watching, down a certain path. Within the flamenco world, the woman has the potential to control. Her dancing does not solely rely on a male, and her powerful gestures and intricate movements, have the freedom to be sensual yet strong, vulnerable yet direct. The role of the female onstage contradicts that of the Andalusian social expectations. Onstage the woman is admired for her stage presence, yet offstage is required to be submissive to the man's word. This tension highlights the manner in which the Andalusian region affects the artistic arena.

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<sup>94</sup> *Control and Release Movement*- when used as dance jargon describes movement which is bound yet fluid; oftentimes relying on the use of the breath. When I use it within a flamenco context, I am implying the previous definition, but also including that the intense and concentrated footwork followed by fluid hand gestures, or vice versa, are examples of the concept.

## ***Summary of Chapter***

In conclusion, flamenco can be simple and unassuming and can appear to be effortless and filled with emotion. How can such a complex art form at the core be so basic? The depth of flamenco is profound yet the foundation of it is unpretentious. Flamenco was born from the poor *Gitanos* of Spain and influenced by the culture of the Andalusian province. In the early nineteenth and twentieth century this changed. Flamenco took a new direction and like its past, environment played a key role in the changes taking place. As Spain shifted towards a modern nationalist agenda, its arts and politics were affected too. The next chapter highlights those changes and analyzes how Spain and its religious ideology influenced Andalusia, thus affecting flamenco.

## CHAPTER FIVE- CAFÉ CANTANTES PERIOD: THE “GOLDEN AGE” OF FLAMENCO

### ***Chapter Introduction***

Women and gender studies come into our discussion of flamenco. In this chapter I argue that the appropriation of the flamenco art form began in the *cafés cantantes*. Flamenco changed not only aesthetically, but also metaphorically, as well as intellectually. I use the term intellectual, because flamenco has not always been honored as an art form which cultivates the wisdom of a people. It has been labeled as a fiery, passionate dance which showcases the artistry of the female body. This chapter examines how flamenco existed as a means to document history as well as culturally transmit customs and even as a way of life for some traditional families. This chapter also analyzes how certain settings within the timeline of flamenco were catalysts for the passing of traditions, where others were conducive to assisting in the commodification of the art form. The elements of profit as well as the differences between traditional and commercial performance arenas are described. I also explore the question of the female body onstage and argue that today's common stereotypes of what a flamenco dancer should look like, were born in this time period. In an effort to understand how it is that flamenco was appropriated, gender studies add to my discussion of dance scholarship. I begin with a brief discussion of musical traditions within the Mediterranean culture.

In chapter three, *Science and Art in Spain: From Eugenics to the Bullring*, I established that within the Andalusian society, women were often viewed in relation to men. This mentality is reflected within the *café cantantes* period. Italian anthropologist,

Tullia Magrini, argues that musical performances offer insight into gender, social and cultural constructions of society. Her research lends itself to our discussion of the female flamenco dancer and assists in the understanding of the period. “Musical occasions are traditionally a privileged venue for the public construction and representation of individual gender identity, as well as of the relational models between genders within particular communities.” (Magrini,5) If this is true, then the manner flamenco women were portrayed during the *café cantantes* period, clearly suggests and supports that women within the flamenco genre were objects of commodification that were seen as extensions of men. Bodily messages were conveyed through performers and shared with audience members. Dance, specifically when a woman was onstage, was reflecting sexually proper behavior and gender roles within the culture.

dancing provides a faithful expression of the most diverse and nuanced meanings, since its rules specify who can take part in the dance and how the body is to be used, also allowing or denying specific forms of bodily contact, and regulating other aspects in such a way as to highlight shared ideas on what constitutes an acceptable physical relationship between men and women in the public sphere. (Magrini, 6)

In summary, the *café cantantes* period was the beginning of the appropriation of flamenco which changed the genre forever. To understand this transition, I will analyze traditional and non-traditional flamenco settings.

### ***Flamenco: Traditional Vs. Non-Traditional***

Flamenco was not always performed on a stage where there was a distinction between artists and audience members. The definition of what a performance is has shifted and forced members of the flamenco community to re-examine how the art form is being passed on to younger generations. In an effort to describe the transition between

the flamenco that was shared in everyday living spaces where impromptu outbursts of song, music, and dance co-existed, to what we now see as concert flamenco, the development of the *café cantantes* needs to be discussed. The *café cantantes* is a period within the timeline of flamenco history, where the art form became a popular event. From 1842 until 1910 flamenco transitioned into a public domain where the popularity of the art form was not only acknowledged by a non-*Gitano* community, but it was well received by non-dancers, singers, and musicians.

The second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century are crucial in defining the theatrical and commercial flamenco that we know today. Geographically, we begin to see the cafés spring up in Seville, as they were the forerunners in setting the standard for cafés in Madrid, Cádiz, Granada, Jerez, and Barcelona. The cafés were concentrated in Andalusia and loosely spread throughout major cities in Spain. Andalusia is known as the incubator of flamenco, and Madrid and Barcelona are also known for their *Gitano* communities; these factors play a role in audience interest in flamenco as well as in the rise of the *café cantantes*.

### ***Café Cantantes Historical Analysis***

The physical traits of the *café cantantes* are best described by Katherine Tomas. She explains how “The cafés consisted of a large room lit by oil or paraffin lamps. At one end of the room was a small stage for performers. The other end of the room was filled with small tables and chairs for observers, who were usually aficionados.” (Tomas,1) They were rooms that were decorated by mirrors, posters, and bullfight paraphernalia where a stage was made using chairs and tables to outline the performance space. The



*café cantantes* created a space where culture was cultivated through daily interactions of the members of the Andalusian community. These individuals congregated over a cup of coffee, a glass of sherry or leisure games of dominoes where politics and daily activities were discussed. These cafés became known for attracting exclusive, wealthy members of the Spanish society. They were drawing a particular clientele which eventually led to the development of a specific flamenco community.

Bringing flamenco to the stage formed the moment when professional musicians, artists, and dancers came into existence. Artists were being paid wages and creating a climate of competition. This competition was born out of standards for what was considered a performance and what was not. Prior to the cafés, traditional flamenco lived in a space where *peñas* were the norm. *Peñas* were intimate gatherings that primarily consisted of individuals either directly related to flamenco through *Gitano* families, or invited by a member of a flamenco community. The exclusiveness of members that comprised a *peña* is what set this flamenco gathering apart from other settings. In these meetings, members were directly related to the art form either through blood or knew someone from the circle. Knowledge of flamenco was innately developed and the respect and etiquette of the generations of previous families, were honored. *Peñas* were considered the most traditional form of flamenco gatherings that have existed. They are best described by Timothy Malefyt and his encounter with a gathering while visiting Andalusia.

In the *peña*, in this intimate setting, everyone participates. People participate in festive songs that inspire dance (*alegrías*, *bulerías*), and in somber “deep” songs that evoke emotion and self-reflection (*soleás*, *seguiríllas*). At times people clap hands, palm insynchronicity, sing along, and move their bodies in unison; sometimes they get up and dance. Indeed, this high level of involvement is

expected from all present in the *peña*. The experience was intense. If this is what they call “real” flamenco, then it is something very moving, both personally and emotionally. (Malefyt, 69)

This description of a *peña* offers insight into why the art form is a sacred ritual to some and not simply a performance which is showcased for an audience. The *peña* setting allows the history of a community to come out and to be told through an artistic expression. The feelings evoked and the visceral strikes of passion are shared, protected, and respected within the *peña* setting. This interaction, the verbal and nonverbal communication as well as an honoring of individuality, fosters a feeling of vulnerability within the members of the circle. This vulnerability is a key factor in understanding the power of a *peña*. The expectation that everyone will bring something to the gathering highlights why the circle is so influential. No one is excluded and the community element is shaped in a way that everyone has a voice that is equally valid as well as shared. Not one member of the flamenco *peña* has more control over the other yet the governing elements appear to be the guitarist, singer and dancer. To the naked eye these three elements seem like the force behind the gathering, and although they are an impetus, even the individuals clapping or simply listening have just as much influence in the overall communion. This union found within a *peña* circle creates a unique relationship among the members where empathy and support are offered through the exchange of flamenco. As Malefyt suggests, flamenco is a way of life where traditions are passed on and is necessary in the self preservation of a people. This is reminiscent of the previous discussion of oral history. Oral traditions were not only an important element of the *Gitano* community but also within the flamenco circle. The *peña* has the power to emotionally as well as physically connect people. “Flamenco to them, is not to be taken

lightly for entertainment, but is deeply meaningful in how songs evoke a sense of shared history and ostensibly communicate cultural goals and understandings to its constituents.” (Malefyt, 63) Flamenco has visceral, emotional and intellectual power.

*Peñas* lend themselves to a specific form of storytelling, where expressive bodies and faces tell stories within stories. Although *peñas* are not the only way which flamenco has been shared, it is important to clarify the roots of the traditional flamenco gatherings. The description of the *peña* is key in understanding why the setting is deeply respected by *Gitanos* and *Aficionados*<sup>95</sup>. *Aficionados* is a term used to describe the amateur, fan, or individual who supports a flamenco which is not made for profit. This distinction between members of a community who are professionals and those who are *aficionados*, comes into our discussion of *café cantantes*. One could argue that the members, who gathered to profit from flamenco and its performances, are not *aficionados* that honor traditions.

They are flamenco aficionados who practice “traditions” in exclusive clubs called *peñas*, and make private versions of flamenco a point of social distinction from public consumption. Aficionados claim flamenco song is an art form that imparts cultural heritage in capacity to transmit the collective sentiments of Andalusian suffering. (Malefyt, 63)

Although some professional musicians, dancers and singers did respect the traditions of flamenco, there was a shift towards a style that allowed them to profit from what was once a form of historical and cultural transmission. Changes during the *café cantantes* period took the art form down a commercial avenue that brought with it many other factors. The move towards a professional arena, made flamenco a cross-cultural exchange

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<sup>95</sup> *Aficionados*- is a term used to describe the amateur, fan, or individual who supports a flamenco which is not made for profit. In the twenty first century this phrase can be interchangeable and used to describe those individuals who are fans yet support or are indifferent about the income which is made from the art form. I use this term in a manner which supports a non-profit flamenco where traditions are at the core.

between *Gitanos*, Spaniards and even foreigners. The non-violent yet emotional nature of flamenco lured many outsiders to the flamenco sphere. This commercially driven circle, also known as a *peña*, which hosted insiders from the tradition, shifted due to the commercialization of artists during the *café cantantes*. These artists were not concerned with the original meaning and purpose of flamenco, but instead were consumed by the gains that flamenco could bring them. During this transition, *aficionados* who were supporting a traditional, non-profit flamenco were being replaced by *aficionados* who were fans of the commercial flamenco. When I use the term *aficionados* in the case of supporting a *café cantantes*, I am trying to highlight that these individuals were fans of flamenco, but not concerned with the preservation of traditional flamenco. They were simply members of a community who engaged in flamenco performances. This term has multiple definitions but I use it in a manner that supports a non-profit flamenco where traditions are at the core.

In *Chapter 2- Gypsy/Roma Identity: The Core Elements*, there was a discussion on the subject of *in-group*<sup>96</sup> and *out-group*<sup>97</sup> members, and how the relationship between them relies on the existence of the other. It is important to keep this in mind as the *café cantantes* period is analyzed. We will see this come up again later, with the discussion of Franco and flamenco. As flamenco was moving towards a commercial arena, the mixing of *Gitanos* and *Gadje* was taking place. This is crucial in shaping the dynamics of

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<sup>96</sup> *In-group*- term used to describe those who are following the Roma traditions, customs, language, and inner-workings of the culture. This term is in reference to those individuals, primarily members of the Roma nation, who understand, abide, and respect the inner workings of the community. There can be individuals who are not Roma who might be considered part of the in-group, but this is rare.

<sup>97</sup> *Out-Group*- term used to describe those individuals who live among the Roma community but are not necessarily agreeing, nor accepting the culture and its idiosyncrasies. Roma often view anyone who is not part of the nation, as a member of the out-group.

flamenco under the *café cantantes* period. This relationship also highlights the ability flamenco had to unite individuals from diverse backgrounds. Throughout history what was considered flamenco, prior to the *café*s, was primarily a *Gitanos* art form where historical information was archived using its oral tradition. Thus, if flamenco was a ritual of the *Gitano* community, and the *Gitanos* have always been considered outsiders within Spain, factors that allowed this practice to enter the lives of the Spanish aristocracy, are crucial in understanding the period. For centuries, *Gitanos*' had been ostracized and marginalized. Their presence posed a threat to the status quo of the Spanish society and their acceptance, on social, political, as well as artistic levels, was rare.

Gypsies have lived in Spain for almost four centuries, yet they are still regarded as an Other, distinct from normative Spanishness, and continue to suffer virulent social representational discrimination. Until very recently, representations of gypsiness have almost exclusively carried either the mark of criminality and marginalization or the double trace of 'exoticism' and 'authenticity' as strategies to promote the image of the genuine 'España de charanga y pandereta' [folkloric and festive Spain], both for domestic consumption and for touristic purposes. (Santaolalla, 58)

The paradox that Santaolla describes, lends itself to our discussion of flamenco. *Gitanos* and their art form were suitable for the aristocracy of Spain, if and only if, it was a marker of an identity which was comprised of the exotic "other". As long as flamenco was on a stage where wealthy members and bar owners could dictate what was happening, the *Gitano* could become an insider in a society where they were actually outsiders. As discussed in *Chapter 2- Gypsy/Roma Identity: The Core Elements* under the work and art exchanges section, flamenco acted as a bridge between both communities. Later in this paper, I will discuss how the *café* owners and clientele shaped and changed the aesthetic of the art form. Before that discussion, the question of identity, class, and

gender comes into the conversation. To be the “accepted other” is what happened during the cafés period. *Gitanos* were labeled exotic and embraced into the Spanish society, due to the theatricalization of flamenco and the use of the stage.

## **Commercial Flamenco**

In the commercialization of flamenco, the “otherness” of a community was clearly defined. When we look at the Spanish society during the early twentieth century, culture dictated that a *Gitano* was not a member but instead an outsider who existed within the country. This distinction between both communities created a separation where some were included while others were excluded. This happened from both ends, by *Gitano* and *Gadje*, where each circle viewed the outsider as a threat to their own status quo. Because of this “othering” mentality from the *Gitano* and non- *Gitano* communities, the element of exoticism made up part of the social, cultural, and artistic frameworks. “According to this definition, “exoticism” describes a mode of appropriation, of sex and sexual display, and ethnicity. In this respect, there is perhaps no better emblem of bohemian exoticism than the gypsy dancer, resplendent in cloth, coins, and utterly titillating ethnicity.” (Sell, 48) The manner that the *Gitano* dancer was viewed as a source of exoticism offers insight into why the flamenco art form was romanticized, commodified and commercialized. The “other” was always of interest to the European nation and when it came to Spaniards and the *Gitano* community, it is valuable to identify the distinction and relationship between both groups. As Santaolla mentioned, the *Gitano* was an outsider to the Spanish society where the Spaniard was an outsider to the *Gitano* community. This insider/outsider dichotomy changed due to flamenco. Both groups

negotiated parts of their agendas and through this process allowed the outsider to observe some of their communal behavior. This brought with it changes for both groups but also for flamenco. These shifts will be discussed and are reflected in the commodification of the art form.

The commodification of flamenco was born under the period known as the *café cantantes*. “The *café cantantes* was born, according to Garcia Matos, because of the growing popularity of flamenco and the ingenuity of those *café* owners who decided to exploit it in order to increase their clientele.” (Serrano, 34) This element of profit, which began to attract business personnel, was clearly linked to the commodification of the art form that we see today. The threshold between commercial flamenco and intimate settings was outlined during the *café cantantes*. The defining aspects of concert dance and the role of the audience was established during this period. These transitions highlighted competing sensibilities which were negotiated through the use of a stage. The performance venues during the *café cantantes* period, brought forth the female body and shaped a gender expectation, which eventually became a norm within flamenco and Spain. As women turned into the central figures of the *café cantantes* period, clothing, sexuality, gender struggles, and commercialization, all became parts of the flamenco performance. “Women were central as performers in the *café cantantes* in Andalusia and throughout Spain in the period that spanned from the 1860’s to the first decades of the twentieth century.” (Chuse, 85) During this period the dynamics of sexuality were not only introduced to the flamenco art form but were beginning to define the period. As *café cantantes* were creating imaginary lines of separation, where elite audience

members and working class artists were beginning to not only socialize but also intimately interact, women were also being sexualized and flamenco was being eroticized. When I use the term intimate I am describing how a party atmosphere which involved alcohol, men, women, festivities, as well as the presence of a euphoric mentality, led to personal exchanges between all parties.

Blás Vega points out that the environment of the *cafés cantantes*, as well as the private rooms in bars and *ventas* (restaurants) where private *juergas* took place, 'lent themselves to a combination of artistic expression and party atmosphere,' one that often resulted in scenes of lust and lasciviousness that were a large part of the cause of rejection that a great deal of Spanish Society felt towards flamenco. (Chuse, 61)

The rejection that Chuse describes highlights the erotic nature that was being associated with flamenco artists. Women and their essential role in the transmission and preservation of a culture were no longer safe-keepers of the traditions. Instead they were demoralized objects that were at the disposition of landowners and clientele from a bar. These competing identities that found their way into the flamenco art form, and created a tension within members from the Andalusian society, *Gitanos* and *aficionados* who were traditionalists at heart. These opposing principles dominated monetary gain. There were many individuals who were willing to fulfill the perceptions that the *café cantantes* customers wanted to see. These effects led the female bodies to not only become sexualized but type-cast figures. The female dancer was now expected to perform certain duties, act in a certain manner, as well as fulfill a specific image.

The flamenco woman, whether singer, dancer, or guitarist, was the epitome of sexualized, exotic "other". Female performers were well aware of the stereotypes, prevailing fantasies, and expectations of their clientele, both the national and foreign variety. They played the role living up to their scandalous reputations, and earning good money while doing so. That this performance was accompanied by more than a little irony and conscious manipulation is clear in the often mocking performances that have been recorded: singers and dancers



who parodied the bullfight, strutted around the stage in imitation of roosters, or mocked Andalusian and often male, customs. (Chuse, 62)

The elevation of women as performers in flamenco was long overdue, yet the recognition of them in this light, highlights the contradictory practices of the Andalusian culture. Flamenco can be an active agent where cultural, social, and gender identities are negotiated. However, the psychological aspects of what was on stage needs to be factored in.

## **Psychology of Clothes**

There are critical frameworks around what we see onstage, but perhaps there are also psychological aspects that can be used to understand what we are viewing. Audience members are not always sure of what they are seeing or experiencing, but at some point during or maybe even after a performance, they decipher what was actually happening before their eyes. The stage is a platform where one can choose to reveal political, social, and cultural patterns. It also was a space that lent itself to many interpretations. Audience members could analyze and evaluate performances in any way they chose, because art is a subjective process and an artist must be open to that dialogue. However, performances were not always created with the public in mind, and the arena of the stage could articulate psychological formations which revealed social and cultural frameworks. The stage, which eventually became an item of public consumption, represented the many layers of a performance.

Flamenco performances during and after the *café cantantes* period, created an aesthetic that appeared to be solely personal and emotional, it also was a reflection of a

much more complex performance of the female body. To understand this multifaceted image that was developing during the *café cantantes* period, the flamenco dress needs to be examined. This item was not simply an accessory, instead it became an emblem which helped construct an identity as well as contribute to the commercialization of flamenco. The flamenco dress was linked to commercial flamenco. It was uniquely related to the identity of what a flamenco dancer should look like. It created a conflict between *aficionados* concerned with a traditional flamenco and professionals seeking to profit from performances. The flamenco dress grew out of the simple smock with a two or three tiered skirt, traditionally worn by the wives and women of peasant livestock dealers. These women were mostly *Gitanas* and poor folk. They accentuated their best show of style with embroidered shawls, large earrings, and flowers in their hair. This image has grown into the national costume of Spain and its commercial flamenco community. However, this style of dress was not always onstage.

Traditionalism Vs. renovation is a discussion within commercial flamenco. This age-old debate comes up every time the evolution of flamenco is discussed. The traditions were changed as the art form was staged. Alongside this modernization, the flamenco costume also shifted. The flamenco dress represented both traditional flamenco and the new innovations occurring. The flounced skirt turned into a figure-hugging dress. The charisma of the *Gitano* community was exaggerated and portrayed through bright colors and polka-dot fabrics. Concert flamenco of the *café cantantes* period defined what would be seen onstage. From this point on dancers were expected to wear such attire. Articles of clothing were used to decorate the female body and the stage. When a woman

wore a tight, provocative or colorful costume, this was intentional. This action highlighted and accentuated the spirit of the flamenco art form. The vibrant colors associated with the theatrical costumes, linked the *Gitano* character and their free-spirited nature to the stage. I am implying that the *Gitano* character portrayed onstage, particularly through costumes, is what aristocratic Spain was drawn to. The essence of flamenco, the complexity of its history, and the spectrum of emotions displayed by dancers during the *café cantantes* was enticing to many members of the nobility. This “other,” the flamenco community, allowed outsiders to feel and exist in an environment that was often times seen as erotic.

Blas Vega points out that the environment of the *café cantantes*, as well as that of the private rooms in bars and *ventas* (restaurants) where private *juergas* took place, ‘lent themselves to a combination of artistic expression and party atmosphere,; one that often resulted in “authentic orgies, where euphoria created by alcohol and the presence of women not only created a highly erotic environment, but often resulted in scenes of lust and lasciviousness that were a large part if the cause of the rejection that a great deal of Spanish society felt toward flamenco. ( Chuse, 61)

Flamenco was a living archive where the nesting dolls of consciousness, nature, and politics of the body met and expressed themselves. Clothing became an active agent in the political, social, and commercial aspects of flamenco. Clothes had the potential to affect the psyche of a performer. It created a new persona and brought out a specific demeanor from its performer. With this new persona, permission to be the “other” was not only granted but easily accepted by audience members, who tended to be *Gadje*. Individuals from the aristocratic Spanish society used clothes and costumes to maintain and cross boundaries.

As a child prodigy designing outfits for her dolls, methodically dressing them up and undressing them and then dressing them yet again, the future couturiere

Lucile discovered how clothes not only express but actively create a persona through the selective revelation or installation of desires and temperaments and sensations in the wearer's own mind and in the minds of her beholders.  
(Roach, 89)

When thinking about the numerous manners people were affected by clothing and accessories, Joseph Roach's description of fur lends itself to the discussion of flamenco. Roach argues that a piece of animal fur triggers unique reactions from different people. Fur highlights a sense of wealth and defines the distinctions of class. Articles of clothing can evoke feelings of inferiority or superiority while being active agents of identities for individuals. Within flamenco, flowers, hairpins, polka-dot dresses and high-heeled flamenco shoes, served as emblems that offered ownership where new identities were taken on.

The power of clothes and the strength of a costume highlighted how an individual could transform from being a member of society to a performer, which was often associated with a inferior community. The ability that clothes had to transform the ordinary to the extraordinary was at work within concert flamenco. Costumes broke habits and disrupted norms that were not accepted offstage. When a flamenco dancer chose to wear articles that were tightly fit, exposing curves that otherwise might not be accentuated in everyday wear and opted for colorful fabrics, which were also not a norm, this combination set up a transformation. Both performer and audience members began to embody and witness fundamentals of the *Gitano* community onstage. Keep in mind that these elements in most venues were considered components of the lower-class. However, onstage they became not only accepted but also expected. To contextualize costumes

within the concert flamenco world, Roach's explanation of clothing lends itself to the power that material can have.

It did so because the act of dressing and undressing transforms clothes into properties and images into actions on the stage of public intimacy. They coalesce into behaviors that invite play on the word habit, which can refer either to garments characteristics of a certain calling, such as the ones that nuns wear, or to an acquired manner repeating oneself. Habits of both kinds are very informative to observers, but they can work most expressively in ensemble, when the clothes being put on or taken off are those that distinguish a calling in life or a special identity. (Roach, 93)

Costumes and accessories were the threshold between members born into flamenco communities and those who were outside of it trying to make their way in. Costumes also offered an opportunity for a "different identity" to be worn. When I use the term "different identity," I am implying that individuals who might not be from the *Gitano* community, the out-group, with their items of clothing, could be seen or consider themselves members of the in-group. Costumes negotiated what an audience expected to see and changed the traditional art form to a staged art. Some historians, audience members and even performers, might argue that performances are supposed to transcend its audience members. I agree and believe that traditional flamenco has the potential to do so. My criticism comes when the costume becomes a priority to the dancer or to the audience member. When this happens, the commodification of the art form follows.

In many ways the degrees of racism that have existed not only within Europe but also in Spain, are deeply embedded in flamenco. The psyche and the manner, which individuals have grown up, has dictated how people see their surroundings. Fusco reminds us that what we see onstage is just as important as what is not visually present. In the second section of his book, there is a discussion of how an invisible line can separate

cultures, nations, as well as people. During the *café cantantes* period we saw the beginning stages of how this invisible line was built. The transition from the *peña* gatherings to the expansion of a stage, with the development of performers and an element of profit, the stage became the impetus for the separation between professional and amateurs, as well as insiders and outsiders. The insider community, which initially was comprised of solely *Gitanos*, now was made up of both *Gitanos* and *Gadje* who were considered professionals. This shift reflects how the stage, as well as money, was a major factor that contributed to the blurring of lines and the commodification of the genre. As Mitchell said “flamenco is losing its purity.” (Mitchell, 150) The invisible line, the border created by the use of a stage, and the alcohol induced gatherings, changed flamenco forever. Previously a gathering was born out of an emotional exchange where members of a community found solace within flamenco. Now cafés were required to accept any paying customer. Apart from the profit being made, what once was a family event now saw an overturn of clientele, lack of formality towards traditions, and the inclusion of any human being in the café. “The classic *juerga*, with its small-group setting, isolation, liquor, ritual, and emotional magic, cannot be replicated in a public urban café with people-*strangers*-coming and going.” (Mitchell, 150) This exchange, which replaced traditional *peña* norms, was defended by bar owners and professionals benefiting from the earnings of the cafés.

As the evolution of flamenco progressed and moved towards a business-oriented audience, an icon came into existence. Audience members of the *café cantantes* period became accustomed to seeing a specific type of dancer. The woman that was categorized

to fit the flamenco persona, was one of a slim body, with dark long hair, a fair complexion and sensual demeanor. “The flamenco woman, whether singer, dancer or guitarist, was the epitome of the sexualized, exotic “other”. Female performers were well aware of the stereotypes, prevailing fantasies and expectations of their clientele....” (Chuse, 62) These symbols eventually became associated with the *Gitano* community. As Santaolalla reminds us, when marginalized communities are showcased for an audience, these glimpses create, feed, or reinforce the stereotypes that exist within the everyday rhetoric. “The problem here is that, because opportunities for the representation of ethnic minorities are still very limited, every ethnic character becomes a token for his or her community- a burden not shared by members of the dominant ethnic group.” (Santaolalla, 65) As these token images were embedded into, the Spanish psyche bar owners continued to promote a “purer” flamenco. This combination of the traditional flamenco *Gitano*, with the accepted Spanish women, fed into the icon that eventually became associated with the flamenco community. The fiery, passionate, vulgar, strong, savage-like dancer, was the new expected norm. Women and *Gitanos* became tokens of their communities. This theme will weave in and out of our discussion as it reflects the Andalusian paradox.

## **Class Distinctions**

Flamenco continued to evolve within its tradition. As time went on the art form was leaving its ritual space of *peñas* and intimate family settings, and making its way to the *tablaos*<sup>98</sup>, theatre stages and the festival arenas. Some historians, audience members,

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<sup>98</sup> *Tablaos*- venue for a tourist oriented flamenco show.

and even performers might argue that all movement is an expression of the self and that a setting has little to do with the intent of a performer. If we follow Delsarte's idea on the body being a manifestation of the inner-self, flamenco professionals performing during the *café cantantes*, might argue that there was no difference between a *peña* and a *café* setting. "Delsarte's system implicitly dismissed this notion of bodily movement's capacity to actually effect change or conjure something outside of itself. Instead, as Delsarte promoted it, bodily movement expressed the godlike universal 'truth' of inner selves." (Murphy, 54) Although Delsarte's argument is valid, from a *Gitano* perspective, the environment clearly affects the flamenco produced and shared with its community members. The surroundings were a vital part of flamenco. Due to its original impromptu format where improvised sessions of song, music and dance happened, environments were key elements which dictated the type of flamenco which was created and experienced. I entertain Delsarte's idea to justify why outsiders, individuals who were not from a flamenco family or who did not have a *Gitano* lineage, might have felt that they could change the environment of flamenco, as to make it easier for them to enter and connect with the art form. But this shift changed flamenco forever which in the process affected the *Gitano* and *Gadje* relationship. With so many different types of socioeconomic classes mixing, congregating, as well as engaging with one another, flamenco became the host to the social party.

Flamenco, regardless of its ever growing acceptance by foreign as well as middle classes, has evolved as a product of the Andalusian urban lower classes and, in particular, the settled Gypsies of Seville and Cádiz provinces. Since its coalescence in the mid-1800's, diluted and commercialized forms of the genre (e.g. flamenco opera) have flourished and perished in accordance with the changes in bourgeois taste, but a current of traditional flamenco, however



inherently syncretic it may be, has always remained at the inspirational and stylistic core of the genre. (Manuel, 51)

Although class is not always discussed in the history of flamenco, socioeconomic status was an essential element in the commercialization of the art form. Bar owners, dancers, musicians and others involved, made a profit from the cafés. This fact might have been an impetus for members from both the in-group and out-group to interact. The integration between those who were not from the tradition and those who previously used flamenco to solely communicate and transfer history in an oral fashion was groundbreaking. Not only did it push flamenco into a new light, but also it brought a new form of consciousness to those who were viewing the commercialized art form.

Thus the *café cantantes* became the first open link between the gypsy ghetto and mainstream society. It provided the first open communication between the two classes. It was also the first public showcase for flamenco performers. 'Behind closed doors' gave way to open ones, and flamenco came out of the houses, caves, and gypsy taverns and into the *café cantantes*. (Serrano, 35)

This displaying that Serrano speaks of, should not solely be seen in a positive light. The mixing of two groups who were taught to not only dislike, but also fear one another, created a tension that was reflected in the art form. This conflict created a symbiotic relationship which nourished a power struggle between those artists "selling" flamenco and those "consuming" it.

Many flamenco artists, both men and women, had to participate in this underworld out of economic necessity and were forced to cater to the demands and caprices of a public that represented both the lower end of society, and the "slumming" of aristocratic playboys. Prostitution and flamenco existed side by side in many of these establishments, in a clandestine manner, in order to avoid the censure of respectable public opinion. (Chuse, 61)

Performers profited from the cafés but this came at the price of being associated with negative images. This belief that flamenco professionals were polluted or uncouth people,

was not only directed towards the *Gitanos*. Women were also ridiculed, stereotyped and labeled “whores” for being involved with the *cafés*. Yet bar owners and clientele encouraged women to perform and choreograph dance numbers, but expected a “cleaner” form. This new flamenco could have been used as a platform to change the negative stereotypes which revolved around the genre, but instead it appropriated the form and enforced gender roles and expectations.

### ***Summary of Chapter***

As the *café cantantes* period (1842-1910) was coming to an end, the development of dance technique was beginning to take shape. The study and codification of the flamenco vocabulary, led the form to be an item of commodity. With this shift, the appropriation of a people continued. The *cafés cantantes* period bred a matrix of disorder where *aficionados* and professionals merged. This combination of diverse classes socializing, turned artists into marionettes of the rich.

Numerous flamenco artists actually furthered their careers through a kind of ritual self-immolation (here again the connection with romanticism), only to end up as pawns in the perennial game of señorito one-upmanship. The number of artists who actually came to control the game themselves was very, very small. (Mitchell, 151)

As individuals were manipulated to compromise traditional flamenco customs, the aesthetic of flamenco dancing changed. Dancing is an important component of the form, but within the hierarchy, it is the last out of the three: *cante*<sup>99</sup>, *toque*<sup>100</sup>, and *baile*<sup>101</sup>. Within the walls of the *cafés*, the dance became the main focus of the spectacle. *Baile*

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<sup>99</sup> *Cante*- Spanish word used for singing. Oftentimes jargon for flamenco artists, historians, fans, critics, musicologists and flamencologists

<sup>100</sup> *Toque*- Spanish word for guitar playing. Used for my purpose to describe guitar playing within the flamenco art form.

<sup>101</sup> *Baile*- Spanish word for dance. Used for my purposes within the discussion of flamenco dancing.

moved to the forefront while *cante* and *toque* faded into the background. This shift changed the intention of flamenco. As Mitchell points out, dance forced the rest of the flamenco environment to change. “the change of milieu had stylistic consequences as well: vocal effects designed to elicit emotion magic in a *juerga* were supplemented or replaced in the *café*s by flamboyant virtuosity.” (Mitchell, 150). The *cante*, is considered to be the purest component of flamenco and is known to be the threshold for the exchange of cultural and historical information. Thus, any change in *cante* to accommodate the audience implies a commodification of the art form. Before flamenco was an unveiling of emotions, desires, as well as an outcry to reveal the marginalization of the *Gitano* community. With the rise of an audience and a market to match, the physical and metaphysical aspects of flamenco changed.

The moment that dance found itself center stage in the *café cantantes* it began to expand its physical dimensions. The arm movements once motivated by inner feelings now became a multiplication of repetitive, concentric, movements made by a number of dancers. The counterpoint of the *zapateado* became a playful counterpoint among several *bailaores*. The larger space of the *café cantantes* stage demanded a company of dancers, and order and balance and stylized choreography took over. In his original vital space the *bailaor* had been the master of the dance. On the stage he became a journeyman, an exponent of stylized choreography. (Serrano, 117)

Dance was modified to cater to the *café*s clientele. As the image of the dancer and the image of the “exotic *Gitano*” was pushed onto the stage, the *cante* became sweeter and cleaner. In summary, what once were magical scenes born out of community gatherings, now was a spectacle onstage. Community engagements were traded for the purchase and the consumption of alcohol. These *café*s displayed an “other” and created an environment where *Gadje* could congregate and consume the romanticized flamenco dancer. As artists

gained attention, fame, and money, individuals began to promote the study of flamenco. Schools were born where set vocabulary was a product that could be mastered. This shift made flamenco an item that could be attained by any who chose. The technique of flamenco developed and created flamenco dance schools. These schools were a result of what began under the *café cantantes* period (1842-1910). By the turn of the century, flamenco was an established art form within the country. Society began to associate flamenco with Spain but it is the dictator Francisco Franco, who used flamenco as a component of national identity. The next chapter, *Franco, the Stage and Flamenco* highlights the many changes occurring in Spain and the manner that the political climate affected and capitalized on the genre. The manner that Franco used the art form is a continuation of what began during the *café cantantes* period.

## CHAPTER SIX: FRANCO, THE STAGE AND FLAMENCO

### **Chapter Introduction:**

The art of Flamenco dancing lives and dies onstage. Dance exists in a moment and although generations of families have carried the tradition and kept it alive, the actual dance happens in an instant. This is one of the many paradoxes that exist within the world of flamenco, that is highlighted in this chapter. Some scholars, *Gitanos*, as well as performing artists believe that the art has survived because of its ability to die on stage yet continue offstage. This is possible because of flamenco's *Gitano* roots. Flamenco is a political art form that offers insight into the elusive culture of the Roma. This chapter looks at the dynamics of women onstage within the flamenco sphere as seen through the documentary series *Rito y Geografía*<sup>102</sup> (Rite and Geography). Gender roles are examined as I look at popular culture during Franco's Spain. Franco portrayed the *Gitano*

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<sup>102</sup> *Rito y Geografía* - The series I am referring to in my research pertains to a much bigger series that belongs to the *Rito y Geografía del Cante*. *Rito y Geografía del Baile* came after and is known as the sister project to the *Cante* series. *Rito y Geografía del Cante* was created by Mario Gomez, Pedro Turbica, and José María Velázquez (1971-73). This videotape collection consists of 121 thirty-minute videotape documentaries on Andalusian Flamenco art and artists. The programs, which consist of interviews and presentation of Flamenco song and dance, are drawn from three documentary series which were originally aired in Spain during the 1970's. Copies of these programs have been stored in the Spanish National Television archives after their original airing, but have now become available for scholarly use only. The first series *Rito y Geografía del Cante* was originally aired in exactly one-hundred, thirty-minute programs devoted to Andalusian flamenco art and Artists. Originally shot on location in 16mm black-and-white film, these programs feature interviews with, and presentations by, Flamenco artists. The series contains extensive footage of great historical importance and rare authenticity. This series was done for Spain's national TV system, Radiotelevision Espanola, and broadcast every Sunday night on Second Channel (Southern Spain) between October 23, 1971 and October 29, 1973. The *Rito y Geografía del Baile Flamenco Series* consists of fourteen programs, was broadcast on the First Channel (nationwide) starting in April of 1975. The programs of this series are quite diverse with some presenting dramatic reenactment of historical scenes, others presenting candid ethnographic film footage, and still others presenting high quality video recordings of performances coupled with interviews handled by Fernando Quiñones. The films are in Spanish with no subtitles." (<http://www.uwm.edu/~wash/francojfa.htm>)

community in a stereotypical, negative and degrading light, yet juxtaposed that erroneous image by highlighting the mystique of a *Gitano*, and romanticizing their demeanor, using the flamenco series as the vessel to manipulate discourse.

Onstage, a *Gitano* is revered. Offstage, a *Gitano* is unaccepted and invisible. The tension between the Roma of Spain and the Spanish society is one that makes the Gypsies live in a social, political, economical as well violent and oppressive environment. It is from this imbalance and the injustices towards this group of people that has led to a social movement by contemporary flamenco artists, which work to break down the biases that Franco's Spain created. Flamenco explains that dance is human behavior composed, which can highlight intolerance, discrimination, and gender issues. Dance is a series of motions with an organized intention that has an aesthetic and inherent value. This value is one that represents how the *Gitanos* intricately belong to a world that is physiologically, emotionally, vibrationally, as well as historically their own. I explore how flamenco is culturally patterned and connected to the human history of the *Gitano* culture and the Romani injustices. Dance is an empirical indicator of the body's history. This chapter reveals sexist, classist, and racist ideas that revolve around the *Gitanos*, which were stressed during the age of *Franquisimo*.

Spain was always labeled a melting pot of cultures and ideas. The south of Spain, Andalusia, was particularly known for its diversity in culture and languages. Franco and his dictatorship began demanding a shift in the popular culture. This change came from Franco imposing order on the country and suppressing anyone who posed a potential threat to the new regime. When I use the term "threat," I am implying that Franco did not

allow freedom of speech or of any ideas, thoughts and values that were different from his military and Catholic ideals. Franco was strategic in his vision of Spain. He saw himself as the savior of Spain.

Between 1939 and 1947, the Franco regime ransacked the past in search of symbols upon which to rebuild a new and unified Spanish identity, an identity that might be attractive enough to lure tourists and centralized enough to be tweaked as needed for promoting national interest. (Washabaugh, 13)

He was an authoritarian figure who manipulated social discourse and drew clear lines as to what arts he would support and which ones he would not allow. There are always reasons that are hidden within political frameworks when a dictator chooses to support any form of art, or when he becomes a “patron” of the arts. Franco was a pragmatic man who saw politics and religion intertwined. He was committed to creating a new national identity. This identity included the arts, but only the arts he approved. “What seems to be specific to Franco’s control mechanism is its persistence over time, and the way the application of censoring criteria of the minister in charge.” (Merino and Rabadán. 125) Among those censored arts, we see film, media, literature, theatre and dance. In an effort to understand the theatre and dance aspect of the arts, I will first discuss how the regime was established and then clarify up where the arts fit into the dictator’s administration. Although Franco’s intent was to revive imperial Spain, in his attempt he used dance to mold his nationalist plan. He restored dance within the Spanish identity because it was a product that he could profit from and one which was previously associated to the Church. To understand this lost element which once was a vital component of the country, I will contextualize Franco and his relationship to the Church. This is important to document

because the arts were shaped by his traditional character and his relationship with the Church and the State.

### ***The Church's Role in Spain:***

During the 1900's the Church was not a positive aspect of Spanish society but it did play a role that was crucial in the ideology of what will become Francisco Franco's regime. The Church was slowly making its way back into politics as well as the education system.

All education conformed to the Catholic doctrine. In 1900 Spain had 33,000 secular clergy, .... The Church played a vital role in education at all levels, from primary to university, and it possessed a powerful press which, by 1891, numbered 248 publications, including 35 daily newspapers. In this press liberalism was identified as the cause of all that had gone wrong in the country, and further deviations from old customs, it was argued, would merely lead Spain further down the road to damnation, which could only be avoided by allowing the Church to maintain its pivotal role in society. (Ribeiro de Meneses,6)

The Church had an important function, although they had an irregular presence throughout the country. However, media and schools defended, enforced, and enabled ideas from the pulpit to enter discourse. This belief, that people were being divinely tested, was part of the Spanish mentality. Individuals swallowed such opinions because the Church in the past, had been such a critical part of society. This is important to note because in the next thirty years, there is a radical shift in opinion towards the Church. This information will come into our conversation when we discuss why Franco tried to revive the Church's image in the eyes of the Spaniards.

To give an overview of Spanish society at the turn of the twentieth century, the discussion of land distribution as well as its relationship to the Church, needs to be analyzed. People were separated into conservatives or liberals and the country was



divided into smaller systems that were governed by their own ideals. Industrialization and modernization had occurred in the country but Spain was not unified, which caused different economic centers like that of Madrid or Catalonia to seek autonomy. These splits that existed industrially, affected agriculture as well as economic stability. To further illustrate how Spain was divided, in the early 1900's Spain's elite consisted of land ownership.

The minifundia,<sup>103</sup> extremely small holdings typical of the northwest region of Galicia, ensured a conservative devotion to the land and to established order... . The south of the country- the regions of Andalusia and Extremadura- was dominated by the latifundia<sup>104</sup>, huge estates often controlled by absentee landlords. (Ribeiro de Meneses, 4)

This distinction between the north and south in regards to land distribution also reflected the tension between the rich and poor. The north was considered a region of Catholic conservatives that disapproved of land reform, as did some parts of the south. Overall, the south was a much more underprivileged region with a mixture of opinions. However, it is important to note that although there were political differences between the regions, class distinctions were made before regional ones. This mentality allowed landowners from both parts of the country, to unite and oppose the land reforms that were being placed on individuals by government. Another important note to make is that much of the Church's land was sold to landlords from both regions, which led to an entire new class of individuals who adopted the Church's point of view simply because they had acquired their land.

The Church's land was thus acquired by existing landlords, whether or not they were members of the nobility, and wealthy city dwellers looking for investment opportunities.

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<sup>103</sup> *Minifundia*- Spanish word for a small plot of land - small estate.

<sup>104</sup> *Latifundia*- Spanish word for large farms that were formed when landowners bought up smaller farms. Most were sheep and cattle ranches, and some grew olives and grapes. The closest approximation to industrialized agriculture and their economics depended primarily upon slave labour.

Once liberal financiers, merchants, professionals and officials, having invested in land, there after adopted the outdated social attitudes of the traditional landed class. In this way a new rural elite was created which, mixing old and new money, dominated the country's economic and political life, preventing rural reform and progress. (Ribeiro de Meneses, 5)

This communion between what Meneses would call old and new money between landowners, represented the role the Church would take in the early part of the century. The Church had united with the conservatives but was also criticized by the liberals. The Church was at a crossroads and was undergoing changes yet found itself under constant scrutiny by many members of the Spanish society. Internal reforms were on the Church's agenda, thus leading any social or political improvements that were desperately needed by the country, to a halt. This decision offended and angered the wealthy because the Church was requiring them to fund the changes needed, leaving a taste of charity in the mouths of the conservatives, yet placing the poor in a light where hand-outs had to be given. The liberals attacked the Church and with such heavy criticism from both sides, the Church lost its popularity and became a target of blame.

As the Church grew more and more unpopular in the eyes of both the rich and poor, it defended itself by saying that such trials and tribulations were tests from God. "...inequality was divinely ordained, and poverty and wealth were spiritual tests for both rich and poor." (Ribeiro de Meneses, 6) This social and political stand that the Church took in regards to the chaos that Spain was experiencing in the early 1900's, was met with much resistance. In 1909, 21 churches and 31 monasteries were burned down in Barcelona. These events symbolize the resistance that the country had towards the Church. This mentality continued until the 1930's because the Church refused, despite the pressure from both sides, to change its stance and play a different role for society. By

the end of the 1920's, Spain was in an economical tight spot, divided not only between rich and poor, right and left, but was also removed from the Church. The political and religious elements of the Church were not in complete agreement, which left certain individuals like Francisco Franco, with a mission to unite Spain.

Before a thorough discussion of Franco and his regime, a brief introduction of those who lead before him must be presented. This will contextualize how and why Spain adopted the ideological views of what eventually will become a dictatorship. King Alfonso the Thirteenth ruled Spain in the early twenties. King Alfonso the Thirteenth had been in power since 1902 and was seen as a controversial figure in Spain. His view conflicted with many politicians of the country and was labeled an autocratic king. He was blamed for losing the Moroccan war in 1921 and in 1923, he supported Miguel Primo de Rivera's military coup. Primo de Rivera established a dictatorship where he stated that patriotism and Nationalism had to be restored, because previous leaders had lead Spain into a wounded state.

Primo de Rivera was a military leader who indirectly helped shaped Franco's political views. Primo de Rivera was a figure who pledged to regenerate Spain and put an end to corruption. Yet he was not only incapable, but in the process abandoned the constitution, and made strict marital and censorship laws that weaved in and out of Spain's future. Miguel Primo de Rivera, in the late 1920's, was deemed a threat to Spain and was accused of pushing the country into dramatic inflation. He was reproached by many and accused of breaking his promises of restoring Spain. In the 1930's he lost his military support because his dictatorship, although it brought some economic growth to

Spain, was seen as a regime that could not build a political infrastructure to support, preserve, and continue his reforms that the country desperately needed. Thus, the country entered a decade of turmoil as he was forced to resign. After de Rivera relocated to Paris, the 1930's introduced conflict that would forever change the country. In closing, the division between the Church, state, the lack of leadership from leaders like King Alfonso the Thirteenth and dictators like Miguel Primo de Rivera, allowed individuals like Franco to enter the Spanish psyche, the society and its politics.

### ***History of Spain: Pre-Franco***

The early 1930's marked changes in Spain that would bring pain, suffering, war, fear, as well as economic instability. In 1930, the Second Republic was founded and for six years would exist in Spain.

The Second Republic was born not out of revolution but of the disintegration of monarchical authority, although its arrival was welcomed throughout the country by popular demonstrations. The New Republic, when it appeared, was bathed with optimism, and there seemed to be a universal acceptance of the governments' reform program. This, however, was a deceptive impression, for conservative opinion had not disappeared. It had merely- and momentarily- lost its voice. (Ribiero de Meneses, 14)

In 1931 King Alfonso the Thirteenth allowed democratic elections, where the country voted for a Republic which forced the king into exile. From there, the new temporary government known as the Second Republic held another election, this time electing a Socialist party known as the *PSOE*<sup>105</sup>. By 1933, the country had elected a right-wing party, which in many ways destroyed all of the positive reforms the Socialist Party had established. With tensions rising in the country, the left and right government groups were disputing more and more. This ultimately forced members from multiple parties to

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<sup>105</sup> *PSOE*- Acronym for the Socialist Party in Spain which existed in the early 1930's.

come together and join forces against the other side. The left, which included the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the *Esquerra Party*<sup>106</sup>, as well as the Republican Unions Party, joined forces and was titled the *Popular Front*<sup>107</sup>. The right-wing groups became known as the *National Front*<sup>108</sup>. By the year 1936, the *Popular Front* won the vote and the Conservatives of the country quickly reacted with haste yet were unable to retaliate immediately. The *Popular Front* quickly made changes in favor of their leftist agenda, which included stationing military right-wing generals like Francisco Franco in other countries. Conservatives furious by the liberals' behavior, immediately withdrew their wealth and invested in other countries. This caused an economic crisis.

By mid 1936, the Conservative Army officers plotted to overthrow the leftist party and in doing so, two Spanish Army forces were created. One, known as the *Peninsular Army*<sup>109</sup>, a weak, poorly trained army which consisted of leftist supporters, opposite of the *Army of Africa*<sup>110</sup>. This *Army of Africa*, which included Franco, was comprised of many individuals who were forced out of the country and trained in

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<sup>106</sup> *Esquerra Party*- was a left-wing organization that gained most of its support from Barcelona and other urban areas in Catalonia in the early 1930's.

<sup>107</sup> *Popular Front*- in Spain's Second Republic was an electoral coalition and pact signed in January 1936 by various left-wing political organizations, instigated by Manuel Azaña for the purpose of contesting that year's election.

<sup>108</sup> *National Front*- was a far right political party which was established during the Spanish Civil War.

<sup>109</sup> *Peninsular Army*- a weak, poorly trained Army which consisted of leftist supporters during the Spanish Civil War.

<sup>110</sup> *Army of Africa*- was composed of Spanish troops as well as the Spanish Foreign Legion and locally recruited Moroccan infantry and cavalry called *Regulares*. In total, the Army of Africa numbered 30,000 soldiers and was the most professional and effective fighting force in the 100,000-man Spanish Army during the 1920s and 30s. The Army of Africa was to play a key part during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. Along with other units in the Spanish Army, the Army of Africa rose against the Republic and took part in the *Nacional* military uprising of July 1936. On July 18, 1936, General Francisco Franco assumed the supreme command over this force. (online, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/SPafrica.htm>)

Morocco. This body of people consisted of nationalists and others who supported a conservative Spain. By July of 1936, the Spanish Civil War had started and Franco leading the Army of Africa, launched his troops in a slow, methodical fight to reclaim Spain, ultimately “winning” and ending the civil war. From 1936-1939, Spain was witnessing devastating losses and chaos that had not been seen for centuries. With Franco, slowly taking control and parties surrendering to his rule, his Army was able to gain the support of the international community. Among the countries and dictators backing him, were Italy and Germany. It is also important to note that the world was on the brink of what will eventually be known as the Second World War. I also want to highlight that I am briefly covering this devastating Spanish Civil War. There are many details and specifics that I am not including because I simply want to create a mood and contextualize Franco’s regime. My concise overview of the Civil War does not add nor detract from the original point of this chapter. The 1930’s through the 1940’s were a difficult decade, but it is Franco’s character that aided in ending the Spanish Civil War, which set the stage for his regime to begin.

### **The Spanish Civil War Ends-Spain After the 1940’s:**

In an effort to describe the Spain of the 1940’s through the early 1970’s, I must discuss in some detail the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. Francisco Paulino Hermenegildo Teodulo Franco y Bahamonde, was born in the north of Spain in a conservative region of the northwest part of the country, known as Galicia in 1892. His father was a paymaster in the Spanish naval corps and his mother was a traditional women from an upper middle-class Roman Catholic family. The relationship between

Franco's parents helped shaped the dictator he would one day become. His father was a man that was considered a free-thinker or a progressive, who was unfaithful to his wife and delighted in enjoying other women and fulfilling his every desires. This traumatized Franco.

Throughout his life, he would reject all those things which he associated with his father, from sexual dalliance and alcoholic drink to the ideas of the left. His childhood coincided with the lowest ebb of Spain's political fortunes, and, overtime, he came to associate his personal difficulties with those of his country. (Preston, 23)

As Preston highlights, Franco saw his childhood as a springboard which helped mold his future endeavors. Because of his relationship with his father, he was lured to the more conservative values of his mother and thus became a man of the right. Embracing these ideals, he began to associate the conservatives of Spain with a New Spain. This concept of a New Spain eventually will shape his regime, but during his formative years, his mother's values and the military were important authorities. From a young age, Franco entered the military and began his expedition in the military corps. In 1907, at the age of fourteen, Franco was commissioned second lieutenant. In 1915 he was the youngest captain in the Spanish Army, and by 1926 he was promoted to brigadier-general, becoming the youngest soldier of his rank in all of Europe.

It is important to establish the mood of Europe in the early 1930's and 1940's. This decade of inconsistent parties and multiple platforms, set the stage for someone like Franco to exist. In the rest of the European entity, other dictatorships were in the works. Regimes like that of Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini were present in the minds of not only other Europeans, but also of many Spaniards. It is important to compare and contrast the many other dictators of the world that ran alongside that of Franco's early days. Franco

was a dictator but he was more like Mussolini than Hitler. Over the years his regime changed from one end to the other, but was never as fascist as other dictators, although his empire included fascist thinkers. Franco's regime was compared to non-totalitarian dictatorships in other countries like Latin America.

Non-totalitarianism dictatorships were a common phenomenon in Latin America, though with different variations... Francoism had something in common with all of these styles of regime. To sum it up, one might say that when studied as a whole it can be seen as far more than a mere conservative dictatorship such as that of Primo de Rivera, but also far less than a fascist dictatorship. (Tusell, 13)

Apart from the Latin American representations, Tusell also compares the Franco regime to others like the Portuguese leader, Salazar, or Italian dictator, Mussolini. All three were different but in an effort to understand what was either directly or indirectly influencing Franco, these two governments must be introduced. Franco did see Mussolini's work as a model to imitate, yet felt Salazar was an official to know but not follow.

The discussion of who was in Europe when Franco gained control, allows room for the critical analysis of what made up Franco's regime. The main elements of his dictatorship could be summarized into four points. Franco had one vision for Spain, which could only be realized through his work. He believed that the Church and state should be unified and that the country should have a form of national Catholicism. He had a populist agenda which was coupled with an anti-pluralist mentality. It is also important to note that Franco was a dictator but before he was a dictator, he was a military general. I am implying that he ruled through a military lens and used this mentality to execute his plans. However, the irony lies in that although he was a military man, the regime was not one, it simply played an important role. "From the 1950's onwards, changes in the Army made it unthinkable that opposition could arise within its



ranks, but that did not mean that the regime could be termed military.” (Tusell, 16)

Another important point to make about Franco’s regime is that it wavered from one extreme to another because it did not have a clear ideological basis as its foundation. In theory, it appeared to be clear, but in reality it was far from fixed. It knew what it aimed to do but struggled in achieving that goal. To conclude this section on the comparison of Franco’s regime with other dictators, it is crucial that I point out that the Spanish general was never charged with acts of genocide. He was repressive especially in the early parts of the administration, but he never operated like the German ruler, Adolf Hitler. In summary, Franco’s regime was ruthless, pragmatic, repressive, violent, as well as ideologically instable. However, he ruled for thirty-nine years with the support of many Spaniards. Further into this chapter, I will explain how it was that Franco was able to influence the country and move it in the direction he did.

### ***Francisco Franco’s Agenda:***

From the beginning of his political career as a dictator in 1936, Franco was clear of the direction the country needed to move in. He had observed the changes in Spain and was not trying to win, per say, but rather was trying to cleanse Spain of leftists and liberals. He believed that by ridding the country of these types of thinkers, he could renew Spain’s future and could offer change to the country. The narrowness of this philosophy highlights why Franco dichotomized individuals into right and wrong, patriotic and unpatriotic. He was a simple-minded person who was not considered a deep thinker. He was threatened by the intellectuals of the country and was

...drably prosaic: his hobbies were fishing, hunting, and, towards the end of his life, watching films and television. He lacked any cultural interests, criticized intellectuals for their intolerable “pride,” made spelling mistakes, and in meetings of the Council of Ministers- infuriating the Foreign Minister- he always referred to Eisenhower as “Aisenover”. (Tusell, 7)

This observation by Tusell highlights why Franco was intimidated by thinkers and why he tried to either force certain individuals into compliancy or had them obliterated from Spain. Franco trusted no one yet valued loyalty. He was against freedom of expression and did not allow, even members of his Parliamentary, the right to share their ideas freely. He kept his opinions quiet and was a person, politician, and dictator who did not share power. He was a calculating man who even with the closest people around him, was neither emotional nor effusive.

Franco kept all big political decisions to himself... True political enmity during the Franco years was to be found in the Council of Ministers where Franco’s form of arbitration meant turning a deaf ear to confrontation or doing away with anyone who caused conflict. In his opinion, forums of debate were dangerous institutions which might limit his power or slip into the bad habits of parliamentarianism. For that reason he always considered both organized pluralism and freedom of expression harmful, which explains why he... firmly close the doors firmly on any possibility of providing an institutional framework for political pluralism. (Tusell, 10)

Franco viewed individuals with a military background as honorable men. Because he operated from his background of military training, this perspective of the Army was one that appealed to him and any other, he rejected. “...until his death Franco held the view that Freemasonry led inevitably to liberalism and that liberalism opened the way to the threat of communism.” (Tusell, 5) Franco was against communism and would not tolerate any form of liberal thinking. In his mind, free-thinking individuals led to communism and communism was a threat to the Church and his political agenda. These perceived menaces to society motivated him to fulfill his dreams and thus he strategized and returned to his militaristic background to help shape his regime.

To understand Franco's character, an examination of his professional life in the Army must be discussed. His military career made him the national figure that he was known for in Spain. When Franco was sent to Morocco in the summer of 1936, he ended up taking control over the territory. This event nourished his belief that men in the Army were of superior status and that he was a much stronger and powerful man because of this background. He has been quoted in his book The ABC of Defense Warfare, admitting that Morocco and his Army training convinced him of his dominance over those who had not received the military conditioning. Franco's experience in Africa molded the austere personality he used to build his regime. "It was from his experience in Morocco that he derived his strength of character, his impassivity, his harshness, and his sense of discipline." (Tusell,4) Franco used his professional training, his personality and the state of anarchy that the country was in, to begin to shape his ideas of what Spain should look like. Franco used fear to colonize the minds of Spaniards and forced individuals into obedience. He instilled in people that bravery and compliancy were the only ways to gain victory and "reclaim Spain." Between 1927 and 1931 Franco was building young soldiers with a similar background to his. He used the days he spent in Morocco training, as a model of preparation for these new soldiers.

His growing belief of his own patriotic mission was confirmed by his period from December 1927 to June 1931 as director of the Academia General Militar of Zaragoza. There, assisted by a staff chosen from among his Africonista comrades, he educated a generation of officers, who would fight by his side during the Civil War... (Preston, 25)

His messianic view and willingness to carry out his plan of uniting Spain, fueled his actions. Franco was not necessarily liked by many and was oftentimes criticized for the manner that he carried out his goals. Franco was a pragmatic being who had a long-term

political agenda rather than a fast path to change. “That this should have been the case derives from a personality in which instinctive caution coexisted with almost unlimited ambition.” (Preston, 23) Franco received criticism for his strategic tactics. People were affected by his “slow” or lack of “vision,” but Franco definitely had his own way of doing things. He eventually made Spain into a unified, Catholic, nationalist country and did so in spite of all the disapproval he endured. This pragmatic, slow, yet deliberate, military-based approach to wars, was eventually what made it possible for him to become Spain’s dictator, who ruled for thirty-nine years. In conclusion, as early as the 1930’s Franco was known as a dictator and had established a reputation for not being a stylish fighter, but rather someone who intimidated others. This approach is what eventually granted him the right to rule and end the civil war in 1939.

### **Franco and the Spanish Psyche:**

Earlier in this chapter, there was a discussion of how Spain had undergone a Civil War as well as seen a Second Republic. The aftermath of a decade of chaos, left Spain in a state of political repression after the Spanish Civil War. The political system that Franco was determined to implement and the model that he saw for the New Spain, was born after the battle for Spain’s infrastructure. His political agenda was no different than other communist countries that had surrounded Spain or that came before the Spanish dictator, but what allowed him to anchor himself within the Spanish society, culture, and psyche, was the state of fragility the country found itself in. Coming out of a Spanish Civil War, Franco stepped into a position of power that lasted many years.

Francoism does not, therefore, have any distinguishing traits that make it a peculiar phenomenon. What does make it different is that it came into being as a result of a civil war and this meant that it had more chances of survival. (Tusell, 19)

Spain had undergone a clear process of fragmentation before, during, and after the Spanish Civil War. Prestige, power and government, meant different things to different people. The many schools of thought and ideologies that once were accepted blindly, after the Spanish Civil War, were questioned by many citizens of Spain. “The authority of powerful entities such as the Catholic church, the monarchy, and the armed forces was no longer accepted unquestioningly.” (Ribeiro de Meneses, 9) However, Franco mobilized his ideas because he saw that he could offer a fresh vision to the disjointed Spain of the late 1930’s.

Franco was determined to revive the old ideas of Church, State, and Nationalism that were previously a part of the Spanish identity. Franco was raised in a religious household and Catholicism was a unique part of not only his upbringing, but of many of his ancestors. Catholicism was no stranger to the political domain, but Franco was convinced that the Church and the State were not separate entities. Politicians and Church figures were allowed to have the same power and affect on the State. Franco permitted the two forces to be interchangeable and at times viewed each as a single unit.

Catholicism and the Fatherland were in his mind one and of the same thing to such an extent that, being responsible for the latter, he had no difficulty in pontificating on the former. The Spain of his day- at least up until the 1960’s- was a country where bishops spoke out as though they were politicians, while the Chief of State at times seemed to perform the function of a Cardinal. (Tusell, 5)

This marriage highlighted the ideology that Franco was imposing on Spain. Whether you liked Franco’s limited thinking or not, the state of confusion the country found itself in after the Spanish Civil War, allowed him to mistrust any liberal politics and thinkers. “So

it is possible to say that in Spain what came into being was not a totalitarian system but a dictatorship in which power was vested in one single individual.” (Tusell, 9) This created a love or loath mentality for Spaniards.

People were divided when it came to Franco. In the beginning, people followed him as he offered hope and had an optimistic outlook for Spain. His personality seemed ruthless and in July of 1934, when interviewed by an American journalist, he stated that he would stop at nothing to free Spain from Marxism at whatever cost. This mentality reflects his military training but it also reveals his passion to implement his ideals and in his mind, save Spain. Franco had different capacities, which won him support from parties that made up the divided Spain. The general was able to mobilize people and this skill, made it possible for him to enter the minds of many. Although citizens were divided when it came to Franco, his personality allowed some to trust him. Clearly, Franco was a man that was deeply respected by the military unit and was deemed capable of making and handling decisions that affected many people. Franco gained the reputation for being a disciplinarian and in later years he was either revered or despised.

For the left, Franco the general was a slow-witted mediocrity whose battlefield triumphs were owed entirely to the unstinting military assistance of Hitler and Mussolini. For the right, Franco the general was the twentieth-century incarnation of Alexander the Great, of Napoleon and of the great warrior hero of Spanish legend, El Cid. (Preston, 21)

This contrasting opinion was embedded in Spanish culture by the early 1940's. Franco and his extremist personality were in every aspect of the Spanish household. He controlled the media, the military, and the Church. Franco had an agenda for Spain and among his ideas, he felt that the country should have a national identity that revolved around the suspension of individual rights, censorship of the press and mass

imprisonment to anyone not abiding to his rules. Franco thrived off the power he was gaining, and his concepts of society were based on military schemes and lines that were drawn by his traditional upbringing.

Often times, the question as to how the regime was able to enter the psyche of the society, comes up. This was possible because Franco worked very hard to show the country that there were consequences to those who erred against him. He was not afraid to showcase his power and exercised his control over individuals in many aspects of society.

Prison, especially in the postwar years, meant a lot more than the loss of liberty. The number who died owing to appallingly insanitary conditions or the lack of adequate nourishment in prisons was very high. Another possible punishment took the form of economic sanctions. ...arbitrariness of the sanctions was so extreme that not only specific individuals but entire families were accused. Legislation spoke of “erasing errors of the past” but also of the need to display “a firm determination to never err again.” ...In each section of the population political authorities-which in matters of public order was the Civil Guard and in matters of religion the parish priest- issued reports on people’s conduct that were powerfully influential. (Tusell, 24)

As Tusell describes, neutrality was not an option. One had to be committed to the regime because the consequences of prison, labels of being a communist, or even worse, death, were all possible. Although the death penalty was not an accepted practice, many individuals were executed during Franco’s early years. There were many intellectuals who fled Spain or who were forced into exile because of his political ideologies. This fact was often overlooked by some nationalists, yet enabled by them. Later in this chapter there will be a brief discussion as to why intellectuals were such a threat to the regime, but for now it is simply stated to reflect how Franco used his power to intimidate Spaniards and any non- believers. As highlighted by Tusell, fear was an active agent in

carrying out Franco's agenda. In the next section we will see how Franco used fear tactics and propaganda to further his campaign.

### **Fear Within Franco's Spain:**

Franco taught Spaniards that there was an immediate mortality to their lives and this often planted the seed of fear into their sense of being. "The use of terror, both immediate and as a long-term investment was to be an essential part of Franco's repertoire both as a general and as a dictator." (Preston, 28) Franco knew how to use fear to affect the deeper psyche of the nation. Franco's radical ideas and his empire which is labeled *Franquismo*,<sup>111</sup> was a dictatorship that affected the arts in many different forms. As a regime, *Franquismo*, had institutionalized itself within the country and was beginning to affect many areas of the culture. He was passing laws like the *Laws of Referenda*<sup>112</sup> and the *Laws of Succession*<sup>113</sup>, which benefited his interests and could be applied or negated to anyone that he so pleased. This imbalance began to set up hypocrisy within the country. Franco was deemed a dictator who had his own best interest in mind,

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<sup>111</sup> *Franquismo*-is a Spanish term used to represent Franco's dictatorship. It could translate to English as "Franco-ism."

<sup>112</sup> *Laws of Referenda*- law stipulated that after 1947, a referendum would have to be called in order to alter any fundamental law. "The Law on Referenda, also issued in 1945, was a further attempt by Franco to make his regime appear less arbitrary. It provided that issues of national concern would be submitted for the consideration of Spanish citizens by means of popular referenda. Franco decreed this law without having consulted the Cortes, however, and he retained the sole right to determine whether a referendum would be called. The law stipulated that after 1947, a referendum would have to be called in order to alter any fundamental law; Franco retained the right to decree such laws, however--a right which he exercised in 1958." (<http://countrystudies.us/spain/>)

<sup>113</sup> *Laws of Succession*- law passed in 1947. "Was the first of the fundamental laws to be submitted to popular referendum. It proclaimed that Spain would be a "Catholic, social, and representative monarchy" and that Franco would be regent for life (unless incapacitated). Franco had the authority to name the next king when he thought the time was appropriate and also to revoke his choice at a later date if he so desired." (<http://countrystudies.us/spain/>)



although he claimed he was saving the state. This double standard began to change how many viewed Franco. Franco was synonymous with facades. He used such laws to create a false sense of security within the people, but he hid behind his own agenda.

Franco's style of government by arbitration was always informal in approach, for he never allowed strong political forces as such to be represented in the Council of Ministries. It was he who elected its members, though always with an eye to what would work best. (Tusell, 14)

The two-faced man that was representing the country began to have a domino affect on the aristocrats and the common people of Spain. As stated before, Franco was a powerful man who deeply affected the Spanish psyche. He brainwashed and intimidated many Spaniards and this carried into everyday conversations. Spaniards knew that they could not oppose any aspect of Franco, and this understanding created a false dialogue within the media and the public domain. On the other hand, many Spaniards were not in favor of such hypocritical ideals, but knew that they could not express any opposition. This in effect created a two-faced Spanish citizen. "The power of the regime was not based on a silent majority but quite simply on an absent one." (Tusell, 15) People knew that there was no room for negotiations, thus creating a society where observations and criticisms never left their immediate family circle. Another important note to make is that World War Two allowed Franco the space to govern. With Germany at war with the USSR, and so much chaos happening in the world, Spaniards were afraid to change political power. They swallowed the dictator's authority over the country because they were afraid to vocalize their disapproval of his regime.

Franco kept the Spanish Civil War alive in the minds of the people. He would routinely remind them of the atrocities that occurred during the battle and would use the

fear tactic to manipulate their behavior. Apart from scaring people into compliancy, he also treated the nationalist fighters as heroes. He offered them privileges not shared with supporters of the Republic and to the non-supporters, he placed the burden of reconstructing Spain on their shoulders. In summary, Franco used fear as propaganda and this tone of the regime clearly affected the country's demeanor. People were afraid to speak their minds and this hypocritical behavior, eventually became an accepted norm that fed into the paradoxical character of Spain. Fear as a tool of control was also used to censor many groups. Political repression was a pillar of *Franquismo*, and it is important to keep this in mind when reading the later sections of economic growth and tourism in Spain; as they each support my argument that the Documentary Series, *Rito y Geografía*, were a reflection of his pragmatic, nationalist mentality.

### **Economic Growth in Spain:**

Earlier in this paper there was a discussion of Franco's Spain being an inconsistent regime that lacked an ideological framework. The discussion of the economic growth during the early 1960's until the end of his regime, comes into our conversation to reflect this point. Apart from simply stating the fact that Spain's economy grew under Franco, this adds to our discussion of film and censorship, because it highlights how Franco controlled every aspect of society. From the 1960's until 1974, there was a profound change in Spain. An economic growth occurred, without political freedom. This in and of itself, is a paradox that supports how the regime was contradictory yet methodical.

The modernization of the country was affecting the cultural and social aspects of society. Much research has been done on the reasons behind the economic growth that Spain underwent during the Franco years. Yet, respected scholars like Fuentes-Quintana, suggest that the backbone of this development was due in part to a use of technological advances, but also the capital worker became the force behind the labor productivity. As Aceña and Martínez-Ruíz point out, the main sects that were affected by the capital worker, were the chemical and basic metals industries, alongside the metallic processing industry. This advancement reflected the progress of the people which highlighted that the Spaniard was beginning to look outside of their world rather than solely in it. This ideology changed Spain forever because from this growth, it placed Spain not only on the European map, but on the global one too. Spain had a history of being considered backwards and slow, when it came to matters of the economy and science. With this surge, Spain became known to outsiders and was slowly gaining respect from other European countries. This marked the beginning of a transformation. “However, the Franco regime was not prepared to relinquish control over the productive system and let the market forces perform freely. Economic as well as political freedom was never a reality.” (Aceña and Martínez-Ruíz, 36) *Franquismo*, although earning recognition from other countries, was still labeled as negative aspect of Europe. Franco’s regime was attempting to change the negative image it carried, and they tried to portray him as a peace maker rather than a warrior. From the nationalist point of view, he was a savior. Of course, this mentality reflects those who embraced Franco’s propaganda of fear and who believed he was Spain’s hero. On the other hand, those who disliked his government and

remember the atrocities that Franco committed during the Spanish Civil War, held him accountable for many deaths. In essence, the country was still divided between those who remember and those that were born into the aftermath, which at that point was a lucrative, economically stable Spain. There were shifts in Spain's economy where they were opening up to not only a national but global market. This is important because this affects Franco's desire to portray Spain to the rest of Europe and the world, as a unified Spain. Displaying a bonded country was part of his agenda. This will eventually affect how he markets every product coming out of Spain, which will include flamenco dance and the documentary series, *Rito y Geografía*.

### **Tourism under Franco:**

Franco's new idea of what Spain should look like, was tied to tourism. Tourism was his way of promoting a fresh Spain to the rest of Europe. To illustrate how Franco used tourism to better Spain economically and politically, I will highlight the connection he found to revamping the cultural aspects of Spain. Tourism played a huge role in this refurbishing.

Already by the dawn of the Twentieth Century, the Spanish state had given organized expression to the belief that tourism was a powerful tool to project a modern National image, to provide remote towns the opportunity to promote their attractiveness, and to foster social and commercial engagement with other parts of Europe. (Pack, 51)

Franco found that the cultural aspect of the country could not be ignored. With this understanding, he used dance and other elements of the art world to project his beliefs. Franco in the early 1940's, began to establish a form of rhetoric that appealed to many conservative and traditional establishments. He was extreme with his push to paint Spain as a country that had returned to its "old ways." If it meant that Franco had to exploit

areas and parts of the country that were in shambles because of the Spanish Civil War, then in the name of tradition, his agenda would be followed. He was not afraid to manipulate the past to propel his propaganda.

Tourism in Spain triggered cultural and political change. We see this with the amount of foreigners that traveled to the country. "Foreign tourists strengthened the ostracized regime, providing by the mid-1950's both its largest source of foreign currency and compelling evidence of its acceptance by democratic Europe. ...The postwar tourist boom reinforced the Franco dictatorship's sovereignty..."(Pack, 47) By people traveling to the country, they sent the message that they condoned what the regime was representing and its actions towards Spanish citizens. As we have seen with our discussion of eugenics, Spain was also considered backwards in regards to science. This fact comes into account when discussing tourism in Spain.

Although King Alfonso the Thirteenth first established tourism in the country, Franco coined it as a part of his regime. Franco built tourism into his political agenda. The pragmatic dictator saw the potential that the tourist market had and so he capitalized on it and used it to support his ideals. The regime shaped tourism in Spain within a strict mold, which used censorship as one of its anchors. Censorship was a priority because the image of Spain was at stake. Franco created laws around many cultural programs because he was convinced that if Spain was going to open its doors to Europe and the world, it needed to represent a unified nation. This nation was one that would help change the "Anti-Spain" slander that existed in the 1950's and 1960's. In 1949, he opened up the country and in the early 1950's he made tourism a priority in the cabinet.

The unprecedented influx of foreigners soon penetrated the core of the regime's identity. Amid a general government restructuring in 1951, Franco found fit to elevate tourism to a cabinet-level portfolio. The new Ministry of Information and Tourism was named in order to soften the nomenclature of what was essentially a censorship bureau, but there were indeed benefits to officially recognizing this increasingly important field of social and political activity. (Pack, 53)

Tourism revenue in Spain would change the deficit that existed in the country. Some might see the shift towards tourism as an economic yet strategic manipulation on Franco's behalf, or could associate it with the inconsistency of his regime. My purpose is to highlight that the regime spent years molding the shape tourism would take in the country and in 1962, Franco appointed Manuel Fraga as the head of the tourism department. This action highlights that the regime saw the political benefits that could be achieved from creating a tourism division, alongside the valuable income that could be secured. Fraga supported Franco's initial ideas of promoting a single Spanish identity. He instilled in people that it was Europe's vocation to consume parts of Spain. Fraga convinced Spaniards that the practical gains, as well as the political and economical profits, would improve the lives of every Spanish citizen. However, such shifts would require a certain amount of tolerance from Spaniards, and so, the regime was able to implement censorship laws, along with other propaganda of Spanish identity into the lives of many.

Franco's regime has always been characterized as inconsistent and this aspect of tourism reflects that. However, with such shifts, conflict and contradictions also revealed themselves. On one hand, we saw that Franco and the Fraga ministry agreed upon showcasing a unified Spain. This nationalist approach was clearly implemented. Yet on the other hand, part of Fraga's goal was to show other countries that Spain was not only

tolerant of others but a “Plural Spain.” “Tourism would need to reflect a plural Spain with variegated identities, cultural traditions, and modes of leisure.” (Pack, 57) This, however, was one of the deceptive qualities of the regime. Tourism painted Spain as a country that was moving towards a progressive model, yet a dictator still ruled the country. This was a contradiction. Franco and his cabinet wanted to profit from tourists yet criticized the foreigners’ morals for being different from their nationalist one. For example, although Spain was appearing to be more progressive, where tolerance and acceptance of all was advertised, slogans and cultural criticism began to type-caste its visitors. The Swedish were associated with purity for the lightness of their skin. The Swedish female body became an icon that needed to be showcased. However, the Swedish body was also associated with a woman who was sexually liberal. The foreign presence, along with them attending nude beaches and having a much more lenient mentality towards sex, was branded a dilemma within the country. The cultural climate in Spain shifted from accepting the Swedish female as a tourist, and linked her with immoral behavior that could lead to problems within Spain. The *Sueca*<sup>114</sup>, a Swedish female, was beginning to instill fear into the nationalist, Catholic country. Some cabinet members along with others from society, believed that by allowing such corrupt behavior in the country, it would eventually pose a threat and become a Spanish problem.

The *sueca*-literally, Swedish woman-became an icon of contemporary popular culture. Scantly clad and blonde, she appeared in numerous films in the role of temptress of virtuous Spanish family men. To many, the *sueca* represented the ultimate threat to Spanish values, though one Nationalist Veteran turned tourism promoter proudly declared, ‘These ‘suecas’ in Spain are not always foreigners. Another Franco loyalist, Ricardo de la Cierva, addressed the issue of moral degradation in a 1963 manual on

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<sup>114</sup> *Sueca*- Spanish word for Swedish woman.

tourism, considering it a 'false problem' and maintained that the 'limits on morality are relative and changing.' (Pack, 60)

Tourism in Spain brought debates and discussions of morals within the country. Some clergy members voiced their opposition towards the liberal tourists, while others adopted Franco's messianic view that such lost individuals could be educated and affected by Spain's moral behavior. There were attempts to take tourists to Church and other monuments which idealized the Church.

Another point that was used by the Fraga cabinet to allow tourism the free reign it had within the country, was that Spain considered its media to be of a purer form. Spain's TV and radio were considered to be cleaner than others in Europe. "To frequent denunciations for its alleged role in undermining moral codes, the ministry responded that its television and radio stations were 'more respectful of the church' than in 'any other country, or in Spain in any other age.'" (Pack,60) This perspective adopted and defended by the nationalists, allowed tourism to exist in Spain for years to come. Franco manipulated the manner which individuals viewed Spain. Through propaganda, censorship laws, as well as instilling fear in its society, he was able to capitalize on tourism yet, deliver his ideals which supported his dictatorship.

### ***Women under Franco's Regime:***

In an effort to describe the woman that was projected in the documentary series, *Rito y Geografía*, it is important to offer a brief overview of women under Franco's Spain. This will highlight the contradictions of the regime and display Franco's hypocritical character, alongside illustrate how he exploited women as well as profited



from “selling” a Spanish icon to the rest of the world. The woman that Franco portrayed in the documentary series, was one with the flower in her teeth, of fair skin, and of a sweet complexion. This analysis will come later in this section but I will begin with an examination of women in Spain during the mid twentieth-century.

In a previous chapter, I used author Stanley Brandes’ analysis of women in Spain as extensions of men, to discuss honor and shame within the country. I would like to recall that investigation in an effort to describe the gender classification that existed in Franco’s Spain. These relationships that men and women had in relation to one another, created a binary opposition where women were always seen as extensions of men, yet expected to perform their female “duties”. Brandes’ analysis of nicknames within social gatherings, suggests that women were always linked to men. “Thus if a woman is known by a nickname, it is usually through the form of teknonymy: she is “the wife of Sansón” or “the wife of Piojo Verde,” and does not have a nickname of her own.” (Brandes, 47) This minor detail might seem trivial to the naked eye, yet it is in these nuances that one can begin to understand how social construction on a daily life, enables inequalities in Spain, particularly Andalusia. Even further, these subtle points clear up how a dictator like Franco might have easily instilled his ideology into society. Another example that illustrates the manner that male and female relationships are imbalanced, is in a brief analysis of the female body in relation to the males. Brandes brings to light how in the village of Monteros, a male once shared an anecdote about the reasoning why men were superior to women, yet victims to their behavior. The belief was tied to religion and the manner which women were associated with the devil. The legend stated that women were

born from the rib of a man, and because of this “fact” the male is far more virtuous and honorable.

They justify this opinion primarily on religious grounds. “Women are of the Devil,” a worker once explained to me and three of his friends nodded in agreement.... And from the ribs of man He made woman on the sixth day. That’s why women have one more rib than men. If you have a chance to see a human skeleton, you’ll find this out for yourself.” (Brandes, 76)

The asymmetrical physiology of a woman, believed to be true by some men in Spain, has a religious foundation yet is used in a modern context. Although these examples are specific to the Monteros village, the mentality is not foreign to other parts of the country. Later in this writing there will be an unraveling of how the Church was an active participant in perpetuating these beliefs.

In Spain, throughout the twentieth century, women’s privileges were not equal like in other parts of Europe. Oftentimes, women were forced to give up land rights once they were married along with other civil liberties. When Franco came into power, women were far from equal to men, but under his government, women regressed in the eyes of society. Prior to *Franquismo*, women were rarely educated, were not allowed to get a divorce, and if they did receive an education, were conditioned to be at the will of the man. “Middle-Class women were educated in the cult of domesticity and were not prepared for a career.” (Ribiero de Meneses, 7) Apart from being schooled to be a woman of the house, women found themselves living under a paradox. Pre-Franco, society was far from progressive, but social activists were out demanding rights for their female counterparts and were allowed to command changes. However, with the Civil War and in the early stages of Franco’s regime, women were expected to be housewives. If they ever were allowed to work, the government sent them to the Army. In the Army, some were

only allowed to act as nurses and others found themselves in the role of a prostitute. If a woman chose not to serve the Army, she was put in jail. Apart from the political pressure placed on a woman, social anxiety was also used to coerce certain individuals. Prostitution, a non-traditional lifestyle that went against not only the Church but also Franco's ideological perspective, was allowed for the sake of the soldiers.

Franco's vision of a traditional and conservative Spain drastically reduced the opportunities which the Republic had begun to open up for women. ...Women could, in exceptional times such as the war, work and provide assistance; but it was understood that once the war was over they would return to the domestic sphere-and the Civil War would result in a dramatic step backwards in the status of women in Spain. ...Concerns with morality, the status of women and austerity, reflected in frequent press articles regarding the need for all young men to be at the front demanding the end of idleness in the rear, were, however, always subordinated to the needs of the army. This can be seen by the lack of attempts to curb prostitution: brothels, which continued to exist, were regularly supervised by authorities for health and security reasons. (Ribiero de Meneses, 103)

The contradictions that women found themselves in, reflected the paradoxical nature of Franco's regime. It was indecent and immoral to allow women to divorce or to educate them, yet the government supported or one might say enabled prostitution, because it satisfied a military necessity. Again, we see that Franco's personality was calculating and his methodical approach maintained women in a contradictory role.

Another aspect in which we see how Franco's hypocritical regime affected women's roles, was through his contradictory way of portraying women in the Church and in the media. During *Franquismo*, the nationalists and the Catholic Church were working side by side. The story of Mari Carmen is of a nine year old who died of scarlet fever. Within Spain's history, she is seen as an iconic figure. She was born in the early 1930's and died in 1939 which by that time, *Franquismo* had been established. During her nine years of life, she was considered to be a girl of virtue, purity, and of

iconic value. Her family was well connected with the Church and in many ways, considered to be of the upper class from Spain. After her death, Mari Carmen was canonized and idealized by many Spaniards, both living within Spain and abroad. She became the epitome of what “good Catholic” girls should be like and her behavior as a child, was used to reinforce, instill, and punish those from society. “These texts show how Mari Carmen’s education, it was hoped, would grow up to become ...[the future Spanish gentlewoman, responsible for continuing the virtues of the family and the total perfect incarnation of the traditional Christian spirit in women of Spain.]”(Harvey, 117) The story of Mari Carmen became one which was compared to the life of Christ. Among the society, her death was seen as an offering for the conversion of one sinner in particular that of her father.

On her deathbed she is supposed to have exclaimed ...[Daddy died a martyr! Poor Mummy! And I die a victim!] The word victim has to be understood here as having the sense of a theological virtue. ...[There are those who offer themselves up specifically as victims, as did Christ, and who give their lives in sacrificial expiation of the sins of the world]. (Harvey, 119)

This idea that Mari Carmen gave her life for sinners and that her tragic death from scarlet fever was not only heroic but religious, is what allowed the canonization process to happen. She was considered a young girl who suffered in silence and who through the practice of her Christian values, was able to internally regulate her own faults. Mari Carmen’s story became an image that young girls from all of Spain identified with as a “good girl”. Franco’s regime made her the role model for young Catholic girls to emulate and her virtues of love, self-discipline, and submission, all became part of her Sainthood. Yet this story of nine-year old Mari Carmen, is more than a mere reflection of the Spanish society. It represents the expectations placed on women during Franco’s Spain,

but it also illustrates the manner which identity was influenced by media and political endeavors.

Mari Carmen was a young girl who was born during a tumultuous time in Spain. By the time of her death, Franco's regime had already been established and the ruthless war was a bitter memory for many. Yet, Mari Carmen's death and her later canonization was used as a reminder of the Spanish Civil War.

The private grief of her immediate family is transformed, through the canonization process, into an act of political and historical consolation. Mari Carmen's death has a meaning and function for the Spanish Catholic Church; to remember her is to remember the Spanish Civil War. (Harvey, 120)

This connection between a young girl and the war is no coincidence. In Spain, the understanding of what identity meant was associated with religious icons. For example, when individuals prayed to angels or saints within the Catholic religion, it was seen as a personal reflection of how an individual might see themselves. The act of a human being choosing a saint documents one part of the social construction in Spain, as well as reveals how the Church and its images were used as propaganda. David Morgan argued that religious products like prayer cards, echo how a believer might view themselves.

The devotional card is part of the liturgy of daily life for the believer. Morgan notes that 'the believer prays to a saint with whom he or she feels a special affinity, related perhaps to age, gender, profession, nation, ethnicity, namesake, family history, or particular circumstance'. Therefore this card, as any other devotional card, can be understood not only as a way and means to reach God, but as an expression of identity-both of the believer who 'subscribes' to a saint of his or her choice, and of the saint... who is fashioned by the promoters of his or her cause. (Harvey, 113)

This observation reflects how saints were made not born. Religion was also part of popular culture and if this is true, then young girls like Mari Carmen became female icons not only for their deeds but because they supported a certain agenda. Religion was associated with symbols, and the representation of the "good Catholic girl" during

Franco's Spain was no accident. The models of sainthood were laid out by the Catholic Church, and the Church was linked to the nationalist propaganda. Therefore, if such images like that of Mari Carmen were the projected and an expectant norm, any woman or young girl who did not model such behavior, was deemed not compliant with the Church and therefore against the regime. Franco nurtured and allowed such rhetoric to exist in his Spain, because it was easy to display the memory of Mari Carmen. "...her image on religious artifacts such as holy cards, medals, colouring books, car plaques, pill boxes, silver-plated trays with her childish signature engraved" (Harvey,120), he needed and used as propaganda to further his agenda.

In conclusion, the story of Mari Carmen reflects how identity in Spain can be associated with religious icons, as well as reveal what the definition of being a "good girl" in Spain, might be. During *Franquismo*, the Church used propaganda to instill values into its younger as well as older generations. Women were clearly expected to fit certain molds and if these were not met, defiance was the alternative. Behavioral scripts existed in Franco's Spain and this societal structure supports my argument that women's roles in Spain clearly catered to were and shaped to fit the regime. This intention was tied to the documentary series *Rito y Geografía*. The manner which national identity was portrayed in the series, was no mistake. The "proper Spanish woman" which was molded and crafted in the series, affected the flamenco we see today. To understand how and why the regime became interested in the arts, a brief discussion of the importance of the arts will introduce the next part of this writing. I will follow with the censorship laws passed under the regime and then analyze the series.

## **Franco's Focus on Art and Censorship:**

Fascism and communism were the political vogue of the times and within a fascist regime there was no room for individual expression. Art was a catalyst for change. The emotions that a human is allowed to feel within the art world can yield to a transformation in the mind. This shift can alter the physical body and affect how someone acts. For this reason, the arts were a tool for social change and were deemed dangerous. Franco understood this innate rule and because of this he decided to control the arts and the stage. Censorship was Franco's way of controlling the arts. The entire culture was living under his restrictive laws and were not allowed to freely or artistically express themselves.

We set out to study the role of translation in post Civil War Spain, and, since all culture was passed through the censoring filter, the study of its traces was of utmost importance for writing the history of translation during the period. (Merino and Rabadán. 128)

However, Franco did uphold the arts but was particular as to which ones he supported. There were systematic acceptances to the censorship laws which highlighted the hypocrisy of the dictator. The double standard could be viewed as the paradox that began to take shape not only within the culture, but also within the art world. To gain a sense of the times I will look closely at what was happening on stage, specifically with flamenco.

My purpose is to establish that Franco was trying to nationalize Spain, even when it came to its arts. Censorship was neither new nor particular to Franco's regime. The Church was always censoring dance but was not as methodical as the regime. "The Church supervising and sheltering this particular aspect of Spanish dancing, did not hesitate to forbid what they considered to be too sensual." (Ivanova, 69) Ivanova's point

highlights that Spain has always had a history of censoring certain arts, but the extent of Franco's control, is of great importance. Much scholarly work has been done on Franco and his suppression of the arts. One organization in particular "*TRACE*"<sup>115</sup> which stands for "TRAnslations CEnsored Project," was an undertaking that looked to revive and research the censorship laws that were passed during *Franquismo*. I will use their work to support my historical contextualization of the restriction laws. Franco's regime and its censorship laws could be divided into two distinct categories: one is post- Civil War through the 1950's, the second, starting after Minister Fraga takes office and establishes a tourism cabinet, which was in place until Franco's death. This is important because it highlights that after Fraga's inauguration, the tone of tourism had a specific goal and this aim included promoting a national identity to the rest of the world. The country had a new motive, one which consisted of broadcasting Spain on a global level.

We've established that the regime, the Church and its military government, controlled the country and censorship laws which were passed. However those laws reflected the regimes inconsistency and hypocrisy. The cabinet controlled anything local or global entering the country, and were particularly harder towards texts, films, and the performance stage.

During the nearly forty years that Spain was ruled by successive fascist governments, cultural manifestations were closely monitored and controlled by the military authority and the Roman Catholic Church. The control of text production, both native and translated, was exalted by *juntas de censura*, committees composed of Church representatives, lower-rank officials and men of letters functioning under the supervision of the authorities.(Merino and Rabadán,125)

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<sup>115</sup> *TRACE*- a seven year old project, which stands for "TRAnslations CEnsored Project," was an undertaking that looked to revive and research the censorship laws that were passed during *Franquismo*.



As a footnote Merino and Rabadán clarify the role women played in these censoring committees. They note that women were added to groups which were dealing with children's literature, as well as were a part of the society who shared Franco's ideological perspective. Some viewed this position as a paying job, and distanced themselves from the political realm, yet most of the individuals working for Franco were supportive of the laws and its tones.

Throughout *Franquisimo*, we have noticed that it is not only the laws which were passed, but the manner which those rules were applied. Franco's way of regulating and censoring the country was not only shrewd but quite methodical and inconsistent. Similar to other aspects of his administration, contradictions were present within the censorship assembly. Depending on what suited him and his regime, Franco would exercise his power and in some cases allow a more lenient approach, where in others adhered to a strict code. His censorship cabinet was always supportive of religious propaganda. The tone of the regime filtered every cultural product entering and leaving the country, but it always allowed religious slogans and images inside of Spain.

State censorship of one type or another can be traced back in Spain to the time of Catholic king and Queen, Fernando and Isabel, but under Franco it acquired a new colour, with the religious tints typical of any authoritarian regime that also purports to be defending the true and only religion. (Merino and Rabadán, 126)

Before plays, books and television made their way to an audience, they were placed under high scrutiny by Franco's workers. Spaniards could not consume culture that was not approved by the state assembly. Censorship was a bureaucratic process and every individual involved in making, producing, or performing any aspect of a cultural product, were clearly aware of the censorship laws. "There was also a subtle form of covert self-

censorship: authors were aware of unwritten rules and they knew what had to be done to comply with or subvert the values of the Establishment.” (Merino and Rabadán, 127) Apart from having to go through the bureaucratic filter, before an artist even began working, they were conscious of the laws. This ended up placing a social pressure on the cultural creations of the times.

We have an understanding of the period because under Franco, everything was documented and archived. This has allowed historians a first-hand look at all of the plays, novels, and other works of art that were staged or banned. Historians have been able to observe the many stages a piece might have gone through before being approved.

Since virtually every document (official forms and manuscripts) produced during the period was kept and filed, the archives are a faithful reflection of the literary world at that time. Access to different adaptations of the same text allows us to establish what changes were made, at what stages, by whom and possibly why. (Merino and Rabadán, 128)

With such a broad discussion of censorship laws, the understanding as to why the arts were targeted, needs to be recalled. The arts could lead to social change and oftentimes artists explored ideas that might have been different from the political vogue of the time. Because of this, TRACE suggests that films and *performances*<sup>116</sup> were the most regulated. “Among cultural manifestations likely to be subjected to control were all forms of public entertainment, in particular theatre performances and films.” (Merino and Rabadán, 131) This is crucial because it supports my theory that the Documentary Series, *Rito y Geografía*, were specifically portraying the flamenco “woman” and the *Gitano* community in a particular way, because they posed a threat to Franco’s ideology.

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<sup>116</sup> *Performances*- used to cover dance, theatre, musical, and any other live staged events. Under *Franquismo*, performances were the most regulated. I hypothesize that Franco was threatened by the physical aspect of the live performance. As seen in Spain’s history, the stage was always a valued form of entertainment that could reflect society’s moral and social construction. This was discussed in the bullfighting section of a previous chapter.

Therefore he needed to reengineer how he used such aspects of the culture. An example of a writer who was trying to get his play staged for a theatrical performance, illustrates how authors were controlled by the censorship Bureau. José María Pemán was originally not allowed to show his work. After many changes, he was granted the right to showcase it to an audience. “Three years later, Pemán asked for a review of the decision and rewrote the text to incorporate all of the changes demanded by the censors. The play was finally staged in 1968 and published in 1969.” (Merino and Rabadán,134) The government and its agencies conducted the restraint themselves and had an impact on the culture. In summary, films, books, and performances were targets of the censorship bureau. The country was socialized by mass media and it not only influenced individuals’ behavior but conditioned views and preferences. Moreover, every medium is a mirror of society. The documentary series reflects *Franquismo* and its beliefs towards women and *Gitanos*.

### **Documentary History within Franco’s Spain:**

The *Rito y Geografía del Baile Flamenco* Series consists of fourteen programs, and was broadcasted on the RTVE<sup>117</sup> First Channel, nationwide, starting in April of 1975.

The thirty minute programs were diverse and filled with reenactments of historical

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<sup>117</sup> *Radio y Televisión Española* -(RTVE) (literally, *Spanish Television*) is the national state-owned public-service television broadcaster in Spain. TVE's activities are financed by a combination of advertising revenue and subsidies from the national government. TVE belongs to the RTVE Corporation which has overall responsibility for national public-service radio and television under a Parliament-appointed General Manager who, as well as being answerable to a Board of Directors, reports to an all-party committee of the national parliament, as provided for in the Public Radio and Television Law which was established in 2006. TVE began broadcasting in October of 1956 and ten years later, TVE2 was established. It was on these stations that the series were broadcasted on and were always associated with the regime.

scenes, presentations of candid ethnographic film footage, and others presenting high quality video recordings of performances coupled with interviews handled by Fernando Quiñones. The series is in Spanish and does not have subtitles. Copies of the program have been stored in the Spanish National Television archives after their original airing, but are sold in most flamenco specialty shops. This is important because it highlights that these programs are not only sold to an international audience but are used as a reference point for many scholars.

Franco promised a return to the past but it was fundamentally backwards yet nostalgic in its tone. It falsely and wrongly painted the “Old Spain” as monolithic, which was the only way he could reclaim Spain and legitimize his regime. Under Franco society was narrow. Yet the contradiction of his regime, is seen through the desire to be an anti-liberal state, yet appeal to tourists as a plural country. This paradox was only possible through political repression and his use of symbols. *Franquismo* relied on an evocative past to survive, yet capitalized on stereotypes of modern day society. The *Gitano* community fell into this model. With the Documentary Series, *Rito y Geografía*, Franco took the image of flamenco and capitalized on it. I argue that his approach to keep the Spanish Civil War alive and other “war holidays” alive in the minds of Spaniards, was exactly his approach to producing the series.

In this connection, for example, the regime instigated numerous ‘war holidays’ (Day of the Uprising, Day of the Fallen, etc) and built countless monuments commemorating its victory in the civil War. Symbols of Spain’s imperial past were key components in the dominant ideology; nostalgia for past glories was also assiduously cultivated and enforced. (Corkill, 49)

The same mentality used towards exploiting the past, was applied towards the series, which was originally for *Televisión Española*, a government owned Spanish television station.

During *Franquismo*, the film industry represented many things that were in line with the nationalist agenda. This mentality clearly constructed the definitions of what “Spanishness” was and how it should and will it be marketed. According to Barry Jordan, a cultural critic, who claims that “arguments used to support the idea of a national cinema tend to stress the value of a national film industry to the indigenous economy in terms of jobs, investment, export earnings, etc... as well as domestic and international projection of certain political and cultural values.” (Jordan, 69) Film was anchored in the political rhetoric of the times. Another important factor that should be mentioned is that money did play a role in the types of films that were made. Although film directors are considered the organizers of what a viewer sees, dictators like Franco were also active agents which influenced the outcome. “Moreover, while the economic and financial basis of film-making crucially shapes the sorts of films that can be made, this may be only one of a number of factors which determine the interplay between Spanish films and their constructions of Spanishness.”(Jordan, 69) Films were intermixing everyday language with an ideological agenda. Films became traditional and political actions that used a national machinery to function within a global market. These visual artifacts became appropriated by other cultures, which then became part of the “New Spain”. *Rito y Geografía* carried with it a symbolic power which resulted in the mixing of the insiders, the *Gitanos*, and the outsiders, the *Gadje* “. Franco distorted the flamenco image in the

films and sold a local Andalusian identity which included the *Gitano* community. The series advertised women, *Gitanos* and flamenco in formulaic manner.

### **Women and *Gitanos* Portrayed in the Documentary Series *Rito y Geografía*:**

As established in the previous section, women were often tied to fertility in both the eyes of the nationalists as well as politicians. However, Franco was hypocritical because he used propaganda to market the image of the Spanish woman. He allowed women to be icons, but only supported that image which furthered his plan. On one hand he was agreeing that women needed to be good, pure and virtuous objects, but then in other venues he not only allowed but created a sex symbol of what a Spanish beauty looked like. “Pemán used to say of Franco that he was the only world leader who, in his political discourses, did not just refer generally to the divine but made specific mention of particular elements of devotional practice associated with the Blessed Virgin Mary.” (Tusell, 30) Franco used propaganda on many levels but especially when it came to women. The story of Mari Carmen highlighted how the Church and Franco were unified and working as a single unit. It also revealed the manner which propaganda, media, and marketing affected the Spanish psyche. Franco underhandedly reintroduced what the “national Spanish woman” should act like and promoted it in the series. This icon, which was delivered through the project, changed flamenco forever.

In scholarly works, Franco has been painted as a being who was a ruthless dictator who stopped at nothing to fulfill his messianic beliefs. But he is also seen as a politician who severely held Spain back. “Most scholars believe that the Franco regime

severely retarded the march towards equality, and I agree with them. In that sort of indirect way, the regime has been responsible for perpetuating into the 1970's a good portion of the town folklore that existed earlier in this century." (Brandes, 212) I firmly believe that such anxiety towards *Gitanos* and women in regards to honor and shame, were affected by Franco's regime. Franco was political with the imagery of the series. In the same fashion that he dichotomized women into Madonna's or whores, the identical images were present in the series.

Simplistic contrastive portrayals of gender roles, of course, far wider and considerably deeper historically than Franquismo. ...Pitt-Rivers, for example, presented the duality of Madonna, the private motherly woman, verses the whore, the public woman, as if it were a central contrast to Mediterranean culture. However, while simplistic dichotomous gender imagery has been conventional in circles that stretch far beyond Franco, nevertheless Franco's use of such imagery was so dramatic, so rigid, and so highly charged with moral value that... (Washabaugh, 105)

Washabaugh's analysis supports my theory that the "Rito" series was clear of the "Spanish woman" they were marketing. I also want to remind the reader that Franco's Spain was supportive of the gender roles that were discussed in the Bullfighting analysis, as well as previously in this section. The woman was always seen in relation to a man and was classified as a domestic item that belonged to him. In Spain, the male was seen as a public figure, where the female was contained, virtuous, and honorable only if she abided to the patriarchal society norms. These standards were also present in Franco's regime and extended themselves to the flamenco arena.

In Flamenco, Passion, Politics, and Pop Culture, there is a brief discussion on the difference between "low-brow" and "high-brow" music of Europe. Low-brow music was believed to be of the streets which included lowerclass citizens and the uneducated, boisterous atmospheres that were alcohol induced. High-brow was the cultured art that

reflected the upperclass. Washabaugh discusses that flamenco in the late nineteenth century was seen as low-brow music in relation to Italian Operas and French aristocracy. “In the eighteenth-century-France- and therefore in Spain- the trends in highbrow music followed the same course, presenting elite music as the proper domain of women.” (Washabaugh, 107) Flamenco was of the low-brow category because of its association with the streets, bars, alcohol, and included an environment where women were not seen as “honorable”. This association that women were “whores” because they engaged in such activities, was common discourse.

Proper women were said to be out of place in a *juerga*- an all night binge of song and drink. A woman’s presence in the flamenco bars was not only demeaning for her, it made everyone involved uncomfortable and it interfered with the fluidity of the proceedings. Women were, therefore, fated to be left out of much of the flamenco life of Andalusia. Or if included they were treated as if they were men, in accordance with general practice in Andalucía. A woman stripped of her honor becomes a man. (Washabaugh, 109)

Flamenco artists of the nineteenth and twentieth century were stereotyped and categorized to fit the lowbrow underworld. Society shamed women who were associated with the flamenco circle. They were viewed as men, but this should not suggest that they were seen as equals; quite the contrary. The paradox lies in that women connected to the flamenco arena were shamed, while men engaging in the same activities were considered a component of the underworld, but far from dishonorable. This mentality lingered for years and the Franco administration was aware that flamenco was seen as a low-brow form. In an effort to promote his product, he revamped flamenco and made it suitable to market. Because of this, he began to portray the female body with the rose in her teeth, and “...the sort of Spanish dance foreigners used to enjoy not so many years ago. It consisted of a sultry lady with a carnation between her teeth and stiletto tucked into her



garter.” (Ivanova,165) He ridiculed the body yet was convinced that he could change the negative association of flamenco to fit an honorable image. In the series, he encouraged *peñas*<sup>118</sup> which could be watched. The series showcased women as being deeply involved in the flamenco process but in a “cleaner” manner.

These fraternities or *peñas* were formed in the 1950’s, formalized, licensed, and one must suppose, subjected to surveillance as were so many similar associations in Spain. ...On the other hand, *franquista* policies encouraged the development of flamenco spectacles that presented women as examples of detached femininity and untouchable beauty, and in these respects, women became powerful magnets for tourist dollars. (Washabaugh, 111)

This femininity that Washabaugh speaks of reflects the pragmatic yet paradoxical behavior of the regime. When a woman was showcased in the *Rito y Geografía* series, she primarily fit one of four specific roles. The female physically not present in the scene, alludes to the male being the public figure and the female being the domesticated item, that was honoring and belonging to the man. “The series predictably devoted a considerable amount of space displaying “traditional” flamenco circumstances, that is, ...in many of these representations women are decidedly absent or subordinate.” (Washabaugh, 112) The second position being that the female image is one which clearly connects her to the upper-class: a woman with extravagant and expensive clothing wearing pearls and furs and detached from the flamenco scene. In the series, this camera shot implies to the viewer, that the female is a spectator not an active participant to the flamenco performance. This is reminiscent of a previous discussion from *Chapter 4- Café*

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<sup>118</sup> *Peñas*- “in this intimate setting, everyone participates. People participate in festive songs that inspire dance (alegrías, bulerías), and in somber “deep” songs that evoke emotion and self-reflection (soleás, seguiríllas). At times people clap hands, palm in synchronicity, sing along, and move their bodies in unison; sometimes they get up and dance. Indeed, this high level of involvement is expected from all present in the *peña*. The experience was intense. If this is what they call “real” flamenco, then it is something very moving, both personally and emotionally.” (Malefyt,69) This arrangement changed during the *Café Cantantes* period.

*Cantantes Period: The Golden Age of Flamenco.* In that section there was a thorough analysis on the role of clothes and the power of costumes within the flamenco community. This representation of an upper-class woman, displaying her wealth through articles of clothing, reflects the *café cantantes* period but also highlights the family-friendly flamenco that Franco was trying to portray. The third image that is often associated with the female body in the series, is the woman as nurturer. In one of the episodes, a child is nursed while the mother sings.

The child dozes at her breast throughout the performance. The camera zooms in on the sleeping child's face at the conclusion of her song. Thereby underscoring the significance of the mother-child relationship and securing a significant place for that relationship at the center of flamenco experiences present and past. (Washabaugh, 114)

*Rito y Geografía del Baile* tried to make flamenco a household name and it achieved such a status because it reinforced the traditional mentality of the times. The final portrayal is connected to George Bizet's *Carmen*<sup>119</sup>. The female body, in the series, was on display for the male gaze and was seen as an object that could be consumed by the audience. In volume one of the series, entitled *Baile del Candil*<sup>120</sup>, (Dance of lamp-oil) was devoted to the first steps taken by flamenco dancers and focused on its historical roots. Isabel de Madrid dances *el Vito*<sup>121</sup>. In this scene a *Carmen-esque Beauty*<sup>122</sup> is

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<sup>119</sup> *Carmen* -is a French opéra comique by Georges Bizet. The libretto is by Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, based on the novella of the same title by Prosper Mérimée, first published in 1845, itself influenced by the narrative poem "The Gypsies" (1824) by Alexander Pushkin. Mérimée had read the poem in Russian by 1840 and translated it into French in 1852. The story is set in Seville, Spain in the 1830's, and concerns Carmen, a beautiful *Gitano* with a fiery temper. Free with her love, she woos Don José, a soldier. Their relationship leads to his rejection of his former love, mutiny against his superior, and joining a gang of smugglers. His jealousy when she turns from him to the bullfighter, leads him to murder Carmen.

<sup>120</sup> *Baile del Candil*- Spanish for "Dance of the Lampoil". This is the name of the first volume in the series, *Rito y Geografía del Baile*.

<sup>121</sup> *Vito*- Andalusian folk song and dance (non-flamenco), which is usually performed on a table. The goal is for the performer to dance without spilling any drinks. If the dancer can accomplish this, s/he is considered a talented dancer.

dancing on a table in a bar where only men are present. The female dancer is of a lighter complexion and carries herself with an erotic disposition. Her dancing is characteristic of a *Vito*, but the sultry looks and gestures have a sexual undertone. This video which is part of the fourteen video collection, represents how women, even in a documentary series about flamenco, were typecast as either mother or whore, upper-class or lower-class, or sex symbol or emblem of society.

Flamenco underwent a facelift during Franco's Spain. Flamenco became a symbol of national identity and during the regime the art form was coined an Andalusian phenomenon. There was a reason why Franco allowed flamenco onstage. It goes back to the hidden agenda that the pragmatic dictator was following. Flamenco was a form of propaganda within *Franquismo* and to understand this symbiotic relationship, I must highlight the *Gitano* community and its role within the Franco regime. As established in a previous chapter, Roma throughout history have been a people that have been synonymous with terms like, beggar, scum, vagabond, problems, tension, and flamenco. The word *Gitano* brought a sense of urgency to the surface and there was an immediate response to who these people were, oftentimes the reactions being negative. The *Gitano* community throughout history, has been forced to adopt and assimilate to the host countries identity. During the Franco regime, this was clearly happening and the threatening undertone that the *Gitano* community carried within Franco's Spain, was overwhelmingly present within many areas of the Spanish government.

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<sup>122</sup> *Carmen-esque Beauty*- A term that I made up. I use it referencing *Carmen* but also it is an icon that what established during Franco's Spain. The female is of a lighter complexion and carries herself with an erotic disposition. Her dancing is sultry and gestures have a sexual undertone. This is the accepted *Gitana* which was became a product that was sold to the international community.

The very existence of autonomous Gypsy communities apparently quite beyond the influence of state organs was construed as a threat to political stability and ideological hegemony, a carnivalesque incitement to disorder. As such these communities were the object of a concerted campaign at all levels of the state, the aim of which was their elimination, and the subsequent assimilation of the Vlach Gypsy population into the dominant Magyar ethnic group. (Stewart, 87)

Franco understood the power that the *Gitano* carried with their autonomous presence, which is why he tried to befriend them using the flamenco art form. Franco knew that there was an intimidating factor to the *Gitano* community but saw flamenco as the passport to the *Gitano* culture. His cultural appropriation could be viewed in the same way that his politics were used. His hypocritical nature and deceitful plan affected the arts. Franco framed flamenco in a specific light pushing for it to become a part of the national identity. He invoked flamenco into a frame which made it seem as though he was supporting the *Gitano* community and their flamenco art form. In reality he was using the arts as a way to show his tolerance towards a people, that throughout Spain's history was marginalized and ostracized.

Resistant *Gitano* artists were treated as no more than benign irritations to the regime, and more docile *Gitanos* received positive and favorable treatment in the regime. Such tolerance for Gypsies, who were, and are- widely discriminated against in Europe and the Americas, lent credibility to Franco's claim that Spain's government was neither fascist nor intolerant to cultural diversity. The cost of such tolerance was minimal, since *Gitanos* were politically unorganized, but its purchase was great insofar as the fledgling economic alliance between Spain and the U.S. hung in the balance of such matters as Franco's respect for human rights. (Christordi, 236)

*Gitanos* under Franco were negatively branded yet systematically used. Spaniards were not at all shocked and perhaps unaware of the negative type-casting that the regime was doing. Perhaps it comes from the manner that *Gitanos* and women have always been represented in such a manner. Society has routinely used both women and *Gitanos* as scapegoats. So when Franco's actions helped the country to not only profit but prosper,

perhaps Spaniards were not only in agreement but proud of the images being “sold” to the international community.

By perpetuating negative stereotypes, the men of Monteros actually rationalize to themselves the suppression of female and Gypsy liberties. These groups are converted through folklore into scapegoats whom men can conveniently blame for all sorts of ills ranging from the personal to the social. If men become sexually weak, it is their wives, rather than themselves, who can be held responsible. ...Gypsies are considered a public nuisance and are said to drain society's wealth through parasitism. Since they embody potentially invisible power, Gypsies must be held under tight and vigilant control.... For whenever social or personal failures become manifest, women and Gypsies can be declared the guilty parties. (Brandes, 207)

Male domination and folklore perpetuated these ideas. However, one cannot only blame the government leaders and its workers, it was the entire society that nourished and instilled such ideas into all of its inhabitants.

Another important contributor to highlight is the fact that folklore had the potential to unite people who might not otherwise have come together. Franco, on an intuitive level understood this and decided to profit from it. “But folklore operates to bind people together on more than just special occasions. ...folklore that emerges in daily interaction unites people who ordinarily confront one another in a competitive or otherwise adverse relationship.” (Brandes, 209) The series was a tool used to show the world that the *Gitanos* in Spain were coexisting in a healthy manner. The series is not an inconsequential product; it reflected the pro-*Gitano* rhetoric which had been established in society. Thus the series was easily accepted. However, it is important to note that some believe that the series was a form of rebellion against the Franco regime. Washabaugh discusses how flamenco artists and historians were breaking many of the stereotypes and gender roles of the time period. He argues that it was a silent statement, but nevertheless one which was made.

Resistance to the trivialized, false image of flamenco appeared in diverse places and in a variety of ways. The creators of the television series *Rito y Geografía del Cante flamenco* used their program as one subtle and complex form of resistance. These one hundred programs of the series were shown on heavily censored Spanish television, so their resistance had to be hidden beneath a veil of representational imagery. As William Washabaugh notes, the *Rito y Geografía* programs are full of irony and complexity that had to be covert and dissembled. (Chuse,107)

Although there is truth to his claim, as flamenco did become a family friendly art form, the series still perpetuated many stereotypes.

During the 1960's there was a shift happening in all of Spain but especially between the *Gitano* and *Gadje* community. The lines between the *In-group and Out group*<sup>123</sup> were blurred and marriage between both sects was common. "One telling foundation of the *Gitano* community is the fact that marriages of *Gitanos* to non-*Gitanos* rose to some 30 % of marriages overall." (Washabaugh 77) Perhaps this change came from the *Gitanos* being seen by the *Gadje* in a "cleaner" or "better" manner, and the *Gitanos* viewing the *Gadje* as insiders and not so distant nor disapproving of them. The answer is not clear but what is certain is that there was a mixing between both communities. To further illustrate my point, in the first video of the series, there is a short discussion of the roots of flamenco. The *Gitano* community is not only referred to but featured in the film. In volume one of the series, the *Gitano* from the *Gitano* neighborhood of Sacromonte, Granada, dance a *fandangos*.<sup>124</sup> In this scene a brief history of flamenco and its roots is discussed. The images of the dancing community are of a severely impoverished group of women who are not only overweight but in attire, that

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<sup>123</sup> *In-group and Out-group*- referring to the terms established in the Gypsy/Roma Identity chapter. In-group consisting of members who are considered part of the *Gitano* community; and Out-group members who are not a part of the *Gitano* community.

<sup>124</sup> *Fandangos*- is a lively folk and flamenco couple-dance usually in triple meter, traditionally accompanied by guitars and castanets or hand-clapping.

portrays them as a poor community. The women are dancing outside in a camp-like setting. The trees have no leaves, torn clothes are hanging on a drying-line, and the elder dancers are reminiscent of Janet Wolff's *Grotesque body* <sup>125</sup>. This *Gitano* group engaging in flamenco is not only aesthetically uninviting but extremely aged. In highlighting this point, I hope to illustrate that Franco was associating poverty with the *Gitanos*. Although it is accurate to say that *Gitanos* were members of the lower-class, the series juxtaposes that image of the *Gitano* community, with the one of the *Carmen-esque* figure. Not all *Gitano* that were associated with flamenco, lived in such a situation, nor is it fair to conclude that *Gitano* did not cultivate more of flamenco's history, than was shown in that short historical analysis. The *Gitano* contributed much to the art form. When a series titled, *Rito y Geografía* is discussing the historical importance of flamenco, an art form that was born from the *Gitano* community, a five minute historical overview which pays tribute to a stereotypical community, is not only unjust, but a sad "product" which was marketed to the international community. In conclusion, *Rito y Geografía* should have had a much more balanced discussion of its flamenco roots. The juxtaposition of the *Carmen-esque Beauty* after the historical reference to the *Gitano* community was intentional. Franco was deliberate yet unaware of how this icon would last for years to come

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<sup>125</sup> *Grotesque Body*- A term used by Janet Wolff to describe what she calls the civilizing process. "Emerging from this process of gradual exclusion and privatization of areas of bodily functions and emotions is what Bakhtin called the "classical body." The classical body has not orifices and engages in no base bodily functions. It is like a classical statue. It is opposed to the "grotesque body," which has orifices, genitals, protuberances. (Wolff. 84)

## Summary of Chapter:

In conclusion, the contradiction of *Franquismo* fed into the Andalusian paradox. This *Carmen-esque Beauty* reflected the flamenco of the regime and it was this image which reached an international audience. Franco was contradictory because he was consumed with promoting a “New Spain” which was based off an imperial history, yet he was a dictator who did not allow the pluralism he promoted to the rest of the world. The arts were a reflection of the paradoxical nature of Spain, particularly Andalusia. He supported the documentary series because he could profit from it as well as market a Spanish/ *Gitano* icon. On one hand he was against the performance arts and any intellectuals who might have had provocative thoughts, yet he was certainly investing in selling flamenco, which was a staged art. “The regime’s anachronistic cultural and political agendas were matched by a taste for monumental retrospection in its public buildings and spaces; innovation or experiment in the plastic, visual or performance arts was not encouraged.” (Jordan, 81) Franco was censoring every art form entering the country yet was exploiting others. His ultraconservative agenda was lenient when it was benefiting his ideology.

In Franco’s Spain, geography was considered a reflection of culture. Certain elements that were characteristic of a region, were seen as parts of the provinces identity. These regional attributes were publicized but up to a point. Under the regime, Franco made Madrid the center of attention. He isolated other regions in a manner that “Franco’s elevation of Madrid to the status of social hub of the nation in such a way as to marginalize Andalusia.” (Washabaugh, 79) Within the tourism division, Franco promoted



the regional cultures of the country, yet in other instances he attempted to eradicate those differences. For example, Franco was against the Andalusian melting pot yet supported and tolerated the *Gitano*. Not an accident but an intention. Although he would not encourage nor allow a plural Spain, he would promote the regions for the sake of its tourism.

The *franquista* wedge was begun with an active suppression of *andalucismo*: Garcia Lorca, a pro Gitano *andalucista*, was murdered, and so too Blas Infante, a pro-Muslim *andalucista*. Curiously, *gitanismo* itself was tolerated. Resistant Gitano artists were treated as no more than benign irritations of the regime, and more docile Gitano's received positive and favorable treatment in the regime. Such tolerance for Gypsies, who were-and are- widely discriminated against Europe and the Americas lent credibility to Franco's claim that Spain's government was neither fascist nor intolerant of cultural diversity. (Washabaugh, 80)

As Washabaugh points out, *Franquismo* was a contradiction molding the ever-changing Spanish identity. Flamenco and its Andalusian roots were part of this cultural and historical shift. Flamenco transitioned into the twentieth century as a commercial art. Yet under Franco, the genre was appropriated and changed forever.

As dance was turned into a spectacle, the virtuosity of the performers also changed. Solos turned into group dances where individuality was no longer encouraged. The spontaneous gestures born out of impromptu phrases which were traditionally used to communicate deeper feelings, were now extensions of a vast vocabulary of set choreography. The magical scenes born out of community gatherings were now shaped solely on stage. Community engagements were exchanges of tickets and consumers who could purchase drinks and vouchers to witness the "other" dance onstage. Choreography became the vector which artists rotated on ruled by a supply and demand mentality. As artists gained attention, fame, and money, individuals began to promote the study of

flamenco. Schools were born where set vocabulary was a product to not only be consumed, but mastered. This shift made flamenco an item that could be attained by any and all who chose. As flamenco was rarely created in improvised sessions of *peña* settings, the technique of flamenco developed and created flamenco schools of dance. These schools did not show up until much later after his death, but they were a result of what was started within this time period.

Today, flamenco lives within a space where *Gitano* and Spaniards co-exist, create and make a living between each other. The commercial flamenco that has developed out of combining traditional *Gitano* characteristics with the modern day frameworks of a globalized world, can be seen as an educational moment. When Worthen describes how performances can be a threshold between two worlds where the acts of the past, in the form of the present can stand in place of historical references. Like flamenco we take it to the stage so that it can reach more people. Even if it means that we colonize it in the process, we make it available to a public so that individuals can gain insight into the art form. The process of taking an art form that was primarily shared within a small community, and transforming it to fit a public arena, begins to develop a new venue where one can discuss and analyze the discourse, on and offstage.

To Roach, performance can be described as ‘surrogation’, an uncanny replacement acting, an ambivalent replaying of previous performers and performances by a current behavior. An act of memory and an act of creation, performance recalls and transforms the past in the form of the present. (Worthen, 1101)

Today, flamenco onstage is a captivating form which archives the history of a people. It reflects the globalized world that artist live in now, as well as the appropriation that is often discussed with ethnic dances onstage.

In trying to analyze the basic elements of staging, I am including social, political, and economic realities which will have allowed me to make the argument that the flamenco stereotypes we see and know today, are born out of the *café cantantes* period and Franco's regime. Flamenco and the commodification of the art form has lasted but not as an accident. Individuals, artists, politicians, as well as tourists have all assisted in the appropriation of the genre. Although flamenco onstage allows a diverse audience to enjoy and share the Spanish *Gitano* traditions, the transition from *peña* to stage has caused a shift to occur which has not only branded the art form, but also changed the role of the audience member forever. Andalusia is a land of contradictions. This tension is clearly showcased in flamenco.

## CONCLUSION

In summary, this writing has focused on historical, political, and artistic contributions in an effort to understand the Andalusian paradox. The Roma community, the flamenco art form, and Spain's tumultuous past all offer insight into the tensions that exist in the region. This thesis thoroughly examined how the Roma migration and, more importantly, the migratory past of the Spanish *Gitanos*, reinforced the tensions between the *Gadje* and non-*Gadje*. Chapter one investigated the Roma migration from India to Spain, based upon scholarship that examined the migration from anthropological, linguistic, and physiological perspectives. I also dealt with the Roma and *Gadje* relationship, covering the expulsion, slavery, and nomadic and sedentary behaviors, and concluded with an analysis of the laws passed against the Roma community in Europe, with a focus on the *Gitano* community and Spain. Andalusia's complex history lent itself to the incubation of flamenco. This relationship between Andalusia and the *Gitanos* reflected the codependency of the region with the Roma. The *Gitanos* cannot be used to describe the Andalusian tension without deconstructing what comprises the Roma identity.

Chapter two established these core elements and offered insight into how identity was created, maintained, and perceived by both Roma and non-Roma. Family and social structure, along with concepts of health, followed by the boundary maintenance and boundary crossing dynamics, were examined to offer insight into the mechanics of the Roma community. Work and art exchanges were analyzed in support of the thesis that the

arbitrary lines created by the Roma and non-Roma communities fed into the Andalusian paradox.

In Chapter three, eugenics and its effects on the *Gitano* community were analyzed. Science was used to deliver what were believed to be empirical evidence, yet what it produced was negative rhetoric that placed and framed the *Gitanos* as a problematic that government must confront. Eugenics supported Spain's racist policy towards the *Gitanos* and highlighted, from another perspective, the tensions between both groups. The chapter also deconstructed the concept of honor in Spain, specifically the portrayal of honor onstage. Honor and the relationship between men and women was discussed, and linked to the bullfighting spectacle. The bullring was considered in relation to gender inequalities and notions of honor within Spanish society. Regional identity comprised social beliefs, values, traditions, and cultural norms, where individuals were seen as archetypes of the land. Roma and non-Roma were not separate from these characteristics, although at first glance they seemed independent of one another. The pseudo-science of eugenics became another way to justify and enforce institutional racism and reiterate gender roles. The bullfight sent ideological messages of masculinity while it inculcated a sense of proper gender roles. Women were compared to bulls because they were considered dangerous beasts who, if not properly controlled by men, had the potential to disrupt Andalusia's social order. This same point of view was imposed on the *Gitano* community. These conceptual boundaries between scientists and *Gitanos*, male and female, and male and bull, all nourished the region's cultural identity.

In Chapter four, I deconstructed the flamenco art form. I closely analyzed the many debates about the historical roots of the form while explaining the roles of the singing, guitar playing and dancing. The chapter summarized the contradictory nature of flamenco and how that contradiction fueled the tension of the Andalusian paradox. Flamenco was a primary guide to explain the complexity of the long, ongoing interrelationship between the Roma nation and the country of Spain. Social behaviors within Andalusia, which were displayed through flamenco, all represented the tension that existed within Andalusia. This deconstructing of the art form linked flamenco to the region while it echoed the infatuation of the Spaniards with honor onstage and in the performance arena.

In Chapter Five, I examined the manner in which the genre evolved from a traditional to non-traditional setting and its effects on the art form. The chapter closely analyzed the *Café Cantantes* period (1842-1910), and discussed why the period was labeled the “Golden Age” of flamenco. Class distinctions, commercial flamenco and the importance and history of costuming within flamenco were deconstructed to simply show that the female body became a point of focus. The feminization of the bull was a precursor to the *Café Cantantes* period and of the commodification of the female body. Spaniards had an infatuation with the victimization of animals, women, and its *Gitanos*. What became known as flamenco and what happened during the *Café Cantantes* period reflected Andalusia’s values, traditions, and social norms as well as the region’s cultural identity.

The final chapter begins with an analysis of the Church's role in Spain while it contextualized the Spanish Civil War and the country prior to Franco's dictatorship. This chapter investigated several aspects of the dictatorship, from the fear instilled in the society to the economic growth and rise of tourism. One purpose of contextualizing the dictatorship was to consider the role women played in the regime. Franco reinforced the existing inequalities while he censored art and formulated a policy that dictated the manner in which women were portrayed to the rest of Europe and the world. Women under the dictatorship played a role that affected how the *Gitano* community and the female body were presented in the documentary television series, *Rito y Geografía*. The series was broadcast internationally, changing the image of flamenco forever. I concluded this investigation with the period of Franco rise to power. I highlighted how the centuries of tension in the Andalusian region were broadened to all of Spain. The Spain that is known in the latter part of the twentieth century is not independent from the *Gitano* history, the flamenco art form, the bullring, and its unique relationship to eugenics. In short, the identity of Andalusia became the identity of Franco's Spain.

To summarize, this thesis closely analyzed the Andalusian region from social, political, historical and artistic perspectives. What I claim to be is the Andalusian paradox is nothing more than a tension between two "things" that seem autonomous from one another, yet in reality cannot exist without the influence of the gender inequalities in the region, the commodification of the female body onstage, and the immoral manner in which Franco capitalized and marketed flamenco and *Gitanos*. The region cannot exist in its modern form without its past — the past that nourished the Andalusian paradox.

## EPILOGUE

To conclude this investigation I want to highlight one more concept, *Duende*. *Duende* is a term used by flamenco artists, historians, as well as Andalusians. It is a word that is not only part of the flamenco community but also is important to our understanding of the region and the paradox that exists in the form. Coming from southern Spain, *Duende* has only recently made its way to the English language where dictionaries give meanings sometimes at odds with each other. In the New Oxford English Dictionary *Duende* is:

**1. A ghost, an evil spirit; 2. Inspiration, magic, fire.**

Where the Random House Dictionary states that *Duende* is:

**1. A goblin, demon, spirit; 2. Charm, magnetism.**

The Larousse Spanish-English Dictionary translates *Duende* as Goblin, elf, imp/Magic. It gives the usages: *los Duendes del Flamenco*, **the Magic of Flamenco**; *tener duende*, **to have a certain magic**.

Focusing on the Spanish definition, the entry refers to the magic within the flamenco world. The term summarizes the entire flamenco, *Gitano*, Andalusian experience. It is the moment when every aspect of the circle is united and together. When I use the term circle, it is a metaphor for community. Communities come in various forms and although traditionally *Duende* was only achieved through the smaller gatherings and settings, where family or close friends were involved, it can happen in any situation.

Without over-dramatizing herself, this girl just climbed into herself. I know my goose bumps were as big as they could be. We all ended up crying at the end. She went into a trance. ...Then she snapped out of it, and ran back and washed the dishes. But while she was singing she just transformed into this old lady. You could see it in her face she transcended time. If there was ever an experience of *duende*, that was it, in the sense of everyone being moved. (Morca, 99)



What Morca described was the essence, spirit, core, language, intellect and beauty of flamenco. The art form is timeless and is grounded in the *Gitano* community. Within the company of strangers, a young girl hypnotized the individuals watching and took them on a journey where everyone involved transcended and focused only on the moment. Nothing else existed but the moment. This is the magic of flamenco. This is *Duende*.

*Duende* encompasses all of these definitions while revealing a contradiction. In many instances, *Duende*, has been referred to as the “it” of a moment, performance, dancer or region.

I told him of my experience of an extreme intensity, of losing myself in the song, and of having felt goose bumps. He laughed and walked away, mentioning to others what I had just told him. Then another man came over to me, put his arm around my shoulder, and said, ‘So , you’ve felt some *duende*. Now you know! This is puro! Puro Andaluz!’ (pure Andalusian). (Malefyt, 69)

As Malefyt has described, *Duende* is synonymous with Andalusia. It is associated with the Andalusian experience. *Duende* comes from flamenco while it represents the region. The years of persecution the *Gitano* community endured, along with gender struggles, class distinctions, and political and religious repression, *Duende* is the pulse of Andalusia and the heart of flamenco. It is the moment where everything comes together yet nothing else matters. I conclude this investigation by acknowledging that *Duende* manifests itself in the history, politics, and arts of Spain.

**“The *duende*, then, is a power and not a construct, is a struggle and not a concept. I have heard an old guitarist, a true virtuoso, remark, The *duende* is not in the throat, the *duende* comes up from inside, up from the very soles of the feet. That is to say, it is not a question of aptitude, but of a true and viable style - of blood, in other words; of what is oldest in culture: of creation made act.”**

-Gabriel Garcia Lorca

## APPENDIX 1: GLOSSARY

**Aficionados-** is a term used to describe the amateur, fan, or individual who supports a flamenco which is not made for profit. In the twenty-first century this phrase can be interchangeable and used to describe those individuals who are fans yet support or are indifferent about the income which is made from the art form. I use this term in a manner which supports a non-profit flamenco where traditions are at the core.

**A palo seco-** term used within flamenco to signify a song sung a capella

**Alívio-** known as a relief within the song where balance is restored for the performers.

**Arpeggios-** flamenco right-hand guitar technique that consists of the thumb striking the bass string.

**Army of Africa-** the Army of Africa was composed of Spanish troops as well as the Spanish Foreign Legion and locally recruited Moroccan infantry and cavalry called *Regulares*. In total, the Army of Africa numbered 30,000 soldiers and was the most professional and effective fighting force in the 100,000-man Spanish Army during the 1920s and 30s. The Army of Africa was to play a key part during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. Along with other units in the Spanish Army, the Army of Africa rose against the Republic and took part in the *National* military uprising of July 1936. On July 18, 1936, General Francisco Franco assumed the supreme command over this force. (online, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/SPafrica.htm>)

**Ayeo-** a tool used by the singer to warm throat up while on stage.

**Baile-** Spanish word for dance. Used for my purposes within the discussion of flamenco dancing.

**Baile del Candil-** Spanish for “Dance of the Lamp oil”. This is the name of the first volume in the series, *Rito y Geografía del Baile*.

**Bata de Cola-** train skirt used as a costume in flamenco.

**Berbers-** Indigenous people of North Africa west of the Nile Valley.

**Bolero Vest-** A bolero vest design borrows the outline of a matador jacket and also the high hemline and collar. It has a U-shaped neckline and the hemline sits in the middle of the ribcage.

**Braceo-** Spanish word for arm movements during a dance.

**Bromas-** Spanish word for jokes

**Caderas-** Spanish word for hips.

**Califa-** Arabian Ruler

**Cantaor-** Spanish word for singer. Oftentimes jargon for flamenco artists, historians, fans, critics, musicologists and flamencologists.

**Cante-** Spanish word used for singing. Oftentimes jargon for flamenco artists, historians, fans, critics, musicologists and flamencologists.

**Cante Chico-** category within flamenco that is known to contain the happier and lighter song styles.

**Cante Intermedio-** category within flamenco that is known to contain the songs that are not sad nor happy; forms that are in the middle.

**Cante Jondo**- also known as “Deep Song” is a vocal style in flamenco. Often considered the oldest and purest form of the genre.

**Carmen** -is a French *opéra comique* by Georges Bizet. The libretto is by Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, based on the novella of the same title by Prosper Mérimée, first published in 1845, itself influenced by the narrative poem "The Gypsies" (1824) by Alexander Pushkin. Mérimée had read the poem in Russian by 1840 and translated it into French in 1852. The story is set in Seville, Spain in the 1830's, and concerns Carmen, a beautiful Gypsy with a fiery temper. Free with her love, she woos Don José, a soldier. Their relationship leads to his rejection of his former love, mutiny against his superior, and joining a gang of smugglers. His jealousy when she turns from him to the bullfighter, leads him to murder Carmen.

**Carmen-esque Beauty**- A term that I made up. I use it referencing *Carmen* but also it is an icon that what established during Franco's Spain. The female is of a lighter complexion and carries herself with an erotic disposition. Her dancing is sultry and gestures have a sexual undertone. This is the accepted *Gitana* which was became a product that was sold to the international community

**Cazuelas**- sections of the *Corrales* theatres that were only for women. These areas were guarded by men.

**Cierres**- the closing of a series of steps; some dancers use it interchangeably with *desplante*.

**Cingene**- word for Roma in Turkish.

**Classical Body**- A term used by Janet Wolff to describe what she calls the civilizing process. “Emerging from this process of gradual exclusion and privatization of areas of bodily functions and emotions is what Bakhtin called the “classical body.” The classical body has not orifices and engages in no base bodily functions. It is like a classical statue. It is opposed to the “grotesque body,” which has orifices, genitals, protuberances. (Wolff, 84)

**Cojones**- Spanish word for testicles, which is often used in a vulgar manner.

**Comédias de capa y espada**- Spanish for (Comedies of cloak and sword). “17th-century Spanish plays of upper middle class manners and intrigue. The name derives from the cloak and sword that were part of the typical street dress of students, soldiers, and cavaliers, the favourite heroes. The type was anticipated by the plays of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, but its popularity was established by the inventive dramas of Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina. The extremely complicated plots deal with the frustration of an idealized love by the conventional Spanish *pundonor* (“point of honour”). The affairs of the lady and her gallant are mirrored or parodied in the actions of the servants; the hero's valet (the *gracioso*) also supplies a common-sense commentary on the manners of his masters. After many misunderstandings, duels, renunciations, and false alarms about honour, the plays usually end happily with several marriages. In the 19th and 20th centuries the term “cloak-and-dagger” referred to espionage, both real and fictional.” (Britannica Encyclopedia online, [www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/121944/cloak-and-sword-drama](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/121944/cloak-and-sword-drama))

**Compás**- flamenco term for rhythm.

**Control and Release Movement-** when used as dance jargon describes movement which is bound yet fluid; often times relying on the use of the breath. When I use it within a flamenco context, I am implying the previous definition, but also including that the intense and concentrated footwork followed by fluid hand gestures, or vice versa, are examples of the concept.

**Cortes-** Spanish word for courts. “The Cortes is the most powerful governmental institution of the state. It is made up of a lower house, the Congress of Deputies, and an upper chamber, the Senate.” (online, <http://countrystudies.us/spain/>)

**Corrales-** were the public theatres that were home to secular plays. They were constructed in existing open-air courtyards, where galleries and boxes were private areas with rooves built into the walls that had to be reserved ahead of time. These theatres were for the elite as well as a form of mass entertainment. In the beginning the theatres were temporary but eventually became permanent. The stage was erected at one end, and the entrance was at the opposite end. Audiences could stand during plays on the yard floor and these seats were much cheaper. Many of the theater goers were called “mosqueteros” (musketeers) who ate and had conversations during the shows.

**Corrida-** Spanish word for bullfight.

**Desplantes-** technically a point in the dance that marks the end of a section.; can be a highpoint or climax in the dance.

**Esquerra Party-** was a left-wing organization that gained most of its support from Barcelona and other urban areas in Catalonia in the early 1930’s.

**Etiqueta-** Spanish word for etiquette

**Extrinsic-** actions from the Roma community that occur due to the mixing of Roma and Gadge.

**Fado-** translated as destiny or fate, is a music genre which can be traced from the 1820s in Portugal, but probably with much earlier origins. In popular belief, *Fado* is a form of music characterized by mournful tunes and lyrics, often about the sea or the life of the poor. However, in reality *Fado* is simply a form of song which can be about anything, but must follow a certain structure.

**Falsetas-** solos inserted by the guitarist at different moments throughout the song.

**Fandangos-** is a lively folk and flamenco couple-dance usually in triple meter, traditionally accompanied by guitars and castanets or hand-clapping.

**Farruca-** is a form of flamenco music, probably originating in the Galicia region of north-western Spain. It is a light form typical of *cante chico* and is traditionally danced only by men. Seldom is the style accompanied by the *cante*.

**Fiestas-** festivals that are considered important markers and celebrations of ethnic/cultural identity.

**Floreo-** hand movement used during flamenco dancing

**Franquismo-** is a Spanish term used to represent Franco’s dictatorship. It could translate to English as “Franco-ism.”

**Gadje-** Spanish word for non-Roma. Often interchangeable with *Payo*. Term is used by members of the Roma community.

**Gitano-** Spanish word for *Roma/Gypsy*. In this writing, it is used solely in reference to Roma/Gypsy who come from Spain. Oftentimes *Roma/Gypsy/Gitano* can be used

interchangeably, but for my purposes, I will use the term strictly for the community of Spain

**Grotesque Body-** A term used by Janet Wolff to describe what she calls the civilizing process. “Emerging from this process of gradual exclusion and privatization of areas of bodily functions and emotions is what Bakhtin called the “classical body.” The classical body has not orifices and engages in no base bodily functions. It is like a classical statue. It is opposed to the “grotesque body,” which has orifices, genitals, protuberances. (Wolff. 84)

**Guitarista-** Spanish word for guitarist.

**Gypsy-** English word for Roma. Can be used in a derogatory manner although it is interchangeable with Roma.

**Iberian Peninsula-** is located in the extreme southwest of Europe, and includes modern day Spain, Portugal, Andorra and Gibraltar and a very small part of France.

**In-Group-** term used to describe those who are following the Roma traditions, customs, language, and inner-workings of the culture. This term is in reference to those individuals, primarily members of the Roma nation, who understand, abide, and respect the inner workings of the community. There can be individuals who are not Roma who might be considered part of the in-group, but this is rare.

**Intrinsic-**actions of the Roma community that are only shared with members from the nation or “in-group.” These elements that are specific to the Roma community, make up the private aspects of their identity.

**Kris-** Roma unwritten law system of control.

**Krisnitorya-** members who chair the *Kris* and have the most influence over its decisions.

**Latent Orientalism-** is the unconscious, untouchable certainty about what the Orient is. Its basic content is static and unanimous. The Orient is seen as a separate, eccentric, backward, silently different, sensual, and passive. It has a tendency towards despotism and away from progress. It displays feminine penetrability and supine malleability. Its progress and value are judged in terms of, and in comparison to, the West, so it is always the Other, the conquerable, and the inferior. (Online, <http://www.english.emory.edu/Bahri/Orientalism.html>)

**Latifundia-** Spanish word for large farms that were formed when landowners bought up smaller farms. Most were sheep and cattle ranches, and some grew olives and grapes. The closest approximation to industrialized agriculture and their economics depended primarily upon slave labour.

**Lăutari-**“The gypsy musicians, *lăutari*, have had a major influence on the dance music of Romania. In towns and villages with *lăutari*, the superior musicianship of the gypsies has replaced the local Romanian musicians. After WW2 the *lăutari* who used to play in cafes and restaurants organized themselves into orchestras and found themselves playing a repertoire of the café music in concert halls. This development of popular ensembles gives us the distinctive "Romanian" sound we hear in many popular recordings.” (Online, <http://www.eliznik.org.uk/RomaniaMusic/lautari.htm>)

**Laws of Referenda-** law stipulated that after 1947, a referendum would have to be called in order to alter any fundamental law. “The Law on Referenda, also issued in 1945, was a further attempt by Franco to make his regime appear less arbitrary. It provided that issues

of national concern would be submitted for the consideration of Spanish citizens by means of popular referenda. Franco decreed this law without having consulted the Cortes, however, and he retained the sole right to determine whether a referendum would be called. The law stipulated that after 1947, a referendum would have to be called in order to alter any fundamental law; Franco retained the right to decree such laws, however--a right which he exercised in 1958.” (<http://countrystudies.us/spain/>)

**Laws of Succession-** law passed in 1947. “Was the first of the fundamental laws to be submitted to popular referendum. It proclaimed that Spain would be a "Catholic, social, and representative monarchy" and that Franco would be regent for life (unless incapacitated). Franco had the authority to name the next king when he thought the time was appropriate and also to revoke his choice at a later date if he so desired.” (<http://countrystudies.us/spain/>)

**Letras-**verses within the flamenco cante.

**Ligados-** Left-hand flamenco guitar technique which consists of chording which is the technique of pulling the finger down and off the string.

**Limpieza-** Spanish word for clean. Term used to refer to someone who is of clean or pure blood.

**Llamadas-**literally means to “call”. The opening of a dance; signal to the guitarist and musician that dancer is about to start dancing.

**Loquediran-** Concept within the Andalusian community; used as a threatening force within the society. “They say they are afraid of *loquediran* . The locution is really three words, *lo que diran*, spoken all in a single breath and it means, ‘What they will say.’ What they will say always corresponds to the worst paranoid fantasy of persecution.” (Gilmore, 35)

**Media Planta-** used to describe the ball of the foot in flamenco dance technique

**Melisma-** tool used by the singer to adjust the melody.

**Merimé-** Taboo system within the Roma community that informs all interactions between male and female and Roma and Gadge. It is a concept of defilement, which at its roots has several names among varying Roma communities. “The Rom and many the Gypsies from south-eastern Europe use the word *marimé* (‘unclean’), drawn from Greek; *moxado* is the Romani form in England and Wales and *megerdó* that in Poland, both meaning ‘stained’.” (Fraser, 244).

**Middle Eastern-** I use the term in a musical context. I am referring to music which comes from North Africa, Central and East Asia. Middle Eastern and North African music includes very complex rhythmic structures and generally has a tense vocal overtone.

**Minifundia-** Spanish word for a small plot of land - small estate

**Mulle-** Roma word for integrity or respect.

**National Front-** was a far right political party that was established during the Spanish Civil War.

**Out-Group-** term used to describe those individuals who live among the Roma community but are not necessarily agreeing, nor accepting the culture and its idiosyncrasies. Roma often view anyone who is not part of the nation, as a member of the out-group.

**Orientalism-** “As depicted in Said’s *Orientalism*, the West created a dichotomy of the West versus the East, and attributed specific characteristics to each, including civilized versus barbaric, advanced versus backward, virtue versus vice, rational versus irrational, and knower versus known.” (Askew, 131)

**Palmas-** hand-clapping which holds the compás.

**Palo-** song styles within flamenco; also Spanish word for stick.

**Patrins-** trail signs left as a form of communication for clans traveling on the same journey.

**Payo-** Spanish word for non-Roma. Often interchangeable with *Gadje*. Pejorative Roma term which literally means clown or churl.

**Pelón-** feisty section within the song.

**Peñas-** “in this intimate setting, everyone participates. People participate in festive songs that inspire dance (alegrías, bulerías), and in somber “deep” songs that evoke emotion and self-reflection (soleás, seguiríllas). At times people clap hands, palm insynchronicity, sing along, and move their bodies in unison; sometimes they get up and dance. Indeed, this high level of involvement is expected from all present in the peña. The experience was intense. If this is what they call “real” flamenco, then it is something very moving, both personally and emotionally.”(Malefyt, 69) This arrangement changed during the *Cafés Cantantes* period.

**Peninsular Army-** a weak, poorly trained Army that consisted of leftist supporters during the Spanish Civil War.

**Performances-** used to cover dance, theatre, musical, and any other live staged events. Under *Franquismo*, performances were the most regulated. I hypothesize that Franco was threatened by the physical aspect of the live performance. As seen in Spain’s history, the stage was always a valued form of entertainment that could reflect society’s moral and social construction. This was discussed in the bullfighting section of a previous chapter.

**Peteneras-** is a flamenco palo in a 12-beat meter.

**Picado-** flamenco right-hand guitar technique which uses the index and middle finger

**Planta-** entire sole of the foot strikes the floor.

**Planteo-** introduction within the song where the theme is stated.

**Pragmatic-** used as a noun; this is an imperial decree that becomes part of the fundamental law of the land.

**PSOE-** Acronym for the Socialist Party in Spain which existed in the early 1930’s.

**Pulgar-** flamenco right-hand guitar technique that consists of the use of the thumb.

**Quejío-** Tragic outcry and the lament that is rooted in flamenco.

**Radio y Televisión Española -(RTVE)** (literally, Spanish Television) is the national state-owned public-service television broadcaster in Spain. TVE's activities are financed by a combination of advertising revenue and subsidies from the national government. TVE belongs to the RTVE Corporation which has overall responsibility for national public-service radio and television under a Parliament-appointed General Manager who, as well as being answerable to a Board of Directors, reports to an all-party committee of the national parliament, as provided for in the Public Radio and Television Law which was established in 2006. TVE began broadcasting in October of 1956 and ten years later,

TVE2 was established. It was on these stations that the series were broadcasted on and were always associated with the regime.

**Rasqueados-** flamenco right-hand guitar technique that consists of the running of the fingers on each string.

**Reconquista-** Spanish Inquisition

**Remates-** resolve within the song which closes phrases or letras.

**Rito y Geografía** - The series I am referring to in my research pertains to a much bigger series that belongs to the *Rito y Geografía del Cante*. *Rito y Geografía del Baile* came after and is known as the sister project to the *Cante* series. *Rito y Geografía del Cante* was created by Mario Gomez, Pedro Turbica, and José María Velázquez (1971-73). This videotape collection consists of 121 thirty-minute videotape documentaries on Andalusian Flamenco art and artists. The programs, which consist of interviews and presentation of Flamenco song and dance, are drawn from three documentary series which were originally aired in Spain during the 1970's. Copies of these programs have been stored in the Spanish National Television archives after their original airing, but have now become available for scholarly use only. The first series *Rito y Geografía del Cante* was originally aired in exactly one-hundred, thirty-minute programs devoted to Andalusian flamenco art and Artists. Originally shot on location in 16mm black-and-white film, these programs feature interviews with, and presentations by, Flamenco artists. The series contains extensive footage of great historical importance and rare authenticity. This series was done for Spain's national TV system, Radiotelevision Espanola, and broadcast every Sunday night on Second Channel (Southern Spain) between October 23, 1971 and October 29, 1973. The *Rito y Geografía del Baile Flamenco Series* consists of fourteen programs, was broadcast on the First Channel (nationwide) starting in April of 1975. The programs of this series are quite diverse with some presenting dramatic reenactment of historical scenes, others presenting candid ethnographic film footage, and still others presenting high quality video recordings of performances coupled with interviews handled by Fernando Quiñones. The films are in Spanish with no subtitles.” (<http://www.uwm.edu/~wash/francojfa.htm>)

**Romani-** The official Roma language; sometimes-spelled Romany. It is important to note that Roma communities have often adopted the language of their host country and have used this to communicate with Roma and non-Roma. Few people speak Romani although there is an effort to preserve the dying tongue. Historical insight is gained when analyzing the language, but very few clans know, and use the dialect. (Fraser, 10-13)

**Romungros-** Hungarian Roma

**Saeta-** A form of cante that often has religious themes and depictions.

**Salida-** Entrance step used by a flamenco dancer

**Sephardic Jews-** is a Jew with family origins in the Iberian Peninsula. This includes both the descendants of Jews expelled from Spain under the Alhambra decree of 1492, or from Portugal by order of King Manuel I in 1497 and the descendants of crypto-Jews who left the Peninsula in later centuries. (online, [http://www.zionismisrael.com/dic/Sephardic\\_Jew.htm](http://www.zionismisrael.com/dic/Sephardic_Jew.htm))

**Sexualidad-** “first weekly publication dedicated to the field in 1925: Sexualidad, directed by the psychiatrist Antonio Navarro Fernandez. Over 160 issues provide a clear statement



on the review's objective which was to fight disease and degeneration from a social hygienic and moralist point of view. Making explicit references to the 'truth of sexuality', and the need for racial and familial regeneration, the medium adopted by Sexualidad to achieve these aims was a combination of scientific knowledge on sex and a pronounced moral but not necessarily Catholic standpoint on sexuality and family." (Cleminson,79)

**Sueca-** Spanish word for Swedish woman.

**Tablaos-** venue for a tourist oriented flamenco show.

**Tacon-**jab or heel

**Taliga-** Roma wagon or caravans

**Televisión Española** -(TVE) (literally, *Spanish Television*) is the national state-owned public-service television broadcaster in Spain. TVE's activities are financed by a combination of advertising revenue and subsidies from the national government. TVE belongs to the RTVE Corporation which has overall responsibility for national public-service radio and television under a Parliament-appointed General Manager who, as well as being answerable to a Board of Directors, reports to an all-party committee of the national parliament, as provided for in the Public Radio and Television Law which was established in 2006. TVE began broadcasting in October of 1956 and ten years later, TVE2 was established. It was on these stations that the series were broadcasted on and were always associated with the regime.

**Temple-** Spanish word used for warm-up

**Tercios-** sections of the songs.

**Tercio Grande-** known as the central section within the song.

**Toque-** Spanish word for guitar playing. Used for my purpose to describe guitar playing within the flamenco art form.

**TRACE-** a seven year old project, which stands for "TRAnslations CEnsored Project," was an undertaking that looked to revive and research the censorship laws that were passed during *Franquismo*.

**Trémolos-** flamenco right-hand guitar technique which encompasses the striking of the bass string by the thumb and any combination of fingers.

**Tsigane-** word for Roma in French.

**Valiente-** Spanish word for daring.

**Vito-** Andalusian folk song and dance (non-flamenco), which is usually performed on a table. The goal is for the performer to dance without spilling any drinks. If the dancer can accomplish this, s/he is considered a talented dancer.

**Zapateado-** Spanish word for footwork in flamenco.

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