By the mid-eighties, Franco was already a fading memory for those Spaniards who embraced consumerism and a new pluralist identity for their country. Tradition was commensurate with stagnancy, and the dismissal of many traditional practices in Spain, from the familial to the cultural, was correlative with a political effort on the part of the newly ruling PSOE to distance itself from Francoism by scorning any signs of backwardness or insularity that would inhibit the progress of the country. In the public view, flamenco was commonly perceived as a quaint style of folkdance or, at worst, a reductive legacy of an embarrassing past. Yet, as Carlos Saura suggests in *El amor brujo*, the flamenco that was derided was itself the result of successive reinterpretations of its meaning by the forces which had shaped contemporary Spain. Genuine flamenco embodies the belief of Herder that music is the archaic language of mankind and it sounds an anguished, existentialist, even nihilist cry. An analysis of Saura’s *El amor brujo* reveals that the film is structured upon a dialectic that opposes authentic flamenco with the inherited values of the jingoistic reinscription of the form termed *nacionalflamenquismo* that emerged in the *españoladas*—politically charged, folkloric musical melodramas that advocated a Francoist doctrine of Spanishness and effectively disenfranchised traditional Gypsy performers from their own culture.

It may be said that Spanish cinema was as much a victim of the dictatorship as the Spanish people, for, as Walter Benjamin has stated: ‘The violation of the masses, whom Fascism, with its Führer cult, forces to their knees, has its counterpart in the violation of an apparatus which is pressed into the production of ritual values’. The Francoist artifice of Spanishness that was popularized by *nacionalflamenquismo* was therefore

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1 When a Gypsy *cantaora* represented Spain in the Eurovision Song Contest in the mid-eighties with a rendition of a traditional style *copla*, the public and media response was one of considerable shock and embarrassment.

2 *El amor brujo* (Love the Magician, also known as A Love Bewitched, 1985), produced by Emiliano Piedra. All quotations from the film are the author’s transcripts.

an ironic prop for the corruption-ridden PSOE in 1993, when it celebrated
the Andalusian culture of flamenco and bullfighting as part of an
opportunist ‘return-to-basics’ re-election campaign that complemented
disproportionate subsidies for Seville's Expo'92 and the AVE rail link
between Madrid and Seville. Voters were encouraged to reject the
‘foreignness’ of the strident, American-style campaign of the Partido
Popular, and Felipe González, a sevillano, was indeed returned to power.
However, '80s Spain had previously rejected the pessimism of genuine
flamenco, favouring groups such as Ketama and Pata Negra which fused
flamenco rhythms with pop and rock and found substantial popular
success. As John Hooper states: ‘Flamenco is an art form that was inspired
by, and dwells on, hardship and oppression. By the same token, its bleak
sincerity was quite unsuited to the materialistic and hedonistic mood which
characterized Spain after the end of its post-Franco recession in the
mid-eighties’. Only cantaores such as Camarón de la Isla, performing to a
limited number of aficionados, insisted that traditional flamenco was even
more relevant to those who were excluded from fast-track capitalism and
full-speed consumerism. Thus, the social changes of the mid '80s provoked
contradictory interpretations of flamenco that are examined in Saura’s El
amor brujo, which may be appreciated in accordance with the declaration
of Roland Barthes in his foreword to Mythologies: 'What I claim is to live
to the full the contradictions of my time, which may well make sarcasm the
condition of truth'.

As if trapping his audience for this treatise, Saura begins El amor brujo
with a shot of a massive steel door trundling downwards like a medieval
portcullis. The light outside is blindingly bright, for the camera’s aperture
is set for the artificial illumination of the film studio, and so the slow pan
away allows the over-exposed film to settle on a darker, more sombre,
autumnal hue that will prove characteristic of the film. The door also
suggests a theatre curtain, though it is important to note that it falls
instead of lifting, thereby suggesting that the world beyond the studio is a
different performance, now ended. Accompanied by the first notes of
Manuel de Falla’s overture, the slow dolly right of the camera notes the
scaffolding and giant reflectors around the film studio and the back of the
illuminated Ciclorama that gives way to a view of a Gypsy encampment
that has been created on the soundstage. This single opening shot thereby
provokes a transition in the way that the audience sees the film, from a
subjective recognition of the world beyond the studio walls as its reality to
an objective appreciation of the artifice that has been created within.
However, although the upper edges of the Ciclorama are visible at the
beginning of the shot, the camera continues moving into the centre of the
poblado until its frame is within the limits of the encampment and the

5 Roland Barthes, Mythologies, preface to 1957 edition (London: Jonathan Cape,
1972), 11.
primacy of the setting is established. Consequently, the camera is not
signified as a means to artifice but as a portal to another reality, and it is
by these means that Saura assumes the role of the traditional cantaror, who
creates a metaphorical narrative in performance in order to further his
audience’s understanding of the reality which confounds them, just as he,
Saura, pulls his audience through the looking glass of the cinema screen
into a studio-bound analogy to the reality beyond the cinema/studio.

The creation of this set allows Saura to establish a contrast between the
commercially or politically exploited versions of flamenco and the extant
traditions of genuine Gypsy culture. Although Saura foregrounds the
artificiality of this Brigadoon-like poblado, he also highlights the remnants
of traditional flamenco culture within it. A low murmuring of a typical
cante is heard as the crane-held camera descends to the studio floor,
whereupon Saura cuts to a static wide shot whose low angle and immobility
suggests that the camera (and so the audience) is here to stay. Then he cuts
to a medium shot of two men seated at a table, one of whom (the source of
the murmured cante) is observing a young, skipping Gypsy girl, Candela.
Turning to his companion, he speaks in a near-impenetrable Andalusian
accent—Mi Candela va a ser pa’ tu José’—and the two men celebrate the
betrothal of their pre-pubescent children with a handshake that they seal
with a spill of wine. It is thereby immediately established that the society
of these Gypsies is one whose identity is rigorously determined by such
traditional practices as the betrothal of children, the manual deflowering
of a Gypsy bride by an older woman and the initiation of young males in the
techniques of fighting with the traditional navaja, all of which appear in
the film and negate the artificiality of the set. This attempt to impose a
sense of reality upon the artifice of the film-making process suggests
Saura’s cynical appreciation of the propagandist workings of
nacionalflamenquismo, for the process is described by Jean-Luc Corrolli and
Jean Narbori in their essay on ideological discourse in the cinema:

Once we realise that it is the nature of the system to turn the cinema
into an instrument of ideology, we can see that the filmmaker’s first
task is to show up the cinema’s so-called ‘depiction of reality’. If he can
do so there is a chance that we will be able to disrupt or possibly even
ever the connection between the cinema and its ideological function.⁶

That is to say, Saura’s imposition of realistic elements on a blatantly
artificial setting effectively subverts the generic model of the españoladas,
which commonly imposed artificial elements, such as the prevailing
state-sanctioned morality and superficial derivations of flamenco, in order
to indoctrinate the Spanish people with the model of citizenry and
Spanishness that was desired by the Church and State. In foregrounding
this conflict between reality and artifice, Saura parallels the adverse

⁶ Jean Luc Corrolli and Jean Narbori, ‘Cinema/Ideology/Criticism’, in Film Theory
and Criticism, 682–89 (p. 685).
relationship between genuine flamenco and its exploited form and creates a critique of the ideological abuse of flamenco in accordance with Roland Barthes’ technique of exposing meanings through the juxtaposition of alternative frames of reference:

In the account given of our contemporary circumstances, I resented seeing Nature and History confused at every turn, and I wanted to track down, in the decorative display of what-goes-without-saying, the ideological abuse which, in my view, is hidden there.\(^7\)

The ideological abuse of flamenco is also highly representative of the persecution of the Gypsies as that which Helen Graham and Antonio Sánchez term Spain’s ‘foreigner within’.\(^8\) Saura’s Gypsy settlement, however, also exemplifies Herder’s concept of ‘a social setting arising out of human interdependence’,\(^9\) one whose Volksgeist is traditionally expressed in its cante and baile flamenco. Such practices as the betrothal of children preserve tradition, foster a sense of community, unite families, prevent children from marrying payos, and offer a contrast to the increasing urban alienation and rootlessness that Saura detects in contemporary Spain: ‘Los jóvenes en España están muy desorientados. No saben aprovechar su libertad’.\(^10\) Thus, though Saura at first appears to imitate the mythopeia of the españoladas in creating a utopian Herderian community, the effect of his creation is not the glorification of its audience’s culture and heritage but a deliberate contrast with their disorientating present. Extant traditional practices are allied with the authentic-looking background design and details, though the narrative is signified as the fable that, in accordance with the generic ‘tradition’ of the españoladas, had originally illustrated the ideology and morality of the Francoist regime. In effect, therefore, Saura examines the nature of traditions such as flamenco which had commonly signified the racial identity and ideology of the Gypsies, but which were reinscripted for adverse propagandistic ends by opposing forces such as Francoism and tourism. Consequently, it is in these contrasts of artificial and authentic elements in the setting, narrative and cante and baile flamenco that Saura targets the instability of contemporary Spanish culture and society as a result of its founding on opposing ideologies, influences and beliefs.

Correlatively, Saura freezes the image of the child Carmelo as he watches the sudden betrothal of his beloved Candela to the indifferent José, and then effects a very slow dissolve from the child’s face into that of Antonio Gades as the fully-grown Carmelo, because the transition in the

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7 Barthes, Mythologies, 11.
10 Author’s interview with Carlos Saura, Dorchester Hotel, London, June 1999.
faces is effectively a political transition: the child of Francoist Spain becomes the adult of the ’80s. Instead of an abrupt cut from one face to another or even a quicker dissolve, Saura allows the transition from boy to man to last for the whole of the credits and the overture to Falla’s piece, thereby suggesting that the passing of years has only strengthened the traditions which prompted the betrothal that appalls Carmelo. Indeed, at the moment when the adult Gades emerges from the dissolve into live action, it is revealed that he is actually dressing for the marriage of Candela and José. Furthermore, this switch is achieved with a release of the static image instead of a cut, thus accentuating the transitory nature of the child’s growth and maturity, whereas a cut would have suggested a break in his evolution. It is clear that the defining characteristics of Carmelo, his stoicism and repression, have only intensified in the intervening years to the extent that he has become a self-effacing conformist. The dissolve which merges the youth with his adult self implies that little has changed despite the passing of so many years; yet it is also a literal representation of Herder’s dictum that tradition denotes, ‘not an accumulated stock of a set number of beliefs, customs and ways of doing things, but an ongoing process which by its very nature entails the continuous merging of the old and the new’. Consequently, any analysis of flamenco culture must recognize that modern flamenco is as much a result of its reinscription in both nacionalflamenquismo and consumerist Spain as it is of the private tablado, for the pop concerts of Ketama and the dance spectacles of Joaquín Cortés are arguably closer to being bastardizations of the form than they are to the performance system of the genuine cantaor or bailaor.

One element of the subtext of Saura’s El amor brujo is that the medium of its telling (i.e. the filmed, flamenco ballet) is itself an ill-defined discourse which is the result of so many competing influences and traditions, including the ópera flamenca of the 1930s, the españoladas, nacionalflamenquismo and the tourist tablados. This suggests that any definitions of national and individual identity which may be gleaned from its viewing are purposefully invalidated by the fabricated nature of the traditions and culture on show; for, as Saura has admitted, ‘El amor brujo es una obra inconclusa, que resulta a veces contradictoria cuando se trata de seguir musicalmente el argumento propuesto’. The inconclusive and contradictory nature of the film is due to the fact that its artifice is indebted to the aforementioned fabricated traditions of Spanishness, though this also allows Saura to deconstruct flamenco as a signifier of Spanishness because he recognizes that the popular knowledge and understanding of flamenco culture is circumscribed and perverted by those same fabricated

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12 Agustín Sánchez Vidal, El cine de Carlos Saura (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1988), 196.
traditions.\textsuperscript{13} Moreover, the apparent lineality of \textit{El amor brujo} suggests Saura’s sarcastic attempt to reflect the lack of imagination of his audience, for, as Marvin D’Lugo has claimed, ‘there are no breaks or fissures in the aesthetic texture here within which to posit the kind of critique of artistic form that was an essential part of [Saura’s] earlier flamenco films’.\textsuperscript{14} The linear, abruptly sequential narrative certainly differs from the skilful manipulation of space and time that is characteristic of the whole of Saura’s work, one which, aided by a common motif of mirrors, demands that an audience recognizes itself in the drama. Here, Saura reacts to the increasing unwillingness of Spaniards to engage in the process of national self-analysis which his previous films had encouraged and, instead, offers up the alternative spectacle of reassuring prejudice and comforting cliché which is demanded of commercial cinema. Nevertheless, the subversive nature of his more explicitly political films is retained in \textit{El amor brujo}, for by virtue of postmodernist conceit Saura delivers a film whose meaning is its superficiality and ostensible fatuity. \textit{El amor brujo} is not about the anarchic, nihilistic sub-text of traditional flamenco but about the jingoistic surface-gloss of \textit{nacionalflamenquismo} and, correlatively, it does not deal

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\textsuperscript{13} In the context of flamenco culture, the many and varied versions of \textit{El amor brujo} may be seen to constitute a tradition in themselves. The idea for the original version is reputed to have come from Pastora Imperio, \textit{gitana}, and reputedly the finest interpreter of traditional \textit{baile flamenco femenino}, who asked the poet Gregorio Martínez Sierra to write a \textit{gitanería} that she could perform in song and dance. Martínez Sierra subsequently asked Manuel de Falla to write the music and the two men met with Pastora Imperio and her mother, Rosario la Mejorana, who sang traditional \textit{coplas} for Falla while he noted the \textit{compás} and the tone of her \textit{cante}. Falla would work through the winter and spring of 1914 until the work was completed in April and duly presented to Pastora Imperio, who would thereafter boast that ‘Falla escribió \textit{El Amor Brujo} para mí, en mi misma casa’. However, the first performance on 15 April 1915 in the Teatro Lara in Madrid was deemed a failure due to an overload orchestra that overwhelmed the subtleties of Falla’s score. The subtitle \textit{gitanerías} provoked accusations of facile exoticism from the press, though, as Susanne Demárquez has recounted, ‘Only the Gypsy world marvelled at the work and applauded it enthusiastically. It had discovered itself in \textit{El amor brujo}, and this was a source of comfort to Falla’ (\textit{Manuel de Falla} [Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1968], 77). Following this, a revised version of the piece was performed to great acclaim by Antonia Mercé, known as La Argentina, with Vicente Escudero in the Théâtre Bériza in Paris, thus extending the fragmented identity of the work as a symbol of Spanishness for foreigners, a celebration of Gypsiness for Gypsies, and, for those Spaniards who accused Falla of sterility in his work, a rather redundant example of romanticism as perpetrated by an artist for whom it was argued that folklore had become an all too facile source. Nevertheless, successive performances of \textit{El amor brujo} established a commercial viability for the work that was partly due to the fact that the orchestra required for its performance is quite small. In 1925 La Argentina and Vicente Escudero transformed Falla’s sketch into a ballet by removing the lyrics and creating a symphonic version of the work that had become the standard by the time of the 1933 production, featuring Rafael Ortega, Pilar López (Antonio Gades’ future mentor) and Encarnación López (known as La Argentinita, lover of Ignacio Sánchez Mejías and to whom Lorca’s ‘Llanto …’ is dedicated), which premiered in Cádiz as a gesture to Falla and, subsequently, played in Madrid’s Teatro Español.

with the anguish and individuality of the film’s audience but their gleeful conformity to the cult of consumerism. In essence, therefore, Saura’s *El amor brujo* is a critique of a mid-eighties generation of Spaniards who were already blasé about freedom and democracy, and had rapidly lost interest in politics as anything other than a minor distraction from the abject materialism and self-centredness of their prosperous new lives.

In pursuing this analysis of Saura’s *El amor brujo*, it should be remembered that the ballet here is not Falla’s. A ballet version of *El amor brujo* had been a vital part of the repertory of La Argentinita and Pilar López between the years 1938 to 1945 and the bailarín Antonio had developed the narrative of the piece with his inclusion of expository *cante* and evocative symbols of *gitanismo* in his 1955 production in London’s Saville Theatre; yet it fell to Antonio Gades and Carlos Saura to create a structure which would allow for the telling of the story almost exclusively through dance. Saura’s response to a discourse which is constituted by the theatrical genre and successive versions of *El amor brujo* is posited upon a Herderian belief that social cultures are not passively assimilated by one generation from another but creatively applied and progressively re-oriented. However, although Herder assumed that successive generations were concerned with the preservation of the essential relevance of the culture to the evolving social order, *nacionalflamenquismo* entailed the appropriation of the performance system of the Gypsies and a reversal of the central philosophy of their flamenco. One result of the *españoladas*, for example, was that the traditional leading role played in the *cante* by a socially-marginalized individual whose life is buffeted by fate was supplanted by that of a community subject to a centralized government and Church and whose future depended solely upon its allegiance to the doctrine of both institutions. In other words, flamenco was opportunistically co-opted by the Francoist regime, just as Gerhard Steingress has stated: ‘Lo étnico sólo se convierte en un elemento integral del nacionalismo moderno bajo la condición de su conversión en un principio político patrocinado por el estado como institución de poder con el fin de identificar la unidad política y nacional a base de lo que llama ‘nacionalismo como sentimiento’.

Saura’s opening sequence illustrates this sentimental form of nationalism by presenting a Gypsy ceremony that celebrates the subjugation of an individual to the demands of the community. Members of the community flock into the centre of the set, creating a sense of unity and

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15 Gades was awarded the Premio Nacional de la Danza in 1988 for his hybridization of forms and styles. The citation read as follows: ‘Para Antonio Gades, por su labor como puente entre la tradición flamenca y los aires de modernidad que vive la danza española’.


celebration, but Saura’s camera remains outside the group, which mills around until La hechicera emerges from a chabola, displaying a blood-stained handkerchief that is celebrated by the crowd.¹⁸ The just-deflowered Candela (Cristina Hoyos) emerges to cries of ‘¡Vivan los novios!’ and is borne aloft for the closely-choreographed sequence in which she and José (Juan Antonio Jiménez), likewise carried by another group, are moved like pawns in a social act of affirmation in which the sexual link between them is abnegated and, indeed, they hardly touch. Here, the individuals are clearly obedient to the demands of the community which uses the wedding as an excuse to reaffirm its own identity, for it is by regulating the erotic body of individuals that the community controls the definition of individuality and, in turn, of itself. Not only do the protagonists of this ceremony not love each other, but their sexual relationship is taken care of by La hechicera, ‘pre-empted’ as it were by the greater importance of community tradition. In contrast, Saura’s camera retains a distant, static objectivity of the event; for despite infrequent close-ups of Candela and José the camera never enters into the dance (and thereby the community) as it does in Saura’s Bodas de sangre and Carmen. Subsequently, the contrast of traditional flamenco with its contemporary derivative is initiated as the bride and groom are lowered to the ground and an impromptu cantaor sings a light alboréa that the wedding guests dance, though Saura continues with long takes and a wide angle which refuses to integrate the camera/audience into the festivities. By these means the wedding ceremony is signified as theatrical artifice and the audience is forced to maintain an objective relationship to the spectacle onscreen. The Brechtian distancing of the spectator from the text therefore appears to hint that what is presented is Gypsiness in the service of the sentimental nationalism of non-Gypsy culture such as the nacionalflamenquismo of the dictatorship. Moreover, in effecting a tension between the artifice of the studio-set and the presumed authenticity of that which is enacted within it, Saura’s intent appears to be in direct opposition to the most basic concept of the film musical as described by Jane Feuer:

The Hollywood musical as a genre perceives the gap between producer and consumer, the breakdown of community designated by the very distinction between performer and audience, as a form of cinematic original sin. The musical seeks to bridge the gap by putting up ‘community’ as an ideal concept.¹⁹

Although Feuer’s analysis of the Hollywood film musical considers producer and consumer in commercial terms rather than in any specific political context, bridging the gap between the producers of

¹⁸ La hechicera is played by Emma Penella, wife of producer Emiliano Piedra and to whom the film is dedicated.

nacionalflamenquismo and its consumers (i.e. the Spanish people) may be recognized as the identical objective of the propagandist españoladas, whose celebrations of family, Church and the Francoist ‘community’ were designed to inculcate the Spanish ideal. In contrast, Saura perceives the gap between the spectator of the españolada and the performers of traditional flamenco, and he aspires to widen that gap rather than bridge it by identifying those tensions which are inherent in the fabricated nature of the prevailing culture in the ‘80s. The creation of the poblado in the film studio thus constitutes a complex and ultimately subversive signifier of traditional images in terms of its relation to nacionalflamenquismo and modern Spain. Rather than grounding the action of the film in a Gypsy community from rural Andalusia, Saura based his set on the chabolas of Vicálvaro on the outskirts of Madrid, a poblado whose urban context is emphasized by the omnipresent telegraph poles. Most emphatically therefore, Saura breaks with the traditional theatrical and cinematic staging of El amor brujo in some quaint mock-up of a coastal Gypsy settlement20 or a cave-dwelling community of Gypsies, and instead presents his audience with a makeshift slum on the outskirts of Spain’s capital city—a city which the ruling Socialist party PSOE was simultaneously working hard to establish as a prosperous, idyllic European metropolis. Conversely, Saura identifies contemporary Madrid as a potential urban nightmare on account of its population’s detachment from the rural and spiritual traditions that are maintained by the Gypsies.21 Critics have accused Saura of excessive romanticism in his creation of the Gypsy setting; yet, as with Lorca’s idealization of the Gypsies, Saura adds to the contradictory nature of his film by purposefully exaggerating the qualities of Herderian interdependence and tradition in this community in order to counter the excessively censorious view of real Gypsy settlements which informed the actual policy of the Francoist regime—a regime which had simultaneously purloined those qualities for its own sentimental nationalism in the españoladas. In choosing the artifice of the studio over filming in the actual community of Vicálvaro or similar, Saura is also perhaps reflecting the precept of Joseph Campbell that ‘isolated societies, dream-bound within a mythologically charged horizon, no longer exist except as areas to be exploited’.22 Indeed, when one identifies the studio’s

20 See Francisco Rovira Beleta’s 1967 film El amor brujo for a pantomimic version set in Cádiz. The film was nominated for an American Academy Award but failed at the box-office.

21 It is also important to recall that Saura chose to recreate the poblado of Vicálvaro in the grand Samuel Bronston film studio (the site of such epics as King of Kings and El Cid, foreign productions whose celebrations of Christianity and, in the latter case, a glorious Spanish past, were as welcome as their lavish budgets), when he could quite possibly have made the film in the actual environment of modern Gypsies as he did with his first film, the neo-realist Los golfo.

Ciclorama as a metaphor for this ‘mythologically charged horizon’, it becomes clear that Saura’s concept of the Gypsy community responds to a similar understanding of tradition as that of Lorca; for Saura’s Gypsies are one of the last remnants of all that has been lost in Spain’s modernization, and the strength of their traditions and beliefs effects a striking contrast with the lack of same in contemporary Madrid—a society which, as with any major Western capital city, exemplifies much of what Joseph Campbell decries in the modern world:

There is no such society anymore as the gods once supported. The social unit is not a carrier of religious content, but an economic-political organization. Its ideals are those [...] of the secular state, in hard and unremitting competition for material supremacy and resources.23

Most importantly, it would appear that Saura’s El amor brujo is a film with an astute sense of irony. This Gypsy community that he presents is signified as the last territory of magic and myth (concepts which are expressed in their language of flamenco), yet the magic and myth of this ‘community’ are simultaneously revealed as products of modern technology, the magic of the film set and the mythology that was established by Francoist cinema. This concept responds to Marxist theory, which states that all imaginative creations are made redundant by technological innovations. It also conforms to the following dictum of Roland Barthes:

There is therefore one language which is not mythical, it is the language of man as producer: wherever man speaks in order to transform reality and no longer to preserve it as an image, wherever he links his language to the making of things [...] myth is impossible.24

The flamenco tradition that Saura presents in the wedding sequence is clearly tainted by external commercial and ideological interests. First, in what is the most certifiably authentic moment in the film, a ring of old Gypsy women drawn from Granada’s Sacromonte dance La mosca, a traditional dance which requires them to move in a circle, lifting one leg every few steps and swinging their skirts in-between.25 Yet their performance is abruptly overtaken by the electronic beat of contemporary flamenco-pop female duo Azúcar Moreno singing their eponymous song.26 This song has a tinny, glam-rock type beat with banal lyrics and facile rhymes, yet it is enthusiastically received by the wedding guests of all ages who fill out the centre of the poblado. Although this celebration appears to unite the generations, the song has an ironic function in that its performance more clearly unites the cinema spectators with the bland

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23 Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces, 387.
24 Barthes, Mythologies, 146.
25 Emiliano Piedra: ‘Hemos traído del Sacromonte de Granada un grupo de gitanas, unas seis o siete que son las únicas que siguen bailando una cosa muy curiosa que se llama “la mosca” ‘ (Fotogramas, No. 1717, March 1986, p. 39).
26 Azúcar Moreno is a euphemism for vaginal fluid.
commercialism of contemporary flamenco culture and the legacy of nacionalflamenquismo. By these means is the kitsch nature of Saura’s El amor brujo revealed, for Dwight McDonald’s definition of kitsch is that ‘it includes the spectator’s reactions in the work of art itself instead of forcing him to make his own responses’. In other words, this is a film for those who buy Azúcar Moreno records and find themselves tapping their feet at this point in the film; it suggests a sarcastic retort to all those Spaniards who expressed el desencanto with democracy and popularized the slogan, ‘Con Franco vivimos mejor’. It is a film which flatters in order to deceive.

The continually static, uninvolved nature of the camerawork (which contrasts so remarkably with that of Bodas de sangre and Carmen) is indicative of Saura’s belief that the camera ‘es el ojo que siempre nos está observando’ in the sense that the camera/mirror relationship, which is central to so many of his films, is here designed to return the passive, indifferent gaze of the consumerist society of contemporary Spain. The initial indications of artifice are succeeded by a resolute objectivity that suggests unwillingness to engage in the celebrations that are energized by the electronic beat of the pop flamenco. Saura thereby indicates the cinema’s aptitude and potential for creating alternative realities, only to surrender the subjectivity of his camera for a largely static and passive, front-on theatrical point of view, just as the complex performance system of genuine flamenco is surrendered to the facile beat and superficiality of pop flamenco. Saura’s El amor brujo is neither as negligible as filmed theatre nor as innovatively cinematic as Bodas de sangre or Carmen; it is, however, a clear progression in his characteristic concern with the fabricated nature of reality, especially that of the Spanish people: ‘Esta creación de una realidad alternativa es lo que me fascina y llevo muchísimos años trabajando en ella, siempre que puedo’.

In analysing the narrative of El amor brujo, a useful comparison may be made with the making of a heterosexual couple that is the primary aim of the traditional Hollywood film musical, in which the romantic union of a man and woman is, as Jane Feuer claims, ‘one sure sign of the folk sub-genre’ and is especially important in those films in which the identity of the community is determined by the success of that couple. In other words, the couple’s clinch is tantamount to ‘putting-on-a-show’ of their ‘togetherness’—a celebration of unity that unites the community around them. In terms of narrative closure and its relation to the wish-fulfilment of the audience, it should be noted that the making of the heterosexual couple, as celebrated in the traditional musical, is the happy ending par excellence because it is most clearly not an ‘ending’ but a beginning, a

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28 Author’s interview with Saura.
29 Ibid.
prologue to the perpetuation of traditional morals and community values in
the marriage and procreation of the couple. Carmelo and Candela are
similarly subordinate to the traditions of their community, but their
situation is more complicated, for the narrative reveals that their unhappy
marriage is the result of that same subordination. That is to say, the entire
wedding sequence is a combination of socially-sanctioned performance and
regulatory ceremony which, ironically, seals the miserable fate of the
couple who do not love each other and so endangers the stability of the
community which obliges them to marry. The resultant drama will deal
with the attempts of Carmelo and Candela to lay a murdered José’s ghost
to rest (i.e. to ‘unmake’ the couple) and, consequently, will entail a
questioning of those traditions which were the cause of the initial union
(i.e. the prevailing doctrine of their society). The union of this new couple
is required by both the community and the musical film genre because it is
the happy ending which restores unity and celebrates conformity, but it is
evident that the tradition which condemns Candela to lonely widowhood as
dictated by Gypsy lore31 is seen to be flexible and, ultimately, subject to the
self-interest of the community. In other words, tradition is revealed to be
an opportunistic construct, and consequently Saura is suggesting the
artificial nature of those traditions, such as flamenco, which were co-opted
by the opportunism of the Francoist regime and transformed into a signifier
of a diametrically-opposed doctrine as a means of brainwashing the
Spanish people, just as the Roman Empire substituted its gods for the
Greek equivalents, the Catholic Church co-opted pagan festivals for its own
ends and, more recently, the former British Prime Minister Margaret
Thatcher transformed Remembrance Sunday into a celebration of Tory
values. Herder states that such practices are, in fact, a natural cause of the
establishment of traditions because ‘the inter-generational process of
transmission involves not only the assimilation but also the reappraisal of
what is handed on, and hence necessarily entails a certain dialectic in its
operation’.32 The conflict arises, however, when, as has been stated, the
dialectic of traditional practices is subordinated to the dogmatism of a
dominant individual, business or state: the conflict which Saura perceives
in the recent Spanish history and the evolution of flamenco relates
precisely to this conundrum. How could the secretive performance system
and ideological construct of flamenco, which is dedicated to the release of
instinct and strives for catharsis in an existential cry of anguish, have been
transformed into a popular medium for the dissemination of the doctrine of
conformity and the propaganda of a happy ending?

In exploring the conundrum of flamenco as signifier of Spanish identity,
Saura undoubtedly raises more questions than his film answers. Rather

31 This is a legacy of the Indian suttee tradition. For a vivid description of Gypsy
customs and social practices, see Isabel Fonseca, Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and their
32 Josef von Herder, Herder on Social and Political Culture, 23.
than posit a damning sentencing of Francoism as in the finales of *La caza*, *Ana y los lobos* and ¡Ay Carmela!, or democratic Spain as in ¡Dispara! and *Taxi*, it would appear that in *El amor brujo* Saura has merely attempted to illustrate the rhetoric of the question. The film is constructed upon a series of anachronistic binaries which expose the process of mythopoetic confection, such as those between the objective and the subjective camera, between artifice and reality, classical ballet and folk-dance, pop-flamenco and traditional cante, and, most importantly, that which is prompted within the spectator whose sense of Spanishness is nurtured by Saura’s recourse to genuine flamenco culture at the same time as it is assailed by such anachronisms as all of the factors in its reinscription. As Saura has claimed: ‘*Esta es una película que está entre la realidad y la irrealidad, entre el documental y la teatralización de todo; entre la ópera, el teatro y el cine*’. For example, although he introduced archetypical examples of the cante and preserved the zapateados, palmas and cross-rhythms of the voice with the guitar from Falla’s original composition, Saura also includes examples of pop flamenco in order to underline the incongruity of traditional flamenco in contemporary Spain, the congruent estrangement of modern Spaniards from their own cultural heritage and the effect of this alienation on individual and national identity.

This tension between classical music and folk music in the musical genre is commonly resolved in favour of the popular style as a way of restating the value of the film as an entertainment for the masses. In terms of the Hollywood musical, Jane Feuer has stated: ‘The particular syntax opposing popular and elite elements arises out of the genre’s overall rhetoric of affirming itself by applauding popular forms’. The Francoist regime’s exploitation of the medium of folk song and dance in the

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34 Traditional cantes include ‘Y tu mirar’ by Manuel Molina, a performance of ‘Como el agua’ by José Sánchez Gómez and ‘La Mosca’ by Tony Maya.

35 Falla’s interest in flamenco culture was considerable since birth. His family’s housemaid was a Gypsy named Morilla, whose singing of habaneras, guajiras and saetas would inspire the young man’s love of folksong. This afición would subsequently be encouraged by Falla’s tutor, Felipe Pedrell, who had himself traced cante flamenco back to the arrival of the Moors in Spain, and whom Falla would describe in his obituary as ‘the man whose work and message enabled Spain to resume her place among the musical nations of Europe’. The increasingly nationalistic appreciation of folksong in Europe would aptly contextualize the budding composer’s fascination with the form, though his early attempts at transcribing examples in his earliest works would be somewhat thwarted by the exclusive dominion of the zarzuela in the contemporary commercial theatre. Nevertheless, Falla would insert the rhythm of a zapateado in his one successful zarzuela, *Los amores de la Inés* in 1902, and the rhythms and motifs of cante flamenco would become a constant recourse in works such as his Siete canciones, *La vida breve*, in which the martinete figures prominently, *El sombrero de tres picos*, *Cuatro piezas españolas* (in which Andalusia is rendered impressionistically through the rhythms of the bulería, malagueña, zapateado, polo, siguiriya and soleá) and, of course, *El amor brujo*.

españoladas thus correlates with this assumption that in both its narrative and song-styles the film musical commonly seeks to reaffirm the importance of its own genre and traditions because the potential fracture in the relationship of the audience to the film may be avoided by recourse to the folkloric elements within, particularly when the ideology and semiotics of the genre are as subordinate to propagandist doctrine as those which were popularized by the españoladas. In other words, although the narrative conveys a dogma and/or moral which is intended to subjugate the audience, its bitter pill is sweetened by a coating of folklore: the state creates an image of the Spanish people as subordinates and allies this image to folksong in order to convince the audience that this reflection of themselves is genuine. One might say folksong ‘popularizes’ propaganda.

However, as Rikki Morgan says in her analysis of the nostalgic but subversive resurgence of the españolada in contemporary Spanish cinema, the identification of the people with that which is presented as ‘popular’ is not without tension: ‘The artificial version of Spanishness and the easy, if anachronistic, moral and social binaries offered by the classic españolada rely on falsely stereotypical images which are both comfortingly familiar and apparently removed from the contemporary cultural movement’. This conflict prompts the question formulated by Ramón Pelinski in his analysis of flamenco as signifier of Spanishness: ‘¿Cuáles son los procesos que conectan la música con el sujeto que la vive como materialización de una identidad subjetiva y colectiva a la vez?’ In exploring this dilemma, it may be seen that Saura constructs El amor brujo on the traditional schematic of the film musical (i.e. the struggle against misfortune of the couple whose eventual union will likewise unite the community), yet the wholesome, heterosexual Spanishness of the happy ending is ultimately denuded by the exaggerated artifice of its telling. Most emphatically, Saura weights his argument with the introduction of a completely new character, Lucía (Laura del Sol), an independent, passionate female who is constantly presented in relation to traditional flamenco practices. Unlike the fleeing lovers of Bodas de sangre, whose protest is directed against society from outside, Carmelo and Candela posit a reappraisal of the tradition that condemns Candela to widowhood and haunting by formulating a polite request which is respectfully delivered to the heart of their community—La hechicera, who tells them to forfeit Lucía to José’s ghost. The original narrative of ‘star-crossed lovers’ is thereby reoriented into a tragedy in which the genuine Lucía (cf. Andalucía) is sacrificed to the hegemony.

The undertone of sarcasm in Saura’s El amor brujo is revealed by means of further illustrative contrasts between genuine cultural traditions

and the fabricated nature of both nacionalflamenquismo and pop flamenco. Purposefully contradictory, therefore, Saura celebrates genuine Gypsiness in traditional cante and baile flamenco while also foregrounding the commercial and nationalistic exploitation of the culture. He highlights rituals of Gypsy life in the betrothal, wedding and protracted mourning at the same time as he warms over clichés of knife-fights, brujería and all-singing, all-dancing gitanos—the same material as the españoladas. Most importantly, Saura creates a contrast between the relationship of music-rhythm-image and the purposeful subjugation of this very relationship in the defiantly static, cinematically unresponsive dance sequences. Following the wedding, for instance, the narrative jumps forward to Christmas, with the Gypsy community united in the performance of a villancico while José and Lucía dance together beyond the circle of chabolas. Thus the community is shown to reaffirm its sense of self while the transgressive liaison of José with Lucía is excluded from the ritual and its apparent religiosity. The cliché of this opposition may be interpreted as the forces of morality, unity and Christianity grouped in a defensive circle against the ungodly action of the transgressors. However, it is at this moment that the performers of the villancico freeze in mid-song: all except Candela, who rises to dance somnambulant amongst them, seemingly enraptured by Rocio Jurado’s non-diegetic rendition of ‘Cuando el rio suena’. The frozen tableau of Gypsy-life is like a display in a folklore museum: it invites a contemplation of the imagery on show and it prompts the audience to confront the cultural icons of its own past as if they were on display in such a museum. The historical imposture is thus deconstructed, for not only is the religiosity of the Gypsies anachronistic, but these images of Spanishness are revealed as the ‘ghosts’ of the españoladas. Only Candela’s anguish suggests the response which Saura truly desires of his audience to such reductive artifice in the sense that, as Feuer maintains, ‘the dream ballet within the film represents the relationship of the spectator to the film’. Saura adds a further cliché as the riña between José and another of Lucía’s lovers escalates into a reyerta between clans. Intense, smouldering males break bottles on bartops and switch navajas from hand to hand as in countless westerns. But, tellingly, there is hardly any movement of the camera in this scene either. The scene is laboured and artificial, neither involving nor credible; it merely plays up to the moment when José is killed, Candela screams and Carmelo is apprehended by the sheriff/Guardia Civil. The entire sequence is seemingly over-choreographed with the result that the camera is excluded from the action rather than risk it distracting from the completeness of the ‘performance’ of so many clichés. Although Saura does foreground the magic and myth of the tale (e.g. the frozen poblado and the Lorquian reyerta, respectively), he also exposes the mechanics and generic clichés of the cinematic process in their making and consequently reveals the

artificiality of the Spanishness that is contained therein. Furthermore, as Feuer has stated of similar diametrically opposed sequences in Hollywood musicals, ‘non-choreography implies that dancing is utterly natural’, whereas the stiltedness of this fight sequence signifies a mordant comment on the ‘unnaturalness’ of those clichés. As Falla wrote of his own use of flamenco rhythms in his music: ‘para la música popular de Andalucía es necesario ir muy al fondo para no caricaturizarla’. The purposeful superficiality of Saura’s *El amor brujo* appears to invert and confirm this comment, but for distinct political ends.

The four years of Carmelo’s imprisonment may symbolize the four decades of the Francoist regime during which the Spanish people, denied their freedom like Carmelo, were seemingly trapped in time like the frozen people who form the background to Candela’s anguished sleep-walking/dancing. In addition, Saura identifies Francoist cinema as a distorting mirror which functioned as the medium of indoctrination, for Candela places a photograph of José in the centre of her bedroom mirror during the years of Carmelo’s imprisonment, thereby obviating the function of that which is commonly signified as regulatory apparatus and suggesting an analogy with the cinema screen on which the *españoladas* were projected. The mirror no longer offers a true reflection of Candela, just as the *españoladas* did not reflect authentic Spain. Instead, the mirror returns a false image of the womanizing José as a faithful, loving husband—the image which is demanded by the prevailing morality: i.e. that of the community which expects Candela to grieve and be faithful ever after. Candela is thereby forced to mourn and yearn for this man because society expects it and it is possible to see her mirror as a metaphor for the cinema screen which similarly returned a deceitful, but State-sanctioned image of the Spanish people, a fabricated image of a falsely heroic past for Francoist Spain which the cinema-going public were expected to desire.

Subsequently, the return of Carmelo correlates with the liberation of the Spanish people from the dictatorship upon the death of Franco. The set design of the *poblado* underlines the post-dictatorship context with the mechanical junk or *chatarra* which litters the outer ring of the *poblado*, for it conveys an ambience that is reminiscent of post-apocalyptic science-fiction films and it counters contemporary misconceptions of Gypsy settlements as being traditionally rural, while linking the condition of Gypsies in modern Spain to the detritus of consumerism. These Gypsies are analogous to the waste product of modern Spain, and their marginalization suggests an even greater contrast with the fast-track prosperity of the ’80s, while their dealing in junk reduces them to the status of mere parasites on the modern state. However, as Carmelo discovers, the ghost of Francoism is not laid to rest, but is represented in the guise of José’s spectre, a

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vengeful, deceitful remnant of the past which refuses to let go of its victim: Candela/Spain. The remainder of the film deals with Carmelo’s attempt to exorcise this ghost of Francoism, though it will ultimately be ironized by Saura’s cynicism about the Spanish people’s ambiguous attitude to life without the Caudillo. Once more, the conflict is illustrated in the dichotic soundtrack that accompanies the reunion of Carmelo and Candela. At one extreme there is the traditional *cante* of ‘Y tu mirar’ performed by Lole y Manuel, a duo who were at the forefront of the movement termed *Andalusí* which attempted to return contemporary flamenco to its assumed Arabic roots, while the simultaneous sound of traffic roaring down a motorway threatens to drown out the song. The tension of the reunion is therefore echoed in a soundtrack which pulls the Gypsy characters both backwards and forwards: backwards to their utopian origins or forwards to a dystopian modern Spain. Confounded by this quandary in which José’s ghost imposes its will on the present by continuing to deny their union, Carmelo seeks to redefine his own disintegrated self-image as a result of romantic disillusionment and unjust imprisonment by returning to his *chabola* and rearranging scattered mirrors until his sense of fragmentation and loss is assuaged by the illusion of completeness which the mirrors offer. The irony, however, is that the reflection is unrecognizable: four years have passed and, as Candela’s sister describes him, ‘está estropeadillo’. This schism between Carmelo’s past and present selves hinders his functioning in the present in the same way in which modern Spain is frustrated by the weight of its Francoist past. Candela too is unable to escape from her past and continues to meet and dance with José in a somnambulistic trance. Exacerbating the frustration, she is spied on by Carmelo, whose point of view is appropriated by Saura for a single, long take of her dance, which is held as a medium-shot that allows no view of her feet and is only occasionally interrupted by reaction shots of Carmelo. Thus, the continuing refusal of Saura to complement the dancing of Hoyos with the camera movements and editing expected by his audience appears to represent most precisely the impotence of the protagonists’ condition, and therefore that of contemporary Spaniards in their relation to the pervasive cultural legacy of Francoism.

Following this, the scene of the *poblado* waking up and going about its business against a backdrop of a painted sky appears to be the most self-consciously mythopoeic sequence in the film; yet Saura continues to undermine the mythopoeia with sarcasm. The occurrence of a storm causes the washerwomen to abandon their bawdy song and dance, but the storm only exemplifies the director’s dominion of the film studio and is thus a signifier of the artificiality of the scene. Saura elects to film Carmelo and Candela dancing in the storm in one long, static take. Theirs is a slow, expressive dance requiring precise choreography but, again, the magic is purely cinematic. Candela believes that she is dancing with Carmelo but on each thunderclap and (camera) flash of lightning her partner changes successively from Carmelo to José and back again. This is a cleverly edited
sequence, but it is nothing more: the technology of film-making makes magic redundant. Indeed, the technological prowess which creates such special effects as the windstorm in the studio is a further indication of the transformation of Spain, for such effects are highly symbolic of the technological superiority which has made the Gypsy belief in magic and spirits redundant. The marginalization of the Gypsies in Spain was clearly exacerbated by their deliberately insular traditions, and the belief in magic and spirits which defines the characters and community of *El amor brujo* therefore provides a further contrast with the lack of spirituality in modern Spain where, in accordance with Joseph Campbell’s diagnosis of the malaise in contemporary metropolises, ‘every last vestige of ritual, morality and art is in full decay’. The occurrence of magic in traditional *cante* flamenco is commonly attributed to fate or *duende* and is rarely, if ever, benevolent. Symbols of *duende*, such as the moon and the wind, are endowed with magical properties, often anthropomorphized and frequently characterized by a fiercesome antagonism. Here, however, the redundancy of traditional flamenco is signified in its confrontation with technology because, though D'Lugo sees the occurrence of such effects as ‘moves to suppress theatricality’, they only offer further proof of the mythopoetic power of the cinema and, especially in terms of propagandist films such as the *españoladas*, are evidently at the service of those who control it. That is to say, the only ‘magic’ on show is that of the cinema: the only ‘spell’ which is cast is that of indoctrination.

The family tree of modern flamenco appears to have two sets of roots: the first digs deep into history and the spiritual inheritance of the Gypsy race, while the other reaches only as far down as the recent imposition of *nacionalflamenquismo* and its representative *españoladas*. It appears that Saura is wholly conscious of this dichotomy and has endeavoured to illustrate the legacy of both forms on the present. Nowhere is this dichotomy more extreme than in the emblematic sequence of the *Baile del fuego fatuo* in which Candela, having sought advice from La hechicera, dances ritualistically around the bonfire, conjuring a spell that will hopefully exorcize José’s ghost and prove cathartic for the couple. Saura begins this sequence with his camera mounted high on a crane in order to provide a wide shot of the entire set. A mass of dancers move their arms and hands above their heads in typical flamenco fashion and in imitation of the flames of the bonfire as Hoyos rises above them and is reborn, phoenix-like, from their ashes. It is arguably the one moment in *El amor*...
brujo where the baile transcends the artifice of the narrative and the set. A sense of magic is conjured in the colour, rhythm and movement that is redolent of the alboreá and the tanguillo. However, in terms of the narrative the ritual is ineffective: José’s ghost returns and the protagonists are confounded. In effect, therefore, even though the magic of the ritual is allied to the ‘magic’ of exemplary baile flamenco, it is not enough. Magic has no power against the true forces of oppression (i.e. José/Francoism), just as traditional flamenco (the performance system of that magical ritual) appears redundant in the context of contemporary Spain. The legacy of Francoism appears to be a far greater influence on modern Spain than the extant philosophy and spiritualism of the traditional cante. The entire sequence, in its narrative inconsequentiality, is therefore highly emblematic of the redundancy of traditional flamenco in contemporary Spain.

Carmelo and Candela return to La hechicera in the hope of a more practical cure for their predicament, and it is here that Saura, like Barthes, appears most explicitly to employ sarcasm as the condition of truth, for La hechicera advises Carmelo to sacrifice Lucía and answers his doubts about such a selfish act with a refrain: ‘La felicidad de unos siempre está a costa de la felicidad de otros’. The aphorism is not only a paean to one-upmanship and spite, but also the opposite of the traditional solidarity of flamenco culture and the fellowship and unity of the community. Although Lucía is clearly in the line of Carmen and Lorca’s rebellious young females, her conduct is in no way perceived as a threat to the stability of the Gypsy community, and her sentencing to death (for that is precisely what such a scheme amounts to) reflects harshly on the society which condemns her. Lucía’s submission to Carmelo’s request is a miserable example of the subjugation of the instinctual individual to hegemony and it is in this context that her death suggests an analogy with the demise of traditional, genuine flamenco.\(^{45}\) Carmelo and Candela lead Lucía to the junkyard, wait for José’s ghost to appear and trick him into dancing with Lucía instead of Candela. Two couples are formed: José leads Lucía off into the junkpiles and Carmelo and Candela embrace as the dawn comes up. The ending is trite; the exaggeratedly artificial sunrise symbolizes the falseness of this ‘new dawn’ for the couple and their community.

The resolution of El amor brujo appears to renounce Saura’s principles because, as Marvin D’Lugo comments, Saura’s ‘self-awareness of the volume of deforming cultural weight that has shaped the Spaniard’s image of himself in the world will not allow him to posit a simplistic narrative

\(^{45}\) The following sequence of Carmelo teaching Lucía to dance in a chabola full of mirrors is clearly mindful of a similar sequence between Gades and Del Sol in Saura’s Carmen (‘Acaricame’ he demands in both scenes). This in turn suggests that Saura includes the innovation and meaning of that film in the fate of Lucía and the traditional flamenco culture which she represents.
utopia'.\textsuperscript{46} Certainly, this happy ending is the simplistic narrative utopia which Saura’s films have commonly refuted, but this film’s condescension to the generic model of the film musical and the commercial expectations of his distributors and audience hides anarchic, wilful sarcasm. If, as in Falla’s original work, the \emph{Baile del fuego fatuo} had provided the conclusion, then the ideology of flamenco would have been championed over that of the regime which is symbolized by José, but Saura’s observations of democratic Spain appear to have embittered any previous optimism with the result that the passionate, instinctive Lucía is sacrificed to the legacy of the regime and the censorial doctrine of the \emph{españoladas}. Saura’s ‘happy ending’ is subversive because it complies with the conventions of the genre in uniting a murdering, self-serving couple as paradigms of their community. Yet, even without the technicolour backdrop, the ending to \emph{El amor brujo} is cynically inflected, for the very suggestion of a happy ending is anathema to the performance system and ideology of the traditional \emph{cante}. Thus, \emph{El amor brujo} finally appears typical of Saura’s work because like many of his films it deals with the Spanish people’s participation in celebrations of fabricated Spanishness and their identification with a reflection of themselves that does not correspond to their reality. If, as D’Lugo claims, Saura’s \emph{Carmen} obliges ‘the audience to reflect upon the ambiguity of a cultural narrative without performance or closure and its implications for Spaniards who, by this point in the eighties, are beginning to sense that their destiny is not already written in their past’,\textsuperscript{47} then \emph{El amor brujo} is the complete opposite. It is a film for an audience which scorns ambiguity and open-endedness in its entertainment; it is a \emph{diversión} demanded by Spaniards who, in the capitalist revolution of the ’80s, were convinced that their destiny lay not in fate, but in their fortunes.

\textsuperscript{46} D’Lugo, \textit{The Films of Carlos Saura}, 213.  
\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Ibid.}