Rethinking Tradition: Towards an Ethnomusicology of Contemporary Flamenco Guitar

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Abstract:

This thesis consists of four chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. It asks the question as to how contemporary guitarists have negotiated the relationship between tradition and modernity. In particular, the thesis uses primary fieldwork materials to question some of the assumptions made in more ‘literary’ approaches to flamenco of so-called flamencología. In particular, the thesis critiques attitudes to so-called flamenco authenticity in that tradition by bringing the voices of contemporary guitarists to bear on questions of belonging, home, and displacement. The conclusion, drawing on the author’s own experiences of playing and teaching flamenco in the North East of England, examines some of the ways in which flamenco can generate new and lasting communities of affiliation to the flamenco tradition and aesthetic.

Declaration: I hereby certify that the attached research paper is wholly my own work, and that all quotations from primary and secondary sources have been acknowledged.

Signed: Francisco Javier Bethencourt Llobet

Date: 23rd November 2011
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# Rethinking Tradition: Towards an Ethnomusicology of Contemporary Flamenco Guitar

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Chapter 1:  
Flamenco Culture and Tradition: An Introduction

1.1 Why (not) Another General History of Flamenco as an ‘Authentic’ Andalusian Tradition?

Spain’s Iberian Peninsula is a multicultural space, explored and formed throughout history by a host of peoples, from Phoenicians, Carthaginians and Greeks, to Romans, Arabs, and Jews. Each contributed to the area’s current wealth of languages and traditions. Flamenco came to be associated with that Peninsula, its origins believed rooted in a particular area of what became known as Andalusia, the southernmost part of the Peninsula.¹ As stated by José Manuel Gamboa: “Flamenco, de Andalusía”.² As a product of Andalusia, flamenco absorbed and displayed the varied cultural influences of the area and came to reflect strong regionalist sentiment, being fiercely embraced by numerous interpreters and aficionados as an ‘authentic’ Andalusian-gypsy art form. Through the years, however, flamenco’s history has been contested, with flamencólogos (flamencologists), self-appointed or university-educated, arguing as to the nature of its roots and cultural meanings. According to some popular discourses, as Peter Manuel has suggested, flamenco “emerged in the late eighteenth century, primarly from the corpus of Andalusian folk music, stylized and redefined by gypsy professional musicians”.³ Some scholars, like Manuel, argue that flamenco resulted ‘from an ancient and private tradition which the gypsies brought with them [to Andalusia] when they migrated from India some six or more centuries ago,”⁴ while

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¹ According to Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, the concept of Andalusia is young compared to its history. For the flamenco specialists the origins of flamenco singing are rooted in a particular imaginary triangle that includes the cities of Jerez, Cádiz, Seville and Ronda. More historical information footnote 14.  
² José Manuel Gamboa, Una Historia del Flamenco (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2004). p. 528. In the last point of the conclusión 6.4, Flamenco Heritages, it will see how at present other autonomías consider flamenco as essential part f their own identity (Murcia, Extremadura, Sabadell…).  
⁴ Ibid.
others, like Luis Clemente, claim that, “flamenco is a young art, with only two centuries of existence [...].”

Timothy Mitchell has suggested that flamenco “deals with the diverse groups and individuals who created and propagated this style,” while La Real Academia de la Lengua (Royal Spanish Academy) – the official institution deemed responsible for regulating the diaspora’s Spanish language – currently recognizes flamenco as “certain socio-cultural manifestations generally associated with the gypsy communities from Andalusia.”

It was around 1860 “that flamenco was first used as a synonym for the gypsy pícaro,” explains José Luis Ortiz Nuevo. José Manuel Gamboa, moreover, has suggested other synonyms for flamenco such as gitano golfo, pícaro, inteligente, (farruco or fanfarrón in Felix Grande), as clever commercial denominations to unify what before were called cantes andaluses, bailes del país, canciones andaluzas, bailes de palillos, or canciones gitanas. As Israel J. Katz stated it was specifically the influential singer Antonio Mairena and his preference for certain Andalusian-gypsy song forms, which helped align flamenco so closely with gypsy sentiment. Flamenco, Katz explains, comprises a collection of different song types distinct to Andalusia – cante andaluz, cante gitano or cañi (‘gypsy song’) and cante hondo (‘deep song’) Lorca and Falla. Through Mairena, however, these specific Andalusian song types emerged as the traditional prototype, helping to freeze flamenco into a specified idiom, its diverse song types now mistakenly “used interchangeably” with the term flamenco itself.

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5 Flamenco es un arte joven, que goza de solamente dos siglos de existencia y, a partir de la adaptación de la guitarra, se ha encontrado en un constante fluir. [...] in Luis Clemente, ‘Flamenco un joven de 200 años’, flamenco-world online essay. www.flamenco-world.com (14th November 2006).
7 Academia de la Lengua web page: http://www.rae.es/ (13th March 2007), sees the concept historically as, “originating in, or native to Flanders [The Nederlands]”. As a result, La Real Academia de la Lengua asserts that flamenco “belong[s] to th[e] historic region of Europe.” This other historical definition has been used by many flamencologists to establish their theories about the origins of flamenco as a unified concept.
10 First, through the poets and musicians, Federico García Lorca and de Falla celebrated the famous *Concurso de Cante Jondo* in Granada in 1922. See more information in José Manuel Gamboa, *Una Historia del Flamenco* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2004), p. 204.
11 Antonio Mairena and Ricardo Molino, Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco (Sevilla: Librería Al-Andalus, 1971).
In relation to what is (and what is not) considered to be flamenco in different historical moments, dualities such as gypsy/non-gypsy, inherited/learnt, Andalusian/non-Andalusian, electric/un-plugged, are key binaries that I am going to analyse later in the thesis in order to have a better understanding of the complex ‘tradition’. Flamenco became a space of identity and these binaries have been used to construct a boundary around the tradition. More often than not, those who seek to define the territory of flamenco also seek to put themselves in the centre of that territory, as insiders, in order to render their own identity as a template for flamenco ‘authenticity’ more broadly. This critical concept of ‘authenticity’ will be central to this thesis, connecting concepts such us place/race/identity, displacement and technology.

Traditional songs and styles which represented different Andalusian areas, cities and races inside and outside the ‘imaginary triangle’ (south-west Andalusia) came to be defined under the single concept of flamenco. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson have also noted that when “actual places and localities become ever more blurred and indeterminate, ideas of culturally and ethnically distinct places become perhaps even more salient”.\(^\text{13}\) This notion helps us to understand how the ‘indetermination’ of flamenco connects to the Andalusian-gypsy construction of ‘community’.\(^\text{14}\) The politics of place in flamenco are realised in this manner where Andalusian gypsies emerge as an

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\(^\text{14}\) Historically, as previously mentioned, the Iberians and Phoenicians founded Gadir (Cádiz) one of the oldest cities of Europe. Celts, Tartessus, Carthaginians and Greek sailors also founded trading ports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula. The lands of what is conceptualised as ‘Andalusia’ today, were rich and attractive to invaders from many countries. When the Romans invaded the Peninsula, they transformed Andalusia into a colony called *Betis*. The location, on the river now called *Guadalquivir*, was essential for the trade of olive oil and wine. Through several Greek and Roman sources we know that the ‘*Puellae Gaditanae*’ (dancers from Cádiz and the Iberian Peninsula) went to perform in Rome. It is contested whether the folk music and dancing of this region were proto-flamenco. After the collapse of the Roman Empire and the successive waves of Visigoths and barbarian tribes from northern Europe, the region was at war until the Islamic warriors from Arabia and North Africa settled in the year 711 A.C. The region was then renamed ‘Al-Andalus’. The Arabic culture had an enormous input on the language, art and traditions of the area, as can be seen in the La Alhambra of Granada and The Mezquita in Córdoba. The Christian ‘Re-conquest’ by the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, did not finish until the end of the fifteenth century. It is at this historical moment that the regional politics would force various people to migrate. Different cultural groups then suffered displacement: Arabics, Moors, Jews and later poor Andalusian peasants. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the ‘discoverers’ of America brought to Iberia from the New World, stolen gold. At that time in its history, Seville was a prosperous city like New York is today. It sank into economic decline when European conflicts and the independence of the colonies in nineteenth and twentieth century once again displaced the Andalusian people. After the Napoleonic invasion, although Cádiz was never conquered by the French army, ‘Andalusia’s’ economy suffered from the effects of the independence movement in South America during the nineteenth century. More information in See ‘Andalusian People’ online at http://www.worldlingo.com/ma/enwiki/en/Andalusian_people. (February 2011)
imagined community’ to use Benedict Anderson’s now ubiquitous term. As previously mentioned, for gypsies, making flamenco was and is part of their identity – it is the music of their everyday life. This can be seen at present in gypsy/gachó family parties, weddings, peñas etc., where flamenco-gypsies call themselves primos (cousins), as if their ‘imaginary community’ were all one big ‘family’.15

One of the most powerful unifying symbols for a displaced people such as the Gypsies is place. Valentin Y Mudimbe suggests that “As a street is a place that a walker transforms into an active space, or as a text is a locus of organized signs obeying the logic of a proper place that every reader can change into an intellectual or aesthetic space of learning and enjoyment,” so too have the peñas become the “place to construct imaginatively [flamenco-gypsies] new lived world.”16 Historically, flamenco-gypsy musicians adapted themselves to different performance spaces:17 whether the baile de candil18 the theatre in Jerez in the nineteenth century,19 or the performances in the cafés cantantes in the flamenco ‘golden age’ and juergas (‘parties’) for señoritos, now the festivals.20 The Peña (flamenco club), for example, is a re-invention of the café cantante by the flamenco aficionado in the past century that came about as a way of keeping flamenco indoors for the local population. Although the café cantante of the ninetieth century could be similar to the actual tablao (show for tourists), the peña recreates the imaginary familiar place that the flamenco-gypsy ‘community’ lived at ‘home’.

Flamenco’s strong alignment to gypsy nationhood can, in part, be traced to the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939–1975), when flamenco was promoted as a political and social tool, used to establish a single national identity amidst Spain’s vast cultural diversity. The flamenco endorsed by Franco was far removed from the

15 See this perspective in Bernard Leblon, Gypsies and Flamenco: the Emergence of the Art of Flamenco in Andalusia (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2003). However, They are many gachós or peyorative called payos (non Andalusian-gypsies) which are consider authentic flamenco performers, for example, Paco de Lucía.
17 Flamenco left the theatre on many occasions and the last time that it came back to the Royal Theatre in Madrid, flamencos called it la ‘toma de la bastilla’. See the quote of Diego ‘El Cigala’ regarding the metaphor used by Paco de Lucía comparing it to ‘the taking of the bastille’, once he could play at the Royal Theatre of Madrid; a monumental space that had been closed to flamenco musicians. It is also possible to find this information on the double DVD of Paco de Lucía, filmed by Francisco Sánchez.
traditional styles indicative of Andalusia. The flamenco promoted was not the ‘deep
song’ (the seguiriya, soleá, etc.), but its most ‘commercial’ form – that from the feria
(the popular styles, for example, the sevillanas, which are danced in the Feria de Abril),
that still remains in the unconscious of those who are outsiders to flamenco culture.\footnote{21}
A rather contrived and capricious definition of flamenco emerged as a result, with
Andalusian distinctiveness absorbed into a ‘Spanish’ sentiment.\footnote{22} Flamenco had been a
powerful symbol of Andalusian identity.\footnote{23} Blurring flamenco’s Andalusian origins
encouraged protest from otherwise polarised Andalusian-gypsies, which led them to
hold, ever more stringently, to the notion that flamenco is an Andalusian-Spanish art
form.\footnote{24} Critical reconsiderations of this ‘authentic’ ownership have recently generated
concepts such as ‘re-Andalusiazation’ to explain the anxiety which will be developed in
the following chapters in relation to the concept of authenticity. According to Biddle
and Knights:

The re-territorialization of local heterogeneous music to nationalistic ends has
often signalled the death or near-fatal displacement of regional identities. In this
regard, the case of flamenco is interesting, especially since it was clearly a

\footnote{21} Spaces such as the Tablaos are considered places that put on a show for the tourists. However, in those
spaces, flamenco musicians absorb essential traditional skills. Nowadays, it is still not easy for traditional
musicians, aficionados and institutions to recognise the value of these spaces.

\footnote{22} Blurring the lines of Andalusian origins as a cultural context for flamenco combined with the
movement of the artists to the capital and Cataluña, nullified the idea of Andalusian identity. Suppressing
regional differences in support of a common, united identity was exactly what the regime was searching
for. Flamenco fell into the net and acquired, subsequently, another identity. With flamenco established as
an authentic “Spanish” art form by Franco and promoted as such by the dictator, the outside world also
came to view flamenco as reflecting an ‘authentic’ Spain. Tourists now arrived, demanding the ‘Spanish’
exotism and intrigue it now associated with flamenco. This contributed to raising knowledge of a
particular “flamenco” seen performed publicly – ‘outdoors’ – while, ‘indoors’, anti-flamenco feeling ran
high: because of its perceived association with Franco’s regime, many people came to hate flamenco.
However, there still existed another ‘red’ flamenco that was anti-system; the one of Menesse, Enrique
Morente, etc., poets, who, with their songs ,were fighting the regime.

\footnote{23} See an example in the work of Cristina Cruces Roldán, a social anthropologist, who wrote a collection
of papers entitled Antropología y Flamenco: Más allá de la Música. Her research focuses mainly on
Andalusia and the concept of identity.

\footnote{24} At the same time that Andalusians promoted “flamenco as a universal art” (which was presented as
such as a part of the Cultural Heritage of Mankind by Unesco), they also reacted by reclaiming flamenco
as their own – “the Art of their region”. More information about the concept of ‘re-Andalusiazation’ in
Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights (eds.), Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location, Hampshire,
Burlington: Ashgate, 2007, p. 12.) Considering flamenco to be an essential part of Andalusian’s identity,
the aficionados still attempted to preserve “their traditions” in peñas (private clubs) – distinctly separating
flamenco from the tourist and public versions. For this community, flamenco was not only entertainment.
Rather it serves to “communicate cultural goals and understanding” of the “unique” cultural history of
Andalusia (Quintana and Floyd, 1972, p. 68). Trying to preserve flamenco as an “Andalusian-Universal
art form, they have – apart from performing at international festivals such as the Bienal in Savile –
invested in and promoted flamenco performances in local peñas with the idea of keeping traditional
flamenco “free” from “commercialization”. As the gypsies introduced the term payo to define non-gypsy
flamenco performers, (which as translated as “the other” was clearly a “disparaging way of saying “not
gypsy”), traditional flamencos in further efforts to separate flamenco from outside consumption fuelled
the debate of ownership.
victim of a long and focused campaign during the Franco regime to appropriate it as a national trope in constructing a homogeneous and specifically Spanish national popular music. [...] since the transition to democracy and the emergence of Autonomías, flamenco has embarked on a process that may be termed somewhat clumsily ‘Re-Andalusianization’.  

Biddle and Knights slightly overstate the situation here, since, as I will show, there is value in thinking about flamenco during and after the transition not as ‘re-traditionalised’ (or, in Biddle and Knights’s terms ‘re-andalusianized’) but as taking up a more fluid (but no less committed) relation to the idea of tradition.

1.2 Introduction to the Field: Methodological and Theoretical Approaches

My appreciation for flamenco started during early childhood. I was not born in Andalusia, nor was I born to a gypsy family. Rather, I grew up in a southern cultural and geographical context – in the Canary Islands, where flamenco emerged as a result of the tourist industry. I began piano lessons at the age of seven, encouraged by my father's family who were sure I had inherited their musical talents. My earliest training was in Spanish folk and popular songs, which were not only taught during my weekly lessons but shared by both my mother and father. My mother would regularly sing in the home and in the car, and took special care to teach me her favourite folk tunes, which my father also played on his Spanish guitar. My father, who studied law in Granada, was a guitarist who often performed Anglo-American and Latin American songs in the gypsy caves in Sacromonte and near the Albaicín in Granada.

My father rarely played flamenco in the caves, a reluctance largely due to Franco's decision to appropriate flamenco for political means. According to my father, “when we were young we had an anti-system thinking and we associated flamenco with the national music of the Franco dictatorship.” My father was not alone in his choice to turn away from flamenco. Many Spanish musicians, even flamenco musicians, particularly those of left-wing political persuasion, preferred to play Latin American

26 “Cuando éramos jóvenes teníamos un pensamiento anti sistema ya que asociábamos el flamenco con el régimen franquista, así que preferíamos tocar música latinoamericana y anglosajona.” Fausto Bethencourt Morell, Interview in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (May 2010).
music, British rock, and American blues (for example, Raimundo Amador);\textsuperscript{27} their change in preference constituted a public refusal to follow Franco’s politics. A new globalised music thus emerged, one that may have borrowed from flamenco, but, in its adoption of world and popular music genres, is better defined as a ‘hybrid’, a mixture of styles and traditions and able to cross genres with renewed ease and expectation. This ‘hybrid’ music was conceptualised at the time as ‘Nuevo Flamenco’.\textsuperscript{28} However, it has to be asserted/stated early in the chapter that flamenco is founded paradoxically upon a tradition of porosity and that contemporary flamenco practice is constantly pulled between innovation and tradition, where ‘tradition’ also means hybridity and innovation.

It is ironic that I have now dedicated my life to studying and preserving the tradition after hearing my father denounce flamenco. I became particularly interested in flamenco during my years as an undergraduate student, while studying musicology at the University of Granada. My interest grew to the point that I began taking lessons in learning to play flamenco guitar, working with a variety of teachers in Granada's famous neighbourhood of El Realejo. Interestingly, my goal of studying very traditional flamenco was not fully reached – the flamenco I learned was itself a hybrid of styles, transformed specifically by jazz. Indeed, the musicians I studied with in El Realejo, like my father, had also chosen to move away from strict flamenco traditions in response to Franco's dictatorship.

After four years in Granada, I attended the Universities of Edinburgh and Mendoza (Argentina), where I specialised in ethnomusicology. Although the focus of my postgraduate studies was Latino-American and Spanish folk forms, my passion for flamenco was never far behind. Following graduation, I returned to Granada, now with a new-found commitment to pursue flamenco through ethnomusicological analysis.\textsuperscript{29} I

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{27} Raimundo Amador, flamenco-blues guitarist, will be analysed in chapter 2 in the collaboration with Tomatito in ‘mundi’ Guitarra Gitana album.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} The Spanish generation born in the 1940s-1960s, opened themselves up to other musical fields: popular music, world music and other hybrid forms of music. They crossed boundaries through their collaborations with jazz, Bossanova, Latin and Rock musicians from other countries. For example, Camarón, Enrique Morente, Paco de Lucia, Los Habichuelas and their sons with the Ketama band.
  \item \textsuperscript{29} I began my research with the idea that, by being situated within the culture I was studying, I could represent ‘authentically real’ information about its music and associated symbolic values. Nevertheless, I felt as though I was chasing ‘shadows in the field’. See the work of other anthropologists and ethnomusicologists such as Steven Feld, who himself observed a particular African culture (Steven Feld, ‘Sound as Symbolic System: The Kaluli Drum’, in \textit{The Varieties of Sensory Experience. A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses}, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991 p. 79 – 99. In Spanish, \textit{Las Culturas Musicales}, translated by Francisco Cruces (Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2001), helped me to
\end{itemize}
set about commencing new fieldwork; and at the same time I began work in a guitar maker workshop-academy, where I had the honour to study with the flamenco maestro, Paco Cortés.

I thereby assumed the unlikely double position of being both ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’. I was able – through my studies with Cortés and Núñez and by performing flamenco in Spain and UK mainly– to assume an ‘insider’ role, becoming part of the flamenco community by becoming an active flamenco guitar performer. Yet I remained an ‘outsider’, by the mere fact that I was not born as Andalusian or gypsy. I did not grow up with flamenco but rather came to the art form via the ‘unconventional’ (inauthentic?) route of education. This self-position of ‘insider’/’outsider’ stems from both my personal identity construction and this fluid binary of tradition and innovation. This double position in relation to the concept of ‘authenticity’ is going to be central in the conclusion of the thesis, where a more auto-ethnographic voice is used.

In relation to the duality of ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’, Timothy Rice confirms that the dichotomy of emic (‘insider’) and etic (‘outsider’) perspectives comes from the discipline of linguistics, yet, it “has loomed large in ethnomusicology theory”. The concept of ‘outsider’ can already be found in Alan Merriam’s Anthropology of Music, in his description of the double perspective on jazz:

While from the standpoint of the outsider, the members of the Jazz community appear fearful and withdrawn [...] to the jazzman and his devoted followers it is a good and satisfying life filled with many regards.31

In Merriam’s writing, the duality of the view of the outsider and the insider cannot be reconciled. However, recent authors such as Jeff Todd Titon and Michael B. Bakan suggest that the experience of contemporary ethnomusicologists, when participating as both a fieldworker and a music-maker, is common to all and thus important for academics to understand.32 On the whole, I agree with this argument and think that ethnomusicologists who are part of the music performances they are analysing are

sometimes thereby able to develop a unique understanding of the music’s rituals and insider cultural meanings. This complex duality is crucial to my approach to the flamenco guitar culture and tradition. I want to ask, in particular, how this dual complexity can be linked to the practice in a critical scholarly manner and thereby contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationship between the ideological investments of the scholar-author in her or his field. I want to develop, that is, a more fluid inter-subjective location of the ethnographer – not as an objective outsider but as someone in the unique position of being able to deploy both an outsider’s and an insider’s perspective in a critical and reflexive relation. As a researcher and guitarist, I have gained a particular perspective on flamenco practice and have had the opportunity to interview a number of contemporary flamenco musicians, including Vicente Amigo, Juan Manuel Cañizares and Gerardo Núñez. I have noted how they negotiate the relationships between tradition and innovation with new musical influences and have been privy to intimate conversations with the musicians openly discussing and even arguing about the current role of flamenco. I have also been part of flamenco performances that highlight traditional flamenco, while others introduce new, hybrid forms, with audience members sometimes walking out in protest.\(^{33}\)

From the pull of tradition and globalisation in flamenco, a common theme emerges in this thesis in relation to authenticity. I attempt to analyse and re-construct ideas implicit and explicit in flamenco, including the contributions of Andalusian-gypsies in the second chapter, those of non-gypsies in the third chapter and, in the fourth chapter, non-Andalusian flamencos. All of them, ‘authentic’ guitar players, have encountered the tension between tradition and late-modernity and this is reflected in their contemporary playing styles.\(^{34}\)

I am particularly interested in how rhythm and compás have been used by gypsy

\(^{33}\) For example, as occurred in Tomatito’s and Michelle Camilo’s concert mentioned in the next chapter in relation to the globalising dynamics that Spain has been dealing with since the transition to democracy (from 1975-1978).

\(^{34}\) In this research I attempt to analyse and deconstruct many romantic ideas implicit and explicit in traditional flamenco from both inside and outside Spain. For example, I look at the contribution of gypsies, payos (non-gypsy), and foreigners to flamenco practice. This came from systematic ethnomusicological approaches to ‘other’ cultures: ideas of duality (‘insider’ – ‘outsider’ status) and the ‘objective’ position of the fieldworker. I also wanted to approach some of the ‘insider’ discourses on flamenco, identity and ownership issues: flamenco as a racial and non racial vernacular of the art of music (sung, played and danced by both amateur and professional musicians); flamenco as a way of life in different communities; and flamenco providing a concentrated scene for the elaboration of discourses on authenticity.
flamenco musicians to put boundaries between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’. As a payo guitarist (a non-gypsy from outside Andalusia) I had a variety of experiences playing at gypsy weddings, some positive, where the wedding guests accepted me as a non-gypsy; others not so positive, with wedding guests questioning my involvement. At one gypsy wedding I attended, my Roma friend Jesús Heredia told me, “Of course, you are payo and el periodista de los gitanos” (‘the gypsies’ journalist’). His words made me immediately self-conscious. It was clear at that moment that I looked like an outsider with my minidisk recorder hanging so easily over my shoulder, a heavy reminder to everyone that my reasons for attending the wedding differed radically from theirs.

At the party following the wedding I had the opportunity to play alegrias de Cádiz with the grandfather of Heredia’s family. They asked me to accompany them in a Soleá (a 12 beat rhythm considered to be the ‘mother’ of flamenco singing, see the Appendix). Although they liked my style, they quickly remarked that it was ‘unusual’. “Where did you learn to play the flamenco guitar?” they asked feverishly. Again, I felt like an outsider. As a flamenco musician, who, as a non-gypsy, learned the art from my father’s unusual mix of styles and developed an appreciation for flamenco during University, I was clearly an ‘other’.

My materials for this thesis were garnered over a period of ten years, reflecting interviews and coaching sessions, recorded in the streets, at flamenco parties and at festivals. My tools for analysis include primarily the cultural-theoretical frames of Appadurai, Clifford, Geertz, Hall and Middleton. These are fundamental to this work and will be dealt with later in subsequent chapters. However, it necessary to explain, as mentioned above, that the concept of authenticity is central to this work and that it is will link the different cultural issues of: place, race and identity; the transmission of knowledge; displacement and creolization; technology; and their role in defining the flamenco ‘tradition’. Taking into account the dualities discussed above, it has to be asserted that the use of the concept of ‘authenticity’ in relation to flamenco is relative both spatially and temporally. However, the person/musician who is identifying her/himself with the space of flamenco is also integral to the construction of that

‘tradition’.

The term ‘tradition’ is culturally complex: culture is in motion, where rites and customs are transmitted from generation to generation, changing and transforming according to new needs. The work of David B. Coplan, for example, is useful in this regard. In relation to his work in South Africa, Coplan mentions:

“Explaining what I mean requires a reexamination of the concept of musical ‘tradition’, a term it is now just sort of impossible to use without quarantine between quotation marks. Tradition is a core concept common to ethnology, folklore, and ethnomusicology, and its use has reined current and indispensable despite its inherent contradictions, doubtful empirical status and ideological entanglements.”

For Coplan’s concept, the central contradiction in ‘tradition’ revolves around the social and historical origins of the concept, “in opposition to its status in both native and scholarly discourse as something immutable […] but analysing contemporary examples, forms, values – traditions are changing […] Further, performance traditions as reified forms of identity are rarely unitary, and their status is often a matter of who claims them, under which conditions, and for what purposes within the dynamics of internal and external relations of social power.”

As we will see in the following chapters the concept of ‘tradition’ is very contradictory in the flamenco context(s). For example, in an interview with the flamenco guitarist Juan Manuel Cañizares:

“I think flamenco has suffered from the prestige of ignorance. If you could not read, you were more flamenco. If you didn’t know other music, you were more flamenco. I think those are now obsolete opinions, which don’t make sense nowadays. […] The prestige of ignorance has done a lot of damage to flamenco [tradition]. Fortunately, there are now people with their eyes open wider.”

In this quote, the concepts of ‘authenticity’ and ‘tradition’ are tied together. The guitarist is very critical of certain flamencos but also he is describing attitudes/discourses traditionally attached to flamenco(s). Flamenco works as a signifier of ‘authenticity’. I am not a Lacanian but I agree with the views held by some

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37 Ibid.
Newcastle colleagues, for example, Richard Elliot when he analyse other culture/idiom(s) like Fado which also works as a signifier of authenticity in the Portuguese context. As we will see in the next chapter, the subjective changeable and problematic concept of ‘authenticity’ in relation to flamenco and gypsy culture mutated as ‘the real thing’ in Richard Middleton’s complex analysis concerning popular music. Flamenco had to deal with the ‘authenticity’ concept in the context of a time where, as John Lennon put it, ‘Rock ‘n’ roll was real and everything else was unreal […]’.

Flamenco music was reshaped in the glare of this new international ‘Real’ (Middleton refers in his usage here to the Lacanian notion of the Real) by its protagonists and by the media. ‘Traditional’ flamenco was ‘authentic’ but the La Leyenda del Tiempo and the Nuevo Flamenco was also the Authentic, the new Real. In Flamenco the concept of ‘authenticity’ can be applied with two different meanings in a same project. A flamenco musician can be ‘authentic’ to the template ‘tradition’ but also at the same time can be ‘authentic’ to his own project which is very avant-guard for that tradition. (The example of La Leyenda de Tiempo album will be analysed in the second chapter). Similar approach can be seen in Richard Peterson’s work on country music, Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity as a dialectic ‘hard core’ and ‘soft shell’ styles explained by Richard Elliot in Fado and the Place of Longing.

In this thesis, the concept of ‘authenticity’ is related with other the concepts such as ‘displacement’ and ‘creolization’. Are flamenco(s) born in new cultural contexts outside Andalusia/Spain ‘(in-)authentic’ flamencos? With a strong interest in globalisation, my advisors have included Carolina Robertson (Argentina / Peñíscola), Ramon Pelinski (Argentina / Girona), Nanette de Jong (United States / United Kingdom), and Peter Manuel (United States / La Habana, Cuba). From Robertson I not only learnt gender theory, but I learnt of its importance to the understanding of the art of flamenco guitar, where women have been largely excluded. From Pelinski, I learnt not

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41 Created by the producer Mario Pacheco.
only about *diaspora* and nomadic tango but how postmodern, or late-modern thought (according to Jameson), has affected some of the key theoretical perspectives, aims and research questions of recent ethnomusicology. It is very interesting to ask in the ‘new’ flamenco context(s) whether we can speak about *diaspora* as well as displacement. Traditionally the concept of *diaspora* has referred to the traumatic relocation of ‘a people’ to ‘an-Other’ place for example, Arabian and Jewish *diasporas* and other contemporary large-scale trans-national displacements (for example, the Holocaust). For many *flamencos* the displacement within the Iberian Peninsula was both traumatic and diasporic. From Nanette de Jong I learnt much about how to write and also about displacement and ‘creolization’ theories which are applied in later chapters. Ian Biddle and Peter Manuel showed me how I could write about flamenco complex tradition from a new perspective (one from outside Spain), such as that provided by Peter Manuel, Timothy Mitchell and William Washabaugh.

I have engaged with the theoretical approaches of a number of Spanish and non-Spanish academics and other specialists on contemporary flamenco in order to build a bridge between the academic English literature on flamenco and the ‘insider’ perspective on flamenco culture including the material of a number of flamenco specialists such as Jose Luis Ortiz Nuevo, Jose Manuel Gamboa, Luis Clemente, Norberto Torres and Faustino Núñez. These writers and musicians have been working included a chapter ‘Woman and the Guitarra Flamenca’, about the female flamenco guitarist. (Loren Chuse, Chapter 7: ‘Woman and the Flamenco Guitar’ in Cantaoras: *Music, Gender and Identity in Flamenco Song*, New York and London: Routledge, 2003.) In flamenco, gender roles seem to be well established – as in other Hispanic and Mediterranean cultures. Spanish society (both non-gypsy and gypsy) continues to be very sexist, and not only sexist towards gypsy women, but towards women in general. Although a change in society took place after the transition to democracy, it cannot be ignored that the previous generation suffered during Franco’s dictatorship. Women were not accepted in different spaces such as Cuartos, etc. (See Juquina Labajo, ‘The Construction of Gender in Flamenco’, in *Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*, Tullia Magrini (ed.), London: University of Chicago Press, 2003, pp. 67–86.)

45 Ramón Pelinski, ‘Etnomusicologia en la Edad Posmoderna’, in *Invitación a la Etnomusicología* (Spain: Akal/ Musicología, 2000). Some contemporary ethnomusicology texts have triumphed in theoretical sophistication, critical power and social relevancy when measured by how they have become free from the often oppressive links with tradition that ethno and historical musicology works have supported. The mentioned ‘liberated’ texts look for inspiration in the postmodern theories of post structuralism, post-colonialism, post-marxism and of the critical feminist. Therefore, concepts such as late-modernity and Postmodernism will mean different things for different persons who live in different cultural contexts.
to deconstruct many of the attributes attached to ‘traditional’ flamenco.\textsuperscript{47} However, to have an overall understanding of their viewpoints it is also essential to take into account the work of sociologists and ethnomusicologists such as Gerhard Steingress, Diana Perez Custodio and Miguel Ángel Berlanga, Cristina Cruces Roldán, who have provided more anthropological, sociological and ethnomusicological accounts of flamenco from ‘the field.’\textsuperscript{48} The work of the Anglo-American academics such as James Clifford and Clifford Geertz, has helped me articulate my own position within the transatlantic debate on flamenco culture.

Having taken on board the cultural issues and taken into account the research question of how the contemporary musicians negotiate the relationship between tradition and modernity, this thesis finds a valuable place in relation to the field, arguing that the extant literature on flamenco either considers practitioners but turns out to be journalistic, or that it is academic and theoretical but does not fully consider the place of practice and practitioners. The majority of the literature that connects with flamenco practitioners is normally informed by ‘insiders’ who have a more journalistic approach. Conversely, this approach is very useful for developing an understanding of the artists’ views, for example, in the flamenco journals (\textit{El Olivo Flamenco}, \textit{La Caña}, \textit{El Canon}) and flamenco websites such as (deflamenco.com, flamenco-world.com and tristeyazul.com). I agree with Norberto Torres when he states:

\begin{quote}
The reader interested in searching information about this topic in which we are interested [Flamenco] will have problems finding the material. Being a hot topic, it will appear in hundred of journals articles, specialized magazines, international web pages, with a fast media treatment but without a deep research, analysis or a reflexive thought about the contemporary flamenco guitar.\textsuperscript{49}
\end{quote}

Yet, the main thrust of my research lies with the musicians themselves. Apart

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\textsuperscript{47} José Luis Ortiz Nuevo, Alegato Contra la Pureza (España: Barataria, 2010); José Manuel Gamboa and P. Calvo, \textit{Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco El Duende de Ahora}. (Madrid: Guía de música, 1994) and Luis Clemente, \textit{Flamenco!!! De evolución}. (Sevilla: Lapislázuli, 2002).
\textsuperscript{48} Cristina Cruces Roldán, ‘Más allá de la Música: Antrología y Flamenco.’ Signatura ediciones. Cristina Cruces is doctor and social anthropology lecturer at the University of Seville included in this books concepts, such as “\textit{Sociabilidad colectiva}” (Collective sociability), meaning the ways communities interacted and how that interaction applies to the flamenco community. Her research focuses mainly on Andalusia and the concept of Identity.
\end{flushright}
from all the guitar makers and musicians that I met living in Granada, I also met Gerardo Núñez at ‘home’ in Gran Canaria after he performed at the Maestros en Guitarra festival. After speaking with Núñez, I decided that, in order to be able to absorb the culture and gain deeper knowledge of it, I needed to go to Sánlucar (Cádiz) to study within the Andalusian milieu. In pursuit of the maestros, I also travelled to the north to find the gypsy flamenco guitarist, Tomatito and Michel Camilo playing at a Jazz-Flamenco concert in Pamplona and, in order to interview Juan Manuel Cañizares and Vicente Amigo, I visited many guitar festivals because these flamenco musicians travel the world all year around. These ‘authentic’ flamenco guitarists, who are inbetween the ‘authentic’ tradition and innovation are apposite models/examples to help us develop a bigger picture of the flamenco tradition.

To conclude this section, in this work I have tried not to have a unidirectional perspective but to remain aware of the theoretical implications of analysing flamenco from within another cultural framework. Bearing in mind that “the ethnographic authority breaks in the social anthropology of the twentieth century”, my work gives preference to the contributions received by flamencos (a term in Spanish meaning not only the musicians, but including those more broadly involved in the flamenco community – audiences, aficionados and so on), from Almería, Granada, Sanlúcar-Madrid and Barcelona. I wanted to link their experiences – their ‘realities’ – and how they see their ‘culture and tradition’, with my subjective analysis through an ethnographic analysis. The main contribution of the thesis to the field has been the cultural analysis approach acquired in the new cultural context (Newcastle University) after the deep previous ethnomusicological fieldwork made mainly in Spain and later in the UK for the conclusion. The final idea of the project was not only presenting and describing the results of flamenco fieldwork but to theorise the findings and put them into practice. The concept of authenticity central to the whole work will help to link the cultural issues which I will be dealing with in the following chapters on: place/race/identity, transmission of knowledge, displacement/creolization and technology, always having in mind the main argument that flamenco is founded paradoxically upon a tradition of porosity and that contemporary flamenco practice is constantly pulled between innovation and tradition, where ‘tradition’ also means hybridity and innovation.

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1.3 Outline of the Research

So far, this first chapter has introduced a re-appraisal of the history of flamenco where questions about the origins of the term and the ‘Andalusian’ tradition were analysed and the author’s particular dual approach to the field of study was discussed. Cultural concepts such us place, identity, race, displacement and ownership in flamenco are explored in the following chapters, emphasizing how relative definitions of ‘flamenco’ which became “accepted” norms in the twentieth century, and how those concepts’ boundaries began to blur at the turn of the twenty-first century in relation to authenticity.

To do such an analysis in the main body of the work, I focus on a particular generation of flamenco guitarists (see Appendix 1), who were considered the ‘novísimos’ (new wave in playing). They are important because they are perfect models for analysis emphasising the cultural aspects of the (contemporary) flamenco tradition. These guitarists serve as a convincing archetype in the study of the cultural aspects of race, identity and displacement. All of these ‘authentic’ guitarists began their career in the traditional role of accompanist, working in the traditional peña (flamenco club), accompanying flamenco singers and dancers performing the traditional flamenco palos (rhythms and harmonic patterns). However, they began ‘moving away’ from that traditional role by establishing the guitar as a solo flamenco instrument and then by mixing flamenco with other popular musical styles such as jazz. Paradoxical as it may seem, the changes spearheaded by these guitarists, although initially greeted with surprise and dislike, have since become accepted as part of the ‘authentic’ flamenco tradition. An analysis of Tomatito, Núñez, Cañizares and Vicente Amigo, therefore, provides a window through which to explore the complex issues of tradition and innovation, ultimately pointing to flamenco as a cultural and historical construct, so to speak, always in motion. The thesis explores the ways in which contemporary flamenco culture is subject to constant cultural and epistemological evolution. This evolution can be traced in flamenco guitar culture itself despite the fact that some practitioners think

52 The contemporary flamenco guitarists I am researching have been widely influenced by traditional flamenco, and by the previous innovative generation, who were born in the 1940s. This flamenco generation has lived in the shadow of the tree of the flamenco revolution – with Paco de Lucía, Manolo Sanlucar and Serranito as its branches.
of both the art and the culture as stable entities. Previous writings on the flamenco guitar have tended to focus on the evolution of the musicians (drawing on evolutionary theories of writers) and have not left much room for thinking about the cultural dimensions.

Because traditionally, from both an insider’s and outsider’s perspective, flamenco has been associated exclusively with the gypsy Roma communities from Andalusia, for those wanting to play flamenco it has been suggested (and sometimes required) that they live and be part of that gypsy, Andalusian community, appointed arbiters of flamenco creation, interpretation, and practice.\(^5^3\) Even taking into account the re-definition of flamenco performance in the last quarter of the twentieth century, along with the acquisition of new musical elements (electric-bass, cajón...) and meanings, a continuity of the tradition is still observable. However, if the development of the modern flamenco style of playing is analysed at the beginning of the twenty-first century, a diversification is also found. Flamenco artists have continued easily crossing their natural and virtual borders and they have made collaborations with other musicians from other cultures – acquiring other sounds, forms and harmonies. Many new influences have reached this music, and caused complex debates attending the notion of ‘authenticity’ in flamenco practice. Currently, the contemporary flamenco guitar is studied on all continents, but is principally oriented in one particular Eurocentric direction (Andalusia, Spain out to the rest of the world). In Chapter two, I propose an analysis of some of the traditional and popular music influences in contemporary flamenco playing. To understand the exchanges between flamenco, popular music or world popular music (jazz, Latin-Jazz, etc.) called ‘Nuevo Flamenco’, it is essential to consider Tomatito – an ‘authentic’ Andalusian-Roma musician the generation of guitar players after Paco de Lucía, who has helped redefine this musical idiom. Thanks to new fieldwork carried out in Spain and to the contributions from this particular flamenco musician, I am able to contrast this unique musical development in flamenco guitar playing synchronically with different discourses of cultural studies.

After various interpretations of flamenco culture and tradition, taking into account the Roma perspective, Chapter three deals with issues about the transmission of knowledge. The aural/oral transmission and elaboration of knowledge is essential to the

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development of any musician. For flamenco guitarists, however, that transfer of knowledge has particular complexities. As stated previously, flamenco, as some would believe, is a talent into which one is ‘born’ and not a skill that is acquired, learned and transmitted. This chapter examines the complexities in the transmission of flamenco knowledge, introducing the guitarist Gerardo Núñez as a gachó/payo model born in a ‘flamenco’ cultural context. Chapter three also introduces recordings and other sources as tools for learning flamenco. Absorbing and assimilating a variety of music into his flamenco approach, Núñez, for example, established a new set of practices in flamenco. By analysing Núñez’s musical and personal life we are provided with an opportunity to explore current and past notions regarding flamenco as an exclusively ‘inherited’ music where musicians are born into the role of flamenco guitarist. In addition, we are given a chance to explore how flamenco developed a hybrid-style, rejected at one point in its history for its inclusion of ‘other’ musical styles but then later embraced as a symbol of Andalusian culture. We can also trace how an Andalusian art form found its place in the more general ‘popular music’ category, attracting musicians throughout the world to travel to Spain to ‘learn’ flamenco. Theories of place become particularly important in this discussion, which explores ideas of the representation and re-imagination of place, regionalisation, and cultural relocation.

Chapter four deals with flamenco culture and tradition in relation to issues of displacement and identity. Flamenco musicians, through their particular travel history, have been constantly on the move. I present research on flamenco musicians who were born in ‘other’ new-flamenco cultural contexts. These musicians are not Andalusian, but at the same time they have a strong relationship with the traditions and culture of that autonomia. The flamenco guitarist Juan Manuel Cañizares, who was born in Sabadell, is a model for discussion. Apart from his Catalanian origin, this contemporary flamenco guitarist has been chosen because of his dual cultural music education. The migration from Andalusia to Catalonia made the Cañizares family redefine ‘home’ with other Andalusian families. I went to Sabadell/Barcelona to find out how the ‘Andaluso-Catalan families’ felt themselves to be in relation to Andalusian flamencos. To analyse multi-identity issues in relation to a global displacement, I looked at musicians who

travel, perform and teach in places like New York and Japan. Many flamenco artists move to cities such as Madrid, Barcelona, London or New York, places ideal for their sound studios, venues for performing and for the travel opportunities between the different continents. However, due to the phenomenon of immigration, displacement and *diaspora* (as conceptualized by Professor Pelinski in *Nomadic Tango*), I am able to analyse flamenco in those places in which it is lived, created and performed and to discover how musicians identify themselves with it using creolization theories. The examples of Sabadell/Barcelona and Madrid as multi-cultural spaces and of Cañizares as a model help to provide a wider picture of the tradition when displaced.

The last quarter of the twentieth century has seen a re-definition of the ‘flamenco sound’, due mainly to the use of new musical and recording instruments, to effects associated with other music styles and to the appropriation of ‘non-flamenco’ performance spaces and practices. Similarly, the beginning of the twenty-first century has witnessed the continued modification of the tradition via new technology which both creates and reflects new ways of playing, singing and dancing flamenco. In chapter five, I will analyse how practitioners have continued to cross both physical and technological borders, collaborating with other musicians, acquiring different sounds, and developing new concepts of flamenco performance and how the use of technology can be used to define an ‘authenticity’. In the final chapter, I propose a twist in the way in which flamenco has been analysed into the wider popular world music scene via recorded and live sound performance. In order to do this I focus on a personal project and my experience of playing live in the UK to see how musicians / practitioners changed from being the ‘in-authentic’ within one context of practice, to being the ‘authentic emissary’ representative in a new geographical context. The cultural issues seen in previous chapters on displacement and the transmission of knowledge in relation to ‘authenticity’ are embodied in my own experience. Coming to the different cultural environment of Newcastle upon Tyne, and working there in a creative and rich musical scene, flamenco and the flamenco collective has made itself a place of encounter with other local folk and popular musics.

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56 See, for example, other flamenco guitarists like Paco Peña who lives in London or Paco de Lucia who lived in Yucatán, Mexico for more than five years. (See his double DVD: *Paco de Lucia, Francisco Sánchez – Paco de Lucia*, Spain: Universal Music, 2003).
Chapter 2: Flamenco and Troubles of ‘Authenticity’

When a musician has been recognised as a considerable talent in flamenco, and if that musician is a *gitano* (‘Spanish gypsy Roma’), the concept of race soon becomes paramount, and questions of ownership and ‘authenticity’ come into play. Traditionally, from an outsider perspective (non-flamenco practitioner or *aficionado*), the flamenco genre has been associated exclusively with the gypsy Roma communities from Andalusia, with Andalusians the appointed leaders in flamenco creation, interpretation, and practice. For those wanting to play flamenco, it has been implied that they must live and be part of the gypsy Andalusian community. As previously mentioned in the introduction for many Spanish Roma/gypsies and non gypsies, “flamenco is more than music—it is a way of living.”

The topic of race and ownership in flamenco in relation to the concept of ‘authenticity’ is explored in this chapter, emphasizing how definitions of ‘flamenco’ and the role of the flamenco guitarists became well established in the early twentieth centuries, and how those boundaries began to blur at the turn of the twenty-first century. José Fernández Torres (a.k.a ‘Tomatito’) is introduced as an important figure driving this transformation of thought. An authentic gypsy flamenco guitarist of Andalusian decent, Tomatito serves as a convincing archetype in the study of race and ownership.

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2 For this perspective, see Bernard Leblon, *Gypsies and Flamenco: the Emergence of the Art of Flamenco in Andalusia* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2003).
4 My full name is José Fernández Torres. I was born on 20th August 1958 in the Pescadería neighbourhood of Almería […] I compose, I am a flamenco guitarist but I’m interested in all musical genres. I am a lover of music in general. […] Nací el 20 del 8 del 58. Nací en el Barrio de la Pescadería, el Almería. Hombre, compongo mis cosas, soy guitarrista flamenco interesado por todos los géneros de música. Soy un enamorado de la música en general […] Tomatito, interview with author, Pamplona Auditorium, October 2006.
He began his career in the traditional role of guitar accompanist, working in the traditional peña (flamenco society), accompanying flamenco singers and dancers performing the traditional flamenco palos (rhythms and harmonic patterns). As mentioned in the introduction with other guitarists of this generation but considered a voice of gypsy ‘authenticity,’ Tomatito surprised his own family and fans when he began ‘moving away’ from that traditional role by establishing the guitar as a solo flamenco instrument and mixing flamenco with other popular musical styles like jazz. Paradoxical as it may seem, the changes spearheaded by Tomatito, although initially greeted with surprise and dislike, have since become accepted as part of a new flamenco tradition. An analysis of Tomatito, therefore, provides an advantageous window by which to explore the complex issues of tradition and innovation, ultimately pointing to ‘authenticity’ in flamenco as a cultural and historical construction, always in motion.

2.1 Tomatito as Traditionalist: Place, Race and Compás

Almería, Andalucía’s most eastern province, boasts two main gypsy families involved in flamenco: the family of the ‘Joseles’, which has given us professional flamenco guitarists such as Niño Josele; and the families of ‘Tomates’. Miguel ‘El Tomate’ had two sons who were guitarists: Niño Miguel and Antonio Fernández, also called ‘El Tomate,’ who is Tomatito’s father. Miguel ‘El Tomate’ is Tomatito’s grandfather from Almería. As part of a family “representing an Almería tree root in flamenco tradition”

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6 As Tomatito told me in Pamplona “ My parents, my uncle “Niño Miguel” and my grandfather Miguel “El Tomate,” father of him [Niño Miguel] and of my father. In my house there has always been a culture of flamenco music. And it is easier to devote yourself to something if you actually like the guitar and guitar music which you have been listening to, as I have always experienced at home. Then it is easier than not having anyone; although it is also still possible. But there, at home, is where as a child you absorb everything, the vocation and the love of the instrument - and it is a little bit easier. You just pick up a guitar and you learn from your family flamenco musical culture […]”. Tomatito, interview with author, Pamplona Auditorium, October 2006.

7 For generations, his family - which has an inherent musical tradition, particularly of guitar playing - has been linked to Almería. His grandfather Miguel Fernández Cortés - “El Tomate” - was well-known at the turn of the century, where he played duets with his brother Antonio at private parties and at Almería’s traditional music evenings. His father, José Fernández Castro, also known as “El Tomate”, was a guitar enthusiast at home and played the clarinet in the city’s Municipal Band. His brothers, and therefore Tomatitos’ uncles, were Antonio, who played the bandurria as a youngster and later developed his career as a guitarist in France, playing for well-known artists such as Paco Isidro, and also Miguel; and “Niño Miguel”, who became a virtuoso classical guitarist in Huelva, where he still lives today […] Quote from the English translation of the Spanish version written by Marcos Escanez, Tomatito’s biography: http://www.tomatito.com/ingles/inicio.htm (November 2005).
Tomatito seemed destined to play flamenco. As he says, “I was born in Almería, which is like being born in heaven, and He [God] brought me down to earth. There were already guitarists in Seville, Cádiz and Madrid so I don’t know how He noticed me but He took me under his wing and planted me softly on the ground. I always felt great playing for Him… and when I listened to Him, no matter how I was feeling, I lost myself and my guitar in Him and was transported by His voice – it gave me the shivers”.  

Tomatito’s gypsy ancestry suggests an expert use of *compás* (the complex flamenco rhythms), which, in the words of Norberto Torres, is the “indispensable element of flamenco itself,” separating ‘authentic’ *flamencos* from ‘non-authentic’. A musician unable to properly understand or apply the *compás*, “will play [his or her] own music, perhaps with a flamenco style, but without authenticity”. Tomatito, Torres affirms, “has rhythm [*compás*] engraved in his subconscious, in such a way that it functions perfectly without much effort or attention”. In other words, Tomatito well represents the argument that a performer of gypsy ancestry is ‘born’ with a ‘natural’ gypsy talent.

As an example of Tomatito’s expert use of *compás*, I turn to the introduction in the Bulerías ‘La Chanca’ recorded as part of Tomatito’s first solo album in 1987. This introduction, transcribed by Alain Faucher in *La Guitarra de Tomatito*, includes the symbols: (↑↑↑↓) for different *rasgueos*, strummed with the right hand, which help to understand Tomatito’s technical approach to the complex *compás*. Although this transcription was done in 3/4 for practical reasons, if we want to understand culturally the ‘authenticity’ of flamenco-gypsy *compás*, we cannot forget that the bulerías *compás*...
are played with 12 beats, organised in different ways (see the clapping representation below). This bulería *compás* has been chosen because it is one of the *palos* that non-flamencos find more difficult to perform, and is the one where the flamenco gypsies, and especially Tomatito, find their ‘authentic’ difference (in their flamenco-groove, so to speak). The complex rhythm of ‘La Chanca’ bulerías starts with superimposed clapping before the guitar composition starts with a *falseta* (a pre-existing solo variation). (x = clapping) (x = clapping with more emphasis on that particular beat):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media bulería or bujería in six for falsetas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Bulería repiques (off beat)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
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</table>

The clapping in the bulería *compás*, which is interiorized by the gypsy guitarists, is essentially organised first into the ‘media bulería type’ (6 + 6 beats), which is used by the flamenco guitarist for the background of his *falseta*, and later in the harmonically rhythmic structure also called bulería *compás*. This can be seen in Alain Faucher’s transcription in the third and fourth system. This base of the bulería *compás* is explained by Tomatito in a DVD produced by Encuentro Production where the gypsy guitarists tap the ‘authentic’ flamenco *compás* on the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bulerías Soniquete</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, Tomatito starts tapping the *compás* on the table with the knuckles and fingers on the second beat, while in the bulería *soniquete* is 12 beats. Beats 11, 12 = 1, 2 + 10 is counted. Tomatito’s gypsy approach to the *compás* gives a more bulería al golpe - a 3/4

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13 This material, like that of Bruno Jundt (*La guitarra flamenca de Tomatito* (Meilen, Switzerland: Encuentro Productions, 1995) is useful not only for the transcriptions themselves but for the DVD. The idea of a European *transcriptore* providing all of Tomatito’s transcriptions is useful, but the inclusion of the audiovisual source also, gives guitarists (Spanish and non Spanish) the possibility of understanding the flamenco culture - Tomatito’s *compás* - via aural, oral and visual transmission.
14 This clapping example is also the base of other *compases*: Soleá and Alegría.
Tomatito learnt this flamenco *compás* in his family environment, and he had the choice and opportunity to put it into practice at an early stage. He improved his *compás* playing the guitar to accompany local singers in a local performance space, a *peña flamenca* (flamenco private club society) where this *compás* is vital for its members. The environment of *la peña*, in which their members, usually enthusiastic male amateur and professional flamenco musicians, share their lives and worries, give to the flamenco space a special taste. At an early stage, Tomatito established a relationship with a local *peña, El Taranto*. Here in the ‘authentic’ flamenco *peña*, place, race and *compás* are totally interconnected. A musical example in which the *peña* environment is represented is the bulerías that Tomatito recorded on the last track of his album *Paseo de los Castaños*. This track represents the atmosphere of the *peña*, the *jaleo* (the encouragement and commentaries of the local *aficionados*), the bulería clapping and the guitar. Although the recording was rehearsed, the audio reflects perfectly the importance of the *compás* to the event. It draws together the guitarist, the singer and the participants of the flamenco community, who are clapping in bulería *compás*.

The traditional role of flamenco guitar was that of an accompanist, which Tomatito again followed with Camarón de la Isla, after his work in *La Taberna Gitana* in Málaga. The work between the gypsy singer and the guitarist caused it to be

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15 Tomatito’s understanding of the flamenco *compás* caused him, from his childhood, to be presented by the local press of Almería as a mature guitarist. In Tomatito’s biography it says that at just 10 years old, his first break as an accompanist came about through José Sorroche of Almería’s *peña* El Taranto flamenco club. The concert, at which he was presented as “Pepín Fernández”, had extensive coverage in the local press, as if destiny had bestowed on him a certain degree of notoriety right from the start of his public career. From then on, he maintained a close relationship with the club and he was called on innumerable times to accompany many of the singers who were appearing there. This press review can be seen on Tomatito’s official web page: http://www.tomatito.com/ingles/inicio.htm (5th Nov 2005).


17 Tomatito has continued accompanying singers and making collaborations on records until today, but he became professionally famous for being the guitarist for one of his childhood idols, José Monje Cruz (b.1950- d.1992), internationally known as Camarón de la Isla, who has been one of the most influential flamenco singers of the second half of the twentieth century. The recordings of these live performances can be found on Camarón and Tomatito, *Flamenco Vivo* (Madrid: Philips-Mercury (Universal), 1987).

18 I have contrasted information of Tomatitos’ life written by Marcos Escanez Carrillo in his biography, with literature written by the musicologists Faustino Nuñez and Gamboa on Camarón’s life and work, and found certain imprecise data: José met Tomatito in the singular Taberna Gitana in Malaga, which was the place Tomatito worked in his youth. Tomatito made his debut there when only twelve years old.
said that “together they formed one of those couples that arise in flamenco sometimes; when there exists a perfect understanding between the singing and playing […]” José Monge, ‘El Camarón’, used to say: “Tomatito and I have always understood each other perfectly. If, for example, I would sing something that I had not performed for a long time, he knew how to accompany it.” About this role of the guitarist, Tomatito told me in Pamplona:

I love the singing and because I like it so much I think that to accompany it is an art and you have to know how to sing with the guitar, right? Because there are many guitarists who play very well but they don’t sing. Then, they don’t know how to accompany either […] the guitar and the voice have to be one. Because I listened so much to flamenco singing I can guess what the singer is doing. I am searching and searching according to the voice of each singer.

In the traditional role of playing to help the voice, Tomatito has been seen as the gypsy guitarist associate of El Camarón but he also collaborated with other flamenco singers and he has continued to collaborate with singers, such as Enrique Morente. Apart from Enrique, Tomatito has accompanied other professional gypsy singers such as Duquende, Diego El Cigala, Guadiana, and Potito, all of whom have shown respect

Tomatito was sixteen years old when he met Camarón. After a short period, it happened that José was announced to sing in a sport-centre in Málaga with his official guitarist, Ramón de Algeciras. Camarón tried to play with the young player of the Taberna Gitana, Tomatito. It was the beginning of a great friendship […] José Manuel Gamboa and Faustino Núñez, Camarón: Vida y Obra (Madrid: SGAE, 2003).

In 1992, Camarón de la Isla’s demise had disastrous effects. Their symbiosis had been so great that the singer’s absence pervaded Tomatito’s every performance. As well as this, an ambiguous attitude among other important singers made them wary of working with him, for fear that the great void would never be filled by their voices. Only a few top artists showed a willingness to be accompanied by Camarón’s loyal confidante, friend and perfect musical right-hand man. Chano Lobato, Enrique Morente and Carmen Linares were among those who were brave enough to face audiences who might have felt not only the “presence” of Camarón’s voice behind Tomatitos sublime playing, but a different vocal or harmonic format that could have disappointed them. This quote can be found on Tomatito’s official web page: www.tomatito.com (Oct 2005); the English version of Tomatito’s web page translated by Debora Garber. 2005 began for Tomatito with a sell-out concert at Carnegie Hall, New York in the company of the legendary Cantaor Enrique Morente. Listen to the Soleá soniquete (slower than the bulería) in Enrique Morente’s ‘La Soleá la Ciencia’, Sueña la Alhambra (Madrid: Emi, 2005). Tomatito’s guitar work, is also included on the album: Enrique Morente, El pequeño Reloj (Madrid: Virgin Record and Emi Odeon, 2003), where a Tientos is played as a sampler for it. For more information see: Gutiérrez, Balbino, Enrique Morente: la voz libre (Madrid: SGAE, 2006).

Duquende, Duquende con la guitarra de Tomatito (Madrid: Nuevos Medios, 1993) Duquende was also discovered by Camarón when only a child. Since then, José Fernández Torres has appeared with many
and admiration towards Camarón and his style of singing. As Tomatito remarked in an interview: “If Camarón had not died, I would have stayed by his side forever”. The ‘authentic’ traditional role of the flamenco guitarist was to accompany the flamenco singer. However between the two gypsy musicians Camarón and Tomatito other essential race issues were shared. Generally associated with the gypsy culture are the values of respect and partnership. For a cultural analysis, these values are vital if we are to understand why Camarón chose Tomatito and why Tomatito later went back to Andalusia with his family to live permanently in Almería. This movement can also be associated with the concept of ‘re-Andalucia’ explained in chapter one. The relationship between flamenco, place and race provides an important means through which to discuss the making of gypsy tradition. Although the guitarist from Almería

other performers such as Duquende and Potito, and even local talent from his own neighbourhood, thus beginning a new and rapidly-expanding phase as a soloist and receiving huge acclaim at all his concerts.

Further to the previous quote, at the same time Tomatito was playing the guitar, accompanying Camarón in international concerts on other continents, he started to collaborate with other Andalusian flamenco singers. These were some of the same artists (Terremoto de Jerez, Enrique Morente, José Mercé), who had also collaborated with Gerardo, Cañizares and Vicente Amigo. Finally, Tomatito also started to play as a soloist at other festivals.

Interview given by Tomatito in 2001 to Fernando Gonzalez and Caballos Martinez, www.flamencoworld.com (December 2005). When Camarón died, Tomatito thought of abandoning it all and becoming a local market seller. We are lucky he changed his mind and his career as soloist developed both nationally and internationally. Gamboa, José Manuel and Núñez, Faustino, Camarón: Vida y Obra (Madrid: SGAE, 2003), p. 152. Potro de Rabia y Miel was Camarón’s last album. The premature death of El Camarón by cancer affected not just family, friends and guitarists but all the gypsy community. Paco de Lucía was accused of taking Camarón’s family royalties for his own benefit. (This has been analysed by Peter Manuel.) For that reason Tomatito and Paco fell into depression and they stopped playing the guitar for a while. See Paco’s commentaries in Paco de Lucía, Francisco Sánchez–Paco de Lucía (Spain: Universal Music, 2003), and listen to Paco’s Rodeña ‘Camarón’ in Luzía (Madrid: Polygram, 1998) Thanks to technology developments and the possibility of restoring material from the past, (as the Beatles did with the voice of John Lennon, in Free as a bird) Tomatito had the opportunity to record again, together with Paco de Lucía, both of them accompanying Camarón’s voice in the Bulería ‘Que venga el Alba’. This was the first and only Christmas that Tomatito spent away from home. They spent Christmas Eve at Los Canasteros, where La Susi was singing […] Marcos Escanez, Tomatito’s biography: http://www.tomatito.com/ingles/inicio.htm (December 2005).
toured many cities of the world and he found the capital Madrid to be a useful place for recording studios and for its major airport, he still moved back to the Andalusia region where all his family was based (as Camarón also did, to San Fernando). If some Spanish gypsy traditions are to be understood, the importance of the family and the idea of meeting daily with the other members of their families con los primos (common behaviour of other cultures also) is of incredible value to those communities. This ritual/tradition is seen as extreme by some Spanish people and non-gypsy specialists, who misunderstand and underestimate its importance to gypsy culture. The importance of the family and where home is seems controversial when I am analysing artists who travel all around the world, but this homesick feeling is represented musically and also assumes precedence in the titles of their albums. An example can be seen in Tomatito’s last solo album Guadalcanal or his previous album Paseo de los Castaños, which names both the region and street he lived on in Almeria. This embrace of place and race, and emphasis of flamenco as ‘authentically’ gypsy, may stem from gypsy culture not being written about in the past with clear understanding by non-gypsies. Gypsy culture has often been the frequent topic of non-gypsy specialists, who, unfortunately, may too often sum up the people through disparaging discourse: Alexander Paspati complained about “the stupid ignorance of the gypsies”; and Wladimir Ivanow wrote “their stupidity is sometimes beyond all description”. It is necessary to look critically here at how people may be understandably hesitant to let go of tradition in such circumstances, how hesitant they will be to let outsiders into ‘their’ place of

28 When Tomatito was twenty-one years old, he returned to the city of Almería with his family and still lives there. During his time with Camarón, he alternated sell-out concerts in Spain and overseas with work at clubs and festivals - playing for great artists such as Enrique Morente, La Susi, Vicente Soto, Pansequito, José Mercé, Chano Lobato, Terremoto de Jerez, Antonio Mairena, Juanito Villar, and Rancapino etc. Highlights of this period include performances with Camarón at Montreux jazz and in New York, as well as solo concerts. Ibid.

29 In this last concert, during the performance, Tomatito was surprised by a sudden audience response. Camarón had appeared onstage uninvited and as a surprise, and had sat beside him. When the singer was asked about this unexpected appearance he replied that, “he didn’t always require a fee to sing”. This was but one demonstration of the union between the two artists, which shows Camarón’s kindness.


31 Tomatito lived, for a long time, in Almería’s ancient gypsy neighbourhood, with his wife and his daughters. He dreamt of an American-Indian life style existence: “with my family, a ranch of horses and my guitar” […] Tomatito vivió largos años, con su mujer y sus hijas en el barrio más morero de Almería. Sueña con una existencia al estilo Indio: “con mi familia, un rancho con los caballos y mi guitarra. José Manuel Gamboa in Tomatito, Paseo de los Castaños (Madrid: Universal Music Spain, 2001).


authenticity. We should also consider how a place of ‘authenticity’ is created as a safe imaginary place, due to concerns of safety and providing for the family. Similar things occurred with Native Americans when ‘others’ studying what they consider their music. This fear of an ‘other’ taking ownership also can be found in Susan Lepselter’s work. She examines the gypsies as both ‘part’ of Europe and radically ‘outside’ of Europe. This posits that a case can be made where tradition and hopes for authenticity by gypsies along with their relationship with flamenco, was motivated by the need and want for establishing a ‘real’ identity for Spanish gypsies; both in terms of genetic descent and in terms of being European. As a result, flamenco origins and heritage became the basis for their own political status and identity, a way to affirm European roots and heritage and – as Lepselter states – “be part of Europe”, while also separating themselves from Europe, to be – as she also states – “other to Europe”.34

2.2 Moving ‘Away’ from Tradition: New Musical Idioms and Places

In this section, a different angle of ‘authenticity’ is analysed in relation to flamenco and popular music, taking into account the general acceptance of Tomatito as an ‘authentically’ gypsy player, his early alignment with traditional flamenco, and his later experimental collaborations. Although the flamenco guitarists from Tomatito’s generation may have upheld the important role as flamenco accompanist early in their careers, they have since joined Tomatito in expanding that role. There has been increased interest in playing and collaborating with musicians from other musical and cultural backgrounds outside gypsy and traditional flamenco. They have since collaborated with Spanish and non-Spanish classical, folk and popular musicians (particularly with jazz and rock musicians).

As previously mentioned in the theoretical introduction, the subjective, changeable and problematic concept of ‘authenticity’ in relation to flamenco and gypsy culture mutated into ‘the real thing’ in Richard Middleton’s complex analysis concerning popular music.35 The concept of ‘authenticity’ in flamenco alternates between the tradition (as a kind of template, for example guitar playing for the flamenco

singer) and a new ‘authenticity’ related to rock (popular music). To be ‘authentic’ has changed in order to incorporate electric bass and keyboards in the flamenco band together with the flamenco guitar. After the ambivalent ‘authentic’ version promoted by the dictator, Franco – not unlike the Black Power Movement in the United States – ‘Gypsy Power’ and flamenco had to re-invent themselves under the influence of the globalising dynamics that Spain has been dealing with since the transition to democracy (from 1975 to 1978). Just as the Afro-Cuban musicians of Buena Vista had to negotiate a complex authenticity terrain, so the gypsy had to deal with the ‘authenticity’ concept in the context of a time where, as John Lennon put it, ‘Rock ’n’ roll was real and everything else was unreal […] You recognized something in it which is true, like all true art’ flamenco and gypsy music was reshaped in the glare of this new international ‘Real’ (Middleton refers in his usage here to Lacan’s notion of the Real) by their protagonists and by the media. The new ‘authentic’ labels Nuevo Flamenco or Jóvenes Flamencos were born in connection with world popular music. Concepts such as Nuevo Flamenco (without pejorative meaning), for example, Ketama, were seen as ‘trans-cultural hybrids’ or fusions; and they were both accepted and rejected by different sectors of the flamenco community. What was deemed authentic by some ‘purists’ was considered cliché by other young flamencos. Nonetheless, it is essential to understand the value of ‘authenticity’ to the imagination of the ‘community’ and how that may have become part of the ideological reality.

In the earlier years, Tomatito worked in Málaga playing in the Feria, often for tourists in La Taberna Gitana, where he met other flamenco idols from his youth, including Paco de Lucía. Although in the previous section we have looked at race issues as an explanation for why Camarón chose Tomatito, other references available

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38 Created by the producer Mario Pacheco.
40 Apart from accompanying the dance troupe, Tomatito also played on his own, usually Entre dos Aguas by Paco de Lucía. At the time, he also took lessons with Pedro Blanco and Enrique Naranjo. These three years were a key period in his career since top artists that he admired, such as Pansequito, Lebrijano, Paco de Lucía and even Camarón de la Isla, would hear him play for other well-known singers. He met Paco de Lucía in the marquee that the Taberna Gitana erected at the Málaga Feria. Camarón, who was working at the time in the prestigious Torre Bermejas club in Madrid, often spent time in Málaga Quote from the English translation of the Spanish version written by Marcos Escanez, Tomatito’s biography: http://www.tomatito.com/ingles/inicio.htm (November 2005).
point out that Camarón de la Isla, upon hearing Tomatito perform pieces written by Paco de Lucía, asked the guitarist from Almería to serve as his accompanist. Paco de Lucía’s guitar solo *Entre dos Aguas*, which Tomatito used to play, is one of the key guitar solos for tracing the transition to the new flamenco. Dianda Pérez Custodio has suggested, “Paco de Lucía’s fourth LP as a composer was *Fuente y Caudal*, [in 1973]. This LP, an excellent work of flamenco guitar, with a conventional taste, has gone down in history for including one track, *Entre dos Aguas*. This track is considered to be the turning point from traditional flamenco to the new flamenco way.”

In relation to this quote, José Manuel Gamboa affirms that from the album *Fuente y Caudal*, ‘*Entre dos Aguas*’ (created by Paco de Lucía after an improvisation session in the studio) became a number one hit. After this success, the *Nuevo Flamenco* became popular in the media. This is one of the moments when Tomatito, playing this solo and other *falsetas* (small pre-composed improvisations) of Paco de Lucía, started to ‘move outside’ traditional flamenco. When I interviewed him in Pamplona, Tomatito told me:

Paco [de Lucía] is the master in the [flamenco] guitar and he is still young and strong. He has composed wonderful pieces. Thanks to him, we love the guitar in a different way because before [the flamenco guitar was played more with] strumming, with low notes using the firsts frets of the neck of the guitar and now we have started to play down the neck making solos. What we [Tomatito’s generation] have given to flamenco guitar has been the love that we have to continue practising, trying to create a little new things each time. The guitarists from my generation followed Paco de Lucía but also each of us have added something. Maybe that’s the reason why we are here on the stages playing. Vicente Amigo has his sound, I like the sound of Vicente, Gerardo Núñez has an incredible technique that he has worked hard in his own way, I have a this little thing [*Cómpas?*] different and I think the flamenco guitar wave is going this way. The problem is that we [the flamenco guitarists of his generation] have been playing this way for more than ten years now but the young guitarists are also [trapped] inside this circle. I have not seen a young guitarists with thirty years old that has something very special, who breaks all the boundaries of the

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42 [...] El cuarto LP de Paco de Lucía como creador es Fuente y Caudal, de 1973. Este LP, siendo un trabajo excelente para guitarra flamenca de corte bastante convencional, ha pasado a la historia por contener un tema que podemos considerar como la bisagra del cambio producido a partir del flamenco ortodoxo hasta esa nueva forma de hacer música que se ha etiquetado como Nuevo Flamenco: la rumba *Entre dos Aguas*. Diana Pérez Custodio, Paco de Lucía: La Evolución del Flamenco a Través de su Rumbas (Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2005), p. 112. Also, this piece was analysed by Pérez Custodio in her PhD thesis, *Comunicación y cultura, entre lo local y lo global: la obra de Paco de Lucía como caso de estudio*, (Málaga: Facultad de Ciencias de la comunicación de la Universidad de Málaga, 2003).
flamenco guitar, something that everyone say wow. I have not seen one so special. They all play very well and they have little things but I think that we are not helping them. I think they have to experiment a little bit more, and I think what they do is the same that we do. What they play is a little bit of the same and for playing the same here we are. Do you understand me? Theses young flamenco guitarists are inside our circle. The same happens with the flamenco singers and Camarón. There are young singers that I have heard who are twenty-five years younger than Camarón and they continue singing with Camarón style but they do it worse than him and without creating anything new. My generation at least created something new. When I was with Camarón in La Leyenda del Tiempo Paco de Lucía told me, “Tomatito that bulería you are doing is a new form of falseta”. 44

Tomatito’s comments connect with Peter Manuel’s notion that “aside from his own performing career, [Paco] de Lucía has inspired a new generation of technically dazzling imitators, along with some genuinely original and gifted ‘junior’ artists [...]” 45 These guitarists - Tomatito, Gerardo Núñez, Juan Manuel Cañizares, Vicente Amigo - were totally influenced by Paco de Lucía, but were also engaged with a very clear sense of the ‘tradition’. 46

44 Paco es todo en la guitarra y todavía es joven y está fuerte. Nosotros… Paco lo ha sido todo en la guitarra, ha hecho obras maravillosas (Bonitas) gracias a el a nosotros nos gusta la guitarra de otra manera, porque antes era el rasguear y sobre todo con más graves y más aquí arriba y ya hemos empezado a hacer cosas por abajo, solos… Entonces lo que nosotros hemos aportado es la afición que tenemos y de seguir ahí y cada uno inventamos una cosita. Es una continuidad? Siguen el camino de Paco pero cada uno tenemos una cosita. Por eso quizás estemos aquí. Vicente tiene el sonido, a mi me gusta el sonido de Vicente, Gerardo Tiene mucha técnica que la ha depurado a su manera, yo tengo la cosita (Compás, Aire, peñizco…) girada que tengo y yo creo que por ahí va la onda…. Lo que pasa que el problema es que los que les llevamos10 años (Los jóvenes) también están ahí atrapados. Yo todavía no he visto a un joven que tenga 30 años que tenga algo muy especial, que desvanque la guitarra y que diga hostia. No he visto todavía a nadie que tenga nada especial, tocan muy bien y tienen su cosa pero yo creo que nosotros no los estamos dejando salir a ellos. Yo creo que tienen que experimentar mas, yo creo que es lo mismo. Es un poco más de lo mismo y para esto estamos nosotros. Me entiendes? Ellos también están metidos dentro de la bola esa. Lo mismo sucede con el Camarón. Hay jóvenes que yo escucho que se lleva con el Camarón 25 años y siguen cantando por Camarón pero peor que el y sin inventar nada nuevo. Porque nosotros por lo menos inventamos algo. Yo con Camarón en la Leyenda del tiempo Paco me dijo, hostia la bulería esta como haces, era una forma nueva de la falseta. [...] Interview with the author, Pamplona, October 2006.


46 That’s my true feeling; I think that way and I believe that Paco is the father of the guitar. I have worshipped him for thirty years, as an instrumentalist and also because he could drive you crazy. A lot of guitarists have gone through that with Paco because he has such a natural gift, the agility with his hands and his gift for music and rhythm. Only one person is capable of that, because it is a natural gift…if you studied for fifteen hours each day, you’d still never be able to achieve what he has. I think you have to spend your time doing other things - making music, expressing yourself in other ways, acquiring your own sound, so that people say “Wow! I just have to listen to Tomatito because his music makes me feel good […]” Pienso así y creo que Paco es el padre de la guitarra. Yo me rendí hace treinta años, en el sentido de como instrumentista y de volverte loco de psicólogo, porque hay muchos guitarristas que les ha pasado eso con Paco, porque Paco tiene un don natural, la agilidad de manos que tiene y el don que tiene de la música y del ritmo, eso lo consigue una persona nada más, pero porque es natural, si tú estudias quince horas todos los días no vas a conseguir lo que tiene él. Yo creo que tienes que invertir el
As Middleton has showed, the concept of ‘authenticity’ in many types of popular music is fraught with complexities, not least in the problem of how to negotiate the ‘insider’/ ‘outsider’ position in relation to its value claims. In 1979, there was a new socio-political situation in Spain and, following the transition to democracy, there emerged an essential turn around in flamenco culture, especially with respect to questions of authenticity. Whilst the specifics of this moment can be traced largely to the intense cultural reshaping of ‘Spanishness’ in the wake of the transition to democracy, there is good reason also to see this as part of a broader loss of confidence in shared notions of the authentic across the Western hemisphere from the mid 70s onwards (reaching back possibly to May ’68). It was in the shadow of this epistemological crisis that Camarón de La Isla recorded his revolutionary masterpiece, *La Leyenda del Tiempo*, in Seville, with musicians such as Raimundo and Rafael Amador, Kiko Veneno and Tomatito. Apart from the flamenco musicians, members of the Andalusia Rock band *Alameda* also collaborated on this controversial recording made by the producer and composer Ricardo Pachón. There exist many analyses of *La Leyenda del Tiempo*. I do not intend here to concentrate on Tomatito’s musical contribution in that, according to Gamboa: “Tomatito had a double responsibility, he was accompanying the most important flamenco singer of the moment, while also occupying the place of the other greatest flamenco artist, the guitarist Paco de Lucía.” This was his first professional recording with Camarón and he had much of the responsibility to bring to it the method and knowledge of his and Camarón’s tradition while being prepared to challenge the limits of that tradition. The musicians who collaborated on this album had different musical backgrounds. Even the gypsy guitarist Raimundo Amador already knew other musical idioms (blues and rock), so it cannot really be said that Tomatito was the first Spanish gypsy guitarist who came under scrutiny for moving flamenco guitar ‘outside’ traditional territory. At this point,

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48 The impact of *La Leyenda* in Spain led flamenco specialists, such as José Manuel Gamboa, to compare the work with the Beatle’s *Sgt Pepper* album.
49 There no one cares about me. Nobody knew who I was, so no one came to speak to me […] That’s not true, Raimundo Amador already knew other musical idioms (blues and rock), so it cannot really be said that Tomatito was the first Spanish gypsy guitarist who came under scrutiny for moving flamenco guitar ‘outside’ traditional territory. At this point,

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tiempo en otras cosas, en hacer tu música, en expresarte de otra manera, adquirir un sonido tuyo y que la gente diga “ ¡y! tengo que escuchar al Tomate porque las cosas de él me agradan y tengo que ir a escucharlo a él. Interview with Sonia Martínez Pariente for Deflamenco.com, 1st September 2004.

48 The impact of *La Leyenda* in Spain led flamenco specialists, such as José Manuel Gamboa, to compare the work with the Beatle’s *Sgt Pepper* album.
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Tomatito was thinking from the traditional flamenco position: “And is this what we are going to record? Of course, when I listened to Kiko Veneno singing his composition with this little voice I was frozen. I could not believe it. I just thought about what my people, who were waiting to hear me with El Camarón on an Album, were going to say when they heard this composition. I said to José [Camarón]: How are we going to record this? What is it? And he really calmly told me. “Do not worry. You will see that when I will sing it, it will sound flamenco.”

Carlos Lencero has been very critical of Tomatito in his descriptive work *Sobre Camarón, La leyenda del Cantaor Solitario*. According to the author, Tomatito was not assisting the La Leyenda project in any positive way and he also used the words “música de payos” (for non-gypsy music created by other members of the project) using the concept in a pejorative way and investing it with a meaning that “old flamencos from Triana did not use”. However, the author could be criticized in the same way for saying that, when young, Tomatito had a “closed gypsy mentality”.

In *La Leyenda*, certainly, the young Tomatito played in the following *palos*: jaleos, bulerías por soleá, cantiñas, bulerías and tangos. The album has other rumbas, rock songs and Lorca’s poetry accompanied with a sitar. These tracks have already been analysed by José Manuel Gamboa and Faustino Núñez. However, what I find important about the album is the manner in which the concept of ‘authenticity’ is applied by the flamenco ‘community’. This album of flamenco was Spanish popular music. The genre/idiom question is perhaps one of the hottest sites for the contestation of authenticity here. When released, the album was heavily criticised by purists and flamencologists and it seemed that it was not going to sell many copies. However, with time it has become an essential album for flamenco culture of the late twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century. Gamboa quotes Luis Clemente who said that the

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producer of La Leyenda del Tiempo, Pachón, loved to say that elderly gypsy people were going back to the shop to exchange the album because it was not Camarón’s flamenco.\(^{54}\) Also he used to say that even friends and family of Camarón claimed he was not performing ‘proper’ flamenco. This deeply affected the singer and Tomatito, who also thought that the change was a betrayal of his gypsy roots. He is known to have said: “My family is going to kill me if I record this”, when listening back to the track ‘Volando voy’ with Kiko Veneno’s voice. Ideologically, Tomatito was speaking from the flamenco tradition. So, it cannot be assumed that Tomatito ‘moved outside’ boxed definitions of ‘traditional’ flamenco at the moment of La leyenda del Tiempo. However, due to the collaboration with Camarón and Paco de Lucía in the following years, Tomatito moved from being a traditional flamenco player to being a more innovative player, adding some of Paco de Lucía’s developments and collaborating with musicians from other cultural backgrounds and musical experience.

To understand some of the cultural and musical changes of flamenco guitar practice at this point, it is useful to analyse a flamenco video-clip extracted from a concert given by Camarón and Tomatito in París in 1987.\(^{55}\) The original composition, ‘Como el Agua’, was recorded by El Camarón, Paco de Lucía and Tomatito in 1981.\(^{56}\) Rhythmically, the composition is a flamenco Tango-Rumba in 4/4. The traditional way of clapping flamenco tangos is with one rest and three crotchets or one rest on the first beat, one quaver on the second beat and two crotchets in the third and fourth beats.

**Tango flamenco**

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However, this composition had a particular way of being interpreted using a rumba articulation in the rhythm, guitar strums and electric-bass too, so it can be

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\(^{56}\) On the original album cover, the names of Camarón and Paco de Lucía appeared with capital letters, and the not so famous gypsy guitarist’s name appeared in small letters. The other important name not added to the cover was the name of Pepe de Lucía, Paco’s brother, who was the composer of Como el Agua, and of most of the lyrics for this album. Gamboa commented in the book of El Camarón that ‘the flamenco Tango was offered to La Susi and she thought that the song did not have colour.’ However, she finished doing the chorus in Como el Agua, which subsequently has become one of the most popular flamenco songs ever, since Paco’s Entre dos Aguas.
considered as a hybrid. The flamenco rumba is also in 4/4 but the accents in the flamenco rumba are:

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This gives the composition a rhythmic quality closer to more commercial music, which also can be seen in the repetition of the chorus. However harmonically, in ‘Como el Agua’, Paco de Lucía introduced Tomatito to what has become a musical characteristic in contemporary flamenco guitar, which is to play a flamenco form, with the guitar chords and position of a different traditional flamenco form. In ‘Como el Agua’, the chord positions of a Granadina (a different flamenco form) were used instead of Tango chords. Camarón was singing Como el Agua and playing a traditional flamenco guitar, playing the tango chords on a traditional wooden peg guitar made by Conde Hermanos with the capo on the fourth fret, which gave him the root of the Andalusian Phrygian cadence in C#. However, Tomatito (as Paco de Lucía had done for the original recording in 1981), is holding the guitar (a machine head Conde Hermanos’ guitar) in a modern style, with the legs crossed, and is playing Como el Agua using the Granadina’s chords with the capo on the second fret. Both singer and guitarist were playing their guitars in the same modality (the tango-rumba had the same root, C# Phrygian). This kind of genre-breaking reinvention was later conceptualized by Norberto Torres as ‘Meta-flamenco’. In traditional flamenco, the flamenco guitarists and the singers use certain chord shapes for each palo, so when, in contemporary flamenco, the guitarists use different chord progressions/ cadences of different palos as in the previous example, granaina chords to play tangos, then this moves the floor of the tradition and aficionados feel lost because they expect ‘other’ sonorities.

Other characteristics of this new flamenco style from this original 1981 recording is the inclusion of an electric bass; something now common in the newer flamenco ensembles. Previous generations of flamenco guitarists, especially Paco de Lucía, had already begun an association with jazz players. The collaborations of jazz

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57 Norberto Torres, Historia de la Guitarra Flamenca (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2005). We will analyse a Seguiriy with Granadina chords Remache by Gerardo Núñez.
and flamenco players were regular occurrences during specific periods of the various musicians’ careers. These critical collaborations brought flamenco harmony, timbre and ensemble playing to a wider audience and changed some of its key practices. Paco de Lucía collaborated with jazz guitarists such as John McLaughlin, Al Di Meola and Larry Coryell, and with other jazz players such as the pianist Chick Corea. Similarly, Tomatito started collaborating with Spanish musicians (gypsies and gachós) from different musical backgrounds and sharing the stage with international names. To relate Tomatito to these national and international artists implies, in many cases, a marketing strategy, but in other cases those musicians have collaborated and have had an influence on the guitarist. For example, the gypsy guitarist, Raimundo Amador who played on La Leyenda del Tiempo and Charles Benavent, who was the electric bass player with Paco de Lucía’s sextet collaborated in Tomatito’s albums. Apart from the collaboration on stage, in 1996 Tomatito invited Raimundo Amador to record with him a rumba, Mundi, on his Guitarra Gitana album. In this rumba the two different musical idioms of both gypsy guitarists can be distinguished clearly. After the introduction with Charles Benavent on the electric-bass, Tomatito begins a flamenco solo. In his second solo, Raimundo shows his flamenco-blues style with the pentatonic scales so characteristic of his flamenco-blues guitar playing. There is definitely a mix of musical differences here. For the two Roma guitarists they are not doing fusion, however, this style of music is considered to be ‘fusion’ and not a ‘transnational hybrid’ according to Gerhard Steingress’s understanding of the concept because both musicians [Tomatito and Raimundo] are from within the same culture even if they have different influences (Blues and jazz). However, what do the ‘gypsy community’ and Tomatito understand the transnational hybrid to be, when considering his collaboration with musicians who are from another cultural background? For Tomatito:

58 See more information in José Manuel Gamboa and Calvo (eds), Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco El Duende de Ahora (Madrid: Guía de música, 1994).
59 Apart from the jazz musicians, Paco de Lucía collaborated with other popular musicians such as Santana, and he also recorded Classical repertory to give the flamenco guitar the status that the modern flamenco guitar tried to obtain.
60 His credibility increased as he was requested to share stages with international stars such Frank Sinatra and Elton John, etc. He has taken breaks from performing with his own band to collaborate with Spanish artists from other genres such as the revered folk singer Carlos Cano and the pop phenomenon Mecano.
64 Parallel to the work that he was doing accompanying singers and touring with his own ensemble, in
Your music culture comes from your childhood; I am not going to learn another style. I have been playing flamenco for thirty years and I still don’t know how to play it properly. For the jazz players it is the same. They have been playing all their life and they are still always trying to learn more and more. It is not the same to be able to play jazz as it is to know how to play jazz. You can be clever and flexible and be able to enjoy the music but it is not possible to learn it in three days. It is an experience of life.  

Leaving aside the modesty evident here, it can be argued that, unlike other guitarists and musicians of his generation (for example, Chano Domínguez or Gerardo Núñez), Tomatito did not have the opportunity as a child and youth or did not want to assimilate different styles of music because he was too focussed on learning traditional/new flamenco deeply. Now that he is a mature guitarist has more time to collaborate with other artists and absorb different styles in his music. Apart from the Palabra de Guitarra Latina recording and concerts, Tomatito established a special relation with the Argentinian jazz guitarist Luis Salinas. According to Tomatito’s 1998 biographer María Belén Luaces: “He spent time in Argentina as part of the El Guitarrazo tour with Luis Salinas and Lucho González.” However, Tomatito started collaborating in 1999 with the jazz pianist from Dominican Republic Michel Camilo (b. 1954). They started a tour in 1999 and I had the opportunity to analyse Tomatito’s collaboration with the Latin-jazz player before they recorded the album Spain. Tomatito had the following to say:

Well, although you may not believe it, it was completely spontaneous, because when Michel first proposed it to me - I was very reluctant to do something like this - he had to say: “We're not going to make a flamenco record, nor a jazz

1997 Tomatito took part in several projects. One of them was Palabra de Guitarra Latina with the guitarist Joan Bibiloni. He also went on tour with several guitarists: Larry Coryell, Jaime Stinus, Luis Salinas, Jordi Bonell, Tito Alcedo, Gil Dor, Joel Xavier, Javier Vargas, Ray Gomez, Bireli Lagrene and Raimundo Amador. www.tomatito.com (Feb 2011).

65 Interview with Tomatito by flamenco-world. Original: Tu cultura musical la tienes desde chico, yo no voy a aprender ya a tocar otra cosa. Si llevo treinta años tocando flamenco y no sé. Y los guitarristas de jazz igual, llevan toda la vida tocando y siempre están buscando más y más. No es lo mismo poder tocar jazz que saber tocar jazz. Puedes ser listo y puedes ser flexible y divertirte con esta música, pero eso no se aprender en tres días, eso es una vivencia.

66 In 1998 Tomatito came to Argentina and shared stages with two of our great guitarists, Luis Salinas and Lucho González. ‘El Guitarrazo’ brought us this musician, born in the Spanish tablaos, who alongside Camarón de la Isla and Paco de Lucía would become part of the Nuevo Flamenco legend, which began in the 1970s. A noble, virtuoso and inspired guitarist, Tomatito returned to our country with his own show, ‘Noches Gitanas’, and left the magic of his art in Buenos Aires’ atmosphere. María Belén Luaces, ‘José Fernandez Torres Tomatito en Argentina’ online http://www.almargen.com.ar/sitio/seccion/entrevistas/tomatito/

67 Tomatito’s acclaimed collaboration with the pianist Michel Camilo started that year with a tour of Spain’s major stages: The Barcelona jazz Festival, the Palau de la Música, Valencia, the Gran Teatro, Córdoba and also overseas at the Sardinia jazz Festival. He began 1999 at the I Medzynarodowy Guitar Festival, in Poland and went on to tour Cuba, Germany, Argentina, France and Italy. He also appeared with Michel Camilo at the Blue Note jazz club in Tokyo and the International jazz Festival, Basle.
record either. It's just something to have a good time with and to do so that we can play a few pieces together where we can both get grooving in a natural way.” So what happened? Well, when you do things with love and naturalness things like this happen. That’s why they gave us the Grammy and we did that world tour where the audiences just couldn't get enough.68

According to Daniel Muñoz, Tomatito and Michel Camilo met each other in Spain during the 1980s: “Camilo produced Ketama and the band in turn introduced him to Tomatito. From that time on there were as many as 60 concerts, in which they sought mutual understanding rather than one-upmanship.”69 In this case, by the time the two musicians were recording the album Spain, they had already performed together enough to have learnt something from each other.70 They also tried to find similarities between the two musical idioms, flamenco and jazz, which appear perfectly separated and interrelated at the same time in the Spain album. Tomatito introduced jazz harmony into his flamenco manner of playing the guitar and Michel Camilo had introduced Phrygian scales and cadences in the hybrid bulería ‘A mi niño José’,71 (the same bulería compás on La Chanca that I have analysed). Their different idioms can be recognized in the pulsación and the aire (or groove) in the phrasing of the twelve beat flamenco form.

Similar to when Michel Camilo is playing a flamenco form and Tomatito is playing a Latin-jazz standard such as Spain. This piece was already performed live by its composer Chick Corea with Paco de Lucía.72 Tomatito says:

Camarón always taught me to listen to other music, because he was so curious. I started working with him when I was 15 or 16 years old and he always had in the car tapes of Arabian, Greek music… and then I asked myself why he listened to other music? I thought that we had to absorb from the flamenco, of course

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68 Interview with Tomatito by Fernando Gonzales and Caballos Martinez for Flamencoworld in 2001. Translation by Estela Zatanía (May 2006). Original: Pues aunque no lo creas, fue de un modo totalmente espontáneo, porque cuando Michel me lo propuso -yo era muy reacio a hacer algo así- tuvo que decirme: "No vamos a hacer un disco flamenco, ni tampoco de jazz. Se trata de hacer algo para divertirnos y que podamos tocar juntos unos temas en los que nos desempeñamos los dos con naturalidad." ¿Qué pasa?, pues que cuando se hacen las cosas con cariño y con naturalidad ocurren cosas así. Por eso nos dieron el Grammy y hicimos esa gira por el mundo en la que el público se lo pasó de puta madre.

69 Review of Tomatito and Michel Camilo’s Spain by Daniel Muñoz for Flamencoworld. Translation also made by Estela Zatanía (May 2006).

70 Finally, in that same year (2000), the album Spain, a compilation of Tomatito’s work with Michel Camilo was released. It won a Latin Grammy for best Latin-jazz recording. Together they played Carnegie Hall during the New York JVC jazz Festival and went on to do a stint at the prestigious Blue Note jazz Clubs in New York, Tokyo and Osaka. Tomatito also collected another Grammy for best flamenco recording for the live album Paris 1987 on which he played for Camarón de la Isla. After closing the XI Bienal de Flamenco in Seville with his concert Bajandí, he travelled to Rio de Janeiro, Nimes and Santo Domingo to give concerts. […]After the national tour, presenting the new repertoire, Tomatito played with Camilo at major European jazz Festivals including North Sea, Umbria jazz and Montreux.

71 Track 4 on Tomatito and Michel Camilo’s, Spain (Madrid: Universal Music, 2000).

72 Paco de Lucía, Francisco Sánchez – Paco de Lucía (Spain: Universal Music, 2003).
yes. I could not lose my identity because I am a flamenco guitarist and not a jazz guitarist. Because this was so, I could do the Spain project with someone else - with another jazz guitarist who plays very well. But it was important that we didn’t know theory or how to write music notation so that we had to learn the music by taking in many whole pieces. I also was taught this by the jazz players! If you learn, for example, El día que me quieras there is a series of harmonic progressions, all this help you to put the fingers in their right place. We didn’t learn this music theoretically but in a practical way – by constant playing.

Apart from the Latin-jazz and flamenco influences on Spain, Tomatito played a new version of the orchestral composition for the film Two Much written by Michel Camilo. This connects with the film and theatre composition that Tomatito had written and with the orchestral projects that he has recently collaborated on. Tomatito did not attend an academy for any classical training during his childhood. However, he was interested in listening to and learning from academic composers as well. He has collaborated with musicians and composers such as Joan Manuel Amargos for his first solo album. Tomatito considers himself to be not only a flamenco guitarist, but also a

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73 Camarón siempre me enseñó eso porque el era tan curioso en la música. Siempre llevaba en el coche y yo tenía 15, 16 años cuando comencé con el. Siempre llevaba en el coche cintas de música árabe, griega, y entonces yo me preguntaba como escuchaba otras músicas. Yo pensaba que había que beber del flamenco, por supuesto que sí. No hay que perder la identidad porque yo soy un guitarrista flamenco y no lo soy de jazz. Si no haría el proyecto con otra persona. Con otro guitarrista de jazz que tocan muy bien. Pero si es importante que nosotros no sabemos “música” teórica y a escribirla tenemos que aprender la música aprendiendo muchos temas. Que esto también lo aprendí de los jazzeros!!! Si te aprendes ‘el día que me quieras’ hay una serie de armonías, las progresiones armónicas, todo esto te vale y te ayuda a poner los dedos en su sitio. Tal acorde pues tal escala. Ya que no lo hemos aprendido teóricamente lo hacemos de forma práctica (Tomatito).

74 Two Much Love Theme (Track 5) on Tomatito and Michel Camilo’s, Spain (Madrid: Universal Music, 2000).

75 He created the score for the German film Bin Ich Schoen directed by Doris Doërrie […] He also worked with the film director Tony Gatlif on his movie Vengo. The Tony Gatlif film went on to obtain the César prize for best soundtrack and led to a nomination for Tomatito for the Premio de la Música in 2001 […] Special projects then included the composition of the score for the Aida Gómez production of Salomé directed by Carlos Saura and also that for the Centro Andaluz de Teatro’s new production of Romeo and Juliet. […] He has spent considerable time venturing into the musical world of Astor Piazzolla with his friend and colleague Carles Trepap, a collaboration which was showcased at the XII Bienal de Flamenco and later at the Colegio Mayor San Juan Evangelista, Madrid. […] After recording for Paco de Lucía on his best selling album Cositas Buenas, Tomatito began preparations, alongside Joan Albert Amargós, for his orchestral work Sonanta Suite. The premiere took place at Barcelona’s Auditori in June 2004 and was followed by presentations at Cordoba’s International Guitar Festival and Seville’s Biennial Flamenco Festival among other prestigious events. Recently he has recorded an album with orchestra Nacional de España: Tomatito, Sonanta Suite (Madrid: Deutsche Grammophon: 2010).

76 Right now I'm involved in a project with Joan Albert Amargós, called the Sonanta Suite, which we already played with the Orquesta de Barcelona y Nacional de Cataluña (OBC), and which we are going to perform again with the Orquesta de Córdoba at the Córdoba Guitar Festival. It's a beautiful experience because when you're in amongst so many musicians and you hear your music performed by a great orchestra it's overwhelming. I never had that experience, and I think any guitarist who has the inclination and the means to do so, should take the plunge, for the sake of their own personal satisfaction and for the sake of their musical career. Original: Estoy ahora en un proyecto con Joan Albert Amargós, 'Sonanta suite', que ya hicimos con la Orquesta de Barcelona y Nacional de Cataluña (OBC) y ahora volvemos a
musician open to other musical projects, which serve to influence his playing and enhance his musical knowledge. This flexibility as a musician combined with the collaboration between flamencos, rock, jazz and academic musicians is reflected in his solo albums. He is a traditionalist gypsy flamenco guitarist but he is also open to other musics. According to Tomatito in the Pamplona interview he gave to me while touring with Spain Again:

Exactly, [flamenco] is the music we have to export and to fuse with musicians from abroad - musicians like Chick Corea and John McLaughlin, who have worked with Paco de Lucía. All of them wanted to get inspiration from Spain […] The same inspiration that composers such as Debussy, Albeniz, and in another period Glinka, used to gain by listening to the gypsy in the old Zambras; like Miles Davis being inspired by Rodrigo’s Aranjuez concert, this concert is Andalusian music. That is the music that we have exported to the whole world.77

2.4 Authenticity as a Historical and Cultural Construction, Always in Motion

After approaching flamenco culture through Tomatito’s life and work, this is the moment to move on to a more theoretical cultural analysis. In the introduction to the 1980s’ anthropological work The Predicament of Culture, ‘The Pure Products Go Crazy,’ James Clifford redefined several issues regarding how ‘we’ (the ethnographers) perceive and represent overlapping traditions.78 Although it seems perfectly valid in other cultural contexts, Clifford’s predicament of ethnographic modernity may be used with particular force in an interpretative analysis of the flamenco culture. Clifford says that ‘authenticity’ no longer exists today due to global interconnections. I want to take his thesis further here in relation to the Spanish Roma people (who continue to hold on to this idea) by suggesting that this ‘authenticity’ exists not just in the gypsy Roma imagination, but that it is also part of its everyday discourse, its vernacular affective life.

77 Exacto, sobre todo la música que tenemos para exportar y para fusionar con los músicos de fuera. Cuando los músicos de fuera como Chick Corea, John McLaughlin que han trabajado con flamencos como con Paco. Y todos estos cuando quieren inspirarse en España… lo mismo que los compositores Debussy, Albeniz, de otra época, Glinka se dedicaba a escuchar a los gitanos en la zambras antiguas. (Como Miles) y Rodrigo mismo. El concierto de Aranjuez es Andaluz. Música “Andaluza.” Por hay es la música que tenemos para exportar al mundo entero.

I also want to argue how ‘authenticity’ is not just a historical and cultural construction, but also something that is ‘owned’ and passed around as an integral element of flamenco’s discursive field.

The texture and specificity of ‘authenticity’ in flamenco practice have proved highly mobile and have been constantly modified. Federico García Lorca and Manuel de Falla, for example, celebrated the famous Concurso de Cante Jondo (‘deep song competition’) in Granada in 1922 because they thought that the flamenco that was performed during their lifetime was losing the ‘authenticity’ of the ‘deep song’. For that reason, ‘non-professional’ singers were invited to compete. Professional flamenco musicians in the theatres following the fashion at that time were not performing certain flamenco forms. This example is a cliché in flamenco history, but illustrates helpfully the changing authenticity discourses attending flamenco practices. Moving towards the turn of the century, even before the death of Franco, and during the social and historical Spanish transition to democracy, the definition of ‘authenticity’ mutated again to include a more permissive wider field of practices; similar changes are at work in the present due to the ‘new’ global economy. Although flamenco transformed itself and has continued to be modified by its encounter with the globalising dynamics that Spain has been dealing with since the transition to democracy (from 1975-1978), the Spanish gypsy Roma culture or ‘subculture’ still holds to certain ideas of an authentic flamenco place, race and compás, because gypsies need them to claim their difference, their ‘authenticity’.

There are Spanish gypsy Roma living in many other places than Andalusia, such as the professional players, singers and dancers living in Madrid, Barcelona, London and New York. However, some of them still look back to ‘the flamenco Mecca’ (the cities of Jerez, Cádiz, Seville and Ronda=Imaginary triangle in Andalusia). With regard to Clifford’s notion of a ‘lost’ authenticity as in play when, “[l]ocal authenticities meet and merge in transient urban and suburban settings […],” it is useful to understand the environments of multicultural cities like Madrid where ‘new flamenco’ has emerged in a number of different ways. It could be said that traditional flamenco spaces that try to

81 Ibid, p. 4.
survive in the memory of many musicians do not belong exclusively to the local but to the nostalgic symbolic worlds of the global imaginary.\textsuperscript{82}

It could be argued, I suggest, that, with tourism, local authenticities meet and merge, helping to create new spaces of musical composition, which Tomatito then extended in his later career. The meeting with musicians from other cultural contexts (Argentina, Puerto Rico, New Jersey, etc.) meant that Tomatito, like Paco de Lucía, started to add some of their harmonies, chord progressions, new instrumentation to traditional flamenco forms, as can be seen in his later solo albums. When these albums are sold in the world music market, they represent a useful demonstration of Clifford’s suggestion that the ethnographic modernist searches for the universal in the local in that they challenge the ethnographer to see past the nostalgic desire for an authenticity always grounded in traditional specificity. Tomatito connects with other traditional music from other cultural contexts which are also hybrids. Tomatito as a traditionalist who reluctantly met and merged with global musical influences now regularly shares a musical space with the Latin-jazz pianist Michel Camilo and others well outside the flamenco tradition.

\textbf{Conclusion}

In this chapter, I have suggested a modest redefinition of the anthropological boundaries of contemporary flamenco in relation to popular music and ‘authenticity’; what is happening to Tomatito at present is happening to many other Spanish gypsies/and non gypsies in the Iberian Peninsula in connection with cultural mixing and hybridisation is not merely a kind of postmodernity write large, but a quite specific working through of the challenges of globalisation to the cultural work of pressured communities like the flamenco community. To examine this complex musical scene, I used the figure of Tomatito to see a bigger picture but also I have engaged with the theoretical approaches

\textsuperscript{82} In relation to place: as in Clifford’s ‘Elsie’ example - race or the other’s representation, the blood, the attraction or repulsion, the symbolic appropriation that has been defined in the past by the western imagination no longer has a place when ‘they’ (flamenco people), the other voice, can speak for themselves. However, our interpretation of culture through Tomatito’s voice and sound, which differs from the “thick” description re-contextualised by Clifford Geerz in \textit{The Interpretation of Cultures} indicates ethnography, anthropology and ethnomusicology to be interconnected – in the same way that race and practice are connected in flamenco culture. It is necessary to understand how ‘authenticity’ is an historical and cultural construction. One could think that it no longer exists, however it is drawn on by many from both inside and outside the flamenco ‘community’ for ideological and economical reasons.
of a number of Spanish and non-Spanish academics and other specialists on contemporary flamenco. I have done this in order to build a bridge between the academic literature on flamenco (work by Peter Manuel, Timothy Michell, etc.) and the ‘insider’ perspective on flamenco culture including the material of a number of flamenco specialists such as Jose Luis Ortiz Nuevo, Jose Manuel Gamboa, Luis Clemente, Norberto Torres and Faustino Núñez. As Peter Manuel told me in Habana IASPM conference: “these Spanish writers have done an excellent job” These writers and musicians have been working to deconstruct many of the attributes attached to traditional flamenco. However, to have an overall understanding of their viewpoints it is also essential to take into account the work of sociologists and ethnomusicologists such as Gerhard Steingress, when I analysed Tomatito ‘fusion’ examples, Diana Perez Custodio and Miguel Ángel Berlanga, who have provided more anthropological and ethnomusicological accounts of flamenco from ‘the field.’ The work of the Anglo-American academics such as James Clifford and Clifford Geertz, has helped me articulate my own position within the transatlantic debate on flamenco culture. In the interpretation of the material from my fieldwork, the voice of Tomatito in this chapter has not been analysed using an unidirectional perspective (Andalusian-centre), such as the one adopted by Cristina Cruces Roldán’s impressive ethnographic work Antropología y Flamenco: Más allá de la Música.

Although Tomatito was born in Almería, I have analysed his work in relation to the concept of ‘authenticity’ from a national/international perspective as a Roma/gypsy player, which does not deny his Andalusian identity. I agree with Cruces and Pachón that gypsy flamenco players are decreasing in the international/professional scene while they have had an enormous input into flamenco. Many consider flamenco their music and it is an essential part of their identity.

I have aimed, in this chapter, to develop a more fluid inter-subjective location for the ethnographer - not as an objective outsider but as someone in the unique position

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84 Cristina Cruces Roldán, ‘Más allá de la Música: Antropología y Flamenco.’ Signatura ediciones. Cristina Cruces is doctor and social anthropology lecturer at the University of Seville included in this books concepts, such as “Sociabilidad colectiva” (Collective sociability), meaning the ways communities interacted and how that interaction applies to the flamenco community. Her research focuses mainly on Andalusia and the concept of identity.
85 The decreasing of gypsy presence in contemporary flamenco was a recurring debate in Córdoba’s Jornadas SIBE of Flamenco (Oct 2011).
of being able to deploy both an outsider’s and an insider’s perspective, not by staking any claim to the interior, but by trying to understand and voice the insider perspective sensitively. As a researcher and guitarist, I have a particular perspective on flamenco practice after having the opportunity to interview this contemporary flamenco musician and academics. I have examined how Tomatito negotiates the relation between the traditional role of the flamenco guitarist in the peña (to accompany the voice of the singer and the importance of *compás*) and the innovation with the introduction of new chord progressions, cadences, instrumentation (electric-bass, cajón, keyboards and so on) from the time of *La leyenda del Tiempo* album until the present. I have addressed the core research question in this chapter, by looking at how that negotiation has been modified and developed in its encounter with the globalising dynamics that Spain has had to deal with since the transition to democracy. Tomatito, as a representative of both the traditional and modern Andalusian-gypsy epistemologies, represents musically a socio-cultural transitional space. There is value in thinking about flamenco during and after the transition not as ‘re-traditionalised’ (or, in Biddle and Knights’s terms ‘re-Andalusianized’) but as taking up a more fluid (but no less committed) relation to the idea of tradition.


Chapter 3:

Transmission of ‘Flamenco’ Knowledge: Gerardo Núñez

[Local] ‘Knowledge is Power’ (Michel Foucault)

The aural/oral transmission and elaboration of knowledge is essential to the development of any musician.¹ For the flamenco guitarist, however, that transfer of knowledge assumes particular complexities. As stated previously, flamenco has often been considered a talent into which one is ‘born’; not a skill that is acquired, learned, transmitted or taught. This chapter examines the complexities in the transmission of flamenco knowledge, introducing the musical life of guitarist Gerardo Núñez Díaz as a model for discussion.²

² The second flamenco guitarist that I am analysing in depth is probably one of the most complete guitar players of his generation. Gerardo Núñez Díaz told me that he was born the 29th June 1961 in Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz). Interview with Gerardo Núñez, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 14th February 2005. This extraordinary flamenco guitarist has been chosen for this research for cultural aspects apart from his recognised triple facets of being a guitar player who has accompanied singing and dancing; a writer of elaborate compositions and for his role as a virtuoso performer. These exceptional qualities of this payo (non gypsy) guitarist from Jerez will be analysed in the different stages of his life and work.

‘new’ popular world music styles as well. \(^3\) Absorbing and assimilating these varied musical genres into a flamenco approach, Núñez set a new precedence in flamenco. Part four focuses on Núñez’s relocating to the capital Madrid in the early 1980s. Living in this environment, Núñez confronted other musical influences, most prominently jazz, which he again absorbed and reintegrated into a revised flamenco style. \(^4\) By analysing Núñez’s musical and personal life we are provided with an opportunity to explore current and past notions regarding flamenco as an exclusively ‘inherited’ music, where musicians are born into the role of flamenco guitarist. In addition, we are able to explore how flamenco emerged a hybrid-style, rejected at some point in its history for its inclusion of ‘other’ musical styles but later embraced as a further emblem of Andalusian culture; and we trace how an Andalusian art form found its place in the more general ‘popular music’ category, attracting musicians from throughout the world to travel to Spain to ‘learn’ flamenco. Theories of place become particularly important in this discussion, advancing notions of the representation and re-imagination of place, regionalisation, and cultural relocation.

3.1 Learning from Environment: Introducing the City of Jerez

Gerardo Núñez is originally from Jerez de la Frontera, a city situated 83 kilometres south of Seville and 30 kilometres northeast of Cádiz. Located in the agricultural plains south of the Rio Guadalquivir, \(^5\) Jerez de la Frontera is famous for its ‘flamenco flavour.’ The people living there boast of a locally-defined way of clapping and playing flamenco. \(^6\) The clapping does not adhere to a unique way of putting the hands together. \(^7\)

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\(^3\) This is similar to what Caronina Robertson understands as “oralidad mediatizada” (mediatic orality); having in mind other music, coming from other cultural contexts through the Mass Media.

\(^4\) From Ramón Montoya in the last century to Paco de Lucía, flamenco guitarists have performed on the five continents. Travelling to and even living periods of their lives in other countries gave the flamenco guitarist the possibility of meeting other musicians, sharing their music and learning from other sounds first hand. For example, Sabicas lived in New York and Gerardo Núñez’s generation has continued to have a connection with that American city. (Gerardo Núñez, \textit{Flamencos en Nueva York}, Nueva York: Dro East West, 1989.) Gerardo Núñez’s second album references the flamenco musicians in New York. However, before travelling, the young guitarist listened to and played other musical styles and genres. His musical multi-identity started in childhood and his youth, when he absorbed new sounds from other cultures listening to LPs and radios as a matter of necessity while travelling. At the same time, the current generation of flamenco guitarists had access to the new media, and they developed their musical ear by listening to music other than flamenco, that they then assimilated to become part of them.


\(^6\) Clapping provides primary percussion rhythms in flamenco, and is, therefore, integral to some (though not all) flamenco styles. There are some flamenco styles such as Rondeñas or Mineras which are performed \textit{ad libitum} without clapping.
but involves a particular ‘aire’ or groove. This clapping groove, called *bulerías de Jerez*, is different from other bulerías: like other bulerías, the Jerez version has 12 beats, but uses accents that initiate a 3/4 feeling, similar to a *Bulería al golpe*. See examples below: (x=clap)

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The bulería *soniquete* or beat-cycle has 12 beats, usually counted in Spanish as ‘2 + 10’. The modern *soniquete* is clapped on the beats 7 and 8 (also in soleá and alegría *palos* but in slower tempo). The Jerez *aire* has a ‘6 + 6’ groove similar to the 3/4 *aire* of the bulería al golpe.

The clapping technique in the bulería de Jerez is perhaps most vivid in the flamenco parties and Christmas Zambombas, when some of the traditional Christmas songs are performed in bulerías rhythm. The local people perform with the traditional instruments of voice, flamenco guitar, hand-clapping and the zambomba, the traditional instrument made of ceramic from which the event receives its name. There exist unique performance practices for other flamenco-derived *palos*, including the seguiriyas or soleá de Jerez. However, it is the bulería for which Jerez is most famous.

According to Núñez: “the *flamencos* from Jerez represent the bulería as the [regional or national] Hymn […] The bulería never stops […] and proves that flamenco is an art from the street […].” Continuing, he explains, “Jerez is one of the places

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7 Núñez’s initial learning is related to this *soniquete*, *compás* and hand-clapping. From the plates can be seen the two ways of hand-clapping in flamenco: *palmas sordas* (mute claps) and *palmas abiertas* (dry claps). Also in the second plate the *palmeros* (professional hand-clappers) are doing *repiques in bulerías de Jerez* (playing some on beat and others off beat).
8 Also, the Bulería tonal structure changes from phrygian to major keys are other characteristics of the complex and lively *compás*.
where the flamenco is alive. It is still possible to see children who are going to school in the bus singing and clapping in bulería style.”

Constructions of musical identity and place have been a common topic of discussion. As Martin Stokes writes, “Amongst the countless ways in which we relocate ourselves, music undoubtedly has a vital role to play.” Music, he suggests, “provides a means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them.”

It “can be used as a means of transcending the limitations of our own place in the world, of constructing trajectories rather than boundaries across space.” George Lipsitz has also suggested that music “transcends physical and temporal barriers. It alters our understanding of the local and the immediate, making it possible for us to experience close contact with cultures from far away.” As such, music “augments our appreciation of place.”

In Jerez, complexities regarding musical identity and place are particularly intriguing. On the one hand, every time Spanish TV speaks about Jerez they mention the wine, the horses, the motorbikes and flamenco. Jerez is always identified with

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10 Jerez es uno de los sitios donde más vivo está el flamenco, creo yo. Se sigue viendo ahora en en los autobuses de los niños que van al colegio, van por buleía cantado, de ahí que haya salido gente tan importante como Antonio Chacón […] Yo pienso también que estéticamente Jerez tiene algo especial muy flamenco, no sé porque; es una mezcla entre todas las maneras, es una mezcla entre los gitanos y los payos todo a la vez, porque cuando vemos nosotros en otra población que hay más gitanos no se ve ese flamenco que se ve en Jerez. Interview of Ángel Álvarez Caballero to Gerardo Núñez included in the book: Ángel Álvarez Caballero, El toque Flamenco (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2003), p. 303.
12 Ibid.
13 George Lipsitz, Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c1990), p. 3.
14 Ibid.
flamenco, specifically the bulerías styles. The Spanish developed particular admiration for Jerez; with poets and composers, including Federico García Lorca and Albeniz, inspired by the “flamenco city and style.” As Manuel Ríoz Ruíz states, it is not difficult to believe, because Jerez in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been a “fountain” of flamenco singers and dancers, and more recently guitarists. There are Andalusian cities such as Seville, which are major centres of flamenco, however, Jerez is always identified with the special flamenco groove (soniquete). There are not only a few excellent artists from Jerez but whole families and neighbourhoods which are flamencos, for example, the neighbourhood of La Mercé which gives the artistic name to José Mercé. The flamenco and the bulería soniquete is identified with the city itself.

On the flip side, Jerez people have not always fully appreciated their own reputation. Many Jerez locals in fact have looked outside their own city for flamenco, and local neighbours do not readily recognise the importance of some of their Jerez local artists. For example, although it is clear that Núñez feels very proud of the flamenco atmosphere of Jerez, he is at the same time very critical of some of his paisanos (local neighbours) because they do not give value to the local flamenco artists from the past. In his own words: “important artists such as Don Antonio Chacón, have been from [Jerez]. I am appalled that my little town never remembers him, and Chacón has been one of the columns of flamenco singing. He has been one of the maestros.”

In Jerez, professional flamenco musicians have distinctly negative connotations. Flamenco musicians were associated with poverty, parties, drinking and drugs. Núñez remembers in high school studying “physics in the morning and flamenco at

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15 www.turismojerez.com/ (Sep. 2011)
16 Manuel Ríos Ruíz, ‘El Aventajado Discípulo de Rafael del Águila’ in Emilio Gil, Apagadito Pageo and Juan Verdú (eds.), El Canon: Revista de Arte Flamenco (Madrid: El Canon: Flamenco-Publicaciones Periódicas, 2007), p. 10. In this chapter can be found more information about guitarists from Jerez during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
17 http://ciadaddelflamenco.jerez.es/ (Sep. 2011)
18 Interview by Ángel Álvarez Caballero of Gerardo Núñez included in the book: Ángel Álvarez Caballero, El toque Flamenco (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2003), p. 303. Another good example for understanding the way of thinking of the local Andalusian paisano is the quote included by Gamboa in the introduction to his flamenco history book where he tells the story of how a local paisano from Algeciras (Cádiz) mentioned [...]”Paco de Lucía? I know him, he was my neighbour… he lived in my street… How he is going to be important? Cuando mi nombre empezó a oírse, hablaban de mí en un grupo de gente. Y uno dijo “Sabes que Paco toca muy bien la guitarra?; va a ser importatante, Paco”. Y dijo otro: “Quién? ¿Paco de la Lucía? ¡Que va…! Pero qué va hombre; si ese le conozco yo; si era vecino mío… Si viví en mi calle…. ¿Cómo va a ser ese importante? (Paco de Lucía) in José Manuel Gamboa, Una Historia del Flamenco (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2004), p. 19.
19 The families of the guitarists, taking into account the risk of the profession, on the other hand, saw the possibility to obtain a good salary. For that reason, some parents put pressure on their children to study the flamenco guitar.
night…playing seguiriyas for the Agujetas” He was living in two worlds and his father
used to tell him when he was young: do you really want to play flamenco? Do you want
to finish like our neighbour, drunk in the bars with your wife going to pick you up?20

Jerez musicians, on the other hand, are very regionalistic about their city’s
unique flamenco style. They consider Jerez flamenco artists as heroes, and strongly
believe that many ‘authentic’ flamenco guitarists are from Jerez: from Javier Molina to
Manuel Morao and Rafael del Águila from the older generation; and from them the new
generation Moraíto, Paco Cepero and Gerardo Núñez. Ángel Álvarez Caballero tried to
set up a modern guitar school in Jerez during the last century, yet Núñez refused to
accept Caballero’s efforts. Núñez agrees that there is a way of playing that is typical of
Jerez, and that Jerez musical characteristics came from Javier Molina, a “local hero.”21

Núñez provides additional insights, explaining that “Jerez is an island.” The
people within the city live in isolation from other parts of Spain. And, as a result, the
flamenco styles popular outside Jerez are not necessarily embraced. “In Jerez,” he says,
“there are not that many people who sing well like El Camarón [de La Isla]; there are
some that sing a little bit in the Camarón style, while in the rest of Spain everyone was
singing his style […]. In any part of Spain, if you ask a little boy whether if he could
play like a guitarist, who would you most like to be? Me? Paco de Lucía? Most
childrens’ fantasy is to be like Paco.”22

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20 Núñez added, “Some afternoons when I had technology or religious studies, I would escape from
school and go with the flamencos […] Me encuentro en El Instituto y a lo mejor estaba estudiando física
por la mañana y por la noche estaba tocando al Agujetas por seguirillas y por la mañana…vivía en dos
mundos. Yo recuerdo que muchas veces me escapaba del colegio y ve iba a casa del Periquín, Niño Jero y
a la casa de Morao, me escapaba algunas tardes que recuerdo que había tecnología o había religion y me
escapaba y me iba con ellos […] Gerardo Núñez, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 14th February 2005.
21 The ‘flamenco’ knowledge that he received from Rafael del Águila and that transmitted by the gypsy
family of the Moraos, although similar, he and the other flamenco guitarists from his generation have
applied differently. However, Núñez remembers that many times he used to escape from school and
would go to the house of Perriquín, Niño Jero, and to the house of the Morao family from Jerez. Gerardo
has not followed a parallel road with Moraíto Chico (b.1955). Gerardo thinks that Moraíto Chico has very
clear ideas, and for that reason is a well known flamenco guitarist who accompanies famous popular
flamenco singers, such us José Mercé. His son, Diego del Morao (b. 1979), who is doing a re-elaboration
of his father way of playing, is also one of the young flamenco guitarists starting to be asked to
collaborate on recordings and for flamenco performances by José Mercé, Niña Pastori, Monse Cortés, La
Tana, etc.
22 […] Jerez es una isla. En comparación con el resto de España, una isla; en Jerez muy poca gente canta
por Camarón, también los hay que cantan un poco acamaronao, pero es que en el resto de España todo el
mundo cantaba por Camarón; ahora ya menos. En cualquier sitio de España le preguntas a un niño ¿tú, si
tocaras la guitarra, quien te gustaría ser de mayor? Yo Paco de Lucía, me gustaría ser Paco, la fantasía de
los niños; en Jerez los niños te dicen los Moraos […] Interview by Ángel Álvarez Caballero with Gerardo
Núñez included in the book: Ángel Álvarez Caballero, _El toque Flamenco_ (Madrid: Alianza Editorial,
2003), p. 301.
Through the imagery of “Jerez as an Island,” Núñez does not necessarily mean that in Jerez the people do not appreciate the Camarón way of singing or that they disregard Paco de Lucía’s style of playing because they are not from Jerez. Rather, he is suggesting that Jerez artists were not as influenced by the national flamenco heroes from San Fernando and Algeciras (Cádiz) as in the rest of Spain. Rather, the neighbourhoods of Jerez have their own local idols. These regional artists helped establish the strong, local tradition of flamenco in Jerez, establishing it as part of everyday life, from weddings to Ferias.²³ Yet, this Jerez-developed flamenco style remained stagnant.

Furthermore, the city of Jerez is a multicultural environment, it represents a combination of gypsies and payos, both of whom contribute to that city’s unique flamenco atmosphere.²⁴ Núñez says that, aesthetically, Jerez represents the city’s unique mixture of cultures, which has enabled flamenco not only to take root but to flourish. More specifically, he says Jerez, “is the mixture between the payos and the gitanos [living] all together, because when we look at other populations, where there are more gypsies, they don’t have the flamenco atmosphere that can be seen in Jerez.”²⁵

An essential part of Jerez’s environment are the dance academies, the local peñas and the flamenco festivals.²⁶ Part of the flamenco tradition involves guitarists going to the academies and peñas where they learn by accompanying students in the flamenco dance lessons. These environments help the guitarists improve their technique and compás.²⁷ In the particular case of Núñez, Jerez enabled Núñez to absorb flamenco from both worlds. In the peñas playing for old singers he absorbed what I am calling here ‘flamenco knowledge’. In Núñez’s words: “When I was fourteen years old I regularly accompanied artists such as Terremoto and Tio Borrico. I played for the latter in different peñas in Andalusia. I really loved to accompany the singer, I think at that

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²³ Núñez told me: “Sometimes [the Feria] happens in villages like Jerez where we have a very important traditional party, La Feria, when all the girls and women dress in gypsy costumes. Also in Jerez, we have a certain tradition for the horses.” Gerardo Núñez, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, ¹⁴th February 2005.
²⁴ I went to Jerez de la Frontera to experience the ‘flamenco city’ when I was living in Granada and had then the chance to meet different flamencos who were living in the barrio de Santiago. More general information about Jerez can be found in “The Andalusian Journey” in Loren Chuse, Cataoras: Music, Gender and Negotiation of Identity in Flamenco (New York and London: Routledge, 2003). p. 8.
²⁵ Ibid, p. 303.
²⁷ As we saw in the previous chapter, guitarists also learn how to play for dancers and singers in the peñas and the tablao. Tomatito did in la peña El Taranto and later in the Tablao La Taberna Gitana.
time I absorbed the essence of the Jerez singing style and the flamencos’ way of living.”

Hence, living in the environment of Jerez seems to have proven essential for the young flamenco guitarist. Not all the guitarists from the Jerez region had the opportunity that Núñez had in his childhood. “At just thirteen years of age I found myself playing in La Cátedra de Flamencología. In the summer festivals I was collaborating with many flamenco singers, some of whom were the most influential singers in flamenco history: Terremoto, Tio Borrico and Mairena.” While other flamenco guitarists from the Jerez region were learning flamenco in local peñas, Núñez had access to the institution the Cátedra de Flamencología, which further helped him to learn flamenco, playing guitar for famous flamenco singers at the institution. But what ideology and what role had the institution in the transmission of knowledge?

So what do these terms ‘cátedra’ and ‘flamencología’ mean? The concept ‘cathedra’ comes from the Latin for chair, or from the Greek word for seat. In Spanish, cátedra is related to a particular concept of knowledge and has many different meanings. For example, professors in Spain are called Catedráticos. The Spanish RAE (Real Academia de la Lengua Española) defined flamencología (from flamenco and -logía) as the bringing together of knowledge, techniques, etc., about flamenco singing and dance. According to the Cátedra de flamencología de Jerez, the term “flamencología was first used by the erudite Argentinean writer Anselmo González Climent, who introduced the term as a title for a book published in 1955.” The word flamencologia originally comes from the ancient Greek word ‘logia’: doctrine, science, erudition. The concept of flamencologia and flamencólogo (as an expertise in flamencology) was added to the RAE dictionary, thanks to Luis Rosales. Yet, surprisingly, flamenco guitar playing was not included in its description. According to the Diccionario Enciclopédico Ilustrado del Flamenco, flamencología is a bringing

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28 Pero esto hizo que con sólo 13 años ya tocara en recital a El Mono, Alfredo Arrebola, Terremoto o Tío Borrico, al que con 14 años acompañé asiduamente por las peñas de Andalucía. Me gustaba mucho tocar al cante y creo que absorbi toda la esencia de los cantes de Jerez y de la forma de ser de los flamencos. Interview given by Gerardo Núñez to Josema Polo for the Flamenco Journal El Olivo. Also find online at www.deflamenco.com (Feb 2005).

29 Después de haber estudiado seis meses con Rafael del Águila en la Chabola en Jerez…Apartir de ahí, empecé a tocar la guitarra, al final empecé a frecuentar las academias de baile, para aprender a tocar para acompañar a bailar. Y al final soy espabilado y a los trece años ya me encuentro tocando en la Cátedra de Flamencología en los festivos de verano acompañando a gente como a los más grandes cantaores de la historia del flamenco como a Terremoto, como al Tio Borrico, Mairena… Gerardo Núñez interviewed in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. A similar story was captured by Ángel Álvarez Caballero, El toque Flamenco (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2003).

together of knowledge, techniques, historical flamenco data, etc. about flamenco singing, dance and *toque* (flamenco guitar playing).\textsuperscript{31} This concept seems perfect for defining *la Catedra Jerezana*, created in 1958 by a group of poets and researchers.\textsuperscript{32} Some of these flamencologists like Manuel Ríos Ruiz, second sub-director and co-founder of the *Catedra de Flamencologia de Jerez* (nowadays part of the University of Cádiz),\textsuperscript{33} have played an important role in flamenco conservation and its acceptance as an art form.

However, *flamencólogos* cannot uphold an eternal search for absolute truths. It must also be noted that in many occasions flamenco musicians were intimidated by the pronouncements of these so-called specialists. For example, Núñez mentioned in the newspaper in Las Palmas that, “Young guitarists [are] censured by the flamencologists.”\textsuperscript{34} In a personal interview Núñez said that the local institution was important to the flamenco of Jerez. Juan de La Plata, president of *La Catedra de Flamencología*, has had a strong influence on flamenco practice.\textsuperscript{35} This president of the institution gave local *flamencos*, including Núñez, the opportunity to collaborate with flamenco singers and dancers in the summer festivals organized by *La Catedra de Flamencología de Jerez*.\textsuperscript{36} As seen, this institution was helpful for Núñez’s initial acquiring of ‘flamenco’ knowledge. Gerardo Núñez has been a apposite example for this chapter because he is an ‘authentic’ flamenco guitarist from Jerez (being non-gypsy) and he received all the local knowledge similarly to Moraito and Tomatito, as seen in the previous chapter, playing for flamenco singers and dancers not by being born into a flamenco family. The concept of ‘place’ is essential to the ‘transmission of knowledge’ in his particular case.

\textsuperscript{31} José Blas Vega and Manuel Ríos Ruiz, *Diccionario Enciclopédico Ilustrado del Flamenco* (Madrid: DEIF, 1988).


\textsuperscript{33} When he calls flamenco “The supremacy of Andalusia folk music”, Manuel Ríos Ruiz is both exaggerating and showing a lack of understanding. *El Gran Libro del Flamenco*. Vol. 1 (Madrid: Calambur, 2002).

\textsuperscript{34} Title of an interview with Gerardo Nuñez in the newspaper: La Provincia, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Tuesday 15\textsuperscript{th} February 2005. “Los jóvenes guitarristas tenemos a la censura de los flamencólogos encima”.

\textsuperscript{35} D. Juan de la Plata Franco Martínez (Jerez) is a poet, writer and journalist. http://juandelaplata.com/.

\textsuperscript{36} Interview with Gerardo Núñez, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 14\textsuperscript{th} February 2005.
3.2 Learning Flamenco from a Teacher: Family and the Local Maestro

Although the ‘myth’ of ownership due to birthright is not unique to flamenco (see for example the Griot traditions in Africa), it has been popularised through academic discourse; including secondary literature. Three examples include: (1) the conclusion of Gypsies and Flamenco: The Emergence of the Art of Flamenco in Andalusia by French scholar, Bernard Leblon (whose research on flamenco history has a particular Roma/Gypsy orientated perspective); 37 (2) the conclusion of flamenco specialist, José Manuel Gamboa, that the practice of flamenco is limited to those from Roma families, where he writes that Roma musicians “almost…were born dancing […]” 38, and (3) musician Tomatito himself, who supports the idea of flamenco musicians being ‘born’ to play: “Home is where as a child you absorb everything, the vocation and the love of the instrument “[…] you just pick up a guitar and you learn from the family […] flamenco musical culture […]” 39 Tomatito’s comment is particularly intriguing; although he may have been pointing to Roma families as the essential ingredient to learning flamenco, his words can be transferred more generally to families where flamenco is important – and that includes non-Roma families.

Learning from the family is essential for the Roma flamenco musicians but by no means unknown for non-Roma flamenco guitarists. In the case of Núñez, he started to play the flamenco guitar when he was a child because his brothers and sisters were learning flamenco. As Núñez explains, “the most typical thing is that girls learn how to dance and some boys as well, and if not, they learn flamenco guitar […] What happened in my case was that my sister [Joaquina] started to learn how to dance and me - I learned to play the flamenco guitar.” 40 This comment regarding Núñez’s childhood

38 José Manuel Gamboa, Una Historia del Flamenco (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2004), p. 527. More information in the following quote by Manuel Agujetas: “Roma Gitanos grow up differently: seeing flamenco dancing, playing and singing, hand-clapping and compass”. 39 Tomatito, interview with author, Pamplona Auditorium, October 2006. 40 […] Se suele dar en pueblos, en Jerez, tenemos unas fiestas muy importantes para nosotros que son las ferias, que todas las niñas y las mujeres se visten de gitanas y están guapísimas. También, en Jerez tenemos cierto apego a los caballos. En este ambiente, lo más normal es que las niñas se pongan a estudiar baile y algunos niños también y sí no la guitarra flamenca. Entonces lo que sucedió es que mi hermana empezó a estudiar baile y yo guitarra flamenca […] Gerardo Nuñez in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Tuesday 15th February 2005. More information about Nuñez’s childhood and his family can be found in Miguel Mora, ‘El Flamenco es Muy Joven’ in Emilio Gil, Apagadito Pageo and Juan Verdú (eds.), El Canon: Revista de Arte Flamenco (Madrid: El Canon: Flamenco-Publicaciones Periódicas,
helps us to understand that having brothers and sisters who are learning flamenco provides a door of opportunity to start learning the instrument.

Martin Stokes’ idea of the different ways we “relocate” ourselves through music is helpful for Núñez’s case in relation to ‘identity’ and ‘authenticity’. Although Núñez grew up in the neighbourhood of El Pelirón (Jerez de la Frontera), Núñez’s family was from another Andalusian region. Núñez’s family moved to Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz county) from Granada before Gerardo was born. Núñez told me: “I am one of the members of a humble or lowly family originally from Granada. All my family - my father, my mother and all my brothers—are from Granada. We were nine people in total and I am the only one who was born in Jerez. In my house the [flamenco] knowledge was there… but I feel very much from Jerez.”

As it has been shown, the non-Roma or gitano guitarists who learned flamenco during their childhood usually did so within a family dedicated to flamenco. Being born in Algeciras, Cádiz or Jerez, where flamenco may be part of everyday family life, provides an environment suitable for learning flamenco.

Another myth worth discussing is the notion that flamenco cannot be taught. Núñez worked briefly with guitarist Rafael del Águila y Aranda (b. 1900 - d. 1975), in Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz). “I was eleven years old when I started to play the guitar and I had a teacher then for just six months. Now my teacher is dead, he was very old even when I was studying with him.”

Núñez remembers that Águila knew flamenco and some classical repertory, and that he lived in a shanty dwelling (Chabola). He was an ill person; he did not want to leave his home, so his students had to go to look for things for him.

In addition to flamenco, Rafael del Águila appreciated many other music genres. He possessed an original teaching style that was atypical of other flamenco teachers. He

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2007). p. 21. According to Miguel Mora’s interview Gerardo’s father was a good amateur musician. He worked on the land but he also learnt music and created an orchestina.


42 Gerardo Núñez Díaz told me in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 14th February 2005 that he was born the 29th June 1961 in Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz).

43 Soy miembro de una familia humilde de procedencia granadina. Toda mi familia, mi padre, mi madre y todos mis hermanos son granadinos, raíces granadinas, descendencia granadida y nacidos en Granada. Somos nueve hermanos y yo soy el único que naci en Jerez. En mi casa el ambiente siempre se ha cocido muy... pero yo me siento muy jerezano. […] Gerardo Núñez, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 14th February 2005.

44 A los 11 años fue cuando empecé a tocar la guitarra y estuve con un profesor soló durante seis meses. Porque mi profesor se murió, era ya muy Viejo […] Gerardo Núñez, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Tuesday 15th February 2005.
had many students at the same time, but would be in one room while the students stayed in another. As Núñez described: “Because it was an oral way of teaching, you entered his room and he taught you a small part of a flamenco falseta and then you had to go to the other room to study it, while another student was with him in his room. Afterwards you returned to him to learn another part... And, after these two times, that was the lesson.”

It is essential to stress from this quote that Núñez learned flamenco from an aural transmission of knowledge, a method common to many folk traditions. From his lessons with Aguila, Núñez developed a ‘flamenco ear,’ acquiring techniques by imitating or repeating his teacher.

Núñez also acknowledges Perriquín, Niño Jero, and Morao as important ‘teachers’ – he made frequent visits to their homes after school. As Núñez explains it, “I used to escape from school by going to their homes to play flamenco.” From these three musicians, Núñez learned techniques in becoming a solo musician, as well as a master accompanist to vocalists.

Specifically, he gained a practical way of playing the different llamadas (flamenco dancing calls) in accompanying, which emphasised the right hand. This way of playing enabled Núñez to acquire great control of the right hand, which later enabled him to excel in solo playing. It is important here to mention that the traditional role of flamenco guitar has been to accompany singers, however, Núñez extended that role by emerging as a flamenco solo guitarist. More specifically, Perriquin, Niño Jero and

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45 Y como la enseñanza era oral, tú entrabas, te ponía un trocito de falseta y te ibas al otro cuarto a estudiarla, y pasaba otro alumno; después pasabas otra vez... Y así, pasabas dos veces, dos momentitos, y así era la clase [...] Entonces había lo que era encuentrarme en el ambiente, yo era muy pequeño pero allí me encontraba con mucha gente y alucinaba. Interview with Gerardo Núñez included in the book written by Ángel Álvarez Caballero, El toque Flamenco (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2003), pp. 68-69.

46 This way of learning is related to what Lucy Green called “informal learning”. More information in Lucy Green, How Popular Musicians Learn?: A Way Ahead for Music Education (Aldershot, Hants; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002). This relates to Paco de Lucia’s idea that before he learnt how to play the guitar he already knew the flamenco rhythms because of the parties held on the patio of his house. Paco de Lucia states that before he started to play the guitar, he knew all the rhythms and how tflamenco singing should be performed because of his flamenco family environment and the company of local artists who came in the morning to his house after playing for the señoritos. Obviously, it sounds like exaggeration, but being born in Algeciras, Cádiz or Jerez, where flamenco is part of everyday life, a historical knowledge can be absorbed. In a way, it is related to how folk and popular musicians learn their music too.

47 Núñez added “Some afternoons when I had technology or religious studies, I would escape from school and go with the flamencos [...] Me encuentro en El Instituto y a lo mejor estaba estudiando física por la mañana y por la noche estaba tocando al Agujetas por seguirillas y por la mañana... vivía en dos mundos. Yo recuerdo que muchas veces me escapaba del colegio y ve iba a casa del Periquín, Niño Jero y a la casa del Morao, me escapaba algunas tardes que recuerdo que había tecnología o había religión y me escapaba y me iba con ellos [...] Gerardo Núñez, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 14 February 2005.
Morao created an environment in which Núñez mould a new flamenco approach.  

3.3 Learning from Flamenco Recordings and other Popular Music

Flamenco guitarists of the ’60s generation grew more interested in collaborating and playing with musicians from other musical and cultural backgrounds, due largely to developments in technology. Despite being defined as a ‘pure’ art form by such Spanish writers as Manuel Ríos Ruiz and as ‘non-pure’ by other writers such as Jose Luis Ortiz Nuevo, Jose Manuel Gamboa, and Luis Clemente, flamenco has absorbed many different musical influences during its evolution and development. In recent years, technology has given flamenco musicians the opportunity to listen to many other types of music. For example, as a teenager, Núñez used to listen to and copy other musical styles. His musical multi-identity started during his youth, when he listened to flamenco and world music on LPs and the radio. In this way, media sources can also be considered Núñez’s ‘teachers’. As Núñez told me “I started with a pick up, and a record player; one of these turntables… I found Sabicas’ albums and wanted to listen to them but the major difficulty was when trying to put the stylus at the beginning of the falseta […] we broke needles and everything. Nowadays, I have the latest technology.”

His biggest musical influence, Núñez expains, included symphonic-rock artists such as Pink Floyd and King Crimson.

Jerez remembers that, “to become familiar with the singing

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48 The ‘flamenco’ education that Núñez received from Rafael del Águila and that handed on by the gypsy family of the Moraos may be similar, but he and the other flamenco guitarists from his generation have applied this ‘flamenco’ knowledge differently. Núñez has not followed a parallel road with Moraito Chico (b.1955). Gerardo thinks that Moraito Chico has very clear ideas about his music. Moraito Chico’s son, Diego del Morao (b. 1979), who has absorbed and added his own spin on his father’s way of playing, is still also relaying flamenco knowledge.

49 As we saw previously in Tomatito’s chapter, flamenco guitarists have collaborated with Spanish and non-Spanish classical, folk and popular musicians (particularly with jazz and rock musicians).

50 Manuel Ríos Ruiz, El Gran Libro del Flamenco (Calabur, 2002) and Gamboa, José Manuel and Calvo P., Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco El Duende de Ahora. (Madrid: Guía de música, 1994). Clemente, Luis, Flamencos!!! De evolución. (Sevilla: Lapislázuli, 2002). I have connected their ideas with sociological perspective of Ortiz Nuevo and Gerard Steingress, who have a more theoretical approach to the study of flamenco culture.

51 For example, Sabinas lived in New York and Gerardo Núñez’s generation has continued its connection with the American city. See Gerardo Núñez, Flamencos en Nueva York (Nueva York: Dro East West, 1989). This second album of Gerardo Núñez makes reference to the flamenco musicians in New York.

52 “Yo empecé con un Picú, un tocadisco de estos que giraban, con discos de vinilo …yo cogía los discos de Sabinas y la dificultad nuestra era que coincidiera la ahuja al principio de la falseta. Estroveabamos discos ahujas, de todo… ahora en mi caso tenemos la tecnologia punta […]” Gerardo Núñez, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 14February 2005.

style of flamenco singers was harder then, because at that time my friends and I were listening to Pink Floyd or Deep Purple and we went together to concerts to hear Andalusian Rock music which was fashionable. But they [my friends] never accompanied me when I was playing for singers in the peñas. It is essential to understand the multi-identity flamenco guitarists from Núñez’s generation had. Núñez and others from his generation had easy access to rock and jazz, as well as flamenco. They were influenced by both flamenco and non-flamenco music. As a result, flamenco from Núñez’s generation represents a multi-musical context.

One example of this multi-musical flamenco style comes from Núñez’s first solo album El Gallo Azul. The album title not only became the name of his eventual recording company, ‘El gallo Azul,’ it also represents the first composition on the album, which comprises a combination of three bulerías. An analysis of these bulerías demonstrates a mix of musical styles. Núñez begins ‘El Gallo Azul’ with a falseta without any clapping, and in the second part of the falseta and bridge to the bulería compás there is an accompaniment of 12 off beat clapping. (x= clapping). (See the example in the Appendix.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bulería ‘repiques’ Beat and off beat clapping</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>x</td>
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Traditionally, the count is: 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. So, in this case the most important accent beats are 2, 3, and 10 where the harmonic changes occur. (See the

54 “Y pese a dominar a la perfección los secretos del acompañamiento al cante en la actualidad, tampoco resultó cómodo aquel primer contacto con las peñas, locales exclusivos donde poder desarrollar la disciplina por entonces […]Familiarizarme con el cante me resultó un poco más duro, pues en aquel tiempo mis amigos y yo escuchábamos a grupos como Pink Floyd o Deep Purple y asistíamos a conciertos de rock andaluz que estaban de moda entonces. Pero ellos nunca me acompañaban a las peñas cuando tocaba a cantaores. […]. Interview with Gerardo Núñez by Josema Polo for the Flamenco Journal El Olivo. This can also be found online at www.deflamenco.com (February 2005).


57 Bulería style is undoubtedly the most charming flamenco style due to its characteristic rhythm and quick tempo, which gives to the piece a joyful and colourful flamenco sound. On the other hand, it is true that a bulería is the most difficult style to play because it requires a great guitar domain and an accurate beat time measure - a good compás. El Gallo Azul (the blue Rooster) is a good example of this. Gerardo has imagined and created it in the purest ‘Jerezan’ style. We are before a unique piece, and it can be studied as a part-time by anybody who wishes to ‘dive’ into the secrets of this extraordinary palo. In Berges Labordeta, Jorge, Gerardo Núñez: La Técnica al Servicio del Arte (Huesca: La Val de Osuna, 2000). Translation by Julio Coca.
In this example, Núñez does not move the beat 6 to the 7, like in the hand-clapping for keeping the harmonic changes as many other flamenco players in bulerías, soleá and alegrías to keep a kind of 6/8 3/4 feeling of the bulería compás.59

The Bulería falseta played towards the end of ‘El Gallo Azul’ that Núñez used for the introduction of ‘Labios de Hierro’ on Carmen Linares’ Un Ramito de Locura album60 in lower tempo, has a particular way of moving the bass down by semitones that is more usual in Brazilian popular music (for example, in ‘Corcovado’ and ‘Insensatez.’)61 This kind of progression is unusual in traditional flamenco. This particular falseta of ‘El Gallo Azul’ is an example not only of the bulería compás but is also similar to the harmonic progressions that can be found in jazz and world music recordings. Both genres have had a major influence on Núñez’s composition. (See the transcription in the Appendix, of the falseta which starts in stave 153 and is repeated in stave 161.)

Traditionally, to play Bulerías de Jerez, the guitar capo was put on the second fret to resolve the so-called ‘Spanish cadence’ in B Phrygian (iv-III7/9-II-I) (Em-D7-C-B Major with flat 9 called by flamenco musicians Phrygian or flamenco chord) that is always related to the register of the singer so, for example, if the flamenco singer was a cantaora (female singer) and she was a ‘soprano’, she would sing higher so the capo was put a semitone or a tone up depending of the tessitura of the singer. In El Gallo Azul, Núñez preferred the capo on the third fret, finishing the cadence on C Phrygian.

58 I understand why Jorge Berges made his transcription by considering 1 as an anacrusis but done in this way, it cannot be understood in the way that flamenco musicians understand the flamenco compás. It is the way it sounds, not the way it is written that shapes the barlines. Even in the present day, the majority of flamencos - who have received their knowledge through aural and oral transmission - do not read or write scores. This fact is however changing and many young flamenco musicians are doubly schooled.

59 When I attended Gerardo’s master classes in Sanlucar, Gerardo explained to us that when he is playing live he uses bulería soniquete for the left footwork.

60 Carmen Linares con Gerardo Núñez trio, Un ramito de Locura (Madrid: Universal Music Spain, 2001).

The modality and the tempo of the *El Gallo Azul* composition is connected to ‘A eso de venir el día’ sung by Indio Gitano.\(^2\) The bulería is also in C Major with flat 9 called Phrygian by flamencos. However, in this recording, with the exception of Gerardo’s modern *falsetas*, clearly influenced by world music recordings, the rest of the bulería is simply the traditional way of playing bulerías, with an alternation between *versos* and *falsetas*. (The *falsetas* are not connected musically as part of a whole development).

On the contrary, in Núñez’s following album - *Un Ramito Locura* - that he recorded with the flamenco singer Carmen Linares,\(^3\) Núñez relies on jazz. In the composition, ‘Labios de Hierro’, Núñez introduces a riff based on three jazz-flamenco chord cadences (A Major b9, G Diminished, D minor 9). According to the musicologist Faustino Núñez,

> The contribution of Gerardo Núñez to this album is based substantially on the exploration of new harmonic areas and rhythmic patterns for the guitar - using chords, progressions and cadences which situate this music in the avant-garde music of the contemporary scene. He [Núñez] is more a concerti than an accompanying guitarist; in each composition he tries to find new harmonic leitmotivs and like a conductor attempts to bring out the best of the tonal and modal ambiguity of the flamenco music - that double harmonic possibility of the guitar when playing flamenco.\(^4\)

In Núñez’s words, “There are those who say that *Un Ramito de Locura* sounds like a guitar recital. People don’t understand that, throughout a project like this, there’s a musical evolution, and it’s a different concept to the one they're used to.”\(^5\) Gerardo states that, to understand his own concept of the guitar composition on the *Un Ramito de Locura* album, he harmonised Carmen Linares’s voice not simply with guitar

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\(^2\) Indio Gitano, ‘A eso de vivir el día’, *Nací Gitano por la Gracia de Dios* (Madrid: 1993). Examples of reharmonizing can be found in two of Núñez’s musical collaborations: one from the past and the other from the recent present. I contrast an album by the singer, Bernardo Silva Carrasco, alias ‘Indio Gitano (b. Miajadas, Cáceres in 1940 – d.1999) with one recorded with Carmen Linares (b. 1951 in Jaén), *Un Ramito de Locura*.


\(^4\) La aportación de Gerardo Núñez al disco está basada substancialmente en explorar nuevos terrenos harmónicos y ritmicos de la guitarra, acordes, progresiones, remates y cadencias que sitúan este música en la vanguardia de la música de hoy. Él, que es má concertista que acompañante, plantea en cada número nuevas maneras principalmente harmónicas, explotando los motivos en su calidad de conductors (leitmotivs), y sacando el mayor partido de la ambigüedad tonal-modal de la música flamenca, ese doble sentido armónico de la guitarra cuando está tocando a lo flamenco. Original notes on *Un Ramito de Locura* written by Faustino Núñez on the Carmen Linares con Gerardo Núñez Trío album, *Un Ramito de Locura* (Madrid: Universal Music Spain, 2001).

\(^5\) Hay gente que dice que 'Un ramito de locura' parece un recital de guitarra. Como todo forma parte de una obra, la gente no sabe que hay un desarrollo musical, que hay otro concepto distinto al que están acostumbrados. Interview given by Gerardo Núñez to Silvia Calado Olivo in Madrid, March 2003. The translation was written by Gary Cook for flamenco-world. See www.flamenco-world.com (May 2006).
falsetas (learnt in the Jerez environment) but with a jazz trio arrangement and sound, so the voice was integrated in the composition.66

Marking the differences between the Indio Gitano and Carmen Linares recordings, Núñez says:

The first was a more ‘classical’ approach, and on Carmen's album we tried not to use the guitar simply as an accompaniment. The format up till now was falseta-cante-falseta. And what I tried to do - it isn't always possible - is to harmonize the vocals while she’s singing… and I think the result is pretty good.67

From Núñez’s perspective, flamenco easily embraces influences from world music:

“There are influences. Because of the availability of recordings we have been able to cross flamenco with everything we could think of. These days, flamenco guitarists play harmonies drawn from any type of music; they have got all kinds of influences.”68

‘Globalization's been around for a while now’, he says:

For us it began back in the days when we could buy a tape player and listen to other kinds of music. Before that we just had the record player and our Sabicas albums... in those days Paco de Lucía was just starting to get attention, but he still wasn't so successful. And we learned from it, because we are musicians who learned to play by ear […] Jazz albums started to arrive in Spain, and the guitar started to soak up ways and ideas borrowed from all over the world. These days everything's made that much easier, but even back then you could pick up some interesting stuff. Flamenco’s a vibrant, dynamic music, which absorbs outside influences, and as such flamenco musicians were also greatly influenced by symphonic rock. King Crimson and Robert Fripp drove us wild... In Jerez, though, even though we listened to that music we knew flamenco was our thing.69

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66 Apart from the harmony, the evolution of Gerardo's sound and the concept of this album as a whole are notable. In this second album, directed by Jose Manuel Gamboa, Gerardo recorded as part of a trio (with Pablo Martín on the double-bass, and ‘Cepillo’ on the flamenco box and percussion) with the intention of obtaining a jazz trio sound.

67 El primero era más clásico y en el de Carmen hemos tratado de utilizar la guitarra no como mera acompañante. El formato hasta ahora es falseta-cante-falseta. Y he intentado, no siempre se consigue, mientras que ella va cantando, armonizar el cante... y pienso que se agradece.

68 Las influencias están. Tenemos más cruces que un cementerio. En la guitarra flamenca actual puedes encontrar una armonía típica de cualquier tipo de música, tiene influencias de todos los lados. Interview given by Gerardo Núñez to Silvia Calado Olivo in Madrid, March 2003. Gary Cook translated it for flamenco-world.

69 No es ahora que está de moda la globalización. Empezó para nosotros en el momento en el que podíamos comprar un casset y escuchar música de otro tipo. Antes de eso teníamos sólo el tocadiscos y los discos de Sabicas... entonces Paco de Lucía se conocía, pero no había tenido aún tanto éxito. Y aprendíamos porque somos músicos de oído [...] Total que empezaron a llegar a España discos de jazz y la guitarra empezó a absorber maneras e ideas de todo el mundo. Ahora todo es más fácil, pero ya en aquella época se escuchaban cosas. También tuvo mucho impacto en los flamencos, al ser una música que está viva, que se está creando y que lo absorbe todo, el rock sinfónico. Flapabamos todos en colores con King Crimson, con Robert Fripp... Sin embargo, la gente de Jerez que escuchábamos esa música sabíamos que lo nuestro era el flamenco.
3.4 Learning from Travel and ‘New’ Environments: Jazz

Rather than going to New York, Paris, London or Tokyo, as so many other Spanish artists (dancers, guitarists, painters, writers, etc.) did, Núñez as many other Andalusian flamenco musicians went to the capital of Spain. They chose to develop their careers in Madrid, ideally useful for the *tablaos* (venues for performing) and recording studios. Núñez was among those who relocated to Madrid. Living in Madrid gave Núñez many performing opportunities. He continued to absorb other musical genres into his flamenco style, and he started to collaborate with musicians outside flamenco circles. According to Núñez, at the beginning he tried to play with everyone. It did not matter the style: flamenco, jazz or classical. He was interested in the artists; he was interested in learning different musical languages. The main influence Núñez acquired while in Madrid was jazz. According to Núñez, “While in Madrid I met people from El Puerto de Santa María such as Chano Domínguez, Javier Ruibal, Tito Alcedo; they were musicians who knew jazz.” Whilst there, Núñez also collaborated with the likes of Dave Thomas, the musicians who surround El Café Central, José Antonio Galicia, Tomás San Miguel and Paquito D’Rivera.

Spanish musicians like Núñez have long been seduced by jazz. This rich music genre, which has modified itself constantly through history by adding new elements (e.g. the modal jazz of Miles Davis), has common elements with flamenco in the origins and transmission of knowledge. Flamenco musicians – in common with jazz musicians – learn tunes and standards from other styles: blues, bolero, bossanova, etc., and appropriate them. For Núñez as a flamenco musician, it was nonetheless important not to lose his roots – the characteristic way of playing and feeling the *compás* (called *aire* by flamenco musicians). However, at the same time he was also interested in learning from the jazz harmonies, the scales, the improvisation, the ‘walking’ bass or rhythm, or

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70 It is curious that Gerardo has been in demand to record albums with personalities outside the world of flamenco music. Namely: Plácido Domingo, Teresa Berganza, Joaquín Sabina, Víctor Manuel, Julio Iglesias, Ana Belén, Isabel Pantoja, Antonio Carbonell, Rocío Jurado, Azúcar Moreno, Rosario, Los Chichos, Los Manolos and Mecano, Wollenweider… Quote extracted from Gerardo’s biography online in deflamenco.com at http://www.deflamenco.com/artistas/verArtista.jsp?codigo=33 (Mayo 2006).
72 Ibid.
‘groove’ of the jazz musicians. According to Núñez, his relation to jazz is one of admiration. He understands how jazz works but he does not speak the jazz language. He is not interested in playing ‘fusion’ music but he is interested in collaborations. In relation to this idea Núñez added “Why shouldn’t I play with jazz musicians? In fact, we understand one another quite well.”

During the 1950s, jazz musicians in the United States developed an interest in flamenco, borrowing Spanish themes for their own compositions. Examples include Miles Davis’s track ‘Flamenco Sketches’ (on Davis’s 1959 album, *Kind of Blue*) and his album *Sketches of Spain* (which borrowed tracks based on Alan Lomax’s recordings of flamenco and the classic concerto for guitar by Rodrigo, *Concerto of Aranjuez*). Another example comes from John Coltrane and his album *Olé*. However, according to Núñez the flamenco musicians have learned more from jazz musicians than the other way around:

I think flamenco’s been influenced a whole lot more than it’s influenced other genres. The most jazz musicians have managed is to use the twelve types of bulería rhythm, or to use the Spanish or flamenco scales and do what they can with them. It’s like in an American movie when they say ‘España’, ‘música flamenca’ and out come a bunch of Mexicans. There’s the odd musician who’s been more deeply influenced. Jazz musicians are the ones who’ve taken the greatest interest, and what they want is to play *por bulerías*, and they learn the time signature, but to make flamenco music you have to sit down and learn to listen. Knowing how to play guitar accompaniment is essential. A musician can really think of himself as a flamenco musician when he’s at a *fiesta* with his drums or his bass, and he can blend into the mêlée. And if they play *bulerías*, then *bulerías* it is, and if they play a *toná* then OK - *toná*. That’s one thing, but using those twelve beats *compás por bulerías* like Chick Corea does is another music, that’s not flamenco... I mean, of course, everyone can pick out the bits they like, but it hasn’t had a great influence... You go back and listen to Paquito D’ Rivera and those guys and what they’re doing is giving things a Spanish flavour, that’s all. You hear the word ‘flamenco’ and suddenly Chick Corea’s *Spain* starts playing. Just because you can dance to it (a little rumba) doesn’t make it flamenco.

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76 Rodrigo did not like what they did with his piece, nor Miles’s response to his doubts: “Wait for the royalties […]”. P. Calvo y J. M.Gamboa. Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco El Duende de Ahora. Madrid: Guía de música ediciones, 1994. Composer and conductors such as Leonard Berstein were also interested in flamenco for the *compás*, rhythms and modality.
77 No mucho. Creo que el flamenco se ha influenciado más de lo que ha influenciado. A lo máximo que han llegado los músicos del jazz ha sido a utilizar los doce compases de la bulería y coger la escala española o flamenca y hacer sus pinitos. Como cuando en las películas americanas dicen ‘España’, ‘música flamenca’ y salen los mexicanos. Algun músico en concreto se ha podido influenciar más. A todos lo músicos del jazz, que son los que más se han acercado, lo que les interesa es tocar por bulerías y aprenden el *compás*, pero para hacer flamenco habría que empezar por saber escuchar. Saber acompañar...
Núñez may scoff at the use of ‘Spanish flamenco flavour’ by some jazz composers, but he could be accused of a similar appropriation when he uses jazz and Cuban musicians on ‘La Habana a Oscuras’ (‘Havana in the Darkness’), the first track of Núñez’s album Andando el tiempo. Núñez recorded this track at his house in Madrid. It is a reworking of a composition performed in Seville, known as ‘De aquí pa allá’. This composition is a flamenco rumba in 4/4 with Rondeña tuning, (which is traditionally played with the 6th string in D and the 3rd in F#). This track follows the AABA structure of a jazz composition, with solo turnarounds in the B section, followed by a final return to the melody.

Although some flamenco musicians of a later generation than Paco de Lucía and Pedro Iturralde started to experiment with jazz, Núñez and those of his generation have actually collaborated with contemporary jazz players. As a result, a cultural exchange occurred, enabling a deep knowledge of jazz rhythm and harmony.

es esencial. Un músico se puede considerar músico flamenco, cuando es capaz de estar en una fiesta con su batería o con su bajo, incorporarse a la fiesta y desaparecer... Y si en la fiesta se hacen bulerías, pues se hace una toná, pues una toná. Pero de ahí a que hacer los doce compases de marras por bulerías como Chick Corea pueda considerarse hacer flamenco... Hombre, evidentemente, cada uno puede caller lo que le guste de cada sitio, pero no ha influenciado mucho... Escuchas posteriormente a Paquito D'Rivera y toda esta gente y lo que hacen son espanholadas. Dice ‘flamenco’ y sale la música de ‘Spain’ de Chick Corea. Eso no es flamenco, eso es una rumbita... Interview with Gerardo Núñez by Silvia Calado Olivo in Madrid, March 2003. Gary Cook did the translation for flamenco-world.

For example, listen to the hand clapping in ‘Armando’s Rumba’ by Chick Corea and ‘For Chick’ in Jazzpaña II.

La Habana Oscura se ilumina de música y la guitarra arrastra a las percusiones los metales y las palmas. Juega, brilla y se divierte en compañía, por el Malecón que nunca se acuesta (José Luis Ortiz Nuevo) In Cádiz, together with the flamenco specialist of the SGAE, José Manuel Gamboa, Gerardo told us he usually changed the name of his compositions and this made it difficult to generate royalties for the flamenco pieces.

Gerardo Núñez, Andando el tiempo (ACT, 2004).

The bulerías has the 12 beats that I analysed in El gallo Azul. There are other compositions and commentaries on Gerardo’s pieces, which brings us to his last solo album. The idea Gerardo had, was to record compositions that he created for other projects such as Jazzpaña II, that he then had the chance to recreate when touring the world with his Trio (Pablo Martin on doublebass and Cepillo on the flamenco box). Added to this was the collaboration of great European jazz players, such as trumpeter Paolo Fresu. And what was even more interesting, was that when he recorded in his studio in Madrid, Gerardo went to find a number of musicians - Spanish and Cuban jazz musicians - to give the groove and the walking that he was searching for, for the piece. The Cuban musicians who played the congas and electric-bass: Juanito El cubano’ and Pepe ‘El Habanero’ and the flamenco musicians are in a way interrelated in the global city of Madrid.

Jorge Pardo and Carles Benavent, who collaborated for many years in Paco de Lucía’s sextet, and with other names such as Dorantes, Tino di Geraldo, Tomatito and Guillermo McGill, cannot be forgotten. Without these Spanish jazz-flamenco musicians the contemporary flamenco scene would not be understandable at the present.

In the last ten years the number of collaborations between jazz and flamenco musicians have increased. Apart from the previously mentioned tour and album of Tomatito with Michel Camilo, I could continue naming South and North American jazz players such as Bebo Valdés, Pat Metheny and Gerry Gonzales, who have collaborated with the flamencos Diego ‘El Cigala’, Niño Josele and Enrique Morente. However, those flamenco musicians have collaborated sporadically with the jazz players, while...
has collaborated with jazz-flamenco musicians such as pianist Chano Domínguez on the album Jazzpaña II but has also made new arrangements and fresh interpretations of some of his own compositions using international jazz players. American electric bass player, John Patitucci, Cuban pianist, Danilo Pérez and Armenian percussionist, Arto Tuncboyaciyan worked with Núñez on a jazz reinterpretation of his flamenco compositions on Calima.\(^4\) (See details of ‘Los Caños de la Meca’, renamed as ‘Calima’ in the Appendix.)

As we saw in chapter two, there are differences for flamencos between using the concept ‘fusion’ and ‘collaboration’. For the two flamenco-Roma players, Tomatito and Raimundo, with their particular flamenco-blues-jazz idiom, they were not doing ‘fusion’ in Mundi because they positioned themselves within one cultural space. However, in the case of Núñez collaborating with the American musicians in the Calima album could be conceptualised as a ‘transnational hybrid’ according to Gerhard Steingress’s understanding of the concept because John Patitucci, Danilo Pérez and Arto Tuncboyaciyan are from different cultural contexts and so more than one cultural centre exists. In the Jazz-Flamenco album with Chano Domínguez the musicians are trying to make fusion between these two cultural centres.

For flamenco musicians like Núñez, jazz represented freedom as seen in his performance Cruce de Caminos in Sevilla playing with Perico Sambeat on the sax and Mark Miralta on the drums (and, after Franco’s regime hijacked traditional flamenco and made it an emblem for Spain, not merely for its use of improvisation and harmony substitution. By creating a ‘new flamenco’ with jazz and world music influences – one that borrowed from other popular musical idioms – musicians could separate themselves and contemporary flamenco from the regime. That is why learning jazz and collaborating with jazz musicians in Madrid changed not only the way contemporary flamenco sounds (music examples, Calima and Andando el Tiempo albums, Chano Domínguez’s New flamenco Sound and Paco de Lucía’s Cositas Buenas albums) but instigated a new style, the flamenco-jazz that Núñez was creating, with its own social, cultural and ideological connotations.

Gerardo Núñez, apart from recording with Arto Tuncboyaciyan, Danilo Pérez, John Patitucci and Paolo Fresu, etc, performs and records regularly with Spanish jazz players such as Perico Sambeat, Pablo Martin, Javier Colina and Marc Miralta. Gerardo Núñez live with jazz and flamenco Musicians 2000, Pasajes (Sevilla: Jazz viene del Sur, 2001).

\(^4\) Gerardo Núñez, Calima (Madrid: El Gallo Azul, 1999). In 1999, Gerardo recorded in the States his fourth ‘solo’ album Calima, which reflects his multi-identity totally.
Conclusion

The ‘return’ to Andalusia

Núñez and his wife Carmen Cortés return to Cádiz (Jerez and Sanlúcar) annually for the purpose of teaching flamenco through a series of workshops. Other flamenco artists - singers, dancers, guitarists and percussionists - join Núñez during these visits. These have included Rafael de Utrera, Carmen Lozano, Panino de Jerez, Tino Vandersman, and ‘El Cepillo’. Classes held during the day are followed by bulería parties at night meant to provide participants with a range of venues for learning flamenco.

I have attended these Núñez workshops and I recall that, on the first day of the course, the guitar students divided themselves into two groups: the advanced and the intermediate guitar students (see the plate in the Appendix). Núñez’s master classes are not recommended for beginners! Oral and aural transmission are the basic tools for learning flamenco during the workshops and I found it remarkable that no music sheets were provided as an accompaniment to Núñez’ master classes; only audio recording is allowed during the master classes. Núñez explained to me that ‘cifra (tablature) and scores with tablature is a ‘new’ thing for flamencos […] it was used for flamenco students abroad.’ In Sanlúcar, Núñez transmits orally and aurally the cultural side of ‘flamenco’ knowledge and lends his support to the new generation of flamencos.

According to Núñez: “my main motivation in starting the project [the new school of flamenco guitar] is the personal need as a guitarist and musician to introduce the

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Núñez and Carmen Cortés, who were based in Madrid, had the idea of creating a flamenco course in Andalusia more than twenty years ago. The city of Jerez where Núñez was born was chosen but the course lasted for just one year. The year after that class finished, they moved the course to Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz) on the coast. Núñez was committed to teaching flamenco, holding to his belief that ‘flamenco’ knowledge could be transmitted, http://www.cursoflamenco.com/english/portada.htm (25th April 2009).

In order to dig deep into flamenco culture and into Núñez’s knowledge and practice I attended his guitar Master classes in Sanlúcar de Barrameda during July 2005.

There are two elements that differentiate the intermediate and advanced group learning, which are also the differences between traditional and contemporary flamenco. In the intermediate group, students learn falsetas, which are self-structured leitmotivs that can be used in a flamenco introduction or in gaps between the verses of the flamenco singer. However, the advanced group learns more complex compositions or parts of them, which links to other parts of Gerardo’s latest album. This concept is the one that advanced students from the Sanlúcar are given. The musical material, which is learned in the advanced master class, is taken from complete compositions from Núñez’s ‘solo’ albums. Students from Andalusia said they attend Núñez’s master class, not to learn ‘traditional’ flamenco that they may already know but to learn this more contemporary flamenco ‘Flamenco-Jazz’. This flamenco-jazz, Núñez teaches to his students as being part of the ‘world music’ phenomenon and is performed around the world in venues such as The Sage in Gateshead.

Gerardo Núñez, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 14th February 2005.
work of these young players, who, despite the difficulties in showing it, will never stop studying and practicing like mad […] It is therefore my duty to provide them with the ways to show the world their creations and illusions, since my generation never had this kind of support.”

It is striking that Nuñez has a keenly developed sense of responsibility to the tradition here, making it clear that his sense of belonging, his sense of place and his self-image as tradition bearer are keenly felt. Nonetheless, his own trajectory through the tradition has been one characterised by complex insider/outsider moves, and by encounters with ways of playing that have challenged profoundly the purist construction of the tradition. This paradox is one which characterises many of his generation’s flamencos.

Chapter 4:

Flamenco and Issues of Displacement: Juan Manuel Cañizares

Travelling and collaborating with musicians from other musical and cultural backgrounds is essential to the development of any musician. As mentioned in Chapter two, flamenco musicians often deal, both in their music and in their discourse, with ‘travel’, as a key thematic. In the past, gitanos were characterized as a people on the move, travelling in the caravans that were also their homes. They were considered nomadic, nomadism was a community practice that the Castilian Institutions decided should not be allowed, creating laws to force them to settle. A major percentage settled in Andalusia.\(^1\) However, in the twentieth century, a large percentage of the population – both Roma and non-Roma – had to migrate to other countries and to the north of the Iberian Península due to socio-economical pressures and because of the war. Having taken into account theories of ownership and place from the first chapter in relation to ‘authenticity,’ and the idea of transmission of ‘flamenco knowledge’ from the second chapter, this chapter analyses flamenco traditions outside of Andalusia in relation to issues of displacement, creolization and identity in relation to ‘authenticity’. To do this I have researched flamenco musicians who were born in ‘new’ flamenco environments, outside of Andalusia, who, at the same time, still have a strong relationship with their traditions and culture. Flamenco music outside of Andalusia has also absorbed musical influences, which in turn have enriched the musical tradition at the turn of the twenty-first century.

The contemporary flamenco guitarist Juan Manuel Cañizares, who was born in Can Oriach (Sabadell) in 1966, is the model for a discussion of the issues of displacement.\(^2\) I have chosen Cañizares here because of his Catalan origin and because


\(^2\) My complete name is Juan Manuel Cañizares Lara and I was born on the 4th May 1966. I consider myself a musician, guitarist and composer. “Mi nombre completo es Juan Manuel Cañizares Lara y nací el 4 de Mayo de 1966 y me considero un músico guitarrista y compositor.” Interview with Juan Manuel Cañizares in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 7th March 2008.
of his alternative music education, which occurred within a flamenco context outside of Andalusia.

This chapter is divided into four parts. Part one is an historical and socio-economic introduction to the Andalusians who were forced to leave the south of the Iberian Peninsula as a result of industrialization and the consequences of the civil war. In Part two, I will focus on the migration between Andalusia and Catalonia and particularly on Sabadell, the city where Cañizares’s family re-defined home along with other Andalusian families who moved there for work in the textile industry. There they created a new flamenco community, bringing to it elements of their tradition. Apart from the interview with this musician/guitarist/composer on 7 March 2008, I went to Sabadell and Barcelona to extend my research to look at Catalan flamencos and how they identified themselves in relation to Andalusian flamencos. In Part three, I analyse the period of Cañizares’s education attending the academic conservatoire in Terrasa. As we shall see, having a brother who was a flamenco maestro at home, Cañizares seems to have had a similar family environment to the Andalusian guitarists analysed in the previous chapters. However, the cultural environment Cañizares studied in brought him new opportunities: he learnt two languages and received a professional academic music education that influenced his way of playing. This classical training had a direct effect on his recorded repertoire and the musical collaborations he has chosen. The Catalan flamenco Cañizares, now based in Madrid, returned to Barcelona, where he taught master classes at the ESMUC [Escola Superior de Música de Catalunya] School of Advanced Music Studies of Catalonia. Part four explores the point at which the guitarist moved to Madrid and started to collaborate not only with new experimental Andalusian flamencos but with popular music, rock and jazz projects. Despite this mixture of styles, Cañizares does not believe in the concept of ‘fusion’ he prefers to speak about the ‘encounter of musicians.’ In this part, I analyse Cañizares’s national career and the multiple collaborations (including non-flamenco musicians) he has made, looking for examples of ‘creolization’ in flamenco. As we saw with Núñez, many flamenco artists have moved to large metropolitan cities such as Madrid, which are ideal for the

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3 Ibid.
4 Juan Manuel Cañizares told me in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 7th March 2008. This can also be found in other interview of Luis Clemente in November 2000 in www.flamencoworld.com/artists/canizares/ecanizare.htm (december 2010) “La palabra fusión me merece mucho respeto y no me siento capaz de fusionar: me parece imposible conocer dos culturas tan bien en una sola vida”. “I have a great amount of respect for the word ‘fusion’, but I can't do that: I think it's impossible to know two cultures well enough in a single life time.” This idea will be analysed later in relation on Paco de Lucia’s statement about the ‘encounter of musicians’ and not ‘fusion’ that Cañizares follows.
opportunities they afford for making recordings in professional sound studios, a wide range of performing opportunities and convenient travel connections between different continents. The example of Madrid and Barcelona as multi-cultural spaces, and Cañizares as a son of both these cities, will help us to comprehend the wider picture of the tradition of displacement.  

To conclude this chapter, I will investigate the concept of creolization in relation to the global market and the most recent recordings that Cañizares made at Peter Gabriel’s WOMAD Real World Studios. Cañizares travels regularly to perform and teach in New York and in Japan, the homeland of his wife Mariko. In line with what has happened in other musical genres like so-called ‘Nomadic Tango’ (as conceptualized by Ramón Pelinski), I want to analyze flamenco in the ‘new’ places in which it is lived, created and performed. I look at musicians identified with flamenco who, at the present time, have a strong international projection extending to many cultural contexts. Nanette De Jong has noted that “diasporic [displaced] identities are construed as an ongoing, ever-changing process, in which perceived pasts are constantly renegotiated and constantly subjugated.” This insight will prove valuable for this chapter.

4.1. Historical and Sociological issues for Andalusia’s Migration: Andalusians moving to Catalonia

As we have seen (and as is well attested) flamenco is associated with the South of the Peninsula, its origins believed rooted in this particular area of what has been later conceptualised as Andalusia. However, through the process of migration, flamenco tradition is also practiced in many other parts of Spain (and even many other counties). First of all, to understand the different socio-economical factors that drove a large portion of the Andalusian population to migrate to the north of Spain in the middle of

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5 For example, looking at other flamenco guitarists like Paco Peña, who lives in London or Paco de Lucia who lived in Yucatán, Mexico for more than five years. See the double DVD: Paco de Lucia, Francisco Sánchez– Paco de Lucia (Spain: Universal Music, 2003).
7 To research Juan Manuel Cañizares I needed to look at many sources from Sabadell, Barcelona, Madrid and even Japan.
the twentieth century, we need to take into account the history of the people who lived in the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula and, in particular, the specific politics in relation to the Andalusian county over the centuries.

Although the civil war of the twentieth century was a primary cause, there were also essential socio-economical factors that provoked migration during the middle decades of the twentieth century. Andalusia was known by the majority of Spain to be an area of the *Latifundios* – big extensions of land – owned by a few landlords called *señoritos* (rich landlords or their sons). The land ownership system allowed the owners of the large estates to wield great power for centuries:

> These wide expanses of land have their origins in landowning patterns that stretch back to Roman times […] The workers of this land, called *Jornaleros* (peasants without land), were themselves landless […] The families of the landless farmers lived at, or near, the poverty level, and their relations with the landed gentry were marked by conflict, aggression, and hostility […].

Between 1951 and 1975, over 1.7 million Andalusian people emigrated from Andalusia to other areas of Spain. This figure was approximately 24 per cent of the population of Andalusia as a whole but drawn mainly from the countryside areas. The main recipients of this migration were Catalonia (receiving 989,256 people of Andalusian origin in 1975), Madrid (330,479) and Valencia (217,636), and to a lesser degree, the Basque Country and Balearics. In 2006 there were 754,174 Andalusians living in Catalonia.

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9 As it was seen in chapter one, different cultural groups then suffered displacement: Arabics, Moriscos, Jews and later poor Andalusian peasants. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the ‘discoverers’ of America brought to Iberia from the New World, stolen gold. At that time in its history, Seville was a prosperous city like New York is today. It sank into economic decline when European conflicts and the independence of the colonies in nineteenth and twentieth century once again displaced the Andalusian people. After the Napoleonic invasion, although Cádiz was never conquered by the French army, ‘Andalusia’s economy suffered from the effects of the independence movement in South America during the nineteenth century.

10 These economic and cultural systems produced a distinctive perspective, involving class consciousness and class conflicts as well as significant emigration. In contrast to the much smaller farm towns and villages of northern Spain, where the land was worked by its owners, class distinctions in the agro-towns of Andalusia stood out. Economic growth and social mobility, although dispersed and not homogeneous to the region, fundamentally started in the 1970s; coinciding with the arrival of democracy, and are intensified by the development of agroindustry, tourism, and the service sector. In 1981 the Statute of Autonomy is approved after the Andalusian movement for autonomy. Since 1990, Andalusia has followed a dynamic convergence process and is moving closer in development to the most advanced regions in Europe, with corresponding advancement in living standards. See ‘Andalusian People’ online at http://www.worldlingo.com/ma/enwiki/en/Andalusian_people. (February 2011)

11 Also, during 1962 to 1974, around 700,000 Andalusians - almost all of them male, aged 15 to 44 - moved abroad for economic reasons, mainly originating from the provinces of Granada, Jaén and Córdoba. Their preferred destinations were France, West Germany and Switzerland, followed by the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Belgium. There are no official recorded figures for previous decades.
According to Dr. Galindo’s parents, who came from Granada, there was a strong wave of migration to Catalonia from the late 1930s up until the 1960s. An important number of Andalusia’s immigrants, who were met with an ever more challenging economic environment in their region after the war, were attracted to Catalonia for its strong economy and industry. Another reason for the mass migration that has already been mentioned was the Spanish civil war (1936-1939) when many people, including artists such as Pablo de Málaga (Picasso), left Spain altogether. Others artists, for example, Federico García Lorca, came back to Spain. He was killed in his hometown, in Granada, Andalusia. It is very interesting to speak about the sons of the forced ‘displacement’ or whether we can speak about ‘diaspora’ within ‘one Península’ or if that term only applies when Arabics, Jews and Moriscos were force to leave in the past. From demographic data, in 1940 there were 940 Andalusian immigrants in Sabadell; however by 1950 that number had increased to 3,014 and in 1960 to around 20,288. I will focus here on Sabadell (Catalonia) not only because Cañizares’ family moved there but because of the textile industry and the town was one of the most important areas and was the county where a major number of Andalusians settled. The population of Sabadell was doubled in thirty years and new improvised neighbourhoods were produced, in which identity and cultural issues in relation to Andalusia were essential. The Andalusians brought with them their culture and music and they were a majority in cities like Sabadell and Badalona, where even today flamenco is an important part of their identity and the musical scene of these Northern cities.

According to Lluís Cabrera and Miguel Fernández (who, as presidents of a society of Andalusian-Catalans, called themselves els altres Andalusos – ‘The other Andalusians’):

The post war era saw a displacement of thousands of agricultural workers from Andalusia, who dispersed to different European Countries. The majority of the 900,000 men and women went to Catalonia to try to find a better life. With The Dictatorship and the subsequent persecution of the Catalan language - a primary identity stone of Catalanism - it became obvious that the displacement of people from the south of Spain was proving to be a real threat to the language. During Franco’s time in power, that feeling was not so critical. At that time Franco was the common enemy, so certain social frictions were not so perceptible. However,
when democracy was introduced to Spain and Catalonia became an autonomous community with its own local government, then old enmities regarding identity issues returned. [...] The political interests of different Catalan parties varied but all had plans and made moves to control that part of the population that was originally from Andalusia.  

Cabrera continues:

Franco’s dictatorship was interested in bringing uniformity to Spanish Culture and considered it a bad idea to integrate Andalusian folk art and ideas such as La copla and deep flamenco into national flamenquismo. Mistrusted by the regime in power because of their bad politics and [Andalusian] generally lower class, the people had to leave their region in massive numbers.

Also, he wonders,

Why didn’t Franco choose the bagpipes of the north of Spain as a symbol to ‘unify’ Spain? Along with romances, tonadas, jotas and fandangos, they are part of the cultural heritage of the society and would not, perhaps, have been seen as such a political imposition. Catalans are very proud of being open to Europe and to global cultures, yet they have not given recognition to the gypsy dancer from Catalonia, Carmen Amaya, despite the fame she found internationally and the esteem she is still held in for her revolutionary approach to flamenco. Could this lack of regard from Catalans be because Carmen Amaya was a gypsy; because she was born in Somorrostro (Barcelona) or because she danced flamenco?  

There are reasons to think that flamenco “has had a weak presence in Catalonia and that its manifestations have enjoyed limited acceptance” (indeed, during my research, I became aware that there are very few publications on the history of flamenco in Catalonia), yet there is also good reason to think that this is not the case as Francisco Hidalgo Goméz points out. There are many sources claiming that flamenco was performed in Catalonia in the last part of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Major figures such as Carmen Amaya were from Somorrostro (Barcelona). It was only the Spanish civil war (1936-1939) that drove the Amaya family (as it did many other flamenco musicians) to escape to America.

After the ‘golden age’ of flamenco, Catalonia suffered from the manipulations of Franco’s regime. Although in Franco’s time many Catalan people did not associate themselves with flamenco for political reasons, after the transition to democracy not

15 Ibid., p. 11.
16 Lluis Cabrera Sanchez, ‘La Catalunya mestizain’ http://blogs.publico.es/domiopublico/1211/la-catalunya-mestiza/ (Nov. 2009). The same happened regarding the recognition of the Catalan Rumba. Why was it not considered for promotion as a symbol of Spanish culture? Because it had something in common with flamenco? Catalonia has however grown up through the different migration waves and with time it has added much to a country in construction.
only did they identify themselves (for example Enrique Morente), but contemporary flamenco also associated itself with the new generation of Andalusian flamencos that immigrated to Catalonia and those who were born in Catalunya (Charnegos).

4.2. Childhood in a Flamenco Environment Outside Andalusia: Catalonia (Sabadell and Barcelona)

There are many reasons why Cañizares can open up for us a picture of the tradition of displacement. At this point I will focus on three reasons: firstly, Cañizares is the second son of one of the Andalusian families from Málaga that had to migrate to Sabadell. Cañizares’s father is from “Cuevas de San Marcos, his mother from Antequera, both in Málaga county […] even Juan Manuel Cañizares was born and bred in Sabadell and speaks with a slight Málaga accent.” The second point relates to the family’s music collection and the third to the flamenco neighbourhood he was born into (taking into account his first performances in the Casa de Andalusia, in Sabadell).

I researched El Barri de Can’Oriach (Sabadell), where Cañizares grew up, and found that it was an isolated neighbourhood; a suburb – d’autocontrucció – auto-created as an extension of the city around Vallespir Street. According to Catalan sources, it was a poor area – in 1950, 36% of the population was illiterate. Similar to the neighborhood of Somorrostro in Barcelona, the rates of Andalusia immigration in Sabadell’s neighbourhoods were so high that flamenco was the music of everyday life. According to Cañizares, “I grew up in Sabadell, but had one ear in Andalusia. The kids

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18 More information about the peña flamenca Enrique Morente (1970-1977) and the relation with other peñas and casa de Andalusia (Málaga, Almería and Cádiz) in Lluis Cabrera Sanchez’s ‘Un <Joïo> converso’ in Lluis Cabrera, Miguel Fernandez y otros, Els Altres Andalusos. La question nacional de Catalunya (Barcelona: La Esfera de los libros, 2005) p. 11.


20 Sabadell 1967 Estudio- Informe Can Oriach Planeta del Pintor Torrent del Capella. 3121 Millones es el deficit urbanistico del cinturon suburbial de Sabadell.

in my neighborhood always listened to flamenco. There was hardly an evening when we
didn’t hear something in the street; amateurs but making good music.”

This is a good point to raise some fundamental questions about displacement.
Stewart Hall has suggested that, “far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised
past [the displaced] are subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power” and
“are never unified and in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured;
ever singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and
antagonistic, discourses, practises and positions.” And so, the meanings and
mechanisms by which flamenco people of Can Oriach descent arrived and continue to
arrive at definitions of identity necessarily involve a variety of social, cultural, and
political sources. In Sabadell in particular complexities regarding identity are
pronounced. A wide range of cultural identities currently circulates across the county. I
am flamenco (as opposed to I am Catalan or I am Spanish), as one Catalan flamenco
put it, pointing to his love of traditional flamenco as the deciding factor in his cultural
affiliation. As Carmona, a member from Ketama used to sing: “Listen and look I know I
am flamenco in my veins I feel it, I feel it […]”. Being a new flamenco musician born
in Madrid, Cañizares identified culturally with Andalusia at the same time as he did
with Catalonia. What emerged during the course of my conversations with Cañizares
was that flamenco identity is in constant flux, adjusting to and reconciling itself to a
changing Spanish and Catalan society, in the end, emphasizing how much growth in
cultural heterogeneity the country has achieved. It is an approach to identity that
developed so gradually that it became almost a natural condition, or an accepted part, of
Catalan life. For many Catalan flamencos, identity is then quite complex, a reflection of
the many cultures people from there feel affiliation to. Some of them consider
themselves Andalusians, Catalans or mix Catalan with Andalusian identity. They are
called ‘charnegos’ by the Catalans because they have Andalusian and Catalan blood.
Similarly, in America the son/daughters of the Aborigines and Spanish were called
Criollos (Creoles) and their music was called música Criolla. This is the reason why the
concept of Creolization in the conclusion is going to be applied to Cañizares’s project.

Following on from the first point, Cañizares told me how, in the ‘new
Andalusian/Catalan neighbourhoods’ of Sabadell, there were Andalusian maestros such

22 Isabel Coderque, ‘Barcelona, An Open Minded City’ insert in the book AAVV, Flamencos (Barcelona:
Carena, 1997).
as Antonio Osuna, a teacher who lived in Torre Romeu. Cañizares’s brother, Rafael Cañizares (b. 1957 in Terrassa) absorbed the flamenco techniques and culture from maestro Osuna, who passed on the Andalusian flamenco tradition to Juan Manuel Cañizares brother.  

Although the Andalusian family, friends and teachers around him were essential in the process of absorbing the tradition, it’s worth also noting that the new flamenco neighbourhood and the basic flamenco knowledge rasgueado, compás that his brother absorbed from the local flamenco guitar teacher in Catalonia were the key stones for the transmission of knowledge.  

Many other Spanish flamenco guitarists (and non-flamenco musicians) have been made to suffer when they started to learn their instrument. The oppressive regime of insistence on practice wielded by one particular member of their family could make life miserable. In Spain, it was usually the role of the father to force the child to study many hours in a room during his/her childhood when the child wanted to be out playing with his/her friends. For example, Paco de Lucía has affirmed that “in my childhood it was not easy, my father did not have money for me to study, so he decided to take me out of school, […] I studied a lot but now I (don’t) regret it.”  

In Cañizares’s family, in Catalonia, it was his brother, Rafael, who initially had to take on the role of teacher. As Isabel Coderque stated “[…] his brother was his only teacher. Juan Manuel wanted more than anything to play football on the unpaved roads of Can Oriach in Sabadell, but Rafael wanted him to learn the guitar, and he had the obstinacy which marked him.

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25 My brother Rafael was thirteen at the time. He liked the guitar but he did not have one. My father and my brother went to see Antonio Osuna, a teacher who lived in Torre Romeu, in Sabadell. They spent a few hours tangled up with it, placing their fingers and all that. No kidding. My father wanted to learn. My brother wanted them to let him play, and Osuna, who saw was going on, told my father to let him have a go. And my brother picked up the guitar and did it all at the first time. So the man says to my father, “Look, from now on, you stay home and let your son come, because this is not for you”. So my brother started to play the guitar […] Mi hermano Rafael tenía entonces 13 años. Le gustaba la guitarra pero aún no tenía una. Mi padre y mi hermano se fueron a ver a Antonio Osuna, un profesor que vivía en el barrio de Torre Romeu, en Sabadell. Estuvieron horas liados, poniendo los dedos y esas cosas. No veas. Mi padre quería aprender. Mi hermano quería que le dejaran tocar, y el hombre, que le pílló el punto, le dijo a mi padre que le dejare probar. Y cogió la guitarra mi hermano y le salió todo a la primera. Así que el hombre le dijo a mi padre: “Mira, a partir de ahora, tú quédate en casa y que venga tu hijo, porque tu para esto no vales.” Así fue como mi hermano empezó a tocar la guitarra. Ibid, p. 49. Translation: p. 186. See also Ángel Álvarez Caballero in El Toque Flamenco.

26 Cañizares also mentioned that Antonio the Osuna was not very good technically, but he taught my brother everything he knew, with all his heart, and he was very grateful, until he told my brother one they he had nothing more to teach him. So his brother continued to develop his own way.

27 Don Francisco Sánchez, alias Paco de Lucía, affirms this in his double DVD, Paco de Lucia, Francisco Sánchez– Paco de Lucia (Spain: Universal Músic, 2003).
Throughout his life. Not just in relation to music, but in his way of being.”

According to Cañizares,

I really never had the notion of being a child. I do not remember the things a child would have enjoyed at the time, like playing with friends. My life was a bit monotonous, always with the guitar. Over time - now I know what I want - I am grateful to my brother, I know he did all that for my own good. Spending so many hours on my own in a room has given me the tranquility to find myself – my balance and an inner centre of gravity, whilst at the same time giving me the shyness of knowing that the more you know, the less that you know. It is a school for humility.

Apart from the direct work that Cañizares’s family did to transmit the flamenco tradition, the young Cañizares also absorbed the culture from the flamenco albums in their home. The family was displaced, we might say, only in the least remarkable ways, for they brought with them all of their albums to create a ‘new Andalusian home’ in Catalonia. His father’s flamenco albums were essential listening in Cañizares’s childhood as they relayed the displaced tradition. According to Juan Manuel, “The only thing they (the brothers) listened to when they were children were the records his father brought from Málaga; records by Juanito Valderrama, Pepe Pinto, Manolo Caracol and others from that time.”

Different to other Catalan families, Cañizares explains that his brother Rafael owned albums by the guitarists Ramón Montoya (b.1880-d.1949), Niño Ricardo (b.1904-d.1972) and Sabicas (b.1912–d.1990); and the singers La Niña de los Peines (b.1890-d.1969), Antonio Chacón (b.1869–d.1929), and La Perla de Cádiz (b.1925–d.1975), who were in a way their music teachers. In Cañizares’s words,

I still listen to them. I think there is a lot of magic in there. And they were really spontaneous if you remember the few technical resources they had […] Know those records by heart, yes but depending on your mood you latch onto different things, things that at the other times you did not even notice. Then Rafael started to buy records by Paco de Lucía, Camarón…That’s when we started on the same road as the people who, looking back from an historical perspective, are now

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28 Comments of Isabel Codereque following her interview with Juan Manuel Cañizares in 1997. Ibid, p. 46.
29 Yo la verdad, he perdido la noción de la niñez. No recuerdo las cosas que en aquel momento podían ser más agradables para un niño, como jugar con los amigos. Mi vida era un poco monótona, siempre con la guitarra. Con el paso del tiempo, ahora que sé que lo quiero, le agradezco ahora eso a mi hermano, reconozco que todo aquello era por mi bien. Compartir muchas horas conmigo mismo en la soledad de mi habitación me ha dado el sosiego y la tranquilidad que necesitaba para encontrarme, equilibrio y un centro de gravedad interior, y al mismo tiempo cierta timidez porque te das cuenta de que cuanto más sabes, menos sabes: es una escuela de la humildad. Ibid, p. 46.
recognised as having brought flamenco forward from a place where it was getting not stuck, but a little monotonous. They were the ones, who opened up the new way forward; four of them in particular: Manolo Sanlucar, Camarón, Paco de Lucía and Enrique Morente.\textsuperscript{31}

Cañizares absorbed all that was on those albums and analysed them with his brother, and that was important because that work made possible his collaboration with teachers and later colleges.\textsuperscript{32} It is vital to the idea of learning, that by listening to the old Andalusian flamenco artists, it is possible to know who the ‘modern’ flamenco players and singers in the previous generation were. Cañizares can identify himself more with their tradition than with other, Catalan, traditions. Those recordings gave Cañizares a part of his roots.\textsuperscript{33} According to Cañizares in the interview he gave me in Gran Canaria, “the most important thing was learning from the tradition […] later each flamenco guitarist added something but it is important in flamenco, as in classical music, not to start learning harmony from books by contemporary composers like Arnold Schönberg but from the tradition and then you get to the books.”\textsuperscript{34}

The third factor important in explaining how Cañizares learnt tradition is the environment of Sabadell. This is connected to chapter three when I analysed the important of ‘place’ by Núñez. Cañizares was only twelve when he started to go to the peñas, and gave his first performances in La casa de Andalucía in Sabadell. There he would play a classic flamenco piece - ‘Los Panaderos Flamenos’ - composed by Sanlúcar but learned from listening to Paco de Lucía’s album. He liked to go and play to La casa de Andalucía of Cerdanyola. According to Juan Manuel there were good aficionados in those spaces: “For me, the peñas were an experience, which helped me, above all, in learning how to accompany singing. It was a good school, because one evening I had to accompany three aficionados, and one would sing a malagueña, a soleá

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{31} […] Escuchaba a Ramón Montoya, al Niño Ricardo, a Sabicas […] Ahora también los escucho. Yo creo que allí hay mucho duende. Y mucha espontaneidad en las grabaciones con los pocos recursos técnicos que tenían. […] Si me se los discos de memoria, pero depende de tu estado de ánimo te fijas en cosas diferentes, en las cosas que a lo mayor en otro momento te han pasado desapercibidas. – Después Rafael empezó a comprar discos de Paco de Lucía y Camarón…En tonces nos metimos en el camino de quienes después, con perspectiva histórica, se ha reconocido que han llevado el flamenco adelante a partir de un sitio en que ya se estaba empezando a quedar…No estancado, pero si con cierta monotonia. Ellos fueron los que abrieron la brecha. Me refiero a cuatro en particular: Manolo Sanlucar, Camarón, Paco de Lucía y Enrique Morente.
  \item \textsuperscript{32} At the present Cañizares, as Tomatito, Gerardo Nuñez and Vicente Amigo are considered working colleges for their childhood idols or previous generation. What is for Lipsitz: “experience [of] acute anxiety about cultural identity and about the boundaries between cultures”, (Lipsitz 1997, 119).
  \item \textsuperscript{33} It must not be forgotten that those players, Ramón Montoya, Niño Ricardo, Sabicas, who have been re-evaluated on recent CDs, were the revolutionary players of their time.
  \item \textsuperscript{34} Juan Manuel Cañizares told me in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 7th March 2008.
\end{itemize}
and a seguiría, and another, a minera, and the other an alegría… I learnt a lot that way. That was the main reason I went, to learn to accompany the flamenco singing.” In these traditional flamenco social spaces *las peñas* - and later in the Chinese theatre, Juan Manuel learnt how to play for singers; to accompany singing live and to listen to the Catalo-Andalusian *aficionados in las peñas*. Also, he had the opportunity to accompany some young flamenco singers from Sabadell; singers such as Duquende, who said about Cañizares: “And I got up onto the stage and I sung when I was only 6, 7 or 8 about what I felt at that time; I can’t even remember what but it was sometimes with Juan Manuel Cañizares. He already played the guitar and was really young […] I remember that as if it was a dream. I could never have imagined that Cañizares would ever play the way he does now.” The Catalan musician, who shared this experience of their youth, later recorded with the guitarist Cañizares and Paco de Lucía his album *Samaruco*. (This was seven years after the Catalonia singer, Duquende, recorded with Tomatito after the impact of Camarón’s death). Duquende’s album was produced by Isidro Muñóz from Sanlucar. The album contains five tracks of collaborations with the Catalan artist, however I am going to focus only on one track. The lyrics of ‘La Telita’ sung by Duquende, reflect the textile industry and the history of Andalusian displacement. The song is a Rumba-Tango in 4/4 with characteristic clapping accents, this time played with a flamenco box and electric bass which dissolve the contemporary *compás*:

### Rumba- Tango

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This is different from the more traditional approach of the traditional Tango de Granada for example:

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In the chorus the Catalan flamenco sings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La telita de Sabadell</th>
<th>In the Sabadell little cloth</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lunares noventa o cien,</td>
<td>Ninety or hundred polka-dots,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veintisiete le llevó contao</td>
<td>Twenty seven have I counted already</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del hombro al primer bordao.</td>
<td>From her shoulder to the first embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Por encima de la blusa</td>
<td>But from the top of her blouse peeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiene que se asoma el que más me gusta.</td>
<td>The one I love the best</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘La telita’ (the little cloth) is used to describe a woman’s shoulder but also reflects the textile industry, which provided the main income of the city of their youth. Another title that refers to Sabadell’s textile industry is ‘Telares’ on Cañizare’s Punto de Encuentro album composed by another musician from Sabadell, Domingo Patricio. This composition, which could be conceptualised as an hybrid uses the synthesizers to make references to the machines who made the cloth. Theoretically, it could be understood as “meaning is what gives us a sense of [our] own identity, of who [we are] and with whom [we] ‘belong’--so it is tied up with questions of how culture is used to mark out and maintain identity within and difference between groups.”

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40 Juan Manuel Cañizares, Punto de Encuentro (España: Emi, 2000).
4.3 Academic Education in the Conservatory of Barcelona and Terrasa:

Barcelona is not just the ‘capital’ of Spanish modernism, it is a multicultural centre where the past and present merge, where traditional flamenco is taught and performed in new ways and with new performance concepts. According to Catalan writers,

There are many Barcelonas, which is like saying that there are many Catolonias. And it is from these Barcelonas, with their dynamism and specific nature, that the cultural proposals, which connect [us] with universal culture emerge. If the city is the space of diversity, the stage is where a variegated group of different identities coexist. If every city is the result of a blend of post-traditional and external contributions, and, without this blend, any city project becomes unfeasible, it should hardly be surprising that this multiplicity of realities which constitute Barcelona connects with a wider and more diverse range of realities. Good evidence of the fruits that can be borne by this bond between a particular form of culture and a universal one […] Flamencos: Cañizares, Duquende, Mayte Martín, Ginesa Ortega and Miguel Poveda […] flamenco’s presence in Catalonia is not a matter of yesterday or the day before. Rather, all these years of cultivating the genre, of transmission from one generation to the next, have not only built a tradition, but also validated it from day to day […] what counts, at the end, is the result: the blooming and consolidation in a real city of a generation of young flamenco artists, of extraordinary courage and quality. A culture’s vitality should be measured by it is ability to construct identities, rather than resigning it self to protecting pre-existing identities.  

Barcelona is a specific open region where displaced traditions from other cultural contexts are projected. As previously seen in the case of Sabadell, during the 1960s Barcelona received a strong number of Andalusia’s immigrants. Many found Barcelona difficult, complaining of discriminatory practices. As an example, Catalans regularly called the children of Andalusians ‘Charnegos’, which meant that, though living in Catalonia, even if they were born there; they are not consider truly Catalans. Nonetheless, they continued to migrate, attracted to Barcelona for its strong economy as well as its Academies and Universities.

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42 Barcelona is a city where musicians in general have found their homeland. It is a city of many identities and for those flamenco musicians who were born outside Andalusia and who developed their careers in Barcelona (Catalonia), the city proves itself to be not just the “capital” of modernism in Spain, but a multicultural centre, a place where a new way of understanding flamenco can be learnt and produced.

43 Ferran Mascarell and Xavier Pericay, ‘Constructing Identities’ in Flamencos (Barcelona: Carena, 1997).

44 Due to the phenomenon of displacement and migration, flamencos re-identified themselves in some places in which they lived, learnt and performed. Barcelona is a region where displaced traditions from other cultures can flourish, for example, the rich jazz scene. As previously seen in the case of Sabadell,
Of particular popularity is the ESMUC School of Music of Catalonia, where many Spanish musicians who studied for their degree in Music also had the opportunity to study with jazz musicians and Catalan flamencos. Juan Manuel Cañizares, for example, spoke of the school’s unusual curriculum, in particular about its reliance on traditional flamenco forms while bringing in new, contemporary performances approaches. “I must have been about ten when I started studying at the conservatory in Sabadell”, Cañizares explains. “I studied to read music and took a first course on harmony. During the second year of harmony I moved to Barcelona conservatory while at the same time I was studying classical guitar at the Terrasa Conservatory. My brother [Rafael Cañizares] thought it was important for me to be able to read a score […] it was not usual in flamenco then. Now there are more people that think that it is important, because you need a language to communicate with other musicians […]”.

Having an academic music education helped Cañizares to successfully collaborate with other musicians, because he could read music while other flamencos could not. Cañizares was called to make re-interpretations and to transcribe classical Spanish composers such as Albéniz, Granados and Falla. However, at the same time, his education seems to have separated him from what was perceived as traditional flamenco. Flamenco was part of an aural/oral tradition, passed from family member to family member through performance. That’s the way that Cañizares learned from his brother and in the peñas, however, Cañizares, now adept at reading and writing musical scores, brought a new dimension to flamenco, one that challenged previously-held ideas regarding how flamenco should be learned. Considered by colleagues to be a ‘Catalan flamenco = charnego’, Cañizares challenged previously-held convictions regarding who ‘owns’ flamenco and who should be allowed into its performance circles.

This type of ‘authenticity’ as seen in other popular musics, for example, rock plays an essential role in this particular flamenco discourse. What place has notation in the aural/oral way of transmitting flamenco? Before having the recording technological tools, flamenco guitar was learned while observing other guitarists “at home, at zambras...”

Barcelona received in the 1960s a great number of Andalusia’s immigrants. Today, Barcelona still attracts them, not only because of its strong economy but also for being a major cultural European capital.

More information about ESMUC can be found at www.esmuc.cat/ (April 2010). Now, many musicians can study music for a higher level Masters at ESMUC and Taller des Musics, etc. However, in the past, Catalanian flamencos such as Cañizares, had the possibility of studying at a music school (Conservatoire) and there, he learnt how to read music. In the past, this was very unusual for flamenco musicians.

After learning with his brother Rafael, Juan Manuel was enrolled at the age of ten in the conservatory (traditional music school) in Sabadell and then later studied at the conservatory of Barcelona; up until grade six.
and juergas, which were celebrated in patios or private rooms.”\textsuperscript{47} Aural and oral transmission were the standard, as we saw in the Núñez chapter. However, in Córdoba and Barcelona music schools, there now emerged new techniques for learning flamenco. Transcribing in western notation and adding guitar tablatures, called cifrados, the students learnt how to see graphically the different cantes and toques,\textsuperscript{48} but also they received similar aural/oral transmission from the old flamenco musicians, learning from the maestros and in the peñas, listening to and playing for old flamencos. For decades, teachers outside Spain have developed flamenco guitar methods, for example, Juan Martín, and Paco Peña in the UK, while in Barcelona, Manuel Granados and David Leiva are also transcribing the cantes and toques. The flamenco guitar cifrados are special symbols created for the fingering and rasgueos (↑↑↑↓).\textsuperscript{49}

Cañizares openly speaks about the positive effects of making flamenco a disciplined art form that can be learned through musical notation. According to Cañizares, “I think flamenco has suffered from the prestige of ignorance. If you could not read, you were more flamenco [more ‘authentic’ flamenco musician]. If you didn’t know other music, you were more flamenco. I think those are now obsolete opinions, which don’t make sense nowadays. […] The prestige of ignorance has done a lot of damage to flamenco. Fortunately, there are now people with their eyes open wider.”\textsuperscript{50}

Cañizares, as a model and not an exception, was a Catalan who went to Barcelona to learn how to read Western musical notation, which in turn opened many doors.\textsuperscript{51}

One such opportunity came when Cañizares collaborated with Paco de Lucía on the album Concierto de Aranjuez, which showcased the three parts of the famous guitar concerto composed by Juaquín Rodrigo. The Allegro con Spirito, the famous Adagio and Allegro gentile were recorded live with the Cadaques Orchestra in front of the Maestro Rodrigo and a hall full of Spanish Classical guitarists who did not know if a flamenco could make a good re-interpretation of the concerto. The album also contained three pieces from the Suite Iberia: ‘Triana’, ‘Albaizín’ and ‘Puerto’ compositions for

\textsuperscript{47} Information extracted from the interview with one of my flamenco teachers, Paco Cortés, in El Realejo, Granada (Spain).
\textsuperscript{48} The old Cifrado was similar to the notation of Luis of Milan for Vihuela that we can see in the sixteenth century music book, El Maestro.
\textsuperscript{49} Rasgueos are different right hand strumming techniques used on flamenco guitar.
\textsuperscript{51} Flamenco and Classical guitar were not options like it is possible to study at present in Catalonia and Córdoba’s conservatory.
piano by Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909), who was born in Girona (Catalonia). 52 ‘Triana’ is the name of the old flamenco neighbourhood in Seville and is based in a flamenco Seguiriya 3/4 + 6/8. ‘Albaizín’, which is the name of the flamenco neighbourhood of Granada, together with Sacromonte, is based in flamenco guitar falsetas and rasgueos written in the piano music. The Albéniz composition ‘El Puerto’, for the Port of Cádiz where flamenco originated, was one of the pieces that Cañizares made transcriptions for flamenco guitar and recorded with Paco de Lucía and José María Banderas. 53 This reflects the merging of traditional and new styles, with Paco de Lucía, the maestro, now collaborating with Cañizares. Paco de Lucía had long been Cañizares’s idol; collaborating with Paco de Lucía was a dream come true. According to Cañizares:

First time Paco [de Lucía] called me […] as a trio we had a great time playing together. It was high-risk stuff, because there was no bass or singing or anything, just three wooden guitars. It was quite an experience. Because Paco is an institution in flamenco music, it is not easy to go on-stage with him, play with him. I was really nervous, especially the first few times. With all he represents, you have to be up to scratch, and that’s something which makes you better yourself in many things. And after the experience, you find you have grown. I have learnt a lot from Paco [de Lucía], and I will always grateful to him for that. He even taught me without realising, in conversations. […] I may have had some influence on him, because you can always get wet when it rains.54

Paco de Lucía also supported the collaboration, saying that “musicians learnt from each other and that Stravinsky said that genius directly steal [musical ideas]”. This idea of “stealing musical ideas”, or perhaps better explained as “a mimetic process”, started, in the case of Cañizares, in his childhood. Copying traditional flamenco players, including Paco de Lucía’s falsetas, from favourite albums had been a long time past time of Cañizares. The same way that Isaac Albéniz was influenced by flamencos in nineteenth century now contemporary flamencos have done a re-interpretation of his Classical

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52 Audio: Paco de Lucía, Concierto de Aranjuez and Iberia compositions (and video Paco de Lucía, Francisco Sánchez– Paco de Lucia) (Spain: Universal Music, 2003) In this double DVD, apart from the Paco’s documentary and interpretation of El Concierto de Aranjuez, it can be found the guitar trio of Paco de Lucía, José María Bandaras and Juan Manuel Cañizares in live.

53 However, the most decisive experience of his career was his encounter with Paco de Lucía. With Paco and José María Bandera, he forms a trio that toured extensively between 1989 and 1992. The tour culminated with the recording of ‘Suite Iberia’, by Isaac Albéniz, who appeared with Paco de Lucía in concert at Aranjuez. Musicians reduce autobiographies in www.flamenco-world.com

54 Interview of Isabel Coderque ‘Juan Manuel Cañizares’ in ‘Barcelona, an open minded city’ Flamencos (Barcelona: Carena, 1997) Translation; pp.188. The idea of getting wet is from Isidro Muñoz, ‘you can always get wet when it rains’ Paco de Lucía also learnt from Cañizare’s multiple and fragmented education.
compositions inspire in Andalusia to bring flamenco elements in the piano Suite Iberia.  

Thanks to his background in classical music, Cañizares transcribed Paco de Lucía’s Fuente y Caudal album. Paco de Lucía mentioned that, until he recorded the Aranjuez concerto, he did not know how to read music notation as he explains in his Francisco Sánchez DVD. Using the Western notation and tablature (see example of ‘Entre dos Aguas’ in the appendix), Cañizares borrowed from his flamenco tradition and classical knowledge and transcribed every single note that Paco de Lucía used to play, because the piece was created as an improvisation over simple Rumba harmony (Am7- Bm7- Am7- B7) later (Em-D- C- B7) to finish with (Em- D) but Cañizares also include all the rasgueos symbols (↑↑↑↓) and all the harmony changes that one needs to play and accompany the piece that flamencos such as Tomatito and many other flamenco used to play when they started.

Cañizares’s Iberia Suite is another example of a revision in tradition. The Spanish classic piano pieces, which were rerecorded to multi-track guitars, show a wide variety of flamenco styles, the Fandanguillos in ‘Evocación’, the Seguiriya in ‘Triana’ mentioned before a hidden slow Verdial in ‘Malagueña’ and other as the musicologist Lola Fernandez has also mention: zapateado flamenco style in (’El Puerto’), guajira (’Rondeña’), zapateado, guajira y fandango (’Almería’), sevillanas (’Triana’ y ‘Eritaña’), polo (’El Polo’), malagueña (’Málaga’) y seguidillas (’Jerez’). These palos or flamenco styles were re-elaborated by the classical composer at the level of the academic pieces of Debussy, who admired the Iberia Suite. The Catalan musician who spent four years in the transcription and recording the piano suite for guitar, considers Iberia his ‘thesis’. Cañizares tried to sift and make clear all those different Flamenco styles included in the Iberia Suite. For example, in the movement ‘El Puerto’, Cañizares slows the tempo down, enabling a counterpoint melody, with harmonies common to the flamenco styles from Cádiz, sounds such as the Bulerías Cadiz, Cantiña-Alegria. This recording is a more mature reflection on the tradition. What is important in this reinterpretation is that Cañizares not only transcribed the three pieces as he did with

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55 See also Carlos Saura DVD, Iberia doing his pieces in flamenco style as Paco de Lucía started in 90s.
56 Paco de Lucía, Concierto de Aranjuez and Iberia compositions, Francisco Sánchez–Paco de Lucía (Spain: Universal Music, 2003).
57 See Chapter two when Tomatito used to performed the Entre dos Aguas of Paco de Lucía and the previous analysis that we did in relation to Diana Pérez Custodio. Paco de Lucía: La Evolución del Flamenco a Través de su Rumbas (Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2005).
Paco de Lucía in the 90s but that this time he transcribed the whole *Suite Iberia* for two and sometimes three guitars:

From the **first Cuaderno**: ‘Evocación’, ‘El Puerto’ and ‘El Corpus Christi de Sevilla.’

The **second Cuaderno**: ‘Rondeña’, ‘Almería’ y ‘Triana’. The third Cuaderno:

We have to remember that Albéniz finished transcribing some of the movements such as ‘Corpus Christi de Sevilla’ in three staves. Even professional classical pianists could not play all the notes in live so they have to choose from the score. However, thanks to multi-track recording and his classical knowledge, Cañizares has brought some of the flamenco *falsetas* of Albéniz’s *Iberia Suite* into his last recording. 60 Doing this work of transcription and re-interpretation of Iberia suite, Cañizares has become a reference not only for the Catalan young guitarists who go on to study with him in the ESMUC but to all flamenco students in Andalusia who are studying classical and flamenco at present in the conservatoire. See, for example, the Conservatorio de Córdoba.

### 4.4 Work with Andalusian musicians in Madrid:

As we saw in previous chapters, Madrid was also a popular city for Andalusian migrants. As seen in José Blas Vega’s recent publication about *El Flamenco en Madrid* from the late eighteenth to twentieth century, Madrid was an essential centre for the flamenco industry and culture from the times of the *cafes cantantes*. However, I focus in this chapter on the second part of the XX century, the period when many Andalusians families such as Paco de Lucía’s family and Camarón move to Madrid to find a new home and more performing and recording opportunities. Madrid became the city where flamenco musicians found their homeland. However, the capital of Spain was not only a major centre for flamenco but a popular centre for jazz (as we noted in Núñez’s chapter) and other world music(s).

Catalan musicians went to work in Madrid too and started to collaborate not only with popular music, jazz, rock musicians who were in the capital, but with the experimental Andalusian *flamencos* who were based in the capital. In Madrid, “dangerous crossroads were not difficult to find” as George Lipsitz points out and all

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musicians had to share a contested and multi-voiced music market. Although some flamenco musicians did not believe in the concept of fusion, they found themselves in world music festivals like WOMAD and multicultural collaborations in the capital of Spain where musicians from different backgrounds had to share the market with pop, jazz and rock musicians (see for example, projects such as Jazzpaña I, in which Cañizares was involved collaborating with jazz musicians such as Al di Meola, Michael Brequer, Jorge Pardo, and so on).

Cañizares relocated to Madrid in 1984, again collaborating with musicians, creating new flamenco forms that now integrated elements of jazz and world music. One important issue to be mentioned is that when Cañizares arrived in Madrid and had more work than in Barcelona. He got involved in jazz projects in Madrid collaborating with jazz musicians such as José Antonio Galicia and later with Andalusian musicians such as Enrique Morente, Gerardo Núñez, Habichuelas, who used to go after work to the El Candela in Lavapiés, Madrid. Cañizares was a professional guitarist but also an aficionado to flamenco singing. In Madrid he was to be involved in many top projects recording guitars for Camarón de La Isla and later with Enrique Morente.

Cañizares met Camarón in Paris but it was in Madrid where the Catalan musicians initiated new techniques for accompanying flamenco singing. He had the opportunity to apply his new conceptual approach to flamenco to Camarón’s voice two years before Camarón died. It was in the early '90s, when the producer of La Leyenda del Tiempo, Ricardo Pachón, contacted the Catalan flamenco guitarist to record three pieces in the album Autorretrato. The album idea was a re-recording of Camarón’s voice with new instrumentation (flamenco guitar, drums, etc). For Cañizares the project was a moving experience. First, he was asked to re-record ‘Romance del Amargo,’

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62 This project which could be conceptualized as Fusion or a ‘Transnational Hybrid’ using the concept used by the sociologist Gerrad Steingress. Luis Clemente said that Cañizares is coming from the two worlds: the popular music and the flamenco. Although the flamenco guitarist from Sabadell recorded several albums with El Último de la Fila band and was part of projects such as Jazzpaña I, however Cañizares is very sensitive in his interviews about the concept “fusion”. This will be develop later in the chapter.
63 El Candela was a bar in Madrid where all the flamencos used to finish performing for themselves. Before the 80’s When Juan Manuel was only fifteen years old, he had the opportunity to work in Los Tarantos, a famous tablao of Madrid, where his idols: Camarón and Paco de Lucia had started their careers. Cañizares will collaborate with other young flamenco at the time such as Vicente Amigo in the recording of Potito, Andando por los caminos (Madrid: CBS, 1990)
which is a soleá. The soleá style, putatively one of the oldest flamenco *palos* like the Seguiriya has twelve beats but they are organized the same way that the bulería:

*Soleá*

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The soleá, which is considered the mother of the flamenco styles, has a very defined rhythm and *soniquete*, but also a harmonic structure very defined by tradition. Traditional examples to be played by guitar include normally the following progressions: E7 – Am – F – E (X 2), and the second part G7 – C – Am – G – F – E (X 2). However, Cañizares did not follow those traditional cadences. As Cañizares remembers:

I was alone in the recording studio, with the headphones on, listening to some percussion and the voice of Camarón. Behind the glass, in the cabin, people were watching, curious to see what could happen […] It was moving, because remember that while I played I was listening to Camarón’s voice. I played what he suggested to me at the time, very strange harmonies, ones intended to give wings to what doing with his voice. It was to get into that, with respect, so that it sounded different. It was risky. It was an emotive experience, because it sounds like a soleá, it had the form of one, but it did not have the cadence of a standard soleá.65

According to Manolo Sanlucar in *Sobre La Guitarra Flamenca: Teoría y Sistemas de la guitarra flamenca*, flamenco modal harmony is based in “Greek music theory” with the tetrachords has been followed by flamenco musicians for centuries. According to Sanlúcar, in the flamenco Cadence Am-G7-F-E the FM chord is related to E (Mi Dórico Flamenco) and works as a dominant chord to the E that is consider tonic for the *flamencos*. For Cañizares, reshaping the traditional harmony but keeping the general structure was a kind of boundary pushing. “It was there that people began to realise that there was someone with a different concept, but which could also sound flamenco too […]”. The Catalan musician was criticised for using jazz chords in this soleá and for not

65 La experiencia fue muy emocionante. Empezamos con el Romance Amargo. Yo estaba solo, en la sala del estudio de grabación, con los auriculares puestos, escuchando unas percusiones y la voz de Camarón. Detrás de los cristales, en la cabina, había mucha intriga […] Fue muy emocionante, porque recuerdo que mientras tocase me iba con la voz de Camarón. Tocaba lo que él me sugería en ese momento, armonías muy extrañas pero que estaban allí con la intención de darle vuelto a lo que él hacía con la voz. Era meterme ahí, con mucho respeto, y que sonara distinto. Era arriesgar. Fue una experiencia emocionante porque sonaba a Soleá, tenía la forma de una soleá, pero no tenía las cadencias de una soleá estándar. Creo que ahí fue donde la gente empezó a darse cuenta de que había un tío que tenía un concepto distinto, pero que también podía sonar flamenco. Ibid, p. 58. Translation: p.189
marking the traditional changes. However, in the previous quotation, Cañizares is speaking about his respect for the flamenco tradition but also about a new concept or way to accompany the voice, following structure of a traditional _soleá_, without using all the traditional cadences, and with the addition of chords with an added seventh.66 These new techniques for accompanying flamenco singing follow an artistic desire to move the pillars of tradition without leaving the flamenco field. The Catalan musician did it with fidelity to that field, taking flamenco somewhere else but still having a base of flamenco, a ‘home’, as it were. Would be this cadences conceptualised as Creal music?

For Cañizares, the flamenco musical idiom comes from the field of the tradition, the influences that _flamencos_ have received in the past, as a kind of elaborate shared memory field. The harmony, chords and the use of chords in different cadences and progressions are very fixed in this field so Cañizares borrows from a variety of musical styles, arguing that rock and jazz share particular harmonies with flamenco, enabling them to easily mesh. According to Cañizares:

> I don't think that there are jazz chords, or flamenco or classical chords. Really. Chords can be joined together to give you a flamenco progression or a jazz progression. An E major is E major for jazz players, for flamenco and for classical musicians, but the way that chord is used is what gives it character; the way it is introduced and the way it progresses towards another chord is what makes it sound like flamenco, or jazz, or classical. People say, “That's a really flamenco-sounding chord.” No, that chord exists in other styles of music; it is just being used differently. Musically speaking, within a context, the chord has two meanings. One is grammatical; what that chord means. Another is what the chord means in that context; where it comes from and where it is going. Harmony is tension and release, tension and release. And if you give me just one chord I cannot tell you if it is from flamenco or jazz; you have to give me two or three for me to tell you that it is a flamenco progression. A chord by itself belongs to no kind of music in particular.67

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66 This _soleá_ can be listened in the first audio example of Juan Manuel Cañizares thesis compilation (Track 1).
67 “yo no creo que haya acordes de jazz, ni de flamenco, ni de clásico. Te lo digo de verdad. Lo que hay es unión de acordes que te dan una progresión flamenc en o una progresión de jazz. Pero Mi mayor es Mi mayor para los jazzeros, Mi mayor para los clásicos y Mi mayor para los _flamencos_. Ahora, el uso que se hace de ese Mi mayor es lo que le da el carácter; cómo se introduce y cómo se va ese acorde hacia otro es lo que te da el sabor de flamenco o de jazz o clásico. Se dice: este acorde es muy flamenco. No, no, este acorde está ya en otras músicas, lo que pasa que utilizado de distinta forma. Vamos a ver, musicalmente hablando, dentro de un contexto, el acorde tiene dos significados; uno es el semántico, lo que ese acorde significa; y otro es lo que ese acorde significa en ese contexto, de dónde viene ese acorde y hacia dónde va. Claro, la armonía es tensión-relajación, tensión-relajación… y si me das un acorde suelto yo no te puedo decir si es de flamenco o es de jazz, me tienes que dar dos o tres para yo poderte decir que es una cadencia flamena. El acorde en sí no pertenece a ninguna música en concreto.”
Cañizares is very clear about his way of seeing traditional flamenco harmony and more ‘contemporary’ practices. He thinks a particular chord is not particularly a flamenco or a jazz chord but that it is the progression that gives a flamenco sound or a jazz sound. Certainly, E remains E regardless of its musical context, and it is certainly employable in a very wide range of traditions; however, it must also be observed here that, for example Em9 is a chord used in jazz and in Brazilian Bossa Nova that is now also used in contemporary flamenco and was not used in flamenco the past – E and Em9, therefore represent differently articulated chords, each having a specificity and usefulness, but each presenting itself in a different relation with the flamenco field. Put simply, some chords and progressions still sound too ‘jazzy’ to traditional flamenco aficionados. It is important to note that the flamenco tradition has consistently absorbed the musical techniques of its neighbours and overlords; in its current phase, we might say, these new elements, chords, progressions which are used commonly in other world music(s) and jazz, constitute a turning of flamenco to new kinds of neighbours and influences. Traditions move slowly to accept some chords changes, certainly, but they move nonetheless.

This has a striking parallel with the way in which the tradition moves slowly to accept that flamencos from outside Andalusia can competently engage traditional flamenco with the same flavour or soniquete: the musical and social fields are here intimately entwined, hence, a Catalan flamenco guitarist could play the same soleá or bulería as a guitarist from Jerez. The compás/soniquete is the same but the aire of the soniquete will be different as their ‘accents’ are different. Just as some Catalans will speak with Andalusian accents because their families were born in Andalusia and will have a different lilt in their speech patterns, so some flamencos develop their own flamenco idiolects.

A perfect example of the double knowledge of tradition and contemporary styles by Cañizares it can be seen in Saura’s film Flamenco. Cañizares is making a new way accompany Enrique Morente singing Seguiriya style. New guitar tuning is introduced in this film, which, developed by Cañizares, involves taking the sixth string down four tones (from E to B). So when Cañizares played the seguiriya on his guitar, it sounds

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68 Carlos Saura, Flamenco (Spain: Juan Lebrón Productions, 1995).
69 See Seguiriya in www.youtube.com/watch?v=WU4a1SpN8gM (April 2010).
strange for flamenco aficionados because he is playing some granaina chord progressions (Em- D- C- Bb9). The harmony is thus modified, borrowing from the tradition of the seguiriya compás continued the 12-beat pattern:

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Although in the seguiriya sung by Enrique Morente the rhythm is very flexible, at the beginning the guitar ad libidum has a kind of ‘conversation’ with the voice. Playing the seguiriyas for singers is not the same as for dancers who are tied more to the rhythm. Sometimes dancers, instead of counting the 12 beat, only count the main accents of the seguiriya with five pulses 1 2, 1 2, 1 2, 1 2 3, 1 2 3. Maestros such as Manuel Granados transcribed the seguiriya in 3/4 + 6/8. In Cañizares and Morente’s interpretation, the traditional flamenco seguiriya, although it seems ad libidum, it has the 12 beats of the seguiriya in the structure (and in the heads of the flamenco musicians who are playing is), as a kind of silent Gestalt. The seguiriya is a very traditional example however Cañizares applies his harmony knowledge to follow to the voice of the singer. Cañizares tries to explain in the following quote:

The complicated thing about accompanying Enrique [Morente] is that he knows the ‘basic’ cantes absolutely perfectly, but he has got so much personality that he transforms them in his own way, so you can not relax one bit while you are playing for him live, because he changes something everyday. You have to remember that what you have got up there is the classical, the taste, whilst at the same time you think a phrase is going to solve a harmony where it normally comes in, and no, suddenly he takes you somewhere else. You have to sing the melody he is making in your own head, and then… Try to predict what he is going to do […] I sing the melody with him, like with any other musician. It is just that with others, generally more traditionalist, you are more relaxed, […] he also likes the strange chords I play.  

70 Cañizares explores new tuning and harmonies. For example, the classical concept of changing the string tuning and changing the traditional chords for traditional palos, which has been conceptualised by Norberto Torres as “Meta-flamenco” speaks to us about contemporary flamenco change. An audiovisual example can be seen in Flamenco, a Film by Carlos Saura, where Enrique Morente is accompanied by Cañizares with a particular tuning in his guitar where he brings the sixth string down, as Gerardo Nuñez did in the Seguiriya Remache.

71 Isabel Coderqué ‘Juan Manuel Cañizares’ in ‘Barcelona, an open minded city’ Flamencos (Barcelona: Carena, 1997) Original: lo complicado de acompañar a Enrique es que conoce a la perfección los cantes básicos, pero tiene tanta personalidad que los transforma de tal forma, a su modo, que no te puedes relajar ni lo más mínimo mientras le acompañas hasta que no le conoces bien. Y cuando digo conocer, me refiero a tocar mucho en directo con él, porque cada día te cambia cosas. Tienes que estar pendiente de que está allí lo añejo, el sabor, y al mismo tiempo crees que una frase la va a resolver en un sitio armónico donde
I agree with Cañizares assessment of Morente’s knowledge of the tradition and also with his characterisation of the modulations he does when he sings traditional flamenco forms. It seems to have been difficult work to accompany him when he himself does not know how to improvise within these new modalities. When accompanying more traditional singers one will know the typical cadences, so the flamenco guitarists know more or less which chords are coming next. However, changes in traditional playing can, at the same time, create a sense of loss for aficionados (amateurs/flamenco lovers). That is why some traditional flamencos have criticised the harmonic changes and sounds they don’t understand. They use the concept of ‘nuevo flamenco’ to conceptualise all the things on the borders of tradition.  

Cañizares is very sensitive about the idea of making ‘fusion’. However, living in Madrid and acquiring a new ‘cosmopolitan’ identity, Cañizares is invited to be part of other successful experiments conceived by Enrique Morente in which Cañizares had an essential compositional role. In the album Omega, Enrique Morente asked Tomatito, Vicente Amigo, Miguel Ángel Cortés to play on different tracks of this experimental Flamenco-Rock album. Cañizares was asked to collaborate too in a various tracks that he plays together with electric guitars of Lagartija Nick. However, in the mix this flamenco guitar is perfectly recognised even with a rock band playing in the background. Regarding his work on the Omega album, Cañizares says:

When Enrique called me I asked him to send me a tape to listen to, because I was worry about finding a balance between different musical styles. Because, I can play loud, but how I do it is different. When I got to Granada for the recording session, I knew more or less what to do to get the sound right, but I was not so sure. But you get into the studio with the headphones on and you start listening… I heard the beat, Enrique’s voice and Lagartija Nick [electric guitar, drums, etc.]. Then I got really into it. I was really into the whole thing.

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72 Luis Clemente, Filigranas, Una historia de fusiones flamencas (Valencia: La Máscara, 1995) or Flamenco!!! De evolución (Sevilla: Lapislázuli, 2002).
73 Enrique Morente, Omega (Madrid: Karonte, 1996). Cañizares plays on Enrique Morente’s “Omega” where he demonstrates again his ability to adapt different styles on top of his increasingly distinct and recognizable sound. His first solo album has been very well received by the critics, and has converted him into a reference for a more modern and coherent sound. (Flamenco-world).
74 Cuando me llamó Morente le pedí que me mandara una cinta para escucharlo, porque lo que más me preocupaba era encontrar el equilibrio entre los diferentes estilos de música. Porque yo, tocar en lo alto,
As I mentioned before, Cañizares had the experience of playing on tour with Spanish popular music bands such as Último de la Fila. He knew how to bring together the flamenco guitar and the popular music instruments without having mixing problems in the recording studio.

The music example ‘Manhattan,’ sung by Estrella and Enrique Morente, is a perfect synthesis of ‘tradition’ and ‘renovation’.\(^75\) (Enrique) Morente’s \textit{Omega} album was heavily criticised by traditional institutions for being what they called simply ‘an experiment’, ‘fusion’ and not the collaboration of flamenco musicians with rock musicians. Leonard Cohen song lyrics mix with poetry by Federico García Lorca, Lagartija Nick, a Rock band from Granada, Morente’s home town, mix and interlace their hard rock sound with the filigree and bravura of the flamenco guitarists from Sabadell. The flamenco \textit{compás} played by the drum kit and the flamenco guitar is a mix of the traditional Tango from Granada and the Tango-Rumba:

\textit{Tangos flamencos}

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Tango-Rumba flamenca in the drum kit when Estrella said: ‘Primero conquistaremos Manhattan…’

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Cañizares has also characterised his work with Morente on \textit{Omega} as an experimental project.\(^76\) Cañizares tried to explain Morente’s experimentation saying:

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\begin{quote}
puedo tocar, pero cómo lo voy a hacer es una cosa distinta. Cuando llegué a Granada para grabar, sabía más o menos por dónde podía tirar para que eso sonase, pero tampoco lo tenía claro, no te creas. Lo que pasa es que luego te metes en el estudio con los cascos y empiezas a escuchar… Escuchaba la claqueta, la voz de Enrique y a Lagartija Nick. Y entonces ya me metí allí. Me apetecía la historia un puñao, y le puse mucho cariño, porque a Morente lo aprecio mucho, es muy amigo mío, y le considero un mostruo de esta época. Isabel Coderque ‘Juan Manuel Cañizares’ in ‘Barcelona, an open minded city’ \textit{Flamencos} (Barcelona: Carena, 1997) p. 59.
\end{quote}

\(^75\) Morente’s work has been object of study and recopilation of Balbino Gutiérrez in Enrique Morente: \textit{la voz libre} (Madrid: SGAE, 2006) Chapter III but also of other British academics have presented paper, such as Repensar la nación: entre lo local y lo global en el siglo veintiuno by Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights in the IASPM conference in Brasil where Enrique and Omega are protagonists.

\(^76\) Well, I think is hot stuff. I think it’s hot stuff. Enrique Morente likes experimenting too, and doing new things. I think he wanted to see what kind of sounds would come out of it. He took some good texts, as
Well [Omega] it is not all flamenco, but there are flamenco touches. Anything Enrique [Morente] does is going to sound flamenco, because he is a flamenco singer. Whether you like the balance between those two worlds or not is a matter of taste. But there is not doubt that every time Enrique sings a *quejío* in a *tercio*, that’s unbeatable.

For me *Omega* is a flamenco album and popular music at the same time. This album sounds flamenco not only because of Morente’s voice. Nonetheless, Cañizares states that is not totally a flamenco piece. *Omega* could not be conceptualized as a ‘Transnational Hybrid’ using the meaning of the sociologist Gerrad Steingress, however Cañizares is very sensitive in his interviews about the concept ‘fusion’. There seems some confusion here for Cañizares, who, on the one hand seems to agree with the views of Paco de Lucía, who does not consider that the word ‘fusion’ to be possible in flamenco, whilst nonetheless practising it with Morente. Cañizares and Paco de Lucía prefer to use the concept of ‘encounter of musicians’, but it is clear that both are open to the idea of hybridisation in their work. Hence, Cañizares has the following to say: “I have great respect for the word fusion and I do not feel confident to make fusion: for me is impossible to know two cultures so well in one life.”

Adding: “Paco de Lucía said we all know, started to experiment and Omega came out. I think that as and experiment it’s a really good one. And you notice it most when you play it in live, with Lagartija Nick and the flamenco artists. You see a tangle of styles, and you say “Wow, that’s really a mix up”. I like that. Above all the daring to have got in there and committed yourself. [...] Well (Omega) it is not all flamenco, but there are flamenco touches. Anything Enrique does is going to sound flamenco, because he is a flamenco singer. Whether you like the balance between those two worlds or not is a matter of taste. But there is not doubt that every time Enrique sings a *quejío* in a *tercio*, that’s unbeatable. [...] I really like the Granaína with words of Lorca and music by Enrique Morente and lagartija Nick, ‘Vuelta de paseo,’ which I play as a Granaína but harmonised in a different way. I also liked Niña ahogada en un pozo [...] (Juan Manuel Cañizares) 

Ibid., pp. 60-61.

Original: Hombre, (la mezcla) la veo muy fuerte. Yo la veo fuerte. Enrique también es una persona que le gusta experimentar y hacer cosas nuevas. Yo creo que el quería ver qué sonoridad podía sacar de allí. Ha cogido unos buenos textos, como ya sabemos todos, ha empezado a experimentar, y ha salido Omega. Pienso que como experimentación está muy bien. Y cuando más lo notas es un el directo, cuando tocas con Lagartija Nick y con los flamencos. Sobre todo el atrevimiento de haberse metido ahí y de haberse mojao. [...] Pues (en Omega) no todo es flamenco, pero sí hay dejes flamencos. Es que cualquier cosa que haga Enrique le va a sonar flamenco, porque es un conator flamenco. Que te guste más o menos el equilibrio que hay entre esos dos mundos, puer es ya una cuestión de gustos. Pero indudablemente, cada vez que Enrique da un quejío en un tercio, eso va a misa. [...] Me gusta mucho la Granaína con letra de Lorca y música de Morente y Lagartija Nick, Vuelta al paseo, que estoy tocando por granaína pero armonizada de otra forma. También Niña Ahogada en el pozo. [...] 

77 The album was criticised as *Morentiada* in Balbino’s book, however, the album as a whole conception is a flamenco album and a rock album with a new timbre given by the rock band Lagartija Nick. Even, it is contradictory not to use the concept ‘fusion’.


79 Interview to Cañizares made by Luis Clemente in November 2000 in www.flameno-world.com (Jan 2007) Other translation: ‘I have a great amount of respect for the word “fusion,” but I can’t do that: I think it’s impossible to know two cultures well enough in a single lifetime.’ Original: La palabra fusión me merece mucho respeto y no me siento capaz de fusionar: me parece imposible conocer dos culturas tan bien en una sola vida.
that he believed more in the mix of musicians than in the fusion. I agree with him. We have a common language, which let us mix little things, but from his to make ‘fusion’ is a big step. For that we will need to have a deep knowledge of both music and me personally, I do not have enough time so I am satisfied simply mixing.”

Cañizares recorded Enrique’s *Omega* project and in 1998 Morente’s *Lorca’s Poems*. In Balbinos’s book, Enrique wanted to re-edit an old album but he finished creating a complete new album including Bulgarian Voices. Cañizares collaborates with him in the Bamberas and Seguiriyas. Apart from the collaborations and experiments with Enrique Morente, Cañizares collaborated with other folk and popular musicians. An example is the collaboration in Carlos Núñez’s album, *Os Amores Libres* in 1999 where the musicians finished, ‘the Jigs and Bulls’ with a *picado* in unison with a Gaita (Bagpipe in C). Again, although this collaboration can be seen as ‘fusion’, according to the guitarist:

I’m not against it. From my point of view, I cannot do that. It is different. If people think they can do it, that’s fine, but my way of being does not go that far. Like I said, I would need to live more than a lifetime to know both worlds. fusion is about knowledge more than anything else; being aware of what you are doing and why you are doing it.

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80 Interview to Juan Manuel Cañizares “La guitarra son tres carreras en una” in Panorama del Flamenco Actual: El Toque’ by A. P. Babelia - 28-08-2004. Original: Paco de Lucía dice que cree más en la mezcla de músicos que en la fusión. Yo estoy de acuerdo con él. Tenemos un lenguaje común con el que se pueden mezclar cosillas, pero de ahí a fusionar hay un gran salto. Para eso haría falta un conocimiento profundísimo de las dos músicas y yo, desde luego, no tengo tanto tiempo, así que me conformo con mezclar.

81 *Lorca’s* album was a re-recorded edition of Enrique Morente’s 1990 *En la Casa Museo de Federico García Lorca* album.

82 Balbino Gutiérrez, Enrique Morente; *La Voz Libre* (Madrid: SGAE, 2006).

83 Yo no estoy en contra, digo que desde mi punto de vista no me siento capaz de fusionar. Es distinto. Si hay personas que creen que pueden hacerlo, pues viva ellos, pero mi forma de ser no abarca eso porque, como ya te he dicho, necesitaria vivir más de una vida para conocer ambos mundos. La fusión es conocimiento ante todo, ser consciente de lo que estás haciendo y porqué lo estás haciendo.
Conclusion

Cañizares travels regularly to the UK and New York, as well as Japan, where his wife Mariko is originally from. As in other musical genres like Argentinian Tango (conceptualized as ‘nomadic’ by Pelinski), flamenco can be analysed in international places in which it is lived, created and recorded. Cañizares is not only part of the flamenco scene but part of the world music scene where flamenco at the present time has a strong international projection and it is projected to many cultural contexts. Apart from all the concerts outside Spain, in January 1991 Cañizares recorded for Peter Gabriel in his Real World Studios. Picking up some of the identity issues in relation to globalising dynamics at work in Andalusia, I want to come back to the concepts of ‘transnational hybrid’ and ‘creolization’.

The Big Blue Ball is a World Music album but also the creolization product of a series of recording sessions that took place from 1991 to 1995 in Peter Gabriel’s Real World Studios. Artists from different cultures and continents, for example The Holmes Brothers, Jah Wobble, Billy Cobham, Joseph Arthur, Iarla O’Lionaird, James McNally, Deep Forest, Hukwe Zawose, Natacha Atlas, Hossam Ramzy, Marta Sebestyen, Papa Wemba, Sinead O Connor, Joji Hirota, Guo Yue, Peter Gabriel, Karl Wallinger and Juan Manuel Cañizares, were part of the recording sessions. Not all of the recordings of the artists were included on the final album, The Big Blue Ball. However, the material recorded in Real World Studios by Congolese musician Papa Wemba with the flamenco guitarist Cañizares was included on the final album. According to producer and musician Peter Gabriel:

One week in the middle of summer this craziness exploded in our Real World Studios. We had this week of invited guests, people from all around the world, fed by music and a 24 hour café. It was a giant playpen, a bring your own studio party. There'd be a studio set up on the lawn, in the garage, in someone's bedroom as well as the seven rooms we had available. We were curators of sorts of all this living mass. We had poets and songwriters there, people would come in and scribble things down, they'd hook up in the café. It was like a dating agency, then they'd disappear into the darkness and make noises - and we'd be there to record it.

85 To research about Juan Manuel Cañizares I had to research in many contexts (Sabadell, Barcelona, Madrid, even to look at news from Japan).
86 Information found in www.realworldrecords.com (last update February 2010).
After eighteen years of studio work, the *Big Blue Ball* album was released and included the track by Papa Wemba and Cañizares named ‘Shadow’. This collaboration, where Cañizares played flamenco guitar for Papa Wemba, is not only a collaboration of musicians or ‘fusion’ but a double process of ‘creolization’. After an electro flamenco introduction with the guitar, can be heard a rumba *rasgueos in 4/4*, which sounds more like a Catalan rumba (Charnego-Creole Style); with its strumming *Ventilador* technique\(^{87}\) it also sounds very like the international French Gypsy Kings. The Rhythm with the clapping and guitar proceeds as follows:

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After a flamenco *rasgueo of abanico* (↑↓↓↑) an Em chord by Cañizares, Papa Wemba starts singing in a style that can be linked with the soukous style. The harmony changes are very simple between Em – D7. What I found particularly interesting in this collaboration is that both styles are *creolised*. Cañizares, very aware of the way that Rumba is played in Catalonia, approaches the recording as a Rumba style. Rumba, similar to the tango flamenco, is a *palo*, which travelled across the Atlantic and came from Cuba. This *ida y vuelta* [literally ‘there and back’] is also found in Africa (when slaves were force to travel to America and came back with the particular Afro-American changes). Papa Wemba’s musical career was forged in many musical styles that were performed in the old country called Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo. During the 60s and 70s, Wemba change to an “aggressive afro-pop known as ‘rhumba-rock’ which is connected to the rumba made by Camarón in *La Leyenda del Tiempo* (analysed in chapter two). Cañizares, who learnt flamenco outside Andalusia in Barcelona and Madrid, now performs with African musicians who are also re-interpretating a *creolized* tradition. Not only the Andalusian people (for example, Cañizare’s family) were displaced and found a new homes in Catalonia but the flamenco tradition (music) was also displaced and is still displaces now in a Creole form in world music projects and festivals. For Cañizares, as we have said, what he does is not ‘fusion’ but an encounter with musicians from different cultural contexts.

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\(^{87}\) Ventilador is a guitar technique for the right hand of the guitarist. This technique is used in Latino American music but it is identified in Spain with the Catalan Rumba. After a rest on the first beat the guitarist strums the string down, up, down and stop the string. (rest ↓↑↑↓)
However, this collaboration of musicians is closer to the concept of ‘creolization’ and ‘fusion’ even if Cañizares refuse to use.

Many flamenco styles such as tangos and rumbas have a Cuban origin and African musical influence in that island is ubiquitous. As de Jong has said, “diasporic [displace] identities are construed as an ongoing, ever-changing process, in which perceived pasts are constantly renegotiated, constantly subjugated”. The example recorded in the ‘Real World Studios’ as a multicultural space and Cañizares as a model helps us to grasp the wider picture of the displaced tradition.

For Catalan writers:

From day to day […] what counts, at the end, is the result: the blooming and consolidation in a real city of a generation of young flamenco artist, of extraordinary courage and quality. A culture’s vitality should be measured by it is ability to construct identities, rather than resigning itself to protecting pre-existing identities […]

It is clear, then, that flamenco has a well established presence in both Catalonia and on numerous world music stages, such as the WOMAD festival.


89 For example, other flamenco guitarists like Paco Peña lives in London or Paco de Lucía that was living in Yucatán, Mexico for more than five years as it can be seen in his double DVD: Paco de Lucía, *Francisco Sánchez– Paco de Lucía* (Spain: Universal Music, 2003).

Chapter 5:
Producing and Recording the ‘New Flamenco’ Sound: Vicente Amigo

The last quarter of the twentieth century has seen a re-definition of the flamenco sound due in no small part to the increasing use of new musical/recording instruments, effects, etc. associated with other musical styles and to the appropriation of ‘non-flamenco’ performance spaces and practices. The beginning of the twenty-first century has witnessed the continued modification of the tradition via new technologies, which have both created and reflected new ways of playing, singing and dancing flamenco. Practitioners have continued to cross both physical and technological borders, collaborating with other musicians, acquiring other sounds, and developing new concepts of flamenco performance. In this chapter, I propose to examine two ways in which flamenco has fitted into the wider world popular music scene via recorded and live sound. In order to do this I will deal with the issue of identity discussed in previous chapters but focusing here on the musician/producer Vicente Amigo as a model for discussion.¹

The first part of the chapter explores the different meanings ascribed to having a flamenco identity/sound. From the earliest recordings made at the end of the nineteenth century, flamenco musicians have been continuously recorded. Like most musicians in the twenty-first century operating in developed capitalist societies, flamenco musicians now have ever widening access to recording technology. They often record themselves at home, but continue also with the older practices of studio-centred ‘top end’ recording culture. Vicente Amigo’s childhood and youth are analysed below in order to construct a theory of how the contemporary flamenco sound is shaped in different periods using memory and nostalgia as a kind of ‘technology’. The manner in which these

¹ The last flamenco guitarist that I am going to study intensely in this work is probably the most popular flamenco guitarist of his generation. Vicente Amigo Girol told me in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: “My complete name is Vicente Amigo Girol. I was born on the 25th March 1967 in Guadalcanal, county of Seville and I went to Córdoba when I was five years old. For that reason I consider myself from Córdoba […]” Interview to Vicente Amigo in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 8th March 2006. Vicente Amigo was born in Guadalcanal (Seville) on the 25th of March 1967. His family moved to Córdoba when Vicente was five years old, so he considers himself as a guitarist from Córdoba. In his own words: ‘Born in Seville but with a Córdoba soul’ More information about the flamenco guitarist can be found on the Vicente Amigo official web page: http://www.vicente-amigo.com/castellano.htm (Nov 2005) Original: Sevillano de nacimiento pero de alma Cordobesa.
experiences were initially absorbed and how tradition has (or has not) changed will also form an important part of the analysis below. Vicente Amigo was born in Seville province, in Guadalcanal, which includes small villages and cities such as Lebrija and Utrera (key sites in flamenco history). He considers himself a flamenco guitar player of Córdoba. Seville has been recognised as a major centre of flamenco, with various flamenco figures, including Antonio Mairena, coming from Seville province. Yet, the guitarist’s identity and sound is associated with Córdoba (‘the city of the guitar’). Part of what follows will raise the question as to why this is.

Part two of what follows asks also why Vicente Amigo’s sound is also associated with the County of Cádiz. This part of the chapter develops Bloom’s theories of the ‘Anxiety of Influence’ in relation to Amigo and his generation of Cádiz County maestros (Paco de Lucía, Manolo Sanlúcar, Moraito). As we shall see, this is due in part to the media construction of the Cádiz sound; and understanding how the media has shaped the reception of Vicente Amigo and others will help us understand how his flamenco practices change when they absorb new influences.

After an extraordinary education in Córdoba in the best academies (for example, the one of Merenge de Córdoba), Vicente Amigo encountered new ways of producing/composing flamenco in Cádiz County from the maestros Manolo Sanlúcar and his brother, Isidro Muñoz. The encounter with these two guitarists/producers is also essential for analysing the so-called ‘new flamenco sound’, enabling us to take into consideration not only Paco de Lucía’s influential and characteristic playing and recording, but the formation of the so-called Cádiz sound more broadly.

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2 In this province, the songs are attributed to four great centres: Triana, Utrera, Alcalá and Lebrija. From the arrabal in Sevilla arose the ‘toná’, the ‘soleá’ and its variations, the ‘tango’ and various styles of ‘seguiüria’. […] the song moved to other villages and so a style characteristic of ‘soleá’ arose in Alcalá from the hands of los Gordos. Another case is that of Utrera, where Mercé la Serneta from Jeréz created a legitimate and genuine ‘soleá’ melody […] These people have always maintained direct contact with Lebrija thanks to the railroads, for which reason, for example, the saga of the Pinini, initiated by Popá Benito, is divided between both areas. Small history of flamenco in respect to its geographic distribution can be found in the Telematic flamenco guide of Andalusia. http://www.andalucia.org/flamenco (December 2005).

3 I do not concentrate in other flamenco guitarists from Vicente Amigo’s generation from Seville, who are essential figures in contemporary guitar playing Rafael Riqueni (b. 1962), Niño Carrion (b.1964) or Niño de Pura (b.1966), however life issues in relation to sound will mentioned as a counterpoint.

4 Córdoba has received many times the name of ‘City of the guitar’ not just for his famous guitar makers as for example, José Reyes Maldonado, guitarists or for the Cathedra of guitar created by Manuel Cano but for the International Guitar Festival created by Paco Peña in 1980. Last year was celebrated his 25th anniversary. Juan Muñoz alias El Tomate, (b. 1944) and Rafael Rodríguez Fernández Merengue de Córdoba (b.1944) who were Juan Antonio Rodriguez (b. 1964) and Vicente Amigo’s maestros in Córdoba. http://www.guitarracordoba.com/index.php/inicio.html (September 2011)

Part three concentrates on the curatorial work of Vicente Amigo in producing albums for the flamenco singers El Pele and José Mercé, comparing them with his own albums and looking in particular at the influences of global Anglophone popular music production practices on his own production practices.

Part four focuses on his recorded work. It explores his informal practice-based research on ‘new flamenco sounds’ using the classical orchestra and other collaborations with international popular musicians with an international reputation and distribution as a point of departure.

To conclude, this chapter will bring my own original material from fieldwork carried out in Spain, which includes commentaries by the artist himself, placing it within the wider issues of influence, identity formation and the building of communities of practitioners. The light this sheds on developments in contemporary flamenco recorded sound will then be compared to theoretical work on technology taking place elsewhere in cultural and popular music studies. I will suggest a revision of some of the ways we should think about the technologically-mediated limits of flamenco practice and how it relates (or does not relate) to popular music practices. I have drawn on the theoretical approach of specialists in contemporary flamenco, to contrast examples from fieldwork material with the ideas of the generation of Spanish writers such as Jose Manuel Gamboa and Norberto Torres.

5.1 Recording Culture and Play! The Childhood Period

How to obtain a new flamenco sound when flamenco has to sound añejo? Vicente Amigo is one of the most influential flamenco guitarists of his generation, after the figure of Paco de Lucía. However, for some flamenco aficionados his new sound and his playing was conceptualized as “bland, clean, jazzy and poppy.”⁶ Before analysing Vicente Amigo’s sound and his soleá, I interviewed Vicente Amigo after the MEG festival in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. The musician from ‘Còrdoba’ (although he was born in the Seville county of Guadalcanal on 25th March 1967) told me that “music has many roads […] one guitarist can go forward and then go back to pick things from the past and use his own way. The important issue is that flamenco cannot be invented without study the past. when one plays [the flamenco guitar] has to project to the future

but sounding to the past. The past flavour has to be there to call what one does flamenco.” Introducing this quote from the flamenco guitarist from Córdoba at the beginning of the chapter is because he has been criticised many times for having a ‘pop’ sound and compositions which is (not) following the tradition, on the other hand Vicente Amigo has inspired to a whole new generation of young flamenco prayers.

In 1972 when Vicente was only five years old Vicente Amigo’s family had to go to Córdoba (from the Village to the City). In the previous chapter on displacement it was seen how Cañizare’s family moved to Barcelona before he and his brother Rafael were born, and Gerardo Núñez’s family moved from Granada to Jerez before Gerardo was born. However, Vicente Amigo’s family, similarly to Tomatito’s family, had to move to new city when he was a child. Having these facts I am dealing here with concepts increasingly used in contemporary cultural theory, the concepts of nostalgia and memory in relation to place. As Vicente Amigo explained to me, “we moved from Guadalcanal because my father asked for a change of work destination. My mother was the midwife of the village. Sometimes when I go back to the village the people tell me ‘your mother helped when I was born’. My mother saw the births of many people in the village […] I am from a family of eight.” Memory is crucial to any musician and those memories will have an impact in their later compositions. Vicente also told me that he remembers everything from that period. In his own words: “I went to Córdoba when I was five years old and so my life has been lived in two different stages. That of leaving the village was traumatic. I remember that we were in a mini-bus all crying, my parents and my brothers because we were leaving the village where we lived. I didn’t understand what was happening at that time but all the family was moving to the city.

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7 La música tiene tantos caminos y muchas veces tira para un lado pero justo cuando están todos tirando para un lado allí sale otra tendencia y uno que va para el otro sitio. Uno tira muy para delante y otro que tira para detrás y hecha mano de la historia. Lo grande del flamenco es que no te lo puedes sacar de la manga. Tienes que habértelo estudiado. Tienes que proyectar al futuro pero tiene que sonar al pasado. Es algo maravilloso. Ese sabor tiene que estar ahí para que se llame flamenco, si no, no es flamenco y no pasa nada. Pero el flamenco es algo muy importante, mu grande. No se puede tomar a la ligera y decir yo soy guitarrista flamenco y dentro de mi flamenco hay temas que quizás no hago una estructura que no tenga nada que ver con el flamenco, pero a la hora de interpretarlo se nota que es un flamenco el que lo está interpretando. Pero cuando toco por soleá, eso es flamenco. No me hace falta que vanga los de antes a decírmelo, porque yo lo digo yo. Porque yo he estudiado eso de los de antes con muchísimo respeto. Lo que el flamenco es tan curioso que el mismo te dice si perteneces a el o no. Es como un padre. (Hay mucho flamencólico) hay de todo. Los que más estudian de verdad son los que se ponen ahí delante son los que más saben. Saben lo que cuesta. Sobre la búsqueda, el descubrimiento. Irte de vacío. (Vicente Amigo)

8 Nos fuimos de Guadalcanal porque mi padre pidió traslado. Trabajo. Mi madre era la matrona del pueblo. Hay veces que cuando yo voy al pueblo me dicen tu madre me trajo al mundo. Mi madre ha visto nacer allí a un montón de gente […] Yo soy de una familia de ocho […] Vicente Amigo, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 8th March 2006.
All those experiences marked me deeply and I remember what I lived through then, even though I was very little at the time.”

The memory, nostalgia and regional identity play an essential part in the work of the Andalusian musician, who now exports and uses those memories when he plays flamenco guitar.

Vicente considered himself “Sevillano de nacimiento pero de alma Córdobesa” (translation: “born in Seville but with a Córdoba soul”).10 When Vicente received a Grammy in Los Angeles in 2001, he commented: “Whenever I win a prize it’s impossible for me not to think of Córdoba, and of my birthplace, Guadalcanal... I have to be grateful for my roots and remember where I come from. And it makes my head spin to think of how my life is going, in the fast lane, which is why I have to give thanks to God for who I am, and to the people who regard me highly, the people of Córdoba who have always been so kind to me.”

After Vicente received this International award, he remembered his roots and the people from Guadalcanal (Sevilla) and the Mesquite city (Córdoba), and he thanked God (as Tomatito did when quoting Almería) for having the opportunity of being a guitarist. Their epistemological way of seeing life (that there are someone/something bigger out there who) give Tomatito and Vicente something in common, despite one being gypsy while the other is ‘gachó/payo’. Both artists are grateful for being protected by the people from the city where they were born. Córdoba has been essential for the development of Vicente as a guitarist. A musical example is his soleá ‘Córdoba’ in Vicente’s compilation from La Ciudad de las Ideas album.12

The soleá soniquete are traditional and ‘modern’ with accents in 7 and 8:

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9 Yo recuerdo [...] Como me fui a Córdoba con 5 años y haber vivido en dos escenarios y haber estado en dos escenarios diferentes. Además aquello fue un poco traumático lo de irnos y dejar el pueblo. Yo recuerdo que ibamos en un minibus pequeño todos llorando mis padres y mis hermanos porque dejábamos el pueblo donde habíamos vivido, yo no entendía lo que pasaba, toda la familia en el coche ibamos para la ciudad. Todas esas cosas te marcan mucho y te acuerdas de lo que viviste, aunque fueras mu pequeño. Vicente Amigo, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 8th March 2006.


11 Cuando me llegan los premios me resulta imposible no pensar en mi Córdoba, en mi pueblo natal -Guadalcanal –[...]. Tengo que ser agradecido con mis raíces, acordarme de dónde vengo. Y me da hasta vértigo pensar cómo me va la vida, con qué velocidad la estoy viviendo, por eso tengo que agradecerle a Dios ser lo que soy, y a la gente que me tiene en consideración, a los cordobeses que tanto cariño me han demostrado siempre [...]. Interview to Vicente amigo made by Alberto García Reyes. ‘Le dedico el Grammy a Paco de Lucía porque por su culpa soy guitarrista’ in www.flamenco-world.com (October 2001)

However, the guitar composition – like his description of the Mezquita City – is slow and even the soleá *compás* becomes difficult to follow. That is one of the reasons why Vicente Amigo was criticized by more traditional flamenco *aficionados*. According to Vicente, “there is a soleá ‘Córdoba’ that I can say that is a little something that I have contributed to flamenco; that is me.”\(^\text{13}\) I had the opportunity to analyse the soleá that Vicente mentioned after his concert in Granada. A similar version can be seen in the recording of Vicente’s live concert from Córdoba.\(^\text{14}\) This soleá is elastic and does not follow the traditional form and harmony analysed in the displacement chapter. The guitar is doing the role of the flamenco singer *and* guitarist at the same time. With his melodies and technique, Vicente bring us the flamenco voice, the nostalgic past. In my interview with Enrique Morente, he mentioned that sometimes flamenco guitarists start their concerts with an original composition, which is their own piece, which may not follow the traditional flamenco structure; Vicente’s *soleá* is a perfect example. The rhythm of the soleá occasionally melts in the musical expression. For a traditional flamenco singer and dancer his flexibility in the *compás* is not a good thing in the way that when flamenco guitarists play for singers they need to keep the flamenco *compás/soniquete*. Vicente knows these ‘rules’ to keep it when he is playing for singers; when he had the opportunity to record his solo albums, however, he preferred to play the *compás* with a free rhythmic style that “enables the guitar to speak”. Following this poetic discourse, Vicente says: “For me, it is more complicated to make my music/record. An instrumental album is more complicated precisely because you yourself don’t want to get bored and that’s the way not to bore other people. I think when you’re making an album, when making Art, you’re looking inside yourself to give to people, so that they understand it. And if they don’t understand... they will some day [he laughs]. Of course, artists are always going to understand it. Those in the guild

\(^{13}\) In Spanish: *hay una soleá Córdoba que es una de las cosas que puedo decir que he aportado, que es una cosa mía.*

\(^{14}\) Vicente Amigo, Ciudad de Las Ideas: *Vicente Amigo en concierto desde Córdoba* (Madrid: BMG, 2004)
know the complication it involves; they even know the complication involved in making it understood.”

Apart from the collaborations, Vicente stated that for him it is more difficult to record a guitar solo album, which by its very nature must maintain the listener’s interest without the aid of the visual, than to perform live.

5.2 Anxiety of Influence During the Youth Period in Córdoba and Cádiz:

To introduce this second part in relation to the concept of memory and anxiety of influences in relation to Harold Bloom’s theory, I have analysed the mythology around Vicente’s childhood, from him starting to play guitar at age eight to him trying to learn to play flamenco by copying those he considered ‘gods.”

“My mother says that when I was a boy, I used to take the broomstick and play it. I do not remember, nor do I remember a toy plastic guitar they bought me. But I do remember, that I heard Paco de Lucía, while so young, I may have still been in my hometown. That is strange, as I was so young but was mind blown and from then on, well I do not know. One day I saw a neighbour of mine playing the guitar on the lawn and that was when I fell totally in love.”

This information about Vicente Amigo’s memory has been found, in a similar quote, in Ángel Álvarez Caballero’s history of flamenco guitarists book and the Tesoros de La Guitarra Flamenco Spanish TV program presented by José Manuel Gamboa,
where Vicente describes the first time he saw his idol, Paco de Lucía ‘as in a dream.’

On the other hand, Vicente tells me:

I remember […] I have it very clear in my mind that I saw Paco de Lucía on television when I was around three years old because I was in Guadalcanal […] I saw Paco de Lucía and that marked me deeply and I thought that ‘Image’ had to be with me always. I never forgot it and my grandfather told me that I was always trying to produce music.

Vicente Amigo equates the trauma of relocating as a family to Córdoba with why he remembers all the Guadalcanal’s period so well. One could argue that he saw Paco de Lucía on television when he was only three years old, or perhaps de Lucía did arrive in a dream. What seems essential is that Vicente mentions Paco de Lucía frequently. An example, when he won his first Grammy he refers to Paco de Lucía as “the maestro, my artistic father, my friend. Now is when I'm thinking of him more than ever and I’m going to take advantage of the occasion to dedicate the prize to him, because it’s his fault that I'm a guitarist.”

Vicente then repeats: “Absolutely. When I was small I used to pick up anything to make music, but there was a key turning point in my life. I must have been about three when I saw Paco de Lucía on TV. That had a profound effect on me and I saw clearly that was what I wanted to be. Nowadays when young people are so lost, I remember that much more vividly, because it was a gift, the greatest gift of my life.”

Paco de Lucía is so essential for Vicente Amigo’s generation and for the ‘new flamenco sound’ in general that many today consider Paco simply as El Maestro (‘The Teacher’); as artistic father as well as friend. The ‘anxiety of influence’ concept applied by Bloom to literary artists is useful to understand the path that Vicente Amigo and the guitarists from his generation have followed. Paco de Lucía

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20 Yo recuerdo […] además tengo muy presente el recuerdo, de haber visto a Paco de Lucía en la tele con tres años por ahí, porque yo estaba en Guadalcanal. […]Vi a Paco en la tele y me marcó muchísimo y pensé que tenía que ver mucho conmigo. Eso nunca se me olvidó. Ya nunca. Dice mi abuelo que yo siempre estaba buscando hacer música. Vicente Amigo, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 8th March 2006.
21 […] Él es el maestro, mi padre artístico, mi compadre. Ahora es cuando más me acuerdo de él y voy a aprovechar para dedicarle el premio porque por su culpa yo soy guitarrista […] Absolutamente. Cuando yo era pequeño cogía cualquier cosa para hacer música, pero hubo un momento clave en mi vida. Yo debía tener unos tres años cuando vi a Paco de Lucía en la tele. Eso me marcó y vi claro que eso era lo que yo quería ser. Hoy que los niños están tan perdidos en las cosas recuerdo aquello con mucha más fuerza porque fue un regalo, el regalo más grande de mi vida. Interview to Vicente amigo made by Alberto García Reyes in Octubre 2001. ‘Le dedico el Grammy a Paco de Lucía porque por su culpa soy guitarrista’. In www.flamenco-world.com (December 2005).
22 Ibid.
23 His artistic father, apart of being a friend. The new sound the performance ensemble (cajón, electric bass, flamenco guitar and flute) comes from Paco de Lucía. Although Vicente studied with other flamenco guitar maestros, Cádiz, the figure of Paco de Lucía and his way of playing it is always present in Vicente Amigo, similar to the influence that Niño Ricardo had in Paco de Lucía’s playing.
has been the mirror and all these guitarists have tried to mimic him, adding something else to the different roads that Paco de Lucía opened for flamenco guitar.

In the flamenco-press, it was even written that “Vicente may become the new Paco de Lucía.” Some other flamenco guitarists of this generation (for example, Gerardo Núñez) are also compared with Paco de Lucía and have received similar accolades. Yet, Gerardo Núñez, Vicente Amigo and Paco de Lucía are unique flamenco guitarists who, although born in similar cultural contexts, represent different moments in time. There is no reason to compare Vicente Amigo with his idol, Paco de Lucía; however, what is interesting is to see how influential the music and the life of Paco de Lucía has been on the Vicente generation’s sound. In Vicente Amigo’s words: “No one can replace Paco de Lucía.” The important point is that memory – recorded material – is having an influence not only on the discourse but on the production of the ‘new flamenco sound’. Paco de Lucía was never Vicente’s direct maestro in his childhood and youth but Vicente still learnt much from de Lucia’s recordings.

On the other hand, in another interview, Vicente Amigo thanks the many other maestros who have inspired his playing: “I remember everyone who gave me something, Tomate, Rafael El Merengue, Manolo Sanlúcar... everyone who lent me a hand. I even think of people I haveve never met, those anonymous musicians I’ve been listening to all my life [via recordings].” However, there have been other maestros who have had a direct and personal influence on Vicente’s guitar sound as well. Vicente learnt how to play flamenco guitar also in Cádiz with the maestros from Sanlúcar: Manolo and Isidro Muñóz. Norberto Torres has described this in the following terms: “When Vicente Amigo arrived in Sanlúcar de Barrameda in 1982 to receive lessons from Manuel Muñoz Alcón (Maestro Sanlucar), Vicente is one of the ‘best’ guitarists of Córdoba’s academies, for example, Merengue of Córdoba’s academy. He was presented in the anthologies of flamenco singing and singers from Córdoba. He started a

24 Vicente Amigo’s reduced biography in www.flamenco-world.com (10th December 2005).
26 Me acuerdo de todos los que me han aportado algo, de El Tomate, de Rafael El Merengue, de Manolo Sanlúcar..., de todos los que me han ayudado. Me acuerdo incluso de la gente que no conozco de nada, de esos músicos anónimos en los que me he fijado a lo largo de toda mi vida. Vicente learnt flamenco guitar in his neighbourhood and later with different teachers. Vicente learnt how to play with Juan Muñoz (El Tomate), who is a flamenco guitarist from Córdoba, [who does not have any family relation with el Tomatito from Almería] and he also learnt with Merengue de Córdoba. Completely different to the idea of Tomatito that Flamenco is learnt at home, Vicente told me: ‘My father likes flamenco but he prefers the football more than listen music. I have not had a family who likes to sit down to listen to music and they did not study music. […]Vicente Amigo, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 8th March 2006.
professional discography career when, as a Manolo Sanlúcar student, he was part of Manolo’s band as the third guitarist. It is this period that Vicente started entering guitar competitions, building upon the influences received from Sanlúcar, from his brother Isidro, and the influence of Paco de Lucia.”²⁷ Vicente went to Cádiz to study with Manolo Sanúcar and began playing and recording with Manolo and his brother Isidro Muñoz, initiating with them new, uncharted territories, harmonic structures, changes of tonalities.²⁸

To analyse Vicente Amigo’s Anxiety of Influence is essential to my analysis of the recording of his first solo album.²⁹ In 1991, the same year of the Leyendas de la Guitarra festival in Seville, Vicente Amigo finished recording his first solo album, De mi Corazón al Aire,³⁰ which has since been characterised as one of the ‘best’ albums of the guitarist from Córdoba by Ángel Álvarez Caballero, who recognised its “formidable creative potential”, declaring it “imaginative and the beginning of a splendid career.”³¹ His Granainas composition was dedicated to Enrique Morente; the Alegria to his Maestro, Manolo Sanlucar; the bulerías to Paco de Lucía and Morao and the Tarantas, ‘Callejón de la Luna’ to Juan Habichuela. Those are the perfect representations of Vicente’s Maestros, an idea which is so essential in flamenco patrilineal discourses on tradition. With regard to respect for the tradition and what is and what is not flamenco, Vicente Amigo told me at the MEG guitar festival:

I have studied the music/sound from the old ones with a lot of respect. Flamenco is very curious because itself tells you if you are part of it or not. It is like a father. The ones who study more are the ones who are there in front of the audience. They know how hard is it. It is all about the research/study.³²

²⁷ Cuando Vicente Amigo llega a Sanlúcar de Barrameda en 1982 para dar clases con Manuel Muñoz Alcón, es uno de los alumnos aventajados de las academias guitarrísticas cordobesas, como la de Merengué de Córdoba. Presente en antologías de cantes y cantaores cordobeses de forma anecdótica, inicia profesionalmente su actividad discográfica cuando, discípulo de Manolo Sanlúcar, formaba parte del grupo del guitarrista gaditano como tercera guitarra. Es su época de concursos, de influencias recibidas como la del propio Sanlúcar, sobre todo la de Isidro, la de Paco de Lucía claro, de colaboraciones en discos donde la personalidad de Vicente estaba aflorando y madurando. Norberto Torres. ‘Vicente Amigo o el guitarrista flamenco del siglo XXI: Discografía de un artista entre la poesía y el mercado’ en www.flamenco-world.com (December 2005).

²⁸ It must be said that Manolo Sanlúcar, who is one of the other referential flamenco guitarists from the forties generation (together with Serranito and Paco de Lucía) treated Vicente Amigo as a son. After this period he (Vicente Amigo) began to work with the Manolo Sanlúcar and Vicente spent the next few years playing with him and his brother Isidro, who helped him

²⁹ His two first albums will be analysed in the chapter.


³² Vicente Amigo, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 8th March 2006.
Vicente Amigo, like Gerardo Núñez, recognised the many influences on flamenco, its hybrid character, and the importance, therefore, of going back to the past recognising that pluralist origin. As in other pseudo-oral traditions, it is essential to have some notion of the musical and cultural past of flamenco in order to develop a musical future.

This idea can be linked to Morente’s comments in an interview that we did in Granada for a flamenco documentary.33 The singer stated that many contemporary flamenco guitarists do not listen to much cante as guitarists did in the past. Vicente Amigo also spoke to me about this and the flavour/sound of flamenco (in many cases associated exclusivity with Roma or Andalusian groove). He defended himself from traditional flamencologists, who do not recognise the contemporary flamenco sound/harmonies, which also does not follow the tradition. For Vicente, the flamenco, as a culture or a ‘father’, decides to include or exclude what is flamenco and what is not. But I wonder who decides what flamenco is and what is not? Who has the power/knowledge? musicians? flamencologists? Aficionados? Boundaries are not totally defined in many cases.

The majority of the compositions on De mi Alma al Aire where ‘anxiety of Influence’ have been shown have already been transcribed separately by Alain Faucher34 and published together with Vicente’s other compositions by Claude Worth in a book Maestros contemporaneos de la guitarra – Volumen 1: Vicente Amigo. Apart from the notes and tablature, this book also includes an analysis of Vicente Amigo’s technique, especially, of his right hand. Perhaps the reason why Vicente was chosen for this analysis was because of his special right-hand (arpeggio’s and picados,) and left-hand (bendings) techniques and his use of technology. Vicente Amigo’s technique also includes the use of harmonic enrichment through chords with added 9th and Major 7th plus unusual modulations, which were one of the characteristics of the music of his Maestro Manolo Sanlúcar and Paco de Lucía. According to Norberto Torres:

Vicente Amigo is a guitarist who is at the moment in the middle of the Hurricane of a new generation. He seems to be the one chosen to follow Paco de Lucía’s tradition in a constant search of innovations which characterized the flamenco guitar. Amigo has a very personal sound and an amazing off-beat playing if we have into account the complex rhythmic structrure of many flamenco styles. A unique interiorization of the flamenco structure accompanied

33 In Luis Oller and Mary Lambourne’s documentary about Flamenco Barcelona Creación, Flamenco in Cataluña, which has not been published yet but presented in the Flamenco Festival in Barcelona.
34 www.affedis.com/transcriptions.html.
by a precise rhythm explains his *aire* or flamenco swing of this young musician from Córdoba, even in his live performance.\(^{35}\)

Vicente Amigo has a personal sound and offbeat *compás* that he applies to irregular/*amalgama* flamenco rhythms with an exteriorisation of his understanding of flamenco. These techniques have been use to construct his ‘own sound’, incorporating bits of all the different maestros that he has studied with a mimetic ‘anxiety of influence’. For Amigo, it is as important to offer a sound that both follows tradition but also attempts to improve upon the maestros’ art. For Bloom this is conceptualised as climax and continuity. His memory and personal performative experience link the tradition with the late-modern eclectic public.

**5.3 Producing Flamenco Albums: The Goose That Lays The Golden Eggs**

At present, Vicente Amigo is a world-renowned flamenco ‘solo’ guitar artist (*solista*) who tours the world with his own band. Yet he is not just a guitarist but a well unknown producer. He has produced and played on many occasions not only for the local figures from Córdoba, especially for the flamenco singer El Pele, but also for other major figures of the flamenco *cante* such as, Camarón and Enrique Morente. He has produced album(s) that changed the direction of new popular flamenco singers from Jerez such as José Mercé.

At this point I want to extend the anxiety of influence theory in relation to the work Camarón- Paco de Lucía did in the past and Vicente Amigo’s work and to analyse some of the collaborations to contrast the recorded material and the evolution of tradition in Vicente Amigo as a guitarist/producer.\(^{36}\) As we saw in the previous sections in relation to Bloom’s Anxiety of Influence theory, there are different kind of influences. The climax and continuity could be applied to Vicente Amigo who no only

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\(^{35}\) Original: Vicente Amigo es el guitarrista que está en el ojo del huracán en la nueva década. Parece ser el elegido, llamado a suceder a Paco de Lucía en el afán constante y paulatino de innovaciones que caracteriza hoy a la guitarra flamenca. Ha conseguido un sonido personalísimo y un toque a contratiempo realmente impresionante, si tenemos en cuenta la complejidad de las células rítmicas de no pocos estilos flamencos. Sólo una inusual interiorización de las formas flamencas, acompañada por un marcado sentido del ritmo explica el "aire" o "swing" de este joven cordobés, presente hasta en su plasticidad en el escenario. Norberto Torres

\(^{36}\) 'He is one of the most outstanding flamenco concert guitarists, although he has also played as a backing guitarist on recordings by Pelé, Camarón de la Isla, Vicente Soto, Luis de Córdoba and the rociiero band Salmarina, and he has acted as a producer for Remedios Amaya and José Mercé’. Vicente’s biography on www.vicente-amigo.com (September 2009).
admired Camarón/Paco de Lucía work/sounds but he has also tried to continue their innovation of traditional work (Flamenco singer-guitarist) based in the good work-friendship relation.

In 1986, when Vicente Amigo was studying and collaborating with Manolo and Isidro Múñoz in Sanlúcar, the guitarist went back to Córdoba to record in the album of an old good friend from Cordoba, El Pele. According to Vicente Amigo:

The first thing is friendship, whether or not we make a record. We have already done a lot of things and travelled many miles together, we have been together for a long time and we’ve known each other since I was little. We are always going to be friends. And on top of it we have made an album, which arises from that friendship and that respect we have for each other as artists. I think our mutual understanding in the musical and the artistic is in our hearts. We both have great heart for what we do. And it hurts us more or less on the same side.  

For Amigo the friendship is an essential element for producing a good album modelling the work that Camarón and Paco de Lucía did between 1968-1977 (ten albums) and in producing albums until 1992 when Camarón died. Vicente Amigo tried to bring that Córdoba friendship to recording/later production albums. But who was El Pele?

According to Gamboa, Juan Moreno Maya (b. 1954), known as ‘El Pele’, was born in Cordoba, but Ángel Álvarez Caballero, in a review for de-flamenco, stated:

The fact that Manuel Moreno Maya ‘El Pele’ and Vicente Amigo recorded together after being artistically apart for a dozen of years, is a happy event for the flamenco world. They formed one of this artistic couples which stand out in the period- end of the 80s, beginning of the 90s, that I know very well because I lived it very closely […] In my remember always will be the singing of a gypsy who is called Juan [Vicente’s words] because this gypsy ‘El Pele’ has a singularity between many other flamencos of having two different names: Manuel in formal papers and Juan for the friends.

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39 Review about Canto of Vicente Amigo and “El Pele” made by Ángel Álvarez Caballero,https://www.deflamenco.com/tiendaflamenco/ver.jsp?cod=1375 (Sept, 2007) Original: El hecho de que Manuel Moreno Maya el pele y Vicente Amigo Vuelvan a grabar juntos, después de una docena de años separados artisticamente, es un feliz acontecimiento para el mundo del flamenco. No en vano formaron los dos una pareja que se destacó sobre cualquier otra en aquella etapa -finales años 80, principio año años 90-, que yo conoci muy bien porque la viví de cerca. […] "en mi recuerdo siempre
In conclusion, the singer from Córdoba with two names, known as ‘El Pele’, who recorded three albums with Vicente Amigo, was a key influence. Their first album *La Fuente de lo Jondo* in 1986 was the starting point of his career after Amigo won two prices in the *Concurso Nacional de Cante de Cordoba* in 1983. For Amigo “It was necessary to have an understanding beyond the pure *cante* to accompany well.” The traditional role of the flamenco guitar is to follow the voice with the correct flamenco chords/cadences but for Vicente Amigo it was also necessary not just to know deep flamenco singing conventions but also explore the possibilities of the singer and the music. Vicente Amigo was able to explore this when: “At this point he began a new career on his own forming a duo with the flamenco singer El Pele. Together they released an album, *Poeta de Esquinas blandas*, which in many ways opened up new formal avenues in contemporary flamenco.” This album was realised in 1990. According to Juan Manuel Gamboa, El Pele had to wait to record his second album *Poeta de Esquinas Blandas* with Vicente Amigo and Isidro Múñoz. This recording has become famous for the interpretation of the Tangos such as ‘Vengo del Moro’ where Vicente combined and introduced a solo emulating an Arabic oud over oriental percussion base. In this composition there is a strong Tango accent on the last beats, which contrasts with the effects on the Vicente’s *falsetas*.

*Tangos flamencos*

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The Arabic sound and the accents on the 4/4 *compás* make this ‘Tangos del Moro’ feel as if the first beat of the flamenco *compás* is at the end thus confusing the traditional listener up until the point where the voice of El Pele enters and Amigo strums clear crochets.

*Tangos flamencos*

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*estará, el quejío de un gitano, que se llama Juan*. (Vicente’s words) Por que este gitano- el pele_ tiene la singularidad, entre muchas, de disponer de dos nombres por separado: Manuel en los papeles y Juan para los amigos.

40 El Pele [and Vicente Amigo], *La Fuente de lo Hondo* (Spain: Pasarela, 1986).
Before Amigo recorded his second album with El Pele, he had the opportunity to record with Camarón and Tomatito bringing him even closer to the sound that he was trying to produce. In 1989, Camarón de la Isla recorded an essential album of his career *Soy Gitano* and he contacted Vicente Amigo to collaborate with him and Tomatito in three compositions on the new album, which also included London’s Royal Philharmonic Orchestra. Vicente collaborated in the famous composition, ‘Soy Gitano’ which gives the album its title and Camarón’s affirmation of his gypsy roots undoubtedly had a powerful meaning for Spanish Roma. On the other hand, Vicente Amigo who is ‘non-gypsy’ = gaché/payo, without giving any pejorative meaning to the concepts, collaborated with Camarón in the recording of the ‘Fandangos de El Gloria’, which showed off, before his first solo album, his particular way of playing and his *golpeos* on the flamenco guitar soundboard. According to Gamboa, this fandango with lyrics by Miguel Hernández, contrasted quite explicitly with the rest of Federico García Lorca poems on the album. According to Norberto Torres, apart from the collaboration with Camarón, in 1986 Vicente also recorded his guitar for the album *Hondo Espejo Gitanos* by Vicente Soto (aka Sordera). Pepe de Lucía contacted Juan Manuel Cañizares and Vicente to collaborate on the album *Andando por los Caminos* of the young flamenco singer from Sevilla, El Popito where Amigo played an *Alegria*. Amigo played in all these albums trying to absorb knowledge enabling him later to produce and push the traditional boundaries of flamenco practice.

In 1998 Vicente Amigo produced the album *Del Amanecer* for Jose Mercé. This album, which according to Norberto Torres was a new ‘look’ for José Mercé, contributed to Mercé’s increasing popularity. It cannot be forgotten that this album, sung by the Jerez (Cádiz) cantaor was composed and produced by Vicente Amigo who played the flamenco guitar in all his compositions. For the first track of the album, ‘Del Amanecer’ (Tangos), which remained as Camarón’s style in ‘Como el Agua’ with the alternation of verses and chorus, and an alternation between male chorus voices and the singer, Vicente Amigo contacted Carles Benavent to play the electric-bass and Tino de Giraldo to play percussion. Amigo produced the album and composed all parts of the guitar and general structures and lyrics, focussing on the singer’s characteristic voice. According to Vicente Amigo:

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When I have time, I always try to compose something, lyrics to be sung, melodies, which are tailor-made for the singer. But one thing comes with the other. There are even influences at the time of composing from what I've lived with him [the singer], from his voice, from his style. And when I write lyrics, I write them for him because I imagine his *cante*... it’s great to compose for someone; I have to imagine their heart, that’s the way to do it.  

Although Amigo is referring here to El Pele, he did something very similar for Mercé in the *Amanecer* album. Apart from the Tangos, ‘La Primavera’ or ‘Te roza y te quema’ compositions, the album contains a Soléa ‘En tu silencio’, three bulerías completely different ‘Pueblecito mio’, ‘La Mancha de la Mora’ and ‘Espejo del Río’, an alegrias with minor chords ‘Luna de la Victoria’ and, with *rondeña* tuning, ‘Sendero’ with a motive that Vicente re-used in his last album *Un momento en el Sonido*. But why do the names of the flamenco *palos* not appear in the back of the album, as they would normally? Most of the time, to be sure, flamenco compositions are tagged after the names of the songs: ‘Al Amanecer’ (Tangos), ‘La Mancha de una Mora’ (Bulerías), ‘Luna de la Victoria’ (Alegrias). However, when the flamenco *palo* is not clear enough for the tradition, the *palo title* is often added.  

Certainly, the soleà ‘En tu Silencio’ is clearly a Soleá and the Bulerías ‘La Mancha de la Mora’ is clearly a Buleria. Yet, ‘La Primavera’ or the Alegrias ‘Luna de La Victoria’ unusually in the minor key, are not that clearly in line with traditional perspectives. In Mercé and Amigo’s album, there are enough traditional flamenco references to use the *palos* after the compositions. ‘La Mancha de la Mora’ is a bulerias that the flamenco aficionados would recognise as such. The point is that because sometimes the new flamenco forms have been modified by the producer, the artists prefer not to tag the *palos*, even if those are going to be recognised as such, to avoid conflict with the aficionados.  

In relation to flamenco singing, that key element of the flamenco style, Amigo told me in the interview I conducted with him after the MEG guitar festival:

> After the flamenco course [with manolo Sanlucar] one day I was playing for the flamenco singers. Even, I had known El Pele and had recorded with him […] I was solo guitarist first. That’s what I liked in

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45 Original: [Vicente Amigo] Cuando tienes tiempo, siempre buscas componer algo, letras para ser cantadas, buscas melodías, que van para él a la medida. Pero una cosa viene con la otra. Hay influencias hasta en la hora de componer de lo que yo he vivido con él, de su voz, de su rollo. Y cuando compones una letra la compones para él porque te imaginas... es muy bonito componer para alguien, te tienes que imaginar su corazón, su forma de hacerlo Gamboa, José Manuel and Calvo P., *Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco El Duende de Ahora*. (Madrid: Guía de música, 1994).

46 Idid., pp. See fusion VI: La película de Jorge Pardo: “cuando toco flamenco aprieto más el culo”
my childhood and I was a solist, that selfish protagonist maybe unconscious. I liked more the guitar but with the time I deep on the flamenco and now I like the flamenco singing more.47

Vicente Amigo has produced for and collaborated with a number of important flamenco singers, including José Mercé, Luis de Córdoba, Carmen Linares, Pepe de Lucía, El Pele, some of them friends, others singers that he has composed for. An interesting idea in traditional flamenco discourse is the notion that flamenco guitarists of the past were always in a ‘second position’ compared with singer and dancers. The traditional role of the flamenco guitarist was to accompany and give the harmony and *compás* to the singer. Although that discourse sounds old fashioned now, the accompaniment is still essential, and guitarists are still required to articulate clearly the *compás*. Amigo’s reflexive and analytical approach to the evolution of flamenco forms and structures is reflected in the album *Canto*, especially with regard to the so-called ‘deep’ *palos* such as the seguiriya. ‘Aconteció’, a siguriya on the album, does not use a traditional way of counting.48

It should be mentioned also that the relation between the singer and the guitarist has now become more even-handed. For example, Camarón who knew how to play flamenco guitar had enormous admiration for Paco de Lucía. Similarly the flamenco singer ‘El Pele’ had the following to say:

*It’s always been a dream for me to sing with Vicente. When I sing with him I don't worry about anything. Many times I’ve gotten up on stage with Vicente without even knowing what I was going to sing. At the instant you get on stage or listening to his first notes, the inspiration comes. And I sing my way and he catches on to me. And he plays his way and I catch on to him. In the end, there’s magic up there, but you can't do that with everybody, just with someone who knows you very well or who has the sensitivity and the heart of the likes of Vicente Amigo.*

47 Original: […]. Y después del curso un día estaba tocando para el Cante. Qué yo ya había conocido al Pele y había grabado con el Pele. […] Pero yo fui primero solista. Era lo que me gustaba desde pequeño y era solista. Era ese afán de protagonismo, inconscientemente o que me gustaba más la guitarra pero con el tiempo cuando ya profundicé en el flamenco pues cada vez me gustaba más el cante.

48 The introduction to this track was a surprise to some flamenco aficionados in Granada. I remember speaking about this album and the Seguiriya in particular in Rafael Moreno’s workshop in Granada 2003.

49 Original: Para mí siempre ha sido un sueño cantar con Vicente. Cuando canto con él no me preocupo de nada. Muchas veces me he subido con Vicente a un escenario sin saber lo que iba a cantar si quiera. En el momento de subirte al escenario llega la inspiración o escuchando sus primeras notas. Y yo canto a mi forma y él me coge al vuelo. Y él toca a su forma y yo le echo al vuelo. Al final, hay una magia arriba, pero eso no lo puedes hacer con todo el mundo, sólo con alguien que te conozca muy bien o que tenga la sensibilidad y el corazón de Vicente Amigo. Interview with Vicente Amigo and El Pele on ‘Canto’: “We both hurt on the same side” made by Silvia Calado Olivo. Madrid, October 2003. Photos by Daniel Muñoz. Translation by Joseph Kopec.
In the words of ‘El Pele’, it can be seen that the friendship between both musicians and the years of mutual experience are an essential part of the flamenco collaboration. In this case, Vicente Amigo and El Pele have learnt from each other, and after years of doing projects with other musicians, they have re-encountered each other to record the new album, *Canto*. This friendship-admiration structure of these relationships is crucial to the tradition. The ‘anxiety of influence’ of creating original ‘authentic’ albums, as Camarón and Paco de Lucía did in the past, made this guitarist become a producer, not simply a musician, to have control of the whole sound of the new flamenco album.

5.4 Recording in National/International Popular Music Project(s): Research for a New International Sound

Apart from the flamenco tradition, Vicente Amigo has absorbed ideas and sounds from other world popular musics (jazz, pop, etc.) to develop his own musical style. As we mention in chapter two (2.2) the new ‘real authenticity’ is not only found in the tradition but the absorption of new authentic sounds/harmonies. Following the ‘anxiety of influence’ similarly that Paco de Lucía did collaboration with jazz musicians Vicente Amigo has continue this new tradition. In 1991 two essential events happened to Vicente Amigo’s music career: first, the guitarist recorded his first ‘solo’ *De mi Corazón al Aire* that received “two big awards from the media”; and second, Vicente Amigo shared a stage with Paco de Lucía during the international guitar festival *Leyendas de la Guitarra* in Seville in 1992. Bob Dylan, Keith Richards, Phil Manzanera, Joe Cocker, Jack Bruce and Richard Thompson also took part in the guitar festival. The festival producer had the idea of having different nights recorded by *Televisión Española* where guitarists from different styles share a stage in Seville. Apart from the concerts, *Televisión Española* did a documentary about the history of the guitar and the ‘guitar-scape’. At the end of the documentary Vicente Amigo was asked to play an electric guitar with effects on it. The guitar was not ideal for Vicente Amigo’s flamenco

51 The last night was the night of “La noche de la guitarras locas” Bryam May presented other young musicians such as Joe Satriani, Nuno Bettencourt, Steve Vai, ect., who presented their work and finished preforming a re-reinterpretation of Jimi Hendrix’s cover.
technique but he started experimenting with ‘new’ sounds on the electric guitar. Seventeen years after the *Leyendas de la Guitarra Festival*, in Vicente’s latest album *Paseo de Gracia*, Vicente Amigo after all those years of experimentation has finally recorded some electric guitars in his flamenco album.\(^{53}\)

In the interview I did with Vicente Amigo in Gran Canaria, when I asked him about his influences from other music(s) and how those enriched his playing/production of sound, he told me:

> I did not listen to much Rock or Jazz [when I was young]. I only used to listen to flamenco and not too much. I was more worry about learning how to play the guitar [...] obviously at the moment that I started to deep [research about music] then I was interested in the whole musical Universe.\(^{54}\)

Although Vicente Amigo did not recognise the popular music influences on his work in his early years, four years after *De mi Corazón al Aire*, Amigo recorded and produced his second album together with Juan Blanco Noriega, *Vivencias Imaginadas*.\(^{55}\) In this second solo album, Amigo established his ‘new’ sound, new structures and introduced new flamenco forms, and performed with Paco de Lucía a composition ‘Dear Metheny’ dedicated to Jazz guitarist Pat Metheny. Vicente Amigo’s harmonic language on this album is intensely elaborated chords used by jazz musicians. For example, the mineras ‘Ventanas al alma’ expands his harmonic language enormously and uses new guitar chords positions, which are more frequently used in Jazz, although now common among contemporary flamencos. The reference in the title of the song (literally ‘windows to the soul’) and musical references to the American Jazz guitarist shows that Amigo, apart from working towards a redefinition of his sound, was opening himself to a new musical universe. The influence of popular music on *Vivencias Imaginadas* can also be found in the instrumentation. For example in the Rumba ‘Limón de Nata’ there is an introduction with electric bass played by Tino di Geraldo, who also played percussion (tabla) in this album.\(^{56}\)

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\(^{53}\) Vicente Amigo, *Paseo de Gracia* (Spain: Sony Music Spain, 2009).

\(^{54}\) Original: Yo en aquel entonces no escuchaba Rock o Jazz. Solamente escuchaba flamenco y poco. Estaba más preocupado de aprender a tocar la guitarra, de que me enseñaran pero claro de momento a profundizar me empezó a interesar todo el Universo musical.


\(^{56}\) However, there were other compositions, such as the fandango ‘Mensaje’, which was sung by the Catalanian singer, Duquende, which is usually performed by Vicente Amigo in his concerts which are more traditional. See the Rondeña ‘Sierra del Agua’ dedicated to his parents.
With regard to instrumentation, Vicente Amigo continued following the move of other popular artists and composers looking for a new flamenco sounds; this took him to research the classical orchestration with orchestrator Cuban Leo Brower. From Vicente Amigo’s early period, when he went to study with Manolo ‘Sanlucar’ and Isidro Muñóz in the county of Cádiz, he starts to experiment with new timbres. For example, the Indian tabla recorded by Tino di Giraldo in the fifth track ‘Maestro Sanlucar’ of his first album is a perfect example and links with Amigo’s project in 1991, _Poeta_.\(^{57}\) According to Juan Blanco Noriega:

> At the end of 1991, in my conversations with Vicente, I exposed to him the idea of making a musical work about Alberti’s poetical work, thinking that idea could be his next album. The idea was very vague but even so, he accepted and started the process of musical creation of the theme.\(^{58}\)

There are a number of members of the flamenco community who were directly involved in the creative process for this project and Juan Blanco Noriega was the producer who collaborated with Vicente Amigo at this time, and also helped him to find a way of re-interpreting Alberti’s poems, and, more importantly for our purposes here, he contributed to the fashioning of this ‘new’ flamenco sound. The classical orchestra was not a ‘new’ instrument but for flamenco musicians having new ways of instrumentation and Leo Brower doing the arrangements it was moving forward (innovation) at the same time that sounded past (tradition). Norberto Torres characterised this as “between the poetry and the market, flamenco for a new era.”\(^{59}\)

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57 Vicente Amigo and Leo Brower, _Poeta_ (Spain: BMG, 1997). Late recording of the flamenco guitar concerto “Marinero en tierra de Alberti”

58 A finales de 1991, en una de mis conversaciones con Vicente, le sugerí realizar un trabajo en torno a la obra poética de Alberti, pensando que podría ser la base de su próximo disco. La idea era muy vaga, pero aún así, le parece válida y comienza un proceso de creación musical sobre el tema.

59 Torres, Norberto, _Historia de la Guitarra Flamenca_ (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2005).
The lyrics are dedicated to the return of the poet from Cádiz to Spain after the Spanish Civil War. This piece works through the idea of Alegrias in two related ways.

**Alegrias de Cádiz**

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‘Alegría’ means happiness/Joy in Spanish and is also a flamenco *palo* typical from Cádiz, the place where the poet Alberti was born. The thematics of the lyrics of the alegrias from Cádiz are usually based somewhere in the Bay (el Puerto de Cádiz). The sea and the return of the poet are thus in line with traditional thematics. Also, this alegrias had musical influences of previous alegrias ‘Cambio la luz del alba’ recorded years before with El Pele. This piece works rather like a concerto, with the flamenco guitar working as soloist to a large symphony orchestra. To understand the process of creation of this flamenco concerto, it is essential to understand some of the risks they went though. Flamenco styles have the risk of loosing their ‘authenticity’ when they encounter other musical traditions. That’s why is essential to analyse the different stages of the creative process here. According to Juan Blanco:

> From the beginning, Vicente imagined a piece for guitar and orchestra. He met Leo Brower not long time before and he exposed the idea, asking him to make the orchestration of the piece. We
travel to La Habana to start the work with Leo and after a few days of intense work, Vicente returns to Córdoba with a structure of the piece. In that period Rafael Alberti was in Cuba, and Vicente met him and had the possibility to expose the project in person. Alberti agreed and expressed his feeling saying that he can contacted and collaborate with him for anything.\textsuperscript{60}

Having developed the first ideas for the flamenco concerto, after the meeting in Cuba with the composer and director, Leo Brower, and the poet, Alberti, Vicente Amigo needed a venue and an orchestra. According to Juan Blanco, by a coincidence, Francisco López, at that time director of the International Guitar Festival of Córdoba had also been thinking about doing some kind of \textit{homage} to Alberti for the ninetieth anniversary of the poet’s birth:

The world debut was on the 1\textsuperscript{st} July 1992 in Córdoba. The Cuban Symphonic Orchestra in those days was on tour in Spain and they were going to perform the original piece. The Orchestra did a huge effort, the great spirit of the musicians and the admiration did that in two and a half days of rehearsals having little time to rest in and tour with too many concerts the original piece was presented.\textsuperscript{61}

One of the key flashpoints in any collaboration comes when different worldviews and traditions try to find accommodation for each other and the flamenco musicians must have felt the risk of working with a Symphony Orchestra quite keenly. This idea of performing with an orchestra also references the ‘Anxiety of influence’ after Paco de Lucia’s famous 1991 performance of Juaquin Rodrigo’s \textit{Concierto de Aranjuez} with the Orchestra of Cadaques directed by Edmon Colomer, with the blind composer in the Hall (See the DVD in the Appendix).\textsuperscript{62} Vicente Amigo’s generation wanted to repeat this process of playing with an orchestra and not only to make an interpretation but he

\textsuperscript{60} ‘Desde el inicio, Vicente se imagina una obra para guitarra y orquesta. Hacia poco que conocía a Leo Brower, a quien le expuso la idea, pidiéndole aceptara realizar la orquestación. Viajamos a La Habana, para iniciar los trabajos con Leo, y tras varios días de intenso trabajo, Vicente vuelve a Córdoba con la estructura de la obra. En aquellos días Rafael Alberti se encontraba en Cuba, ocasión en que Vicente le conoce y tiene la posibilidad de exponerle personalmente el proyecto. Alberti manifiesta su acuerdo ofrecimiento su apoyo y colaboración en cuanto fuera necesario. (Juan Blanco Noriega).

\textsuperscript{61} Se marca el estreno mundial para el día 1 de Julio de 1992 en Córdoba. La Orquesta Sinfónica de Cuba, en aquellos días en gira por España, es la encargada de estrenar la obra. El enorme esfuerzo realizado por esta Orquesta, su grandioso espíritu de colaboración, su cariño hacia Vicente, sin apenas conocerle, hicieron posible que en dos días y medio de ensayo, quitándole horas al descanso, tan necesario en una gira sobrecargada de conciertos, la obra pudiera ser estrenada con un memorable éxito. No podemos dejar de agradecer el gran sacrificio que todos los componentes de la Orquesta Sinfónica de Cuba realizaron aquellos días.

\textsuperscript{62} Paco de Lucia, \textit{Francisco Sánchez–Paco de Lucia} (Spain: Universal Music, 2003).
decided to create an original piece for the occasion. Vicente and Leo Brower’s original composition has continued to be performed. The guitar concerto was recording and renamed *Poeta* in 1997 and, according to Juan Blanco, the original name of *Concierto Flamenco para un Marinero en Tierra* [‘flamenco concerto for a sailor on land’] was changed for a reason:

The recording that we have today has that name of *Poeta*, having the as a subtitle the original name. The change is due to the author’s thought that [Poeta] expresses better the content of his idea. *Marinero en Tierra* can be misunderstood with the original poetic writing while the idea of the concerto is more complex and extended the life and the work of the Poet [Alberti] as it was longer and broader.

Apart from the extensive collaborations and his search of new flamenco ‘sounds’ with musicians and orchestras from other traditions, Amigo has opened out his musical universe and performed with pop and ‘world music’ musicians. For example, in Vicente’s official web page it is stated that, in *Martinica 92* he shared the stage with Stanley Jordan, and this international collaboration lead him to work with artists such as Milton Nascimento, Wagner Tiso, Al Di Meola, João Bosco and John McLaughlin. These names constitute a who’s who of jazz players. For example, Al Di Meola and John McLaughlin collaborated with Paco de Lucía in the famous live recording *Friday Night in San Francisco*. From Brazil, Milton Nascimento, João Bosco, Wagner Tiso,

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63 http://www.rafaelalberti.es/ According to Juan Blanco ‘Rafael Alberti asiste emocionado al estreno de la obra titulada “Concierto flamenco para un Marinero en Tierra”. In Alberti’s own words: ¡Que una obra musical lleve el título de Concierto Flamenco para un Marinero en Tierra, y se estrene dentro del Festival de Guitarra, supone para un poeta como yo una emocionante Alegría. /A través de mis textos, Vicente Amigo, este increíble joven compositor y guitarrista, cuya breve carrera está ya repleta de premios, ha sabido trasladar a la música todo el latido y temblor de mis versos. A esto, hay que añadir la consagrada figura de un director como Leo Brower, internacionalmente reconocido, al frente de la Orquesta Sinfónica Cubana. / Gracias a todos los que han participado para que la realización del concierto haya sido posible. Gracias, de este marinero en tierra que esta noche, aquí en la hermosísima Córdoba se siente más flamenco que nunca.

64 The poetics words of the poet can be contrasted with the grateful words of the guitarist from Córdoba after the performance:Gracias Rafael Alberti por tu presencia aquí y por tu vida, en que modestamente me he querido inspirar para hacer lo que has visto y escuchado hoy, Un abrazo / Vicente Amigo (Córdoba, 1 de Julio de 1992) Posteriormete, la obra se presenta en el Teatro Monumental de Madrid y en diversas ciudades españolas. En Julio del 96 inaugura el Festival de Marseille. (Juan Blanco)

65 La grabación que hoy aparece, lleva el nombre de *Poeta*, manteniendo como subtítulo el original. Ello es debido a que el autor está convencido que expresa mejor el contenido de su idea. *Marinero en Tierra*, puede ser circunscrita a una obra específica de Alberti, mientras que la idea de este concierto es mucho más amplia, como mucho más amplia es la vida y la obra del Poeta. Juan Blanco en Vicente Amigo [and Leo Broker], Poeta: Marinero en Tierra de Alberti (Spain: BMG, 1997).

66 Stanley Jordan with his “touch” or “tapping” on the guitar with his right hand plays accompaniment and melodies on the guitar using a similar piano technique.
and others are listed. Apart from the Jazz players, Vicente has continued collaborating with other Spanish and non-Spanish popular musicians, such as, Yossou N'Dour, Nacho Cano, and Miguel Bosé, (the latter having recited Alberti’s poems for Poeta.\textsuperscript{67})

Vicente Amigo has continued composing, adapting music for poetry and writing lyrics to collaborate with other popular musicians and flamencos, such as Enrique Morente, who contacted Vicente in 1996 to record ‘La Aurora de Nueva York’ for his Omega album.\textsuperscript{68} In this album that Juan Manuel Cañizares and other flamenco and Rock guitarists elaborated Federido García Lorca’s Poeta en Nueva York poems and Leonard Cohen songs, Enrique and Vicente adapted ‘La Aurora’ poem in a slow bulería in A without the rock band. As a technology of nostalgia the bulería starts in Dm to sing about Federico’s nostalgia in New York and modulating to Fm in the chorus to obtain the climax of the poem about the Dawn. Enrique Morente and Vicente Amigo have recorded together for other albums related to poets. Vicente’s passion for poetry has permitted him to be part of Neruda en mi corazón dedicated to the poet from Chile, with the voice of Montse Cortés and other young flamencos such as Miguel Poveda, who has also dedicated a complete album to Alberti’s Poemas del Exilio, and Spanish and South-American musicians, such as, Jorge Drexler, Ana Belén, Pedro Guerra, Juaquín Sabina, Joan Manuel Serat, Pablo Milanes, to name but a few.

Another international collaboration was in Sting’s Sacred Love album.\textsuperscript{69} In my interview with Vicente Amigo, I asked him about the experience of collaborating with a ‘pop star’ and the disadvantages of the collaboration. Vicente Amigo told me:

> An ‘interesting’ experience. The experience of recording was so fast that even now I have few memories. I would love it if I could have had more time there. I try to look at the music face to face. I think that, when you call someone to collaborate with you, it is interesting to give them some time. I know is was OK, but for me it would have been much more interesting to record any small part of my album. In small bits at home, because that’s how I prefer to do it. To record with a superstar for me has less transcendence for me. [Ironic face] The stars are in the sky [smile].\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{67} Vicente Amigo and Leo Brower, Poeta: Marinero en tierra de Alberti (Spain: BMG, 1997).
\textsuperscript{68} Enrique Morente, Omega (Madrid: Karonte, 1996).
\textsuperscript{70} Una experiencia interesante. La experiencia de grabar allí fue tan fugaz que tengo un recuerdo muy leve. Me hubiera gustado. Yo trato de mirar la música cara a cara. Yo creo que cuando llamas a alguien para que colabore contigo es interesante dejarle un tiempo. No se estuve bien. Pero para mi fue mucho más interesante grabar cualquier disco mío. Un cachito en mi casa. Porque lo que lo que yo soy. Tiene mucho menos trascendencia grabar con una de esas estrellas. Las estrellas están en el cielo. (Vicente Amigo).
In this quote, it can be seen perfectly the problem that Vicente Amigo had in the studio. He tried to compose for Sting’s album but the pop musician did not give him enough time in the studio, so at the end his collaboration is a small *falseta* with some castanets in the background and a few strumings at the end of the track. For that reason, he prefers composing at home for his albums than just putting a guitar intro onto a popular music album. He used the metaphor of the stars in the sky as way of critically disturbing the star system of popular music, although, of course, he belongs to his own flamenco star system. This last point links helpfully to Vicente’s solo albums in the next section. What is striking in Vicente Amigos’ career is his incessant search for boundary crossings and new interstitial spaces in which to enhance new flamenco possibilities. We might pause to ask here whether these kinds of dangerous and potentially fruitless collaborations might constitute an example of what Paul Heelas and others have termed ‘detraditionalization’?\(^{71}\) In other words, how do these consistent forces outside the traditional flamenco domain relate to the broader project of modernity and its disavowal of tradition? These are question we shall turn to briefly below and in more detail in the conclusion.

**Conclusion(s):**

In 2000, five years after *Vivencias Imaginadas*, Vicente Amigo produced and presented his most successful solo album, *Ciudad de Las Ideas*. This album included the soleá ‘Córdoba’ that I analysed at the beginning of the chapter.\(^{72}\) This essential and controversial flamenco album, named after de Kavafis’s poem ‘El primer peldaño’, earned Amigo a Grammy award.\(^{73}\) Vicente Amigo, despite expanding his ensemble and overall timbre and harmony, nonetheless considered *Ciudad de las Ideas* a bona fide flamenco album, as flamenco as his first album, *De mi Corazón al Aire*. According to Vicente Amigo:


\(^{72}\) Vicente Amigo, *Ciudad de las Ideas* (BMG, 2000).

\(^{73}\) De Kavafis me acuerdo siempre, estoy enganchado a él de por vida. Desde que lo lei forma parte de mi, no puedo deshacerme de él. […]Es el poeta que más me ha dolido y el que más me ha curado. Es increíble como este poeta puede ayudar al alma de las personas. Interviews to Vicente Amigo made by Alberto García Reyes for flamenco-world. "Le dedico el Grammy a Paco de Lucía porque por su culpa soy guitarrista" and Interview to Vicente Amigo made by Javier Primo in January 2001 for the flamenco magazine "alma100". Translated by Estela Zatania and re-published on-line by flamenco-world.
[Ciudad de las Ideas] is a record like any other. It’s my music. The thing is, it’s different because this last one is closer to what I’ve always done, basically guitar. I think it’s just as flamenco as the first one, if not more, the thing is it has nuances, of percussive instruments, drums, stuff like that, so there might be people who think it’s less flamenco or something. But I tell you from experience (laughter), this is flamenco because when it comes to the rehearsals, hey... I realize it’s a record of guitar music and just as flamenco as the first one. I believe that... there are... moments (Vicente mulls over what he’s going to say) where you can breathe a kind of flamenco which is more mine, and other moments when... well... they have nothing to do with flamenco. The bolero for example, is a composition that has nothing to do with flamenco... but it’s music and it’s just as much mine as any other moment of the record.74

Vicente Amigos’ comments on the bolero are interesting here. This bolero, is an original composition, ‘Bolero de Vicente,’ although the bolero as a genre is a musical form originating in Cuba and South America. The piece is performed ‘with a flamenco technique’ to use Amigo’s words, and this would seem to give the piece an intermediate status as ‘bolero aflamencado’ or ‘flamencoized bolero’. The idea of introducing and performing other forms that are not traditional seems linked in Amigo’s mind nonetheless to ‘being’ flamenco, to belonging, to ‘owning’ (this music ‘is mine’). The contemporary flamenco musician is not living in isolation or ‘in the cave’ where many romantic commentators would like flamenco to remain. The polyvalent identity work of Vicente Amigo’s creative practice is perfectly articulated in his own words:

Exactly. My music is like a kind of fusion without labels... and it is because that is my way of feeling. I go out into the street and a lot of things from different places might catch my eye, from many different styles and different people. That is how my music is. What is true is that I do not like to call something flamenco that isn’t flamenco. But it’s also true that in my music there are things that are very flamenco,

74 Es un disco como los demás. Es música mía. Lo que pasa es que es distinto porque este último va más en lo que siempre he hecho, guitarra esencialmente. Yo creo que es un disco tan flamenco como el primero, sino más, lo que pasa es que tiene algunos colores, de percusión, batería, esas cosas, que a lo mejor hay gente que pueda pensar que es menos flamenco o algo de eso. Pero yo lo digo por experiencia (risas), esto es flamenco porque a la hora de los ensayos... ehh... me doy cuenta que es un disco de guitarra y tan flamenco como el primero. Yo creo que... hay... momentos (Vicente medita sus respuestas) donde puedes respirar el flamenco más mío y hay otros momentos en que... bueno... no tienen nada que ver el flamenco. El bolero, por ejemplo, es una composición que no tiene nada que ver con el flamenco... pero es música y tan mía como cualquier otro momento del disco. (Vicente Amigo) Interview to Vicente Amigo made by Javier Primo in January 2001 for the flamenco magazine "alma100". Translated by Estela Zatania and re-published on-line by flamenco-world.
and others which are not. I do not have to put limits on my imagination.  

In others words, Vicente Amigo encounters musical difference, without feeling the agonies of abandoning musical home. His music in his albums are not a ‘transnational hybrid’ as seen before or collaboration of musicians but a ‘fusion’ created by him that always begins and ends with flamenco. The mix of flamenco and non-flamenco forms in a flamenco album is what confused the community that has criticised his work, but Vicente Amigo is clear that there is no abandonment or betrayal here. In this album, apart from other original compositions, such as ‘Tres Notas para Decir te Quiero’, which was influenced consciously or unconsciously by Brasiilian harmony and became famous as the song of the San Miguel beer advert, there is the (non-)‘traditional’ flamenco alegrías, ‘La Tarde es Caramelo’ sung by Diego ‘El Cigala’ and the bulerías ‘Ciudad de Las Ideas’ sung by Catalan flamenco singer Montse Cortés. The mixing, for Amigo, appears to be what ensures the ‘groundedness’ in home of this album. Vicente Amigo briefly described it in the following terms:

I want to keep on giving the best I've got. This record is full of melodies, just like all my music. The piece ‘Ciudad de las ideas’ is a combination of things I have inside myself and which seem to me to be very interesting. There are some choruses that seem like they emanate from the center of the earth and Montse Cortés sings beautifully and what's being developed in the midst of it all is a flamenco piece, flamenco, flamenco. In the piece ‘Tres notas para decir te quiero’ (three notes to say I love you), I’m trying for the melody, naturalness and rhythm. There are some tangos, ‘Compare Manuel’ (my buddy Manuel), inspired in the world of gypsy celebrations, weddings and all that. Then there's a piece, ‘Tatá’, which is a rumba, but it's not a rumba, it's sort of a merengue, it's a game, a divertissement which is about trying to find a rhythmic formula. And there's a soleá ‘Córdoba’, which is one of the things that I can say I contributed, that it’s mine.  

75 Exactamente. Mi música es como una especie de fusión sin etiquetas... y es porque mi forma de sentir es así. Yo salgo a la calle y me pueden interesar cosas de muy diferentes sitios y de muy diferentes estilos y gente muy diferente. Así es mi música. Lo que sí es verdad es que no me gusta llamarle flamenco a lo que no lo es. Pero también es verdad que en mi música hay cosas que son muy flamencas y cosas que no. Y no tengo que ponerle barreras a mi imaginación. (Id-id).  

76 Quiero seguir dando lo mejor que tenga. Este disco está cargado de melodías como toda mi música. El tema ‘Ciudad de las ideas’ es una mezcla de cosas que hay dentro de mi y que me parecen muy interesantes. Hay unos coros que parecen salir del fondo de la Tierra y canta Montse Cortés muy bonito y lo que se desarrolla en medio es un tema flamenco, flamenco, flamenco. Es el tema ‘Tres notas para decir te quiero’, busco la melodía, la naturalidad y el ritmo. Y hay unos tangos ‘Compare Manuel’, inspirados en el mundo de las celebraciones gitanas, de las bodas y todo eso. Luego, hay un tema, ‘Tatá’, que es una rumba pero no es una rumba, tiene que ver con el merengue, es un juego, algo divertido que trata de buscar una
At the beginning of this chapter, I characterised Amigo’s soleá from this album as an example of detraditionalization or a kind of abandonment of tradition. However, although the characteristic *compás* of the soleá seems lost, the composition nonetheless continues to sound like a soleá. Vicente Amigo keeps the *compás* when he was playing/producing José Merce and El Pele, but here he does not have to guide a flamenco singer, since he himself can ‘sing’ the melodies with guitar *falsetas*, knowing himself full well how the flamenco ‘rules’ work and what he can and cannot subtract from the form before it stops being a soleá.

Another criticism that Vicente Amigo has received, was for the amount of reverb he applies to his guitar sound. To try to compensate for this, five years after *Ciudad de las Ideas*, Amigo recorded in 2005, *Un Momento en el Silencio*, in a Monastery. This album, like so much of Vicente’s work, has been analysed by flamenco critics, such as by Norberto Torres. To contrast their view I have had the opportunity to interview Amigo during the *Un momento en el silencio* tour. The first characteristic that Norberto Torres noticed about Vicente’s album was its “naked” sound. In Norberto’s words:

> The first thing that surprises when we hear *Un Momento en el Sonido* is his nakedness. After stabilising and confirming his personal style in *Ciudad de las Ideas* (BMG, 2000), Vicente seems to leave all kind of ornamentations and present his music naked. He has stopped being the young revolutionary of the guitar playing in *De mi Corazón al aire* (Sony, 1991) and *Vivencias Imaginadas* (Sony, 1995), el Poeta (Sony, 1997) in search of new experiences as producer of hit albums for singers and glamorous prices. Vicente is now a [wise] Man, father of two sons, mature and sentimental experience has changed his perspective to more essential issues. The first characteristic is less use of reverb in his recordings. That was unusual the first time I played this record. His unique sound now has become more natural and the truth is that I prefer his sound better this way. His sound is more intimate more human [...].

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[77] See the soleá played in Vicente Amigo, *Ciudad de Las Ideas*: Vicente Amigo en concierto desde Córdoba (Madrid: BMG, 2004).


[80] Norberto Torres ‘Un momento en el sonido del poeta de la guitarra flamenca (Sony-BMG, 2005).

[81] Lo primero que sorprende al escuchar *Un momento en el sonido* es su desnudez. Después de afirmar y confirmar su personal estilo en “Ciudad de las Ideas” (BMG, 2000), Vicente parece renunciar a cualquier
I could agree with Norberto Torres that Vicente Amigo’s sound in Un Momento en el Sonido album has less reverb than his previous albums to the point that the guitar seems ‘naked’ without artificial enhancements from the studio recording but this is a new ‘authenticity’ construction. The emphasis on the ‘human’ is particularly interesting given what I have been saying about the use of technology. Indeed, in this chapter, I have suggested some ways we might start redefining technological boundaries in contemporary Flamenco in relation to popular music. My general approach has been to contrast the examples from my own fieldwork material with the ideas of the generation of writers and musicologists such as Jose Manuel Gamboa, Norberto Torres, and so on. My own fieldwork seems to suggest that their perspectives are often open to question, especially with regard to the meaning of the concept of ‘flamenco sound’. For many flamenco practitioners, it would seem, it is not an absolute, but a cultural and historical construction. The concept of the anxiety of influence here refers not so much to the patrilineal passing on of knowledge form master to apprentice, but also to a keenly felt set of community-mediated boundaries that encircle the flamenco field, operating sometimes as a rather oppressive set of conventions. Hence for many of the great guitarists from Cádiz (Paco de Lucía and Manolo Sanlúcar) flamenco becomes an ever more negotiable space in which boundary crossing and redefining becomes ever more commonplace. This new tradition has made its mark on Amigo’s practice quite profoundly.

One of the ways in which Vicente Amigo makes a particularly keen contribution to the new flamenco territories is in his use of technology. I found it essential above to analyse the relation of his output to technological mediation. The flamenco sound that I listen to live in Granada or the recording from Córdoba included not only microphone, compressors, reverbs, etc, but a certain technology-oriented worldview. Vicente Amigo has a studio at home with better equipment that many professionals studios. The new
guitar sound that we encountered in Ciudad de Las Ideas is a complex assimilation of the work of the guitarist, the engineer, with DI Box, Desk, computer with Pro tools, Logic or Cubase, and so on. It is not my main purpose to delve into the ‘authenticity’ concept here (since, for many, rather like the Dylan electric moment, the turn to amplification has been felt as a kind of betrayal), but to come to an understanding of contemporary flamenco as both a kind of popular music and a highly sophisticated folk music. Its enthusiastic embrace of the means of sound production that popular music championed is testament to its ontological openness to difference. Live performance, sound and the relation of the flamenco musicians with their audience have continued changing rapidly with the transition into the new century and technology has been on of the key drivers of these changes.

To conclude, we might observe that the normative role of technology in popular music has been adapted by flamenco, and it has become an essentially ‘plugged’ tradition. Flamenco’s relation to technology is being modified constantly in glocalizing contexts and multi-cultural cities such as Córdoba, Madrid, Barcelona, London and New York; but it is not just that easy - contemporary flamenco is itself a kind of technology of nostalgia, a performative anxiety of influence and its conceptualization is lost in translation in relation to Anglophone constructions of the ‘popular’. With the compás, clapping, oriental percussion, tabla, cajón and orchestra, the flamenco guitar takes us back to a hybrid ‘tradition’ - although always plugged - that sounds ‘authentic’. With the electric-bass, drums and keyboards from popular music, jazz and rock, flamenco guitar obtains a new ‘authenticity’ related to other popular music(s). In short, the positive story I have told thus far might also be retold from the perspective of a music struggling to make a place for itself in the choppy seas of the global music market. The absorption of technology into the core of flamenco practice (its progressive normalisation) might also be understood here as much as a need imposed upon it, as an internally-generated bid for ‘freedom’ or new forms of expressivity. Deciding between these two perspectives is very challenging and I would like to suggest that a productive ambivalence about which side one chooses here is to be welcomed.
Chapter 6:

Conclusion(s)

Inevitably, ethnography leaves things incomplete: it is, by its very nature, a way of viewing the world that does not seek neatness or closure, but is interested in texture, complexity, contradictions and the dynamics of the field. Hence this final chapter is not a ‘conclusion’ in the classical sense of the word, but an attempt to bring the findings of previous chapters into relationship with my own experiences as a *flamenco*. The auto-ethnography chapter aims, therefore, to examine a number of my own different encounters with and through flamenco and to enquire into some of the ways in which flamenco might be said to fit into the global/international music scene via recorded and live performances. In order to examine these ideas up close, I will focus on my personal projects and experiences of performing flamenco live in the UK.\(^1\) The key issues I have been dealing with in this thesis in relation to ‘authenticity’—identity/race, the transmission of knowledge, displacement, and some of the technological issues that attend flamenco practices are embodied in this chapter with the problematic binary of etic/emic. Here, these thematic will be relocated, analysed and put into the new context of my own practice in the North-East of England.

The twentieth century’s re-definition of flamenco in the introduction of electronic instruments, effects and jazz-inflected harmonies and the deployment of new recording techniques has brought the generic limits of flamenco into question. This expansion of the flamenco aesthetic is also reflected in contemporary reconfigurations of performance spaces and practices. The beginning of the twenty-first century has witnessed the continued modification of the tradition and has seen the introduction of new styles of playing, singing and dancing flamenco. Practitioners from different countries and ethnic backgrounds have continued to cross borders, collaborating with flamenco musicians and popular musicians, acquiring new sounds, and developing new concepts of flamenco performance.

This chapter falls into three parts. The first part explores what ‘flamenco’ might mean in an intensified global and globalising context. What happens, for example, when the tradition is relocated? In relation to the concept of ‘authenticity’, moreover, what is

\(^1\) I arrived in Newcastle upon Tyne and started performing flamenco in the UK in 2004 (See selection on performances in Appendix). This final chapter, pull into question all of the themes discussed in this thesis.
considered to be ‘authentic’ flamenco in Newcastle? To have an example outside Spain.
From the end of the nineteenth century onwards, flamenco musicians have been travelling
and performing outside Spain, but in recent times travel has become much easier and they
now have access to new technologies. To understand how the contemporary flamenco
tradition and sound is shaped outside Spain, Newcastle University colleagues/teachers and I
experimented by performing in different venues, clubs and spaces, some of which are
identified with Spanish culture, food, etc. After seeing how this was initially received we
introduced instruments from different popular music genres in order to see the reaction of the
British audience and to see how a tradition is altered by new influences and a changes of
location.

The second part concentrates on the technological/cultural issues in relation to the
relocated tradition. New flamenco sound is being produced in the studio using different
approaches due to the encounter. How has the work of the musicians from different
backgrounds introduced new influences and started to modify the sound/tradition? Reflecting
on one particular project, ELECTRO-FLAMENKO, has helped me to understand some of the
cultural issues present in the main body of the work, and the characteristic way of playing
and recording ‘new flamenco’ in relation to technology. Taking on board many popular
music influences and types of recording equipment and using the University and the Culture
lab as a space in which to experiment, new aspects of the music were discovered by
collaborating with VJs, DJs and Free Improvisers from Newcastle University. This took
place, not just in the Lab, but in local venues/clubs in Newcastle and as part of an
international project, which saw the work produced in Newcastle being presented in Spain.

In the final part, I explore the ideas outlined in Chapter three regarding cultural
transmission, placing this time the teaching of flamenco in North-East contexts. It has been
probably the most engaging encounter that I have had. Over the course of seven years, I
organized a host of projects at Newcastle University, from heading student music groups to
leading classroom discussions on flamenco; I have been an active participant in the
Newcastle-based ¡VAMOS! Festival since it started in 2006; and I have taught flamenco to
over one hundred children, in both Newcastle (as hired by Newcastle Music Service) and
Gateshead (through Gem Arts), providing weekly lessons at schools and neighbourhood
cultural centres. These young students have learned the various rhythms of flamenco (tangos,
alegrías, bulerías, etc.), the techniques in clapping, the specific playing styles of flamenco
guitar, the dance steps and the use of the cajón instrument. While basic flamenco
performance practices may be taught during these lessons, the cultural contexts associated
with learning these instruments are also emphasised, thereby providing an encounter that combines performing with learning flamenco, effectively putting into practice some of the complex issues regarding cultural transmission.

Central also to the final part of this chapter are the commentaries shared by members of the Newcastle Flamenco Collective, an organised group of flamenco practitioners and non-practitioners initiated in 2007/2008 as a way to strengthen flamenco interest in the North-East. Membership is diverse, comprising University students and lecturers, musicians and fans, Spaniard and Brits, Scots and Latinians. By integrating their voices into this final part, the dissertation assumes an effective closure, with many of the issues discussed ‘authenticity’, displacement and education, finding a common ground.

6.1 Flamenco in the UK: New Cultural Contexts and Encounters

In previous chapters, the flamenco tradition was analysed as an evolving performance practice within a particular Spanish context, discussed through frames specific to racial and ethnic constructs of identity. By contrast, this final chapter pulls into question all of the themes discussed in this thesis, based around my experiences performing in UK. This chapter was though as a twist in relation to the concept of ‘authenticity’. We have to remember from chapter one that as a product of Andalusia, flamenco came to reflect strong regionalist sentiment, being fiercely embraced as an Andalusian-Gypsy art form.\(^2\) I have focused on a specific group of Spanish flamenco guitarists who were constantly absorbing musical ideas from different cultural contexts. The aforementioned guitarists, although they travel all over the world, are rooted in a particular environment; yet, this does not mean that their music is produced in isolation. They cannot be understood without their being placed in a global context, and analysed in relation to the various multi-cultural communities which surround them. They are part of, and identify themselves with, various circles, social structures and local institutions, which provide them with the foundations and support to develop their work. This is what social anthropologist Cristina Cruces Roldán calls ‘Sociabilidad Colectiva’ [collective sociability], referring to the ways in which communities interact and the manner in which that interaction applies to the ‘flamenco community’.\(^3\) As discussed earlier in this work, flamenco is a tradition which is embodied through music. Cruces’s

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\(^2\) See introduction in p.1.

\(^3\) Cristina Cruces Roldán, ‘Más allá de la Música: Antrología y Flamenco’. Signatura ediciones. Cristina Cruces is doctor and social anthropology lecturer at the University of Seville.
research focuses mainly on Andalusia, but easily transfers to my own experience of flamenco in the UK, leading me specifically to the question as to whether (and in what sense) flamenco is de-traditionalized when it is de-territorialized.  

In 2004 I arrived in Newcastle upon Tyne to start this thesis on flamenco at Newcastle University. I became part of ICMuS (International Centre of Music Studies) where flamenco studies are welcomed and treated with scholarly respect. I attended Richard Middleton’s seminars on popular music, as well as those of Ian Biddle, who has a great interest in and knowledge of flamenco. Biddle’s lecture course on the Iberian Peninsula, specifically, offered the occasion to study that region’s art, folklore and popular music. Being part of those lectures and seminars enabled a new awareness of flamenco, providing one of my first opportunities to learn about flamenco—at an unusually high academic level—from individuals who were not Spanish. They had a conceptual approach I was very interested.

Although my intent was to complete the PhD within three years and return to Spain immediately after, the reality has been very different. Now in my seventh year of residency in the United Kingdom, I have had time to absorb many different experiences and to witness flamenco (performance and education) in a variety of cultural contexts and performance spaces. It is the unusual—and unexpected—experiences I garnered while living in the UK during this extended period that enabled me to put into practice some of my research findings.

My primary research has focused on flamenco guitarists born in Andalusia (Núñez, Tomatito and Vicente Amigo). It involved me travelling regularly to Spain, where I conducted interviews with the various guitarists. Returning to Newcastle, following one of my routine research trips to Spain, I thought it would be interesting to experience the ‘typical’ way of life of these guitarists in North-East England, recreating ‘traditional’ peñas and tablaos in local restaurants and at area festivals. Together with several University colleagues, I created a project called Proyecto Flamenco.

After the induction sessions/meetings at University, I remember going with Sergio Camacho to the Spanish restaurants in Newcastle to try to find gigs. We

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5 Like other UK institutions and American schools with great incomes such as Berkley School of Music in Boston, professional musicians are given the possibility to teach where musical genres such as, Jazz, Rock are studied in depth. Paco Peña, one of the flamenco guitarists, who lives in the UK, has done a great deal for the diffusion and institutionalization of flamenco outside Spain. In 1981 he founded the Centro Flamenco Paco Peña in Cordoba, later becoming Artistic Director of the Córdoba International Guitar Festival […] established in 1985 at Rotterdam Conservatory in the Netherlands.
didn’t find a job cleaning tables or cooking Spanish food at the time but we had something else to offer: flamenco [...]. The first time we went to El Coto one of the English owner told us: come another day to speak and play a bit for the Spanish owner. Tony, who was born in Granada, knew about flamenco so obviously they wanted to check that we had to offer the ‘authentic’ flamenco music [...] I don’t know how we got the job maybe because we play Tangos from Granada de Morente or because I played bulerías from Jerez that day for a Spanish dancer from Madrid, Raul Calderón, who was teaching flamenco in Dance City (Newcastle upon Tyne), but at the end we did it and we got our first performance in the North-East.6

Proyecto Flamenco, before it became an encounter of musicians from Spain and UK, was a Spanish band/project with a very traditional flamenco ensemble having cante (singer), baile (dancer), and toque (flamenco guitar player). The project was organised with the purpose of re-producing the ‘authentic’ traditional music that was not part of everyday life in Newcastle’s scene. We were trying to play traditional styles from the families of the soleá, seguiriya, tangos and fandangos, and to bring flamenco to a North-East audience. We carefully prepared a repertoire that included the traditional cante jondo (‘deep song’), a music that, upon initial performance, was neither understood nor appreciated by the British audience. Our first performance was at a restaurant - not a peña - with the people attending more interested in eating than listening to flamenco. Although the restaurant we played at was El Coto, one of the few Spanish restaurants in Newcastle, the audience was noticeably unfamiliar with flamenco. Immediately following our first set, the restaurant owner asked if we could play a music that would better accommodate his patrons. Heeding the request, during the second part of the performance we played a flamenco fusion, combining Argentinean tango and Cuban rumba with elements that often stereotype Spanish music, including the use of Phrygian scales and modal harmony. Likewise, we adopted simpler 4/4 clapping patterns. For example, we performed ‘Como el Agua’ and ‘Del Amanecer’ analysed in previous chapters. Almost instantaneously, the audience joined in with handclaps, noticeably assuming an appreciation for and understanding of the ‘new flamenco.’

6 This meeting held place in El Coto restaurant in Newcastle upon Tyne in September 2004. From that moment a series of flamenco performances started on a Monday each month. Sergio Camacho and Paco Bethencourt started collaborating/performing with Spanish dancers who used to work in El Coto Restaurant. See photo in the Appendix.
All of us musicians performing that night were all Spanish-born. None, however, were (flamenco) gypsies; and none were gachós. Rather, we loved flamenco, and were eager to share that passion with North-East England. We opened that night with the poetry of Federico García Lorca, playing a ‘Taranta/ Mineras’ (‘The Song of the Mines’) without compás. It was a theatrical introduction that ended with a talented guest dancer from Granada, who had flown in especially for this performance. Our choices in repertoire that night represented the classics of cante jondo. Yet, for this Newcastle audience, the music was thought ‘coarse’ and ‘harsh.’ During the second half, we turned to the more popularised flamenco reserved for parties we organised outside of Andalusia because they have been overdone in Spain, including the rumbas ‘Volando Voy’ that Tomatito used to play for Camarón de la Isla when he was young.⁷

Referring to quote of my Roma-gypsy friend Jesus Heredia that, “flamenco is more than music—it is a way of living.” ⁸ Flamenco became as a way of living for the ‘in-authentic’ gachó (me) that became ‘authentic’ in the new cultural context. It is about identity, about finding a place of belonging. At the time of that first performance at El Coto, the band had been together for only a short time, and individually the musicians had been playing flamenco for only a short time. Being outsiders to the flamenco culture, and wanting very

⁷ La Guitarra Poem: Empieza en llanto/ de la guitarra./ Se rompen las copas/ de la madrugada./Empieza el llanto/ de la guitarra./ Es inutil callarla./ Es imposible/ callarla./ Llora monotona/ como el agua./ como llora el viento/ sobre la nevada./ Es imposible/ callarla./ Llora por cosas/ lejanas./ Arena del sur caliente/ que pide camelias blancas./ Llora flecha sin blanco, / la tarde sin mañana,/ y el primer pajaro muerto/ sobre la rama./¡Oh guitarra!/ corazón malherido/ por cinco espadas./ Federico García Lorca, Poema del Cante Jondo, Mario Hernández ed (Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1982 [1921]). The guitar poem can be found in the gypsy seguiriya dedicated to Carlos Morla Vicuña.

⁸ Jesús Heredia Román a Roma Gypsy guitarist from the Heredia family was born not in Málaga, Andalusia but in Gran Canaria. I gave a paper about this family in Annual Meeting and Conference on the Gypsy studies. Gypsy Lore Society Paper: ‘Gypsies in “other” cultural context: Flamencos in the Canary Islands’ Facultad de Filosofía, Universidad de Granada, Granada, Spain 9-10 September 2005.
much to honour a sense of Andalusian tradition, the musicians chose a repertoire that would be deemed ‘authentic’ by a Roma-gypsy community. Yet, for the British audience, the *compás* from that first set sounded ‘out of time’ and the *cante* (singing) ‘out of tune.’ The second set, on the other hand, was deemed ‘authentic’ by the British audience. It just ‘sounded Spanish,’ was the feedback I received. As I learned that night, flamenco can have many authenticity aspects attached to it.\(^9\)

On a personal note, the second set we played, although outside Andalusian-defined frames of ‘authenticity’, initiated such a response of belonging from the British audience (with many joining the overall musical soundscape by clapping along with the *compás*), I could not help but assume a sense of belonging as well. I remember, at that moment, I felt like an ‘insider’. I felt connected to Newcastle in ways I had rarely experienced before.

*Proyecto Flamenco* and its encounter with the Newcastle audience pushed it into a new direction. Although initially comprising three artists—flamenco dancer, singer and guitarist, *Proyecto Flamenco* gradually garnered interest from other Newcastle University music students, and its instrumentation expanded to include also double bass, keyboard, congas and trumpet. This collaboration between British and Spanish students enriched the project, motivating it to include new popular music influences and modern performance configurations.\(^10\)

The band’s integration of Latin influences, especially its use of conga drum and rumba rhythm, now attracted the interest of the larger Newcastle Latin community. Its fan base increased, and so did invitations to perform—*Proyecto Flamenco* was soon performing throughout Newcastle, earning a reputation for its ‘unique fusion’ of styles, as was described in 2005 by the *Informer Magazine*:

> Flamenco artists frequently cross their natural boundaries to let themselves be influenced by other musical genres, such as Latin and Jazz [...] Searching for connection between traditional styles, and current influences that have brought flamenco to a wider audience, they have carefully prepared a repertoire that fuses the traditional ‘arte jondo’ with Latin influences [...] *Proyecto Flamenco* now brings its seven piece band to one of the most lively venues of Newcastle Quayside, The Cooperage, to offer

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\(^9\) See more information in José Luis Ortiz Nuevo, *Alegato Contra la Pureza* (España: Barataria, 2010).

\(^10\) The British musicians who formed *Proyecto Flamenco* (Brendan R., Elliot and Nick) acquired the same confidence in performing flamenco as the Andalusian dancers (María and Marta) who were part of the project. The learning was a two-way process, an exchange of cultural and musical knowledge. Linguistically, the group navigated their own version of ‘Spanglish.’
British and International audiences the chance to experience one of Spain’s most famous cultural aspects: flamenco.\textsuperscript{11}

The cultural politics of ‘authenticity’ related to place, identity and race (analysed in previous chapters) were clearly in play from the first performance by Proyecto Flamenco. In particular, the inclusion of an Andalusian dancer and Spanish musicians presented their own cultural authority as being from the flamenco ‘land’ and ‘nation’, loaded with a rigid sense of ‘insider’ and ‘authentic’ knowledge. Such cultural politics of ‘authenticity’ eventually began to clash with the participating British musicians. It seemed as though certain musicians were dictating the etiquette of performance, according to their own musical background, often formalising a set of performance styles that often led to heavy or ‘frozen’ traditional attitudes. It represented a stagnant approach to flamenco that was counterproductive to such an embryonic cross-cultural project.\textsuperscript{12}

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that some elements of the group’s work led to an important cultural exchange, one example being the sharing of \textit{compás}, clapping and flamenco harmony between musicians. The British students who played double bass and trumpet found it easy to play tangos in 4/4 but after learning the 12 beats of the Soleá. They started joining in the performances with the more complicated \textit{palos/compás} in twelve beats such as the Alegría or the Seguiriya that also has 12 beats (See comparative flamenco clapping photocopy in the appendix).

Following on with the argument of ‘the encounter’, the British musicians in Proyecto Flamenco gradually developed a sense of confidence in playing flamenco that could only be garnered through the many repeated rehearsals and performances with the Spanish musicians. Likewise, the Spanish musicians garnered an understanding of British popular music styles by working with the British musicians. Learning was a two-way process, an exchange of

\textsuperscript{11} ‘The authentic Sound of Flamenco’ in Informer Magazine May 2005- Issue 35. p. 4.
\textsuperscript{12} Biddle and Knights stress the importance of the idea of ‘nation’ as an essential part in the practice and performance of music. According to their paper presented in Rio de Janeiro: One of the most contested debates at the close of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first, has been the importance accorded to the local and the global in thinking about the production, dissemination and reception of popular culture. Within this polemic, the problematic concept of the national has been sidelined in a world increasingly dominated by the processes of globalisation, de-territorialisation, transmigration and hybridity. However, the nation remains a crucial category for understanding how cultural texts and practices function in the construction of both personal and collective identities. We will attempt to set out a theoretical framework for rethinking the nation that will be illustrated by examples of musical practices from Spain and Puerto Rico. Abstract presented by Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights (Lecturers in Music and Hispanic Studies at the University of Newcastle, U.K.) ‘Rethinking the nation: Between the local and the global in the twenty-first century’ in the IASPM conference in Brazil. p.1.
cultural and musical knowledge. Linguistically, the group navigated its own version of ‘Spanglish’, creating a new way of understanding and performing that defied translation; and musically, the group created inventive flamenco styles that connected Andalusia with Newcastle, bringing flamenco together with rock, funk, hip hop and trip hop. Yet, cultural authenticity has not been lost in the encounter, but, instead, manifests new sets of attachments. In similar way that ‘local authenticities meet and merge in transient urban and suburban settings,’ a ‘new flamenco’ has been created in North-East England.

Biddle and Knights stress the importance of the idea of ‘nation’ as an essential part in the practice and performance of music. According to that paper:

One of the most contested debates at the close of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first, has been the importance accorded to the local and the global in thinking about the production, dissemination and reception of popular culture. Within this polemic, the problematic concept of the national has been sidelined in a world increasingly dominated by the processes of globalisation, de-territorialisation, transmigration and hybridity. However, the nation remains a crucial category for understanding how cultural texts and practices function in the construction of both personal and collective identities.

As a Canarian-Spanish arriving in a new cultural context, an intercultural city such as Newcastle, and having the pleasure to acquire some valuable theories-friendship from academics Vanessa Knights and Ian Biddle, I have rethought flamenco tradition as a ‘displaced’, ‘re-territorialized’ culture that is lived in Spain but also in UK and many other cultural contexts by many people from different backgrounds.

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14 Abstract presented by Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights (Lecturers in Music and Hispanic Studies at the University of Newcastle, U.K.) ‘Rethinking the nation: Between the local and the global in the twenty-first century’ in the IASPM conference in Brazil. p.1.
6.2 Work in the Recording Studio and Culture Lab Towards New Live Performances

After the cultural experience of Proyecto Flamenco, a Newcastle University graduate student, Francesco Sologuren and I created a new project, Electro-Flamenko.15 This time the project was a technological encounter between flamenco (dancers, guitar and flamenco singer) with club culture (visual artist, electronics and electric bass).16 This second part will focus on this technological encounter and the new approach of recording and performing enacted by the project Electro-Flamenko in Newcastle from 2006.17

The recording work that Electro-Flamenko did between 2006 and 2010 at home and in Newcastle studios was completely different to that which I had undertaken in Spain, due to the utilisation of new recording techniques and sound manipulation. These were completely different approaches in the recording studio to those employed by the Proyecto Flamenco (which involved ‘catching the moment’ as mentioned by Tomatito; see quote below) In particular, Electro-Flamenko was about manipulation, adding samplers, and so on, techniques drawn from contemporary club culture. In the recording of Proyecto Flamenco the ‘sound’ was recorded to try to capture the essence of a tradition, explained here by Tomatito in the following terms:

I have a studio at home and pro-tools. I believe that Flamenco, like any live music, has to be recorded live, with the machine aiding the sound produced by humans. If you want to change the notes we have Pro tools which is perfect for that - to repeat or re-record or, if you like, add more here or there [...].18

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15 After performing with Proyecto Flamenco in clubs like Coopearge, The Cluny and the Green Festival in the Leazes Park, Newcastle. I found that the performance needed something else to full the expectations of the British audience in the clubs so together with a Latino American music student, Francesco Sologuren, I created a new project in 2006 called Electro-Flamenko to be presented in The ¡VAMOS! Festival 2006. In the following point this experimental project will be analysed deeply.

16 In Spanish and Latino American music students at Newcastle University, Paco Bethencourt and Chesco Sologuren, began by working together in a project called Electro-Flamenko. The band and a set of new original compositions debuted in July 2006 at the inaugural ¡VAMOS! Festival. After a successful series of performances, they decided to collaborate with flamenco dancers Carolina Urrutia and Vanna Pacella, called at the time Las Chungas Flamentrónikas, which flourished into a unique conceptual project involving VJ Ali who provides a live visual backdrop to the performances. Spanish singer, María Martinez, was teamed up with UK rapper ‘Boogie Be’ to provide the vocal frontline whilst free improvisation personality David de la Haye and later Pete Morris and Jeremy Bradfield were brought in to supply electric bass and percussion.

17 See in Appendix in European tour ‘From the UK, Spain, Italy, Chile, and Peru, its members combine to produce a transnational blend of tradition and modernity and create a unique cosmopolitan experience.’

18 Interview with Tomatito in Pamplona Auditorium, Navarra October 2006. [This quote is ethnography not what I think about recording].
Tomatito, it seems, believes that the use of such technology to capture the ‘moment’ also allows for the correction of mistakes to make it sound ‘ideal’. The second function of the recording studio, as used by both popular musicians and contemporary flamenco musicians, is as a space for creation, manipulation and research, as a way of making not just these ‘ideal’ sounds, but as a way to make new spaces, examine new crealizations, and construct radically new ways of conceiving the relation between instruments, bodies and music making more broadly.

The second approach was used by Electro-Flamenko in the recording studio and is grounded in ubiquitous popular music practice, which also blurs the distinction between home and studio recording. I remember, for example, meeting with Chesco Sologuren in his old house in Heaton, in 2006, because he had a ‘mini’ studio at home with his MacPro, four-channel desk, an old Kaoss Pad and synthesizers and electric bass. We wanted to experiment with the traditional music that we knew. Sologuren suggested we should ‘record some flamenco guitars and some electronic beats to see what happens.’¹⁹ Later, when we tried to expand this experiment to live performances, we had problems with the dancers because, in traditional flamenco, the guitar follows the dancers but now the dancers (Karolina Urrutia and Vanna Pacella) had to follow the electronic/flamenco beats. The dancers with the drum machine in the back felt that they were playing with a metronome.²⁰

The work in the University studio and at home with Logic Studio (a multi-track software recorder) was essential to the new project, enabling the fluid exchange of recording ideas and the manipulation of electro-acoustic elements. Recording with Electro-Flamenko was a staggered creative process that bridged different temporal recordings and sonic boundaries, while recording with Proyecto Flamenco demanded the traditional ‘one take’ in the studio.

Recording with the Electro-Flamenko project included composing, bringing voices from the past, adding samplers, and superimposing new beats on top of the traditional compases. For example, the original Alegrias composition ‘Puerto de la Luz’ performed at the ¡VAMOS!’ Festival, which won a prize for original recording concept in early 2006 was an

¹⁹ Internet interview with Chesco Sologuren who also add ‘My experience with the band served me as a great way to interact with musicians from different cultures and disciplines. The result of such artistic blends were beautifully interesting and clear representations of the contemporary cosmopolitan world’ (February, 2010).
²⁰ On-line interview with Vanna Pacella (February 2011).
Alegrias de Cádiz, instead of having the traditional clapping of the beats/sampler marking the compás, the acoustic flamenco guitar followed the accents.

### Alegrias

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The idea of using an early flamenco recording came from Morente’s album *El Pequeño Reloj.*\(^{21}\) Parallel to this exploration of stylistic crossover, one may note Enrique Morente’s introduction of more electronic elements in his *Pablo de Málaga* [Picasso] album.\(^{22}\) The use of samples in *El Pequeño Reloj*, which was dedicated to the flamenco guitarists from the past, was a perfect synthesis of great respect for tradition - in the recovery of wax recordings from the 30s (for example, Ramón Montoya’s guitar playing) - and its renewal in the light of new influences. Also, *El Pequeño Reloj* included a new generation of flamenco players, for example, Niño Josele (from Almería like Tomatito), Cuban bass player Alain Pérez and producers such as Javier Limón and Carlos Jean, who programmed and arranged electronic music.\(^{23}\) My reflection on this particular project helped me to understand some of the cultural issues presented in the main body of the ‘new flamenco sound’ and its characteristic way of playing/recording in relation to technology.

The new Electro-Flamenko project developed new audiovisual work, collages and ‘mash-ups’ in the Newcastle University Culture lab. Some of these compositional devices were put into practise in the introductory track ‘La Abuela’ (See plate in Appendix), at an Electro-Flamenko performance at the Cargo Club, London in 2007.\(^{24}\) Flamenco and technology interacted in a new way in this musical recording. The ‘La Abuela’ track, originally called ‘La Capilla Clásica’, would no doubt be conceptualised as a ‘trans-national hybrid’ by the sociologist Gerard Steingress because it is the encounter of two different traditions. I sent this audio track by e-mail to Gerardo Núñez and he gave us great feedback when he came for the second time to perform at the International Guitar Festival the Sage (Gateshead) 16th October 2009 with the Flamenco Galácticos. Núñez told me: “Paco I put ‘la abuela’ at home and Isa [Núñez’s daughter], who normally listens to popular music found it

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23 Last track of this album, dedicated to Lula da Silva, president of Brazil.
24 The Electro-flamenko audiovisuals examples can be seen in www.myspace.com/electroflamenko (December 2010)
very interesting.”

This complex composition was a mix of *palos flamencos*: Bulerías soniquete, Granáinás from Núñez, with House beats from the club context, where tradition and innovation are technologically connected. Bulería clapping from original fieldwork material, early samples from Don Antonio Chacón and the voice of my grandmother when she was 93 years. At the time of making these recordings, la abuela Concha, who passed away in 2009, was struggling to remember her memories, and the recordings thus had (and have) a particular poignancy for me. The piece attempts to consolidate and challenge the idea of memory and tradition. This use of sampled recordings brought a new aesthetic via technology in contemporary flamenco performance, which is not a new concept in popular music, as seen in 70’s and 80’s Hip-Hop. However, live interventions have existed in flamenco culture since early recordings, when musicians were introduced by *aficionados*, adding funny commentaries about the singers and *Jaleos OLE (que arte tiene!)*, while the clapping and the guitar were recorded. A perfect musical example in which the Peña environment is represented is the bulerías that Tomatito recorded in his album *Paseo de los Castaños*, which is analysed in chapter two. That example was an influence on me and we used it in a Electro-Flamenko recording as a sampler in the Alegrías ‘Puerto de la Luz’. It is possible to hear, in the gaps in the electronic textures, shouts such as “Por la Peña...por la Peña.”

In 2007, I attempted to redefine technological boundaries in contemporary flamenco in relation to popular music. After examining what was happening in the musical scene in Barcelona, Madrid, London, and reading the theoretical approach of a number of academics’ work on technology, I thought that the technological encounter between flamenco and popular music could go even further. So, apart from the traditional flamenco dancers, guitar, singer, the popular music electronics and electric bass, we started collaborating with a rapper (Boogie Be) and a VJ (Alasdair Sherit) who was doing an MA based in Newcastle University’s Culture Lab in 2008. Film directors such as Carlos Saura and the new flamenco bands like Chambao and Ojos de Brujo were an influence in Electro-Flamenko ’s music and audiovisuals. For example, the video ‘*No sin Alas’* (‘Not Without Wings’) included in the special edition CD of the album, *Techarí*, of the Catalonian band Ojos de Brujo, contains a twelve beat recognised bulería mixed with popular elements, such as new flamenco, hip-hop and popular music instrumentation.

25 Gerardo Núñez comments in the International Guitar Festival the Sage (Gateshead) 16th October 2009.
27 Ibid.
The video also includes the collaboration of the urban artist known as *El Niño de Las Pinturas* from Granada who seems to be painting in bulerías timing. The video is significant because Ojos de Brujo musicians wanted to connect this particular flamenco rhythm with the popular music and hip-hop and the visual artist from Granada.

When I analysed performances, like the one by Ojos de Brujo in Barcelona, Spain or SAGE in Gateshead in 2009, it was evident that, although they do not conceptualise themselves as ‘*flamencos*’ (as mentioned by Jan Fairley in IASPM Liverpool), they have a number of elements which have a connection to traditional flamenco performance (the flamenco *compás* structures; guitar techniques, such as flamenco *rasgueos*, *alzapuas* and *golpes*; flamenco percussion, clapping and flamenco box; movement and the tapping of the dancer). In addition, performances include the use of musical instruments, which originally come from other cultural backgrounds, together with other technological elements like the screens, which reflect the art-technology representation of the videos created by/for the band. This ‘Wagnerian’ idea of performance as a whole (not opera but drama), which is central to popular music performances, has had an essential influence in Electro-Flamenko performances. If Electro-Flamenko’s audiovisual examples from youtube or myspace are analysed, it can be seen how VJ Alisdair Sherit, who was based at Newcastle University’s Culture Lab at the time, has created, together with other Electro-Flamenko musicians, short videos which emulate a live music performance. The intention of connecting the tradition with the popular music influences is clear here, it seems to me.

Getting the balance right between the acoustic instruments (flamenco guitar) and the

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28 Comment that Jan Fairley did after my paper in IASP M 15th Biennial Conference

29 See videos in www.myspace.com/electroflamenko
electronic instruments (Kaos Pad and electric-bass) is notoriously difficult. Sound checks were often arduous and complicated. The avoidance of feedback was particularly challenging. For example, the performance that Electro-Flamenko did together with the Newcastle University Salsa band at the Cluny (18th April 2008), struggled to eradicate feedback.

The dualities between ‘plugged – unplugged’, ‘electronic – acoustic’, ‘popular music – folk’ ‘in-authentic’ – ‘authentic’ in relation to the contemporary guitar has made me think about the essential role of technology in the deconstruction of these boundaries. At the performance at the Cluny I thought I would buy an electric Spanish guitar in order to avoid the constant feedback problems, but on the other hand, I did not want to loose the ‘traditional sound’ of the flamenco guitar. Taking into account negotiations and questions about the ethnocentricity of our presuppositions about language, the meaning of the flamenco guitar is not absolute but a cultural and historical construction. Thus it is pointless to search endlessly for absolute truths, as many flamencologists or academics do when they research flamenco performance, still in the thrill of the authenticity effect.

The flamenco sound we listen to, whether live or a recording, is the ‘other’ to the live sound that I experience in, for example, Granada or in Núñez’s master classes in Sanlúcar. Professional flamenco performances always include microphones, mixes, compressors, effects, unless the performance is in an informal party or peña. Electro-Flamenko musicians were always ‘plugged’ and the sound/volume was modulated by Francesco Sologuren who was overseeing the electronic filtering and sound manipulation. Sometimes, the balance between acoustic and electronics was not right from the audience perspective. We received feedback that the audience could not hear the voice or the flamenco guitar properly. Engineers who contribute to the flamenco sound are regarded as part of the creative process as in Christopher Small’s concept of ‘Musicking’ and flamenco musicians now have PA systems, studios at their homes, with the same or even better equipment than that which is available to academics working in this field. The guitar sound discussed in previous chapters is a complex fusion of the work of the guitar maker, the guitarists, and the engineer, with microphones, di box, cables, desk, computers, and Pro tools, Logic or Cubase, etc. In future research I want to analyse the contribution of sound technicians in flamenco and develop the concept of ‘authenticity’ from this perspective. New flamenco, both as popular music and sophisticated folk, was, and is, ‘plugged’ into the present always already.

Connecting the ideas of Paul Théberge regarding the essential role of technology in popular music to those of Norberto Torres, who argues that contemporary flamenco does follow jazz, is key to understanding why and how contemporary flamenco is ‘plugged’. In order to do so, it is essential that the analysis leaves aside the typical adjectives attached to traditional flamenco, such as ‘pure’ because such words are part of a construction, and Spanish writers, such as Jose Manuel Gamboa, José Luis Ortiz Nuevo and Luis Clemente have already worked hard to deconstruct these concepts when applied to flamenco. Flamenco has been a hybrid from its origin. Contempory flamenco music employs technology and its conceptualization is lost in translation in relation to the ‘popular’, as defined by Richard Middleton in his introduction to *Studying Popular Music*. ‘Popular’ in Spanish means folk, and contemporary flamenco is both folk and popular music due to displacement through migration and transcultural flows identified by Appadurai. Flamenco, in relation to technology, is being constantly modified in a global context and in multi-cultural cities such as Madrid, Barcelona, and New York, as seen in chapter four. In Newcastle we modified flamenco, exaggerating its *compás*, adding beats and samples instead of clapping.

As academics and practitioners, it is essential for us to keep in contact with technicians, the visual-artists who collaborate with them, and technological developments in the field. Apart from guitarists, I have shared ideas with VJs, producers, guitar makers, and flamenco singers, such as Enrique Morente, who also had a recording studio at his home in Granada for recording and experimenting. The encounter with the ‘others’ (the technicians) is an essential part of the set of practices whose enormous contribution to the development of the flamenco sound is often forgotten. It is important to remember that flamenco artists also record and thereby conceptualise flamenco sound. One of best and most interesting examples of Electro-Flamenko was the reward received in Spain in the summer of 2007. According to composer and bass player Dave the la Haye:

One of my strongest memories is of the time we were playing in Sa Toronja (Majorca); it was some sort of barn building with plenty of food to share around! We were booked to play two sets and did as planned. But the audience wanted another... what were we to do? We didn’t have more beats/songs. Well, as I recall, we improvised! Improvisation was how I came to be involved with Electro-Flamenko and what especially struck me was improvising against unfamiliar rhythms. I probably mixed Alegria and Seguiriya up and hit some pretty bum notes but there was a

definite excitement, a feeling that we could just sit down and play knowing that the audience had heard what they might have expected and now they were getting something unexpected; the glitchy version.\textsuperscript{34}

Playing in Mallorca, Panticosa and Salamanca gave us more ideas about the ‘otherness’ of the new sound and visuals we were bringing to Spain. Electro-Flamenko was not ‘authentic’ in the sense of tradition, even though we had many elements from that tradition, (such as flamenco compás, flamenco guitar, dancers), but it was ‘authentic’ in another sense to it’s own project, experimentation, research of timbres, harmonies, textures, and visuals. The experience was very rich, not only for the British members of the band, but also for the Spanish band members.\textsuperscript{35}

6.3 Teaching Flamenco outside Spain: UK Schools and Universities.

Unintentionally, the third element discussed in this work – the transmission of knowledge – also found its way into my personal experience in the UK. Flamenco is taught in many places in the world outside Spain. The interest in this particular musical culture/tradition is expanding in new places like Japan which, with more than 300 academies, already has its own history/tradition with professional musicians. As I discussed in chapters three and four, flamenco can be and is transmitted and taught in new contexts all over the world. I am now going to move on to talk about my own experiences in the UK, where I experienced what it was like to pass on the knowledge I had learnt in Granada, Sanlúcar, and so on. Describing the encounter with students who speak other languages than Spanish will prove useful as a way of concluding this work.

When I arrived in Edinburgh in 2002, I became aware of the great interest in flamenco and Spanish culture more broadly, not only amongst undergraduate and postgraduate

\textsuperscript{34} Internet interview Dave de la Haye (February, 2011).
\textsuperscript{35} Internet interview with María Martinez (February, 2011). Electro-Flamenko was a great experience for me. I had the opportunity to blend my musical abilities with my own culture knowledge. Working with the band was a complete creative activity: composing songs, writing lyrics, singing, dancing…being myself in every way. When I first moved to England I was a young Spanish girl in a foreign country and Electro-Flamenko brought me moments where I felt at home, in a place where I didn’t know so many people, in a place away from my family, friends and the culture I knew before. I needed to learn the language and rules from another culture and sometimes was very refreshing meeting up with the band. We were all people sharing the same feeling of being in a foreign country and giving our personal contribution to the project from each other’s culture. We were artists creating from our more individual knowledge but above all we were friends sharing time together and constructing an art product through this experience. That was what Electro-Flamenko meant to me and I miss the band very much since we are not together anymore. That’s life, and we all had to move to our different places in the end. Electro-Flamenko was an experience between the different travels of my life. As one of our songs says: “Entre viaje y viaje he perdido algo y no lo encuentro”. Electro-Flamenko has its cradle on the travelling experience.
students, but also the academic staff at Edinburgh University. I had the opportunity to give a small seminar on *palos flamencos* to help postgraduate students understand flamenco rhythms and hand clapping. For example, I remember teaching the traditional *soniquete* of the soleá and bulerías to Edinburgh Postgraduate students, senior lecturers and professors. Indeed, I remember that Nigel Osborne already knew the bulería *compás* that he used to clap:

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After that seminar some of the graduates students (composers Anna Clyne, Paul Trippet, etc.) had the opportunity to put theory into practice in a concert at St. Cecilia’s Hall with the Inter-Cultural Ensemble, directed by Nigel Osborne. That experience made myself conscious of the knowledge that I needed, when I went back to Andalusia. Now, for example, when I think of the bulería *soniquete* I have in my head 6+6 for guitar *falsetas* and 3 against 4 for the *compás*. (x=normal flamenco clap) (x=clap giving more accent/intensity).

This is how the *soniquete* works when playing guitar *falsetas* in a bulería. Many students get confuse looking for the twelve beats when they are organice in the recording (6+6).

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Without this ‘authentic’ ‘insider’ knowledge, students would think the bulería is only the soniquete: 1 2, + 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 = (1 2 that is easier to say in Spanish) but the contemporary bulería compás is more than the traditional *soniquete*.

When I arrived in Newcastle in 2004 to start my PhD thesis on flamenco culture/tradition, again many of the academic staff were interested in teaching flamenco and some, such as Ian Biddle, had even published articles about it, taking into account different cultural issues. Together we had the opportunity to go to the University of Uppsala (Sweden) to give flamenco seminars and workshops to undergraduate students, who were especially interested in the practice. I remember Ian Biddle and myself teaching tangos by José Mercé ‘Del Amanecer’ with the flamenco guitar to the Swedish undergraduate students and they were really engaged by the practice, doing the traditional tango clapping and singing in Spanish. It was an excellent experience for all since, after understanding the conceptual framework of flamenco practice and embody the *soniquete* they could then go on to in practice with *compás*. Below are examples some of the clapping rhythms we used:

**Tradicional Tangos flamencos**

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**Tango- with Rumba flamenca repiques**

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Back in Newcastle, Ian Biddle invited me to help explain some flamenco *palos* to British undergraduate students on the Iberian Peninsula course and world music seminars. Some

---

37 Living in two worlds (theory and practice) I combined anthropological research based on my fieldwork in Spain, practice with the Spanish collective in Newcastle, and the cultural theories and ideas I absorbed from academic friends in Newcastle (with their interest in European philosophy, Lacanian psychoanalysis and so on). At the time I intended to reinterpret the Spanish data, to translate the original material of the guitarists in relation to late-modern globalisation theories, and rediscover influences, which had become lost in translation, while also putting these ideas into practice.
practical workshops were offered to them and became an established part of the course at Newcastle University. I remember the feedback and how special it was for the students on the Iberian Península module when the compás of an alegrias de Cádiz was explained in a jazz piano piece composed by Chano Dominguez. In ‘Por Alegrias’ from Oye Como Viene the alegrias basic compás is done by the Double-Bass while the traditional clapping is left for the end of the piece with the traditional introduction of the singing: Tiriti tran tran, tiriti tran tran, tiriti tran tran trero ay, tiriti tran tran tran tran

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Some of the undergraduate students who were studying the BA in Music and the BMus at Newcastle University (Brendan, Moira, Jeremy Bradfield, Francesco Sologuren) later became involved in the Proyecto Flamenco, the Electro-Flamenko band and the Newcastle Flamenco Collective; hence, its is clear that the flamenco teaching had an impact on them. While I was with Proyecto Flamenco and later with Electro-Flamenko, I continued teaching flamenco guitar to some postgraduate students from Newcastle University and undergraduates who were interested in Spanish guitar in general. The combination of performing and teaching provided me with the experience and ideas I needed to analyse my own culture from a different perspective.

In 2007, in conjunction with my university studies, I started working as a Visiting Music Teacher for the Newcastle Music Service (Newcastle City Council), teaching guitar, music theory and world music. Flamenco was part of the ‘music enrichment sessions’ in schools across the region but became really central to my work when, in 2008, after a year of preparation, the Newcastle Music Service promoted a new project: Flamenco Band in a Box. This did not just involve two flamenco teachers establishing flamenco workshops in different schools, as had been done in Spain, but also a six week project in which children at Key Stage 2 worked towards a performance. In this performance the children had to transmit the knowledge and skills learnt in those weeks to the rest of the school. After a historical and audio-visual introduction to flamenco, encompassing its ‘origins’, theories of place,

38 Like other UK institutions and American schools with great incomes such as Berkley School of Music in Boston, professional musicians relish the possibility to teach where musical genres such as jazz and rock are studied in depth. Paco Peña, one of the flamenco guitarists, who lives in the UK, has done a great deal for the diffusion and institutionalization of flamenco outside Spain. ‘In 1981 he founded the Centro Flamenco Paco Peña in Cordoba, later becoming Artistic Director of the Córdoba International Guitar Festival […] established in 1985 at Rotterdam Conservatory in the Netherlands.
‘authenticity’, race and multicultural enrichment, the children learnt the basic flamenco rhythms by clapping, playing cajón, and using the flamenco guitar as a percussion instrument.

**Week 1: Tangos flamencos (1º band children performance: “Flamencos de Granada”)**

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First, the children practised the flamenco rhythms with two different ways of clapping: 1. *Palmas Sordas* (muted clapping with the lower part of the palm); 2. *Palmas Abiertas* (clapping with three fingers in the other palm). When the basic *compases* had been learnt, one or two rhythms each week (see plate in appendices), the children interpreted the music by learning how to dance flamenco with easy hand movements and by tapping rhythms with *planta* (whole foot), *punta* (toe) and *tacón* (heel), combining and later choreographing their own work. Using fieldwork pictures (see appendix) and audiovisual material, the school children learnt the origins of most of the cultural issues dealt with in previous chapters in an approachable way, while learning another language at the same time. For example, NMS collage and dance teacher, María Maragaki, has the following to say about the Flamenco Band in the Box Project:

> Teaching in schools has been a life changing experience not only for the children but also for myself. Bringing another culture into schools through teaching the dances and music is extremely valuable not only because of the knowledge and the experience the children are exposed to but also because this comes to them. Most of the time we get to know other cultures by travelling abroad and still we do not get exposed to such concentrated information and actually we are not normally given the chance to practice and learn in more depth. The flamenco and greek projects in schools give this amazing opportunity for the children to be part of those cultures for six weeks, explore it and be part of it. In addition and very importantly this life-changing experience is available to children from every background and especially to the ones that do not have chances to travel abroad and meet other cultures and without the project they would have never had. Additional benefits from this experience are the performance / presentation of their work, the confidence and self esteem they gain and the reward of completing something that is presented and rewarded. [...] Finally, for myself, teaching flamenco in schools showed me the importance of transmitting knowledge to younger generations, teaching them how to appreciate elements from other cultures and more than everything making them feel confident inside a different environment, routine or culture. 39

As mentioned in the introduction, the idea that flamenco is a cultural and historical construction that is always in motion and can be learnt in other cultural contexts has already...

39 María Maragaki, Internet interview (February 2011).
had a social impact in the North-East of the UK, and will continue because, thanks to the support of Newcastle University, the ¡VAMOS! Festival, Newcastle Music Service, children from Newcastle are learning flamenco music and culture every week and absorbing all the cultural issues related to this work.

To conclude this section, I want also to mention that not only the children but also the mature students are learning flamenco (guitar and dance). All members of the Newcastle Flamenco Collective have learnt to share/play/perform together in one of the gatherings at Bridge Hotel, Cumberland Arms, North Terrace, Nancy Bordellos, and other venues across the region that we have performed.⁴⁰ We performed, for example, at Saville Exchange for UNICEF and Cancer Research UK (charity concert) bringing together the Newcastle Flamenco Collective and other flamenco musicians based in Scotland, Newcastle, York and Leeds (Isabel Múñoz, María Maragaki, Carla Soto, Mike Holmes, James, Jeremy Bradfield...).

According to Amber Entwistle who conducted an interesting research into the Newcastle Flamenco Collective in 2010: ‘Flamenco plays a huge role in the production of cultural identity among habitants of North East England and consequently unites people who are part of the exact experience.’⁴¹ Whilst the extent to which flamenco figures as a key resource in identity formation in the North East is probably overstated in Amber’s work, it has certainly proven a key resource for a small group of people (including University colleges, Spanish and non Spanish friends, musicians, etc.) in cementing a growing and intensely self-reflexive community. As Amber writes:

Newcastle Flamenco Collective is a group of people, talented artists and friends who all share a passion for flamenco. Being part of the Collective serves many purposes in their lives. It provides them with the opportunity to extend their knowledge of

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⁴⁰ There were other flamenco musicians based in Newcastle, such as Raúl Calderón (flamenco dancer), who worked for Dance City, Ulises Díaz (flamenco singer), who moved to London, John Kerr (Flamenco dancer) and Mike Holmes (Flamenco guitar), who used to organise Flamenco Peñas at the Bridge Hotel. I had considerable anxiety about meeting these musicians. I was eager to be part of a flamenco community in Newcastle; and I understood the stakes of belonging. Learning and being part of Newcastle music scene I remember going to Dance City studios where Raúl Calderón used to teach his flamenco students [...] I wanted to meet them all and play for them. At the end, I finished working with some of the dancers, for example with Maria Maragaki. [...] Also, if we heard that a flamenco artist was coming to play in Newcastle we were running to meet them and to learn from them. I remember flamenco singer, Ulises Díaz, coming from London to play at the Cumberland Arms and after hearing his flamenco voice I knew I had to play guitar for him “that was the authentic voice that I was looking for” even he was not Andalusian but from Toledo [...] The flamenco peña at the Bridge Hotel was the perfect opportunity to play for him because all guitar aficionados were playing for all the flamenco singers in turns and I had my chance.

flamenco, keep in touch with their cultural identity, share their culture with others and experiment with their abilities in a way which develops the art and makes it unique to them. When they perform, in any concert or a Peña, they tell a story of themselves and their origins, as people and as artists.42

For me the Newcastle Flamenco Collective is more than a band or a music society. We all learn from each other. Although flamenco will always be identified with Andalusia (Spain) and with Andalusian musicians, there are many variations in the way people approach flamenco and identify with it. The beauty, from an ethnological point of view, is that an extremely interesting aspect of the Collective is the fact that the members come from several cultural contexts (Canada, Greece, Italy, Spain, Venezuela, UK). It has been interesting to learn, work together as a group, and see how different influences have had an impact on the group. As Amber puts it,

Like any musical ensemble, there have been some difficulties with communication, organisation, etc. Therefore, to an extent, flamenco has united them and its strength has helped them overcome any complications within the Collective.

She goes on to add:

The Collective has brought them together. Not only do they perform together but they socialise with one another and it is clear, from an outsider’s point of view, that they have a strong friendship. Not only does the Collective represent friendships between individuals, it also demonstrates the unity of different cultures. As the majority of members come from different cultural contexts, they have had to form a new, reshaped culture to learn how to work together and to integrate into English society.43

6.4 Flamenco Heritages

It is worth noting here that flamenco has recently been awarded the status of a ‘World Cultural Heritage’ by UNESCO (2010). This move to consider flamenco (like Fado, also included in the 2010 round) as part of humanity’s ‘intangible heritage’ points to a shift in the status of flamenco from local phenomenon (linked to a tradition of ‘holiday records’ commonly consumed in North America and the North of Europe), to a global facing music at home in a range of global popular, world and jazz circuits. In the UK, for example, this shift is well attested in flamenco’s almost ubiquitous representation in UK festivals, Auditoriums (SAGE), clubs, pubs and a wide range of public music-making venues (from the very

42 Ibid.  
43 Ibid.
intimate to the large-scale). As Enrique Morente suggested, before he passed away, ‘Flamenco is not only a World Heritage [‘patrimonio de humanidad’] but the World is now a patrimonio for the Flamenco(s).’

Unesco deemed the application for considering flamenco to have the status of ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity’ on the following grounds:

- R1: Flamenco is strongly rooted in its community, strengthening its cultural identity and continuing to be passed down from one generation to the next;
- R2: The inscription of Flamenco on the Representative List could raise awareness about intangible cultural heritage, while promoting human creativity and mutual respect among communities;
- R3: Ongoing and proposed measures demonstrate the concerted efforts of regional governments, institutions, NGOs, the communities and private persons to ensure Flamenco’s safeguarding;
- R4: The nomination results from the active participation and commitment of the communities and the individual practitioners whose broad consensus is demonstrated by their free, prior and informed consent;
- R5: Flamenco is inscribed in the General Register of Cultural Assets of the Region of Murcia established by the Directorate-General for Fine Arts and Cultural Heritage of the Autonomous Region of Murcia.  

It is interesting, therefore, that one of the key drivers for the decision to grant flamenco UNESCO status is its performative and ideological commitment to the idea and practice of community (R1 and R4). Hence, flamenco is worth preserving precisely because it seeks to intensify and perpetuate ‘deep’ communities, whilst also facing globally (R2). This negotiation of the two domains is part of what has made my own experience of flamenco so rewarding and so fundamental to my own personal trajectory. I have found in flamenco a set of sites and spaces in which encounters of many different kinds can be staged, worked through and questioned and it is this in particular (the socialising, community building perspectives of flamenco, its ability to generate intense and lasting affiliations) that resonates with the claims made by UNESCO for flamenco as ‘intangible’ cultural heritage. About the ‘intangible’ we had a discussion in the Jornadas SIBE de Flamenco in Córdoba (2011). There are many essential ‘intangible’ parts of the tradition in flamenco, for example oral transmission of cante, but there are also many ‘tangibles’ (old recordings, old flamenco guitars and other objects) which are essential to preserve. About the video presented to

UNESCO\textsuperscript{45} in 2010 in which Cristina Cruces Roldán was involved to obtain the recognition, it has to be said in relation to the concept of ‘authenticity’ that there was and continue to be an ‘eurocentric’ perspective (South of Spain/ rest of the world) that is not including flamenco outside Spain, the displacement of flamenco tradition in Madrid and Catalonia and so on. Contemporary flamenco cannot be understood without all the places and the musicians, teachers who have re-located in different countries/ places. As Cañizares told me after his master classes in MEG: “We are all part of this tradition, each of us is contributing with its art, music, writings”. However, if we do a re-exposition to chapter one, we will find that the person/aficionado/musician/flamencologist who defines what is and what is not ‘authentic’ flamenco tradition will be locating him/herself in the middle inside to exclude ‘others’ outside.

### Appendix

#### 7.1 Table

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<th>Year of birth</th>
<th>Male Flamenco Guitarists</th>
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<td>1958</td>
<td>José Fernandez ‘Tomatito’</td>
<td>Almería</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>Oscar Luis Herrero</td>
<td>Ciudad Real</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>Raimundo Amador</td>
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<td>1961</td>
<td>Gerardo Núñez</td>
<td>Jeréz</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>Jose Luis Montón</td>
<td>Barcelona</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>José Jimenez Abadía ‘El Viejín’</td>
<td>Madrid</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>Rafael Riqueni</td>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>Juan Carlos Romero</td>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>Jose Antonio Rodríguez</td>
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<td>Jesús Torres</td>
<td>Barakaldo</td>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>Ramón Jiménez</td>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>Juan Manuel Cañizares</td>
<td>Sabadell</td>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>Daniel Navarro ‘Niño de Pura’</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
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<td>1967</td>
<td>Vicente Amigo</td>
<td>Guadalcanal (Sevilla)</td>
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<td>1967</td>
<td>José Luis Rodríguez</td>
<td>Born in Ceuta</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>Juan Ignacio Gómez ‘Chicuelo’</td>
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<td>José Miguel Carmona</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>Miguel Ángel Cortés</td>
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<td>Juan José Heredia ‘Niño Josele’</td>
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<td>1977</td>
<td>Jerónimo Maya Maya</td>
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<td>1978</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>Diego del Morao</td>
<td>Jerez</td>
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7.3 Flamenco Clapping and Compás:

Flamenco rhythms which can be clapped with two different ways of clapping:
1. Palmas Sordas  2. Palmas Abiertas  (x= Clap)

*Tangos flamencos*

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*Tango- Rumba flamenca*

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*Bulería Soniquete*

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*Bulerías al golpe*

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*Media Bulería*

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*Fandangos and Sevillanas*

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7.4 Fieldwork Picture(s):

Plate 7.4.1: Starting point of (my) flamenco fieldwork, El Realejo (Granada)

Plate 7.4.2: Paco Cortés playing (my) Daniel Gil’s Flamenco Guitar, El Realejo (Granada), April 2003.
Peñas Flamencas

Plate 7.4.3: Peña la Platería in el Albaycín (Granada).

Plate 7.4.4: Interview with Tomatito after his concert with Michel Camilo in Pamplona.
Plate 7.4.5: Tomatito playing in the Auditorium Alfredo Kraus at Las Palmas de GC.

Plate 7.4.6: Luis Salinas, Tomatito, Raimundo Amador, Xoel Xavier in *Palabra de Guitarra Latina* performance.
Plate 7.4.7: Cátedra de Flamencología de Jeréz.

Plate 7.4.8: Gerardo Núñez’s Flamenco Guitar Master classes in Sanlúcar (Cádiz).
Plate 7.4.9: Núñez’s National and International advance flamenco guitar students in Sanlúcar (Cádiz).

Plate 7.4.10: Perico Sambeat and Núñez’s Band playing with *Cruce de Camino* Flamenco-Jazz musicians in Bienal in Seville.
Plate 7.4.11: Cañizares playing together with Paco de Lucía’s Sextet.

Plate 7.4.12: Cañizares playing his compositions at Alfredo Krauss Las Palmas de GC.
Plate 7.4.13: Juan Manuel Cañizares playing contemporary flamenco with his band and his brother Rafael Cañizares.

Plate 7.4.14: Maestro Enrique Morente and Paco Bethencourt in Morente’s house in Granada.
Plate 7.4.15: Vicente Amigo performing at Alfredo Krauss Auditorium, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.

Plate 7.4.16: Vicente Amigo in the recording studio preparing his Ciudad de la Ideas album.
Plate 7.4.17: María, Sergio and Paco at El Coto (Newcastle upon Tyne).

Plate 7.4.18: Proyecto Flamenco performing at the Cooperage, Newcastle upon Tyne.
Plate 7.4.19: *Electro-Flamenko* performing ‘La Abuela’ at the Venue Club, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Plate 7.4.20: *Electro-Flamenko* performing ‘New Rumba’ at the SAGE, Gateshead.
Plate 7.4.21: Electro-Flamenko performing at the Cargo Club, London.

Plate 7.4.22: Electro-Flamenko performing at Mouth of the Tyne Festival, Tynemouth.
Plate 7.4.23: Electro-Flamenko in the Journal for Buddle Art centre Charity Concert for UNICEF.

Plate 7.4.24: Electro-Flamenko in promotion of !VAMOS! festival, Newcastle upon Tyne.
Plate 7.4.25: News about *Electro-Flamenko* in German, Spanish and English after the “European tour.”
Newcastle Flamenco Collective

Plate 7.4.26: Members of Newcastle Flamenco Collective performing at Hexam.

Plate 7.4.27: Members of Newcastle Flamenco Collective performing at Bridge Hotel, Newcastle.
7.5 Audio compilations:

7.5.1: Tomatitos’ compilation:

1- Track: ‘La Leyenda del Tiempo’ (Jaleos)
   Singing: Camarón and guitars: Tomatito and Raimundo Amador

2- Track: ‘Como el Agua’ (Tango)
   Singing: Camarón. Guitars: Paco de Lucía and Tomatito

3- Track: ‘La Chanca’ (Bulerías)
   Instrumental. Guitar: Tomatito.
   Tomatito, Rosas Del Amor (Madrid: Hispavox-Emi, 1987).

4- Track: ‘La Voz Del Tiempo’ (Tangos)
   Guitar: Tomatito with the special collaboration of Camarón.

5-Track: ‘Lo Bueno y lo Malo’ (bulerias)
   Cante: Duquende y Guitarra: Tomatito
   Duquende, Duquende y La Guitarra de Tomatito (Spain: Nuevos Medios,1993).

6-Track: ‘Mundi’ (Rumba)
   Guitars: Tomatito and Raimundo Amador.

7-Track: ‘Montoya’ (Rondeña)
   Guitar solo: Tomatito

8-Track: ‘Bésame Mucho’ (Song)
   Guiatars: Tomatito

9-Track: ‘A mi Niño José’ (Bulería)
   Piano: Michel Camilo Guitar:Tomatito
   Michel Camilo and Tomatito, Spain (Madrid: Lola Records, 2000).

10-Track: ‘Pa La Pimpi’ (Tangos)
   Cante: Mari Ángeles (Tomatito’s daughter) Guitar: Tomatito
   Tomatito, Paseo de los Castanos (Madrid: Universal, 2001).

11- Track: ‘La Vacilona’ (Rumba)
   Jazz guitar: George Berson and Flamenco guitar: Tomatito.
   Tomatito, Paseo de los Castaños (Madrid: Universal, 2001).

12- Track: ‘Ahi Te Quedas’ (Bulería)
Tomatito, *Paseo de los Castaños* (Madrid: Universal, 2001)

13- Track: ‘Que Venga El Alba’ (Bulería)  

14- Track: ‘En Casa Del Herrero’ (Bulerías)  

15- Track: ‘Soleá de la Ciencia’ (Soleá)  

16- Track: ‘Luna De Plata Gitana’ (Bulería)  
Cante: Diego Cigala Guitarra: Tomatito  

17-Track: ‘Adiós Nonimo’ (Tango-composición)  
Piano: Michel Camilo. Guitar: Tomatito,  
**Spain Again** (New York: Universal, 2006).

**7.5.2 Gerardo Núñez compilation:**

1- Track: ‘El Gallo Azul’ (bulería)  

2- Track: ‘La Cartuja’ (Granaina)  

3- Track: ‘Queda La Sal’ (Alegrías)  

4- Track: ‘En El Arco’ (Bulerías)  

5- Track: ‘Cambiadme de Galería’ (Tarantas).  
Cante: El Indio Gitano y Guitarra Flamenca: Gerardo Núñez  

6- Track: ‘A Eso de Venir el Día’ (Bulerías)  
Cante: El Indio Gitano y Guitarra Flamenca: Gerardo Núñez  

7- Track: ‘Jucal’ (Bulerías)  

8- Track: ‘Remache’ (Seguiriyas)

9- Track: ‘Calima’ (Bulería).
   Gerardo Núñez, John Patitucci, Danilo Pérez and Arto Tuncboyaciyan

10- Track: ‘Sahara’ (Zapateado)

11- Track: ‘Un Amor real’ (Bulería por Soleá)
   AAVV, *Jazzpaña II* (Germany: ACT music, 2000).

12- Track: ‘Blues soleá’ (Soleá)
   AAVV *Jazzpaña II* (Germany: ACT music, 2000).

13- Track: ‘Canta Con La Voz Del Corazon’ (Tangos)
   Cante: Carmen Linares Con Gerardo Núñez Trio, Pablo Martín and Cepillo

14- Track: ‘Labios De Hielo’ (Bulerías)
   Carmen Linares Con Gerardo Núñez Trio

15- Track: ‘La Rosa de los Vientos’ (Seguiriya)
   Gerardo Núñez, José Manuel León, Antón Jiménez, Juan Antonio Suaréz
   “Cano”, Jesús de Rosario, Vicente Cortés

16- Track: ‘La Habana A Oscuras’ (Rumba)

17- Track: ‘Templo De Lucero’ (Soleá por Bulerías)

18-Track: ‘Sueño el Barrio’ (Bulerías)
   Gerardo Núñez, Jesús Mendez and grupo Soniquete

### 7.5.3 Juan Manuel Cañizares compilation:

1- Track: ‘Romance del Amargo’ (Soleá)

2- Track: ‘La Tarara’ (Taranto 3°versión)

3- Track: ‘El Puerto’ (Suite Iberia)
4. Track: ‘Manhattan’ (Song)

5. Track: ‘Niña Ahogada en el Pozo’

6. Track: ‘Vuelta de Paseo’ (Granaína)

7. Track: ‘Se alza la Luna’ (Zapateado)

8. Track: ‘La Pajarraca’ (Bulerías)

9. Track: ‘Jigs & Bulls’ (Reels)
   Carlos Núñez, *Os amores libres* (Spain: BMG, 1999).

10. Track: ‘Metropolis’ (Composition)
    Mike Stern Special Collaboration

11. Track: ‘Tacita De Plata’ (Alegrias)

12. Track: ‘Fragua Yunque y Martillo’ (Rondeña) with Enrique Morente.

13. Track: ‘Toca Madera’ (Composition) with Paco de Lucía

14. Track: ‘Siquiera’ (Siguiрия)

15. Track: ‘Samaruco’ (Alegria)

16. Track: ‘Rama Nueva’ (Soleá)

17. Track: ‘Chiquilín de Bachín’ (Song)

18. Track: ‘El Puerto’ Suite Iberia

19. Track: ‘El Abismo’
    Juan Manuel Cañizares, *Cuerdas del Alma* (Spain: Sony, 2010).
7.5.4 Vicente Amigo’s compilation:

1- Track: ‘El Pez más Viejo del Río’ (Fandango)
    Camarón de La Isla, Soy Gitano (Spain: Mercury, 1989).

2- Track: ‘Vengo del Moro’ (Tangos)
    El Pele Cante and Vicente Amigo Flamenco guitar

3- Track: ‘Morente’ (Granaína)

4- Track: ‘Gitano De Lucía’ (Bulerías)

5- Track: ‘Mensaje’ (Fandangos)

6- Track: ‘Ventanas al Alma’ (Minera)

7- Track: ‘Vivencias Imaginadas’ (Zapateado)

8- Track: ‘Aurora de Nueva York’ (Bulería lenta)

9- Track: ‘Amor, Dulce Muerte’ (Balada)
    Vicente Amigo and Leo Brower, Poeta (Spain: BMG, 1997).

10-Track: ‘El Mar De Tu Sentir’ (Alegrías)
    Vicente Amigo and Leo Brower, Poeta (Spain: BMG, 1997).

11- Track: ‘Del Amanecer’ (Tangos)
    José Mercé, Al Amanecer (Virgin Records, 1998). Produced by Vicente Amigo

12- Track: ‘La Mancha de la Mora’ (Bulerías)
    José Mercé, Al Amanecer (Virgin Records, 1998).

13- Track: ‘La Tarde es Caramelo’ (Alegrías)
    Vicente Amigo, Ciudad de las Ideas (BMG, 2000).

14- Track: ‘Tres notas para decir te quiero’ (Rumba)
    Vicente Amigo, Ciudad de las Ideas (BMG, 2000).

15- Track: ‘Canto’ (Alegrías)
    El Pele & Vicente Amigo, Canto (Spain: BMG, 2003).

16- Track: ‘Aconteció’ (Seguiriyas)
    El Pele & Vicente Amigo, Canto (Spain: BMG, 2003).
17- Track: ‘Oda A La Guitarra’ (Bulerías lentas)
Vicente Amigo and Montse Cortés,

18- Track: ‘Campo de la Verdad’ (Bulerías)

19- Track: ‘Autoretrato’ (Bulerías)

20- Track: ‘La Estrella’ (Tangos)

### 7.6 Selection of National and International Performances

**2011**  
*Costelaciones* + Mayte Beltrán  
Clonmel Juntion Festival  
Ireland, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2011

**2011**  
*!VAMOS!* Festival Peña Flamenca (Organizer & Performer)  
Dance City,  
Newcastle Upon Tyne, 11<sup>th</sup> June 2011  

**2011**  
Lorca y su Flamenco  
Saville Exchange (North Tyneside) 19<sup>th</sup> May 2011  
7 ART centre (Leeds) 20<sup>th</sup> May 2011  
Upstage Theatre (York) 22<sup>th</sup> May 2011

**2010**  
Newcastle Flamenco Collective  
Peña Flamenca dedicated to Enrique Morente  
The Cooperage,  
Newcastle Upon Tyne, 17th December 2010

**2010**  
Flamenco del Norte  
Ronnie Scott’s jazz Club  
London, 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2010

**2010**  
Flamenco del Norte  
Dance Studios,  
Glasgow, Scotland October & 13<sup>th</sup> November 2010

**2010**  
Brand Field Trio + Electro-Flamenko  
Start &Shadow,  
Newcastle Upon Tyne, 6<sup>th</sup> Octubre, 2010

**2010**  
Flamenco del Norte & Flamencos sin Fronteras
York, UK, September 2010

2010 Flamencos sin Fronteras & Electro-Flamenko musicians
World in the Square Festival
Middlesbrough, UK, Agosto 2010

2010 Flamenco del Norte (UNICEF & Cancer Research UK)
Saville Exchange,
North Shields, Tyne & Wear, UK, Julio 2010

2010 Flamenco del Norte
Seven ART centre
Leeds, UK, 3 de Abril 2010

2010 Island Quartet & Flamenco del Norte
!VAMOS! Festival
Newcastle upon Tyne, UK July 2010

2010 Flamenco del Norte
Seven ART centre
Leeds, UK, 3 de April 2010

2010 Electro-Flamenko Acoustic Set
Wurzen Art centre
(Near Leipzig), Germany, January 2010

2009 31th Island Quartet
Fundació Cultural Coll Bardolet
Valldemossa, Mallorca, 31th August 2009

2009 Link band in Mojo Club 2º Anniversary
Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 15th August 2009

2009 Acoustic Trio at Vamos! Festival
Biscuit Factory Art Gallery,
Newcastle Upon Tyne, 27 March 2009

2009 ICMUS Salsa Band at Nancy’s Bordello
(Electro-Flamenko collaboration)
Newcastle Upon Tyne, 21th February 2009

2008 Electro-Flamenko at Mouth of the Tyne Festival

2008 Electro-Flamenko at Vamos! Festival. Northen Stage,
Newcastle upon Tyne, 11 July 2008.

2008 Acoustic Trio at Civic Centre
International meeting


2008  Acoustic performance at El Coto, Durham, Northeast, UK.

2008  Vanessa’s Memorial concert at Kings Hall Newcastle University Newcastle upon Tyne, 03 May 2008.


2007  Electro-Flamenko at Cargo, London Old Street, 83 Rivington St, Shoreditch, London EC2 London and South East london, UK


2007  Island Trio performance at Fundación Cultural Coll Bardollet, Valldemossa, Mallorca, Spain, 30 Sep.


2007   Electro-Flamenko
Sa Toronja, Mallorca, Spain, 27th July 2007.

2007   Electro-Flamenko
Middlesborough World Music Festival, 15th July.

2007   Electro-Flamenko
Green Festival, Leazes Park

2007   Electro-Flamenko performance for Connecting Principle
Star and Shadow,
Byker Newcastle-upon-Tyne, May 2007


2007   Electro-Flamenko at Kings Hall, Newcastle University
Amstrong Building School Arts and Cultures,
Newcastle Upon Tyne, Northeast, UK.

2007   Electro-Flamenko Headline
Sound 07, SAGE, 
Gateshead, 17th February 2007

2006/2007   Electro-Flamenko
The Venue
Newcastle Upon Tyne, December & 31th January

2006   Electro-Flamenko
World Head Quartets, 1º VAMOS! Festival,
Newcastle upon Tyne, June-July, 2006

2005   Proyecto Flamenco
The Cooperache,
Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, 13th May and 3rd June 2005

2005   Proyecto Flamenco
The Cluny, Newcastle upon Tyne,

2005   Proyecto Flamenco
El Coto, Newcastle upon Tyne, November 2005.

2005   Proyecto Flamenco at The Cooperage
Newcastle upon Tyne, Uk, 13th May.
CONFERENCE PAPERS, PERFORMANCES AND PRESENTATIONS

2011  Jornadas SIBE 2001
Memoria Local, Patrimonio Global
Horizontes del Flamenco y de las Músicas Tradicionales Hoy
Mesa redonda: Flamenco ‘sin’ Fronteras
Concervatorio Superior de Música “Rafael Orozco”
Córdoba, 21 a 23 de Octubre de 2011.

2009  IASPM 15th Biennial Conference
*Popular Music Worlds, Popular Music Histories*
Title: ‘Popular Music, Flamenco and Troubles of ‘Authenticity’: Hybrid
Scenes, Histories and Places.’ University of Liverpool, *Liverpool*, July
13-17, 2009.

2008  X Congreso de la SIBE-Sociedad de Etnomusicología.
V Congreso de IASPM-España. II Congreso de Músicas
Populares del Mundo Hispano y Lusófono.
Música, Ciudades, Redes: Creación Musical e Intercción Social.
Paper given: ‘Flamencos en Movimiento: Desplazamientos,
Interacción y (Re)reacción de la Antigua y Nueva Escena
Contemporánea,’ *Salamanca*, 6th – 9th March.

2007  14th IASPM Biennial Conference
¡Que Viva la Música Popular!
‘Rock and (Flamenco) Roll: Hybrid Spaces and New Aesthetics in the
Contemporary Flamenco Scene,’ *México* City, June 25-29.

2007  British Forum for Ethnomusicology Annual Conference
Between Folk and Popular The Liminal Spaces of the
Vernacular. Paper’s title: ‘Contemporary Flamenco: Lost in
Translation between Folk and Popular Music.’ International
Centre for Music Studies, Newcastle University, *Newcastle*
UK 18th-21April.

2006  I Conference of Popular Music Of The Hispanic And Lusophone Worlds.
Paper title: ‘What are we Listening to: Flamenco or Something Else?
Flamenco Guitar as Folk, Popular and World Music hybrid idiom.’
*Newcastle* University and Northumbria University, 14-16 July 2006.

2006  National Graduate Conference for Ethnomusicology
New Directions in Music Studies,
Paper: ‘Perspectives on Flamenco-Jazz: Contemporary Spanish Cultural
Multi-Identity’ Co-presentation with Chris Elcombe (University of
Cambridge), University of Cambridge Music Faculty, 11 West Road,
*Cambridge* 7-9 July 2006.

2006  VII Congreso de la Rama Latinoamericana de la Asociación
Internacional para el Estudio de la Música Popular, IASPM-AL Música
Popular, Escena y Cuerpo en la América Latina: Prácticas Presentes y

2005
Annual Meeting and Conference on the Gypsy studies.

2005

2005
Boundaries: Exploration, Transformation and Transgression. Paper: ‘What are we listen Flamenco or Jazz? Exploring boundaries and transformation of musical genre,’ Newcastle University, Newcastle, 18th May 2005,

2005
Royal Musical Association
Annual Research Students’ Conference

2004
VIII congreso SibE, III Congreso IASPM-España.

Online Publications

Hard copy publication
‘Encontrando un Lugar en la Popular Music: Flamenco Como Música Popular.’
Published by Nassare (Revista Aragonesa de Musicología XXI. Sociedad Ibérica de Etnomusicología. Institución Fernando el Católico (C.S.I.C), Zaragoza, 2005.

DVD publication
Rewied about Juan Manuel Cañizares in La Exceptional Historia de La Guitarra… Tarra DVD (Forthcoming)
**Other performances, courses and work**

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Institution</th>
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<td>2004-2011</td>
<td><strong>Newcastle University</strong></td>
<td>Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK</td>
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<td>Completing PhD in Music</td>
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<td>ICMUS, School of Arts and Cultures</td>
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<td>2003-2004</td>
<td><strong>Universidad Nacional de Cuyo</strong></td>
<td>Mendoza, Argentina</td>
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<td>2002-2004</td>
<td><strong>University of Maryland</strong></td>
<td>Washington D.C., USA</td>
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<td>Master of Arts in Ethnomusicology</td>
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<td>2002-2003</td>
<td><strong>University of Granada</strong></td>
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<td><strong>University of Edinburgh</strong></td>
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<td>1999-2002</td>
<td><strong>University of Granada</strong></td>
<td>Andalusia, Spain</td>
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<td><strong>University of la Laguna</strong></td>
<td>Canary Islands, Spain</td>
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<td>BA in History of Arts</td>
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<td>2008-2009</td>
<td><strong>Newcastle Music Service</strong></td>
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<td>Enrichment and Guitar Teacher</td>
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<td>2005-2009</td>
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<td>Flamenco Guitar Teacher</td>
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<td>Course of <em>Iberian Península</em>.</td>
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<td>2004-2005</td>
<td><strong>University of Uppsala</strong></td>
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<td>Seminars and flamenco workshops</td>
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<td>2003-2004</td>
<td><strong>XIII International Jazz festival</strong></td>
<td>Canary Islands, Spain</td>
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<td><strong>XX Festival de Música de Canarias</strong></td>
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<td><strong>WOMAD Festival (3)</strong></td>
<td>Cáceres, Spain</td>
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<td>Assistant, organiser in production and</td>
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2002-2003 **High School Los Cahorros** (Monachil) Granada, Spain
Practice as Secondary Music Teacher
CAP (Spanish PGC program)
University of Granada

Member of IASPM- AL
(Latino American – Association of Popular Music)

Member of SIBE
(Spanish Society of Ethnomusicology)

Member of BFE
(British Forum Ethnomusicology)

Member of IASPM- Spain
(Spanish Association of Popular Music)

Member of SEDEM
(Spanish Society of Music Studies) (Musicology)

Member of NFC
(Newcastle Flamenco Collective)

8.1 **Oral Sources and selection of Interviews**

**Guitarists:**

Interview with Juan Manuel Cañizares after guitar Master classes in Auditorium Affredo Krauss, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 8th March de 2008.

Interview with Tomatito in Pamplona Auditorium, Navarra, October 2006.

Interview with Vicente Amigo in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 8th March 2006.

Interview with Gerardo Núñez in Gran Canaria 14th February 2005 and Sanlúcar (Cádiz) July 2005.

Interview with Kambiz In Granada and Jerez, 2004

Interview with Paco Cortés in El Realejo (Granada) April, 2003.

Interview with Pepe Habichuela in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, March 2003.


**Guitar Makers:**

Interview with Rafael Moreno, El Realejo, Granada (Between 2004–2009)

Interviews with Daniel Gil de Avalle in El Realejo, Granada (between 2003-2006).
Interviews with Manuel Bellido in El Realejo (Granada) on April 2005.

Interview with Jesús Bellido in April, 2005.

Interview with Miguel Ángel Bellido, calle Navas, Granada, April 2005

Interview with Juan Miguel Carmona

Interview with Francisco Manuel Díaz

Interview to Manuel Reyes Maldonado

**Academics and Flamenco specialists:**

Interview with Jose Manuel Gamboa interview in Sanlucar and Madrid, July 2005.

Interview to Enrique Morente in his house in Granada and in Javier Limon’s studio in Madrid

Interview to Miguel Ángel Berlanga in University of Granada

### 8.4 Audiovisual Sources

**Video and DVD**

Carlos Saura, *Flamenco* (Spain: Juan Lebrón Productions, 1995).


Vicente Amigo and Ciudad de Las Ideas: *Vicente Amigo en Concierto desde Córdoba* (Madrid: BMG, 2004).

**TV Programmes:**

*Rito y Geografía del toque flamenco* edited by Norberto Torres.
7.5 Discography


El Pele [and Vicente Amigo], *La Fuente de lo Hondo* (Spain: Pasarela, 1986).

El Pele [and Vicente Amigo], *Poeta de Esquinas Blandas* (Spain: Area Creativa, 1990).


Gerardo Núñez and Perico Sambeat, *Cruce de Caminos* (Sevilla: Jazz Viene del Sur, 2000).


Paco de Lucía, *Cositas Buenas* (Universal Music Spain, 2004).


Vicente Amigo and Leo Brower, *Poeta: Marinero en Tierra de Alberti* (Spain: BMG, 1997).

Vicente Amigo, *Ciudad de las Ideas* (BMG, 2000).


Vicente Amigo, *Paseo de Gracia* (Spain: Sony Music Spain, 2009).

**Bibliography**


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Cabrera Sanchez, Lluís, ‘Un Joïo converso’ in Lluis Cabrera and Miguél Fernandez (eds.) Els Altres Andalusos. La Question Nacional de Catalunya (Barcelona: La Esfera de los libros, 2005).


Clemente, Luis, Flamenco! De evolución (Sevilla: Lapislázuli, 2002).


La Autoridad Etnográfica,’ in *Dilemas de la Cultura* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1995), pp. 39-77.


Elliot, Richard, *Fado and The Place of Longing: Loss, Memory and the City* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).


Hidalgo Goméz, Francisco, ‘A Brief History of Flamenco in Catalonia’ in Flamencos (Barcelona: Carena, 1997).

----------------------and Gasch, Sebastian, El Flamenco en Barcelona (Barcelona: Carena, 2000).


Lencero, Carlos, Sobre Camarón, La Leyenda del Cantaor Solitario (Barcelona: Trayectos, 2004).


Ortiz Nuevo, José Luis, *Alegato Contra la Pureza* (España: Barataria, 2010).


Pérez Custodio, Diana. *Paco de Lucía: La Evolución del Flamenco a Través de su Rumbas* (Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2005).

-------------------, Comunicación y cultura, entre lo local y lo global: la obra de Paco de Lucía como caso de estudio, (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2003).


-------------------, ‘Los Nuevos Rumbos del Flamenco’ in Revista de Flamencología de la Cátedra. 20/10 (Jerez de La Frontera: 2004).


Romanillos, José Luis, *Antonio de Torres: Guitar Maker, His Life and Work* (Dorset, Longmead Shaftesbury, 1987).

-------------------, *Antonio de Torres: Guitarrero, Su Vida y su Obra* (Almería: Cajamar e Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1995).


-------------------, *…Y Carmen se fue a París* (Córdoba: Almuzara: 2006).
-- Sobre Flamenco y Flamencología (Sevilla: Signatura, 1998).

-- Sociología del Cante Flamenco (Jerez de la Frontera: Centro Andaluz de Flamenco, 1993).


Torres, Norberto, Historia de la Guitarra Flamenca (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2005).


