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Roma popular music in Europe

Sommaire

Éditorial, *Alain Reyniers* p. 4

Études sur la musique populaire rom/tsigane en Europe

Introduction, *Aspasia Theodosiou* p. 6

Les deux siècles de la vengerka tsigane : pédagogie, stratégies d'interprétation et mémoire culturelle des guitaristes roms russes, *Oleg Timofeev* p. 26

Les musiciens roms en Lettonie : des carrières (non) durables, une appartenance ethnique (in)visible, *Ieva Tihovska* p. 48

La Rom-pop en République tchèque, *Zuzana Jurkova* p. 82

La Rom-pop : l'évolution de la musique rom en Slovaquie, *Jana Belisova* p. 104

Le Flamenco et l'identité musicale des Gitans espagnols. Stylisation et traduction dans la construction de la musique ethnique espagnole, *María Jesús Castro* p. 128

Studies in Roma(ni)/Gypsy popular music in Europe

Introduction, *Aspasia Theodosiou* p. 154

The two centuries of the gypsy vengerka: Pedagogy, performance strategies and cultural memory of russian-romani guitarists, *Oleg Timofeev* p. 174

Romani musicians in Latvia: The (un)sustainability of careers, the (in)visibility of ethnicity, *Ieva Tihovska* p. 196

Rom-pop in the Czech Republic, *Zuzana Jurkova* p. 228

Rom pop: how roma music is changing in Slovakia, *Jana Belisova* p. 250

Flamenco and the musical identity of Spanish Gypsies. stylization and translation in the construction of ethnic spanish music, *María Jesús Castro* p. 272

Focus (only french version)

En souvenir de Patrick Williams : Budapest, été 2002, *Emmanuel Filhol* p. 297

La musique, c'est ma vie. Portrait d'une femme manouche, *Alain Reyniers* p. 290

De l'élaboration à l'abrogation : la loi du 3 janvier 1969, *Jacqueline Charlemagne* p. 304

Chroniques de livres

Marie-Claude Vachez, p. 320

Flamenco and the musical identity of Spanish Gypsies

stylization and translation in the construction of ethnic spanish music

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Introduction

The quintessential Spanish ethnic music is flamenco, if we understand ethnic as the musical expression which represents a collective identity and that, at the same time, contrasts to other musical identities which do not belong to it (Martí 1996). And there is nothing more ethnically Spanish than the *Caló*¹ people. This is especially true of the *Gitano*² of , a people originating from both the creation of this musical genre and from the constructions created around it.

Indeed, the creation of constructs around the Spanish and the Gypsy people has generated a general representation of Spanish Gypsies that has not taken into account the different existing subgroups. These subgroups are represented according to the archetypes of the Andalusian Gypsy, turning this into an ethnic Spanish heritage. However, these positive constructions of the Gypsy people are only found in European Gypsy literature. Neither negative nor neutral constructs persist in the collective imagination of the Spanish people, due to the lack of knowledge of the Gypsy culture in Spanish society as a whole. . This is due to the lack of knowledge about the history of the Gypsy people. One reason being is that there is no specialty in the study of the Gypsy culture³.

This article begins with an introduction on the Gypsy population of , observing their internal differentiation among the different Spanish Gypsy subgroups that are settled among various autonomous communities. This introduction also serves as an explanation for their diverse typology. The typology is broken down according to their locations in cities or in the countryside.

Next, I am going to explore the construction of Gypsy identity through music, which is fundamental to their culture. This is a construct that is carried out in a dynamic way by adopting musical features from host societies where they live together with the contributions from their own *Roma*⁴ culture. As an example of this universal theory on the construction of musical identity of the Gypsy people, the birth of flamenco follows a dynamic process of borrowing musical features and adopting the rich musicality from Spanish mainstream society. This is exemplified mainly by the repertoire of dances, theatrical and folkloric songs

of *zorongos*, *tiranas*, *seguiridillas* and *fandangos*, together with the proper Gypsy contribution of a vocal repertoire through styles of *cante*, such as *tonás*, *soleá* and *siguiriyas*⁵.

On the other hand, together with the emergence of a flamenco repertoire of specific Gypsy songs and dances, it is necessary to differentiate the constructions that were created around the stereotypes of 'flamenco', 'Gypsy' and 'Flamenco Gypsies'. To explore this development, analysis will be carried out on how there was a translation of the first meaning of 'flamenco', based on territorial denomination, and continue towards a designation of the Gypsy community to specifically indicate those more integrated. Sedentary Gypsies, that is, the Andalusian flamenco Gypsies will also be explored. Lastly, I am going to refer to the Gypsies who took part in the creation of flamenco and the subsequent transmission of the tradition of 'flamenco', which today reaches our present-day society.

Finally, I will explain the transposition process by which the archetypes of the Andalusian flamenco Gypsy collective were transferred to the whole of the Gypsy community of . This includes the use and knowledge of flamenco, and why its practice was attributed to all Spanish Gypsies. The notion of the flamenco repertoire among the different Spanish Gypsy subgroups is variable, although the majority of Spanish Gypsies do use the constructs 'flamenco' and 'being flamenco' as one and the same. Consequently, when Spanish Gypsies call their musical expression 'flamenco', most of the time this is the result of the adoption of an exoticized ethnic image whose meaning is equivalent to 'being Gypsies'. Being a Gypsy does not mean knowing how to sing or play flamenco. In fact, this talent depends on the Gypsy subgroup that interprets it, all of which will be analyzed below.

Question at Hand

In , no *Romani*⁶ studies or Gypsyology studies exist that provide a theoretical framework suitable for interdisciplinary studies, unlike other European countries which do have such research. The absence of Gypsy studies from the university curricula in and, in general, from the Spanish scientific and academic community has not fostered continuity and solidity in the research of Gypsy people. Spanish *Calós* have only been studied independently by researchers from various scientific disciplines, such as linguistics (Adiego 2006), history (Sánchez 1977, Aguirre 2006), anthropology (Pasqualino 1995, Thede 1998, Gay yBlasco 1999, Lagunas 2000,), ethnomusicology (Leblon 1991, 2001, 2003, Manuel 1989), sociology (San Román 1990, 1997), and flamencology (Ortiz de Villajos 1944, Luna 1951, Grande 1979, Barrios 1989). Flamencology is a field that from the mid-twentieth century has studied flamenco and has been especially

important in the development of a pseudogitanology. In fact, pseudogitanology has become the main source and reference for the musical expression of the Andalusian Gypsies.

This lack of research on Spanish *Gitanos* was combated by the emergence of ethnographic monographs by European and North American anthropologists⁷. MacRitchie (1889) was the pioneer and published research on the Catalan *Gitanos* in the nineteenth Century. In addition, in the 1960s, the works of Liégeois (1967) and of Jo Jones and Sitwell *et al.* (1969) focused on the *Gitanos* of the Sacromonte in , and in the 1970s and 1980s, the work of Quintana and Floyd (1972) carried out research on the Andalusians *Calós*. In the 1990s, important monographs were published on the *Gitanos* in , by the works of Gay y Blasco (1999) and of Wang (1996), which contains an introduction by Frederic Barth and recounts the autobiography of *El Tío Carlos* (Uncle Carlos). Other studies include that of Kaprow (1991) in , an ethnography that is positioned halfway between a fictional and ethnographic story. Among the Spanish flamencologists, the works of Ortiz de Villajos (1944) or Luna (1951) provided the first monographs about the *Calós* from and had continuity with the publications of Grande (1979) and Barrios (1989).

Given this lack of a interdisciplinary Gypsy discipline at universities and research centers to unify Gypsy studies from an universal perspective, and despite the fact that the monographs, mentioned above, provided varied information on the cultural differences between the *Gitanos* of Madrid, Zaragoza, Barcelona, Granada and other Andalusian cities, today the trend continues to standardize the entire Spanish *Caló* collective without differentiating the various existing subgroups⁸. The failure to differentiate them is seen in terms of a lack of distinguishing their internal peculiarities and the specific dynamics of their identity. So, it is necessary to distinguish among the subgroups that are hidden behind the broad category of '*Gitano español*' (Spanish Gypsy).

The Spanish Gypsy Population

The Spanish *Gitanos* are somehow constituted as a homogeneous ethnic group that share the same social organization, traditions and local customs, united by multiple ties of blood and marriage between the different subgroups of Spanish *Calós*. The Spanish *Calós* are depicted as the same people despite living in different autonomous communities (San Roman 1990). So, in general, they constitute a more compact collective than Gypsy minorities in other European countries (1993).

Yet, this does not mean that the Spanish *Calós* are a completely homogeneous community, as any ethnic group, they are heterogeneous, a result of the unequal

levels of acculturation and integration into the dominant society.

The subgroups of Spanish *Gitanos* are distinguished, for various reasons. One being their settlement in the different autonomous communities that make up the Spanish State⁹. Another reason for such a heterogeneity is the degree of their integration to the host socio-cultural context —as it is, for example, shown through personal relationships with *Gachós*¹⁰ and with the institutions of the Spanish administration (San Román 1990).

Another factor that can allow for the diversity among the Spanish *Gitanos* subgroups is their different origins, since not all the *Calós* of Spain arrived at the same time and from the same place. In 1425, the entrance of the *Romani* ethnic group to the Iberian Peninsula from France through the Pyrenean border is documented and, although some *Roma* of this first group settled in the south, the majority preferentially occupied the northern lands of Spain —where they received the name *Egipcianos*. Those differed from the *Grecianos* or Greeks who arrived by sea from Greece and Albania — in a second wave around 1480— disembarking in the ports of the Spanish Levant and settling in towns like Seville, Cadiz and Malaga. In all, it is estimated that between 1,000 and 2,000 people of *Romani* origins entered the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages (Aguirre 2006).

At the end of the 18th century, an approximate number of 11,000 *Gitanos* is reported. Of this group, a greater number of *Calós* settled in the *gitanerías* or neighborhoods of *Gitanos* in the main cities of Andalusia. Such neighborhoods include Triana and San Juan in Seville, and in other nearby towns, such as Seville, Cadiz and eastern Andalusia. Catalonia constituted the second most populous place in terms of its Gypsy population with approximately 1,000 people, and Murcia was the third most populated place with some 400 *Calós*. The northern area of the Iberian Peninsula hardly had any *Gitanos* settlements (Sánchez1977).

By the 20th century, the total number of Spanish *Calós* was estimated to have been between 700,000 and 800,000 people, a number that makes Spain the second country in the European Union after Romania in Gypsy population.



Robert Peters Napper, Seville, Gypsy boy dressed as a 'majo', from 1860 until 1863

Calós are unevenly distributed in the seventeen Spanish Autonomous Communities, with the majority of them living in Andalusia, Catalonia, Madrid, Valencia, Castilla-La Mancha and Castilla-León¹¹.

In turn, if the provinces in which the different autonomous communities are located are examined, it can be seen that the distribution of the *Gitanos* is also uneven. In Andalusia, for example, at the present time, the provinces with the largest number of the *Gitano* population are in Granada, Seville, Almeria and Malaga¹².

Finally, the settlements of the *Caló* community in the cities where they reside follow a diverse typology: from the ancient *gitanerías* or *Gitanos* neighborhoods, in Seville, Jerez, Cadiz, Granada and Barcelona¹³, to the settlements in neighborhoods on the outskirts of urban centers, or neighborhoods integrated in the municipalities and the urban centers. Parallel settlements of *Calós* are also seen in the rural areas, among others, in numerous populations in Andalusia in the region of the Bajo Guadalquivir, in which the *Gitanos* have participated in the agricultural work in the *cortijos*. They coexist there in the *gañanías*¹⁴ with the *Payos*¹⁵ or other *Gitanos*. Changes related to agrarian mechanization and technological changes have caused a population movement to the outskirts of the larger cities.

Thus, together with the national identity of the Spanish *Caló*, the socio-historical differences of the different autonomous communities, provinces, cities and Spanish neighborhoods, as well as the various processes of integration in which the Spanish *Gitanos* participated, have contributed to their heterogeneity in the construction of their ethnic identity¹⁶. These communities have a lot in common such as the way that they express their identity through common musical practices although not all Spanish Gypsies use 'flamenco' as an emblem of their identity, nor do they see flamenco in the same way, although flamenco is the main musical genre of the Spanish nation¹⁷.

The musical identity of the *Roma* people

The idea that Gypsies build their identity through music is a perspective endorsed by numerous researchers from different countries¹⁸. The argument put forward by Jean Soler 'Tu mets un ver, tu attrapes du poisson, tu mets de la musique, tu attrapes des Gitans' (You put a worm, you catch fish, you put music, you catch Gypsies) it is as witty as it is true¹⁹.

Such a direct link between Gypsy identity and music is forged, though, in a dynamic way, through the interaction between *Roma* and non-*Roma*, a dialectic that seeks to achieve a balance between the musical loans taken from the non-Gypsies and the contributions of the Gypsies themselves, according to Plasencia:

'The *Roma* recognize the 'cultural continuity' of all *Roma* —as we say— but ideologically, the 'opposition distinctions' are for them fundamental for the construction of cultural continuity itself' (1985: 77).

Gypsies present similar cultural patterns to each other in relation to their musicality—according to the main function that music has in the *Romani* community as a cultural diacritic— and which shapes the universality of *Romani* musical identity²⁰. In this way, among the distinctive features that characterize all Gypsy musical expressions: a singularity linked to the interpretation of the different musical styles, which is related to the drawing out of intense emotion from the audience. What is also important to mention is the use of the scales and Eastern modes —a modal system that covers such diverse music structures as the Hindu *râga*, the Persian *dastgah* and the Arabic and Turkish *mâqam*. The characteristic *Modo flamenco* of some *palos*²¹ or flamenco styles; is a musical orientalism²² that is related to the vocal area of music. The song occupies an essential place and makes use of a symbolic language with strong emotional messages. When prioritizing the horizontal melodic line adorned with diverse vocal resources; an accentuated rhythm —the taste for variation and rhythmic contrast leads to a rhythmic profusion —along with a metric regularity that marks the preference for a syncopated accentuation. Finally, an instrumental virtuosity that manifests itself in various ways in the instruments used, include chordophones but also aerophones and membranophones (Castro 2013).

These characteristic *Romani* musical features —the use of modal music, a musical orientalism, an accentuated rhythm and a particular instrumental virtuosity— are the elements that make up the universality of the Gypsy people's musical identity. Alongside these universal characteristics there are also important differences that come from the continuous interaction between *Romani* musical universals and local music. The differentiation of the local music is the result of the re-elaboration and transformation of the elements borrowed from the different host societies in which *Roma* people settled. This was a product of interethnic relations between *Roma* and non-*Roma* came about (Formoso 1986) thanks to a process of acculturation and *agitanamiento*²³, which is modifying existing musical elements according to the Gypsy parameters (Pettan 2000).

In conclusion, the musical identity of the *Roma* people is carried out on one hand through the relationships established through the musical expression borrowed from the dominant societies and on the other hand from the Gypsies own culture. As a type of musical inheritance, the Gypsies derived their ethnic identity by means of articulation from the borrowed society in a similar fashion. The balance between the cultural integration and the singularization from the

Roma themselves produces, as a result, the variability of the musical proposals of the different *Romaní* subgroups. The Spanish Gypsy community, forming part of the overall worldwide Gypsy population, also form their identity in a discrete way. The purpose of the next chapter is to analyze what and how these processes are formed.

The musical uniqueness of the Andalusia Gypsies and the birth of Flamenco

The birth of the Flamenco genre signifies the coming together of the distinctive Gypsy musical traits and the borrowed musical things taken from the host society. The greater concentration of *Calós* in Andalusia—in relation to the rest of the communities in Spain—the integration of *Gitanos* in the different towns and cities of the Baja Andalucía²⁴, and the distinct cultural characteristics of southern Spain²⁵, that allowed for creativity and musicality, are the answer to why flamenco was born among Andalusia Gypsy families and not in any other Spanish region.

The musical loans that *Calós* adopted from mainstream society came as a result of their interethnic relations with *Payos*. This gave rise to cultural exchanges in the many musical moments that took place in Spanish society of that time, thanks to the adaptability of the *Gitanos*. Between the 16th and 18th centuries, references related to dances with which the *Calís*²⁶ participated in the religious processions of *Corpus Christi* were abundant. The same *Gitanas*²⁷ had great fame and a notable reputation. They even attended private sessions in the main and influential houses of that time. The old Gypsy neighborhoods also became places where they celebrated dances in what is known today as nightlife. These late night parties were attended by nobles and noble young Spaniards:

At sunset, individuals who differed greatly in their position from the inhabitants of those places often came to the *gitanerías*; I refer to the young and dissolute Spanish nobles and *hidalgos*. This was, in general, the hour of good humour and parties, and the *Gitanos*, male and female, danced and sang in their own way under the smile of the moon. (Borrow [1841] 1979: 42)

Also, the same celebrations happened in other festive spaces, such as *ventas*, and places chosen by the *Gitanos* that in some cases were advertised with public posters. At these shows, the observers—on many occasions foreigners—emphasized above all, the role of the teacher, the master of ceremonies or *ciceroni*, who served as the organizer of the event. The *Calós* knew how to take advantage of these occasions to make money through their relationship with well-off social classes and to obtain economic retribution:

As artists, they were skilled, savvy and intuitive, but they were no less as merchants of their own art and their skills. Attentive to the demands of its public, they were able to build a repertoire that their audience enjoyed contemplating. Thus, from the first moment, they appear in the art scene interpreting the same songs and the same dances that their neighbors did, which in each era were more in vogue. (Navarro 2008: 80)

This context of musical exchanges between *Gitanos* and *Gachós* gave birth to a commodified productive relationship, especially through dance. It was mainly through dance in which the *Calós* were introduced to public shows and to the musical theatre of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century in *tonadillas*, *sainetes*, *entremeses* and *comedias*²⁸. In fact, the stereotypes created around *lo gitano* and *lo español*, are reflected in this *tonadilla* from the year 1808:

*Ay, que merengue tiene ese dengue,/ ay, que jaleo tiene el meneo,/ resuene el pandero
resuene la gresca,/ y viva y reviva nuestra gitanesca,/ que es la sal de España y toda la
tierra.*

Oh, what a *merengue* has that *dengue*,/ oh, what a *jaleo* has the *meneo*,/
resound the *pandero* resound the *gresca*,/ and live and revive our gypsies,/ which is the salt of Spain and the whole earth²⁹. (Núñez 2008: 448)

Among the Spanish folklore dances that the *Gitanos* interpreted as professional were the *seguidillas*, the *fandango*, the *zorongo*, and the *tirana*³⁰. They also included others of African origin, such as the *dengue*³¹, in which the Gypsies interpreted through their own dancing. After these dances, from around the mid-nineteenth century on, the *Gitanos* performed in public rehearsals for the dance academies, where the ‘*Gitanos* dances’ were danced together with the ‘National dances’³², and then in the *cafés cantantes* (singing cafes), interpreting a flamenco repertoire, not a folkloric one³³.

This type of *Gitano* repertoire is the result of the things adopted through cross cultural exchanges. This exchange was shaped mainly in the form of dances. The latter came to embody a continuous process of stylization of folkloric forms and as a result there was an adaptation to the tastes of the urban public. Important to note is that this was created due to the social changes produced by industrialization. Another important element was the positive collective assessment of the new Gypsy forms created by Romanticism, which in turn benefitted the *Gitanos* economically.

The second characteristic that defines the musical identity of the *Romaní* people—the preservation of some of their own *Romani* elements as a musical heritage—materialized among the Andalusia *Calós* with the creation of a repertoire by *Gitano*s families settled for several generations in different

populations between Cádiz, Seville and Córdoba. This initial Gypsy repertoire gave rise to the matrix of flamenco *cante* known as «cantehondo»³⁴, approximately a hundred *cantes* that emerged from the 1840s, such as the *siguiriya* by Curro Dulce or the one by Paco la Luz and the *soleares* by La Serneta or by Enrique el Mellizo's³⁵, among many others (Lefranc 2000).

The towns of Baja Andalucía, in the province of Seville —Utrera, Lebrija, Marchena, Alcalá de Guadaira and the Sevillian neighborhood of Triana— and in the province of Cádiz —Cádiz city, Los Puertos and Jerez— were the places of creation of the first styles of *tonás*, *soleás* and *siguiriyas*. Along with these main Gypsy *cantes*, also in Cádiz and Seville the other matrix of Gypsy *cante* of the festive type emerged, that is, happy songs to dance to, such as *bulerías*, *alegrías*, *cantiñas*, *caracoles*, *mirabrás* and *romeras*, as well as *tangos* and *tientos*. Later, the *Calós* of Extremadura and Granada also elaborated flamenco styles according to the Gypsy musical elements themselves and derived from dance structures: styles such as the *jaleos* and *tangos* of Extremadura created by the *Calós* of Badajoz, Cáceres, Mérida and Plasencia, and the style of the *tangos canasteros* by the Gypsies of the Sacromonte of Granada.

Flamenco as a new musical system was configured from the beginning as a musical genre delimited by its own formal characteristics. These characteristics are related to the repertoire, interpretation, vocal, instrumental, harmony and rhythmic-meter, according to the distinctive musical parameters seen that characterize *Romani* musical expressions³⁶. Leblon (1991) specified the use of the rhythmic element of accompaniment —comparable with other *Romani* musical traditions—, the rhythmic-melodic sequences of twelve beats, derived from the modal systems of India, and a special relationship between the melody and the metric structure of the lyrics.

Indeed, the repertoire of flamenco singing brings together several main models or *palos*, with their corresponding versions and variants³⁷. Their characteristics are as follows: modal chanting of melismatic character, use of microtonality, the use of the Spanish language —especially the Andalusian dialect with its characteristic *ceceo* and *seseo*³⁸— and instrumental peculiarities such as the harmonic accompaniment through the guitar (Castro 2007).

In relation to its rhythmic-meter, the flamenco repertoire is configured by means of recurring rhythmic patterns and a general differentiation is established between 'cantes a compás'³⁹, cyclical styles with a determined metric structure, and those considered 'canteslibres'⁴⁰ having no concrete metric structure. Among the *cantes a compás* are the *soleá*, *alegrías*, *bulerías*, *rhythmic fandango*, *tangos*, *tientos*, *siguiriyas*, *peteneras* and *guajiras* models, with their respective versions and variants⁴¹. And the *canteslibres* are *tonás* and *fandangos* and their derivatives⁴².

These structures and metric cycles are developed together with an exuberant combination of polyrhythmias and polymetries performed by all flamenco artists —*tocaos*, *bailaores*, *cantaos* and *palmeros*⁴³— who carry out the multiple compositions, according to the different rhythmic patterns.

Finally, in regard to harmony in flamenco, it can be characterized by the use of the flamenco mode and the characteristic tones of the major and minor mode. The Flamenco mode is configured by harmonizing the Greek Doric scale for instrumental accompaniment, since from the ancient Greek modes the foundation of the basic scale used in Flamenco was constituted —the Greek Doric scale or its descending Gregorian Phrygian equivalent— which corresponds to two tetrachords with a semitone between the third and the fourth descending note⁴⁴ (Granados 2004). *Cantes* with instrumental accompaniment in Flamenco mode are the *siguiriyá*, the *soleá*, the *bulería*, the *tangos*, the *tientos* and the *petenera* and without guitar accompaniment, the *toná*⁴⁵.

The set of musical characteristics seen, together with some socio-historical and cultural conditions, linked with a particular marginality, and an accentuated ethnicity, shaped flamenco as a musical genre in the middle of the 19th century and, today, these characteristics are still maintained as identifying features. These features may vary in some musical parameters due to the new contributions derived from the post-modern fusions of New Flamenco (Folch 2013)

The construction of the Ethnic Identity: ‘flamenco’, ‘Gitano’ and ‘gitanos flamencos’

Flamenco is a musical system and, in turn, has a built-in meaning that determines a semantic of the ‘flamenco’ construct that is variable over time. Since the different meanings of ‘flamenco’ have been going through various processes of translation —from being a territorial and ethnic denomination to becoming a music and a name of a genre—, the interpretations of the term ‘flamenco’ have been constantly displaced until settling today with its current meaning and usage.

In the late 16th century, under the reign of Carlos I, and due to the connections between the Spanish Empire and northern European territories, the first meaning of ‘flamenco’ was introduced. It was a territorial point of reference. Etymologically in Spanish, the word ‘flamenco’ is derived from the Dutch word ‘vlaming’, meaning a native of Flanders. This was a Spanish term for the people of good presence according to the Nordic complexion.

There are varied stories as to the link between the term ‘flamenco’, already introduced into the Spanish language, and the *Gitanos*. Some confirm a relationship between the Flanders singers—that King Carlos I took his chapel

courtesan to the capital of Madrid—and as the *Gitanos* were singing, in this way ‘flamenco’ became a synonym for singer. Other stories assure that this connection was produced as a result of the confusion among the locals, who did not distinguish the *Calós* from the German, Flemish and Swiss population who settled in the Sierra Morena in the 18th century. For them, *Gitanos* and foreigners, were all the same, all speaking a strange language, according to the Andalusians (Ropero 1995). This is how this story is perceived by Borrow ⁴⁶:

The name of the *flamenco* with which they are now known [the *Gitanos*] in various parts of Spain would never have been given, probably, except for the circumstance of being called or believed to be Germanic, since German and flamenco are considered as synonyms for the ignorant. (*ibidem*:19-20)

The story that seems most appropriate, though, is the one that explains the connection between the ‘flamenco’ construct and the ‘*Gitanos*’ as the result of ethnic relations, since the flamenco term served to establish borders between the different subgroups of the Spanish *Gitanos*.

A document issued by King Felipe III in 1626, granted a number of Gypsy families’ privileges, as a reward for having fought in the *Tercios* of Flanders during the Eighty Years War. These families settled voluntarily in Alcala La Real⁴⁷ and were given permission to trade in markets. At the same time, the rest of the gypsies were forced to assimilate and forget their Gypsy customs. These families are described as having a ‘good life and treatment’ and with ‘a good air about them’ ‘to the effect of being fully integrated in the general population. This separated them as being different from the rest of the Gypsy population who, at the time, were subjected to all kinds of discrimination. Relevant historical records also provide information about other Gypsy families who, thanks to these royal privileges, settled in different towns of Andalusia, like Triana in Seville. It is also known that, towards the end of the 18th century, the *Gitano* settlements in Baja Andalucía were the most numerous in the entire Andalusian territory. The *Gitanos* there were seen as well adapted and different from the rest of *Calós* who were seen as errant and marginalized (Leblon 1991).

Consequently, the identification of the term ‘flamenco’ with the integrated and sedentary *Gitanos* dates back to the 17th century. Initially it was used as a term for some Andalusian *Gitanos*—those who came from Flanders descent—and then it came to be used for all the *Calós* of Andalusia. The terms were not applied to other Spanish *Calós* however, who had also settled down at an earlier date but they had not participated in the wars of the time. An example of this is seen with the Catalan *Gitanos*⁴⁸. These people were not referred to as ‘flamencos’, but rather with the French term *bomians*⁴⁹. Behind such a firm link between flamenco and the Andalusian *Gitanos*, one can argue, was a reflection of the

assimilation process that took place for the *Gitanos* and which was the result of the transformation of Andalusian society itself. According to Leblon:

Being flamenco, today, is no longer the same as *agitanarse*⁵⁰; It is now used to endorse a culture, a vision of the world and a lifestyle that would have no meaning had it not been the historical meeting between Andalusians and Gypsies taken place. (1991: 121)

The translation of the 'Gitano flamenco andaluz' (Andalusian Gypsy flamenco)—an ethnic and territorial term—into a musical denomination was produced through a process of identification of the new musical genre, flamenco, that emerged in the 19th century with its creators, the *Gitanos* of Andalusia. In this context, the term 'flamenco' was adopted as a synonym for the 'Gitano cantaor', a synonym that embodies both an ethnic and a music category, and, at the same time, acted as a powerful marker to differentiate the Andalusian *Gitanos* from all the rest of the subgroups of the Spanish *Gitanos* and of course from the *Payos*.

Finally, the semantic variability of the term 'flamenco' allows for a final meaning from an *emic* point of view⁵¹: for it represents a way of being and doing, a way of living, that refers to the essentials of the Gypsy identity and reaffirms its cultural specificity, the 'ser Gitano' (being gypsy). Consequently, 'ser flamenco' (being flamenco) means having an unconfined way of life and overcoming all social norms. This is an element that links the *Gitanos* with their cultural tradition and with *Romani* identity. Throughout time, the *Gitanos* has lost some cultural traits, like the use of *Romanó* and the *Caló*⁵², nomadism or the link with nature. So 'ser flamenco' accentuates 'ser Gitano' by becoming a main reference of the actual ethnic content, and simultaneously it gives concrete meaning to *gitaneidad* (Gypsy identity), regardless of social status or the level of integration that has taken place.

Thus, among the Spanish *Gitanos*, it is the *Calós* of Baja Andalucía that are most often referred to as 'flamencos' and 'Gitanos flamencos'; here the term 'flamenco' is used as a synonym of the 'authentic' Gypsy, flamenco and musical name. Those are currently, according to the flamenco guitarist of Cadiz, Pedro Peña:



Francisco
Iturrino,
Two Gypsies,
1901-1903

A community formed by some eight hundred families, mainly traditional musicians, who have inherited from our most remote ancestors the cultivation and secrets of a singular music tradition that has no comparison with any other in the world. Not only its heritage, but also, the culture that nurtures and supports it. (2012: 56)

Translation in the musical identity of the Spanish *Gitano*

The stereotyped image of the Spanish *Gitano* has meant that all the musical expression from the Spanish *Calós* has been embodied in the term 'flamenco'. This has happened by not differentiating the identity of the people from aspects of the musical genre or from their local community. More specifically, ethnic archetypes based on Gypsyism, were understood as the system of ideas that shaped the Spanish and western imaginary of the Gypsy. That, nourished by prototypical characters extracted from the romanticized Andalusian clichés, personified the image of *lo español* (the Spaniard) in Andalusia —the *Gitano* (the Gypsy) and non-*Gitano* Andalusian (non-Gypsy Andalus) — and, in this way, universalized the image of the Spanish *Caló* and the Andalusian *Gitano*, as being seen as one and the same.

The Andalusian *Gitanos* in Spain have been categorized as the 'most authentic' and the 'most exotic' *Gitano* group and, through a series of re-signification processes, these signifiers of 'authenticity' have been attributed to all of their musical manifestations. Therefore, flamenco is seen as the most 'authentic' Gypsy music, since it contains a greater number of musical parameters that link it with *Romani* musical identity⁵³.

With respect to ethnic relations, the Andalusian *Gitanos* through the 'flamenco' construct, have adopted a 'model' identity on the basis of which they set the standards of the interactions between the different subgroups of *Calós* in Spain. Furthermore, they have themselves become an identity brand of *lo español* (all the Spanish people); thus, they exhibit a dual ownership of the flamenco identity by representing all Spanish *Gitanos* and, also, the Spanish nation, as flamenco has been turned into a symbol of the country and an emblem of national musical identity.

Consequently, as with the 'flamenco' construct, and the idea of 'ser flamenco' (being flamenco) concept does not only refer to the musical genre itself, to know for example the repertoire of flamenco *cantes*, *toques* and dances; it also refers to a series of different social constructions that exist around this and that serve to differentiate between the Spanish *Calós*, between those who practice flamenco and those who do not, and, also, as a means of distinction between the Spanish *Calós* and the Gypsies of other countries, who do not know flamenco.

Let's present more thoroughly these social constructions: firstly, the Spanish *Gitanos* claim their Gypsiness, through their reference to 'flamenco'; for the latter

is seen as inherent to the definition of Gypsy identity. Yet, another process of signification occurs in which a parallel between the 'ser flamenco' mode (being flamenco) and the 'ser gitano español' mode (being a Spanish Gypsy) can be drawn and which transmits a strong element of Spanish-ness at the same time.

Secondly, 'ser flamenco' is seen as a quality label that grants authenticity, since flamenco has a greater cultural value in the music market in comparison to other Spanish Gypsy musical expressions. For example, the Catalan rumba performed by the Catalan *Gitanos* of Barcelona transmits, together with the musical variability, a kind of Gypsy-ness that attracts the media to the potential consumer market (Castro 2013).

However, making use of the 'ser flamenco' concept does not necessarily mean that the musical expressions performed by these *Gitanos* belong to the flamenco repertoire. That depends on the ethnic subgroup that performs them, since not all Spanish *Calós* know the characteristic musical parameters of flamenco, for example, the flamenco harmony or the distinctive metric cycles. In this light one can argue that *lo flamenco*, among some subgroups of Spanish *Calós*, is more a construct than an actual musical practice or expression.

Consequently, the adoption of the 'flamenco' concept as a representation of musical Gypsiness and in turn as an element that enhances traditional Spanish Gypsy culture is not related to the level of acculturation and integration of the different Spanish *Gitanos* subgroups; rather it happens in different degrees and can be represented as a scale which includes variables such as the use of the flamenco repertoire.

It is mainly the Catalan *Gitanos* and those of Castilla-La Mancha and Castilla-León, as well as of other peripheral Autonomous Communities, who are less knowledgeable about the flamenco repertoire, even though they still use the 'flamenco' and 'ser flamenco' concepts to reinforce their musical identity. Other subgroups of Spanish *Calós*, such as the Castillian *Gitanos* of Catalonia and those of Madrid or Valencia, with the majority of them having emigrated from other Autonomous Communities, preferably from Andalusia, make equal use of these concepts but they also know the flamenco repertoire as a whole. The *Gitanos* of Extremadura are closely linked to the flamenco styles of their territory more than to the rest of the flamenco repertoire, while the Andalusian *Calós*, especially those of Cadiz and Sevilla, are the ones who make greater use of the entire flamenco repertoire. Together with the repertoire they also make intense use of a rather essentialist concept of flamenco with references to the *cantehondo* (deep song) and *sonidos negros* (black sounds)⁵⁴.

Such an attitude can be seen as a result of adopting an exotic ethnic image, which although it reproduces the image produced by Gypsy-ism and romantic stereotypes, that allow them to obtain economic and symbolic benefits which

distance themselves from the degraded or stigmatised image they may have in the eyes of the dominant society (Okely, 1996).

As already explained, Spanish *Gitanos* call their diverse musical expressions and practices 'flamenco'. Some subgroups of *Calós* name themselves as 'flamencos', and attribute it to being equivalent to being *Gitanos*, although they do not play or sing flamenco. For them, the term 'flamenco' is equivalent to *Gitano*, and it is identified as being authentic and musical. It is in this sense that a significant part of the Spanish *Calós* use the category 'flamenco', because musically they distinguish the flamenco repertoire from the folk or popular one.

Conclusions

Flamenco, because of its uniqueness and complexity, is seen as the musical expression with the greatest visibility and has roots from all kinds of ethnic Spanish music. Its uniqueness is very much related to the *Gitano* people and its complexity was shaped by the symbiotic model of *Calós* and *Payos*. Without *Gitanos*, or the creative source of *lo andaluz*, there would never have been flamenco.

The musical identity of the Spanish *Gitano*, especially the Andalusian *Caló*, is embodied through flamenco. On the one hand, through a reworking and different stylization processes of musical loans adopted from folklore and Spanish musical theatre; on the other, it was formulated through the Gypsy musical contributions per se, according to the parameters common to the *Romani* people, and which materialized in the creation of unique and unrepeatable sounds structures that shaped the flamenco music system⁵⁵.

Flamenco cannot be separated from a series of interrelated concepts, such as those of the Andalusian, Gypsy and Spanish archetypes that have fuelled the flamenco business since its inception. These constructs continuously reproduce an exotic image of flamenco that is promoted by artists and businessmen in order to obtain greater economic and symbolic benefits. We see this happening by accentuating the *agitanado* (Gypsy-like) looks of the flamenco artists — Gypsies or not—, by promoting the romantic stereotype of freedom, and the idea of improvisation in the interpretation of flamenco, or by fixing the belief that flamenco is a non-fixed, spontaneous, music that is transmitted exclusively through oral tradition and through families, and that its performance embodies the conservation of tradition, purity and authenticity.

However, flamenco has obviously evolved a lot in the century and a half since its existence. These constructs —anchored in romanticism— serve more for enhancing the profitability of the commercial product than to explain and present in detail its reality. Behind that *agitanado*, romantic and stereotypical image of flamenco, a large number of individuals are hidden. Those include

those whose work more as a reflection of the multicultural identity that flamenco has today and serve as a means to unravel this Gypsy-Andalusian-Spanish prototype that is strongly linked with Flamenco.

Such plurality manifests itself in the different origins of the artists —singers, guitarists and dancers— from all the Spanish Autonomous Communities, and not only from Andalusia; in their different ethnic origins, *Gitanos*, *Payos* or mongrel. It also manifests itself among different nationalities, Spanish or other nationalities; through many different transmission methods —not exclusively through oral transmission. The transmission also takes place through complementary methods, as it happens with every kind of music of great complexity⁵⁶; and in the importance attributed to crossover musical practices that move away from traditionalism, processes that already exist in all the flamenco expressions, such as *cante*, *baile* and *toque*.

In short, the Spanish *Gitanos*, despite sharing a common culture and social organization, do not present a homogeneous way of constructing their musical identity. It greatly depends on the *Caló* subgroup and of course the dominant discourses. The *Gitano* subgroup that makes use not only of the flamenco concepts but also the knowledge of the flamenco repertoire for their musical expressions presents a greater variety in its musical expressions. This occurs since these subgroups are aware of the diversity of Spanish musical expressions and have the creativity to move between them all. From the most traditional flamenco —the *cantejondo*—, the flamenco crossover, the mixed flamenco repertoire, or the folkloric and popular forms of flamenco, all have their own unique identity. All have different methods of construction of Spanish Gypsy musical identity and all demonstrate their capacity for adaptation and survival so characteristic of the Spanish *Gitano* people.

Notes

1. Throughout the text, when referring to the Gypsies of Spain, Spanish terms are used interchangeably, such as *Gitano* (Gypsy man), *Gitanos* (Gypsy men), *Gitana* (Gypsy woman), *Gitanas* (Gypsy women) and *Payo* (non-Gypsy man), *Payos* (non-Gypsy men), *Paya* (Gypsy woman), *Payas* (Gypsy women) and in *Caló*, as *Caló* (Gypsy man), *Calós* (Gypsy men), *Calí* (Gypsy woman), *Calís* (Gypsy women), *Gachós* (non-Gypsy men) and *Gachí* (non-Gypsy woman). *Caló* is a variant of *Romano* spoken by the Gypsies of Spain although today, most Spanish Gypsies only speak Spanish. In the text when we refer to non Spanish Gypsies vs non-Spanish Gypsies, from the rest of Europe, the terms in English have been maintained, such as Gypsies, in French, as *Gitans* (Gypsy men) and *Bomians* (Gypsies with the mining of bohemians), or in *Romanó* (original language spoken by Gypsies), such as *Rom* (Gypsy man and also Gypsy husband), *Roma* (Gypsy men) or *Romani* (feminine term equivalent to the masculine *Romanó*).

2. See note 1.

3. Despite the Council of Europe's recommendations to the member states on the inclusion of the history of Gypsy people in pedagogical materials, there is an almost absolute absence of content about the Gypsy people in the school curriculum at different stages of the Spanish educational system, except in the Autonomous Communities of the Canary Islands, Valencia and Navarra that have recently included an explicit reference to the Gypsy people in the subject of the Social Sciences (Grupo Eleuterio Quintanilla, 1996). In Spanish universities there is also no specific master's degree on the Gypsy people, except for the subject «Gypsies of Spain. History and Culture» taught by the gypsy professor Araceli Cañadas Ortega from the course 2011-12 at the University of Alcalá de Henares.

4. See note 1.

5. See note 23 and 29.

6. See note 1.

7. These pioneering works, written in English and French, did not reach the Spanish reader as there was no translation into Spanish. So despite their early edition in the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century, they cannot be considered the beginning of the Spanish Gypsy studies. The first general publications by flamencologists occurred in the early 1980s.

8. The misinformation and ignorance about the Gypsy people among the Spanish population are the result, among others, of a lack of specialized studies and adequate didactics in the Spanish educational system, which make known the diversity and typology of the Gypsy people, in what leads to the reproduction in the Spanish collective unconscious an idea based on discriminatory prejudices that offer a stereotypical image of Roma linked to marginalization. This is the case in spite of the fact that the marginal *Gitana* community only make up 20% of the *Gitana* community, compared to 80% that are integrated and are not visible to the rest of Spanish society. See Laparra (2011).

9. The territorial division of the Spanish State in seventeen regions or Autonomous Communities are the result of the plurality of influences of the different peoples that have been occupying the Spanish territory along its history and that, in a first approximation, can establish a division between the regions located north or south of the country.

10. See note 1.

11. Of the total Gypsy population living in Spain, *Gitanos* are mainly concentrated in Andalusia (52.8%), Catalonia (9.8%), Madrid (9%), Valencia (7.5%), Castilla-La Mancha (3.1%) and Castilla-León (3.9%). The autonomous communities where the Gypsy presence is more residual are: Extremadura (2.3%), Basque Country (2.1%), Murcia (1.9%), Aragón (1.4%), Galicia (1.3 %), Asturias (1.2%), Navarra (1.1%), Balearic Islands (1.0%), La Rioja (0.8%), Cantabria (0.4%) and the Canary Islands (0.2%). See Laparra (2011).

12. In Andalusia at present the cities with the highest number of Gypsy population are Granada, Seville, Almería and Málaga, followed by Cádiz, and at a distance Córdoba, Jaén and Huelva; in the Murcian community, Murcia city; in Extremadura, Badajoz; in the Valencian community, the cities of Alicante and Valencia; in the Madrid community,

the capital Madrid and Catalonia are concentrated in Barcelona and, to a lesser extent, in Tarragona and Lérida.

13. In Seville, the neighbourhood of Triana; in Cadiz, the neighbourhood of Santa Maria; in Jerez, the neighbourhoods of Santiago and San Miguel; in Granada, the Sacromonte, and in Barcelona, the Catalan *Gitanos* have lived in the neighbourhoods of Hostafrancs, Gracia and El Raval.

14. The *gañanías* were houses for day workers in the fields of the Andalusian *cortijos*; in those, numerous intra-ethnic musical exchanges took place, as a result of the coexistence of different families of *Gitanos* coming from different areas or less frequently, of the co-presence of *Calós* and *Payos*.

15. See note 1.

16. The Gypsy people entered the Iberian Peninsula in the 15th century by two routes: one, crossing the Pyrenees from northern Europe and, another, through the Spanish Levante, crossing the Mediterranean from Greece. Gypsy culture has been part of Spanish culture for almost six centuries, but Gypsies did not acquire full rights in the Spanish state until the approval of the Constitution in 1978 in which the «equality of all Spaniards» was proclaimed (art. 14).

17. Flamenco is practiced and learned in practically all the Spanish provinces, in its threefold constitution of singing, guitar and dance. The spread and rise of flamenco artists, shows and contexts of interpretation have been increasing since their birth in the mid-19th century until today, with Andalusia, Madrid and Catalonia being the three communities in which there is a greater flamenco dynamic. Likewise, flamenco is Spain's main musical contribution to the world, both by tradition and by international diffusion, is a mark of the Spanish identity.

18. See Andre (1995), Castro (2013), David / Antonietto (1987), Davinova / Gelnar (1975), Hadju (1962), Kertész-Wilkinson (2000), Kovalcsik (2003), Leblon (1991), Pettan (2000), Radulescu (2000).

19. Jean Soler, Catalan *Gitano* from the Vernet district of the city of Perpignan in France.

20. See note 12.

21. 'Palos' is the term used in the flamenco vocabulary to refer to the different styles of *cante*, guitar and dance, according to the basic scheme recognized by the flamenco community.

22. The musical orientalism in flamenco refers to the ornamentation of the melodic line that the singer performs in the interpretation in some of the songs such as the *siguiriyá* which is its main characteristic. Among the stylistic aspects that are used when singing are *glosolalias* (nonsense syllables), known in flamenco as *ayeos* or *jipíos*; vibrato or trembling in the voice, such as *babeos* and *gagueos*, and melismas which is a group of notes emitted on a single syllable. See Castro (2012: 15-17).

23. 'Agitanamiento', action of agitation or agitation: 'Assuming a Gypsy condition and approaching customs that are typical of that ethnic group. It is said that it agitates the style of those who adopt Gypsy ways.' Gamboa, José Manuel and Núñez, Faustino (2007: 16).

24. The Autonomous Community of Andalusia groups its provinces in Lower Andalusia

-Cadiz and Seville-, Eastern Andalusia -Almeria, Jaen, Granada and Malaga- and Western Andalusia -Huelva and Cordoba-.

25. Andalusia is defined by having great cultural diversity derived from a rich history of miscegenation which came about when different peoples settled in that territory. Among the people who settled there, the Arab people stood out. They have been settled there for eight centuries.

26. See note 1.

27. See note 1.

28. The *tonadillas*, the *sainetes* and the *entremeses* were short and humorous (funny) theatre pieces in which dance numbers based on the recreation of Spanish folkloric forms could be interspersed. See Subirá (1950).

29. *Merengue* is a sweet made with egg white and sugar; *dengue* was a 'dance of blacks' that was danced in the Spanish theatrical repertoire, according to the African-American stereotypes that the *calís* interpreted on numerous occasions; *jaleo*, action to animate and also a dance of the time; *meneo*, noun of the verb *menear* (move) and *pandero*, an instrument similar to a drum.

30. The *seguidillas* and the *fandangos* are archetypal dances of Spanish folklore from the 18th century of popular origin and which also gave rise to musical works for guitar, such as the well-known *fandangos* from the guitarist Santiago de Murcia (1682-1735). The *zorongo* and the *tirana* were dances linked to Andalusian folklore that were accompanied by a couplet or letter of eight octosyllabic verses. All these dances, along with others such as the *polos*, the *olés* or the *zarabandas*, were first performed by the non-Gypsy Andalusian people and later the Gypsies adopted them and made them their own, rendering them in public performances and giving them their own interpretation that made them different from those performed by non-Gypsies. This is why they added the term 'a lo gitano' to the name of the dance to differentiate it from those that were non Gypsies. See Navarro (2008).

31. See note 22.

32. The *gitanos* dances were more energetic styles, among which the *zapateados* stood out, while the national dances were dances *de palillos*, of Andalusian character, such as *boleras*, *jaleo* or *seguidillas*.

33. The flamenco repertoire of singing in cafes in the second half of the 19th century consisted of styles such as *soleás*, *alegrías* and *tangos*, while Andalusian folklore was mainly configured through rhythmic *fandangos* and *seguidillas*.

34. The term 'cante hondo' or 'cante jondo' refers to the group of cantes of Gypsy origin from the set of the flamenco repertoire such as *tonás*, *siguiriyas* and *soleares*.

35. The name of the flamenco styles designates the style of *cante* together with the name of the person who created it (usually with his nickname); thus the *siguiriya* by Curro Dulce indicates the style of *siguiriya* together with the melodic version created by the singer Francisco Fernández 'Curro Dulce' or the *siguiriya* by Paco la Luz to that *siguiriya* created by Francisco de Paula Valencia Soto 'Paco la Luz'. The same happens with the style of

soleares recreated by María de las Mercedes Fernández Vargas 'La Serneta' or those by Francisco Antonio Jiménez Fernández 'Enrique el Mellizo'. All the named *cantaores* and *cantaoras* belong to the early days of flamenco in the last decades of the 19th century.

36. Flamenco adopted from local non-Gypsy folklore mainly tonal harmony, with major and minor modes, syllabic structure in melodies, the tempered use of the guitar as an instrument to accompany the voice, as well as numerous techniques and aesthetics of the Andalusian dances. The most Gypsy like characteristics of flamenco, detailed in the main text, are more evident in styles such as *tonás*, *soleá*, *siguiriyá*, *tangos* or *bulerías*, while there is a preponderance of the particularities of Andalusian popular folklore in styles derived from the *fandangos*, such as *malagueñas* and *granainas*, as well as *tarantas*, *guajiras* or *peteneras*.

37. Variations in flamenco are 'creations which differ from the model to which they belong, especially in slight variations in the melodic-harmonic or verse structure, but which maintain the principal parameters of the original model'. While the versions 'are creations close to the original model, which can only vary slightly from their melodic structure, according to the changes which orally transmitted songs experience, whereby personal creation is limited to modifications of the melody, without altering the other harmonic, and rhythmic musical parameters', Castro (2012: 4-5).

38. The characteristic Andalusian phonetic aspects of flamenco song are the *ceceo*, which occurs when the syllables *sa*, *se*, *si*, *so*, *su* are pronounced as *ʒ*, and the *seseo*, when the syllables *ʒa*, *ce*, *ci*, *ʒo*, *ʒu* are pronounced as *s*.

39. The terminology of 'cantes a compás' designates a set of flamenco singing styles that are governed by a determined rhythmic-metric structure, according to one of the four great flamenco metric subgroups: simple ternary measure with irregular accentuation in cycles of twelve times (*soleá*, *alegrías* and *bulerías*), simple ternary measure with regular accentuation in twelve-beat cycles (rhythmic *fandango*), binary and quaternary measure in eight-beat cycles (*tangos* and *tientos*), and alternate or amalgam measure in five-beat cycles (*siguiriyas*, *peteneras* and *guajiras*). See Castro (2012: 43-48).

40. The 'cantes libres' are those flamenco styles that lack a determined metric-rhythmic structure, such as the *toná* style and the natural *fandango* and its derivatives, although a certain internal rhythm can be found that coincides with the ternary measure for the *fandango* and with the alternate compass for the *toná*.

41. The style or model of the *soleá* has as variants the styles of the *cante*, such as the *polo* and the *bamblera*; of the *alegrías*, such as the *romera*, the *alegrías* of Córdoba, the *caracoles*, the *cantiñas* and the *mirabrás*, and of the *bulerías*, such as the *bulerías por soleá*, the *alboreá* and the *jaleos*. The rhythmic *fandangos* present the variants of the *rondeña*, the *verdial*, the *jabera*, the *fandango* of Huelva, the *fandango* of Lucena and of Cabra and the *zángano* of Puente Genil. The *tangos* and the *tientos* have, respectively, the styles of the *taranto*, the *colombiana*, the *vidalita* and the *rumba*, and of the *farruca*, the *garrotín*, the *mariana* and the *milonga*. Finally, the *siguiriyas* are made up of the *liviana*, the *serrana* and the *cabal*, while the *petenera* and the *guajira* do not adopt their own variants.

42. The variants of the *toná* style are the *martinete*, the *carcelera*, the *debla*, the *romance* and the *cantes de trilla*, while those of the *fandangos* and their derivatives are the *granaína*, the

media granaína, the *malagueña*, the *taranta*, the *cartagena*, the *murciana* and the *minera*.

43. *Tocaors* or guitarists; *bailaors* are dancers; *cantaors* are singers and *palmeros* are those who specialize in clapping, accentuating the rhythm and setbacks.

44. 'Flamenco makes use of the Doric Greek or Gregorian Phrygian scale in E descending, whose origin is in Greek cultural music. The distribution of the two contiguous Doric tetrachords descending and related to one another, determines the particular scale of the flamenco mode, with a distribution of the seven diatonic notes according to the scale of E because of the key signature, with two semitones between the VI and V and between the II and I, which makes the series of tones and semitones is T T S T T T S.' Castro (2012: 35).

45. Along with this group of *cantes* in flamenco mode, the flamenco repertoire contains a significant number of styles in major and minor mode, such as *tangos*, *bulerías* of Cádiz, *alegrías* or *guajira*, as well as bimodal styles, which go from flamenco mode to major mode, as are all *fandangos* and their derivatives.

46. George Borrow was an English writer who spread the reading of the Bible among the Spanish people. In his book *The Zincali* (1841) narrated the customs of music, language and society of the Gypsies of Extremadura, Castilla la Mancha, Valencia and Andalusia.

47. Alcalá La Real was part of the old Kingdom of Granada and currently belongs to the province of Jaén.

48. The Gypsies arrived in Barcelona in the middle of the 15th century from the south of France.

49. See note 1.

50. See note 17.

51 The meaning of flamenco as a way of life is from the *emic* point of view, that of the Gypsies themselves, while the *etic* the one that is attributed to it from the outside, gives the term flamenco the meaning of pimp, daring and braggart.

52. See note 1.

53. See chapter «The musical identity of the *Roma* people»

54. *Sonidos negros* (deeps sounds) are those sounds that correspond with un-tempered notes that provoke a deeper emotionality to the listener and are difficult to catalogue in the western musical system.

55. See notes 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 37.

56. About transmission methods in flamenco, see Castro (2018).

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Alfred Dehodencq,
A Gypsy Dance in
the Gardens of
the Alcázar, 1851.

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