El mal querer: Merging Flamenco with a Postmodern "Universe" of Meanings

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how the postmodern fusion of flamenco and non-flamenco elements in Rosalía's sophomore album, *El mal querer* (2018), not only justifies the artist's place within the "Experimental Generations" of flamenco fusion artists but also distances her from the rest. The thesis builds off the work of Carlos Morales Gálvez by centering its analyses around three of the album's video chapters; "Malamente," "Pienso en tu mirá," and "De aquí no sales." Through an exploration of the aural and visual manifestations of flamenco within these three video chapters, this thesis will first reveal how Rosalía aligns with other flamenco fusion artists through her ability to find a liminal space between flamenco's "traditions" and "innovations." The thesis will demonstrate how flamenco manifests itself in the album in ways that honor past forms and figures of flamenco while also cohabitating with non-flamenco elements in ways that allow it to adapt to the postmodern context of the album and the globalized context of our world. Then, through an analysis of the nature of flamenco's fusion with non-flamenco elements in the same three video chapters, the thesis will highlight the importance of Rosalía apart from other flamenco fusion artists. Unlike others, Rosalía's aural and visual melding of flamenco and non-flamenco elements creates an intertextual "universe" that gives global viewers the agency to create their own meanings alongside Rosalía.

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ways in which Spanish artist Rosalía's usage of flamenco in her album *El mal querer* (2018) establishes her within a genealogy of flamenco fusion artists while also distancing her from that same genealogy. By exploring the presence of the art form within three of the album's video chapters, this thesis will first demonstrate that Rosalía, like other flamenco fusion artists, has found ways to honor flamenco's "traditions," meaning its past notable performers and artistic styles, while also allowing flamenco to continue evolving with the globalized world around it. Yet, by also exploring the nature of flamenco's fusion with other non-flamenco elements in the same three video chapters, this thesis will subsequently reveal that the implications of Rosalía's eclectic combination of flamenco with other art forms and cultural references distances her from other flamenco fusion artists. Her aural and visual fusion of many distinct artistic and cultural elements lead it to become a "universe" of meanings which encourages viewers from around the world to contribute their own interpretations.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Siempre que hay una oleada de mala leche con un músico es que está pasando algo grande.

(Qtd. in "Entrevista en La Ventana" 00:15:22-00:15:27)

"¿Esto va a funcionar?" This is the question Rosalía's mother and sister repeatedly asked her leading up to her 2018 release of *El mal querer*. Rosalía was taking one of the biggest risks of her life. Despite not having money or the guarantee that her hard work would pay off, she was determined to complete the album and share her own version of flamenco fusion with whoever was willing to listen ("Rosalía Looks Back" 00:00:00-00:01:05). Her risk paid off. The album's release was a great success. After having only released two of the album's songs, she already had a gigantic poster in Times Square advertising the rest of the album (Guillén). Yet, her risk was also the fuel for many debates, such as whether she was culturally appropriating flamenco from *gitanos* (Alonso) or whether she was performing flamenco at all (Manuel 42-45). What was it about the album that provoked such extreme reactions? Why did it attract so much attention if flamenco fusion was nothing new? These are a few of the questions I hope to address in this thesis, in which I will illustrate how *El mal querer* is not just another flamenco fusion album, but also, a postmodern "universe" that encourages viewers around the globe to create an abundance of meanings.

Rosalía's Biography, Works, and Controversies

Rosalía Vila Tobella (1993-), who performs as Rosalía, grew up in the small Spanish town of Sant Esteve Sesrovires, a subset of the *comarca* of Baix Llobregat, in the province of

Barcelona and the autonomous region of Catalonia.[1] Despite living in the north of Spain, Rosalía found herself surrounded by Southern Spanish people and culture. This is a result of decades of migration from regions of Southern Spain to Catalonia, most notably between 1960 and the early 1970s, in response to inter-regional economic differentials (Bover and Velilla 8).[2] According to the *New York Times*, migration to Rosalía's hometown of Sant Esteve Sesrovires notably spiked a few decades after in response to the 1989 opening of a SEAT automobile assembly plant in the town (Valdes).

Rosalía's immediate family was not a part of these migration movements. Her mother was originally from Catalonia and her father was from Asturias, a region in northwestern Spain. Given this, they did not foster her current love for cultural elements associated with Southern Spain. Nevertheless, they did inspire her love for music. Her parents enrolled her in modern jazz dance classes when she was four and Rosalía claims to *Jezebel* to have many fond early memories of singing and dancing to artists her parents loved such as The Beatles and Queen

[1] The autonomous regions of Spain are most analogous to states in the U.S. since they have some degree of sovereignty independent of the national government. Political subdivisions of the autonomous regions, much like U.S. counties, are called provinces. Each province is further divided into administrative areas called *comarcas*.

[2] Olympia Bover and Pilar Velilla describe how the period of 1960 to 1973 in particular was marked by "strong economic growth with substantial regional imbalances" (8). Spain's climate was changing in this time period, but it impacted urban regions more positively than rural regions. Although the country had been a dictatorship since 1939 and remained so until 1975, this dictatorship had phases. As I discuss in Chapter 2, the initial years of the dictatorship were marked by poverty and economic isolation from the rest of the world; Spain was an autarky. Yet, by the latter half of the 1950s, the country was opening its doors to foreign trade and tourism. Policy changes in 1959 marked the beginning of the *milagro económico español*, a period of increased industrialization and growth of the economy; according to Luis E. Togores, "la economía [creció] de manera sostenida a una media del 7% desde 1959." As a result of these economic changes, urban areas were thriving and drew in people who lived in less prosperous rural areas. Bover and Velilla state that "people left rural and poor areas like Andalusia and Extremadura towards richer and more industrial zones like Madrid, Catalonia or the Basque Country" (8).

(Caraballo). She also indicates in an interview with *Pitchfork* music magazine that a family gathering when she was eight years old set her on the path towards a career in music. Her parents encouraged her to sing, and her singing caused everyone to cry. She recalls to the interviewer: "At the time, I didn't understand it. But later, with the passage of time, I thought, I have the power to communicate something, and I'd like to develop that. This is what I want to do with my life" (Sherburne).

Her proclivity towards music eventually merged with the environment influenced by Southern Spain that she found outside of her home, leading her to become enamored with flamenco. A writer for *The FADER* magazine details that "she started hanging out at the park with school friends who listened to this music, most of whom were part of the Andalusian [or, in general, Southern Spanish] diaspora" (Herrera). When asked by interviewers when and why she began to pursue flamenco, Rosalía always attributes it to one of these moments of listening to music with friends after school. She was 13 years old and heard Camarón de la Isla for the first time. This encounter was significant. During an MTV International interview, Rosalía describes Camarón as her "puerta de entrada" to the genre ("Inspired" 00:00:38-00:00:40). He was the first to provide a response to her question "What is flamenco?" ("Inspired"). The response she took from him was contradictory. She exclaims in an interview with *Vogue España*: "Nunca había escuchado una voz tan visceral y animal. Fue la expresión más pura que había oído en mi vida; tenía que investigar qué había detrás" (Ximénez). Yet, in the previously mentioned MTV International interview, she also states that Camarón made her realize flamenco's nature as a "vasto universo . . . que no te lo puedes acabar" ("Inspired" 00:00:40-00:00:47). Although it is unclear which of Camarón's performances she was initially exposed to, listening to him caused

her to view flamenco as not only raw and unadulterated, but also as something that can manifest itself in a limitless multitude of ways.

Before running with the experimental baton that Camarón handed her (see Chapter 3), Rosalía decided to focus on building her "traditional" flamenco foundation through academic study. As James Parker describes it in an article for *The Atlantic*, "Rosalía's encounter with Camarón launched an obsessive technical-emotional study of flamenco, years of apprenticeship and vocal coaching, a scholarly initiation." She began this journey at the age of fifteen by spending a year studying flamenco dance at La Tani dance school and subsequently studying music at the Taller de Músics in Barcelona (2010-2014), where she encountered José Miguel Vizcaya (alias El Chiqui de la Línea). Born in La Línea de la Concepción, within the Andalusian province of Cádiz, El Chiqui de la Línea was a well-known flamenco *cantaor de atrás* in the Barcelona flamenco scene who had worked in notable *tablaos* such as the Tablao de Carmen, and with artists such as Cristina Hoyos and Sara Baras (Vizcaya).[3] He doubled as an envied

[3] A *cantaor de atrás*, in literal terms, is a singer who stands behind the main performer (generally a *bailaor* or a *bailaora*) as an accompaniment figure. Although it is usually labeled as a "papel de apoyo," this is far from the truth. It requires special training and one must be able to "ajustarse al compás impuesto por los demás intérpretes" (Zatania). Estela Zatania revindicates it, stating: "de ninguna de las maneras se puede considerar a un cantaor de atrás como intérprete inferior, y de hecho, aquellos que evitan cantar para baile, siempre tendrán esa asignatura pendiente." Zatania adds that being a *cantaor de atrás* is a learning opportunity and a chance for *cantaores* to take risks they might not otherwise be able to as a soloist. She ultimately states that a *cantaor de atrás* can easily become a soloist, but soloists "tienen mucho que aprender antes de cantar para baile." A few notable figures who performed as *cantaores de atrás* are José Mercé (1955-), Fosforito (1932-), and Antonio Mairena (1909-1983) (Zatania). A *tablao* is a place where flamenco is performed. Not all, but many, are geared more towards tourist audiences, and often contrast with *peñas*, smaller flamenco settings frequented by locals. According to FlamencoBarroc, "los primeros tablaos empezaron a surgir a mediados del siglo XX como sustitutos de los antiguos cafés cantantes" and reached their "cúspide" in the 1960s. These first *tablaos* "sirvieron de trampolín para los artistas más importantes dentro del mundo flamenco" and *tablaos* in general have been important for the "recuperación y mantenimiento del arte flamenco" (FlamencoBarroc). According to *Andalucia.com*, *bailaora* Cristina Hoyos (1946-),

flamenco maestro who was teaching at both the Taller de Músics and the Catalonia College of Music (ESMUC). When Rosalía won the competitive opportunity to complete a degree in *cante flamenco* with him at ESMUC, she snatched it, leaving the Taller de Músics (Salicrú).

Under the direction of El Chiqui, she went from a complete flamenco amateur to an artist with the technique and knowledge to understand flamenco so that she could subsequently adjust it to meet her own artistic goals. She describes her initial moments with El Chiqui to *Entertainment Weekly*: "When I met him I didn't know anything; I just knew I loved this music [flamenco], and had to work very hard to understand, to learn how to sing it, and to learn the styles and the tradition" (Comingore). However, her knowledge quickly accumulated when she began intense training with him at least three or four times a week. In an interview with Clique TV, she accredits El Chiqui with teaching her everything—from learning how to listen to "el flamenco más antiguo" to becoming aware of flamenco's extensive range of styles, to understanding its complex amalgamated rhythms, to gaining humility ("Rosalía, buenamente" 00:04:13-00:05:53).

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born in Seville, Spain, rose to fame after becoming the lead dancer and choreographer for the flamenco dance company of esteemed dancer Antonio Gades (1936-2004) ("Cristina Hoyos"). She continued to excel after leaving the dance company in 1988, making her mark in cinema and also becoming director of the *Ballet flamenco de Andalucía* ("Cristina Hoyos," *Andalucia.com*). She has won various awards such as the *Medalla de oro de las Bellas Artes* ("Cristina Hoyos," *Academia de las Artes Escénicas de España*). According to Tony Bryant, *bailaora* Sara Baras (1971-), born in Cádiz, experienced great success in her career after joining *Gitanos de Jerez*, a company that was organized by the *tocaor* Manuel Morao (1929-). She soon after began to perform at notable events such as the Universal Exposition of Seville (1992) and the *Bienal de Flamenco* (1994). By 1997, she created her own "dance troupe" called *Ballet Flamenco de Sara Baras*, and has premiered many works with the group since. In recent years, she has become notable as a *bailaora* in cinema and television as well ("Sara Baras").

While in this process of developing her flamenco knowledge, she used what she already knew to forge a public image as a risk-taking flamenco artist.[4] She attracted widespread attention among Spanish audiences with the release of her first album, *Los Ángeles* (2017), in collaboration with Raül Fernández Miró (alias Raül Refree). She claims to *Jezebel* that she created this first album to respect the genre (Caraballo), yet also acknowledges in an interview with *The New York Times* that although "in 'Los Ángeles' you can find traditional lyrics, traditional melodies from flamenco . . . [there is a lack of tradition in] the way in which it's performed, both in the singing and the guitar and above all in the production (Valdes)." Rosalía's view of "respecting" the genre ran counter to the views of those who pushed for flamenco to remain fixed in an immutable past of "traditions" (see Chapter 3). In Rosalía's version of "respect," flamenco's "traditions" could cohabitate with innovation and personalization.

This decision to simultaneously honor "traditions" and question them led to a polarized response. Some media sources supported her work. For example, Guillermo Arenas, writing for *El País*, described her as "la cantaora que desafía todos los cánones  " and Juan Monge similarly called her "una cantaora que llegó para darle un hermoso revolcón a los aires flamencos." By labeling Rosalía a "cantaora," both of these critics link her to flamenco, and by using the emoji in the first title, and the adjective "hermoso" in the second, both also approach her risk-taking artistry in a positive manner. Others, however, claimed that the album was not flamenco, nor acceptable given Rosalía's non-gitano background, and, in an *El País* article, Guillermo Alonso indicates the frustration amongst some Andalusians that someone who was not

[4] Prior to releasing her own flamenco works, Rosalía collaborated with C. Tangana on the now-notable pop single "Antes de morirme" (2016), but its initial reception was insignificant. It took two years for the song to become well-known, after Rosalía's rise to fame had already begun. Thus, this song cannot be attributed as the reason for her national and international success, nor as the source of her artistic image.

from their region was receiving more visibility as a flamenco artist from media outlets than they were.

Despite the controversies sparked with the release of *Los Ángeles*, the album did not make her significantly stand out from other flamenco fusion artists. As I will discuss in Chapter 3, many before Rosalía had engaged in some form of musical flamenco fusion and received backlash from those who believed that flamenco must remain faithful to "traditions" (and considered these "traditions" and "innovations" to be mutually exclusive). Additionally, the album's acclaim remained within Spanish borders. The only music ranking chart on which *Los Ángeles* was included was spanishcharts.com, which is exclusive to Spanish singles and albums, and *Los Ángeles'* peak position was #9 ("Los Ángeles"). This is insignificant in comparison to some of other flamenco fusion artists from the latter 20th and early 21st centuries.[5]

Shortly after completing *Los Ángeles*, Rosalía would gain inspiration for *El mal querer*, an album that, as I will soon purport, did distance her from other flamenco fusion artists.[6] As detailed in *ABC Cultura*, the album took form after a conversation between Rosalía and Pedro Romero about the 13th-century French literary text, *Flamenca* (Rodrigo). The story is based upon the concept of "courtly love," a type of love that may appear pure and exalted on the surface but hide darker motivations (Moore 622-24). At one point in the conversation, Romero recalled the 13th-century Provençal romance *Flamenca* and proposed it to Rosalía as a potential source of

[5] To provide a few examples, Chambao had multiple albums within the top 5 and the album of Niño de Elche titled *Fuerza Nueva* reached #2.

[6] It is important to mention that *El mal querer* was ultimately the result of Rosalía's end-of-degree project at ESMUC.

inspiration.[7] The title of the novel is deceiving as it does not have any direct connection to flamenco. Yet, it does expose the constructed nature of "courtly love." It tells the story of how a man named Lord Archambaut locks up his wife, Flamenca, in a tower because of his jealous suspicions about her relationship with the King of France. She is rescued by a second man, Guillem de Nevers, with whom she ends up falling in love, and they maintain a secret relationship. After some time passes, Lord Archambaut's jealousy subsides, resulting in his decision to release Flamenca from her tower and the end to Flamenca and Guillem's adultery. The final pages of the story are missing, leaving the ultimate fate of Flamenca a mystery (Rodrigo).

The toxic relationship between Flamenca and Lord Archambaut, more so than any other part of the story, becomes the foundation for *El mal querer*. As she tells *Europa Press*, her focus for the album, inspired by this relationship, was exploring "un amor oscuro, [un] amor con aristas" and the question of "si hemos cambiado nuestra forma [de amar y de relacionarnos], o hemos aprendido o no, a lo largo de los siglos" ("Rosalía confiesa" 00:00:21-00:00:38). In order to best reflect on these ideas, she portrays one male and one female character and creates a concept album.[8] She gives each song in the album two names; one for the song and one for the

[7] The work can be best described as a "romance," which Merriam-Webster defines as "a medieval tale based on legend, chivalric love and adventure, or the supernatural" ("Romance"). There are discrepancies over the publication date, author, and genre classification of *Flamenca*. Although Rosalía refers to it as a 14th-century work, most scholarly sources agree that it originates sometime in the 13th century, leading me to indicate as such. Additionally, there is no widespread agreement on the author, so I have chosen to omit any author references. See "Flamenca Project" by Olga Scrivner et al. for more information.

[8] A concept album is one in which the songs are weaved together by a central meaning or narrative, rather than being isolated works.

chapter of *Flamenca* that the song is meant to loosely depict.[9] Additionally, she designs each song to form part of a whole narrative structure. Consumers must familiarize themselves with the entire album in order to best understand Rosalía's version of the story. The feminist inspiration shapes Rosalía's version in a way that compensates for the missing ending of *Flamenca*. Although the presence of toxic male jealousy is very present in the early chapters of the album, everything from powerful female backup dancers to the female character's redemptive victory over the male within the early chapters foreshadows the ultimate triumph of the woman over the man in the album's last chapter.

In order to tell her story, Rosalía departs from flamenco elements, but fuses them with everything from the Bratislava Symphony Orchestra to the electronic synthesizer. She also extends her artistic creativity beyond singing and instrumental accompaniment. She expresses herself through many different mediums; everything from her clothing choices to music videos that contain culturally significant visual symbols (see Chapter 3). Multiple outcomes have stemmed from her eclectic combination of references.

The first result, as previously mentioned, is that *El mal querer* skyrocketed Rosalía to global fame. Soon after the album's full release on November 2, 2018, it peaked at #1 on spanishcharts.com for 74 weeks (beginning on November 11), and its impact was so profound that it almost instantaneously reached Latin American audiences. It peaked at #10 on Billboard's "Top Latin Albums" and #1 on Billboard's "Latin Pop Albums" on November 17, and also won two Latin Grammys the following November (in 2019). Despite singing in Spanish, her success

[9] Malamente (Cap. 1: Augurio); Que no salga la luna (Cap. 2: Boda); Pienso en tu mirá (Cap. 3: Celos); De aquí no sales (Cap. 4: Disputa); Reniego (Cap. 5: Lamento); Preso (Cap. 6: Clausura); Bagdad (Cap. 7: Liturgia); Di mi nombre (Cap. 8: Éxtasis); Nana (Cap. 9: Concepción); Maldición (Cap. 10: Cordura); and A ningún hombre (Cap. 11: Poder). In this thesis, I will use the name of the song (e.g., "Malamente") to refer to each part of the album.

also quickly reached non-Spanish-speaking audiences. Among other awards, *El mal querer* won a U.S. Grammy in 2020. Rosalía states herself that the album was "un antes y un después" ("ROSALÍA EN ENTREVISTA" 00:07:10-00:07:11) in that it opened doors for her not only as a professional who quickly rose to fame, but also as a person, because she gained cultural competence and learned to view music in a manner even more unbarred than before.

The second result of Rosalía's eclectic combination of references is that the album aggravated present controversies. One of the controversies was cultural appropriation. Some gitanos have taken to social media to speak against Rosalía and *El mal querer*, claiming that she is taking advantage of the gitano aesthetic to gain fame in flamenco without giving the group credit for the genre or their own visibility. Noelia Cortés (@thelazaruslady) states on Twitter: "si nos aprecias intenta dar voz a nuestro pueblo y no pisarnos y llevarte las flores tú . . . tu flamenco, que no lo es, sabe a pestañas postizas y a paya randaora." *El País* made an entire video filled with gitanos and scholars expressing their lack of approval with the album. Within the video, Araceli Cañadas states that "se pone en duda la creación gitana del flamenco por una cuestión evidentemente de racismo" (Rosati 00:00:43-00:00:50). There also continues to be a broader controversy over whether any parts of the album can be considered flamenco and whether her interpretations of flamenco benefit or hurt the genre, with her adversaries making comments such as "ROSALÍA IS NOT A FLAMENCO CANTAORA" (emphasis in the original, qtd. in Manuel 42) or "Mozart didn't need to be updated, and he still has a place on the hit parade" (Zatania qtd. in Manuel 43), and with her supporters making comments such as "Flamenco has been waiting for a phenomenon like Rosalía to return it to the places it has lost: contemporaneity, and the young" (Manuel 43).

The juxtaposition of adoration and criticism towards *El mal querer* has led to the third result; scholars have begun to take notice of the album.[10] Peter Manuel has studied the nature of the controversies surrounding Rosalía as she rose to fame. He purports that "underlying the Rosalía polemic is a set of tensions inhering to flamenco's social history and current status" (34). He develops this idea by stating that some attack Rosalía for her racial or ethnic background because flamenco "remains strongly embedded in [a] domestic and ethnic minority subcultural tradition[s]" (which she is not a part of) (35) and that others continue to attack her for finding a liminal space between "traditions" and "innovations" because they are afraid that "traditional" flamenco is "perpetually threatened by commercial fads and ephemeral hybrids" (which includes *El mal querer* but also includes all other flamenco fusion projects) (36). In sum, Manuel believes that Rosalía has attracted negative attention not because of herself or her "aesthetic merit" (42), but rather, because of broader social issues surrounding flamenco and historical efforts to "establis[h] [its] definitions and boundaries" (36) (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Carlos Morales Gálvez has examined the other half of the paradox—the reasons underlying Rosalía's rapid rise to fame. Inspired by the research of Susan Auty and Charlie Lewis (2004) as well as Philip Tagg (2013: 238), Morales Gálvez has argued that the album drew so much attention because it includes a diverse range of both aural and visual flamenco and non-flamenco elements that can attract a wide audience. He hypothesizes that "si el público está previamente familiarizado con la idea que se intenta transmitir en un producto, entonces existe una mayor probabilidad de consumirlo" (6) and attempts to demonstrate this hypothesis through

[10] As I note in the Conclusion, a collection of essays surrounding *El mal querer* have recently been published (*Ensayos sobre el buen querer*). However, given that it was not published until March 2021 and that it is only directly sold in Spain, I was unable to get access to it in time to dialogue with it in my thesis (submitted to the committee in April 2021).

an analysis of the mixture of flamenco and other elements within one of the album's video chapters, *Di mi nombre*. He aims to expose how the wide range of elements in the album retain their prior intertextual connotations while also evoking active interest and engagement on the part of the viewers (17).

This thesis serves as both an extension to and adaptation of Morales Gálvez' analytical approach. Like Morales Gálvez, I will focus my analysis on the album's video chapters, given their higher sensory input, but unlike Morales Gálvez, I will aim to expose how Rosalía has created a "universe" that encourages and allows global viewers to work alongside her in creating a multiplicity of meanings surrounding the album's storyline. Given the constraints of a Masters thesis, I will be unable to study all of the remaining video chapters, and will thus focus my effort on studying both visual and non-visual flamenco and non-flamenco elements within the three video chapters I consider most important: "Malamente," "Pienso en tu mirá" and "De aquí no sales."

Structure of the Thesis

In this thesis, I will situate Rosalía within a timeline of a constantly evolving flamenco and a genealogy of flamenco fusion artists who have responded to this evolutionary nature. I will also illustrate why *El mal querer* should be considered separately.

Providing background information regarding flamenco's key evolutions, artists, and debates will be crucial in order to foster a deeper understanding of both the art form and what Manuel has called the "Rosalía phenomenon" (33) and to equip us to analyze *El mal querer*. Thus, the following chapter of this thesis, "What is Flamenco?," provides a backdrop of the ways in which flamenco has been shaped over time by both the individual and larger social contexts.

This *recorrido* will begin with an examination of the complexities and controversies surrounding flamenco's origins. After establishing flamenco's heterogeneous origins, the *recorrido* will discuss the ways in which flamenco became consolidated, codified, and commodified in the 1800s with the rise of the entertainment spaces called *cafés cantantes.* The rest of the *recorrido* will address the continuous tensions surrounding flamenco as it has evolved from the 1800s to now among those who wish to combat the "decadence" of commercialism by "purifying" the art form, those who wish to "commodify" the art form, and those who wish to free flamenco from codification or repression by allowing it to mingle with other genres and cultural influences. At the end of the *recorrido*, I will highlight the most recent movements towards fusing flamenco with other elements (which some term "Nuevo Flamenco") as simply another evolution of the art form in response to globalization and postmodernity.

In Chapter 3, "The 'Experimental' Generations," I pick up where I leave off in Chapter 2 by highlighting ways in which flamenco fusion artists have responded to these contemporary social contexts while continuing to honor the "traditions" of past manifestations of the art form. After discussing the impact of free market trade and technology on flamenco and other cultural products (within the larger scope of globalization and postmodernity), I provide an understanding of one of the main criticisms that flamenco fusions artists of the late 20th and early 21st centuries have faced; that by "innovating," they are abandoning the art form's "traditions" (meaning, they are not faithfully obeying and reproducing the specific set of artistic practices established by their *antepasados*). Through an exploration of the lives and works of a few key flamenco fusion artists of the late 20th century who laid the groundwork for modern day fusion practices (Enrique Morente, Paco de Lucía, and Camarón de la Isla), I will demonstrate how the terms "tradition" and "innovation" are too complex to be placed into a binary. These flamenco

fusion artists, as well as many fusion artists that have come after, fall into a liminal space between "traditions" and "innovations." I will end the chapter by situating Rosalía within these "Experimental" Generations for also falling into this liminal space, but I will distance her from the other fusion artists for her ability to create a postmodern "universe" of meanings within *El mal querer*. I will discuss how the album's reliance on a multiplicity of artistic mediums as well as artistic and cultural references leads to the creation of a "universe" of intertexts which engages viewers around the world.

Chapter 4, "Flamenco and the Postmodern 'Universe' in *El mal querer*," builds upon the research of Morales Gálvez with an analysis of three separate video chapters within the album; "Malamente," "Pienso en tu mirá," and "De aquí no sales." Just as Morales Gálvez, I will study the ways in which Rosalía allows flamenco to pervade the album as well as mix together with other elements. However, unlike Gálvez, who emphasizes how the diversity of elements that the album includes allows it to draw in many types of viewers, I will be focusing on how Rosalía melds flamenco and non-flamenco elements together in a way that encourages global viewers to work alongside her in forming the album's postmodern "universe" of meanings and interpretations.

Together, these chapters illustrate the importance of Rosalía and *El mal querer* in the overall history of flamenco fusion and point out potential reasons underlying the album's paradoxical success and criticism. Rosalía's album may be eclectic, but as I will soon demonstrate, it is still founded on flamenco. Her album may be controversial, but this is only further evidence that her "universe" of meanings is working.

Chapter 2: What is Flamenco?

> El flamenco es como un tapiz que se construye a partir de varios trocitos de tapices.
>
> José Luis Rodríguez (qtd. in Márquez 260)

What is Flamenco?

While contemplating the evolution of flamenco, Niurca Márquez asked the crucial question, "Can we view flamenco as a single art form or are there many flamencos?" (260). Similarly, while exploring flamenco's ties to the Spanish nation, William Washabaugh asked: "How can flamenco be represented or even discussed if there is no flamenco 'thing' to represent or discuss?" (*Flamenco Music* 19).[11] These questions reflect the historical difficulties in defining "flamenco," as it has been designated as everything from "una filosofía de vida" (Grimaldos "Introducción"), to "a Gitano invention" (Mairena as described by Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 34), to a "purely Andalusian" music (de Falla and García Lorca as described by Holguín 168), to a "celebrat[ion of] the pessimism and apathy that hopelessly hinders social and economic modernization" (Noel as described by Venegas 62), to a "postnational art complex" (Martin 43).[12]

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[11] According to Washabaugh, flamenco is not a "cultural object" that can be claimed by a select few (in the context of his discussion, Andalusians). Yet, by posing this question, he also recognizes the readers' potential concerns of being able to talk about "flamenco" without defining it in concrete terms (without attributing "perduring objectivity" or "cultural 'thingness'" to it). In order to resolve this dilemma, with inspiration from Peter Manuel (2006), Washabaugh proposes to view flamenco through "tokens" (a manifestation of flamenco in a particular moment of time that "passes the test of being called flamenco by most folks") (19). In this way, one can have a "rough" idea of the "flamenco terrain" without needing a specific definition (19).

[12] Eugenio Noel (1885-1936) was an *antiflamenquista*, meaning that he was against the "degrading Andalusian folklore" (Venegas 61) that foreigners considered to be the essential characteristics of Spain as a whole. Noel believed that these stereotypes "distilled all that was

Given this complexity attached to the term "flamenco," my goal of this chapter is not to ascribe a particular definition to the term. Rather, the goal is quite the opposite. Through a *recorrido* of some of flamenco's most important historical markers and the exploration of some of the meanings the term "flamenco" has come to signify, I will use this chapter to emphasize the diversity of flamenco's manifestations and how it has been shaped over time by both the individual and its surrounding social contexts. It is important to emphasize that this *recorrido* is not exhaustive. Given the complexity of the term "flamenco" and the time and space limitations due to the nature of this research, there are many elements I could discuss further that I have decided to leave aside.

Origins of Flamenco

Although many have attempted to uncover the "origins" of flamenco, it has not been an easy task. This is for multiple reasons. The first is because flamenco arose as an oral tradition. As Alfredo Grimaldos puts it, flamenco "es un arte de transmisión oral que, durante mucho tiempo, se ha preservado, fundamentalmente, en el seno de grandes dinastías gitanas de la Baja Andalucía, transmitiéndose de generación en generación en el ámbito familiar y el barrio" ("Introducción"). There are a few implications to flamenco being an oral tradition. The first is that we do not have historical records that detail when the first performance was, where it took place, and who was there. The best we can do is create "approximate" or "uncertain" accounts (Hayes, *Flamenco* 29). The second implication is that flamenco varied greatly in its manifestations. As Grimaldos indicates, every family and community lived different lifestyles

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wrong with Spain," such as "ignorance" and "backwardness" (Holguín 76), and that flamenco perpetuated these stereotypes (Venegas 62). Unless *flamenquismo* was eliminated, Noel felt that Spain could never reform (Holguín 75).

and performed flamenco with an "aire propio," and flamenco molded into different forms as it migrated over time between different social and geographical contexts ("Introducción"). The *cantaor* (flamenco singer) Fosforito (1932-) similarly states that flamenco "es una herencia verbal que se va legando de unos a otros, generación tras generación, pero a través de las facultades de cada cual se van modificando y los cantes no son iguales ahora que hace dos siglos" (mentioned in *Camarón Revolution* 00:41:42-00:41:54).[13] Thus, even if we did have written records of flamenco's first performance, not only would these documents be an indirect and potentially biased look at what happened, but they also would not be able to represent flamenco's diversity and ties to daily lives.

This leads to the second and related reason as to why it has not been an easy task to determine the "origins" of flamenco; because flamenco is not a singular art form. Although the 19th century established flamenco as consisting of *cante* (flamenco singing), *baile* (flamenco dancing), and *toque* (flamenco guitar), each of these artistic elements emerged at different points in time with their own antecedents.

Cante was the first element believed to have emerged. It "evolved from various song styles (*palos*) pre-dating the art complex itself" (Martin 31); *palos* which themselves numbered in the hundreds and which were "developed within specific communities or were popularized by

[13] Fosforito, born in Córdoba, Spain as Antonio Fernández Díaz, was a *cantaor* whose career took off after he won "every prize in the non-professional section of the Córdoba Concurso de Cante Jondo" in 1956 (Bryant, "Famous Flamenco"). His career was marked by his determination to "preserv[e] old styles of cante" as well as his composition of his own lyrics, "something rarely done by other flamenco singers" (Bryant, "Famous Flamenco"). In addition to winning the 1956 Córdoba Concurso de Cante Jondo, his notable awards include *El Premio Pastora Pavón* in 1999 and the fifth *Llave de Oro* in 2005 (Bryant, "Famous Flamenco").

individuals" (Hayes, *Flamenco* 30).[14] For example, Grimaldos posits that the *palos* "más primitivos" ("*tonás*, *seguiriyas*, *romances*, *livianas* . . .") existed among the gitanos of *la Baja Andalucía* prior to the nineteenth century ("Capítulo 3"). However, the first written records of *cante* did not appear until the late 18th century, making it difficult to know when exactly this flamenco element took shape. Many (such as Carrasco Benítez, Martin, and Holguín) view the 1789 document *Cartas Marruecas* as proof that some form of what we now call *cante* existed prior to the 19th century, as it narrates a singing, dancing, and castanet performance at a *juerga gitana* (Holguín 33).[15] Another document which indicates that some form of *cante* existed prior to the 19th century is *Colección de cantes flamencos* (1881) by Antonio Machado y Álvarez (pen name Demófilo) (1848-1893). This document was a written culmination of the many years he spent observing and cataloging singing performances and lyrics. Within *Colección de cantes flamencos*, he coined the term "*cante flamenco*," thus establishing *cante* as an "official" art form

[14] *Palos* can generally be defined as song styles around which *cante*, *toque*, and/or *baile* performances are structured. However, they have multiple artistic variations as a result of the wide variety of social and geographical contexts in which they were born. William Washabaugh analyzes the many different representations of *palos* in the 100-episode Spanish documentary *Rito y Geografía del Cante* (RGC). He illustrates how *palos* can artistically vary based on aspects such as the emotions with which they are associated, whether they are performed in the Phrygian mode (also called the "Gypsy scale" for its dark tone and lowered second scale degree) or a tonal key, and whether they are performed in a 12-beat *compás* (rhythmic structure) called the "Andalusian rhythm," conventional time signatures such as 4/4, or without a specific rhythmic pattern (*Flamenco Music* 20-22).

[15] A *juerga gitana* was an intimate party in which gitanos generally performed for wealthy *señoritos* (Holguín 33). Although this portion of the paper is focusing on the origins of *cante*, one cannot ignore the tensions surrounding the *juerga gitana* in terms of power differences. "Gitanos" is a term used to describe an ethnic group who migrated to Spain in the 15th century and who have ever since been a "persecuted minority" (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 74). Although the term itself can be problematic given that the group is not monolithic, the *juerga gitana*, nevertheless, reminds us of the complex position that many gitanos have historically experienced in Spanish society; as "authentic" or "natural" when on the stage and as lower class and inferior when off the stage (Cruces Roldán, "Normative Aesthetics" 218).

prior to the 1900s and paving the way for subsequent academic study of *cante* and flamenco as a whole (Holguín 275n38).[16]

Toque was the second element of flamenco that is believed to have emerged. Sandie Holguín traces how the European guitar began to develop an identity apart from the lute family starting in the Renaissance (29-30). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, after undergoing multiple transformations, the guitar had fully formed as its own "species" and was split into classical guitar (generally reserved for upper classes) and popular guitar (generally reserved for lower classes) (29). By the mid-nineteenth century, the popular guitar became the instrument of choice within a flamenco context (31).[17] Although *toque* does not necessarily have as many antecedents as *cante* and *baile*, it similarly went through multiple evolutions and was influenced by multiple people.

Baile was the last element believed to have fully developed. Although Marta Carrasco Benítez concurs with popular opinion that *cante* existed prior to *toque* and *baile*, she does point out that the first "non-oral document of flamenco's origins," the short story "La Gitanilla" (1613) by Miguel de Cervantes, features a *bailaora* (flamenco dancer) (33). Grimaldos refers to another

[16] Demófilo, born in Santiago de Compostela, Spain, was not only important due to his cataloguing of early *cante* styles. He was also notable for "atribu[ir] a los gitanos la paternidad de lo que hoy conocemos como cantes básicos, el corazón del flamenco" (Grimaldos "Capítulo 3"). He believed that the "primitivo carácter y originalidad" of the earliest manifestations of *cante* were increasingly lost as flamenco gained its place in the *cafés cantantes* among non-gitanos ("Capítulo 3"). These arguments set the stage for those of others later in history, such as Antonio Mairena and many flamencologists in the mid-20th century (discussed later within this chapter).

[17] Popular guitar, unlike classical guitar, was made with inexpensive materials and did not require as much technique as single finger plucks (*el estilo rasgueado*, in which you can use multiple fingers at once to strum quickly, was acceptable in popular guitar). Thus, it was more accessible to the general public (Holguín 30).

seminal work, *Voyage de Figaro, En Espagne* by José Jerónimo Fleuriot (1784), in which Fleuriot describes the performance of a *bailaora gitana* as igniting "el asombro, la admiración [y] la voluptuosidad," and causing even the "anacoreta" to "[perder] la cabeza, palpita[r], y acaba[r] dando al diablo con sus lechugas, su hábito y sus sandalias" (qtd. in "Capítulo 12").[18] Thus, we know that, just like *cante*, some version of *baile* existed prior to the nineteenth century. Additionally, just as *cante* and *toque*, *baile* has many different geographic- and group-based antecedents. Some, such as Allen Josephs, make connections between *baile* and temple prostitute dancers in Cádiz, Andalusia, during Greek and Roman rule. Others, such as Donn Pohren, trace *baile* back to the classical Indian dance *kathak* (referenced in Hayes, *Flamenco* 35, 69). Tenley Martin argues that *baile* "was most likely influenced by centuries of folk and popular dance forms that came into contact with Andalucía" (33), and Cristina Cruces Roldán states that *baile* arose from "popular couples dances . . . *bailes de candíl* . . . boleros, Afro-American musics and dances, Gitano dances, and more" ("Normative Aesthetics" 212), showing that the sources that influenced the development of *baile flamenco* were heterogeneous.

This brings us to the third and last reason as to why it has not been an easy task to uncover the "origins" of flamenco; because of the friction between flamenco's inextricable link to migration (cultural exchange) and attempts that some have made to root it to certain group identities. There is broad consensus that the musical styles that came to be called flamenco in the 19th century emerged within Southern Spain. Many cultures came into contact with this region,

[18] Note that Grimaldos does not mention the name of the work, simply the author and the era in which it was written ("A finales del siglo XVIII"). Thus, some outside investigation was required to pair the information Grimaldos provides with the title of the work. Also note that Jerónimo Fleuriot was French and this late 18th century excerpt could be considered as reflecting a budding movement (more widespread and overt in the 19th century) in which international tourists visited Spain and exoticized *baile* (see page 25 of this chapter for more information).

such as "Gitanos, Spanish, Jewish, Moors, nineteenth-century Romantic composers, and Latin American[s]" (Martin 6), and as previously mentioned, we do not have authoritative documents of flamenco's initial performances. Yet, despite this, many (as I discuss below) have formed their own historical discourses of flamenco that center around certain ethnic, cultural, or class-based groups (in particular, Andalusians, gitanos, and/or the lower classes) at the exclusion of others.

Part of the reason for this tendency towards forming group-bound flamenco discourses could be attributed to the nature of flamenco's first element, *cante*. The lyrics of *cante* have consistently been characterized by their ties to deep emotions and life experiences.[19] Oftentimes, the pain and suffering of the lyrics are reflections of an artist's personal feelings and experiences. For example, *cantaor* Manolito el de María (1904-1965) stated: "Cuando canto, me acuerdo de lo que he vivido," and Tía Anica La Piriñaca (1899-1987) proclaimed: "Cuando canto a gusto, la boca me sabe a sangre" (mentioned in Grimaldos "Introducción").[20] However, on other

[19] Martin states that the lyrics, which can be self-written or learned through anonymous oral transmission or poetry, "are often of unrequited love, persecution, death, loss, political dissent, and (occasionally) happiness" (32). Of note is Martin's choice to place "occasionally" within parentheses; it emphasizes the tendency of the lyrics' roots towards pain and suffering. The intense emotions of the lyrics are, on a more general level, exuded through *la queja*, which Grimaldos calls "la autenticidad del cante" ("Capítulo 12"), and are, on a more specific level, communicated through techniques such as melismas, irregular vibrato, and the presence of imperfections and variations in the timbre of the voice (such as *voz afilá*) (Merchán Higuera 43).

[20] Grimaldos asserts that no two performances of *cante* are alike, revealing its very personal nature. He also claims that "En los cantes raramente se relatan historias completas, de principio a fin" but rather, that each "tercio" (a "section or passage of cante" ("Tercio")) tends to contain "una reflexión o un recuerdo aislado" ("Introducción"). Grimaldos notes that this fragmented nature of *cante* differentiates it from *canciones* (songs), which tell complete stories in an often linear fashion ("Introducción"). Washabaugh supports these statements by explaining how the performer often spontaneously decides how many verses to sing and what unrelated themes to string together, thus making the performance into a "collage" that challenges listeners to construct their own interpretations (*Flamenco Music* 22).

occasions, the "poso de rebeldía, fruto de la persecución y la marginación" exhibited in the lyrics have often been used as evidence for arguments towards the suffering faced by the above-mentioned groups (Grimaldos "Introducción").

Washabaugh outlines four main historical arguments that have tied *cante* and flamenco as a whole to collective identities: the "Andalusian" argument, the "Gitano" argument, the "populist" argument, and the "sociological" argument (*Flamenco: Passion* 32). The "Andalusian" argument, furthered most notably by the Andalusian nationalist Blas Infante (1885-1936), states that although flamenco may have been in contact with various social groups, in its "true" or "pure" manifestation it was a "fully-formed and deeply-rooted Andalusian cultural style" by the late 1700s (*Flamenco: Passion* 32) and was a platform used by the Andalusian to "concretiz[e] the experience that is fundamental to himself and to the world" (González Climent qtd. in Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 33).[21] The "Gitano" argument, strengthened first by figures such as Demófilo and Federico García Lorca (1898-1936), and then

[21] Blas Infante spent his life fighting "to show the real Andalusia behind orientalist abstractions and to invert their negative connotations" (Venegas 23). He believed that Andalusia and its Moorish heritage was, in fact, the key to modernizing both the region and Spain (23). He led a movement towards "labor reform, land distribution, and political independence" (36) that aimed to give power to the "exploited Andalusian peasantry" (45) and free Andalusia from corrupt centralist politics (23). He viewed flamenco in particular as a link between this Andalusian peasantry and oppressed Moriscos and asserted that the art form would be "more accurate than any electoral law in finding the true representatives of the Andalusian people" (Infante qtd. in Venegas 45). Given all of this, years after his death, in 1983, the Andalusian regional government declared that Blas Infante was the "Father of Andalusia." The "Andalusian" or *andalucismo* argument pushed by Infante has been strengthened in recent years with flamenco's 2010 placement onto UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Washabaugh says that flamenco became a "marker of Andalusian identity and a patrimonial symbol of Andalusian autonomy" (*Flamenco Music* 7). This view was not universally accepted, however. Gerhard Steingress, for example, claims that the Spanish, and more specifically, Andalusians and gitanos, are not monolithic groups and do not all claim flamenco as a "'marcador' de su identidad" ("El flamenco" 54).

by Antonio Mairena (1909-1983), is that "flamenco is the ethnic music of Gitanos" (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 15, 34).[22] It states that gitanos isolated themselves from society as a result of the persecution they suffered and flamenco was "developed and preserved in [this] subterranean form" (Mairena qtd. in Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 34). The "populist" argument relates less to ethnicity and more to "the structural conditions of oppression in which people find themselves" (36). This argument views flamenco as a more general "voice of opposition" (36). The last argument, the "sociological" argument, claims that flamenco "is a spectacle through which oppressed people voice their misery in such a way as to evoke expressions of guilt-driven pity from wealthy listeners" (37). Flamenco serves not only as a "spectacle," but also as a "double catharsis" that "expos[es] and reliev[es] both the pain of the poor and the guilt of the wealthy" (37). According to this argument, flamenco ultimately aids politics and economics in "blur[ring] the vision and numb[ing] the mind of people" (37). Ultimately, the poor performers and the wealthy audience walk out of a flamenco performance relieved of their "psychological burdens" and convinced to remain "content with the world as it is" (37). There is some potential overlap between these categories, which Washabaugh later discusses (*Flamenco: Passion* 74-75), but nonetheless, it helps us to understand the many ways

[22] Among other important scholars who supported the "Gitano" or *gitanismo* discourse are José Caballero Bonald, Félix Grande, and Fernando Quiñones (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 74). Also to note is that, by the 1950s, *cante* had become an academic topic divided between *andalucismo* and *gitanismo*. Demófilo argued that flamenco was gitano in his *Colección de cantes*, which laid the groundwork for Antonio Mairena (1909-1983) and Ricardo Molina (1917-1968) when they asserted that *cante* was purely gitano in *Mundo y formas del cante flamenco* in 1963, and again for Mairena when he sought "la 'purificación' del flamenco en el cante gitano" with the TV series "Rito y Geografía del Cante" (1971-1973) (Steingress, "El flamenco" 49). Similarly, Hugo Schuchardt's publication of *Die cantes flamencos* (1881), in which he argues that flamenco was originally Andalusian but was then appropriated by gitanos, could be considered as a foundation for subsequent *andalucismo* arguments (Holguín 275n38).

in which people have continuously tied flamenco to geography as well as to a multiplicity of cultural and ethnic groups.

As a result of these factors, recent scholarship has suggested that flamenco cannot be attributed to any singular group or location. Michelle Heffner Hayes (2009) points out that gitanos "reveal a diverse array of cultural markings, suggesting that, as they have traveled across the Middle East and Europe, [they] have adopted the cultural practices of the areas through which they have passed . . . there is no such thing as 'original' gypsy culture" (*Flamenco* 34). Holguín states that "The flamenco song and dance styles emerged as a result of cultural hybridity, combining stylistic elements found in Andalusian and gitano communities as well as some found outside of Spain" (12). Martin claims that "While popularly assumed to be Gitano music, [flamenco] is a melding of many cultures that passed through Southern Spain . . . [and] developed from a series of transcultural interactions" (6). Kirsten Bachmann describes how "el arte flamenco es y siempre ha sido un producto de mestizaje" (190). Lastly, Gerhard Steingress affirms that flamenco "siempre fue un género transgresor, impuro, sintético [e] híbrido" ("La hibridación transcultural" 138). What these scholars remind us is that the act of migration does not occur without cross-cultural interactions. Just as gitanos did not arrive in Spain with "pure" identities, Andalusia (and by extension Southern Spain) did not remain "untainted" from the many groups who passed through or came to inhabit what is now Spain. Each of these groups left traces of their unique cultural identities, identities that in themselves may have already been impacted by cultures other than their own. We thus cannot consider flamenco apart from migration and movement, and the attempts to uncover a "pure" geographical or ethnic origin are, at the very least, problematic.

When was "Flamenco" Officially Born and Why?

Cante, *toque*, and *baile* did not come together to form "flamenco" until the mid 1800s. Holguín details the "increased leisure time and commercial entertainment" that came with urbanization and tourism. This led to Spain's city centers in particular becoming filled with entertainment spaces such as theaters and cafés (musical entertainment spaces) that eventually "specialize[d] in terms of form and function" (45). One of the specific types of cafés that formed was called the *café cantante*, which eventually consolidated flamenco and made it their specialty (47).

This 19th-century establishment of flamenco in *cafés cantantes* was in response to market forces. Washabaugh states that with the dawn of urbanization and the post-Napoleonic Romantic era, European intellectuals ignored the poverty of Andalusia and "turned their attentions and their longings" towards a mythical "spirit" and "vitality" of the region's people (*Flamenco: Passion* 11).[23] José Luis Venegas similarly claims that, "on the pretext that Muslims had lived in the peninsula for over eight centuries (711-1609), foreigners created an enduring and encompassing myth: Spain equals Andalusia equals the orient" (9).[24] Southern Spain's large population of gitanos, infamous as "diabolical, thieving, beggars, alien to Catholicism and social norms, incestuous, and even cannibalistic" (Cruces Roldán, "Normative Aesthetics" 218), also

[23] The Romantic era was a movement that peaked in the 19th century and was characterized by elements such as an emphasis on emotion, freedom, beauty, and an interest in myths and the past (Morner and Rausch).

[24] Some notable tourists and travel writers who wrote about their experiences in a Romantic manner and then brought their writing back to their homelands (perpetuating flamenco as "exotic") were Georges Bizet, Théophile Gautier, Gustave Doré, Charles Davillier, and Prosper Mérimée (see Holguín 43). Some also specifically worked to perpetuate a Romantic image of the gitano and establish them as "a key element in all descriptions of Spanish dance" by the mid-19th century (see Charnon-Deutsch 48).

reinforced an image of the region as "primitive" and "exotic."[25] For example, Washabaugh claims that "wealthy gawkers [who viewed flamenco performances] [were] attracted more by the romance of the Gypsy than by the value of *cante gitano*" (*Flamenco: Passion* 35), and Meira Goldberg describes how foreigners viewed flamenco as "the body of an imagined woman—a *bailaora* . . . a *Gitana*, Spain's exotic Other" (1). Thus, flamenco arose within urban settings as more than just a form of entertainment; it arose as a cultural facet onto which foreigners displaced their desires for "difference."

Cafés cantantes responded to this increased demand to see "exotic" and "different" forms of art by turning flamenco into its prized economic enterprise. As Timothy Malefyt details, once flamenco moved to the public realm, it "inspire[d] competition, display, and its objective commodification for its various publics" (65-66). Similarly, Holguín states that *cafés cantantes* began to take part in a process of "self-colonization" (74); owners of the establishments realized that they could capitalize upon the booming interest in an "exotic" flamenco by solidifying it as an artistic category and by perpetuating stereotypes (74). Washabaugh discusses how the performers themselves also took advantage of these stereotypes for economic gain, stating that "flamencos were people [often *payos*, or non-gitanos] who bootstrapped themselves into existence by imitating the gitanized bohemian style that was then all the rage in Europe" (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 75). For reasons such as this, he concludes that the term "gitano" is a contemporary, economically motivated construction rather than a "survival from the deep past" (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 75). He further exposes the irony behind *cafés cantantes* when discussing how they marketed "authentic" flamenco performances that celebrated the lower classes and marginalized groups of southern Spain, yet in reality, sold a

[25] For more information on gitanos, please see footnote 15.

"smoothed over," "invented" version of the songs of the street so that they could "appeal to diverse audiences" (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 42-43). Carlos and Pedro Caba Landa also indicate the lack of "authenticity" of *cante* within the *cafés cantantes* when they comment that: "para cantar en toda su intensidad el cante jondo hay que no oírlo en el café cantante o en la juerga preparada, sino sorprenderlo en el campesino solitario, en el recluso de la penitenciaria, en la mujer del prostíbulo o en el obrero de la mina" (97).[26] Thus, we see how many owners, performers, and tourists within the circuit of *cafés cantantes* were complicit in the production and survival of flamenco's "exotic" image.

Cruces Roldán expands upon the artistic-based, gender-based and race-based implications of *cafés cantantes*. She posits that although *cafés cantantes* artistically established flamenco as "unique and differentiated—although not completely disassociated—from previous forms" (212), its main elements (*cante*, *toque,* and *baile*) became hierarchical in a way that promoted the popular "exotic" image of flamenco as female and *gitana*. *Cante* was established as the most prestigious and *baile* was established as the least prestigious (215), yet only males were encouraged to pursue *cante* or *toque*. Women were relegated to *baile*, the aspect of flamenco most ingrained in the foreign imaginary, and were expected to act less like a performer and more like a muse when compared to the liberties allotted to the male *bailaor* (dancer).[27] Whereas the

[26] As mentioned later in the chapter, García Lorca and Manuel de Falla were crucial figures in emphasizing *cante jondo* as separate from other less "pure" forms of flamenco (Holguín 168). They defined *cante jondo* as the "Andalusian songs that were related to the siguiriya gitana—palos like *martinetes*, *polos*, and *soleares*" that retained "structural and stylistic purity" (170) and that had "old roots, unlike flamenco, which . . . had its origins in the eighteenth century" (169).

[27] For more information on both gender-based and racial-based divisions in *baile flamenco*, please see three sources by Cruces Roldán: *Antropología y flamenco*, pp. 167-206, "Género y baile," pp. 75-86, and "Normative Aesthetics," pp. 210-24 (the main reference for this section of the paper).

bailaor (male dancer) was allowed to wear a body-hugging outfit which lacked accessories so that he could focus on his artistic expression and freedom of movement (215-216), the *bailaora* (female dancer) was to look vibrant and exotic with a colorful, ruffle-filled outfit that was highly accessorized with elements such as jewelry, fans, and shawls that simultaneously lengthened proportions of the body (e.g., via the long *bata de cola*) and left other parts, such as the bust and legs, to the imagination (215-16). Additionally, whereas the *bailaor* could express aggressive, firm, vertically oriented, noisy, and outward motions through the movement of his legs, heels, and feet, as well as the use of finger-snapping, *palmas*, and other body percussion (what Cruces Roldán labels *de cintura para abajo*), the *bailaora* was expected to express sensual, smooth, curvelike, and inward motions through the movement of her arms, hands, wrists, shoulders, and hips (what Cruces Roldán labels *de cintura para arriba*) (216-17). These descriptions show that, in general terms, the male was able to focus on his own performance, whereas the female was expected to please the consumer and turned into "the disquieting focus of [their] gaze" (213). Racially, Cruces Roldán discusses how gitanos were labeled as both the most "savage" and "authentic" performers of flamenco (218). Even though many marginalized them ever since their initial nomadic arrival to what is now Spain, they were also ironically stereotyped as the epitome of Spanish music and dance (218).[28] Thus, flamenco arose to the national and global stage in the 19th century not only as a consolidated and codified art form, but also as a form with aspects that were heavily marked by gender and race.

[28] For more information on gitanos, please see footnote 15.

From the moments of the *cafés cantantes* forward, Spain's tourist industry and the economy have played a large role in shaping flamenco performances.[29] The next major landmark that exhibits this is *ópera flamenca*, or an "extravagantly staged flamenco spectacle that sometimes involved elaborate ensembles of performers accompanied by orchestral instruments and occasionally interspersed by performances of juggling or prestidigitation," which took root by the early 20th century (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 43).[30] The term "*ópera flamenca*" itself was a financial decision—it allowed businessmen to frame these large flamenco spectacles under the guise of "operas and orchestral entertainments" and thus avoid the high sales taxes that owners of *cafés cantantes* faced (Holguín 278n61). Just like the term, the large performances were "often put-ons and fakes that transformed 'real' flamenco for the sake of box office appeal" (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 45).

The financially driven, commercialized *cafés cantantes* and *ópera flamenca* performances did not come without resistance. After Spain officially lost its last colonies and thus, its status as an empire, intellectuals, many of whom were part of the Generation of '98, propelled a movement of "antiflamenquismo," increasingly using flamenco as a scapegoat for the nation's problems. One of these intellectuals, Eugenio Noel, went as far as to argue that flamenco's anguish-filled lyrics encouraged "impotence" and "lubricious behaviors" (qtd. in Holguín 78). A few decades later, in the 1920s, García Lorca and Manuel de Falla (1876-1946)

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[29] As mentioned later in this chapter, flamenco was also heavily shaped by the tourism industry during Francisco Franco's dictatorship. The "exotic" commodification of flamenco returned, particularly from the 1950s onward. It continues to this day; tourist companies such as Turespaña and souvenir stands continue to perpetuate Spain's identity as unified in "flamenco and bullfighting" (Holguín 249).

[30] The *ópera flamenca* style can be traced back to 1893, according to Escribano (1990) (qtd. in Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 44), but it peaked during the first half of the twentieth century.

still attempted to "combat the decadence that deep song [*cante jondo*] had reportedly fallen into" (Mitchell 165), but instead of writing off flamenco as a whole, they "segment[ed] out cante jondo from the rest of flamenco[,] . . . [and] sanitiz[ed] flamenco's eroticized elements" (Holguín 168). They organized the 1922 *Concurso de Cante Jondo* in Granada in attempts to return *cante jondo* to its "authentic" pre-commercial roots (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 45) and sought out contestants that were "unknown, men of the people, and not figures already consecrated in the *cafés cantantes* [emphasis mine]" (Carrasco Benítez 23).[31]

The social context temporarily shifted with the dawn of the democratically-run Second Republic (1931-1936). It became more acceptable to openly express opinions. Thus, the focus of flamenco turned more towards its ability as a platform for political activism rather than as a watered-down or lascivious art form to gain money and entertain the masses. Many flamenco artists supported the Republic (such as Juan Vergillos, Manuel Vallejo, Corruco de Algeciras and El Niño de la Huerta), and Álvaro Corazón Rural goes as far as to say that within art forms such as flamenco, "la exaltación de la República y sus héroes o de la bandera tricolor y las referencias a problemas sociales llegaron a convertirse en una moda propiamente dicha, un género en sí mismo." For example, notable openly Republican *cantaores* such as Manuel Vallejo and El

[31] According to Tim Chilcott, García Lorca wrote a collection of poems, *Poema del Cante Jondo*, prior to the Concurso in hopes that they would temporally coincide (although the set of poems were not ultimately published until 1931, a decade after they were written) (ii). The poetry within this collection was meant to contribute to attempts to combat "increasing commercial adulteration" and to evoke the feelings associated with *cante jondo* and life in Andalusia—"heat, blood, soil, longing, death" (ii). The poetry was written in "short, ballad-like verses that condensed momentous events of human experience into a few, resonant words" (ii). Another one of García Lorca's important works that served a similar purpose was *Romancero Gitano* (1928). García Lorca again aimed to reflect the essence of Andalusian culture; in this case, by making gitanos the protagonists and illustrating the difficulties they faced in their daily lives. To García Lorca, the gitano was a figure who faced persecution but also ideally modeled resistance against that persecution (*Romancero Gitano*).

Chato de Las Ventas compiled the album *Cantes Flamencos Republicanos*, in which the lyrics revindicate the Second Republic and the cover depicts a woman explicitly wearing the Republic's tricolor flag.

This artistic autonomy was briefly dampened when Francisco Franco overthrew the Second Republic and led a dictatorship that lasted from 1939-1975. The first few years of the dictatorship was driven towards unifying the nation under "National Catholicism" (*nacionalcatolicismo*), a State-led movement that emphasized "hypernationalism" and "conservative Catholicism" (Holguín 178). The dictatorship elevated Madrid to a "social hub of the nation" and attempted to suppress any individualism and creativity that ran counter to their vision of unification (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 13, 79). Thus, according to Sara Pineda Giraldo, many of the openly Republican flamenco performers "murieron en combate y otros fueron detenidos o ejecutados," whereas others "dijeron adiós a sus letras comprometidas y adoptaron un perfil más bajo." To put it another way, flamenco artists either died physically or metaphorically (as "voces silenciadas, muertas en vida") (Mariño). Regarding the artists previously mentioned, Manuel Vallejo faced social exclusion and epilepsy attacks as a result of the war and El Chato de Las Ventas was suddenly arrested after a tour, which led to his death brought on by either a stress-induced heart attack or murder (Mariño).

This repression of flamenco was short-lived. By the 1950s, flamenco was re-emerging in multiple ways as Spain opened itself to tourism and thus, the rest of the world. One of the ways in which flamenco re-emerged during this period was, yet again, as an "exotic" commodity. "Nacional-flamenquismo" took hold, which was an era of "flamenco promotion" during which "the state appropriated Andalusian flamenco performances for the tourist nation, sanitized them, and turned them into kitschy expressions of Andalusian folklore that tourists lapped up with

alacrity" (Holguín 244). As Holguín says, "Once again, enterprising Spaniards colonized themselves for material gain" (205), and as Washabaugh adds, performers' use of "orientalizations" within their performances "was interpellated by *franquistas* as permissible, if not desirable, because of [their] power to attract foreign tourists" (*Flamenco: Passion* 17).[32]

Juxtaposed with flamenco's re-emergence as tourist "bait" was the growing movement of scholarly study and artistic "revalorización" of flamenco in the 1950s and 1960s (Steingress, "El flamenco" 49). Steingress posits that these attempts to elevate flamenco's status were not only spurred on by Spain's economic *apertura* (Steingress, "Flamenco Fusion" 183) but also the general lack of respect that members of Spanish society showed towards the art form (182). Thus, just as social conditions allowed flamenco to become an "exotic" commodity, they also encouraged a countermovement that emphasized flamenco's roots in the past as an almost "primitive" oral tradition that was tainted with the arrival of commercialization (Cruces Roldán, "Hacia una revisión" 14). These efforts of "revalorización" took many shapes and forms, from the publication of pivotal works "dedicated to the history and the character of flamenco" (Steingress, "Flamenco Fusion" 183) such as *Flamencología* (1956) by Anselmo González Climent, to the shift of performance spaces "away from the *teatros* of the *ópera flamenca* period and . . . [towards] festivals, *peñas* (flamenco societies), and *tablaos* (flamenco clubs)" (Carrasco Benítez 29), to the foundation of *la Cátedra de Flamencología* in 1958 (Holguín 246).[33]

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[32] Washabaugh defines "orientalizations" as "practices that assimilate flamenco music to a Moorish model," such as the use of the Arabic language and the use of quarter tones (tones that are halfway in-between the "official" notes of the chromatic scale in music) (*Flamenco: Passion* 17).

[33] For more information on the beliefs and characteristics of "revalorización" in general, please see Cruces Roldán, "Hacia una revisión" 14. *Flamencología* (1956), key to the movement of "revalorización," was a comprehensive study of flamenco music similar to that previously

Recordings also played a role in the "revalorización" of flamenco. According to Washabaugh, recordings encouraged a "new and softer song style" (*Flamenco: Passion* 64), "imposed new constraints on the lengths of songs" (64), and caused flamenco to "aquir[e] exemplars, canons, and prescriptions for how the art of flamenco should be performed" (64). Flamenco became more analyzable, and thus, more attractive to intellectuals. As Washabaugh puts it, "records conferred legitimacy on flamenco" and encouraged "the whole business of flamenco appreciation [to] beg[i]n moving out of the bars and theatres and into the offices and studies of flamencologists" (63).

Although "revalorización" manifested itself in many ways, nothing or no one has arguably been made to represent it more than the *cantaor* Antonio Mairena. From his childhood growing up surrounded by *familias gitanas* in *Baja Andalucía*, he learned to differentiate between the "*cante* gitano-andaluz" of his immediate environment (the forms of *cante* that were considered more hermetic and primitive) and the "mundo del gran espectáculo" of "flamenco" (a

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conducted by Demófilo (Holguín 246). One of the leading festivals that was initiated in this era (1950s-1960s) was the first *Concurso Nacional de Cante Jondo* in 1956 (inspired by García Lorca and de Falla's 1922 *Concurso de Cante Jondo*). This festival was followed by others such as *El Festival del Cante de las Minas de La Unión* (1961, in Murcia), which drew in international tourists who saw value in the art form. Not only did festivals such as these spread the messages of "revalorización," as they were generally linked to "la 'pureza del cante,' la conservación de determinados estilos (cantes de Cádiz y los Puertos, Tarantas) y/o de escuelas interpretativas (mairenismo) [y] a la promoción de artistas (concursos)" (Navarro García 8), but they also helped internationalize the art form and provide it with "espacios propios en los certámenes musicales más prestigiosos del circuito internacional" (Grimaldos "Introducción"). This role of festivals continues today, as "miles de norteamericanos y japoneses, sobre todo, acuden a cada edición del Festival de Jerez o de la Bienal de Sevilla. Y su presencia es también notable en el Festival de Cante de las Minas . . . o el Festival Flamenco de Caja Madrid" (Grimaldos "Introducción"). Another element of "revalorización" mentioned and founded in 1958 is la *Cátedra de Flamencología,* "instituci[ones] académica[s] con sede en Jerez de la Frontera [Córdoba, Granada y Sevilla], que tiene[n] por objetivos únicos estudiar, investigar, recuperar, conservar, promocionar, defender y divulgar el arte flamenco y el genuino folklore de Andalucía" (Ríos Ruiz).

"denominación genérica" that formed with the rise of the *cafés cantantes* and that referred to "el paquete entre el cante gitano-andaluz y el folclore andaluz") (Grimaldos "Capítulo 6"). According to Hayes, he considered the forms of "*cante* gitano-andaluz" to be "authentic" and placed them in juxtaposition with the non-gitano forms of "flamenco" that arose in the 19th century and which he considered to lack authenticity ("Choreographing" 282). Mairena made every attempt to emphasize the important contributions of gitanos to both the "*cante* gitano-andaluz" and "flamenco" (Grimaldos "Capítulo 6") and eventually collaborated with Ricardo Molina (1917-1968) to publish these ideas in *Mundo y formas del cante flamenco* (1963). According to Grimaldos, "el flamenco llegó a la universidad de mano de Mairena" ("Capítulo 6"), and according to Hayes, his theories fundamentally shaped academic views of flamenco through the end of the Franco dictatorship ("Choreographing" 282).[34]

The social context of Spain's *apertura* did not only encourage flamenco's commodification and a counter movement of "revalorización." It also created the ideal conditions for the growth of flamenco's "fusión con otras músicas occidentales y orientales" (Steingress, "La hibridación transcultural" 137).[35] Travel to and from Spain increased, and thus

[34] Mairena influenced the "revalorización" in additional ways. He claims himself that he was crucial to the foundation of the earliest *tablaos*. As he states, "Contribuí a la creación de los primeros tablaos, una vez pasada la época de las ventas: El Corral de la Morería, Zambra, El Duende…Los tablaos permitieron a los artistas liberarse de esas malas noches, de las juergas de los señores, que pagaban o no pagaban, de la vida tan terrible que llevábamos todos" (qtd. in Grimaldos "Capítulo 6"). Grimaldos also claims that Mairena was "uno de los principales impulsores de los festivales veraniegos, que han constituido durante mucho tiempo la principal tribuna de expresión flamenca y la fuente de ingresos más importante para muchos profesionales del cante, el toque y el baile . . . comenzaron a percibir una cantidad digna por su trabajo" ("Capítulo 6").

[35] Steingress defines the word "fusion" within the context of flamenco as "either the incorporation of some of [flamenco's] elements into other music-styles/genres or the [flamenco] fusionists' willingness to make use of alien stylistic elements in their own genre," which results

artists were able to more easily access each other's cultural products in a direct manner. In addition, technologies improved that could increasingly "carry [flamenco] from place to place and from time to time" (Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion* 21). Foreign interest in flamenco recordings was not new—as Martin indicates, there was "an early foreign interest in the art complex [flamenco] as leisure listening," and only a year after the first flamenco album was released (1901-1902), the art form's recording industry was dominated by the U.S. company International Zonophone Company (1903-1912) followed by the French company Du Gramophone La Voz de su Amo (45). However, by the mid-20th century, the rate at which recordings disseminated flamenco beyond Spanish borders increased, and other forms of technology also began to play this role of dissemination. As Steingress puts it, by the mid-20th century, there was an "intensification of cultural and artistic contacts abroad [as well as] the expansion of the radio, television and record industries in Europe and North America" ("Flamenco Fusion" 187). This climate was perfect for cross-cultural interactions and for artists' eventual refusal to remain within the "estatismo" or "fijación" that was encouraged by the movement of "revalorización" (Berlanga).

Spanish flamenco artists did not initiate this move towards purposely combining flamenco with other transnational elements. Rather, as Steingress describes, this "asimilación de

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in the transgressive "universalistic deconstruction of the narrow boundaries of local, traditional flamenco (*flamenco puro*) at the one hand, and criticism of the loss of its roots [based in fixed identities] . . . on the other" ("Flamenco Fusion" 174). Steingress differentiates "fusion" from "hybridization," claiming that the former does not "chang[e] the character of the musical style to which it belongs" whereas the latter does produce a certain independence from the original styles blended together (210) and reflects "socio-cultural effects" (208). He provides jazz-flamenco or the rumba flamenca as examples of hybridization (210). Steingress also claims that although fusion has manifested itself in different ways, it has been present in flamenco from its onset and is not new (171).

los elementos musicales procedentes del flamenco y de su duende" was initially "por parte de músicos americanos" ("La hibridación transcultural" 141); more specifically, American jazz musicians. One of the most notable examples of this early musical experimentation was the album "Flamenco Sketches" (1956) by Miles Davis (1926-1991) and Gil Evans (1912-1988). Although its instrumentation is typical in American jazz performances (the trumpet often takes the role of the soloist or "voice" while interacting with other instruments such as a drum set and trombones), it mixes this instrumentation with prominent traditional instruments in Spain, such as the castanets, and an overall structure similar to that found in many flamenco performances (that of improvised melodies over various modes such as the Phrygian mode).

By the mid-1960s, just a few years after the publication of Mairena and Molina's *Mundo y formas del cante flamenco* and as opposition to Franco's regime was growing, Spanish flamenco artists began to get more involved in these musical fusion experiments by interacting multi-directionally with those from distinct backgrounds both in Spain and internationally (Steingress, "La hibridación transcultural" 141).[36] Social conditions yet again encouraged these interactions. As previously mentioned, one of the consequences of the movement of "revalorización" was the explosion of *tablaos* in Madrid. Yet, the *tablaos* fostered more than just imitation of the "purest" forms of flamenco. Given that the *tablaos* drew in many of the best flamenco artists from not only Southern Spain but also many other areas because "era donde se les daba trabajo" (*Camarón Revolution* 00:16:41-00:16:56) and it was "donde se hicieron

[36] Madrid also became a center for more politically-driven flamenco (*Camarón Revolution* 00:17:35-00:18:25), such as that of José Menese, who sung many lyrics written by the poet Moreno Galván that supported attempts to help flamenco free itself from "las garras del denominado nacional flamenquismo para cobrar un carácter reivindicativo" (Lobatón), or Enrique Morente, who had a tendency to sing "lyrics from poets who had been censored by the Franco regime" (Márquez 269 fn4) (see Chapter 3 for more information).

profesionales todos" (00:17:23-00:17:30), they became a space where artists from different backgrounds could meet each other, collaborate, and inspire each other with new creative ideas (Grimaldos "Introducción"). In fact, some (such as the narrator Juan Diego in the documentary *Camarón: The Film*) believe that a *tablao madrileño*, specifically Tablao Torres Bermejas, brought two of the most well-known flamenco fusion artists, José Monge Cruz (Camarón de la Isla, 1950-1992) and Francisco Sánchez Gómez (Paco de Lucía, 1947-2014), together for the first time and marked the beginning of their decade-long period of collaborations and innovations (00:24:35-00:26:52) (see Chapter 3 for more information).

Around the same time as the "época dorada de los tablaos" in Madrid, the Andalusian city of Seville was becoming the heart of an "Underground" musical movement.[37] After two military bases were established near Seville (Morón Air Force Base and Naval Station Rota) following the 1953 Pact of Madrid, U.S. soldiers began to flock to the area and brought their cultural products with them, including music. Much of this music, according to Alfonso E. Pérez Orozco, could be considered "música de ruptura" (mentioned in "UNDERGROUND" 00:07:16-00:07:21). Just as in the *tablaos* of Madrid, spaces in Seville such as Club Don Gonzalo became spaces of "encuentro," but in this case, of "encuentro entre jóvenes españoles y americanos," and

[37] In 1953, Spain took one of its first steps towards its *apertura* by signing the Pact of Madrid with the United States. As Joshua Brown describes, this Pact of Madrid "allowed the United States to establish a military presence within Spain's borders in exchange for substantial economic assistance . . . [and thus] opened Spain up to foreign influences, including tourists and American military service members, which would slowly undermine Franco's authority and eventually allow for a bloodless transition from his dictatorship to a full-fledged democracy" (24). Participants in the documentary "Underground, la ciudad del Arco Iris" emphasize American influence as crucial to the formation of the "Underground" movement, which they describe as a movement "clandestino," "lo prohibido," "una estética nueva," or "una apertura de mente" composed of "la gente que luchaba para la libertad" ("UNDERGROUND" 00:32:46-00:34:07).

these spaces, more so than the *tablaos*, were alternative settings where people found a freedom to musically experiment, a liberation from censorship, and an escape from the dictatorship in which they lived (00:08:05-00:08:27). This "Underground" movement grew and became even more connected to flamenco after the U.S. writer Donn Pohren (1929-2007) published a series of English-language books about flamenco in the 1960s. These books inspired Europeans and Americans to learn flamenco themselves and drew them to the areas around one of the military bases, Morón (World Music).

Within this scene of the "Underground," alternative music fusions took shape. One of these fusions was "*rock* andaluz" (as labeled by Ignacio Arias Puyana). Arias Puyana claims that among the first hints of the potential existence of "*rock* andaluz" was the album *Rock Encounter* (1970), created by the *tocaor* Sabicas and the American jazz and rock guitarist Joe Beck (20).[38] The following year, the music producer Ricardo Pachón convinced the psychedelic rock band SMASH to contract the *tocaor* Manuel Molina and produce songs within the realm of "*rock* andaluz" such as "Tangos de Ketama" (21). Other "*rock* andaluz" albums quickly appeared after these instances. Another alternative fusion that arose was that of mixing flamenco elements with both rock and blues. Ricardo Pachón yet again played an important role when he helped Kiko Veneno and the Amador brothers produce their album *Veneno* (1977), which "combined blues, rock and flamenco to create a piece of work that could only have happened in late 1970s

[38] Arias Puyana initially defines "*rock* andaluz" as "la fusión entre flamenco y *rock* originada por la escena *underground* y la influencia del *rock* extranjero, but claims that it matured and became a more defined musical style by the 1980s (23). He claims that the flamenco elements included within a rock and flamenco hybrid were "de origin rítmico, como armónico y melódico, destacando la inclusión de ritmos y/o estructuras de *soleás*, bulerías, tangos y rumbas, entre otros, y voces características del flamenco con sus modulaciones particulares, uso de *quejíos*, *quiebros*, *jipíos*, microtonos, etc." (19) as well as instrumentation such as the *guitarra flamenca* and *palmas* (20). Rock elements included were often instruments, such as electric guitar or synthesizer, phrase structures, and the use of English (20).

Andalusia," according to a vinyl company that produced the album, Vinilissimo ("Vinyl Album"). Once the band *Veneno* split, Pachón helped the Amador brothers continue to mix rock, flamenco, and blues as the band *Pata Negra* in the late 1970s and 1980s, while also simultaneously working with Molina and Dolores Montoya Rodríguez (Lole y Manuel) in the release of their 1974 album *Nuevo Día*, which marked the beginning of a career filled with yet another type of flamenco fusion; that of "una lírica de alusiones arabescas con las raíces musicales flamencas" (Steingress, "La hibridación transcultural"143). We also cannot mention the "Underground" without additionally mentioning the album *La leyenda del tiempo* (1979) (discussed more in-depth in Chapter 3). Steingress perfectly describes what happened in Seville and its surrounding areas: "the influence received from other musical styles coincided with the frustration of a whole generation of young flamenco musicians and their desire to seek new creative forms and means of expression in flamenco by reference to other styles of music" ("Flamenco Fusion" 185). The world was changing with globalization; it was beginning to enter into what Arjun Appadurai calls, in his work on the cultural dimensions of globalization, "an altogether new condition of neighborliness, even with those most distant" (29). To many flamenco artists, Spain and the art form itself needed to adapt with it.

By the 1980s, the Spanish dictatorship had ended, "postmodern values" were beginning to permeate cultures throughout the world, and flamenco fusion had reached new heights of popularity among both *aficionados* and non-flamenco audiences.[39] As Steingress notes, "economic interests could no longer afford to ignore it," so they put a label on it; "Nuevo

[39] For a discussion of postmodernism, please see Chapter 3.

Flamenco" ("Flamenco Fusion" 199).[40] Some contemporary scholars such as Cruces Roldán and Steingress indicate that the term "Nuevo Flamenco" is misleading. To them, the 80s did not mark the beginning of a "new" and radically different *etapa* of flamenco fusion. Rather, it marked a continuation of flamenco's consistent fusion with other elements from its genesis to the present day. As Steingress puts it, "Nuevo Flamenco" was "introduced at the beginning of the 1980s" ("Flamenco Fusion" 188) but its referent, flamenco fusion, was "old" (171); flamenco was created by "fusion," it continued to be "fused" with other elements throughout its history, and was "fused" with other contemporary musics (jazz, pop, rock, and salsa) for multiple decades prior to the invention of the term (188).[41]

Thus, "Nuevo Flamenco" did not mark a complete departure from the flamenco of the past, like the term may imply. Additionally, although many continue to critique the term "Nuevo Flamenco" and the acts of contemporary flamenco fusion that the term represents, as I will explore further in the next chapter, flamenco fusion, as simply a means by which flamenco has adapted to new social contexts, does not comfortably and clearly fit within strict binaries.[42]

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[40] Note that according to Steingress, many have come to use "Nuevo Flamenco" as a "generic denomination for any kind of contemporary flamenco-fusion" rather than just flamenco fusion that took place following the term's genesis in the early 1980s ("Flamenco Fusion" 173).

[41] For more information on the historically "fused" nature of flamenco, please see Steingress, "Flamenco Fusion" pp. 176-184.

[42] Some continue to delimit "authentic" or "pure" flamenco from "decaden[t]" flamenco on the basis of race and ethnicity (*lo gitano* vs. *lo payo*), geographic borders (Southern Spain vs. elsewhere), and/or setting (*lo privado* vs. *lo comercializado/lo comodificado*) (Steingress, "Flamenco Fusion" 188-89, 208). *Tocaor* Manuel Morao (1929-), for example, has proclaimed: "El arte no se puede globalizar porque pierde su personalidad . . . Lo mejor que nos podría ocurrir sería que el flamenquito [la fusión] se pasara de moda y que fueran al flamenco sólo los que de verdad lo sienten. Que se acabara el esnobismo y la confusión. Volverían a aparecer chicos interesados en mirar atrás y refugiarse en sus propias raíces" (qtd. in Grimaldos "Introducción"). *Cantaor* Antorrín Heredia has similarly stated that "the essence of flamenco is

These most recent decades of flamenco fusion, within the context of an increasingly postmodern and globalized world, have revealed to us that the questions of whether artists are performing flamenco or not, or whether they stay faithful to "tradition" or not, are too simplistic. The recent "experimental" generations occupy a liminal space between both tradition and innovation, or as Cruces Roldán states, "combinan los mapas musicales del flamenco con territorios ajenos a la geografía musical jonda" ("Hacia una revisión" 13). As we will now explore, contemporary flamenco fusion, according to Miguel Ángel Berlanga, simply reflects the continued renovation of a flamenco whose artists have always "sabido mirar al mismo tiempo al pasado y proyectarse un poco hacia el futuro con algunas nuevas propuestas." These are the proposals that I will explore in the following chapter.

in danger of extinction," noting that even the way modern performers dress would make one "think an Englishman had invented flamenco" (qtd. in Guy Hedgecoe).

Chapter 3: The "Experimental" Generations

> Cada generación flamenca tiene una manera propia de expresar el sufrimiento. La vida es otra: ya las madres no paren en la cueva. Aparecerán formas de belleza análogas a la del pasado.
>
> Enrique Morente (qtd. in "Bulerías para un nuevo flamenco")

Times change. The world is not the same as it was last year, let alone a century or two ago, and as illustrated in Chapter 2, these changing social conditions, such as the advent of the Industrial Revolution or the transition from a dictatorship to a democracy, impact all aspects of a culture, including its artistic products. Flamenco is not an exception. Flamenco has been in constant evolution, from the space of private gatherings, to *cafés cantantes*, to theaters, to *peñas*, and now to the technology-mediated global stage and, as José Manuel Caballero Bonald reminds us in his "Prólogo" to *Historia social del flamenco*, this evolution "ha estado supeditada en todo momento a las condiciones ambientales en que fue desarrollándose." Flamenco adapts to reflect the changing "realit[ies] of a people" (Márquez 264).[43]

As mentioned in Chapter 2, our current "realities" are that we have entered "an altogether new condition of neighborliness, even with those most distant" (Appadurai 29). In the last few decades of the 20th century and in the 21st century, we have increasingly had access to the rest of the world and their cultural products; as many would say, we have undergone a process of "globalization." One crucial key to this dissemination of cultural products across the world is free market trade. Steingress basically equates "globalization" to the free market by stating that it is:

[43] Note that I have changed the singular "reality" to "realities" to emphasize that there is no singular "reality" of a people. The most we can do is to draw attention to consistencies and make generalizations (as I do at the beginning of this chapter).

> un tipo de neo-imperialismo sin resistencia, capaz no sólo de intervenir en cualquier parte del mundo a través de una agresiva política de intervención militar y de inversión de capital, ambas estrategias apoyadas y complementadas en las tecnologías de comunicación y de control más avanzadas, sino también de asimilar cualquier elemento ajeno a su mundo en pro de su lógica de mercado. ("La hibridación transcultural" 122)

Free market trade has meant that everyone technically has access to the same cultural products (although some may not have the resources to purchase those products, and the market is "monopolizado por los grandes *labels* [italics are mine] y el gusto occidental") (122), and that cultural products that originally would have stayed within certain geographical boundaries are now spreading across the world. As a result, although cultures still retain some unique characteristics, they have also become more similar to each other. This act of globalization has put into question the idea of boundaries. As Néstor García Canclini states: "Esta oposición esquemática, dualista, entre lo propio y lo ajeno, no parece guardar mucho sentido cuando compramos un coche Ford montado en España, con vidrios hechos en Canadá, carburador italiano, radiador austriaco, cilindros y baterías ingleses y el eje de transmisión francés" (31).[44] It has now become clear that our identity, as a member of a nation or as a member of a group, cannot be completely set apart from the identities of members who belong to other nations and groups. García Canclini claims that with globalization, our identities have become "posmodernas" (46).

[44] Although García Canclini talks about globalization in the context of Latin America, many of his ideas are applicable to other parts of the world and are helpful in our discussion.

What does it mean to have a postmodern identity? Before addressing this question, we first must consider the meaning of the word "postmodern. "Postmodern" is an adjective used to describe either the movement of Postmodernism or the era of Postmodernity, although scholars' definitions of these terms differ greatly; as Jessica Folkart states, "entire tomes could be—and have been—written on the subject" (21). However, if we wish to come up with a definition, most agree that both the movement and the era have, at their heart, the aim to redirect the focus from grand cultural and historical narratives and universal Truth towards a series of individual, subjective truths (see later in this chapter for a discussion of Postmodernism in particular).[45] Thus, when García Canclini states that we have "postmodern" identities, we now have identities that are "transterritoriales y multilingüísticas" (46), given the influences that cultures can now have on each other. This does not mean that cultures cannot still produce their own cultural products, or have identifying characteristics, but what García Canclini argues that it does mean is that our identities "se estructuran menos desde la lógica de los Estados que de los mercados" (47). In other words, we may still identify with the country in which we live, but according to García Canclini, we do so to a lesser extent, given that our identities are now increasingly mediated through the "flujo transnacional de bienes y mensajes" (47).

One entity that has mediated this increased diffusion of cultural products and the move towards having "postmodern" identities is technology. In music, more generally, and flamenco, more specifically, technology has been a game-changer. As mentioned in Chapter 2, recordings, television, and radio played an important role in the mid-20th century in igniting cross-cultural interactions and encouraging flamenco fusion practices, as well as changing the formats in which

[45] I have decided to capitalize the "T" in "Truth" to attach the concept of essentialism to the term. The lowercase "t," in contrast," indicates a rejection of this essentialism in favor of subjectivity and heterogeneity.

one could learn, produce, and consume flamenco and other types of music. Yet, even more changes have happened since we entered the latter half of the 20th century. The role of sound technology has changed. As Washabaugh states, "recordings [have become] 'signifieds' and performances [have become] 'signifiers'" (*Flamenco: Passion* 65). Cruces Roldán similarly notes that "si a comienzos del siglo XX [las tecnologías sonoras] tenían como papel principal asentar, perpetuar y difundir estilos e intérpretes, desde la década de 1970, y sobre todo desde la conquista de Internet, vienen sirviendo justamente a lo contrario: no son la imprenta, sino las alas de la música tradicional" ("Hacia una revisión" 17). That is, sound technology has become the means by which music can be learned and produced, not just transmitted.

Today, artists can learn and improve their craft through listening to music on their iPhones, watching online video tutorials, or rehearsing with others over *Facetime*. As Cruces Roldán states, music styles like flamenco are increasingly being learned through "modelos multidireccionales de transmisión y recepción de la información" ("Hacia una revisión" 19); artists no longer solely depend on "los 'consejos de interpretación' del maestro" (19). In addition, sound technology has transformed the production process and market by becoming the crux of an artist's career and a consumer's listening experience. Washabaugh claims that producing unique and high-quality recordings has become more important than putting on live performances, which are now nothing more than "an occasion for imitating and verifying the recording" (*Flamenco: Passion* 66), and that disks themselves have become what consumers seek for "pleasure" (66). This has revolutionized the market in multiple ways, one way being the development of anthologies. In regards to flamenco in particular, ever since 1954, with the introduction of the *Antología del Cante Flamenco*, producers have been creating collections of recorded songs, or anthologies, of flamenco songs based upon a wide range of themes that are

tailored to the consumers' tastes, and the consumers have "derive[d] joy from *choosing* to explore and sample the diversity of the music" (67).[46] Thus, we can see how, in the second half of the 20th century, recordings (separate or combined in anthologies) gained utmost importance in the eyes of consumers, producers, and artists alike, and traditional methods of learning, producing, and transmitting music in person became less important.

Additionally, with the advent of the music video (*MTV* in 1981), the birth of the Internet (1993) and, subsequently, the creation of platforms such as *Facebook* (2004) and *YouTube* (2005) that mediate social interactions and allow for the dissemination of music, music itself has become a postmodern collage of influences and an artist's work now goes beyond just their recordings and their live performances. Jon Caramanica labels this former phenomenon (that of the music's postmodern nature in itself) as "Pop 2.0." Unlike Pop 1.0, which Caramanica asserts is a genre of spectacle connoted as "something plastic and transitory . . . a softening. A compromise," Pop 2.0 is "modern," "global," and "unfiltered," a result of "a progression of genres that have been asymptotically approaching one another for more than a decade." Pop 2.0 is not linked to a specific genre, as all Pop 2.0 artists are now "drawing from the same [global] well." The rise of Pop 2.0 means that artists can now increase their audience without being forced to conform to one type of expectation. Cruces Roldán views the latter phenomenon (that of an artist's work going beyond their recordings and life performances) within "las lógicas del hipertexto" (17). María Jesús Castro labels flamenco in particular within this phenomenon as "Posflamenco" because its "discurso musical es seccionado en multitud de correlatos que se

[46] Holguín describes *Antología del Cante Flamenco* as a collection of "some of the most beloved and historically important 'traditional' flamenco singers, like Pericón de Cádiz, Pepe el de la Matrona, and Bernardo el de los Lobitos" (246). The anthology was organized by Roger Wild and was initially recorded in Paris, but in 1958, it got "marketed and sold within Spain under the Hispanavox label" (246).

fundamentan en una visión multidisciplinar con imagen, sonido y diseño, y que los convierten en productos comerciales masivamente difundidos al gran público (qtd. in Cruces Roldán, "Hacia una revisión" 18-19). Thus, we can conclude (as Washabaugh does), that flamenco (just as other styles of music) "has moved into hyperreality as a result of technological innovations" (*Flamenco: Passion* 65). Flamenco, just like other types of music and cultural products, is no longer immune from the impacts of a globalized, postmodern, technology-filled world. As discussed before, the world has changed, and as I will soon show, although flamenco fusion artists have faced backlash, many have been able to locate their art within a liminal space in which they continue to respect flamenco's past while taking the needed steps to ensure that the art form adapts for its future.

Tradition vs. Innovation in Flamenco

In order to explore how many in the "experimental" generations fall into a liminal space between "tradition" and "innovation," we must first provide an understanding of what both terms have meant within the context of flamenco. Cruces Roldán indicates that "tradition," within the movement of "revalorización" that took place in the 1950s and 1960s (discussed in Chapter 2), was defined as a demand for "la obediencia al pasado" that was "inmutable y venerable" ("Hacia una revisión" 14). Berlanga, discussing the same historical context, claims that "tradition" (which he calls "neotradicionalismo") included the expectation to solely perform "la mera copia fiel de los estilos de los antiguos maestros . . . los que pasaban por ser los buenos modelos" rather than focusing on "el arte, el duende, el cante con sentimiento, la aportación personal, la capacidad de conectar con el público." Thus, as we can see, "tradition," at least as defined within

the past century, entailed looking back at a supposedly fixed and determined past and turning a blind eye to the future.

In contrast, the term "innovation" has indicated a change or transgression of the current "traditions." Steingress has described "innovation" within the context of flamenco as a "divergence from the established artistic patterns" ("Flamenco Fusion" 174), and Berlanga has described it as a separation from "los patrones admitidos." The result of innovations often is just an aggravation of the "tradition" vs. "innovation" debate's already existing tensions; as mentioned in Chapter 2, some such as *tocaor* Manuel Morao and *cantaor* Antorrín Heredia have spoken out in attempts to save flamenco from "degradation" and/or delimit it based on group identities. However, at other times, these tensions between "innovation" and "tradition" actually lead to eventual changes in the artistic "norms" or "traditions" themselves. For example, Hayes discusses how the use of the *cajón* in flamenco performances was initially an unwelcomed departure from "tradition" but now is a "ubiquitous" part of it ("Choreographing" 282).[47]

This last example crucially challenges us to change our mindset about the "tradition" vs. "innovation" debate. Not only does the example show us that the relationship between "tradition" and "innovation" is too complex to place the terms in complete opposition, but it also puts the terms themselves into question. How can we encourage flamenco artists to "mirar atrás y refugiarse en sus propias raíces" (as Morao pleads) if the definitions of "atrás" keep changing (see Hayes, "Choreographing" 282)? To what extent do "raíces" still exist if flamenco has

[47] The *cajón* is a box-shaped percussion instrument, usually played with the musician sitting on it and striking it with his or her hands. According to Simon Ayton, it likely originated with African slaves in 18th-century colonial Perú. Paco de Lucía introduced the *cajón* to flamenco and it has now become common in the genre.

experienced "glocalisation," as Martin poses?[48] Hayes and Martin are only a few examples of many contemporary scholars who have begun to problematize this "tradition" vs. "innovation" dichotomy and expose it as nothing more than a tenuous construction.

Finding a Liminal Space in Flamenco Fusion

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, flamenco fusion artists (subsequently placed under the label "Nuevo Flamenco") have responded to the social conditions around them. Yet, what I wish to emphasize now is that many of these artists have been able to adapt the flamenco to its present "realities" and futures while still taking into account its past. They have been able to locate flamenco within a liminal space that cannot be categorized fully as "tradition," nor fully as "innovation." Although the ways in which artists have gone about finding this liminal space can differ, some contemporary scholars have attempted to create frameworks or point out consistencies. For example, Steingress claims that those who carry out flamenco fusions while remaining within "el propio marco del flamenco tradicional" tend to be "innovative" in their inclusion of "una lírica moderna" and "nuevas formas de instrumentación y orquestación ajenas al flamenco tradicional," but tend to be "traditional" through their "virtuosismo" as well as their

[48] The term "glocalisation" was coined by Roland Robertson to highlight, as Steingress describes, "que el proceso de globalización consiste, al menos en su dimensión cultural, en una creciente integración y en el intercambio de las culturas locales, que se producen en el marco de la progresiva conciencia de su relación con lo global como referente general de los acontecimientos sociales" (Robertson's term as described by Steingress in "La hibridación transcultural" 124). Martin adopts this term within the context of flamenco and argues that the art form is "glocal" due to how "cosmopolitan hubs" ("non-native culture brokers") (5) study flamenco within its "local" context of Southern Spain, and then deterritorialize and reterritorialize it by bringing it back with them to their own non-native "local" contexts, while still continuing to look towards Southern Spain for inspiration (170). She posits that this "glocal" process "represents a certain erosion of national and regional boundaries to create an intertwining, global identity, instead of national and regional cohesion" (5).

maintenance of flamenco as an "expresión popular de la lucha existencial frente a la represión" ("La hibridación transcultural" 145-46). María Cabrera Fructuoso provides a framework within the realm of *baile*, stating that some flamenco fusion *bailaores* or *bailaoras* part from "un lenguaje principalmente flamenco" but are also able to subvert "norms" that were previously established, particularly of "lo masculino" versus "lo femenino," by combining elements from both categories (88) (see my discussion of the "norms" that have been previously established within *baile* in Chapter 2).

Given the scope of this thesis, I will only provide examples of the first framework. There are many artists I could explore within Steingress' framework to illustrate this idea of the liminal space, from those of the early decades of contemporary flamenco, such as Manolo Sanlúcar, José Mercé, Mario Maya, El Lebrijano, Kiko Veneno, and Ketama, to late 20th and 21st-century artists, such as Navajita Plateá, Chambao, Flo 6x8, Manuel Liñán, and Falete. However, again, the nature of this thesis does not allow me to go into depth about all of these artists. I must be selective. Thus, I have decided to only discuss three artists whose displays of flamenco fusion are potentially the most notable: Enrique Morente, Paco de Lucía, and Camarón de la Isla.

These three figures have arguably received more consistent attention from scholars, *aficionados*, and artists, than other flamenco fusion artists. Many have consistently given two or more of these artists the credit for being the leaders of the flamenco fusion movement. For example, an unidentified writer in *La Nación* states that Camarón, Morente, and Paco "habían marcado un nuevo camino con instrumentaciones, letras y estilos musicales que toda esta generación [de Nuevo Flamenco] tomó como bandera y llevó a otra concepción universal de lo flamenco" ("Bulerías para un nuevo flamenco"). José Manuel Gamboa claims that albums from Morente and Camarón are among the top three "referentes de la apertura hacia el nuevo público"

(qtd. in *Camarón Revolution*, Episode 3, 00:19:50-00:20:10), and José Mercé states that "tanto Paco como Camarón como Enrique fueron los que le dieron vida otra vez al flamenco" (qtd. in 00:18:39-00:18:52). In addition, many emphasize these artists' importance in the context of their ability to create a "fusión basada en el modelo tradicional del flamenco," as Steingress would describe it ("La hibridación transcultural" 145). To provide an example in addition to Steingress, Berlanga claims that all three artists "tienden el puente entre un público ortodoxo y otro más heterodoxo, adicto a propuestas innovadoras más radicales." Thus, not only have these three artists drawn attention for their innovations as representatives of the new flamenco fusion (later titled "Nuevo Flamenco") movement, but also for their ability to continue to seek influences from flamenco's "traditions" (meaning, past manifestations of the art form).

The first key artist I wish to highlight is Enrique Morente (1942-2010), whose quote began this chapter. His career reflects his philosophy that "ya las madres no paren en la cueva," but it also reflects his other philosophy; that "se debe mostrar respeto y cariño hacia las raíces" (Morente qtd. in Grimaldos "Introducción"). Indeed, others have characterized his career by liminality; Grimaldos has described him as "abanderado de la modernización del flamenco, sin perder pie en la más sólida tradición" ("Introducción"), Margalit Fox has stated that he "kept one foot loyally planted in a centuries-old art [while] with the other he strode briskly into modernity," and David Pérez Marín has stated that Morente "entendió que las raíces estarían siempre unidas a él como un cordón umbilical infinito" but also understood that the "sed de origin . . . nunca debe saciarse del todo, ni ser un impedimento que sofoque el anhelo y fuego interno por alcanzar una voz propia y libre." By providing even just a brief overview of his life and creative works, we can see how he was able to look to the past and the future simultaneously.

Morente was born in Granada (Southern Spain) but moved to Madrid as a teenager to begin a professional career in flamenco. In between opportunities to travel internationally, he worked in *peñas* as well as in the *tablao* circuit. By 1967, he had recorded his first album, *Cante Flamenco*, which was a "traditional compilation," according to Fox; it received a "mención especial" from the *Cátedra de Flamencología* and, according to Michael Eaude, "won him respect from flamenco *aficionados*" [emphasis mine].

However, with subsequent albums, he demonstrated his liminality. His 1971 album *Homenaje flamenco a Miguel Hernández* was "traditional" in that it contained virtuosity and a typical flamenco instrumentation (him singing and accompanied by a guitar), but was also "innovative" in that he inserted lyrics from a contemporary poet rather than re-performing lyrics from the legendary *cantaores* of flamenco's past. The lyrics came from Miguel Hernández (1910-1942), a poet who represented the *pueblo* both through the themes of his poetry and his devotion to the Second Republic. One could argue, however, that this "lírica" also had hints of "tradition," because it was symbolic of "la lucha existencial frente a la represión;" the lyrics of Hernández were censored by the Franco regime (Márquez 269 fn4).[49] Thus, we can conclude that the lyrics themselves fall into a liminal space between "tradition" and "innovation," just like Morente himself. This is Steingress' viewpoint; the lyrics allowed Morente to be creative while

[49] Miguel Hernández (1910-1942) was a Spanish poet who grew up in humble circumstances within the Southern Spanish town of Orihuela, Alicante. Despite a lack of resources and no support from his father, Hernández pursued his dream of writing for a living and found great success in his poetry that included "regional themes, rustic flavors, and popular images intimately linked with the common elements of life on the land" ("Miguel Hernández"). During the Second Republic, he grew close to other poets who supported the Republic (called "Republicans") such as García Lorca, but when Franco overthrew the Second Republic and installed a dictatorship, Hernández as well as many other Republican authors and artists were no longer able to flourish and suffered imprisonment, death, or exile; Hernández, in particular, died in a Nationalist prison.

also valuing the "traditional" aspect of flamenco as a voice for the marginalized (in this case, those who had become marginalized throughout the dictatorship) ("La hibridación transcultural" 146).

The liminality of Morente becomes even more obvious when we consider his simultaneous release of the albums *Homenaje a don Antonio Chacón* (1977) and *Despegando* (1977). According to David Pérez Marín, the former album demonstrated "clasicismo puro y respetuoso" whereas the latter was a "rompimiento innovador" given Morente's inclusion of modern lyrics and instrumentation. The lyrics of *Despegando* were "innovative" in that they again came from contemporary Spanish poets (in this case, Antonio Machado (1875-1939), another Republican poet who had to go into exile as a result of the Spanish Civil War) and the instrumentation was "innovative" due to the inclusion of instruments such as the organ. Yet, just as with his 1967 album *Cante Flamenco*, his lyrics are liminal in themselves and also reflect "tradition." By including lyrics from Republican poets, he is yet again using flamenco in a "traditional" manner by revindicating the marginalized. Morente also does not completely forsake flamenco's past in terms of musicality within *Despegando*; he includes musical elements such as *palos* and melismas.

We cannot discuss Morente's liminality without also mentioning his later album *Omega* (1996), an album that Feelmakers describes as "the union of Enrique Morente's flamenco and Lagartija Nick's rock, along with the poetry by García Lorca and music by Leonard Cohen." Virtuosic flamenco guitar and *cante*, symbolic of tradition, is paired side-by-side with non-flamenco instruments such as drum set and heavy electric guitar, as well as liminal lyrics by yet again another notable Republican poet who was killed during the Spanish Civil War. *Omega* is simply an extreme version of what marked the totality of Morente's career: a willingness to

embody flamenco's virtuosity and emotion while also combining it with new lyrics and instruments that expand its expressive capacities. Morente is one example of a flamenco fusion artist who looked backwards and forwards at the same time.

The second key artist I wish to highlight is Paco de Lucía (1947-2014). Born as Francisco Sánchez Gómez in the Southern Spanish town of Algeciras, Cádiz, he was pushed by his father to learn traditional flamenco guitar from a young age, but after traveling to the United States and meeting Sabicas, who according to Craig Harris was "the first flamenco guitarist to tour the world," he decided that he needed to go beyond "tradition." One way he did so was through collaborating with jazz artists. One of his first collaborations was with the Spanish saxophonist Pedro Iturralde (1929-2020) in an album called "Flamenco-Jazz" (1968), which included sections of saxophone improvisation over jazz instrumentation (such as piano and drum set) mixed with sections that featured "traditional" virtuosic flamenco guitar. Later in his career, he notably collaborated with English jazz fusion guitarist John McLaughlin (1942-) and American jazz fusion guitarist Al Di Meola (1954-) (Di Meola replaced American jazz guitarist Larry Coryell) in the album "Tres Hermanos" (1979). This album showcased improvisational trade-offs between the guitars (typical in jazz) but also contained musical elements characteristic of flamenco, such as virtuosic guitar solos centered around a lowered second scale degree (characteristic of the Phrygian mode, see Chapter 2). Thus, we see here how Paco de Lucía used collaborations with jazz musicians as a way to combine what might be labeled as "traditions" with "innovations."

He also went beyond "tradition" by establishing flamenco guitar as a solo instrument, not just a form of accompaniment. As Harris describes it, he "extended the former accompaniment-only tradition of flamenco guitar to include deeply personal melodic statements and modern

instrumentation." Early in his career, Paco de Lucía released *La fabulosa guitarra de Paco de Lucía* (1967) and *Fantasía flamenca de Paco de Lucía* (1969), but his career as a notable flamenco guitar solo artist took off after his re-release of the *rumba* "Entre dos aguas" as a single in 1974 (an original song within the 1973 album *Fuente y caudal*). According to Guy Hedgecoe, this *rumba* demonstrated Paco's simultaneous interest in maintaining "traditions" while exploring "innovations." Hedgecoe purports that this *rumba* was marked by "technical virtuosity" (something that Steingress claims that was associated with "traditional" flamenco) but was also "innovative" both in Paco's featuring of the guitar as a solo instrument and in the song's inclusion of "congas, bongos, and an electric bass," instrumentation uncommon in flamenco recordings in the 70s. According to Hedgecoe, this song was significant in the future of flamenco guitar and allowed Paco de Lucía to reach audiences previously isolated from flamenco. Grimaldos claims that this shift was reflected in the press; according to him, Paco de Lucía "cons[eguía] abrir de forma irreversible los medios de comunicación al arte jondo" ("Epílogo"). With this last comment, Grimaldos implies that what Paco de Lucía was doing was not altogether separate from the traditions of "arte jondo," but rather, just a renovated or "innovative" version of it that allowed it to thrive within new social contexts and audiences.

Paco de Lucía also showcased his liminality between "tradition" and "innovation" in his famous collaboration period with Camarón de la Isla. After performing together for the first time in Jerez (*Camarón: The Film* 00:25:45-00:26:07), they decided to record nine albums together between 1969 and 1977, a period that Mercedes García Plata-Gómez labels as a "colaboración especial" in the history of flamenco (33). Not only did Paco de Lucía continue to give the guitar autonomy in allowing it to "jugar su propio papel en un diálogo con el cante" (34), but Paco also worked with Camarón in other ways to "buscar nuevos caminos en la expresión flamenca para

crear dentro de las normas" (33). For example, they created a hybridized *palo* called *canastera* from a combination of "distintos elementos de diversas procedencias en la expresión flamenca;" more specifically, "la reunión del fandango de Huelva y de un fandango de Málaga" (35). García Plata-Gómez concludes that the pair's collaboration was crucial because they remained in touch with prior flamenco "traditions" through the maintenance of melodic and rhythmic structural elements (35-36), but they also innovated by combining those elements into new creations such as the "canastera," which led to an increase in interest from listeners who normally did not listen to flamenco (36). This collaboration reveals to us that Paco de Lucía embraced liminality and looked towards the future and past simultaneously, just as Morente and Camarón.

Born as José Monge Cruz, Camarón de la Isla (1950-1992) grew up within a small area of Cádiz called San Fernando but eventually moved to Madrid, where his career as a *cantaor* gained traction. Just as Morente and Paco de Lucía, his career reflects his liminality between "tradition" and "innovation." However, many place him on an even higher pedestal than these other two artists. For example, Juan A. Valderrama (son of Juanito Valderrama) states: "Eso era Camarón, el no poner de acuerdo, enfrentar a las bases del flamenco—ese movimiento [de flamenco] que hacía falta lo generaba él" (qtd. in *Camarón Revolution*, Episode 2 00:41:36-00:41:41), and Alejandro Sanz goes as far as to claim that "la auténtica revolución después de la francesa y la industrial es la de Camarón" (qtd. in 00:48:08-00:48:21). This unparalleled attention given to him in comparison to the others is likely a result of his 1979 album *La leyenda del tiempo*.

La leyenda del tiempo was the fruit of the Sevillian "Underground" movement. The vision of the album began to take form after Camarón traveled to Seville in 1977. As the narrator describes in *Camarón*: *The Film*, Camarón became "fascinado con todo [el] sacrilegio [del

movimiento "Underground"] y le di[jo] a[l productor] Pachón que qu[ería] cambiar de productor, de discográfica y de rollo musical" (00:47:07-00:47:16). During the summer of 1979, Camarón worked with Pachón to bring together a diverse group of artists, many of whom were part of the Sevillian "Underground," to record the album.[50] According to Jesús López-Peláez Casellas, this album was liminal in that it maintained the "rigid structures" of flamenco such as its *compás*, thus linking it to "traditions," but also was transformative or "innovative" because it "adapt[ed] extraordinary valuable lyrics by non-flamenco writers (Fernando Villalón and Omar Khayyam), introduc[ed] rhythms and instruments never heard in a flamenco recording (namely, electric bass and guitars, percussion and drums, keyboards, and even a Moog synthesizer) and privileg[ed] *palos* which had traditionally been considered as 'minor' or secondary . . ." (208).[51] Thus, the album was able to "introduc[e] flamenco to a non-flamenco audience" and adjust flamenco, without forsaking its roots completely, so that it could more appropriately reflect the social context of a newly democratic Spain (208).

Although the album didn't result in immediate widespread success, it did draw an amount of attention to flamenco fusion practices that was previously unheard of and arguably became the biggest driving force towards the permanence of experimentalist tendencies in flamenco

[50] Some other main artists in the album's production were Kiko Veneno (who, according to the narrator in the documentary *Camarón: The Film*, "toca un poco de todo" in the album), Raimundo Amador (who played *guitarra flamenca*), Tomatito (who also played *guitarra flamenca*), Manolo and Rafael Marinelli (who performed on keyboard and piano respectively), Pepe Roca (who played electric guitar), Manolo Rosa (who played bass), and Gualberto (who played the sitar) (*Camarón: The Film,* 00:48:08-00:48:20).

[51] Note that Fernando Villalón was a "barely known surrealist poet from the group of poets known as *Generación del 27*" (López-Peláez Casellas 209). Omar Khayyam (1048-1131) was a Persian poet. Also note that *La leyenda del tiempo* included lyrics from García Lorca. López-Peláez Casellas argues that this choice in lyrics was part of what allowed the album to be subversive in its social context of a Spain that was still transitioning to its democracy (209).

beginning in the 1980s. As Grimaldos puts it, *La leyenda del tiempo* was "un disco innovador que supuso el arranque de una verdadera revolución flamenca . . . [y] fue el punto de partida de lo que después se ha llamado . . . el 'nuevo flamenco'" ("Capítulo 9"), and as Steingress similarly states, albums such as this one caused flamenco fusion to reach new heights of popularity among both *aficionados* and non-flamenco audiences, leading to the economically-driven label "Nuevo Flamenco" ("Flamenco Fusion" 199). In the eyes of many, Camarón de la Isla paved the way for other liminal works from the 1980s to today and reinforced the belief of others in the "experimental" generations that "traditions" and "innovations" can coexist.

Rosalía Distanced from the Others: Her Postmodern "Universe"

Now that we have explored a few examples of fundamental artists within the "experimental" generations, I wish to lay the groundwork for the next part of my thesis, in which I will purport that Rosalía can be considered part of this genealogy given that she looks back towards flamenco's "traditions" while being "innovative," but that she is also set apart from the genealogy due to her multifaceted, postmodern "universe" in her sophomore album *El mal querer*.

Just like other artists in the "experimental" generations, Rosalía has drawn attention in *El mal querer* for her eclectic combination of more "traditional" flamenco elements, such as chord structures (e.g., the use of the *cadencia flamenca* in "Di mi nombre"), melodic structures (e.g., the use of the harmonic minor scale and emphasis on the minor second in "Malamente"), rhythmic structures (e.g., the use of *palmas* and *compás*), vocal techniques, and an inclusion of deep and intense emotional themes, with more "innovative," "non-flamenco" instruments and sounds, such as the electronic synthesizer, motors, the Bratislava Symphony Orchestra, autotune,

the I-I-IV-I blues chord structure, Justin Timberlake's pop melody for "Cry Me a River," and rhythmic references to African music.[52]

Some, such as Ignacio Arias Puyana, have purported that the extreme degree to which Rosalía mixes together elements is what allows her to be separated from others in the "experimental" generations. In tracking and analyzing flamenco fusion and hybridization works of the 21st century across four musical categories (flamenco-pop, flamenco-rumba, flamenco-rock, and experimental), Arias Puyana claims that *El mal querer* falls into the last category; that it is a "hibridación [experimental]" that "no deja de ser heterodox[a]" (38). He notes that *El mal querer*, unlike other "experimental" fusion works, is commercial, meaning that it has been able to break through to wide audiences in a way that most other heterodox albums have not and states that because of this, Rosalía single-handedly "[ha conseguido] renacer el debate sobre si existen nuevas formas de hacer flamenco" (48). However, although I agree with Arias Puyana that Rosalía combines elements, as she has said herself, "de una manera siempre libre, abierta y sin prejuicios, desprejuiciada . . . experimentando" ("Rosalía confiesa" 00:05:23-00:05:32), I disagree with Arias Puyana's attempts to separate Rosalía from prior flamenco fusion artists solely based upon the degree to which her album is eclectic. It is true that Rosalía's musical combination of flamenco and non-flamenco elements has drawn massive attention to debates surrounding group identities and tradition vs. innovation and that she combines more elements than some of the other artists in the "experimental" generations. Yet, as I will demonstrate in the

[52] See Altozano, Vergillos, and Arias Puyana, as well as the subsequent chapter, for more insight on musical flamenco and non-flamenco references within *El mal querer.* Also note that Rosalía declares in an Instagram story (sobre EMQ 1) that she purposely uses autotune in order to forge additional new sounds and colors. She claims in this story, as well as in other interviews, to lack prejudice when it comes to mixing musical styles and references, even if it is autotune.

following chapter, the "base" of her album continues to be flamenco. Flamenco permeates everything in the album from her movements, to her aesthetic, to the rhythms holding the music together. Rosalía ultimately finds a way to "[hacer] que todo el mundo pued[a] conectar con esa música más allá de lenguajes, de barreras territoriales" while continuing to "reivindicar [a] todas las personas que han sido fundamentales [en el mundo de flamenco]" ("LATE MOTIV" 00:06:20-00:06:40). Although her album is eclectic, this liminal space between tradition and innovation is nothing new, and the fact that the album is still quite influenced by flamenco allows her to ultimately be considered as part of the "experimental" generations.

Yet, despite the similarities of Rosalía with others in the "experimental" generations, I purport that it is still important to ask whether her album *El mal querer* is distanced from the work of others in the "experimental" generations in any other ways. Why did the album cause such a rapid explosion in her popularity? Why has Rosalía, rather than other flamenco fusion artists, made such an unprecedented and immediate impact on the global stage?

In the interview with *Elle*, Rosalía claims that she approached the album by "creating a whole universe" (qtd. in Garcia-Furtado). I see three main interpretations of this phrase. The first is that Rosalía decided to extend her artistic creativity beyond singing and instrumental accompaniment. She also turned to dancing, her clothing aesthetic, visual symbolism in both images and music videos, and live shows. The second interpretation of her "creating a whole universe," as previously discussed, is that the album draws from a wide variety of sources. Both musically and visually, she combines flamenco references with everything from "high" culture Spanish paintings, to U.S. pop 1.0 artists, to pro-feminist messages. The intersection of multiple artistic mediums with a plethora of different cultural and artistic influences results in a postmodern mesh of elements that leads to what could be a third interpretation of this "universe;"

that the album draws viewers in and then encourages these viewers to create a "universe" of meanings that extend in many different directions.

The second interpretation of the "universe" is what Morales Gálvez argues was crucial to making the album an "un antes y un después" in Rosalía's career. He hypothesizes that "si el público está previamente familiarizado con la idea que se intenta transmitir en un producto, entonces existe una mayor probabilidad de consumirlo" (6); given that there are so many different types of references, a wide range of viewers are likely to find interest or value in at least one part of the album. To put in more vivid terms, one can think of this album as a cake. On the surface, a cake appears to be a unitary item but, as one slices it and begins eating it, it is in fact revealed to consist of many layers of different ingredients and flavors that combine to create a rich taste experience. For *El mal querer*, there is an overriding, universally understood storyline about toxic love, but within this macro theme, there are different genres, images and artistic references mixed into the batter. All contribute to create the full experience of the "universe" envisioned by Rosalía, and although not everyone likes or can taste every ingredient, they are almost guaranteed to find an element of the cake that fulfills their craving.

Although I think that this second interpretation of the "universe" is important, the third interpretation of the "universe" is what I will argue distances her album from others in the "experimental" generations, and it deserves further explanation. Some of the many references within Rosalía's "universe" are fairly straightforward and universally understood, such as images of pain and jealousy that form part of her overriding message about "toxic love," whereas others are more abstract, symbolic, or culture-specific, such as flamenco *palos* or references to the Spanish painter Francisco Goya (1746-1828). Each of these references is a contrived "intertext," or a part of a "network of textual relations," as Graham Allen describes it in his book on

intertextuality (1). This means that each reference is not a new, delimited creation, but rather, connected to other past texts and discourses. This intertextuality, which is a technique that is a subset of Postmodernism, results in viewers creating their own meanings based on their prior knowledge and understanding of the references, which will vary depending on the viewer's personal background and beliefs, and which may not be the same as the meanings of the work's "producer" (a term in itself that should be taken lightly, as Postmodernism and Intertextuality question Romantic ideas such as originality and authorship).[53] Thus, Rosalía's postmodern "universe" of elements causes the central "Meaning" of the album (in this case, the conceptual storyline) to become only one of many "meanings," as the viewers do not play the role of passive observers, but rather, active creators of meaning alongside Rosalía.

I will highlight this last idea within the next part of my thesis while analyzing a few of the video chapters within *El mal querer*. I will reveal that although Rosalía can be considered a part of the genealogy of flamenco fusion artists, or the "experimental" generations, due to the importance she places on flamenco "traditions" throughout her album while simultaneously "innovating," she also is distanced from the rest not only because of her album's eclectic nature but also due to how it gives viewers a significant amount of power to create a multiplicity of meanings and truths. In sum, I will show how flamenco is the crucial foundation which allows her to be placed within the flamenco fusion genealogy, but how her "universe" of meanings is what distances her and the album from others in this genealogy and globally.

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[53] For further information about the idea of originality and authorship in connection to Postmodernism and Intertextuality, please see the essay "The Death of the Author" (1968) by Roland Barthes (1915-1980) or the essay "What is an Author?" (1968) by Michel Foucault (1926-1984). For further information on the concepts of Postmodernism and Intertextuality in general, please see *A Postmodern Reader* (1993) by Joseph P. Natoli and Linda Hutcheon as well as *Intertextuality* (2000) by Allen (in the Works Cited).

Chapter 4: Flamenco and the Postmodern "Universe" in *El mal querer*

> Cuando compongo para mí lo importante es ser lo suficientemente concreta como para que tenga verdad, y quien lo recibe diga ok me lo creo, entiendo que hay tantos detalles que esto tiene verdad. Pero a la vez debe ser lo suficientemente abstracto como para que cada uno haga su propia lectura e historia (Rosalía qtd. in Zimerman)

In this paper I have introduced a Spanish singer who launched her artistic career as a flamenco artist and then rapidly emerged on the world stage to great acclaim, Rosalía Vila Tobella. After highlighting the inherently hybrid nature of flamenco and how it has continuously evolved throughout history based on both individual artists and its surrounding social contexts (see Chapter 2), I located Rosalía within the genealogy of the "Experimental" Generations—those who have been able to look back towards flamenco's "traditions" while also "innovating" in order to help adapt flamenco to the most recent social contexts of globalization and postmodernity (Chapter 3). I ended the previous chapter by distancing Rosalía from the other artists in the "Experimental" Generations due to how her intertextual, postmodern "universe" in *El mal querer* leads viewers to produce a never-ending web of meanings (see Chapter 3). In this next portion of the thesis, I will support these claims by exploring the ways in which flamenco permeates *El mal querer*, while also mixing together with other non-flamenco aural and visual elements to form Rosalía's postmodern "universe" of meanings.

As discussed in the Introduction and at the end of the last chapter, Morales Gálvez has closely analyzed one of the video chapters of *El mal querer*, "Di mi nombre." Given the higher sensory output in the music video portions of the album, I will follow Morales Gálvez's lead and expand upon his efforts by focusing my efforts on the album's video chapters, but unlike

Morales Gálvez, who highlights how the postmodern nature of the album allows it to draw in a wide range of viewers, I will emphasize how Rosalía has created a "universe" that not only draws a wider range of viewers but, also, encourages and allows them to create their own meanings. As I mentioned before, in the next pages I will be focusing on the three video chapters I consider most important: "Malamente," "Pienso en tu mirá" and "De aquí no sales."

"Malamente" and "Pienso en tu mirá" were released as singles prior to the album's official premiere. "Malamente" came first, with a release date of May 30, 2018 (around five months before the album's premiere) and "Pienso en tu mirá" came second, with a release date of July 24, 2018 (around three months before the album's premiere). Although these staggered releases were certainly part of a marketing strategy to build anticipation for the album, they also established Rosalía in the global music scene, introduced the world to the wide variety of symbols that Rosalía used to create her "universe," and primed audiences' expectations for the rest of the album, thus making them important to analyze. "De aquí no sales" was the last puzzle piece to *El mal querer*. It was released as a single two months after the album's debut and has since been labeled by many, such as musicians Jaime Altozano and Edwing Cohen ("THE BAD WANT"), as the album's most experimental chapter. By also performing an in-depth analysis of the flamenco elements within this video chapter, I can better reveal the important role that flamenco has played throughout Rosalía's overall creation.

I will present these video chapters in the order in which Rosalía lists them in the album. I will provide my own interpretations and analysis but expand upon them by bringing in the perspectives of others, thus highlighting the role of viewers in creating multiple meanings as a

crucial factor in the widespread fascination with the album, her quick rise to fame, and the formation of the "universe" that distances her from others in the "Experimental" Generations.[54]

I will make flamenco the foundation of my analysis. Just as Morales Gálvez, I will consider the musical, lyrical, aesthetic, movement, and iconographic intertexts at work but will make it a goal to show that flamenco is not just one of many elements within her album, but rather, the crucial foundation that allows her to be placed within the genealogy of flamenco artists, and that its unique hybridity with other elements and intertexts that blur ultimate Meanings and Truths makes her work stand out from others in this genealogy as well as on a global scale.

Caveats

There are a few caveats to my analysis. The first caveat is that I am viewing her postmodern "universe" from the standpoint of an outsider from the U.S. who is looking into the

[54]As discussed in the Introduction, this album has a "core" storyline that revolves around toxic love. Yet, the postmodern nature in which this storyline is told allows viewers to interpret it in multiple ways. Widespread fascination with the album is likely in part due to the more specific fact that viewers are able to create meanings surrounding topics that are highly relevant to them; gender relations and gender-based violence. Although these topics can be understood on a universal level, in Spain in particular (where many of the viewers come from), gender-based violence has been a major issue in recent years. The 2020 "Informe anual sobre Violencia de Género" conducted by the *Observatorio contra la violencia doméstica de género* reported that out of the 150,785 *denuncias* in 2020, 88.1% were *condenados*, and the vast majority of those accused and *condenados* were male (99.6%). Another study done by Spain's Equality Ministry in 2021 showed that "more than 17% of girls [in Spain] still repor[t] experiencing psychological abuse and control-based [and gender-based] violence" (Laudette). Cultural products in Spain have increasingly denounced gender-based inequalities and abuse, and *El mal querer* could be considered as being in dialogue (intertextual) with these products, thus making it another highly relevant cultural product. For example, the song "Malamente" could be viewed as intertextual with the 2004 song "Malo," by the Spanish singer María Nieves Rebolledo Vila (better known as "Bebe"). The song is about a man who abuses a woman who describes him as "malo." When listening to "Malamente," many viewers likely make the connection to this other cultural product.

worlds of Spain and flamenco. My analysis and recognition of intertexts is based upon prior knowledge and research, but my position is limited. Although bringing in the perspectives of other viewers will amplify my analysis of flamenco and the multiple potential meanings with which it is melded, it will still be impossible to recognize and discuss every single flamenco reference and related intertextual processes at work within the three video chapters I will be analyzing.

The second caveat is that although I will analyze the video chapters in the order they are listed in the album, they should not be considered as being definitively linear. As Cohen states, "tal vez el capítulo uno sucedió después del capítulo siete y el seis antes [del] cuatro" ("EL mal Querer, en verdad" 00:26:16-00:26:29). Even if *El mal querer* is a concept album greatly inspired by the events surrounding the toxic relationship in *Flamenca*, we also have to keep in mind that there are multiple potential interpretations surrounding the order in which she chose to present the songs. Additionally, each song cannot be fully isolated from the others. Most elements within *El mal querer* can be traced intertextually to other portions of the album. Thus, in parts of the analysis that focus on one video chapter, I will occasionally refer to another.

The third and last caveat is that I cannot consider the "universe" of meanings produced by Rosalía's fusion of flamenco with other elements and intertexts without considering the permeation of feminism. The plurality of meanings she produces often blurs hierarchical gender binaries, and to an extent, seems to be consistent with Judith Butler's approach to gender. Butler views the gender binary and gender-based "norms" as societally created constructs that are perpetuated through the repeated "performance" of signifiers ("acts and gestures, articulated and enacted desires") (583). Rosalía similarly treats flamenco and other non-flamenco elements as a gendered "performance"—she melds together signs that establish herself within traditional

frameworks of what have been established as "norms" for a female flamenco artist with signs that challenge these frameworks and reveal them to just be part of an illusory "performance." By considering how feminism plays a role in her "universe," we can see yet another way in which Rosalía blurs meanings.

Flamenco Leitmotifs

Before delving into an in-depth analysis for each song, it is important to establish a general framework of the leitmotifs we will see that help weave the album together as a context album and repeatedly link *El mal querer* to flamenco.

The lyrical flamenco leitmotifs that emerge from the beginning of the album and continue throughout it are: deep and intense emotional themes (such as jealousy, rage, sadness, and abuse), which are commonly the base of flamenco *palos* (see Chapter 2); and word choice/diction, which draw connections to groups prominent in the history of flamenco's origin and development (gitanos and Southern Spaniards).[55] The music in "Malamente" serves as a counterpart to the lyrics in establishing the album's flamenco foundation. As Cohen notes, among the album's musical connecting threads are "las palmas" and "el modo frigio," both of which he directly links to flamenco and claims to be responsible for creating a constant atmosphere of lamentation in the album ("THE BAD WANT" 00:10:49-00:11:03, 00:11:17-00:11:33).[56] Cohen additionally mentions that "el vozcentrismo" is a crucial element that is

[55] It is important to clarify that whenever I use the words "emotions" or "emotional" to describe *El mal querer* or flamenco, I mean that something is "viscerally emotional" or contains "emotions" in their most visceral form.

[56] Musical notes are most commonly structured around the "tonal" system of major and minor keys which each have a "root" or central unified note around which a melody revolves. This

present throughout the album (00:11:17-00:11:33). Although he does not directly link this element to flamenco, I propose that it is valid to consider it as another flamenco leitmotif if we take into account Rosalía's comments on her reasoning behind the voice-centric nature of her album.[57] In her Instagram story, Rosalía claims that by centering her album around a diversity of human voices that produce many different colors ("voces blancas, o un color más tronco, más duro, o más agresivo"), she could expose "voces tan imperfectas pero tan emocionantes" (sobre EMQ 1). The characteristics of Rosalía's "vozcentrismo" aligns with those that Washabaugh details in his analysis of flamenco *cante* (discussed in Chapter 2). He claims that verses in *cante* tend to vary greatly in the emotions projected, from "angry fury" to "weepy," as well as in the vocal textures displaced, from hoarseness to falsetto (*Flamenco Music* 22). Additionally, the connection Rosalía draws between her "vozcentrismo" and imperfection indicates that her focus is not fully on technicality. Rather, she finds value in producing music that is about deep emotional communication and making connections with the audience, things that not only yet again align her album with *cante* but which could also draw her album closer to certain aspects

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"tonal" system was used during the Common Practice Period (approximately 1650-1900) in European art music and continues to be the basis of many songs today. Another way to structure musical notes is around harmonies. This is called "modal" music. In this structure, the "root" or central note is displaced. "El modo frigio," the Phrygian Mode, begins on the third note of a traditional "tonal" scale. So, for example, to convert a traditional C Major scale (C, D, E, F, G, A, B, C) into Phrygian Mode, you would begin on the third note of this scale (E, F, G, A, B, C, D, E) ("Tonality and Modality"). The Phrygian Mode is common in flamenco *palos* and, as previously mentioned in Chapter 2, is known for its dark tone and lowered second scale degree (Washabaugh, *Flamenco Music* 21), characteristics which contribute to the "lamentation" found often in flamenco performances and which are also found in Rosalía's *El mal querer*.

[57] Cohen's term "vozcentrismo" (Rosalía similarly calls her album "vozcentrista" on Instagram) (sobre EMQ 1) refers to Rosalía's focus on giving prominence to the voice over instruments throughout her album. As Rosalía describes it, she wanted the voice to be "en primer plano" (sobre EMQ 2) and challenged herself to substitute instruments such as the *guitarra flamenca* for "armonías vocales" (sobre EMQ 1).

of the flamenco concept *duende*.[58] Given all of this, we can conclude that Rosalía's "vozcentrismo" is yet another crucial leitmotif that helps establish the album within the flamenco realm.

The visual elements support the lyrical and musical base of leitmotifs that situate the album in the domain of flamenco. Some prominent visual elements can be immediately linked to flamenco, such as the *muñeca de Marín* (see later in this chapter) or Rosalía's *de cintura para arriba* arm motions (see Chapter 2) whereas others, such as *los toros* and Catholicism, are less directly linked as stand-alone elements. However, despite this, Rosalía intertwines all of these elements in a way in which they retain their connotations held prior to the album while also being resignified to contribute to a plurality of potential storylines that are visceral and often feminist. Thus, the visuals continue to situate the album in the realm of flamenco while also forming the "universe" that has made Rosalía stand out globally.

"MALAMENTE [CAPÍTULO 1: AUGURIO]"

This video chapter was produced by CANADA, a Catalan firm based in Barcelona that specializes in music videos. Immediately upon its release on May 30, 2018, the single went viral. By June 3, 2018, just days after the release, Rosalía posted on Instagram to celebrate two million views on YouTube and one million listeners on Spotify. Soon after, at the 19th Latin Grammy

[58] García Lorca wrote an essay titled "Juego y teoría del duende" in which he describes *duende* as "un poder y no un obrar," or "un luchar y no un pensar" (151). He also includes another description of *duende* (which he attributes to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe) as a "poder misterioso que todos sienten y ningún filósofo explica" (150). These descriptions illustrate the idea of *duende* as evading strict definitions and being rooted in a communal experience of emotions and senses. Here, I am not taking a stance on whether or not Rosalía exhibits *duende* in her album, but rather stating that her draw towards the vocal expression of emotions and imperfection approximates her album towards certain aspects of *duende*.

Awards in November of 2019, "Malamente" was nominated for Record of the Year, Song of the Year, Best Urban Fusion Performance, Best Short Form Music Video, and Best Alternative Song. It won the last two, not only indicating the song's popularity, but also the lack of clarity as to which genre(s) the album fell into. It was the start to many controversies (see Introduction), but was also, according to many, (e.g., Paws & Tails Productions, Carlos Rendón), a "work of art."

Musical Framework

We see all three musical leitmotifs in "Malamente." First, *palmas* are the rhythmic foundation throughout the piece. Second, as both Altozano (00:03:37-00:03:44) and Cohen ("EL mal Querer, en verdad" 00:06:38-00:07:00) recognize, the melody is formed around a C minor Harmonic scale. Not only do the notes within this scale, many of which form minor seconds, produce a more melancholic sound (characteristic of some flamenco *palos* and in support of emotionally dramatic storylines), but they also are the same notes that form the G Phrygian dominant scale, thus associating the melody with the musical flamenco leitmotif of the Phrygian mode.[59] Third and last, the voice is a central actor. This is most notable at the beginning of the song, when the only other consistently used instrument other than the voice and *palmas* is the synthesizer, which plays sustained chords (CANADA, "ROSALÍA – 'MALAMENTE'"

[59] For more information on the Phrygian mode, see footnote 56 within this chapter. A Phrygian dominant scale is "a Phrygian scale [within the Phrygian mode] with the third note raised a half step" ("Writing Exotic Music" 00:01:07-00:01:15). For example, the scale E, F, G, A, B, C, D, E (within the Phrygian mode) can become a Phrygian dominant scale by changing the G to a G#. It produces a similarly dark sound which Signals Music Studio describes, perhaps problematically, as "exotic eastern" ("Writing Exotic Music" 00:02:12-00:02:18).

00:00:11-00:00:30).[60] The voice itself is made to sound "imperfect[a]" and intimate through slight voice cracks (e.g., 00:00:20) and through the use of tones typical of the talking voice at the ends of some phrases (e.g., 00:00:21, 00:00:26, 00:00:31). At times, the voice is also imbued with more "traditional" flamenco characteristics, such as melismas (e.g., 00:01:31) and vibrato (e.g., 00:01:36).[61] In this way, the voice draws the song closer to *cante* and heightens the emotions portrayed in the lyrics as a third musical flamenco leitmotif.

If we consider Rosalía's detailed description of the album in sobre EMQ 1, these extensive connections to flamenco were no accident. Rosalía describes the melody of "Malamente" as inspired by both copla and the tangos of the flamenco artist Manuel Vallejo.[62] This latter inspiration is crucial to highlight for two reasons. First, we can see multiple ways in

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[60] Timestamps throughout the rest of this section are from this music video ("ROSALÍA – 'MALAMENTE'") produced by CANADA.

[61] "Melismas" can be defined as "the singing of a single syllable of text while moving between several different notes in succession. Music sung in this style is referred to as melismatic, as opposed to syllabic, where each syllable of text is matched to a single note" ("Melisma," *Flamenco Dictionary*). The *Flamenco Glossary (El Mundo Flamenco)* also describes "melismas" as "a series of notes sung on a single syllable which can sound like wailing to the uni[n]itiated" ("Melisma"). The term "vibrato" is "a rapidly repeated slight change in the pitch of a musical note. Singers and musicians use vibrato to make the music sound more emotional" ("Vibrato").

[62] Manuel Vallejo (1891-1960) was a *payo* (non-gitano) *cantaor* who was born in Seville but carried out most of his professional flamenco career in Barcelona and Madrid. The height of his career was during the *ópera flamenca* period (see Chapter 2) and he was part of this movement, often selling out performances in the theaters of Madrid (Ruiz Fuentes). Also important to note is his apparent skill in "interpretar todos los palos con dignidad y altura" ("Manuel Vallejo," *VintagemusicFM*). This diversity in ability, as well as the fact that he toured throughout Spain and became "in demand in all the cities" by 1925, likely led to his winning of the "Llave de Oro del Cante" in 1926, a crucial milestone given that in that moment, only one person had won the award (Tomás El Nitri) and the subsequent person to win it after Vallejo was Antonio Mairena in 1962 ("Manuel Vallejo," *VintagemusicFM*). Additional accomplishments were his recording of 123 albums throughout his career ("Manuel Vallejo," *VintagemusicFM*) as well as his establishment as "one of the singers of 'saetas' most in demand at Easter in Sevilla" ("Manuel Vallejo Biography").

which Rosalía's performance of "Malamente" reflects the *tangos* of Vallejo. As an example, if we consider "Malamente" in conjunction with a performance of Vallejo's *tango* "Al Cristo de la Humildad" ("Manuel Vallejo – Al Cristo"), the melody and harmony of "Malamente" are based around the C minor Harmonic Scale, quite similar to the Eb minor Harmonic scale in "Al Cristo de la Humildad," and Rosalía's vocals, which include vibrato and melismas (particularly from 00:01:29-00:01:39), are similar to Vallejo's singing style. Second, Manuel Vallejo was a flamenco artist well-known for his performances of the *saeta flamenca* (songs of lament and penitence, common during *Semana Santa* processions in Southern Spain that have been adopted by flamenco artists and infused with flamenco characteristics).[63] Perhaps Rosalía decided to gain inspiration from Vallejo in particular because she knew that harking back to a flamenco artist, and more specifically, a *saeta flamenca* artist, would help emphasize the deep and vulnerable sentiments she wished to convey in the song (i.e. angst, frustration, sadness). Thus, not only the music itself, but also its inspiration, is deeply intertwined with flamenco.

Now that we have established the flamenco base, we can see how its fusion with non-flamenco elements contributes to a "universe" more musically open to interpretation. Although Altozano and Rosalía agree that the voices shouting words in the background can be linked to urban music, Altozano calls these moments "contrapuntos del trap" and also relates other non-

[63] Corinna Kramer and Leo Plenckers state that the "original popular form of the saeta" (which is now called the *saeta vieja* or *saeta antigua*) was "characterized by a simple melodic line that is sung in a syllabic style by anyone who feels the urge to express his/her feelings of compassion" (102). However, at the beginning of the 20th century, brotherhoods decided to start hiring flamenco singers to perform during *La Semana Santa*, which resulted in the emergence of another type of *saeta*, the *saeta flamenca*. The *saeta flamenca* "is characterized by typical elements of the *cante jondo*, such as the use of melismas and specific ornaments . . . [and] is performed by singers who are experts in the flamenco style" (102). For examples, please listen to Vallejo's performances of "Al Calvario Camina" ("08 Manuel Vallejo") and "Moisés y Sus Hermanos" ("01 Manuel Vallejo").

flamenco elements, such as the repetitive "loop" of four chords one can hear throughout the song, specifically to the trap genre.[64] Rosalía, however, claims that she did not intend to include any trap in her album and relates the background voices to the general categories of urban music, and flamenco (*jaleos*), as well as the more specific musical ornaments of the "Tra" shouted in flamenco and to the "Brap Brap" common in Jamaican music (sobre EMQ 1).[65] Altozano also finds a connection between the chord structure in the chorus and the blues genre when the low "F" (the fourth note in a C minor scale) is added to a normal C minor chord (C, Eb, G), evoking the I, I, IV, I chord progression (00:06:39-00:07:15), something Rosalía never mentions when discussing the musical influences in the song.[66] Cohen takes yet a different approach to his musical interpretation, focusing on how the low "F" dialogues with other musical elements and the lyrical storyline as a separate entity that embodies a character in the story, rather than as part

[64] Dylan Smith defines the "trap" genre as a "synthesized drum-heavy hip-hop subset that originated in the Southern United States during the early 1990s. Trap music's lyrics revolve around the culture and experiences of 'traps,' or neighborhoods that serve as the site of illegal drug deals." "What is Trap Music?" provides a similar definition while also emphasizing that within trap songs there is a "strong emphasis on repetitiveness." Examples of trap artists are Gucci Mane (1980-) and Waka Flocka Flame (1986-).

[65] Álvaro Piñero supports Rosalía's statement by indicating that "the 'tra tra' in [the chorus of "Malamente"] are derived from the 'brap brap' of Jamaican music [and] the 'tra' is [also] frequently shouted during a flamenco performance." As Rosalía demonstrates herself, it is common "usa[r] tu voz de una forma más hablada" (as Rosalía describes it) within many genres of music and it can evoke a variety of both flamenco and non-flamenco intertexts in the listener's mind.

[66] Blues is a "secular folk music" that originated within black communities of agricultural workers in the Southern United States during the late 1800s. The blues eventually adapted to urban environments during World War I (1914-1918), the Great Depression (1929-1933), and World War II (1939-1945). By the 1960s, blues became "one of the most important influences on the development of popular music throughout the United States." Although originally a melancholy genre with lyrics that related to "problems in love," the blues is now characterized by lyrics surrounding urban themes and instruments such as the piano, harmonica, and guitar. Examples of blues artists are B.B. King (1925-2015) and Buddy Guy (1936-) ("Blues").

of a harmony ("EL mal Querer, en verdad" 00:08:27-00:08:40). Cohen claims that the low "F" must be considered as separate from the harmony surrounding it, which is different from what Altozano argues. Cohen views the low "F" as representative of the "mal," or the man in the toxic relationship (00:11:29-00:11:32). He notes that in the first verse we can initially hear the low "F" sound off in the distance as glass breaks in the first verse, which establishes its connection with "mal," and that it subsequently gains power (00:08:00-00:08:16) and dialogues with Rosalía's voice throughout the rest of the song. He thus aligns the low "F" with the male in the toxic relationship. According to Cohen, an example of this dialogue that demonstrates this symbolism is when the low "F" sounds by itself at the end of the song's bridge, indicating the male's assertion of his dominance over Rosalía. Cohen claims that Rosalía initially responds to the male (the low "F") with uncertainty, given that she sings powerful lyrics ("No voy a perder ni un minuto en volver a pensarte") within a scale that "sube y baja," indicating that she also feels fear and hesitation. However, this dialogue results in Rosalía's eventual decision to stand up to the man by finishing her scale on a "C" as the man's "F" sounds (00:12:08-00:13:13). Considering all of these interpretations, we not only see how musically, flamenco is mixed with a variety of other musical intertexts, but also how this mixture establishes a complex base over which a "universe" of meanings can take place.

Lyrical Storyline

Regardless of one's interpretation of the storyline, the flamenco leitmotif of deep and intense emotions permeates the lyrics throughout "Malamente" ("'Malamente (Cap. 1 Augurio)'

Lyrics").[67] Speaking in general terms, the beginning of the song, "Ese cristalito roto / Yo sentí cómo crujía / Antes de caerse al suelo / Ya sabía que se rompía," highlights the regret of the narrative voice, perhaps for having ignored her intuitions ("Ya sabía que se rompía") and for having allowed the "cristalito roto" to "caerse al suelo." Regret is soon mixed with fear and danger, as someone is "cruzando el pasillo" while "está parpadeando / La luz del descansillo" (line 3). The chorus, "Malamente" and "mu[y] mal," could continue to indicate this self-regret (perhaps the narrative voice is scolding themselves for not having taken action to prevent the "cristalito roto") or anger towards the other party involved in the song. The chorus could also indicate danger (which could relate to line 3). Temptation and danger continue to be prominent in the second and third verses ("Se ha puesto la noche rara / Han salí'o luna y estrellas / Me lo dijo esa gitana (¿Qué?) / Mejor no salir a verla . . . Aunque no esté bonita / La noche, ¡Undivé! / Voy a salir pa' la calle" (lines 14-15, lines 28-29)). In these lines, a *gitana* warns the narrative voice of a certain danger ("la noche"). The narrative voice knows that it is threatening but feels the temptation to enter into it anyways.[68]

The other lyrical flamenco leitmotif, word choice/diction reminiscent of Southern Spain and/or gitanos, is also present. Beginning with diction, we can see how it could be reminiscent of a Southern Spanish accent. Rosalía makes use of diminutives such as "cristalito" (line 1), "manita" (line 29), and the suffix "illo" from "chiquillo" (line 10), and also drops the "s" at the end of words. German author Anjanita, who conducted an in-depth study of the lyrics of

[67] A copy of the lyrics to "Malamente" and the other two songs discussed in this thesis can be found in Appendix B: Song Lyrics.

[68] The relation of this portion of the song to *presagios* and astrology also connects it to gitanos in general as well as works by notable Spanish figures (García Lorca and Julio Romero de Torres). See below for a more detailed discussion.

"Malamente," argues that dropping the suffixes from these words may serve artistic purposes (e.g., to achieve rhyming, such as when Rosalía drops the "s" from words such as "estrellas" (line 14) so that it rhymes with "rara" (line 14), and to create ambiguity in meaning (such as when Rosalía drops the "s" from "verlas" in line 15 to make it unclear as to whether she is referring to "la noche" (line 14) or "[la] luna y [las] estrellas" (line 14), but that dropping the "s" also goes beyond artistry—according to Anjanita, the words are "producid[as] al modo andaluz . . . [y] establecen la cercanía con el cante" (Sec. III, Cap. 1 texto). Others, such as Andalusian Youtubers Spanish with Antonio ("ROSALÍA & the Andalusian Accent") and LusiFR (the latter of which added a comment to the video by TheUrbanEve that addresses the topic, "EXPLAINING ROSALÍA'S"), affirm the connection between Rosalía's voice and a Southern Spanish accent, and Spanish with Antonio also connects it to flamenco (00:01:18-00:01:38), thus validating it as a genuine intertext that yet again situates "Malamente" in the realm of flamenco.

Now moving on to word choice, we can see how it not only connects to Southern Spain, but more specifically, gitanos. As discussed in Chapter 2, gitanos played a large role (although not the only role) in the formation and dissemination of flamenco. Thus, not only have many gitanos been flamenco artists, but their culture and languages have become fused into flamenco performances. The language *caló*, which is a mixture of *Romani* (a language believed to originate from the South Asian language *Sanskrit*) and Andalusian Spanish, has played a large role in flamenco. In "Malamente," Rosalía continues this tradition of incorporating *caló* by singing the lyric "¡Undivé!" (a variation of the *caló* term "Undebel"). Although some critics, such as sociologist José Heredia, insist that Rosalía's use of "¡Undivé!" shows a lack of respect towards the religious persecution and exclusion that gitanos have faced as a result of using the

word (qtd. in Rosati 00:04:06-00:04:27), it is a topos common in flamenco *palos*.[69] Thus, her word choice works with the diction to establish her lyrical storyline within a flamenco framework.

Given the multiple ways in which the lyrics fall within this flamenco structure, lyrics that less directly reference Southern Spain and gitanos are still intertextually connected to them in the imaginaries of some viewers. For example, Anjanita links the first line of "Malamente" ("ese cristalito roto") to lines 19-20 in the second verse ("Me lo dijo esa gitana (¿Qué?) / Mejor no salir a verla (no)"). She says that a potential interpretation could be that the "cristalito" references a "bola de cristal" that the *gitana* used to predict Rosalía's future, a future that she did not particularly like, and thus rejected as "roto" (Sec. III, Cap. 1 texto). This interpretation brings back the idea of regret and also introduces anger. Perhaps Rosalía is angry at herself for having put herself in a situation that will only lead to her future doom and ultimately regrets her decisions. Anjanita strengthens this link between the lyrics and gitanos by viewing this plot moment as intertextual with *La Buenaventura* by Julio Romero de Torres. This painting (see image in Appendix A, Section 1A, Figure 1) depicts two women with scenes of Córdoba in the background. The woman on the right shows a tarot card to the other woman on the left, predicting her future. However, instead of paying attention to the woman on the right, the woman on the left gazes towards the ground, indicating a complete lack of attention or indifference to the omen before her. The scene in the background, of a man walking away from a woman as she

[69] The word "Undebel" has many variants, including "Undivé" as well as others such as "Debel" or "Divé," but according to *Etimologías de Chile* ("Undebel"), the word, in all of its variations, means "Dios" (God). Although this word has its origin in *caló*, the website states that "se usa en español en el entorno del flamenco y el ambiente gitano." An example of a flamenco artist who has used "Undebel" is Diego El Cigala (who titled one of his albums "Undebel" (1998), which contained a song also titled "Undebel").

begs him for something, is perhaps the "mal augurio" that the woman on the left does not want to hear. Anjanita points out not only how this painting's plot aligns with the plot in "Malamente," but also how the painter, Romero de Torres, often used *gitanas* and female flamenco artists as his subjects, thus clarifying the reason as to why Rosalía would choose to reference his painting, and why Rosalía sold the deluxe version of her album with tarot cards (see image in Appendix A, Section 1A, Figure 2). Anjanita claims that the crystal ball (which we see in the lyrics) and the tarot cards (which we see in the lyrics, painting, and the album's deluxe version) create an evident link between the lyrics of "Malamente" and *gitanas* (Sec. III, Cap. 1 texto). In a separate study that provides an overview of gitano stereotypes, Benzal Alía and María Guadalupe affirm that many connect "los augurios y la influencia de ciertos astros" to gitanos (25). Thus, Anjanita's interpretation of the lyrics, although perhaps less common, still situates the lyrics in the realm of flamenco.

The presence of the gitana and astrology within these same lyrics also allow them to intertextually connect to some of García Lorca's works, such as his collection of poems, *Romancero gitano* (1928). As mentioned in Chapter 2, *Romancero gitano* is a set of short ballads in which gitanos are the protagonists, and in writing these ballads, García Lorca hoped to expose the pain and marginalization that they had continuously suffered as well as represent "the Andalusian culture and customs in its purest form" (Chilcott).[70] To communicate his ideas, he

[70] As Lydia Rodríguez Mata phrases it, García Lorca "siempre estuvo adscrito a las clases más marginadas—gitanas, negros, homosexuales...—, a aquellos que viven al margen de la sociedad o no participan de los convencionalismos sociales" (24). His attempts to revindicate gitanos in particular are evident in his works. Rodríguez Mata claims that his works are "una reivindicación de la figura del gitano, desechando, por un lado, ese pintoresquismo que nos vendieron durante mucho tiempo aquellos viajeros del siglo XIX, y, por otro lado, desterrando los tópicos sucios y malintencionados que impregnaron durante siglos algunas obras" (25). His support for gitanos did not go unnoticed. In the late 20th century, a group of gitanos united to create an album in his honor called *Los gitanos cantan a Federico García Lorca* (1997).

consistently includes themes such as “la noche, la muerte, el cielo [y] la luna” (Perdomo Vanegas 22). Just on the basis of these themes, we can see the connection to the lyrics of “Malamente.” However, the connection is strengthened further when we consider how García Lorca links these themes to the idea of *presagios*. Within one of the most well-known romances of *Romancero gitano*, called “Romance de la luna, luna,” *la luna* tempts a boy who cannot stop staring at it and simultaneously warns him of his death, stating that “Cuando vengan los gitanos / te encontrarán sobre el yunque / con los ojillos cerrados” (García Lorca qtd. in Perdomo Vanegas 22-23). William Leonardo Perdomo Vanegas describes this scene by saying that *la luna* “toma el cuerpo de una mujer encantadora, pero se presenta también como una figura que guarda un secreto, oculta malos presagios [de la muerte]” (22). The boy is ultimately unable to avoid *la luna* despite it warning him of his impending death, just as in “Malamente,” when Rosalía finally decides to “salir a la calle” to see the “luna y estrellas” despite the *presagio* of the g*itana.* This intertextuality links the lyrics within “Malamente” to “el mundo gitano,” which Perdomo Vanegas describes as a “raza nómada y supersticiosa, que canta siempre a la muerte y a la vida sin esperanza de redención” (24), while also reinforcing the previously mentioned link between the song’s lyrics and the visceral themes present in flamenco (in this case, temptation and death).

It is also important to mention the intertextuality between the astrology and *presagios* of “Malamente” with García Lorca’s trilogy of plays, *Las tragedias* (composed of *Bodas de sangre* (1932), *Yerma* (1934) and *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (1936)). If we consider *Bodas de sangre*, for example, *la luna* plays a role in predicting the “desenlace sangriento” of the story (González del Valle 100). Within this story, tension boils between el Novio (who is supposed to marry la Novia), la Novia (who is hesitant about having the wedding, partly due to her lingering feelings for Leonardo) and Leonardo (who loves the Novia and doesn’t want to let her marry someone

else). At one point, la Novia and Leonardo run away from the wedding party and enter the woods, and el Novio runs after them in an attempt to find them and confront Leonardo. *La luna* enables this violent and fatal confrontation by providing a "cuchillo de luz" (as González del Valle describes it, 101) and also predicts the bad fate that will befall them ("Pues esta noche tendrán / mis mejillas roja sangre").[71] The way in which *la luna i*s connected to *los presagios y la muerte* in *Bodas de sangre m*akes it another legitimate intertextual reference with the lyrics of "Malamente" and situates the lyrics of "Malamente" yet again within the more specific realm of los gitanos as well the broader flamenco realm of visceral emotions.

On top of this lyrical flamenco foundation is Rosalía's globally significant "universe" of lyrical intertexts and interpretations. Although we know that Rosalía intended for the storyline to discuss a toxic relationship between one man and one woman (sobre EMQ 1), and most (see examples below) agree that the narrative voice in this song is that of Rosalía, the specific nature of this relationship and the emotions that Rosalía communicates are points of contention. Youtuber It's JotaJota sees "Malamente" as the starting point of the storyline where Rosalía senses an "augurio" that something is not right in the relationship due to signs such as the

[71] It is important to note that the choice of Luis González del Valle to use the word "cuchillo" when discussing *Bodas de sangre* is not an accident—García Lorca had an "obsesión . . . por este tipo de utensilios" (Úbeda Rodríguez). Rosalía recognizes this obsession in her own album. She makes multiple references to knives throughout that can be considered intertextual with the works of García Lorca. For example, in "Que no salga la luna (Cap. 2: Boda)," Rosalía includes the phrase "Como las hojas de un cuchillo / Brillaban los sacais suyos cuando le di el anillo" ("ROSALÍA – QUE NO SALGA LA LUNA") which Lara Úbeda Rodríguez considers to be intertextual with a scene in *Bodas de sangre* when the Mother says "Con un cuchillo, / con un cuchillito, / en un día señalado, entre las dos y las tres, / se mataron los dos hombres del amor" (García Lorca qtd. in Úbeda Rodríguez). Rosalía's references to knives can also be considered as intertextual with her own aesthetic. She often wears long nails that can be aligned with long and sharp *cuchillos* in both her and the viewers' minds. Rosalía encourages this intertextual connection in her other works, such as in her music video for "Aute Cuture" (Bradley & Pablo 00:00:08, 00:01:12).

"cristalito roto" and the "puente" that "se mueve y tambalea," but chooses to ignore them and continue on in the relationship regardless ("ANÁLISIS: El Mal Querer" 00:03:07-00:03:25). Dolivero similarly sees "Malamente" as a temporal precursor to Capítulo 2: Boda, stating that it is a "premonition that something bad will happen [and] that the marriage that is about to take place will bring tragedy" (Part I). In complete contrast, Anjanita and Youtuber Jordi Wild see it as Rosalía's "carta de despedida" (Anjanita, Sec. III, Cap. 1 texto; Jordi Wild, "TODO SOBRE ROSALÍA" 00:08:16-00:08:30), which, as the phrase implies, comes after other songs in the album and details the crucial moment in which Rosalía finds the strength to finally acknowledge the warning signs and leave the toxic relationship. An even more extreme contrast to the interpretations of Wild and Dolivero is that of Roy Cid, who believes that "Malamente" occurs after the breakup already happened and showcases the rollercoaster of extreme emotions Rosalía feels as a result ("¿Que hay detrás"). As we can see, there is no right way to interpret the lyrics; rather, they require active mental engagement on the part of the viewers and thus lay the groundwork for her "universe."

Visual Elements

Now that we have established the musical and lyrical base of "Malamente," the visual elements of the video chapter work with this base to continue to situate the album within the flamenco realm while also contributing to her unique hybrid "universe" of meanings.

In this song, there are a few flamenco aesthetic and movement elements that Rosalía includes, notably, the color red, the physical performance of *palmas* (e.g., 00:00:32-00:00:34, 00:00:54-00:00:55, 00:01:11, 00:01:13-00:01:14), and a short scene in which Rosalía dances within a small space and moves her arms *de cintura para arriba* as others surround her, invoking

the image of a *bailaora* in a *tablao* (00:00:42-00:00:44) (see image in Appendix A, Section 1B, Figure 3). Overall, these elements are to be expected from a female flamenco artist; red is a noticeable color that is common in more "traditional" outfits of a *bailaora*, the scene in the *tablao* fits in with the more "traditional" "smooth, curvelike, and inward" motions of the *bailaora*, and although the *palmas* were more traditionally characterized as limited to the *bailaor*, they are now more accepted as a female trait. Thus, portions of the aesthetic and movement reinforce an image of Rosalía as a female flamenco artist (see Chapter 2).

However, these flamenco aesthetic, movement and iconographic elements mix with other non-flamenco elements in a variety of ways, each of which contributes to the emotional plurality of lyrical storylines and the global "universe" of intertexts and meanings. For example, the color red, which Rosalía wears by itself while performing the *palmas* and other flamenco-esque movements, is often combined with the color yellow. This color combination not only invokes the Spanish flag and nation, something flamenco has been made to represent during many years, but also, as both Anjanita (Sec. III, Cap. 1 videoclip) and Jennifer Giner ("ANÁLISIS VISUAL" 00:14:21-00:14:40) see it, invokes the *capote*, or the larger red (or magenta) and yellow cape used by bullfighters towards the beginning of a bullfight (a sport which, just like the Spanish flag and nation, has been intertwined with flamenco since the Romantic era).[72]

[72] Firstly, Giner collaborated with another person in the video. I contacted Giner directly in an attempt to learn the identity of her collaborator, but she did not respond. Thus, when referring to the source, I will simply say "Giner." Secondly, in Chapter 2, I talk about how foreigners (and especially Romantic-era travel writers) visited Spain and formulated the myth that "Spain equals Andalusia equals the orient" (Venegas 9). I also discuss how in the subsequent century, during the latter half of the Franco dictatorship, the state "appropriated Andalusian flamenco performances for the tourist nation" (Holguín 244). It is important to note that in both of these cases, flamenco was projected to foreigners in a way that essentialized it as the epitome of Spain. Many were led to believe that "Spain was the land of Gypsies and flamenco dancers," as Holguín

Before delving further into the interpretations that could stem from this aesthetic intertext, it is crucial to consider John Ingham's gendered analysis of the bullfight and the main message that the visual bullfighting elements in "Malamente" communicate in and of themselves. Ingham links the two types of capes used by the bullfighter, the larger *capote* and the smaller *muleta*, to femininity by stating that "puede[n] ser simbolizaci[ones] de la genitalia femenina" that "sugiere[n] la posición pasiva del torero en relación con la embestida del toro" (195).[73] That is, both the larger *capote* and the smaller *muleta* have a concave shape (which resembles "la genitalia femenina") and are held passively by the bullfighter while the active bull (the phallus) charges.[74] Thus we can associate the *telas* with *lo femenino* in the bullfight. However, although both the *capote* and the *muleta* represent femininity, Ingham posits that the *muleta* is ultimately less feminine than the *capote*. The bullfighter holds the *capote* at the beginning of the fight, when the bull is still strong, and Ingham claims that, as the bull charges, it has trouble distinguishing between the bigger size of the *capote* and the *torero* (198). The feminine characteristics of the *capote* (its concavity and passivity) are applied to the *torero* and his masculinity is not able to stand out to the active, energetic bull (198-99). This changes when the bullfighter takes hold of the smaller *muleta* later in the fight. Unlike when he holds the

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describes (145), which is not actually the case given the diversity of cultures and customs within each of Spain's 17 autonomous communities.

[73] According to Rafael Monsalvez, a *capote* (specifically referring to a *capote de brega*) "tiene forma de capa [generalmente una cara de la capa es del color "fucsia" y la otra es "amarilla"], es de una tela rígida y pesada y se emplea en los dos primeros tercios de la lidia." The *muleta*, in contrast, "se emplea únicamente en el último tercio de la corrida," it is "más pequeña y mucho más ligera," "va armada con un palo de madera," "se acompaña de un estoque," and "hoy en día [es] roj[a] por ambas caras."

[74] For more information on phallic symbology, please see the writings of Michel Foucault (such as *The History of Sexuality*) and Jacques Lacan (such as "The Signification of the Phallus") (both works are found in the Works Cited).

capote, the bullfighter doesn't blend in easily when he holds the *maleta*, so he regains his own sense of individuality as a male. As Ingham describes, the bull now sees "el torero como macho y la muleta como un blanco pasivo, femenino" (198-99). As the bullfighter gains masculine strength (represented by the change from the *capote* to the *muleta*), the bull loses strength and becomes increasingly feminine. By the end of the fight, the now highly masculine bullfighter typically pulls out a (phallic) *espada* from behind his *muleta* and penetrates the bull, confirming his successful transformation into a masculine, active victor and the bull's transformation into the passive, feminine loser (199). Ingham notes that the bullfight may occasionally end differently, with the bull ultimately piercing the *torero* with his horn, but no matter what, in the bullfight, the masculine always defeats the feminine ("el falo—cuerno o espada—[es] el que mata" (200).

In "Malamente," the bullfight imagery, when considered in isolation from the red and yellow color imagery, seems to keep with this "tradition." The imagery depicts a fight in which the bullfighter (most likely representing the man in the relationship with Rosalía) gains masculine strength and defeats femininity, in this case, Rosalía/the bull. The main bullfight in the song begins with the bullfighter, notably a fully-grown male, waving the smaller *muleta* (00:01:33-00:01:34) (see images in Appendix A, Section 1C, Figures 4-7), thus already emitting an increased level of masculinity. In "traditional" concordance with the male's gain of masculine power, the bull/Rosalía transitions from strong and masculine to weaker and feminine. The back of Rosalía's jacket displays an embroidered pattern of two yellow pointed skewers that converge to form at a point from which red drops flow. Both Anjanita (Sec. III, Cap. 1 videoclip) and Giner ("ANÁLISIS VISUAL" 00:28:18-00:28:28) believe that the "skewers" are *banderillas* (highly decorated "harpoons" that, in the short term, aggravate the bull and "revive" it, and, in

the long term, weaken the bull) ("Qué es una corrida"). If this is the case, Rosalía is metaphorically bleeding and this first scene depicts an increasingly masculine *matador* (the male in the relationship) confronting a bull (Rosalía) who may gain energy and be in power temporarily, but who will eventually be defeated. Although the playing field becomes more even in the second bullfighting encounter (00:02:03-00:02:06) (see images in Appendix A, Section 1D, figures 8-9), as the bullfighter switches back to a *capote* (disrupting the "traditional" order of a bullfight, indicating a decrease in masculine power, and an increase in feminine power), Rosalía continues to bleed (00:02:01-00:02:02), which under normal circumstances would imply that she is eventually going to lose her power and become weaker with every charge. In the third encounter (00:02:12-00:02:16) (see image in Appendix A, Section 1E, Figure 10), the bullfighter continues to use the *capote* but carries out the fundamental bullfighting move called the *verónica*, and in the fourth and final encounter (00:2:17-00:02:21) (see images in Appendix A, Section 1F, Figures 11-12) the bullfighter switches back to the *muleta* and also holds an *estoque* in his right hand.[75] By the end of the fight, his masculine energy is reinvigorated and he is prepared to go in for the kill to conquer the feminine Rosalía.

If the bullfight iconography illustrates the toxic relationship between the man and the woman, these visuals in and of themselves support the visceral emotions conveyed in various

[75] Ernest Hemingway claims that the *verónica* is a bullfighting move "designed to show the matador's skill and art with the cape, his domination of the bull and also to fix the bull in a certain spot" and describes it as such: "[the *torero*] standing still as the bull charged, and with his arms moving the cape slowly just ahead of the bull's horns, passing the bull's horns close by his body with a slow movement of the cape, seeming to keep him controlled, in the folds of the cape, bringing him past his body each time as he turned and recharged" (Chapter 7). This bullfighting move is named after Saint Veronica (a saint who wiped the face of Jesus onto her cloth as he was carrying the cross to Calvary) because the torero holds the *capote* in a similar fashion to how Saint Veronica is typically portrayed holding her cloth (Ingham 196).

lyrical interpretations discussed above, such as the interpretation of It's JotaJota ("ANÁLISIS: El Mal Querer"). The warning signs It's JotaJota discusses in his interpretation of the lyrics could be visually depicted by the *banderillas*, and Rosalía's decision (as a bull) to ignore them and continue the bullfight could represent her decision to stay in the toxic relationship. In this version of the match, the "masculine" wins.

However, when we consider the bullfighting imagery in conjunction with the presence of other visual elements, including the red and yellow aesthetic sometimes associated with the *capote*, the ending of the bullfight is less clear.[76] Giner ("ANÁLISIS VISUAL") provides one interpretation of the color imagery in connection to the bullfight. She views the divided red and yellow of the *capote* in "Malamente" as representing two sides to both the bullfight and the "juego" of courtship. On the level of the bullfight, the bullfighter alternates between waving red, the color traditionally believed to provoke the bull to charge, and yellow, the color traditionally believed to calm the animal; it is a match divided between "tira y afloja." On the level of the "juego" of courtship, this alternation between red (a more aggressive color) and yellow (a more calming color) reflects the ways in which women and men play with each other's emotions, sometimes doing damage, for the sake of love (00:14:52-00:15:20, 00:35:28-00:36:22). She notes how the females in "Malamente" almost always wear red and yellow, an indication that they are calm and confident yet also fierce, whereas the men never wear red and yellow—they employ the feelings in the game of courtship but do not possess the feelings themselves

[76] Note that, as defined above, a *capote* is most often fuchsia on one side and yellow on the other. However, some also link the *capote* to red. For example, Giner links the *capote* to the color red, as does the online dictionary version of The Real Academia Española ("Capote"). A likely explanation for Rosalía's decision to make the red and yellow color combination prevalent over fuchsia and yellow is that the red and yellow color combination creates more intertextual possibilities (evoking images such as the Spanish flag and Spanish national identity).

(00:21:13-00:21:30). Giner views the end of the fight, when the bullfighter has the *estoque* and the *muleta* and the color yellow is nowhere to be seen, as the moment in which the "juego" ends and the real potential for danger begins (00:35:12-00:35:26). Thus, in her version, the red and yellow color combination is directly linked to the bullfight and the female gender, but is also an indication that "Malamente" is the first song in the chronological timeline of the toxic relationship. Seeing "danger" at the end of the bullfight sets us up for a more serious and dramatic storyline throughout the rest of *El mal querer*.

My interpretation of the color imagery in relation to the bullfight is a little different. I agree with Giner that Rosalía maintains the link between the red and yellow color combination and the female gender. However, the manner in which she blends this feminine color combination with "signs" traditionally associated with the masculine (being the bull at the beginning of the fight, appropriating the male "gaze" and employing it), partially resignifies the color combination as a source of power and blurs gender binaries that traditionally favored the male (male/female = active/passive = dominate/dominated). It expands her "universe" even further to allow for new interpretations in which the female can be the victor of the bullfight and the bullfight can take place at any point in the album's storyline.

Although we already are familiar with Ingham's gendered analysis of the bullfight, we must also give a brief background on the masculine roots of the "gaze" before examining the "universe"-expanding mixture of visual elements discussed above. The "gaze" was originally labeled the "male gaze" and originated from John Berger's BBC series *Ways of Seeing*. Berger's term gained significant traction in the theoretical realm of feminism after Laura Mulvey used it in 1975 to explore how Hollywood has perpetuated the "image of woman as (passive) raw material for the (active) gaze of man" ("Visual Pleasure" 17), or, in other words, how women

have been "simultaneously looked at and displayed" as passive objects of spectacle, there to fulfill the pleasure of the male's active gaze (11). Although she initiated the term "male gaze" into the realm of notable theoretical frameworks, her arguments did not come without critiques, leading her to publish "Afterthoughts" (1981), in which she clarifies the fragility of the male/female fixed subject positions and discusses how the female can indeed become an active spectator, albeit only "through the metaphor of masculinity" (15). Scholars such as Jackie Stacey follow in Mulvey's footsteps in recognizing the difficulties of a woman being able to resist hegemony "within patriarchal regimes . . . without falling into the trap of biological essentialism" (119), but despite these observations of caution, a scholarly movement has since begun to take hold that explores the roles of women as spectators with their own "female gazes."

Rosalía's use of the "gaze" demonstrates the concerns of Mulvey and Stacey, albeit in a way that contributes to the song's plethora of meanings. When she takes on the role of an active spectator, she works from within the male tradition of the "gaze" by maintaining its connotations of domination and by using it while partially embodying a traditionally "masculine" bull. However, by doing so, she simultaneously decenters the "gaze" as male and creates more space for the empowerment of women in the song, thus also forging more opportunities to interpret the song in different ways. As we will soon explore, by using the "gaze" while embodying the female in the toxic relationship, Rosalía is able to resist the male bullfighter's attempt to dominate her with his own "gaze," assert her power, and indicate to the viewers that she has as much, if not more, control over the situation. Her use of the "gaze" allows viewers to go beyond interpretations such as those made by Giner and assert that perhaps "Malamente" doesn't illustrate the beginning of a dangerous, toxic relationship, but rather, the woman's moment in which she recognizes her own strength within the toxic relationship, or even, the moment in

which she overcomes the toxic relationship once and for all. When we consider the "gaze" in isolation or in conjunction with other elements within "Malamente," we open ourselves up to an abundance of different possible storylines.

Now that we have a better understanding of the "gaze," we can consider how the mixture of this element with others in the bullfight, most notably the red and yellow color combination, flamenco, and Catholicism, blurs gender expectations and expands Rosalía's "universe" of meanings. "Malamente" begins with a stare-down between Rosalía (with support from her female posse) and various male *novilleros*.[77] Rosalía and her posse are dressed in red and yellow, which as an intertext with the *capote*, traditionally invokes the feminine and "passive." However, the sequence of alternating male and female "gazes" (00:00:00-00:00:12) (see images in Appendix A, Section 1G, Figures 13-18) in conjunction with a male *novillero* implicitly waving their *capote* at the females (00:00:11) place Rosalía and her posse in opposition to the *novilleros* and indicate that they represent the bull, or the "masculine" entity that is more active and dominant at the beginning of the bullfight (see images in Appendix A, Section 1G, Figures 17-18). Not only do Rosalía and her posse take on both "masculine" and "feminine" signs through becoming the bull and using the "gaze;" the male *novilleros* also take on signs reflecting both genders. Although their bodies would be traditionally labeled as "male," they are scrawny, are only boys and teenagers, and they take on stances that indicate passivity and vulnerability (such as when one of the boys in the stare-down hugs the *capote* around his waist (00:00:08-00:00:09).

[77] Note that bullfighters are generally grown men (bullfighters can be female as well, although it is not as "traditional," and some female bullfighters are notable, such as Cristina Sánchez [1971-]) but in the first portion of this video, we see boys and teenagers who appear to be training to become bullfighters when they grow older ("novilleros"), given the scenes which show them practicing in the gymnasium. I will refer to them as "novilleros" but will continue to refer to the grown male in the last portion of the video as a "bullfighter."

These characteristics are more highly linked to a feminine archetype than to the archetype of the powerful *macho*. Thus, as we can see, both the "bull" and the "bullfighter" evade strict compliance with traditional "signs" of the masculine and feminine. Rosalía retains portions of the original signifier and signified relationship (e.g., bull = powerful at the beginning of the fight, bullfighter = weak and passive at the beginning of the fight, red and yellow = feminine) but decenters the other portions; the powerful bull can now be female at the start of the match and the red and yellow that invokes the *capote* can also be connected to power. This blurs meanings and creates an opportunity for Rosalía to have a chance at winning the bullfight.

In the subsequent scenes leading up to the main bullfight, Rosalía and her posse maintain their "active" status of power over the *novilleros* through mixing the resignified red and yellow combination with the visual flamenco elements. Multiple times (00:00:10, 00:00:20-00:00:21, 00:00:26, 00:00:30-00:00:31), the females stand in the shape of a "V" while performing dance moves such as *palmas* (00:00:26). Anjanita (Sec. III, Cap. 1 videoclip) sees this formation as intertextual with Beyoncé's 2011 feminist music video, "Run the World," in which Beyoncé stands with her own female posse in a similar "V" shape ("Beyoncé – 'Run the World (Girls)'" 00:02:52) (see images in Appendix A, Section 1H, Figures 19-20). The "V" formation aligns Rosalía with Beyoncé and evokes her power. As the website *TVtropes* states, not only is the formation present "in almost every show featuring a team of heroes," but it also illuminates a power dynamic in which the "leader" who stands in the center of the "V" is "prominent" and the most important (Rosalía, in "Malamente," and Beyoncé, in "Run the World") ("V-Formation Team Shot"). Thus, this "V" formation aligns Rosalía with powerful figures within society (Beyoncé and "heroes") and contributes to her power over the *novilleros*. The fact that this formation is merged with the colors red and yellow as well as *palmas* reaffirms the connections

between each element and both power and femininity. Soon after in the song, in a previously mentioned scene, the posse dances in a circle around Rosalía as she performs *de cintura para arriba* movements (00:00:42-00:00:44). Although I stated in Chapter 2 that these movements have been traditionally linked to the feminine and passive the latter connotation is overridden in "Malamente" when we consider the presence of the red and yellow color combination as well as the bodily positioning of Rosalía's posse, which draws attention to Rosalía and physically elevates her position as an important figure. Yet again, Rosalía and her posse embody strength and are active. The red and yellow color combination is resignified and both it and flamenco are associated with strength and energy.

As the females unite in their power, the *novilleros* continue to be inferior as they allow their red and yellow *capotes* to drag on the floors and stare at the ground, standing passively in place (00:00:36-00:00:42, 00:00:44-00:00:48). Their weakness is even more noticeable when Rosalía enters the scene. On one level, she takes her red and yellow cloth (in her case, a feminist symbol of power), and wipes the sweat off one of the *novilleros*, a young boy who is shorter than her (00:00:38-00:00:42) (see image in Appendix A, Section 1I, Figure 21). She appears much more mature and in control of the situation as the boy is helpless. On another level, through intertextual connections, she is elevated to the status of a saint (Saint Veronica) and is wiping away the tears from a tattoo of the Virgin Mary, just as Saint Veronica "wiped the face of Jesus onto her cloth as he was carrying the cross to Calvary" (00:00:36-00:00:38) (see image in Appendix A, Section 1I, Figure 22). If we consider that in Catholicism (the dominant religion in Spain), Mary's tears represent sorrow over the sins of the world, then perhaps by comforting Mary rather than Jesus, and by using a red and yellow cloth, Rosalía is sending a message that the sins of the man in the relationship will be atoned (maybe through her use of strength to

overcome him). We can conclude from this bull and bullfighter juxtaposition that being a female by no means equates to being inferior in "Malamente." In complete contrast, feminine movements and aesthetics, when placed on female bodies, seem to align with superiority.

There is one place where the connection between the red and yellow color imagery and both femininity and power can seem to be weakened at first glance; when the red and yellow is used for the image of the *banderillas*. Typically, *banderillas* are meant to provoke the bull, but only temporarily. The bull eventually faces its doom in the *Tercio de Muerte* ("Qué es una corrida"). However, if we consider the red and yellow in conjunction with the intertext of the "gaze," we can see a separate reading—perhaps Rosalía does not get only a temporary burst of energy from the *banderillas*, but rather, as in other situations where she is surrounded by red and yellow, finds complete strength. In the bullfight, Rosalía retains the male "gaze's" traditional connotation of domination but gradually reappropriates it as female as the bullfight progresses, indicating that perhaps the *banderillas* and the male bullfighter aren't enough to defeat her. The first time Rosalía charges towards the bullfighter (00:01:31-00:01:40) (see image in Appendix A, Section 1C, Figure 7), her fate seems to be death, given that the bullfighter gazes at her angrily as she avoids his eye contact. However, from this moment forward, Rosalía begins to resignify the male "gaze" as female, and through this resignification, shows an increase in power over the bullfighter. In the second encounter between Rosalía and the bullfighter (00:02:03-00:02:06) (see image in Appendix A, Section 1D, Figure 9), although the bullfighter still gazes at her angrily, Rosalía is now able to look up at him. In the third encounter (00:02:14-00:02:16) (see image in Appendix A, Section 1E, Figure 10), she is on an equal plane with him and looks back at him from a forward position as he looks towards her, and in the last encounter (00:02:18-00:02:21) (see image in Appendix A, Section 1F, Figure 12), she looks at him in the eyes while smirking.

By the end of the song, there is no longer any physical presence of a male gaze. Rosalía makes her last appearance by confidently staring straight at the camera and smirking again in a close-up (00:02:28); the bullfighter no longer stares back.[78] The shifting role of the "gaze" reveals that the energy Rosalía gains when pierced with the *banderillas* isn't necessarily temporary. Rather, the *banderillas* could be a symbol of her continued strength and resilience. In this case, the visual imagery more closely represents a lyrical interpretation such as that of Anjanita or Wild. Although she may have gone through pain and suffering in the toxic relationship, the *banderillas* are ultimately no match for her; instead of representing how she is one step closer to falling victim to the relationship, the *banderillas* drive Rosalía to finish the bullfight and win, saying goodbye to the toxic relationship once and for all.

There is one last visual element that is crucial to consider in determining the many different possible outcomes of the bullfight and relationship; that of the *nazareno* (see images in Appendix A, Section 1J, Figures 23-26). The *nazareno* is an important figure during *Semana Santa*, or the week in which a series of processions depict the Passion of Christ, to include His crucifixion and resurrection. *Nazarenos* are members of religious associations called *cofradías*, some of which are centuries old. Each association specializes in representing a scene from the Passion and the members wear distinctive robes to mask their identity. Although the colors of the robes vary with each *cofradía*, the design is uniform: long robes to the ankle, long sleeves, and a very high pointed cap with a mask that has two holes for the eyes (*un capirote*), the only portion

[78] It is important to note that the camera has its own "gaze." However, the identity of this "gaze" is unclear (it may not be male), and what is more important/noticeable is that the physical, male "gaze" of the bullfighter is no longer present. The absence of the bullfighter's "gaze" is thus the focus of my analysis here.

of the penitent's body that can be seen. Each *nazareno* represents someone who believes that they must punish themselves to atone for their sins.

In the video, the *nazareno* displays penance in a scene in which he is standing barefoot on a skateboard with protruding nails (00:01:44). Yet, in all other scenes, the *nazareno* is wearing shoes, feeling no pain, and having a good time while showing off his skating skills; just the opposite of what one might expect from a penitent. This juxtaposition of enjoyment and suffering evokes visceral emotions; Wild, for example, views it as a display of Rosalía's "rabia" towards the man and her desires for him to suffer a lot of pain (implicitly to pay for his sinful, abusive behaviors) ("TODO SOBRE ROSALÍA" 00:14:13-00:14-41). Giner sees the *nazareno* as an androgenous figure and its choice to skateboard on nails as a reminder to the viewer that not one, but both, deeply suffer in the relationship ("ANÁLISIS VISUAL" 00:39:28-00:41:59). These are yet additional images that are open to interpretation and that help convey the deep emotions that Rosalía and the man feel in both the bullfight and relationship.

"PIENSO EN TU MIRÁ [CAPÍTULO 3: CELOS]"

Like "Malamente," "Pienso en tu mirá" was produced by CANADA and introduced as a single before the album was released. Although it was filmed concurrently with "Malamente," it was released about a month after it, on July 24, 2018. The release of this second video chapter indicated that Rosalía had begun to grow an international fan base. One day after the release of "Pienso en tu mirá," Rosalía was already able to celebrate one million views on Instagram, by the end of the month, The New York Times, Billboard, Pitchfork, and Fader had already written about the song, and at the 19th Latin Grammy Awards, "Pienso en tu mirá" was nominated for "Best Pop Song."

Considering the music and lyrics, at first glance, "Pienso en tu mirá" could appear to be a Pop 1.0 song (see Chapter 3) that has very little flamenco influence (Lyrics to "Pienso en tu mirá," also available in Appendix B: Song Lyrics). The melody is organized around a major key (unlike in "Malamente," there are no minor seconds), the lyrics are very repetitive (for example, she sings "Pienso en tu mirá" 14 times, all with the same melodic line), and the synthesizer is a large part of the instrumentation. However, Rosalía rejects the idea that it is a Pop 1.0 song. Although she admits in sobre EMQ 1 that she wanted to create a "catchy" melody that could connect with a lot of people (typical of Pop 1.0), she refuses to associate it with what she calls "el [pop] típico" (Pop 1.0). She redefines "pop" within her own musical production as having "un alcance grande" and uses the non-mainstream harmonic, rhythmic, and metric structures of "Pienso en tu mirá" as evidence to realign the song with her Pop 2.0 definition as well as flamenco. I will now explore the non-mainstream elements of the song in more detail to reveal the veracity of this statement; that these elements separate the song from Pop 1.0 and resituate it in the realm of flamenco.

Musical Framework

Rhythmically, *palmas*, one of the musical flamenco leitmotifs, form a heartbeat throughout the song. They don't keep just any beat—they keep a 12/8 *compás* (albeit modified at times; see below) which Rosalía claims was heavily inspired by *bulería por soleá* (sobre EMQ 1).[79] The *palmas* are reinforced by none other than a *cajón flamenco*. Melodically, we yet again

[79]According to *Escuela de Flamenco Online, Bulería por soleá* is a subset of the *palo* called "Las Soleares" (other subsets are *soleares* (or *la soleá*), *las bulerías*, *cañas*, *alboreá*, and *polos*) ("Solea vs bulería"). The Junta de Andalucía states that *Bulería por soleá* is "un paso intermedio entre la Soleá y la Bulería" in that it is a "cante que es producto de la intensificación del ritmo de

see the importance of the voice, another musical flamenco leitmotif, at the beginning of the song. Just as in "Malamente," the song begins with only a single voice over a synthesizer which sustains chords (00:00:08-00:00:25). Although other instrumentation is added as the song progresses, the voice matches these additions by breaking off into alternate melodic (e.g., 00:01:20-00:01:34) and harmonic lines (e.g., 00:01:35-00:01:52), and is supported during the choruses by the choir Milagros (a choir rooted in Madrid and composed of young women). Thus, both rhythmically and melodically, the flamenco leitmotifs are present.

Although not in Phrygian mode, the harmonic structure that underlies the rhythmic and melodic structures can bring us closer into the visceral realm of flamenco. Within the main harmonic structure (Eb, Gm, F, Ab (add2/#11)), the last chord contains notes not found within basic major or minor chords. Altozano analyzes this Ab (add2/#11) chord, which is an Ab major chord, but with a twist—it also includes a major second (Bb) and a major eleventh (D), notes that do not fall within the Ab major scale. Altozano points out that this is not any chord you would normally find in a mainstream song (00:13:26-00:13:59). Even more notable is Cohen's reaction to the chord. He states that "nos saca del aura comercial y pop y nos mete . . . un sentimiento más profundo, más *deep*" ("EL Mal Querer: Las 4 CANCIONES" 00:21:41-00:21:52). Cohen goes on to say that the chord es "[una cosa] más flamenca" (00:21:52-00:21:55), emphasizing his interpretation that the chord evokes emotions that are in line with those commonly expressed in a flamenco song, not a Pop 1.0 song. I agree with both Altozano and Cohen—the major eleventh

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la Soleá o de la desaceleración del de la Bulería" ("Didáctica del Flamenco," *Bulerías*) (*la soleá* tends to be slower and filled with "majestuosidad" as well as "riqueza melódica" ("Didáctica del Flamenco," *Soleá*) whereas *las bulerías* tend to be "un cante festero, de ritmo alegre, letras intrascendentes, con mucha fuerza en su interpretación. Se presta al jaleo y al acompañamiento con exclamaciones flamencas." *Bulería por soleá* has the same *compás* as both *la soleá* and *las bulerías* and it tends to be in the Phrygian mode ("Didáctica del Flamenco," *Bulerías*).

(D) that forms part of the chord is especially dissonant with the C and Bb given its closeness to both notes (it is a major second away from C and a minor third away from Bb). When all three of these notes make a sound together on top of the others, it is far from sounding happy or "major" and invokes a certain discomfort in the listener, who yearns for a resolution. However, no resolution is provided. It is the last chord in the chord sequence, the last chord before the truck crashes into the wall at the beginning of the song, and the last chord in the song as a whole. The chord thus heightens tensions and other visceral emotions that viewers may feel as they watch violence and toxicity unfold before their eyes, and thus approximates the song to flamenco.

Now that we have explored how the music contains some notable flamenco elements, we also must consider how it evades full compliance with established norms in the flamenco genre and cohabitates with rhythmic influences from other genres, contributing yet again to Rosalía's complex "universe" of references. We see this in the rhythmic structure of the *compás*, for example. Although the beats within the 12/8 *compás* traditionally fall into two groups of three and three groups of two, with accents falling on beats 12, 3, 6, 8, and 10 (and with the *palo* beginning on beat 12 rather than 1), one of the accents in her *compás* falls on beat 7 instead of 6, a less common accent pattern. Additionally, as Rosalía states in sobre EMQ 1 (and as Altozano affirms) Rosalía eliminates beats in the chorus, causing the typical 12/8 *compás* to alternate with measures of 10/8. Although she uses *palmas* and the *cajón flamenco* to maintain the *compás*, they also simultaneously emphasize an alternate rhythmic motive of heavy accents on every beat, in this way blending flamenco rhythms with those Rosalía believes to be reminiscent of African music (sobre EMQ 1). Thus, just as in "Malamente," flamenco plays a role without a doubt, but its role and fusion with other elements is not straightforward. This creates an album that attracts

listeners of many different tastes who will then analyze the album from their many distinct perspectives.

Lyrical Storyline

As in the music, flamenco plays a crucial role in the lyrics of the song (Lyrics to "Pienso en tu mirá," also available in Appendix B: Song Lyrics). Firstly, the song is structured around a *cuarteta octosílaba* (meaning that each verse is composed of four lines, each of which contain eight syllables). According to Miguel Baños, "predominan los versos de ocho sílabas" within *cante* as a whole, and both *la soleá* and *las bulerías*, in particular, often tend to be structured around a *cuarteta octosílaba*. Thus, this lyrical structure is common in flamenco and situates the lyrics of "Pienso en tu mirá" both within the genre as a whole and within *bulería por soleá* in particular.

Secondly, we see the lyrical flamenco leitmotifs of word choice/diction and visceral themes. Regarding the first flamenco leitmotif, Rosalía drops endings from words (e.g., she drops the "s" from "sales," sings "pa'" instead of "para," "mirá" instead of "mirada" and "clavá" instead of "clavada") and uses diminutives ("hoyuelitos" instead of "hoyuelos"), which links the song to southern Spain (see TheUrbanEve's interpretation, "EXPLAINING ROSALÍA'S," for an example). Regarding the second flamenco leitmotif, we see possessiveness, violence, and jealousy take center stage. We see the jealousy and possessiveness from the first stanza, lines 1-4 ("Ma da miedo cuando sales / Sonriendo pa' la calle / Porque todos pueden ver / Los hoyuelitos que te salen"). The narrative voice expresses desire for the subject to only be theirs, and in lines 5-12, goes as far as to become jealous of the non-human entities that spend time with the subject,

such as as “el aire,” “el oro,” “la Luna,” and “el agua.”[80] The narrative voice personifies these elements, almost treating them as competitors for the subject’s love and attention, and describes these objects’ attempts to court the subject often in terms of sensual physical interactions. For example, the narrative voice describes with disdain how “el aire” lifts up the subject’s hair. This personified description of “el aire” makes us picture someone intimately caressing the subject’s hair. Similarly, “el oro” touches the subject’s neck and “el agua” wets the subject’s lips. This vivid personification of these non-human entities exaggerates the narrative voice’s expression of jealousy and possessiveness.

The other verse in the song that begins with “Tan bonita que amenaza” (line 26) continues to express the same jealousy and possessiveness, although this time, violence and pain are also key factors. The word “amenaza” itself implies friction, or tension, between opposing parties that often results in violence. This tension is clear as the verse continues; the narrative voice describes the subject as “tan fría como la nieve” (line 28), implying with this simile that their relation to each other is cold and lifeless (adjectives that could also foreshadow the violence, pain, and even death that is portrayed shortly thereafter). This friction between the narrative voice and subject builds and eventually explodes into vivid images of physical confrontations and violence by the end of the verse, when the narrative voice states: “Cuando sales por la puerta / Pienso que no vuelves nunca / Y si no te agarro fuerte / Siento que será mi culpa” (lines 31-33). Now, instead of just watching the subject leave and holding the jealousy and possessiveness in their own heart and mind, they are releasing it physically onto the subject.

[80] This portion of the lyrics are notably intertextual with a portion of the lyrics to “Rosa María,” a song sung by Camarón de la Isla. The lyrics are: “Tengo celos de las flores / Del espejo en que te miras / Del peine con que te peines / Y del aire que respiras.” The grammatical structure, poetic meter, theme (jealousy), and words closely align (de la Isla).

The repetitive chorus, "Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho" also links possessiveness and jealousy to violence and pain. We cannot ignore the fact that the narrative voice uses a metaphor rather than a simile. By stating that the "mirá . . . *es* una bala en el pecho" (my emphasis), the narrative voice yet again heightens their expression of emotions, communicating that the subject's "mirá" is so powerful and painful that it pierces one's heart and likely results in death. Even more notably, the chorus touches on a specific flamenco trope; that of the violent "mirada," or "mirá." To provide an example, "Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho" is directly intertextual with the chorus in Lole y Manuel's 1975 song "Tu mirá," which is "Y tu 'mirá' se me clava en los ojos como una 'espá'" ("Tú Mirá"). Although the imagery of a "bala" is slightly different from "espá" (short for "espada"), both convey the same idea of violent, weaponized love. Thus, even if this song is not easily recognized as flamenco and has less flamenco elements than many of the other songs in the album, it still expresses raw and extreme emotions common to *cante* and is lyrically intertextual with flamenco artists.

Again, now that we have established the flamenco base, we can consider how the lyrics lead to multiple interpretations and intertexts, thus again adding fuel to Rosalía's "universe." Some (such as Jabi Kraken, TheUrbanEve, and Paws & Tails Productions) see the lyrics in their entirety as coming from the male perspective in the relationship. Although Paws & Tails Productions and TheUrbanEve do not provide their interpretations of the chorus, they both make general statements that the song is narrated by the male. Paws & Tails Productions considers the verses as an illustration of the male's obsessive concern that someone else will fall in love with the woman ("Análisis de 'Pienso en tu mirá'" 00:02:10-00:02:25) and The UrbanEve similarly interprets it as the male being so possessive over the woman because he is worried about what she will do when out of his sight ("EXPLAINING ROSALÍA'S" 00:08:20-00:08:41). Paws &

Tails Productions ("Análisis de 'Pienso en tu mirá'" 00:03:46-00:03:57) and Kraken ("EL MEJOR ANÁLISIS" 00:02:07-00:02:27) do include their interpretations of the chorus and both view it as a statement from the man on how the female's gaze is so unforgettable that it makes others' hearts bleed. This interpretation gains validity if we consider its intertextuality with *Flamenca*. When the queen informs Archambaut of the potential amorous relationship between the king and his wife, he reacts with jealousy. He begins to feel "sharp jealous pangs" (*The story of Flamenca* 18) and is described as "fear[ing] a rival if one so much as spoke to his wife[,] [imagining] her ravished before his eyes" (19). Flamenca's potential interactions with others cause pain to Archambaut, like a bullet in his chest, just as Rosalía's potential interactions with others cause pain to the male in the relationship with her.

Despite the fact that there are many interpretations that the song is fully narrated by the male, as well as the fact that *Flamenca* supports these views, some (such as It's JotaJota and myself) see an alternative view: that the chorus could be from the female perspective. It's JotaJota considers the "mirá" as representing the male's "constante vigilancia sobre ella," which damages her like "una bala en el pecho" ("ANÁLISIS: El Mal Querer" 00:06:30-00:06:48), an interpretation I consider to be heavily supported by the visual elements. Although this is not as blatantly intertextual with *Flamenca* as the first main interpretation, it is a perspective that would give a voice, and thus, agency, to the woman, making it equally viable considering Rosalía's feminist background. In order to consider the legitimacy of these different lyrical interpretations, we must transition into exploring the visual elements, first considering visual representations of the "mirá."

Visual Elements

As mentioned above, in "Malamente," the male uses his "gaze" to dominate Rosalía, but Rosalía also eventually begins to use her own "gaze" to empower herself within the framework of the toxic relationship and potentially overcome the male. We see a similar narrative arc in "Pienso en tu mirá;" both females and males potentially use the "gaze" to damage those in the opposite gender, and as I will eventually reveal, the female's "gaze" is yet again that which most likely prevails. Thus, the visual "gaze" in "Pienso en tu mirá" is a continuation from "Malamente" which continues to help communicate the intense emotional themes in the lyrics and contribute to the song's multiple meanings.

I will first consider the role of the "gaze" in depicting the first main lyrical interpretation—that the chorus is about the female's "gaze" attracting lovers and is narrated by the male in the relationship, for whom this gaze is a "bala en el pecho." For portions of each chorus (00:00:44-00:00:48, 00:00:52-00:00:56, 00:01:53-00:01:56, 00:02:09-00:02:13) we see a sequence of male truck drivers actively bleeding from their hearts, perhaps from the beauty of Rosalía's "gaze" (see images in Appendix A, Section 2A, Figures 27-30).[81] None of them is the man who we see initially chasing Rosalía in "Malamente" nor the bullfighter, so we can gather that they represent Rosalía's potential lovers (the lovers that the male in the toxic relationship dreads). Their position in relation to their trucks is significant. The first (Fig. 27, 00:00:44-00:00:48) and third (Fig. 29, 00:01:53-00:01:56) shots depict men who are standing outside of their trucks. They stare directly at the camera in a confident and dominating pose that is the epitome of a stereotypical masculinity. One is showing off his muscles and the other is

[81] Timestamps throughout the rest of this section are from this music video ("ROSALÍA – 'PIENSO EN TU MIRÁ'") produced by CANADA.

highlighting his bravery by standing on the truck's bumper. The second (Fig. 28, 00:00:52-00:00:56) and fourth (Fig. 30, 00:02:08-00:02:13) shots depict men who also confidently stare at the camera, but this time, instead of standing outside of the truck, they sit in the driver's seat with the door to the truck open, as if they were inviting Rosalía to enter.

Many (e.g., Kraken, Paws & Tails Productions, and Giner) link the truck's exterior and/or the driver's seat to the male, the truck's interior (which is actually designed to look like a home) to the female, and the truck in its entirety to the relationship. Kraken, for example, views the first shot in the video as a simile for the relationship; the hanging *muñeca de Marín* (which we will later discuss) represents the female in the relationship and the truck driver represents the male, "el que lleva el 'control' de la relación, 'control' entre comillas porque la relación, al igual que el camión, termina en catástrofe" ("EL MEJOR ANÁLISIS" 00:00:53-00:01:14). When Rosalía (the female in the relationship) exits the truck later in the video, she is also escaping the relationship and the male no longer is able to monitor her every move as the truck driver. He has lost control and she has escaped her designated place from within the truck (which Kraken equates to the relationship) ("EL MEJOR ANÁLISIS" 00:09:10-00:10:02). Paws & Tails Productions similarly states that the *muñeca de Marín* represents "a la chica, a Rosalía, a la parte femenina de la relación" ("Análisis de 'Pienso en tu mirá'" 00:01:23-00:01:28). His interpretation seems to slightly vary from Kraken at one point when he states that both the truck and the truck driver represent "el hombre," but he contradicts himself and realigns himself again with Kraken when he states that the man is who "conduce la relación . . . [y] conduce al personaje de Rosalía, en este caso a la mujer, hacia donde él quiere . . . hacia el abismo" (Análisis de 'Pienso en tu mirá'" 00:01:29-00:01:50). With this statement, he implies that the male is the truck driver, the truck is the relationship (which is going to crash), and Rosalía is the

female stuck inside. Although Giner only briefly discusses the symbolism of the trucks in "Pienso en tu mirá" and does not delve into justifications, she links the trucks in "Pienso en tu mirá" to the archetype in Spain of the male *camionero* who seduces a woman and then buys a truck, names it after her, and places her inside it. This interpretation implies that the truck's exterior is male, as the male is who buys it shows it off and dictates the truck's appearance to his liking (e.g., by engraving his wife's name on it). The interpretation also implies that the inside is female; the truck is "el hogar en el que se mete una mujer después de todo este rollo de seducción." Thus, the truck as a whole, according to Giner, represents both the male and female sides of the relationship ("ANÁLISIS VISUAL" 00:24:04-00:25:20). All three of these interpretations contribute to the first theory that I am exploring—that perhaps these potential lovers, stunned by Rosalía's beautiful "mirá," are trying to lure her into their truck, and thus, a relationship with them. By accepting the offer, Rosalía would commit the act of adultery, and the fears and pain that the male currently in a relationship with her feels would become a reality.

Now, let's consider how the visuals support the other main lyrical interpretation—that the chorus is narrated by Rosalía and the "gaze" is a tool used by the male to obsessively keep watch over her, making her feel like it is a burdensome "bala en su pecho." The video chapter begins with a *muñeca de Marín* hanging from the rearview mirror of the truck as it accelerates and crashes into a wall (00:00:00-00:00:25) (see image in Appendix A, Section 2D, Figure 40).[82] As

[82] A *muñeca de Marín* is a figurine of a *flamenca* that was originally created by José Marín Verdugo (better known as Pepe Marín). Marín decided to found a business called "Muñecas Marín" (in business from 1928 until the end of 2014), and within this time period, the *muñeca de Marín* became a staple of Spanish households as well as the Spanish tourist industry. Mario Vaquerizo indicates that the height of its popularity, when "se ponía encima del tapete de la mesa o sobre la televisión," was in the 1960s and 70s (qtd. in Suárez). The website for the museum ("Museo de Muñecas Marín") describes the figurine as becoming "el *souvenir* por excelencia en [España]" and according to Ana María Ortiz and Dani Cordero, it served as an "embajadora española ante el mundo."

previously mentioned, the driver and driver's seat can be linked to the male in the relationship—he is the one driving the truck (the relationship), and thus, he is the one in control of where it heads (to its doom). The *muñeca de Marín* represents Rosalía—a connection I will continue to develop, but which we can initially see from how the *muñeca*'s death immediately leads to Rosalía's resurrection when a black veil of death is lifted from her eyes (00:00:26-00:00:27). The *muñeca de Marín* is directly in front of the man's face; as the man controls the relationship, he is also able to control her; he has her right in front of him and can focus his "gaze" on her to make sure she doesn't leave. It is also important to mention that although the rearview mirror is outside of the camera's frame, it is implicitly there as yet another medium which the male can use to assert his controlling "gaze" over Rosalía. It is almost as if the man has eyes in the back of his head, because as he directly "gazes" at Rosalía, he can also "gaze" in the mirror, which allows him to ensure that nothing or no one else behind him attempts to get in the way of his control.

Rosalía's use of a *muñeca de Marín* to represent herself is significant. As sociology professor Amparo Lasén describes, the *muñeca de Marín* is "vinculada al franquismo;" in particular, they are highly associated with the latter years of Franco's dictatorship when they were mass-produced to attract tourists (aka money) and wipe away images of the nation's prior autarky (qtd. in Suárez) (see Chapter 2). As previously mentioned, although the *muñeca de Marín* was common in Spanish households, they played a role primarily as an *adorno* on top of household items such as the television or table, and although they were popular souvenirs that tourists would buy, they also were epitomized as *lo español* (Suárez). They contributed to flamenco's image as an "exotic" commodity and like the art form as a whole, were subjected to the "gaze" of the consumers that bought it. By using a *muñeca de Marín* to represent herself, Rosalía is not only linking herself to flamenco, but also to the connotations of flamenco as an

object that was commodified and an *adorno* that was meant to be looked at. This intertextual connection further exaggerates the oppressive and objectifying nature of man's "gaze" and the trapped nature of Rosalía.

In a subsequent scene, Rosalía, just like the *muñeca*, is stuck within a designated "female" space (implicitly, the inside of the truck that the man continues to drive). Even within this space, she cannot escape the male "gaze." A bull stares directly at her from its position on the wall (00:01:02) (see image in Appendix A, Section 2B, Figure 31), and as Kraken notes, when she tries to escape the room, she can't; she ends up in the same exact place. The room is a "prison" which the male has created to keep her in his possession (and sight) ("EL MEJOR ANÁLISIS" 00:01:02-00:01:06). The oppression gets worse as the video chapter continues. In a later scene, Rosalía sits in what appears to be the same bedroom/prison, staring off into the distance as the bull, now mobile, sneaks up on her from behind. His gaze is so piercing that it causes her back to bleed (00:01:26-00:01:30) (see image in Appendix A, Section 2B, Figure 32). The same "gaze" that forces her to stay tied to a rearview mirror and that doesn't allow her to leave her room now causes her to look like she has been hit by a literal bullet. She yet again is trapped under the possession of the male and his "gaze," but now it is so extreme that it is killing her.

Just as it is no accident that the *muñeca de Marín* represents Rosalía in the first scene, there is a purpose as to why she chooses the bull to represent her male adversary that intensely "gazes" at her. Although the bull still retains its connotations to Spain, it takes on new meanings from those which it had in "Malamente." Many (e.g., TheUrbanEve and Kraken) connect the bull in "Pienso en tu mirá" to the phrase "*poner los cuernos*." This phrase is used to indicate that one person in a relationship is cheating on the other. Although both TheUrbanEve ("EXPLAINING

ROSALÍA'S" 13:52-14:49) and Kraken ("EL MEJOR ANÁLISIS" 00:04:00-00:05:31) interpret the bull as a reference to the male cheating on Rosalía (with Kraken saying that the fact she doesn't turn around until the bull arrives represents her obliviousness to the fact that she was living in a lie), I interpret this differently. The bull is the symbol chosen to represent the male because it emphasizes the extremity of his paranoia that Rosalía's lovely eyes will make others fall in love with her and make her *ponerle los cuernos*. Just like Archambaut in *Flamenca*, who becomes so obsessed that Flamenca will cheat on him with the king that he commits the inhumane action of locking her inside of a tower, the man in the relationship with Rosalía is no longer acting human; in Rosalía's mind, he has become a violent and oppressive animal whose "gaze" is piercing.

In addition to the bull imagery, we see visual support for this interpretation of the "gaze" as a male tool of damage through the initial imagery of weapons. In the video chapter, many men (perhaps, like the bull, exaggerated representations of the male in the relationship) surround Rosalía and point various weapons at her face, from guns, to knives, to baseball bats. They use these weapons, phallic objects, to extend their male "gaze" of possession and domination. The camera, yet another "gaze," angles down towards Rosalía as she kneels close to the ground. Although she was limited in space before, now she has no breathing room (00:02:00-00:02:01) (see image in Appendix A, Section 2C, Figure 33). Here, Phil Hubbard's argument that "space" cannot be separated from power relations (47) becomes overly evident. Whether it is trapping Rosalía in front of the "masculine" space of the driver's seat or locking her up within her own "feminine" prison, the man is clearly using his power, exhibited most explicitly through various symbols of the "gaze," to dramatically isolate Rosalía from everyone else; whereas he can go where he wants and do what he wants, her movements and actions are subject to his will just like

the movement of the *muñeca de Marín* is subject to the motion resulting from the driving of the truck.

As we have now seen, the visual representation of the "gaze" can support both main lyrical interpretations of "Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho." It can be a narration from the male of how the female's ability to attract others with her "gaze" is like a "bala en su pecho" or it can be a narration from the female of how the male's overwhelming, obsessive gaze is like a "bala en su pecho." However, I must note that the visuals, apart from the lyrics, give birth to a third interpretation—what if the "gaze" is initially male (meaning that it is initially a "bala" in Rosalía's "pecho"), but becomes female when Rosalía appropriates it as her own tool of domination (meaning that it is ultimately a "bala" in the man's "pecho" and that the narrative voice in the chorus changes during the song from female to male)?

Firstly, in regards to the bull imagery, before the bull's gaze can kill Rosalía, she turns around and gazes back, forcing the bull to retreat to its static position on the wall (00:01:30-00:01:32) (see image in Appendix A, Section 2C, Figure 38). After rejecting this male "gaze," she places what appears to be the bull's eye in her mouth, chews on it, and spits it out while staring directly at the camera (00:01:33-00:01:35, 00:01:52) (see image in Appendix A, Section 2C, Figure 39). She also utilizes the bull's eyes as bullets (00:01:43-00:01:44, 00:01:50-00:01:51). These images not only reinforce the male gaze's damaging qualities (in line with one of the lyrical interpretations) but also reveal how Rosalía appropriates the "gaze" as female and uses it as her own powerful ammunition.

Secondly, in regards to the weapons imagery, Rosalía eventually rises from her kneeling position while the camera, in a sequence of two shots, tilts upwards from its initial position (angled down towards Rosalía) to a position angled up at her, while also travelling back and

forth from its initial position (in *primer plano*) (00:02:02-00:02:07) (see images in Appendix A, Section 2C, Figures 33-36).[83] These changes in camera and spectator angle marks a turning point in the weapons' (and as an extension, the "gaze's") signification as male—Rosalía is no longer the passive and objectified victim. She now looks above the "gaze" of the male as well as the "gaze" of the camera, and the wobbly distancing of the camera from her could be seen as a weakening of its power or "gaze" in the face of Rosalía's gain in power. Immediately before these ultimate shots, and multiple times after, she makes a gun (phallic) symbol with her hands (00:02:05, 00:02:08, 00:02:21, 00:02:23), and also wears a gun necklace (00:02:32-00:02:33) (see image in Appendix A, Section 2C, Figure 37), indicating her own appropriation of the "gaze" as a symbol of increased feminist agency. The "gaze" once again represents power, but now can also be both male and female.

Lastly, in regards to the trapped *muñeca de Marín*, it escapes from its place hanging on the rearview mirror and thus also escapes the controlling gaze of the bus driver. In Rosalía's embodiment of it at the end of the song (evidenced by the parallels in aesthetic, such as the color red and ruffles), Rosalía frees it from its prison and empowers it. She stands with confidence on top of the crashed truck that once tried to own her and overlooks the horizon she can now freely explore (00:03:15-00:03:40) (see image in Appendix A, Section 2D, Figure 41).

No matter the storyline one chooses to believe, we can see how the visuals and lyrics work together to produce a highly emotional storyline, reinforcing the song's foundation in

[83] According to Fredega Producciones, el *tilt* "es un movimiento sobre el eje de la cámara que va de abajo hacia arriba o viceversa," whereas *travelling* is the "desplazamiento de la cámara de un punto a otro siguiendo una acción" (00:03:26-00:03:36). *Primer plano* and *plano americano* are two types of shots that the camera fits into the frame. *Primer plano* is when the camera frames "el rostro del personaje y parte de los hombros" and *plano americano* is when the camera frames "al actor desde la cabeza hasta las rodillas" (00:00:26-00:00:48).

flamenco. However, the nature of these emotions, and who deploys them against the other, can vary, thus contributing to her "universe" of meanings.

Other Key Visual Elements

Apart from the *muñeca de Marín*, it is important to further consider other key flamenco aesthetic and movement elements related to "Pienso en tu mirá;" namely, Rosalía's aesthetic at the end of the video chapter, the *bailaor*, and Filip Ćustić's accompanying image for the song (see image in Appendix A, Section 2E, Figure 42). Not only does Rosalía's inclusion of these elements reinforce her connection to flamenco, but her Butler-like approach to them, in which she "performs" signs that are traditionally categorized as both male and female, yet again contributes to her "universe."

Although the *muñeca de Marín* at first glance fully reinforces gender expectations with her ruffled and poofy red dress and head shawl, by holding a guitar, she also empowers the woman by allowing her to enter into what is stereotypically thought of as "masculine" terrain. An unknown writer of an opinion piece titled "El papel de la mujer en la guitarra flamenca" states that *tocaoras* have indeed continued to exist throughout history but have simply been "invisibilizadas por la cultura heteropatriarcal y machista." The fact that the *muñeca de Marín* in "Pienso en tu mirá" holds a guitar allows her to transgress the boundaries placed upon female aesthetic expectations and vizibilize women in what was traditionally marked as a "masculine" terrain. Rosalía's embodiment of the *muñeca de Marín* at the end of the song continues to challenge "traditional" gender-based boundaries. Although she wears a red turtleneck crop top and has ruffles at the bottom of her pants, supporting "traditional" gender-based aesthetic expectations, she also wears skin-tight black-and-white checkered pants, holds a cell phone

instead of a guitar, and is on top of the truck instead of inside. By wearing form-fitting pants that allow for maximum movement, typically a characteristic limited to the aesthetic of the *bailaor* (see Chapter 3), she questions gendered aesthetic norms, and the fact that they are in a black and white checkered pattern could be seen as intertextual with the outfit of the *bailaor* in the song (00:01:16-00:01:18), yet again blending together male and female aesthetics (see image in Appendix A, Section 2D, Figure 41).

In Ćustić's image for the song, Rosalía yet again portrays herself as a flamenco artist. She emerges from the water as her arms pose in an internationally recognized flamenco-esque manner. Although the overall visuals focus solely on the *de cintura para arriba*, characteristic of a "traditional" female flamenco artist, her positioning also links her to the goddess Venus. Venus was born in the water as a result of a father-son battle in which the son castrated his father (a superior and more "masculine" authority figure) and threw his testicles into the water. The battle in itself is already a power reversal, but Venus's paradoxical emergence from a battle between two males as a "feminine" goddess yet again questions the connection between gender and power. Venus goes on to represent "victory," among other things, indicating that she is certainly not a passive nor inferior female. Rosalía's story mirrors that of Venus in this song. She experiences two rebirths; one after the death of the *muñeca de Marín* within the masculine space of the truck and another after the male smashes the porcelain flamenco figure with his baseball bat. Both of her births result from a masculine action of violence, but these masculine actions paradoxically lead to feminine victory.

"DE AQUÍ NO SALES [CAPÍTULO 4: DISPUTA]"

"De aquí no sales" is the fourth chapter of the album, *Disputa*. It was directed by Diana Kunst and Mau Morgo, and as previously mentioned, it was released about two months after the rest of the album, on January 22, 2019. This video chapter is significant because many view it as the most "experimental" (e.g., Altozano, Cohen, and Redfield), and some such as Jack Redfield have gone as far as to state that it is "the least 'flamenco-ish.'" However, despite this, we can still find a great deal of flamenco in it, from the music, to the lyrics, to the visual elements, giving us insight that even the most "out there" song still has a framework based on flamenco.

Musical and Lyrical Frameworks

Despite characterizations which distance it from "tradition," and thus, flamenco (in the eyes of many), some such as music producer and analyst Carlos Rendón sees this song as a "combinación del mundo antiguo del flamenco con el mundo moderno de la tecnología digital [y] de la música digital" ("Analizando: 'De aquí no sales'" 00:05:02-00:05:10). Although Rendón's statement can be partially problematic in that flamenco is not solely an art form of "el mundo antiguo" and within the context of our contemporary world can more accurately be described as falling into a liminal space between "tradition" and "innovation" (Chapter 3), I agree with Rendón that flamenco plays an important role within the song and cohabitates with what one may consider "experimentation." I wish to build upon his ideas by highlighting the prominence of flamenco beneath the song's "experimental" or "non-flamenco" façade. Given the intertwined nature of the music and lyrics within this song, this time, I will be considering them in conjunction.

At first glance, we can determine that all of the musical and lyrical flamenco leitmotifs are present. Musically, *palmas* play a key role throughout the entire second half of the song and even have their own musical interlude (00:01:16-00:01:19), the entire song is "vozcentrista" (the voice is used as both the melody and accompaniment) and the song is in E Phrygian mode. Lyrically ("De aquí no sales (Cap. 4 Disputa)" Lyrics), the narrative voice sings of their extreme pain ("Mucho más a mí me duele / De lo que a ti te está doliendo") (lines 4-5), rage (which results in violent actions) ("Conmigo no te equivoques / Con el revés de la mano / Yo te lo dejo bien claro") (lines 6-8) and bitterness ("Yo que tanto te camelo / Y tú me das pie . . . Amargas penas te vendo") (lines 1-2, 9) towards the subject.[84] The lyrics, no matter one's interpretation, showcase extreme emotional themes common to flamenco; Rosalía indeed affirms the visceral nature of the song by stating that it is "el capítulo con más violencia" (sobre EMQ 2). Additionally, we again see the word choice/diction leitmotif in her decision to drop off the "s" from the endings of words (e.g., "das," "sales," "equivoques," etc.) and use "camelo" in the first line, a word that is derived from *caló*.[85]

However, if we consider the interpretations of Juan Vergillos from *Diario de Sevilla* and Rosalía's additional comments on the flamenco influences within this song, the flamenco base goes beyond these six leitmotifs. The song is divided into two parts, but I will begin with a focus on the first part, a slower section in which the voice takes center stage. On the one hand, Vergillos sees the first part of the song as intertextual with a famous *cantaor*; he states that it is

[84] Another intertext that one may think of when they hear these lyrics is the song "Tú me camelas" by Niña Pastori (1978-), a famous flamenco singer who tends to add pop flourishes to her songs.

[85] According to *Etimologías de Chile*, "camelo" comes from the verb infinitive "camelar," which means "seducir, a veces incluso con alguna falsa treta" ("Camelar").

"unos pregones de [Gabriel] Macandé con *auto-tune*."[86] On the other hand, Rosalía associates the song (implicitly the first portion, given its characteristics) with *seguiriyas* (see sobre EMQ 2).[87] Both of these viewpoints are valid. The first part of "De aquí no sales" merges influences from "unos pregones de Macandé" with influences from *seguiriyas* to create a section not only deeply rooted in flamenco *leitmotifs* but also highly intertextual with other more "traditional" flamenco sources.

Musically, the melodic line of the song's first part is highly melismatic and, as previously mentioned, "vozcentrista," which brings it into the realms of both *seguiriyas* and *pregones*. The voice forms the melody, harmony, and accompaniment, creating a sense of intimacy which is perfect to emit deeply emotional themes in line with *seguiriyas* and which stays faithful to the instrumental bareness of *pregones*. Additionally, the melody is filled with melismas, which are characteristic of both *seguiriyas* and *pregones*. The most notable melismas are when Rosalía

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[86] As Rafael Cáceres Feria and Alberto del Campo Tejedor describe, a "pregón" (in English, "announcement" or "cry") is not a specific *palo*, but rather, a common theme that can be emitted through many flamenco *palos*. This common theme is one which surrounds the idea of a vendor yelling in the street to make their living. Gabriel Macandé (1897-1947), born as Francisco Gabriel Díaz Fernández in Cádiz, Spain, was born into "una familia gitana y pobre" and grew up making a living by selling *caramelos* in the streets. He sang *pregones* in order to sell them ("Gabriel Macandé"). According to *Flamencopolis*, a typical *pregón* is musically characterized by a lack of instrumental accompaniment (aka "vozcentrista") and the inclusion of flourishes in the voice itself, such as melismas) ("Pregones").

[87] As *Ravenna Flamenco* describes, *seguiriyas* "traces its origins to Cádiz, Sevilla, and Jerez de la Frontera in the 18th century . . . is one of flamenco's oldest and deepest forms . . . [and] typically focus[es] on tragedy, inconsolable sorrow, and pain" ("Seguiriya"). The *Flamenco.one Glossary* similarly states that *seguiriyas* are of "a tragic and gloomy character, enclosing main values of what is known as 'cante hondo.' Lyrics are painful, tragic, about human relationships, love and death" ("Seguiriya"). Musically, Faustino Nuñez describes the typical *seguiriyas* as being "un estilo melismático y de carácter muy dramático" ("Seguiriya") and the *Flamenco.one Glossary* claims that it has bare or minimum accompaniment (if any at all) as well as "few lyrics and many 'quejíos.'" It tends to start with a 3/4 measure and then be followed by a 6/8 measure ("Seguiriya").

stretches the word "camelo" over various melodic notes from 00:00:16-00:00:25, when she stretches the final sound of "pie" from 00:00:31-00:00:35, and when she sings "amargas" over a melisma for four seconds, from 00:01:03-00:01:07. Although the E Phrygian mode is not a crucial factor to indicate the song as a *pregón* (according to *Flamencopolis*, *pregones* are not classified by tonality) ("Pregones"), the mode does contribute to the sense of "lamentation" and melancholy characteristic of *seguiriyas*. All of these factors illustrate that the first part of "De aquí no sales" fulfills musical characteristics of both the *seguiriyas* and *pregones* and they also begin to validate the interpretations of Vergillos and Rosalía.

Their interpretations are strengthened even further when we consider the connections between the lyrics and both *seguiriyas* and *pregones*. Lyrically, as previously mentioned, the narrative voice sings of "tragedy, inconsolable sorrow, and pain" ("Seguiriya," *Ravenna Flamenco*), which are visceral elements common to *seguiriyas*. However, if we look at the lyrics in more detail, we can see how the lyrics are simultaneously intertextual with a specific *pregón* from Gabriel Macandé (1897-1947). One of Macandé's most well-known *pregones* is *Pregón de los caramelos*, which traces back to his times wandering the streets and attempting to make a living selling "caramelos" ("Gabriel Macandé"), and a lyric repeated within this *pregón* is "Caramelos, vendo yo." In "De aquí no sales," the narrative voice sings "Amargas penas te vendo / Caramelos también tengo." Although the words are modified to fit the narrative voice's bitterness (the narrative voice does not necessarily sell "caramelos," but rather, "amargas penas") the intertextual connection is still present given the inclusion of "vendo" and "caramelos" within both sets of lyrics on top of the musical structure that resembles a *pregón*. Thus, in sum, we can see how both musically and lyrically, "De aquí no sales" can be intertextually connected to flamenco references and figures in multiple ways that go beyond the flamenco *leitmotifs*.

Now that we have considered the first part of the song, we must briefly consider the second part, which Vergillos calls "unas frenéticas y sensuales bulerías eléctricas." Rosalía does not confirm or deny this interpretation, but if we consider the nature of the *compás* (maintained by *palmas*), we can see the validity of what Vergillos says. Normally *bulerías* is in a 12-beat cycle (beginning on beat 12) in which beats 12, 3, 6 or 7, 8, and 10 are accented ("Compás"). This formation aurally creates one measure of 6/8 (beats 12-5) followed by one measure of 3/4 (beats 6-11). In the second part of "De aquí no sales," this is almost exactly what we hear, albeit Rosalía begins with a measure of 3/4 (beats 6-11) rather than a measure of 6/8, which is more characteristic of *seguiriyas* than *bulerías*. Thus, although Rosalía perhaps tweaked the *compás* and started with a 3/4 measure to maintain continuity with the first part of the song (when it reflects a *seguiriyas*), in the second part of the song, the rhythmic foundation is, indeed, highly aligned with *bulerías*. There are no lyrics in this section, just yelling. However, this yelling still draws the song closer to flamenco; Rosalía calls them "grito[s]" in sobre EMQ 2 and associates them with the song's violence and aggression, which means that in her view, the yelling contributes to the highly visceral atmosphere of the song. They are also reminiscent of *jaleos* (see Chapter 2), yet again drawing the song closer to flamenco.

These connections between the song and *seguiriyas*, *pregones*, and *bulerías* demonstrate not only how the song has a musical and lyrical flamenco foundation that goes beyond the *leitmotifs*, but also demonstrates how the album is highly intertextual. By now exploring the non-flamenco musical elements as well as the many lyrical interpretations of the song, we can continue to see how flamenco is melded into a postmodern "universe" of references and intertexts.

The musical non-flamenco elements that are melded with flamenco not only support the intense emotions and rawness of the song but they also encourage multiple lyrical interpretations. As previously mentioned, this video chapter is highly "vozcentrista," but the voice itself is edited so that it is sometimes pitched upward (00:01:30-00:01:51) or downward (00:01:52-00:02:28). Ivory Samos claims that this type of digitization of the voice often causes Rosalía to sound "como si fuera el hombre;" implicit to Samos' statement is that her voice can encourage viewers to interpret the lyrics from the male perspective, even though she, as a female, is the person singing. Added to the digitized voice are sounds such as motors, sirens, and yelling, sound effects that It's JotaJota argues allow us to almost "visualizar al hombre pegando a la mujer . . . y también la mujer dando golpes en la puerta, en plan, déjame salir" ("ANÁLISIS: El Mal Querer" 00:08:42-00:09:28). Thus, although many of these elements are "experimental" in that they are not commonly mixed with musical elements from genres such as flamenco, they add to the deep emotional tension of the video chapter while also contributing to viewers' multiple interpretations.

Although there are slight variations, most of the lyrical interpretations tend to align with the musical interpretations in viewing the song as narrated from the perspective of the male who is describing his relationship with Rosalía. It's JotaJota, for example, views the line "Yo que tanto te camelo" along with the lines "Mucho más a mí me duele / De lo que a ti te está doliendo" as a verbal effort on the part of the male to make Rosalía feel guilty for her rebellious behavior ("ANÁLISIS: El Mal Querer" 00:08:03-00:08:23), and he views the line "Haciendo que tú de aquí no sales" as well as the lines "Conmigo no te equivoques / Con el revés de la mano / Yo te lo dejo bien claro" as the male's verbal descriptions of the physical violence he executes against Rosalía for her lack of compliance in the relationship (00:07:41-00:07:50). He

interprets the last two lines ("Amargas penas te vendo / Caramelos también tengo") as a juxtaposition that the male creates to threaten Rosalía—if Rosalía stays in the relationship and lets him control her, he will give her the "caramelos," but if not, she will continue to get the "amargas penas," meaning, a living hell (00:08:27-00:08:41). Youtuber Rommel similarly views the lyrics from the perspective of the male in the relationship and agrees with It's JotaJota in that the lines from "Mucho más a mí me duele" to "Yo te lo dejo bien claro" are telltale signs of an abusive relationship ("Literatura medieval" 00:12:12-00:12:30).

On the surface, these interpretations (that view the lyrics as being from the male perspective) seem the most logical considering the Spanish cultural context as well as the storyline of *Flamenca*, which inspired this video chapter (see Introduction). As previously mentioned, in Spain as well as in other parts of the world, domestic abuse is highly prevalent and, more often than not, is committed by a male. This would encourage viewers to associate these lyrics which convey violence with the male in the relationship. In *Flamenca*, Lord Archambaut is the character to abuse his wife, Flamenca, not the other way around. He locks her up inside a tower and prevents her from living her life; literally, "De [la torre] no sal[e] [Flamenca]." Thus, there are many logical reasons as to why these lyrics would be interpreted from the male perspective. However, as we will soon consider in more detail, these interpretations are destabilized when we consider the lyrics in conjunction with the video chapter's visual elements. The lyrics are intertextual with *Flamenca* and seem to indicate physical abuse inflicted by the male on the female, but the visuals challenge us to ask ourselves whether the male is actually committing the violence. To whom does "De aquí no sales" refer?

Visual Elements

Flamenco continues to be prevalent visually, but it melds with other visual elements to ultimately create a variety of interpretations that destabilize the male-focused lyrical perspective discussed above. For purposes of continuity, I will point out the visual flamenco influences when relevant, but will do so within the context of my larger analysis of the relationship between the lyrics and the visual elements in the creation of a "universe" of meanings.

There are two main settings for the video chapter; a pond filled with gasoline and a windmill field in La Mancha, Spain.[88] In the first portion of the song (the portion which is slower and which includes the lyrics), the visuals can be read in a way that supports those who argue that the song is narrated from the male perspective. In this portion of the song, Rosalía is inside the pond and the other character, assumed to be the man, is in the windmill field. We see Rosalía waist-deep in the pond wearing a loose red dress and head jewelry, establishing a stereotypically feminine role. She uses flamenco to further establish her feminine role by performing *de cintura para arriba* movements; the camera focuses on her arms as she turns her palms outward and slowly rotates them in an upward spiral (00:00:29-00:00:33) (see image in Appendix A, Section 3A, Figure 43) and nowhere is there the presence of violent or quick motions, nor the lower body.[89] The male, in contrast, is walking in the spacious field towards one specific windmill (see image in Appendix A, Section 3B, Figure 45). This difference in space and movement indicates a contrast between the male and female: the male is the active character who has freedom of

[88] Both spaces have clear intertexts that contribute to Rosalía's "universe" of meanings. The pond is intertextual with a 1851-1852 painting by Sir John Everett Millais (1829-1896) and the windmill field is intertextual with the famous work of literature *Don Quijote* (or *Don Quixote*) by Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1566).

[89] Timestamps throughout the rest of this section are from the music video for "De aquí no sales" (Kunst and Morgo).

movement, whereas Rosalía is the passive character who is stuck in the gasoline-filled pond and is limited to small, reserved movements; the male is the oppressor and Rosalía is the oppressed.

The interpretations that view the lyrics from the male perspective are strengthened even more when we consider the parallels between the windmill in the video chapter and the tower in *Flamenca*. The video chapter purposely focuses on one specific windmill, rather than all of the windmills in the field, and the first fast cut we see in the song reveals that the tower has one main window with a light that is coming from inside (00:00:11). The fact that the camera focuses on capturing only one specific windmill and the fact that there is light inside the windmill, added to the facts that it is nighttime and the figure who seems to represent the man walks confidently towards that specific windmill (indicating a motivation to see someone or do something there) (00:00:25-0:29, 00:00:42-0:45, 00:00:53-00:00:58, 00:01:00-00:01:02), all together imply that someone lives there. Perhaps the illustration of Rosalía being stuck within the gasoline-filled pond is a simile for the restrictive and isolative abuse she suffers from within the tower, just as Flamenca.[90] This is how J.F. Luiña Bousquet (commenting on Violeta Luna's analysis, "Análisis 'De aquí no sales'") sees it. Luiña Bousquet believes that Rosalía, like Flamenca, lives in the windmill (he even calls the windmill a "torre") and that the man is heading towards the woman with "ganas de bronca." Thus, we can conclude that the visuals from this portion of the song can

[90] The idea of the "tower" and the vigilance associated with it can also be intertextual with Foucault's concept of the "Panopticon" (inspired by "Jeremy Bentham's nineteenth century prison reforms," in which order was maintained by convincing the populace that "any person could be surveilled at any time"). Foucault himself argued that "the panoptic model of surveillance [mentioned above] has been diffused as a principle of social organization" in settings such as the classroom or hospital (Felluga).

be seen in ways that support the lyrical interpretations of the lyrics as coming from the male perspective.

These lyrical interpretations are also supported when we consider the symbolism of the petroleum and fire. On his way to the windmill, the male pours petroleum on himself (00:00:34-00:00:37) and almost immediately catches on fire (00:00:42) (see images in Appendix A, Section 3B, Figures 44-45). Luiña Bousquet argues that the fact that the fire is simply a representation of the man's anger, and again, "ganas de bronca;" in other words, the man has so much rage that he catches on fire, and he is heading to the tower to scorch Rosalía as well. Rosalía does come into contact with the petroleum (the pond is filled with petroleum, implied by the liquid's black color and the motor sitting next to the pond) but, unlike the man, Rosalía does not catch on fire. Rather, she begins to drown within the petroleum (00:00:49-00:00:53, 00:01:03-00:01:15) (see image in Appendix A, Section 3C, Figure 46). We can consider petroleum as a symbol of toxicity. Petroleum is a foreign contaminant to the body and unlike other substances such as water, it must be extracted from the ground in a very unnatural process. The man douses himself in petroleum, indicating that he is filled with toxicity, but Rosalía is not naturally toxic. Rosalía is related to tears throughout the album.[91] If we consider the intertextuality of her positioning in the petroleum-filled pond with her positioning within Filip Ćustić's image for "Pienso en tu mirá," in both images, she is pictured from the waist up performing *de cintura para arriba* movements (see G.). However, in Ćustić's image, she is portrayed as natural; she is nude, her hair is hanging down without care, and she is standing within a pool of tears (a natural substance

[91] The most explicit examples of places within the album where Rosalía is linked to tears are in "Bagdad," when Rosalía drowns in her own tears, and in Filip Ćustić's image for "Pienso en tu mirá," when Rosalía is pictured posing in a flamenco-esque and *de cintura para arriba* manner within a pool of her own tears.

that comes from within herself) with no obvious clues that she is drowning (see image in Appendix A, Section 2E, Figure 42). In contrast, within the petroleum pool, her eyes are artificially colored, her hair is in an unnatural hairdo, she is dressed up, and is surrounded by what appear to be fake flowers as the petroleum sucks her in like quicksand. Thus, there is plenty of evidence to consider the petroleum as a symbol of toxicity and the fire as a visual demonstration of the toxicity's active manifestations (rage, violence, etc.), and we can read the visuals within this part of the video chapter as an indication that Rosalía is not the person in the relationship who is employing the violent attacks, but rather, suffering from them at the hand of the male. By almost drowning in the petroleum, Rosalía illustrates how deeply entrenched she is in this toxicity. She almost gives into suffering the same fate as the male—being stuck in his *infierno* with him as he continues to abuse her.

As Luna discusses, this storyline is reinforced by the intertextuality of this scene of Rosalía in the pond with the 1851-1852 painting by Sir John Everett Millais. The painting depicts the drowning of a passive Ophelia (see images in Appendix A, Section 3C, Figures 46-47), who, according to Luna, represents "lo que en esencia debería hacer una señorita a finales de siglo 16 y principios de 17. Haga lo que haga, debe de obedecer a un hombre [su pareja o su padre] y no tiene ningún control ni sobre su vida ni sobre su cuerpo" ("Análisis 'De aquí no sales'" 00:02:50-00:03:02). Ophelia never overcomes this oppression; after falling into the pond, she gives up on her life and lets herself drown. However, as Luna also notes, although Rosalía seems to initially be following the same path as Ophelia, their fate is ultimately not the same. Unlike Ophelia, Rosalía does not drown. A series of fast cuts, which culminate in the explosion of the windmill and Rosalía's escape from it on a motorbike, indicates that she recognizes her situation of being stuck in the midst of the toxicity and takes action to escape from it before it is

too late. She gains agency, refuses to accept the restrictive position which the male has assigned to her, and challenges interpretations that solely consider the lyrics as being from the male's perspective.

The visual fast cuts in the first portion of the song consistently highlight Rosalía's increasing agency and open up the possibility for interpretations that view the lyrics from the female perspective. The first sequence of fast cuts (00:00:11) is of the fully lit windmill followed by Rosalía, dressed in what we will later learn is a ruffled red flamenco-esque suit (see image in Appendix A, Section 3D, Figure 48). This moment, albeit less than a second, is significant, as she only wears this outfit in normal-length shots during the second half of the song, once she has escaped her oppression. This fast cut to Rosalía wearing the flamenco-esque outfit early in the song is an early indication that the song does not visually occur within a "linear" narrative. As viewers, we are already forced to examine the story carefully, and it becomes more difficult for us to make sense of any one storyline.

These nonlinear fast cuts continue once the lyrics begin and align with them in such a way that they open up the chance for their resignification. As Rosalía sings "Yo que tanto te camelo," a fast cut shows her wearing yet another outfit (a biker's suit) associated with the second part of the video chapter while violently waving her arm, almost as if it were a knife trying to cut something, over the sound of aggressive motors (00:00:24), and as Rosalía sings "haciendo que tú de aquí no sales," we see a sequence of fast cuts, from fire, to Rosalía yet again waving her arm like a knife, to a faded image of the windmill with a black hole that appears to be singed around the edges, to a set of two thin beams (00:00:39-00:00:41), and by the time Rosalía sings "con el revés de la mano," we see a sequence of the two thin beams, now easier to see and associated with the fire (they are in the camera's frame at the same time), followed by Rosalía

sweeping the back of her hand towards the camera, almost in a slapping motion (00:00:59). All of these fast cut sequences demand that we rethink the significance of the lyrics. The first sequence that occurs over lyrics ("Yo que tanto te camelo") is followed by the lyrics "Y tú me das pie (the phrase "dar pie" means to give someone a motive to take certain actions). Rather than being a verbal depiction of the male's attempt at making Rosalía feel bad for her resistance within the relationship, which gives him motivation to act violently towards her (as It's JotaJota interprets the lyrics), perhaps the lyrics are Rosalía's expression of her frustration towards the man and his toxicity; the man motivates her to take a stand and resist him further. Perhaps the second sequence that occurs over lyrics ("haciendo que tú de aquí no sales"), rather than being a reference to the male's continued determination to isolate Rosalía and lock her up in a tower like Archambaut did to Flamenca, is actually a foreshadowing of the ways in which Rosalía will gain agency, resignify the lyrics, and readapt the ending of *Flamenca* so that now, the man is the character who cannot leave; "de aquí no sal[e] [él]." Lastly, in a similar vein, perhaps the third and last sequence that occurs over lyrics ("Con el revés de la mano") is an illustration of Rosalía's refusal to be oppressed, and again, her commitment to regain her sense of agency over the male.

The significance of these just-discussed sequences of fast cuts and the way in which Rosalía regains her agency become clear in the sequence of fast cuts culminating in the explosion of the windmill (see images in Appendix A, Section 3E, Figures 49-54). Prior to this last sequence of fast cuts, Rosalía is at the point of almost drowning; her face is the only part of her body that remains above water. However, her last moments in the pond are marked by *desprecio*; she "gazes" towards something outside of the camera's frame, clearly viewing it as an adversary (00:01:10-00:01:14). We can infer what she is looking at if we consider the sequence

of fast cuts that occur immediately after as well as the intertextuality between this sequence and one of Filip Ćustić's images. The sequence contains shots of Rosalía and her posse in the windmill field, Rosalía performing *de cintura para arriba* movements in the pond, the previously mentioned golden beams (which, before, we connected to fire), and the previously mentioned black hole singed around the edges (which, before, we connected to the windmill) (00:01:15). The intertextual artwork by Ćustić for this song illustrates Rosalía looking downward as a golden beam streams from her eyes (see image in Appendix A, Section 3F, Figure 55). Considering all of these connections together, as well as the fact that the windmill explodes rather than gradually setting on fire, can lead us to believe that the way in which Rosalía regains her agency and escapes from toxic oppression is through, yet again, the power of her "gaze." She once more maintains the traditional connotations of power associated with the "gaze," but she also partially resignifies the "gaze" as female and uses it to both burn a black hole in the windmill and immediately set it on fire. We also cannot ignore that the male is implicitly nearby or in the windmill when it explodes, given that we see him reach the windmill beforehand (00:00:53-00:00:59). Thus, her "gaze" not only destroyed her place of oppression (the windmill) but also her oppressor (the male), who is now forced to burn in his own toxicity.

In order to better understand the significance of the windmill and its destruction, it is important to briefly discuss the intertextuality between the windmill and both Flamenca's tower and Don Quijote. I have already briefly discussed how Flamenca's tower was a place in which Flamenca was isolated from others and abused. The intertextuality between Flamenca's tower and this windmill causes the characteristics of the former to be associated with the latter; meaning, those who know the story of *Flamenca* tend to associate the windmill with oppression and abuse as well. For example, Irene Sierra states that the storyline "está inspirado en los

episodios de violencia que vive Flamenca" and describes the windmill as Rosalía's "prisión." On top of this intertextual association is that of Don Quijote. In the novel, one of the protagonists, Don Quijote, wages war against windmills because he thinks that they are monstrous giants. In this video chapter, as evidenced by Rosalía's looks of *desprecio* towards the windmill and her eventual decision to destroy it, Rosalía can be likened to Don Quijote in that she views the windmill as her antagonist, her enemy to defeat. Many viewers, such as Youtuber oRivero vBlog and Luna, make this connection. oRivero vBlog states that the "enfrentamiento" from the novel foreshadows what will happen to the windmill in the chapter and reveals the windmill's problematic nature in the couple's relationship ("REACCIÓN" 00:02:00-00:02:37), and Luna states that Rosalía views the *molinos* as "gigantes" and wants to destroy them (although she believes that Rosalía attempts to destroy them through being the person who sets herself on fire, which runs counter to my interpretation) ("Análisis 'De aquí no sales'" 00:04:58-00:05:22). Regardless of variations in interpretations, these intertextual connections highlight the significance of the windmill and Rosalía's desire to destroy it with her "gaze" (or in another manner, if following Luna's interpretation).

In the second portion of the song, once Rosalía has freed herself from her oppression, she uses flamenco elements as well as a few other notable intertexts to reassert her dominance over the situation and resist the gender-based oppression she previously faced. Rather than performing stereotypically female *de cintura para arriba* movements, as she consistently does in the first half of the song while in the pond, she now performs aggressive, outward and noisy full-body motions that cross into what was more "traditionally" labeled masculine in the realm of flamenco. After blowing up the windmill, Rosalía and her posse are shown in a series of *planos generales* (full-body shots) with bent knees, extended legs that take up a wide range of space,

and vigorous foot stamps (00:02:14-00:02:17, 00:02:21-00:02:27). They are also shown appropriating the "noisy" aspect of "traditional" male flamenco movements throughout this section by performing *palmas* (00:01:41-00:01:43) and what could be considered *jaleos* (00:01:52-00:02:27).

By the end of the song, Rosalía continues to challenge gender norms in flamenco. Rosalía wears a red suit with ruffles up and down both sides and head jewelry (00:02:27-00:02:30). This was the same outfit we saw in fast cuts at the beginning of the video chapter, but now, we understand its significance. Although her outfit is in line with those of the "traditional" *bailaora* in its color (red) as well as the inclusion of jewelry and ruffles, her decision to wear form-fitting pants that allow for maximum movement permits her to also partially cross into an aesthetic space "traditionally" assigned to the *bailaor* (see image in Appendix A, Section 3G, Figure 57).

She also finds feminist power in other non-flamenco elements of her aesthetic. The jewelry that she wears, for example, has multiple intertexts that revindicate the female. Luna connects the jewelry that Rosalía wears to the jewelry which the female protagonists wear in the video "Bad Girls" by M.I.A., which was filmed in 2012 in support of the #Women2Drive movement in Saudi Arabia (a movement which fought for womens' right to drive in the country). Luna sees both Rosalía and the female protagonists in "Bad Girls" as "mujeres que luchan por sus derechos y por tener control sobre su vida" and states that the head jewelry that Rosalía wears seems to be inspired by what the women in the "Bad Girls" video wear (albeit, she indicates that the head jewelry worn by the women in the "Bad Girls" is likely not the only inspiration for the head jewelry that Rosalía and her posse wear, as what the latter group wears is a "mezcla de influencias") ("Análisis 'De aquí no sales'" 00:10:09-00:11:31). Redfield makes a different intertextual connection, associating the head jewelry with what the "Dama de Elche"

wore during her reign as a goddess during the 5th century B.C., and I see yet a third intertext between Rosalía's head jewelry and that which Beyoncé wears in the previously mentioned female anthem, "Run the World (Girls)." Javier Ceferino, the designer of Rosalía's head jewelry in the video chapter, details yet another *fuente de inspiración*—Indian head jewelry. He states that he chose to use gold in the head jewelry given that it is "a very powerful metal" (qtd. in Yalcinkaya); an inspiration that makes sense, given how gold within India can be considered "a sign of power and wealth" as well as "[a sign of] good health, prosperity, and femininity" ("Women and Jewelry"). Following each of these interpretations, the head jewelry reinforces Rosalía's gender-defying flamenco-esque suit in allowing her to showcase her own power and overcome the gender-based oppression she has faced.

Ultimately, by considering the first and last shots of the video chapter, we can open our eyes to yet another interpretation; perhaps, Rosalía had power over the male the entire time both lyrically and visually; perhaps there was no shift in power from the male to the female whatsoever. The first shot of the video chapter is a flashforward to Rosalía wearing her head jewelry and scowling with *desprecio* at the windmill as it is burning (we do not see it burning, but hear a soundbite of fire, so we can infer). Surrounding her face in big red, capital letters is "DE AQUÍ NO SALES." The last two shots of the video chapter are of Rosalía looking back at the camera as the rest of her body faces forward, followed by another shot of the rearview mirror of a moving vehicle which reflects the burning male (00:02:08-00:02:46) (see images in Appendix A, Section 3G, Figures 56-58). We continue to hear the soundbite of fire in these last few shots of the video chapter, connecting it to the beginning of the video chapter and making it cyclical. This cyclical nature of the video chapter, as well as the fact that Rosalía's face is pictured with the lyric "DE AQUÍ NO SALES, reinforces the idea that maybe, Rosalía knew

from the beginning of the video chapter that she would be the one inflicting the pain on the male that he deserved. From this perspective, perhaps Rosalía was always in control.

Conclusion

To this point, I have examined in-depth three of Rosalía's video chapters in *El mal querer*. My analysis has consisted of two parts; first, of the manifestations of flamenco within the video chapters, and second, of the postmodern "universe" with which flamenco has been melded. It is important to emphasize again that my analyses of both flamenco and non-flamenco elements were not exhaustive by any means. Although flamenco is the base, it is melded with other non-flamenco elements into a "universe" that allows for an abundance of meanings and intertexts that either I simply could not cover within the scope of this Masters thesis or that I haven't yet discovered (that is, every time I watch the video chapters, I gain new insights, perhaps based on new background knowledge that I have gained about certain intertexts, or perhaps, simply from taking time to reflect on the meanings and intertexts that I have already discovered). This phenomenon is not unique to me; as Kraken similarly states when finally uploading his analysis video of "Pienso en tu mirá," "Tres veces he grabado ya este vídeo y cada vez que me pongo a montarlo, descubro cosas nuevas" ("EL MEJOR ANÁLISIS" 00:00:16-00:00:21), and in talking about the same video chapter, Paws & Tails Productions states that "es un videoclip que puedes verlo 50 veces y siempre acabas encontrando un matiz nuevo" ("Análisis de 'Pienso en tu mirá'" 00:16:39-00:16:46). Yet, despite not addressing every flamenco and non-flamenco element that forms Rosalía's "universe," we can still see some patterns in the analysis; flamenco provides the structure upon which many other symbols and art forms are supported, each viewer can find

something of personal significance in each video, and that rather than dictate meaning to the viewers, Rosalía provides the ingredients for each viewer to add their own flavors to the cake.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Rosalía's album *El mal querer* is significant both within the history of flamenco fusion and the context of our globalized, postmodern world. Just like her flamenco fusion predecessors and contemporaries, Rosalía has been able to find a liminal space between the "traditions" of flamenco's past and the "innovations" of its present and future; in other words, she has contributed to the movement to keep flamenco's past artistic practices and *maestros* alive while also adapting the art form to its current social "realities." Yet, at the same time, she has also been able to distance herself and her album from other flamenco fusion artists and albums that have come before by creating a postmodern "universe" of meanings that engages viewers all around the world.

It is important to note that the global impact of *El mal querer* is still growing. Her inclusion of flamenco elements within the album continues to not only ignite controversies but also encourage a diverse range of viewers who aren't familiar with the art form to learn more about it in its many manifestations that go beyond Rosalía. For example, within the YouTube comments section for "Malamente," Britney Vásquez states: "Por ti conocí el flamenco. Eres grande." In the same comments section, Lostin MIA states: "Rosalía and Flamenco Fusion!!! I love it!" and Shakira Caamaño Reboreda states: "Pocas veces me gustó el flamenco, Rosalía me hizo cambiar de opinión." All of these comments suggest a growing global interest in the flamenco art form as a result of exposure to *El mal querer*.

Additionally, the album's "universe" of meanings continues to expand as it engages more and more viewers from different cultural backgrounds who contribute to it based on their unique personal knowledge. We can also see this ever-expanding "universe" in the comment sections below Rosalía's video chapters on YouTube. In August of 2020, Youtuber Jahrye Valeska

Guevara Pretel posted his own detailed analysis of every song in the album within the comments section of "Pienso en tu mirá." His post received 3,600 "likes" and ignited a stream of comments from viewers from distinct cultural contexts. Not only did many (e.g., tomi cuarentena and Eudora K) thank the Youtuber for opening their eyes and allowing them to consider the album from a new perspective, but some (e.g., Gaby Barrionuevo) also indicated to the Youtuber the ways in which they viewed the album differently, and others (e.g., Mer Xvi) claimed that the Youtuber inspired them to further analyze the album themselves. To provide another even more recent example, in March 2021, Youtuber Soy Nemesis left a comment on the video chapter "De aquí no sales" connecting a portion of the video's visuals to a Japanese film titled *Akira* (1998). Both the comments from eight months ago and the comment from a month ago are a few examples of many that demonstrate how Rosalía's "universe" within *El mal querer* continues to adapt and expand as it engages more and more viewers worldwide. These comments also more specifically indicate the important role that social media plays in the growth and maintenance of Rosalía's popularity. Given her desire to create a "whole universe" and to reach a global audience, one can expect her to continue to utilize social media when disseminating her music, and her fans to respond.

As previously mentioned, there were a few limitations to this project. The first was access to sources. I completed this thesis from within the United States during the COVID-19 pandemic, and as I noted in the Introduction, I was unable to gain access to a recently published collection of scholarly essays about Rosalía and *El mal querer* titled *Ensayos sobre el buen querer* (edited by Jorge Carrión). It was only available in Spanish bookstores, was not available to the public until mid-March of 2021, and could not be shipped to the United States in time for me to dialogue with it in my thesis finalized in mid-April. The second main limitation to this

project was time and scope. Given the constraints of a Masters thesis, I was unable to delve into an analysis for every video chapter that Morales Gálvez did not discuss. Thus, I had to be selective and only analyze three of the video chapters. However, despite these limitations, this thesis still builds upon what previous scholars have already stated about Rosalía by revealing additional layers to her eclecticism and emphasizing the significance of *El mal querer* within the realm of flamenco.

In fact, the limited scope of this project creates many opportunities for further research endeavors. Rosalía has produced many artistic works since *El mal querer*, some of which have been solo works with more flamenco elements (e.g.,"Juro que" [2020]), others which have been solo works with less flamenco elements (e.g., "A Palé" [2019]), others which have been collaborations with non-flamenco artists (e.g., with J Balvin in "Con Altura" [2019], with Billie Eilish in "Lo vas a olvidar" [2021]), and others in which she makes notable cameos (e.g., at the end of Cardi B's music video "WAP" [2020]). Although some might classify many of these songs in genres such as reggaetón or pop, it may be possible to still aurally and/or visually sense the presence of flamenco elements, however briefly. A few questions stem from Rosalía's subsequent releases that deserve further exploration. In what ways has her use of flamenco changed since her increased entrance into the "mainstream"? Does she continue to seek a "universe" in her subsequent works or have her works become more simplistic or "Pop 1.0" as she has further entered the "mainstream?"

In a similar vein, it would be fruitful to further consider the extent to which her subsequent artistic products have been driven by the market versus personal artistic proposals. Neuromarketing Youtuber Neus Díez has argued that part of Rosalía's rise to fame is a result of her trademarking certain gestures (e.g., usage of flamenco arms), images (e.g., references to

gitanos and Spanish folklore), and words (e.g., "Tra tra"); in effect, marketing and commodifying herself ("La Rosalía"). Although I do not believe that this was a primary motivation for *El mal querer*, the ways in which flamenco manifests itself in some of her subsequent artistic products (e.g., performing stereotypical *de cintura para arriba* arm motions while wearing all red) could raise the question of whether she has increasingly commodified herself and flamenco in order to maintain her fame and "uniqueness."

As of writing this Conclusion, Rosalía has not yet released her third studio album. However, there are an abundance of rumors that it will be released in the first half of 2021 and may be another concept album, perhaps even based upon a work written by Mercé Rodoreda (1908-1983).[92] This will be a decisive moment in Rosalía's career path and her relationship to both flamenco and her "universe" that will also likely warrant another research project.

As evidenced by the discussions above and the abundance of future research possibilities, *El mal querer* has allowed Rosalía to become more than just another famous figure or a flamenco fusion artist. She has attracted audiences on a global scale with her eclecticism and has subsequently challenged them to deeply consider their perspectives of flamenco, the significance

[92] Although the credibility of the source is questionable, *Wikiwand* has stated that Rosalía's third album, tentatively called "R3," "is strongly rumored to follow the storyline of a novel by late Catalan author Mercè Rodoreda, the same way *El Mal Querer* (capitalized in the original) was inspired by the *Romance de Flamenca*" ("R3 (album)"). The administrator of the Facebook fan page ROSALÍA shitPOSTING, which has over 53,000 followers, appeared to confirm the theory of *Wikiwand* by broadcasting that "R3 podría estar basado en la obra 'Mirall Trencat' traducid[a] al español como 'Espejo Roto' libro escrito por la catalana Merc[è] Rodore[d]a." Although this is conjecture, if it proves to be true, it would mean that Rosalía's next album would be based upon a Spanish author "cuya obra se considera de las más influyentes del mapa catalán," as described by the article "Biografía de Mercè Rodoreda" on the website *bestia lectora.* Mercè Rodoreda was a Spanish postwar novelist who wrote multiple notable works in Catalán. As it says in the article "Mercè Rodoreda" on the website *El poder de la palabra*, "se convierte en un éxito" with her novel *La plaça del diamant* (1962), but *Mirall Trencat* (1974) was also significant, as it was "una de sus novelas más ambiciosas."

of Spanish cultural elements, and the nature of art within contemporary society. By analyzing the manifestations of flamenco within portions of *El mal querer*, I have aimed to demonstrate that she is by no means forsaking flamenco's past of "traditions." Yet, by also exposing the "universe" of other references with which she melds the art form, I have aimed to reveal that she is also responding to flamenco's present and future.

Appendix A
Images Referenced in Text Above

Chapter 4:

1. "Malamente [Cap. 1: Augurio]"[93]

1A. La Buenaventura by Julio Romero de Torres, 1920, and the Rosalía-themed Tarot Cards that Accompanied the Album

Figure 1: A *gitana* fortune teller presenting a *mal augurio* to a distracted woman (www.carmenthyssenmalaga.org/en/obra/la-buenaventura).

Figure 2: Tarot cards (www.ebay.es/itm/Rosalia-El-Mal-Querer-Deluxe-Edition-COLLECTORS-EDITION-BOX-CD-TAROT-CARDS-/184062796925).

1B. Dancing *de cintura para arriba*

Figure 3: Invoking the image of a *bailaora* in a *tablao* (00:00:42-00:00:44).

[93] All timestamps from Figures 3-19 and 21-26 are from the music video for "Malamente" (CANADA, "ROSALÍA – 'MALAMENTE'").

1C. First Scene of the Bullfight

Figure 4: Male bullfighter waving the smaller *muleta* to show dominance and an increased masculinity (00:01:33-00:01:34).

Figure 5: *Banderillas* that could illustrate Rosalía metaphorically bleeding (00:01:34-00:01:35).

Figure 6: Rosalía (the bull) being guided by the male (00:01:35).

Figure 7: The bullfighter gazes at Rosalía (the bull) while she avoids his eye contact (00:01:39).

1D. Second Scene of the Bullfight

Figure 8: The bullfighter switches back to a *capote*, indicating a decrease in masculine power and an increase in feminine power (00:02:03-00:02:06).

Figure 9: Rosalía is beginning to gain power, given that she can now gaze up at the bullfighter (00:02:04-00:02:06).

1E. Third Scene of the Bullfight

Figure 10: The bullfighter continues to use the *capote* but carries out the fundamental bullfighting move called the *verónica*. Rosalía looks back at him from a forward position (00:02:14-00:02:16).

1F. Fourth Scene of the Bullfight

Figure 11: The bullfighter switches back to the *muleta* and holds an *estoque* in his right hand (00:02:17-00:02:20).

Figure 12: Rosalía looks at the bullfighter in the eyes while smirking (00:02:20-00:02:21).

1G. Introduction to the "Gaze"

STARE OFF: Rosalía as female/bull, scrawny boys and teenagers as male/*novillero* (in chronological order horizontally from left to right).

Figure 13: Stare off, part one (00:00:01-00:00:05).

Figure 14: Stare off, part two (00:00:06).

Figure 15: Stare off, part three (00:00:06-00:00:07).

Figure 16: Stare off, part four (00:00:08-00:00:09).

Figure 17: Stare off, part five. Rosalía accepts the challenge (00:00:10).

Figure 18: Stare off, part six. The *novillero* is ready (00:00:11).

1H. "V" Pose with *Palmas* vs. Beyoncé

Figure 19: One example of when Rosalía and her posse maintain their "active" status of power over the *novilleros* while forming the shape of a "V" (repeated many times throughout the video chapter (00:00:10, 00:00:20-00:00:21, 00:00:26, 00:00:30-00:00:31).

Figure 20: Intertextuality with Beyoncé's 2011 feminist music video, "Run the World" ("Beyoncé – 'Run the World (Girls)'" 00:02:52).

1I. Rosalía and Young *Novillero*, St. Veronica and Virgin Mary

Figure 21: Rosalía showing maturity and control over the young *novillero* (00:00:38-00:00:42).

Figure 22: Through intertextual connections, Rosalía is elevated to the status of a saint (Saint Veronica) and is wiping away the tears from a tattoo of the Virgin Mary (00:00:36-00:00:38).

1J. The *Nazareno*

Figure 23: The *nazareno* is standing barefoot on a skateboard with protruding nails (00:01:45).

Figure 24: The *nazareno* is standing on top of a skating bowl (00:01:46).

Figure 25: The *nazareno* is enjoying himself and showing off his skating skills in the bowl (00:02:07-00:02:09).

Figure 26: The *nazareno* performs a skating trick in front of a cross (00:02:29-00:02:36).

2. “Pienso en tu mirá [Cap 3: Celos]”[94]

2A. The Woman’s Gaze is “una bala en el pecho” [del hombre]

Figure 27: *una bala en el pecho* (00:00:44-00:00:48)

Figure 28: *una bala en el pecho* (00:00:52-00:00:56).

Figure 30: *una bala en el pecho* (00:02:08-00:02:13).

Figure 29: *una bala en el pecho* (00:01:53-00:01:56).

2B. The Man’s Gaze is “[otra] bala en el pecho [de la mujer]”

Figure 31: Rosalía under the bull’s gaze (00:01:02).

Figure 32: The bull’s piercing gaze causes Rosalía’s back to bleed (00:01:25-00:01:30).

[94] All timestamps from Figures 27-41 are from the music video for “Pienso en tu mirá” (CANADA, “ROSALÍA – ‘PIENSO EN TU MIRA’”).

2C. Rosalía Gains Agency

Figure 33: Rosalía kneels to the ground and has no breathing room as men point phallic weapons at her to extend their "gaze" of domination and as the camera also "gazes" at her (00:02:00-00:02:01).

Figure 34: Rosalía rises from her kneeling position and the camera begins to tilt upwards from its initial position (00:02:03-00:02:04).

Figure 35: Rosalía is now standing up and the camera is angled up at her (00:02:06).

Figure 36: Rosalía continues to gaze back at the camera while it is angled up at her (00:02:06-00:02:07).

Figure 37: No longer a passive victim, Rosalía appropriates the "gaze." Here, Rosalía wears a gun necklace (00:02:32-00:02:33).

Figure 38: Before the bull's gaze can kill Rosalía, she turns around and gazes back, forcing the bull to retreat to its static position on the wall (00:01:30-00:01:32).

Figure 39: To reject the male "gaze," Rosalía symbolically places the bull's eye in her mouth, chews on it, and spits it out (00:01:33-00:01:35, 00:01:52).

2D. Bookends to the Video: Opening and Closing Scenes

Figure 40: A *muñeca de Marín* hanging from the rearview mirror of the truck as it accelerates and crashes into a wall (00:00:00-00:00:25).

Figure 41: The video ends with Rosalía wearing an outfit that blends "traditional" male and female gender-based expectations for flamenco aesthetics (00:01:16-00:01:18).

2E. Filip Ćustić's Image for "Pienso en tu mirá"

Figure 42: Rosalía performing *de cintura para arriba* flamenco movements while standing in a pool of her tears (vein.es/los-increibles-artworks-de-filip-custic-para-rosalia).

3. "De aquí no sales [Cap 4: Disputa]"[95]

3A. Rosalía Embodying a Stereotypical Femininity

Figure 43: Rosalía wears a loose red dress and head jewelry while performing *de cintura para arriba* movements (00:00:29-00:00:33).

[95] All timestamps from Figures 43-46, 48-54, and 56-58 are from the music video for "De aquí no sales" (Kunst and Morgó).

3B. Petroleum and Fire

Figure 44: The male pours petroleum on himself (00:00:34-00:00:37).

Figure 45: The male walks in the spacious field towards one specific windmill. He has just caught on fire (00:00:43).

3C. Rosalía and Ophelia, Painted by John Everett Millais (1851-1852)

Figure 46: Rosalía begins to drown in the petroleum (00:00:49-00:00:53).

Figure 47: A passive Ophelia drowns (theculturetrip.com/europe/united-kingdom/england/london/articles/the-meaning-of-ophelia-by-john-everett-millais/).

3D. Flamenco-esque Suit, Fast Cut

Figure 48: Flamenco-esque suit, fast cut. This fast cut creates the possibility for interpretations that view the lyrics from the female perspective (00:00:11).

3E. Fast Cut Sequence Before Explosion

Figure 49: Rosalía's last moments in the petroleum-filled pond. She "gazes" with *desprecio* towards something outside of the camera's frame (00:01:10-00:01:14).

Figure 50: Fast cut of Rosalía and her posse in the windmill field (00:01:15).

Figure 51: Fast cut of Rosalía performing *de cintura para arriba* movements in the petroleum-filled pond (00:01:15).

Figure 52: Fast cut of golden beams (previously connected to fire) (00:01:15).

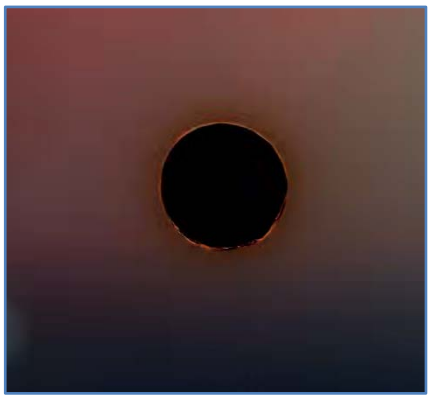

Figure 53: Fast cut of a black hole singed around the edges (previously connected to the windmill) (00:01:15).

Figure 54: End of the fast cut sequence. The windmill explodes (00:01:15).

3F. Filip Ćustić's Image for "De aquí no sales"

Figure 55: Rosalía looks downward as a golden beam streams from her eyes (vein.es/los-increibles-artworks-de-filip-custic-para-rosalia).

3G. Bookends to the Video: Opening and Closing Scenes

Figure 56: The first shot of the video chapter. Rosalía scowls with *desprecio* at the windmill as it is burning (00:00:01-00:00:05).

Figure 57: Rosalía looks back at the camera in her flamenco-esque suit. The rest of her body faces forward (00:02:28-00:02:31).

Figure 58: The last shot of the video chapter. A rearview mirror of a vehicle moves further and further away from the burning man (00:02:31-00:02:46).

Appendix B: Song Lyrics

"Malamente"

("Malamente (Cap.1: Augurio)" Lyrics)

[Verso 1]
Ese cristalito roto yo sentí cómo crujía (Hm)
Antes de caerse al suelo ya sabía que se rompía (Uh)
Está parpadeando la luz del descansillo
(Hm) Una voz en la escalera, alguien cruzando el pasillo

[Coro]
(Hmm)
Malamente (Eso e', así sí)
Malamente (¡Tra-tra!)
Mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal (Mira)
Malamente (Ahh-ah-ah-ah, hm)
(Toma que toma)
Está en la mente (Eso e', ¡illo!)
(Ay) Malamente
Mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal (No)
Malamente (Uh)

[Verso 2]
Se ha puesto la noche rara, han salí'o luna y estrellas (Eh)
Me lo dijo esa gitana (¿Qué?), mejor no salir a verla (No)
Sueño que estoy andando por un puente y que la acera (Mira, mira, mira, mira)
Cuanto más quiero cruzarlo (Va), más se mueve y tambalea

[Coro]
(Hmm)
Malamente (Eso e', así sí)
Malamente (¡Tra-tra!)
Mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal (Mira)
Malamente (Ahh-ah-ah-ah, hm)
(Toma que toma, vámono')
Está en la mente (Eso e', ¡illo!)
(Ay) Malamente
Mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal (No)
Malamente

[Puente]
Aunque no esté bonita, la noche undivé (Hm-hm)
Voy a salir pa' la calle, en la manita los aros brillando en mi piel
Los corales (Hmph), me protejan, me salven (Hmph)
Me iluminen, me guarden (Hmph) y por delante (Hm)
No voy a perder ni un minuto en volver a pensarte (Hmm)

[Coro]
Malamente (Eso e', así sí)
Malamente (¡Tra-tra!)

Mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal (Mira)
Malamente (Ahh-ah-ah-ah, hm)
(Toma que toma)
Está en la mente (Eso e', ¡illo!)
(Ay) Malamente
Mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal (Illo)
Malamente (Ahh-ah-ah-ah, hm)
(Toma que toma)
Es pa' la mente (Illo)
Ah, malamente (¡Tra-tra!)
Mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal (Vámono')
Malamente (Ahh-ah-ah-ah, hm)
(Toma que toma, vámono')
Está en la mente (Eso e', ¡illo!)
(Ay) Malamente
Mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal, mu' mal
Malamente

"Pienso en tu mirá"

("Pienso en tu mirá," *LyricsMania*)

Me da miedo cuando sales
Sonriendo pa' la calle
Porque todos pueden ver
Los hoyuelitos que te salen

Y del aire cuando pasa
Por levantarte el cabello
Y del oro que te viste
Por amarrarse a tu cuello
Y del cielo y de la luna
Porque tú quieras mirarlo
Hasta del agua que bebes
Cuando te mojas los labios

Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho
Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho
Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho

Pienso en tu mirá
Pienso en tu mirá

Me da miedo cuando sales
Sonriendo pa' la calle
Porque todos pueden ver
Los hoyuelitos que te salen

Me da miedo cuando sales
Sonriendo pa' la calle
Porque todos pueden ver

Los hoyuelitos que te salen

Tan bonita que amenaza
Cuando callas me das miedo
Tan fría como la nieve
Cuando cae desde el cielo
Cuando sales por la puerta
Pienso que no vuelves nunca
Y si no te agarro fuerte
Siento que será mi culpa

Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho
Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho
Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho
Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho
Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho
Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho
Pienso en tu mirá, tu mirá, clavá, es una bala en el pecho

Pienso en tu mirá
Pienso en tu mirá

Me da miedo cuando sales
Sonriendo pa' la calle
Porque todos pueden ver
Los hoyuelitos que te salen

Me da miedo cuando sales
Sonriendo pa' la calle
Porque todos pueden ver
Los hoyuelitos que te salen

"De aquí no sales"

("De aquí no sales (Cap. 4 Disputa)" Lyrics)

Yo que tanto te camelo
Y tú me das pie
Haciendo que tú de aquí no sales

Mucho más a mí me duele
De lo que a ti te está doliendo
Conmigo no te equivoques

Con el revés de la mano
Yo te lo dejo bien claro
Amargas penas te vendo
Caramelos también tengo

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