Transatlantic Malagueñas and Zapateados in Music, Song and Dance

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Spaniards, Natives, Africans, Roma

Edited by

K. Meira Goldberg, Walter Aaron Clark and Antoni Pizà

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...vista la ridícula figura de los criados cuando dan a beber a sus señores, haciendo el Coliseo, el Guineo, inclinando con notable peligro y asco todo el cuerpo demasiado; y siendo mudos de boca, son habladores de pies...

…considering the ridiculous figure of servants when they offer drinks to their masters, dancing the Coliseo, the Guineo, excessively inclining their bodies in a notably dangerous and disgusting manner; and though they are mute, they are chatterboxes with their feet…

— Francisco de Quevedo, 1627

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K. Meira Goldberg, Walter Aaron Clark, and Antoni Pizà

INTRODUCTION

SONES DE BARCO VIEJO: TRANSATLANTIC MALAGUEÑAS AND ZAPATEADOS

In 1898, the year that some Spaniards refer to as The Disaster, but which the inhabitants of Spain's last remaining Caribbean and Pacific possessions, the islands of Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, and Guam, consider the year of their liberation, the *frères* Lumière shot a short dance film in Sevilla, *La Malagueña y el Torero*. Like the opening image of this book, a photograph of Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn's emblematic choreography titled *La Malagueña* (1921), the Lumière film is *une espagnolade*, a pastiche of Romantic and Orientalist images of seduction and exoticism, which foreign audiences of this era read as iconic of Spain (see figure 1).[1]

[1] A screenshot from the Lumière film may be viewed at "La Malagueña y el Torero, Vue nº 851," *L'œuvre cinématrographique des frères Lumière*, https://catalogue-lumiere.com/la-malaguena-y-el-torero/. Kiko Mora has identified the two male dancers as two maestros of the *escuela bolera*, the Spanish school of classical dance: José Otero Aranda (at right) and José Segura (at left). Kiko Mora, "'El otro' que baila en las películas de Lumière (Sevilla, 1898)." See his blog, *Cadáver Paraíso: del espectáculo popular en la modernidad*, July 6, 2017 (throughout this book, easily-found web references are only given in short form). On the 1921 Denishawn image of Martha Graham and Ted Shawn dancing *La Malagueña*, see Ninotchka Bennahum and K. Meira Goldberg, *100 Years of Flamenco in New York City* (New York: New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, 2013), 19. For more on this dance, see Adair Landborn, "*La malagueña y el torero*: Flamenco Dance and Bullfighting as Transatlantic Traditions of Embodied 'Spanishness,'" in this volume.

Figure 1. *La Malagueña del Torero (Danse Andalouse)* by Gustave Doré, 1862. In Charles Davillier and Gustave Doré, *Spain* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1876).

The Lumière film, a fantastic incarnation of the dance, cuts like a razor through many countervailing lines of symbolic tension. A tryst between a bullfighter and an Andalusian woman, both putative members of the ruffian class (a "*maja*" and a "*manolo*," as Benito Más y Prat writes in an 1882 essay on Andalusian manners), this battle between the sexes would seem to

enact the supposedly unbridled sensuality of life at the margins.[2] The torero tries to lure the Malagueña, a girl from Málaga, with his cape; the titillating suggestion is that, upon succeeding, he will then "stab" her with his "sword."[3]

Such "voluptuousness," to use Más y Prat's term, is a constant and ubiquitous signifier of both class and race in Spanish dance from at least the fifteenth century. According to the statutes of "blood purity" which governed the Spanish empire, non-Christian lineage rendered a person "stained," or "racialized"—and susceptible to immolation, exile, and enslavement.[4] However, since such inner "corruption" was not always visible in the body, danced lasciviousness and (moral) confusion became idiomatic for representing "race," conceived as "impurity of blood."[5]

The *Malagueña*'s voluptuousness thus signals an affiliation with the despised and outlaw people who had paradoxically become national symbols; by Más y Prat's day, the "African and Moorish" *baile teatral andaluz* (theatrical Andalusian dance) had ascended to the pinnacle of Spanish national dances. Nonetheless, in order for Andalusian dances to be canonized on the national stage, Más y Prat writes, their "Oriental elements" had to slip, "embarrassed, into the costume of the *Gitano* [Roma, or so-called "Gypsy"], into the Moorish neighborhoods, and into the hovels of the *perro judío* [the Jewish dog]."[6]

The revulsion with which some Spaniards regarded such transgressive sensuality as cloaking shameful (and dangerous) traces of their African and Middle Eastern ancestry is thus foundational to Spanish national iconography, built on the Catholic Empire's bloodthirsty desire to annihilate the infidel. By the same token, however, by the eighteenth century the

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[2] Benito Más y Prat, "Costumbres Andaluzas – Bailes de palillos y flamencos. (Conclusión) II," *La Ilustración española y americana*, vol. 26, no. 28 (Madrid: July 30, 1882): 58–9.

[3] The Lumière film is not viewable online, but Alice Guy's 1905 films of dance in Spain record another instance of the dance, *La malagueña y el torero* (at timestamp 4:07). LookingForAlice, "Gypsy Dance 1905 Alice Guy Blaché Cinema Pioneer Whitney Museum 2009," *YouTube* (August 23, 2008). See also Marina Grut, et al., *The Bolero School: An Illustrated History of the Bolero, the Seguidillas and the Escuela Bolera: Syllabus and Dances* (Alton, Hampshire, UK: Dance Books, 2002), 144–5.

[4] María Elena Martínez, David Nirenberg, and Max S. Hering Torres, *Race and Blood in the Iberian World* (Zürich, Berlin: Lit, 2012).

[5] On danced lasciviousness and other such "Nonsense of the Body" in Spanish dance, see K. Meira Goldberg, *Sonidos Negros: On the Blackness of Flamenco* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 105–28.

[6] Mas y Prat, "Costumbres Andaluzas," 58–9.

Spanish elite, conjuring its glorious imperial past and beset by its present need to pander to the French, claimed the abjection of these marginalized social groups for itself. The "African and Moorish" Andalusian theatrical dances had become national dances in Más y Prat's day by way of *majismo*, the eighteenth-century fashion among Spanish aristocrats for adopting the persona of the exotic and rebellious Gitano, a figure animated by a constantly precarious present, and nostalgia not only for lost colonial riches, but even for the Islamic past.[7]

Such push and pull of competing interests, this powerful tendency toward ambivalence, gives the present volume its dual focus on malagueñas and *zapateados*. In Raúl Rodríguez's beautiful lines, malagueñas and zapateados—two fandango dances—are both *sones de barco viejo*, songs from an ancient ship. As we wrote in the inaugural anthology, *The Global Reach of the Fandango in Music, Song and Dance*: *Spaniards, Indians, Africans and Gypsies*, fandangos are a *mestizaje*, a mélange of people, imagery, music, and dance from the Americas, Europe, and Africa, whose many faces reflect a diversity of exchange across what were once the Spanish and Portuguese Empires.[8] In that volume, we considered the broadest possible array of the fandango, asking how the fandango participated in the elaboration of various national identities, how the fandangos of the Enlightenment trace musical populism and folkloric nationalism as armaments in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revolutionary struggles for independence, and how contemporary fandangos function within the present-day politics of decolonialization and immigration. We asked whether and what shared formal features—musical, choreographic, or lyric—might be discerned in the diverse constituents of the fandango family in Spain and the Americas, and how our recognition of these features might enhance our understanding of historical connections between these places.

A comparative exploration of malagueñas and zapateados allows us to dive deeper into some of these questions. As Ricardo Pérez Montfort cautioned us in the first volume, we should not juxtapose the idea of

[7] For an analysis of these dynamics at play in another film by Lumière, *Danses Espagnoles de la Feria* (1900), see Kiko Mora and K. Meira Goldberg, "Spain in the Basement: Dancing Race and Nation at the Paris Exposition, 1900," in Brynn Shiovitz, ed., *The Body, the Dance and the Text: Essays on Performance and the Margins of History* (McFarland, 2019).

[8] K. Meira Goldberg and Antoni Pizà, eds., *The Global Reach of the Fandango in Music, Song and Dance: Spaniards, Indians, Africans and Gypsies*, (*Música Oral del Sur*, vol. 12 [2015], bilingual edition, and Castle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016, revised all-English edition).

mestizaje or hybridization with that of "purity"—all societies are already mixed, already creolized, he argues. Instead, we should view cultural particularities, as well as shared cultural traits, from a granular perspective, taking note of what is at stake in the circulation and transmission of images and sounds.[9] Now we are about this work.

In Lumière's 1898 film, the women's lace *mantillas* flow down over their shoulders, their waists are cinched, and their skirts are decorated with baubles and ruffles, just as Édouard Manet's portrait of the Spanish dancer *Lola de Valence* (1862), or, nearly a century earlier, Juan and Manuel de la Cruz Cano Olmedilla's engraving of the famous singer-actress María Antonia Vallejo Fernández, "La Caramba" (1788). These costumes illustrate the prototypical figure of the Spanish maja; similarly, Francisco de Goya's emblematic *Retrato de la Duquesa de Alba en duelo* (*Portrait of the Duchess of Alba in Mourning*, 1797) includes the same costume elements, the same confident pose, and the same frank gaze directed toward the viewer.

The needle to be threaded here is that the dancers in Lumière's 1898 *La Malagueña y el Torero* do not actually play ruffians; rather, the richness of their costume, along with the self-assured dignity of their continence, reveals that they are playing aristocrats—playing ruffians.[10] In this iconic representation of Spain, then, a conqueror paradoxically identifies with the conquered, the nation plays outlaw, and the outlaw plays a complicated mestizaje—figuring a frankly heterogeneous nation, which never really repudiated either its Afro-Semitic ancestors or its American siblings.

As K. Meira Goldberg argues in *Sonidos Negros: On the Blackness of Flamenco*, this crucial distinction is evident not only in the Lumière dancers' costumes but also in their classical movement vocabulary, the intricate interlacings of the feet and beaten jumps which, like the gallantry with which the men lay down their capes at the feet of their partners, depict ruffian transgressions in the language of the courtly traditions of Spanish

[9] Ricardo Pérez Montfort, "El fandango como patente de circulación cultural en México y el Caribe"/"The Fandango as an Expression of Cultural Circulation in Mexico and the Caribbean," in Goldberg and Pizà, eds., *The Global Reach of the Fandango*, (Spanish, 2015): 363–86, (English, 2016): 310–34.

[10] See Rocío Plaza Orellana, *Historia de la moda en España: el vestido femenino entre 1750 y 1850* (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2009); and Tara Zanardi, *Framing Majismo: Art and Royal Identity in Eighteenth Century Spain* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).

dance (see figure 1).[11] As Más y Prat explains, it is the union of popular castanet dances, fandango dances such as the malagueña, with the influential eighteenth-century Neapolitan school of theatrical ballet and opera (Naples was then a Spanish possession) which gave birth to theatrical Andalusian dances such as *La malagueña y el torero*.[12]

Like the malagueña, the zapateado, a footwork dance, was adopted on nineteenth-century European ballet stages, a vision of Spain danced by famed ballerinas of the Paris Opera, such as Fanny Elssler and her sister Thérèse (see figure 2).[13] Like the malagueña, the zapateado's body percussion of clapping hands, stomping feet, and slapping the feet with the hands grows out of a long-standing Spanish dance tradition: among its dance

[11] "Good Shepherd, Bumpkin Shepherd: Distinction in Villano *Gambetas* (Gambols) and *Zapatetas* (Stamps)," in Goldberg, *Sonidos Negros*, 31–49. As is likely the case in the 1898 Lumière film, Cristina Cruces Roldán speculates that the dancers in Alice Guy's 1905 film of *La Malagueña y el torero* may have been from José Otero's dance academy. Cristina Cruces Roldán, "Bailes boleros y flamencos en los primeros cortometrajes mudos. Narrativas y arquetipos sobre 'lo español' en los albores del siglo XX," *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares*, vol. 71, no. 2 (2016): 447. Both the 1898 Lumière film and Guy's 1905 film do closely follow Théophile Gautier's description of the *malagueña* performed by bolero school dancers Dolores Serral and Mariano Camprubí at the Théâtre du Vaudeville in Paris, October 20–November 17, 1841. Serral appeared "wrapped in her *mantilla* and manipulating her fan," Gautier writes, and Camprubí "swathed in his cloak"; after this opening flirtation, they each discard their cloaks and "bound around with… suppleness, ardour, and passion." Théophile Gautier and Ivor F. Guest, "Théophile Gautier on Spanish Dancing," *Dance Chronicle*, vol. 10, no.1 (1987): 37–9.

[12] *La malagueña y el torero* as a theatrical dance premiered in Madrid in 1849, performed by two renowned bolero school dancers: Josefa Vargas and Manuel Guerrero, and by 1879 was standard fare in shows catering to tourists. See Kiko Mora, "El romance de Carmen y Escamillo o "The Lady Bullfighter" en Nueva York (1888)," in José Luis Ortiz Nuevo, Ángeles Cruzado, and Kiko Mora, *La valiente: Trinidad Huertas "La Cuenca"* (Sevilla: Libros con Duende, 2016), 238. On the Neapolitan school: Más y Prat, "Costumbres Andaluzas," 58–9; and Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Eighteenth-Century Italian Theatrical Ballet: The Triumph of the *Grotteschi*," in Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Bruce A. Brown, eds., *The Grotesque Dancer on the Eighteenth-Century Stage: Gennaro Magri and His World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 15–32.

[13] Rocío Plaza Orellana, "Spanish Dance in Europe: From the Late Eighteenth Century to its Consolidation on the European Stage," in K. Meira Goldberg, Ninotchka Bennahum, and Michelle Heffner Hayes, *Flamenco on the Global Stage: Historical, Critical, and Theoretical Perspectives* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland Books, 2015), 77.

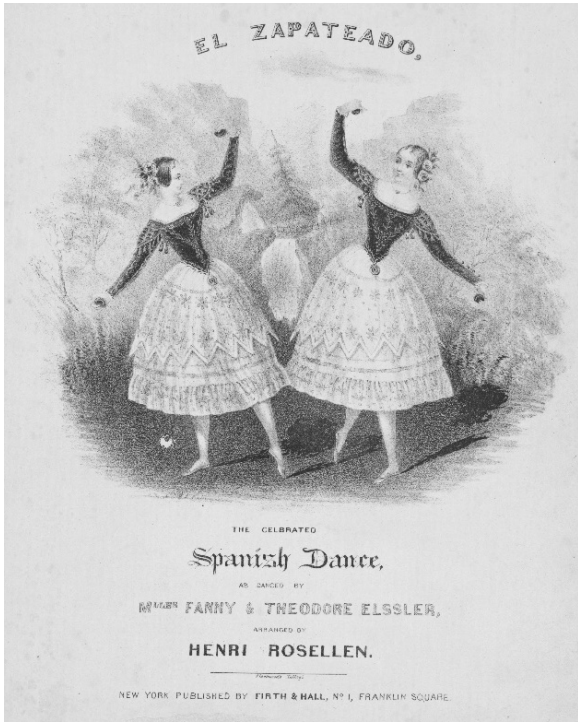

Figure 2. Jerome Robbins Dance Division, The New York Public Library. "El zapateado, the celbrated [sic] Spanish dance, as danced by Mlles Fanny & Theodore Elssler, arranged by Henri Rosellen." Lithograph (New York: Firth & Hall), 1840. New York Public Library Digital Collections.

ancestors is the *villano*, a dance of rustic villagers whose *gambetas* and *zapatetas*, gambols and stomps, signified their comic confusion at Christmas pageants throughout the empire. At these religious festivities, whose official purpose was that of colonization through evangelization, footwork dances dramatized the stakes—redemption or eternal damnation, legitimacy or exile and enslavement—of accepting Christianity.[14] The

[14] "Good Shepherd, Bumpkin Shepherd," in Goldberg, *Sonidos Negros*, 31–49. The villano's body percussion is still essential to contemporary flamenco dance. Consider, for example, the classic ending of Estampío's classic zapateado, performed by Roberto Ximénez (1922–2014) in Edgar Neville's 1952 *Duende y Misterios del Flamenco* (at timestamp 2:45): Ilitur-gitano Lisardo, "Roberto Ximénez – Zapateado – Año 1952," *YouTube*, June 17, 2013.

bumpkin clown's eventual epiphany, Goldberg observes, was enacted through the elevation of this character's speech, from slang to Latin, and also of his movement, from noisy stomps and rustic gambols to the virtuosic caprioles of seventeenth-century Spanish courtly dance academies.

But if the *Malagueña* is caught like a fly in amber by its anachronistic references to a fraught imperial past, zapateado dances, as Goldberg has argued, cut toward the future—toward the ascendant Americas.[15] In contrast to the academic refinements we see in *La Malagueña y el Torero*, zapateado's noisiness and raucousness, which might have indicated to some audiences a lack of dancerly education, and hence of moral clarity, could signal to others an outright rejection of these standards. Like the influential tropes of blackface minstrelsy from the United States, with which nineteenth-century zapateados often intermingled and to which they often responded, such "abominable and impudent [*desenvuelto*]" Spanish dances, as written in a Mexican daily in 1804, were considered to have a "detestable genealogy, as they trace their origins to the blacks of Africa."[16]

Accordingly, zapateados were performed on Spanish and colonial stages within musical numbers representing black characters, such as the 1829 *Tango por un negro fingido* (blackface tango), or a love duet, a *tango americano* (Afro-Cuban tango) intriguingly titled "He Who Dresses as Another," sung by singer-dancers Manuel Guerrero and Francisco Pardo (perhaps in drag, or in blackface, or both) in 1849, or Mariano Soriano Fuertes's comic opera of the same year, *El Tío Caniyitas* (*Uncle Caniyitas*, featuring an Englishman in Gitano drag), or Francisco Asenjo Barbieri's 1859 *Zarzuela-disparate* (zarzuela-folly) *Entre mi mujer y el negro* (Between my Wife and the Negro).[17]

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[15] Goldberg, "*Jaleo de Jerez* and *Tumulte Noir*: Primitivist Modernism and Cakewalk in Flamenco, 1902–1917," in Goldberg, Bennahum, and Hayes, *Flamenco on the Global Stage*, 124–42.

[16] Lénica Reyes Zúñiga and José Miguel Hernández Jaramillo, "Cádiz como eje vertebrador en España del discurso dialógico musical entre México y Andalucía en la etapa preflamenca," *Revista del Centro de Investigación Flamenco Telethusa,* vol. 4, no. 4 (Cádiz: June 2011): 32–43, citing "El discípulo de Pericón (seud.), Correspondencia literaria del mes," *El regañón general* (April 18, 1804), 247.

[17] Faustino Núñez, "1829 Tango por un negro fingido," *el Afinador de Noticias*, January 23, 2011, cites *El Mercantil* (Cádiz: December 14, 1829); "El que de ageno [sic] se viste," *Diario oficial de avisos de Madrid* (December 25, 1849), 4; José Sanz Pérez (libretto), and Mariano Soriano Fuertes (music), *El tío Caniyitas o El Mundo nuevo de Cádiz: opera cómica española, en dos actos* (Cádiz: Imprenta, Librería y Litografía de la Revista Médica, á cargo de D. Juan de Gaona, 1850); Luis Olona (libretto) and Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (score), *Entre mi mujer y el negro. Zarzuela–disparate en dos actos. Representada por primera vez en el teatro de la*

Zapateados on the nineteenth-century stages of the Spanish-speaking world colored the figure of the rustic villano with U.S. blackface tropes, circulating and hybridizing with other racialized comic theatricals. In nineteenth-century Havana alone, for example, the *Bufos Madrileños* (The Madrid Clowns, whose founder, Francisco Arderius, was known for his stock character "Pancho," a Mexican servant), the *Bufos Minstrels Cubanos* (Cuban Minstrel Clowns), *Las Bufas*, an all-female troupe, and the cross-dressing *Carícatos* all vied for audiences.[18] The sly double entendre and purposeful equivocations of these American enactments, which performance theorist Jill Lane terms "anticolonial blackface," ironically figured similar impulses (vis-à-vis the French) in the metropole as well. For example, in Madrid, in works such as Luis Misón's *Tonadilla de los Negros* (1761), a "*neglita jitana huachi*"—a "little black Gitana-Native American," pronounced in Black Talk—dances "*con taconeo*" (with heelwork).[19]

Zapateado (from *zapato*, shoe), like taconeo, whose sounds the eminent Cuban musicologist Fernando Ortiz describes as expressing "presumptuousness and cynicism, overly strident and lacking *sandunga fina* [stylish and refined charm]," is inherently shaped by European aesthetics:

> Where people didn't wear shoes with heels there was no place for taconeo … In Cuba the blacks have not done taconeo; they didn't bring shoes from Africa … if on the feet of a black man you hear the sound of heelwork in dance it is in its role of participant in the shoemaking apparatus imposed by whites, not to meet the demands of traditional styles.[20]

Zarzuela en octubre de 1859 (Madrid: José Rodriguez, 1859), 5.

[18] Jill Lane, *Blackface Cuba, 1840-1895* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 60–1; for an analysis of this character in Misón's *Tonadilla*, see "Concentric Circles of Theatricality: Pantomimic Dances from the Sacred to the Secular," in Goldberg, *Sonidos Negros*, 50–88.

[19] Lane, *Blackface Cuba*, 60–105. Luis Misón, *Tonadilla de los negros* (1761), Musical score, in José Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1928–1930), 109–10; RAE gives the derivation of "*huacho/a*" or "*guacho/a*" as Native American, from the Chilean Quechua "*huaccha*" or "*huacchu*" (orphan or illegitimate child): Real Academia Española (RAE), *Diccionario de la lengua española* "*guacho/a/ huacho/a*." On Spanish "*huacho*," and Quechua "*huaccha*" or "*huacchu*," illegitimate child, orphan, or bastard: Diccionario etimológico español en linea, "'*huaso*' o '*guaso*.'" On Quechua "*wakchu*," orphan: Glosbe, *Quechua-English Dictionary*, "*wakchu*."

[20] Ortiz, *Los instrumentos*, vol. 1, 133–4.

Nonetheless, Ortiz's comments emerge from an aesthetic and political universe in which a great number of non-European footwork traditions flourish. Thus, the *guaracha* alluded to in Misón's *Tonadilla de los Negros* (1761) derives from *guarache* or *huarache*, a Purépacha (indigenous Mexican) word for sandal, as *chancleteo* describes the sound of *chancletas* (another word for sandals), which Ortiz describes as expressing "sensuality and grace."[21] Many of these American traditions are Africanist, as Ortiz indicates above, but he also takes note of traditions of percussive footwork found among First Peoples throughout the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Americas, from the Arawak of the Caribbean, to the "Catuquinarú Indians of Central Brazil." In México, from the Huasteca to the Mixteca and into many other regions, Ortiz writes, "they dance the *mestizo huapango*."[22] In these Afro-Indigenous mestizajes, then, not only are European aesthetic values reordered and resignified, as Ortiz describes in relation to the aural aesthetics of chancleteo as opposed to taconeo, but, further, the Catholic catechism underlying the old villano, which had served as a platform for cultural indoctrination in the New World, yields to an alternate spiritual system emerging, as seen in François Désiré Roulin's image of people enslaved as rowers along the river-based commercial routes of Colombia, out of a "culture of resistance" to European domination.[23] "Certain Caribbean tribes," Ortiz continues,

> make a huge plank out of the root of a certain tree and they place it over a deep open hole in the ground, in which a sacred object has been deposited. Afterwards, the plank is covered with earth and so becomes a resonating platform upon which to dance. In this way the sound of the dancing feet can be heard over a long distance, and creates the rhythm for the flute. The plank thus serves as a drum, but this is not its primary function; rather it is to communicate to the deity that the dance is being done.[24]

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[21] Ortiz, *Los instrumentos*, vol. 1, 134.

[22] Ortiz, *Los instrumentos*, vol. 1, 133–4. We are grateful to Raquel Paraíso for clarifying the geography of the huapango in México. For more on huapango, see Goldberg and Pizà, *The Global Reach of the Fandango*, and Alex E. Chávez, *Sounds of Crossing: Music, Migration, and the Aural Poetics of Huapango Arribeño* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2017).

[23] Jane Landers, Pablo Gómez, José Polo Acuña, and Courtney J. Campbell, "Researching the history of slavery in Colombia and Brazil through ecclesiastical and notarial archives," in Maja Kominko, ed., *From Dust to Digital* (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2015), 259–92.

[24] Ortiz, *Los instrumentos*, 136–7, cites William C. Farabee, *The Central Caribs* (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1924), 233; and Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music of Latin America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946).

Attempts at impeding alliances against the European invaders through deculturalization, writes musicologist Rolando Pérez Fernández, led instead to the emergence of new, syncretic cultures (see figure 3).[25]

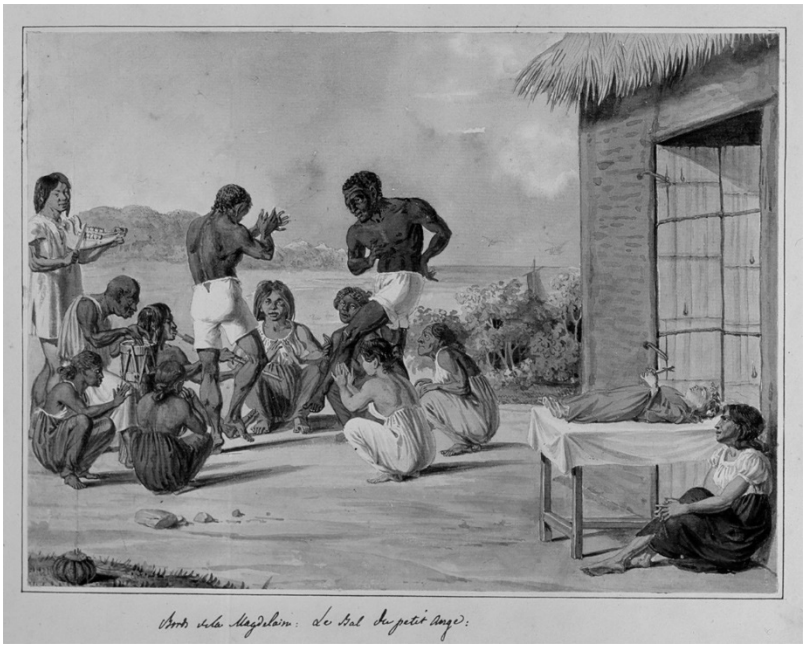

Figure 3. *Bords de la Magdelaine. Le Bal du petit ange (By the banks of the Magdalena River in Colombia. The Dance of the Little Angel)* by François Désiré Roulin. Watercolor, 1823. Courtesy of Banco de la República, Bogotá, Colombia.

In choosing to pluralize the word "zapateados," then, we wish to claim the fullest array of percussive and dazzling footwork dances, which Constance Valis Hill terms "drum dances": the dances born in rebellion to slavery and in alliances among, as the Mexican Inquisition wrote in 1766, people of "'*color quebrado*'" (people of "broken color," of mixed blood).[26]

[25] Rolando Pérez Fernández, *La música afromestiza mexicana* (Xalapa: Univ. Veracruzana, Dir. Ed, 1990), 19, 64–6.

[26] Gabriel Saldívar, with Elena Osorio Bolio, *Historia de la música en México (Épocas precortesiana y colonial) [with Musical Notes]* (México, 1934), 224–6; also in Maya Ramos Smith, *La danza en México durante la época colonial* (La Habana, Cuba: Ediciones Casa de las Américas, 1979), 44, cites Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo de Inquisición, vol. 1052, f. 296.

To return briefly to Lumière's 1898 *Malagueña y el Torero*, we may note that while the dance techniques used in that choreography are purely classical and non-percussive, emerging turn-of-the-century flamenco artists such as Trinidad Huertas, "La Cuenca" (1857–1890), Francisco Mendoza Ríos, "Faíco" (1870–1983), Antonio Vidal, "Antonio el de Bilbao" (1879–1935), and, of course, the illustrious Carmen Amaya (1918–1963) featured zapateado in their bids to capture international audiences.[27] Footwork drumming is thus one aspect of flamenco's long-standing entanglements with the American musics and dances of "color quebrado," with anti-colonial performances of Blackness.

In the inaugural conference in this series, hosted at the Foundation for Iberian Music at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, an international group of world-renowned scholars gathered to open new dialogues and to lay the foundation for further research, conferences, and publications. We are immensely proud of that 2015 gathering, and of the two published editions of its proceedings: in bilingual form in the Spanish journal *Música Oral del Sur* (vol. 12, 2015) and in a revised and expanded all-English edition (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016).

But the inaugural conference merely set the first stone. All of the participants in the 2015 meeting agreed that conversations should continue, relationships should develop, and that many questions and avenues of research remained to be explored. We were therefore thrilled to gather again, hosted by the Center for Iberian and Latin American Music at the University of California, Riverside, in April of 2017 to consider malagueñas and zapateados, separately, and in relation to their standing as iconic representations of Spanishness. How do these related forms comprise a "repertoire," in performance theorist Diana Taylor's sense of the term, enacting "embodied memory" and "ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge," allowing for "an alternative perspective on historical processes of transnational contact" and a "remapping of the Americas…following traditions of embodied practice"?[28]

From their virtuoso elaborations in flamenco song, to the solo guitar rondeñas of "El Murciano," from Isaac Albéniz's iconic pianistic *Malagueña* to the interpretation by Cuban composer Ernesto Lecuona

[27] For more on these artists, see Goldberg, "*Jaleo de Jerez* and *Tumulte Noir*"; Ortiz Nuevo, Cruzado, y Mora, *La Valiente*; and K. Meira Goldberg, *Border Trespasses: The Gypsy Mask and Carmen Amaya's Flamenco Dance*, Doctoral dissertation, Temple University, 1995.

[28] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 20.

which, as Walter Aaron Clark and Joshua Brown observe, became a global pop tune, how do malagueñas address the aspirations of growing middle-class concert audiences on both sides of the Atlantic? How do they reflect and crystalize prevailing yet contested notions of what is "Spanish"? How, in the transgressive ruckus and subversive sonorities of Afro-Latin zapateados circulating through, as performance scholar Stephen Johnson says, the ports, waterways, and docks of the Black Atlantic, may we perceive the race mimicry inherent in nineteenth-century performance? How are the zapateado musics and dances of Latin America and the Caribbean related to tap and other forms of percussive dance in North American popular music? And how in the roiled and complicated surfaces of these forms may we discern the archived rhythmic and dance ideas of African and Amerindian lineage that are magical, or even sacred? What secrets are held in the zapateados performed on a *tarima* planted in the earth and tuned by ceramic jugs in Michoacán?[29] How do zapateado rhythms express the tidal shift in accentuation of the African 6/8 from triple to duple meter described by Rolando Pérez Fernández?[30] How did the zapateados danced "dressed as another," in drag, in bullrings and ballets, resist nineteenth-century gender codes? In light of compelling research by Andrés Reséndez and Benjamin Madley into the devastating history of enslavement and genocide of indigenous peoples of the Americas, what new considerations arise with regard to best practices for historiographically-aware nomenclature?[31] How should we view and use words like "Indian," "Native," "mestizo," "criollo," and "Gypsy," "Gitano," "Roma," "Calé," etc.?

The essays compiled in this volume are clearly oriented around intersectionality and interdisciplinarity, approaches whose importance is clear and urgent in this historical moment. We have endeavored to capture the unexpected and productive dialogues arising out of the conference in

[29] For a powerful portrait of such customs in México today, see Raquel Paraíso, "Re-Contextualizing Traditions and the Construction of Social Identities through Music and Dance: A Fandango in Huetamo, Michoacán," in Goldberg and Pizà, *The Global Reach of the Fandango* (2015), 435–51, and (2016), 396–417. Paraíso's short film, "The Planting of the Tabla," may be viewed here: https://vimeo.com/133244148.

[30] Rolando Pérez Fernández, *La binarización de los ritmos ternarios africanos en América Latina* (La Habana: Premio de la Musicología, Casa de las Américas, 1986).

[31] Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston: Mariner Books, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017); Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

each chapter grouping. Chapters are organized into six sections, plus an "Excursus in Nineteenth-Century Post-Colonial Theory" by historian Max S. Hering Torres, whose deep analysis of a process of societal transformation we see as a central node to the circuitry of this book. The first section, on "Analytical Approaches to Rhythmic Structures," opens with Constance Valis Hill, one of two keynote presenters at the 2017 conference. Drawing from a descriptive lexicon of West African music/dance forms and aesthetics (culled from the anthropological research of Robert Farris Thompson and his book *African Art in Motion)*, Hill theorizes the evolutionary similarities of Africanist (derived from sub-Saharan Africa) "drum dance" forms in the New World, especially the Caribbean, tracing a panoply of diasporic step-dance forms, from zapateados to jigging. Bernat Jiménez de Cisneros Puig uses pulse-level analysis to consider two metric matrices, the *fandango abandolao*, which underlies the earliest malagueñas of Spain, and the *tanguillos de Cádiz*, originally known as *tangos americanos* (Afro-Cuban tangos), whose dance counterpart is the flamenco *zapateado*.

The second section considers the "Colonial Circulations in Spanish America" of these musical and dance ideas. Following the 1848 discovery of gold in Sutter's Mill, writes Víctor Sánchez Sánchez, California became a magnet for people from all over the world. Musical encounters between Spanish-speaking immigrants from the south and English-speaking immigrants from the east led to the emergence of a lively and varied musical life in San Francisco, a cosmopolitan city which reflected California's rising status as a metropolitan center in a continent-spanning United States whose international stature was likewise on the rise. Anthony Shay's essay, wondering whether the fandango was ever danced in early California, contextualizes this process of mestizaje within an examination of the relative social and power positions of European Spaniard and Mestizo Mexican identities in early California, which even today are reflected in California's celebration of a Spanish, that is, European, identity, "that never was." Álvaro Ochoa Serrano picks up this thread in his discussion of the "mestizo vowel" at the end of the word "mariachi/mariache," a musical genre familiar to many North Americans as emblematic of México, which has antecedents in pre-Hispanic dance musics. Gretchen Williams adds to the discussion of how to touch people whose identities were erased in the process of mestizaje—and, in consequence, how to work toward a decolonization of cultural history. Seeking to undo the historical anonymity of Spanish Roma, the *Calé*, during the early Spanish colonial period, Williams proposes a new methodology for identifying Roma people who were only granted the social access which would entail their appearance in

the historical record to the degree to which they rejected their cultural heritage. By scouring the archives for a holistic constellation of factors including surname, place of residence, and occupation, Williams's promising research aims to identify a handful of individuals to use as case studies, opening a door to further research. Peter J. García, focusing on the period when Santa Fe, now New Mexico, was a Mexican town (1821 to 1846), discusses a fascinating mutation in the usage of the word "*baile*," which in Spain connotes low-class dance, as opposed to "*danza*," or high-class dance. In Santa Fe, the term "baile" was counterposed to the term "fandango," as a festivity of the affluent as opposed to the lower classes. This inversion and resignification of the Spanish term "baile" speaks to the nature of these festivities, García argues, as "decolonial diversions."

The third section, "Classical European Concert Traditions," turns from the elaboration of national musical identities in the Americas to a musicological analysis of parallel dynamics at play in Spain as, from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries, its empire disintegrated and its former colonies declared their independence. Antonio González Marín writes about the recuperation of the fame that Aragonese composer José de Nebra (1702–1768) enjoyed during his lifetime in the context of nineteenth-century musical nationalism. Spanish musical historiography has distinguished between "*Italianate* musicians and the *truly Spanish* ones." Nebra has been reconsidered as a "defender of the *essence* of the Spanish musical tradition" against the "*invasion* of Italian music," but in fact, despite its references to popular musics such as zapateados and fandangos, Nebra's oeuvre, González Marín writes, should be considered within international styles of his day, all of which draw significantly upon Italian music. Nonetheless, in his discussion of Celfa's song from *Venus y Adonis* (1729), with score by José de Nebra and libretto by José de Cañizares, González Marín highlights the subtle fusion in this Italian-styled *aria da capo*, which is also the earliest-known orchestral and sung fandango. María Luisa Martínez Martínez, having unearthed two previously unknown variations of the popular nineteenth-century guitarist Francisco Rodríguez Murciano's *rondeña*, traces guitar sonorities and techniques whose development had been ascribed to the circles of late-nineteenth-century classical guitarists in the repertoire of flamenco guitar from at least the first half of the nineteenth century. Catching a glimpse of the migration of the nineteenth-century rondeña from the flamenco to the classical repertoire in the reconstituted musical memory of elite Andalusian musicians such as classical guitarist Julián Arcas (1832–1882) and illustrious composer Manuel de Falla (1876–1946), Martínez argues, allows us to contextualize later-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century musical nationalism within

"*La Restauración*" (The Restoration, 1875–1902), a period during which monarchy was restored following the turbulent and revolutionary years leading up to the first, short-lived Spanish Republic (1873–1874). Adam Kent considers the long-term aesthetic preoccupations of composer Isaac Albéniz (1860–1909), a "master synthesizer," who garnered European interest in Spanish classical music by reconciling Spanish folkloricism and "even Empire-wide popular idioms" with a variety of mainstream European pianistic and compositional traditions.

Max S. Hering Torres writes on "Order and Difference in Mid-Nineteenth Century Colombia." During the Liberal era (1845–1876), alongside colonialism, and despite the ideological differences between them, Liberalism, Conservatism, and the Catholic Church all considered opposition between civilization and barbarism to be a conceptual basis for political culture. The imaginary of civilization developed as a device for ordering social reality, separating "friends" from "enemies," and "desirables" from "undesirables," "an idea that imagines the beginnings of order in the act of placing those understood to be inferior and divergent on the outside." The concept of civilization, then, as an axiom of social values and behavioral modes, thus reproduces "the far-reaching mechanisms of distinction which underlie the often-invisible logic of *racialization*." The social stigmas inscribed in the Black body, Hering Torres argues, offer some clues as to the reconstitution of narratives from the days of slavery—dehumanization, degeneration, and the economy of the body—within the bourgeois values of Liberal-era Colombia.

"New Ensembles and Transatlantic Transformations" samples from a splendid array of zapateados in Europe and in Latin America. María Gabriela Estrada meditates on the ways in which the *ida y vuelta*, the comings and goings of colonization, migration, and trade, have woven together threads from widely disparate geographies and cultural fabrics. Nubia Flórez Forero considers two distinct Colombian geographic and cultural zones which share the presence of zapateado dances. She wonders why, in both the *Currulao*, from the Afro-descendant cultures of the mines and sugar cane plantations of the Pacific Coast of southern Colombia, and the *Joropo*, the emblematic dance of the cowboys and horsemen of the Eastern Plains, zapateado is conceived of as a male movement technique. Raquel Paraíso works in the cultural region known as the Huasteca, a territory west of the Gulf of México and east of the Sierra Madre mountains in the west, which stretches across the states of Hidalgo, San Luis Potosí, Tamaulipas, Puebla, Querétaro, and Veracruz. Cultural interaction and diversity are often thought to describe this multiethnic region, which retains an important presence of indigenous populations: Teenek (or Huastec),

Otomí, Tepehua, Totonaco, Nahua, and Pame. The long-standing relationships between indigenous and mestizo populations, Paraíso writes, have historically determined the region's unique culture. She considers zapateado in two dance-musics of the region: *sones de Xantolo* and *sones huastecos*, considering how they embody emotion, thus serving as a means for building community and transmitting cultural heritage, memory, and social knowledge. Further developing this focus on the role of zapateado in creating community, Rafael Figueroa Hernández looks at *son jarocho*, the traditional music of the cultural region of the Sotavento in the Gulf of México, and specifically at the *son* "El Zapateado," considering both its historical development and its contemporary usage as an educational tool.

Section Five looks at "Innovation and Tradition" within flamenco malagueñas and zapateados. Adair Landborn, looking at zapateado in both flamenco and Mexican folkloric traditions, and also at the transatlantic influence of the Spanish cultural complex of flamenco and bullfighting in theatrical dances such as *La malagueña y el torero*, reflects on the processes of transculturation and on the results of cultural contact between the peoples of Spain and Latin America. Focusing on flamenco song, John Moore considers the widely interpreted malagueñas attributed to Antonio Chacón and Enrique del Mellizo in light of fraught and contentious polemics over whether these styles are *cante gitano* (Gitano song) or *cante andaluz* (Andalusian song). Ninotchka D. Bennahum and Kiko Mora look at flamenco's complex references to Spanish history, considering both the transatlantic circulations of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Spanish danced nationalism, repurposed under dictator Francisco Franco (who ruled from 1939 to 1975) in the homogenization and commodification of flamenco, but also in the anarchic cultivation of resistance embodied in the post-Franco deconstructions of contemporary flamenco artist Israel Galván. Melissa Moore and Fernando Barros consider the insular cultures of the mountainous regions of Málaga, the province which gives its name to the malagueña, and the Canary Islands, an oceanic archipelago off the coast of West Africa that lends its name to the *canario*, which, like the villano, is a foremother of the zapateado. Using Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) as a metaphor, the authors ponder what, as these two "insular" cultures enter the transatlantic flow, is lost, and what is gained. Cuban writer and arts critic Severo Sarduy theorized that essential baroque qualities are defined by the ellipse, writes Julie Baggenstoss, with one focus invisible so that the visible focus is exaggerated. An analysis of the rhythmic and visual aesthetics of two flamenco artists, the influential modernist Vicente Escudero (1888–1980) and the insurgent post-modernist Israel Galván (b. 1973), brings to light how these artists refine Sarduy's double foci in works

that often reach into other disciplines and avant-garde movements of expressionism, cubism, and aleatoric music. The results are baroque expressions that shatter the "classical" artistic norms which preceded them.

"Reimagining the Public Square" looks at how activism, politics, and entertainment, each from distinct vantage points, irradiate and inflect our shared cultures. Joshua Brown examines how Ernesto Lecuona's 1928 composition "Malagueña" became an enduring icon of Spanish Otherness in the United States, evoking exotic and stereotypical visions which were part of a larger preoccupation with Spanish music, sensuality, and tourist destinations in 1960s American popular culture. During the 1960s, however, the presence of Spanish-themed cultural productions in the United States was indicative of not only the warming of political relations between these two nations, but also of the replacement of Cuba, following the revolution of 1959, with Spain as America's "Latin playground." The history of "Malagueña" in U.S. popular culture, Brown argues, demonstrates how Andalusian traditions and aesthetics were effectively separated from Andalusian artists and identities. Theresa Goldbach considers Málaga, offset geographically from the historic cradle of flamenco in the Sevilla/Jerez/Cádiz triangle, yet a seminal flamenco site almost since the birth of the form, its eponymous malagueña oscillating between evoking images of Spain as a nation and Andalucía as a region. Málaga caters to tourist expectations of a Spanish vacation of sun and sand, yet a 2009 municipal ordinance to regulate "noise and vibration" effectively prohibited the opening of new flamenco venues catering to this tourist market. In this case, does Málaga really want to be a flamenco site?

Throughout the nineteenth century, writes David García, the "south of Spain" as an idea constituted a generative force in modernity's mappings of the world's historical and political boundaries. Whereas composers, musicians, and music writers had made most use of the fandango's sounds and movements in naming Spain as Other before and throughout the nineteenth century, the malagueña emerged in print in the United States in the 1870s in ways that both foretold the nation's imminent political encounters with Spain and harkened back to U.S. expansion across the southwest. These reports provide evidence of aural practices of an empirical/imperial nature similar to those of British writers but nevertheless immanently rooted in the United States' emergent role as an empire which rationalized its interventions, musical or otherwise, for the sake of order in the world. Emmy Williamson, building upon Martha González's theory of "rhythmic intention," wonders whether, as the *tarima*, the wooden sounding board, is the heart of the fandango as a communal gathering, is the zapateado its heartbeat? Then, is the *bailadora*, the female dancer, the life

that flows through this heart? Few scholars have examined women's relationship to the performance and practice of *son jarocho*. Williamson argues that women in the New York City *jaranero* (son jarocho) community are not only moving and executing sounds of zapateado on the tarima with rhythmic purpose, but are also, at least in New York City, creating distinctly feminine spaces for music as well as leadership outside of the fandango. Iris Víveros explores the multiple ways in which polyrhythmic participatory-based music practices embody a particular form of knowledge production. Her analysis attempts to highlight non-traditional approaches of intellectualization grounded in the relationship between personal and communal experiences linked to physical and emotional perceptiveness and embodiment. She uses the *fandango*, a community-based music and dance tradition, to illustrate the power of participatory-based music practices as vehicles to generate and transmit knowledge, and to further personal and social change. She also discusses the extent to which community-based artistic practices embody resistance and allow participants to experience collective and personal healing—a reinterpretation and decolonization of the conventional definition of the term "polyrhythm," exploring the connection between such decolonial modes of theorizing and ways of healing.

Raúl Rodríguez, the second of two keynote speakers, closes this volume. He takes a position, a political position, of standing face-to-face with musics and people who have been erased from flamenco and Spanish history. He performs "anthropo-music"—an imaginative journey combining his anthropological training with his musical skills in trying to sing truly about people and events which are far off in space and time. He aims to create new *palos*, or flamenco musical forms, and dance music that can "touch your heart—that change your mind and change your world," because "when you dance, everything is true." He seeks to study flamenco as a music that belongs to the international heartbeat, to the global stage—one more type of music within Africanist, Andalusian, and Caribbean genres. Flamenco is also American music, born in the "magic triangle between Sevilla, Cádiz, and all the towns along the way"—all, Rodríguez observes, "ports of the old American colonies."

This is an edited volume, which varies from the conference presentations. We are grateful for the participation of several conference participants who are not published here: Alice Blumenfeld, Loren Chuse, Jessica Gottfried, Michelle Habell-Pallán, Michelle Heffner Hayes, Javier León, Miguel Ángel Rosales, whose brilliant film *Gurumbé. Canciones de tu memoria negra* (2016) was a revelatory screening at the conference, Brynn Shiovitz,