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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Losing the Center: Madrid, Flamenco, and Contested Urban Spaces.

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Critical Dance Studies

by

Theresa M. Goldbach

June 2019

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Linda Tomko, Chairperson

Dr. José Reynoso

Dr. Jonathan Ritter

Dr. Walter Clark

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2019

The Dissertation of Theresa M. Goldbach is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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Dedication

For Sean Campos and Sheila MacPherson, two beautiful people who died much too soon during the time I was preparing for my research. I am sorry I was not there for either of you as much as I should have been. For Sean, I steal the words of the Smiths and promise that one dreaded sunny day I will meet you at the cemetery gates. For Sheila, I borrow a lyric of a *soleá* and lament that my Sheila is gone! How will I ever have another Sheila like the one I had?

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Losing the Center: Madrid, Flamenco, and Contested Urban Spaces

by

Theresa M. Goldbach

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Critical Dance Studies
University of California, Riverside, June 2019
Dr. Linda Tomko, Chairperson

This dissertation undertakes an investigation of specific flamenco places in the urban center of Madrid, Spain, at key points from the early twentieth century through the Franco dictatorship, culminating in the economic crisis of the twenty-first century. I track how such places have negotiated the changing political and economic landscape and how informal flamenco sociality has shifted over the years. Rather than construct an exhaustive linear history of the area, I posthole and wrap my investigations around these different places, events, and phenomena that affected Madrid, presenting a broader layer of general Madrileño history for context. The struggles for places and neighborhoods to maintain a local personality in the face of the encroachment of corporate global forces form the center of my work. In flamenco, the nuance of “the local” becomes even more precise, narrowing from city to neighborhood, to the extent that “the local” in flamenco could be referred to as “the microlocal” to emphasize the degree of geographic

specificity. This dissertation focuses on the neighborhoods of Lavapiés and Latina and the Plazas Tirso de Molina and Santa Ana, in Madrid, not only for what they reveal about changes in flamenco connected to regional migrations of people and forms but also about ties to larger economic phenomena. The broad research question pursued here is: how have redevelopment and tourism shaped flamenco social life at the local level in Spain in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries? Place, location, and the struggle over urban territory in the face of gentrification and tourism, figure largely in the history of flamenco in Madrid. I use fieldwork conducted in 1996, 1998, 2001, 2013, 2015, and 2017, which involved taking dance classes, attending shows, and hanging out at flamenco bars as well as archival research. I focus on case studies of the dance studio Amor de Dios, bars and *tablaos* (flamenco dinner theatres) Los Gabrieles, La Soleá, Corral de la Morería, Candela, and Casa Patas.

Table of Contents

Overview	1
Situating the Research.....	4
Methodology.....	13
<i>Quien soy yo</i> : Positioning the Author.....	19
<i>La forma flamenca</i> : Writing a More “Flamenco” Dissertation.....	22
(Entrada) <i>Poema para los muertos</i>: Entering the Space	27
1. (Primera Letra) <i>Fui piedra y perdí mi centro</i>: Searching for the Center	34
Locating the Center: Centering Spacetime.....	36
Remembering the Center: Memory Studies.....	43
Planning the Center: City Centers.....	52
Selling the Center: Capitalism, Urbanization, and Flamenco Commodification.....	61
Dancing Around the Center: Flamenco and Dance Studies	67
Contextualizing the Center.....	71
2. (Segunda Letra) <i>Cuando suben y bajan</i>: Mapping Space and Time in Madrid’s Flamenco Cityscape	74
<i>Capitalidad</i> : Madrid as Spain’s Neutral Center.....	76
<i>Cuando suben y bajan</i> : Intraregional Migrations, Urbanization, and Flamencoization..	82
<i>No pasarán</i> : War, Dictatorship, and Modernity.....	88
Franquista Madrid: Dictatorship, Bureaucracy, and Centering Flamenco.....	95
<i>Vente pa Madrid</i> : Flamenco and the Shifting Space of Madrid.....	102
<i>Ver a Madrid vacía</i> : The 2008 Financial Crisis and the Emptying of Urban Space...	104

Madrid, Madrid, Madrid: Why Is Madrid’s Flamenco History Important?	107
3. (Escobilla) Amor de Dios and the Fight for Space.....	110
Background: Creating the “Cathedral of Flamenco”.....	112
<i>Modernismo</i> : Is There a Spanish Modern Dance?.....	117
<i>Ruidos musicales</i> : Plugged In	122
<i>Molestias a la vecindad</i> : Neighbors, Noise, and Democracy.....	126
<i>Arte e industria</i> : Money and the Right to the City.....	135
Postscript: <i>La lucha sigue</i> - The Fight Continues.....	149
4. (Tercera Letra) <i>Na’ es eterno</i>: The Impermanence of Urban Spaces.....	155
Los Gabrieles.....	162
La Soleá.....	179
Centering Absences.....	186
5. (Macho) <i>Esta noche mando yo</i>: Regulating Nightlife in Madrid.....	189
Placing Flamenco: Classification of Venues and Activities.....	192
Corral de la Morería: Patrimony or Nuisance.....	205
Candela: After-hours and the Flamenco Underground.....	212
Cardamomo, Villa Rosa, and Las Carboneras: The Tablao Circuit.....	220
Casa Patas: Continuity and Community in a Changing Landscape.....	224
(Ida) <i>La leyenda del tiempo</i>: Searching for Solutions.....	227
Future Possible Lines of Research.....	230
Proposals for Slowing or Stopping Erosion of “Places” in the Urban Environment....	231
Glossary	240

Bibliography.....	243
Appendix A: Maps.....	276
Appendix B: Photos of Sites.....	282
Appendix C: Plan for Villa Rosa 28 October 1978.....	288

Editorial Practices

All translations by Theresa Goldbach unless otherwise noted in Bibliography. I italicize Spanish words when used in the text, translating some but for those that have no direct translation like *tablao*, I use the Spanish word after defining it. For the purposes of this dissertation, the singular and capitalized *Café Cantante* refers to the period when these cafés were popular, the singular and lower case *café cantante* refers to an individual café, and the plural and lower case *cafés cantantes* refers to the cafés in general. When using the term *letra* in general, I do not capitalize the word and use italics. When referring to a specific chapter title (for example, Primera Letra), I do not italicize the title “Primera Letra” but I do italicize the name of the *letra* the chapter is based on.

In one glossary entry and one text description of terms in flamenco dance, I use the singular, gender-neutral “they” to avoid unnecessarily gendering the hypothetical dancer.

I provide a link to a Spotify playlist of recordings of the songs from which I take my chapter titles:

https://open.spotify.com/user/22ztnplpoml5vmo6qj7gkeuwa/playlist/3nkP7RoNN5E2TNEVtI7Xl1?si=OnI5KLk9TianD_c0FTYdrw

The playlist may be accessed by anyone with a subscription to the streaming service. The publication information for the CDs to which the tracks belong is listed in the Bibliography.

Overview of Project

This dissertation undertakes an investigation of specific flamenco places in the urban center of Madrid, Spain, at key points from the early twentieth century through the Franco dictatorship, culminating in the economic crisis of the twenty-first century. I track how such places have negotiated the changing political and economic landscape and how informal flamenco sociality has shifted over the years. Rather than construct an exhaustive linear history of the area, I posthole and wrap my investigations around these different places, events, and phenomena that affected Madrid, presenting a broader layer of general Madrileño history for context. The struggles for places and neighborhoods to maintain a local personality in the face of the encroachment of corporate global forces form the center of my work. By utilizing the terms “local” and “global” to indicate opposing perhaps even conflicting ideas, I am engaging with urban theorists Henri Lefebvre in “Right to the City” (1968) and David Harvey in *Rebel Cities* (2013) who make a distinction between the specificity of local or municipal patterns versus larger global or worldwide patterns of economic, political, and cultural development. In flamenco, the nuance of “the local” becomes even more precise, narrowing from city to neighborhood, to the extent that “the local” in flamenco could be referred to as “the microlocal” to emphasize the degree of geographic specificity.

Although for many non-Spaniards, flamenco music and dance serve as an iconic representation of Spain, the form manifests itself differently in various outlets and areas. Over the centuries of gestation before flamenco debuted on the public stage, neighborhoods and towns like Utrera and Triana, in the city of Sevilla, and cities like

Cádiz and Jerez de la Frontera in Andalucía, developed their own specific strains of flamenco tied to the daily lives of residents. Dancers, musicians, and performers then exported these strains not just to other countries but to other regions and even other neighborhoods in the same town. This kind of ongoing microlocal innovation, at times tied even to specific street corners, necessarily transformed and continues to transform broader flamenco practices. Many flamenco forms and styles still carry the names of places preserving something of the unique history of each place. Place names have come to stand for a kind of shorthand reference for a whole set of lyrics, dance steps, or sometimes a change in the way the musical tempo or rhythm is counted or measured. Thus, in flamenco when one writes of *tangos de Triana* or *tangos de Granada*, any relatively well versed initiate will understand the distinct histories, styles of music and dance, steps, and sets of lyrics to which these two deceptively similar terms refer. Such neighborhoods and cities around Spain also become brands themselves. Performer biographies and publicity materials tout a certain performer as being from the Granada or the Triana flamenco tradition, for example.

Despite such spatial particularity, microlocal innovations are not isolated. Practices of flamenco take part in an international exchange that involve migrations of ideas as well as bodies, of both a local and a global flamenco economy centered not only in Andalucía but also in the modern flamenco hub of Madrid. This dissertation focuses on the neighborhoods of Lavapiés and Latina and the Plazas Tirso de Molina and Santa Ana, in Madrid, not only for what they reveal about changes in flamenco connected to regional migrations of people and forms but also about ties to larger economic phenomena. The

broad research question pursued here is: how have redevelopment and tourism shaped flamenco social life at the local level in Spain in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries? Place, location, and the struggle over urban territory in the face of gentrification and tourism, figure largely in the history of flamenco in Madrid. Having virtually disappeared during and after the Spanish Civil War, international tourism returned to Spain with vigor in the late fifties and sixties (see *Segunda Letra*). Since Lavapiés, Latina and Tirso de Molina are situated just below the main tourist centers of the Puerta del Sol and the Plaza Mayor squares, the economic and cultural imperatives that flow with tourism necessarily bleed into the business life of these areas. Is the flamenco produced here for tourist consumption or for local consumption? Does the answer to this question change the flamenco geography of Madrid or merely color its interpretation? An examination of the issues plaguing the flamenco geography of Madrid yields possible approaches for negotiating a middle ground between tourism and local communities in other locations.

Other research questions include: With all of the changes to the flamenco community in Madrid over the last century, what was gained and what was lost? Have the disappeared places, those key sites in the flamenco network now permanently closed for business, been replaced by other establishments? How has the flamenco community adjusted to fit, or has it? Of the places that remain, what strategies have the owners and operators employed to persevere? If the disappeared places do constitute a definitive loss of local personality, can that personality be regained? Stylistically, I grapple with the question: can a dissertation approximate the sound and feel of flamenco?

Methodologically, my main question is what can putting archival sources in conversation with autoethnography, oral history, and embodied research reveal? What does examining diverse locations like academies, *tablaos* (flamenco dinner theatres), bars, and taverns expose about flamenco practice in Madrid that a more isolated, narrow focus on the stage ignores? In my choice of research sites, I endeavor to synthesize different kinds of information about a particular area so that I can develop a clearer picture than by relying on only one kind of site or one kind of resource. However, my goal here is not so much to produce a perfect picture of the area but rather a nuanced, complex, shifting set of pictures, interconnected, that include the vanished as well as the potential, the dead as well as the unborn.

I. Situating the Research

My research intervenes in debates in several fields including urban studies, tourism studies, cultural studies, Spanish history, flamencology, and dance studies. The work of urban theorists David Harvey and Henri Lefebvre shape many of my theoretical formations. In terms of the geographic specificity of my research, Lefebvre in 1968's "Right to the City" theorized the urban in general in the modern era and described the urban as based on use-value which is displaced in favor of commodification for exchange-value (See *Primera Letra*). The latter included commodification not only in souvenir form but in what Walter Benjamin in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936) described as optical use of buildings as seen from the outside, where the experience itself takes on its own value in photos, stories told back home, knowledge of local custom, and (in the last decade) check-ins and broadcasting

video on social media. Geographer Edward Soja in *Postmodern Geographies* (1989) framed Lefebvre's work as a fundamental shift in Marxist thought: it added spatiality to Marxist theory. Soja examined "the urban" as instantiated in Los Angeles, and he pointed to the different evolution of the city in Europe versus in the United States. Although their historical developments diverge, the basic frameworks, political and economic forces that Soja cited in the growth of greater Los Angeles are present to some extent in Madrid, especially in the complex interactions between the localized (though globally present) pressures of redevelopment and corporate commodification woven into and occasionally merging with the gravitational pull of tourism.

In *Rebel Cities*, Harvey employed a similar case study technique to with regard to various cities around the world. In his chapter "The Art of Rent," Harvey focused on the application of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic and cultural capital to specific locations over the last thirty years—Barcelona, New York, London, Hong Kong, Berlin, and Rio de Janeiro—to analyze the extraction of monopoly rents (using the examples of vineyards and microbrew beers). Harvey looked at Barcelona for a case of the "amassing of symbolic capital and ... marks of distinction" which are then marketed globally, causing monopoly rents to increase, and "draw[ing] more and more homogenizing multinational commodification in its wake." This results in what he referred to as the Disneyfication of the city (104-105). Harvey characterized Disneyfication as occurring when places in Europe (and around the world) "attempt[ed] to redesign [themselves] to Disney standards," making them "less unique and special," and (ironically) bringing a "bland homogeneity that goes with pure commodification [which] erases monopoly

advantages.” (92) Although much of his work occurred in the 1980s and 1990s, the main texts of Harvey’s that I reference and use as theoretical base were written in 2009, 2013, and 2018. They consider more recent phenomena like climate change and refugee migration as factors in his analyses. Harvey’s 2009 work *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* uses the September 11th attacks in New York as a launching point for theorizing space and time in the urban space of post 9-11 New York. *Rebel Cities* concentrated more on gentrification in numerous cities around the world but includes immigration and migration as factors in urban change. 2018’s *Marx, Capital, and the Madness of Economic Reason* more directly referenced global warming and climate change and the influence of capitalism on the environment. The analytical framework that Harvey utilizes, in *Rebel Cities*, in his examination of Barcelona in the 1990s and early 2000s served as an inspiration for my analysis of Madrid.

In this dissertation, I venture into bars, taverns, and pubs, places that are undertheorized by mainstream scholars in the U.S. and Europe due to their association with alcohol and other vices. Many studies of such places tend to pathologize alcohol and associated substance abuse related to bars rather than study their social and cultural functions.¹ These places, what James C. Scott in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) referred to as “spaces for dissident subcultures,” perform vital functions in urban communities, especially in communities of artists and transplants from other areas, such as cultural centers that grew after the Industrial Revolution like New York, Los Angeles,

¹ It is important to note the work of the “Drinking Studies” group of academics and scholars like Mack P. Holt, Madelon Powers, A. Lynn Martin, and Thomas Brennan as attempting to change this tendency.

² Per personal conversation with El Güito, 16 September 2017.

³ I had planned financially to stay for only a few weeks with friends. However, upon my arrival, first my

London, and Paris. In my view, it is precisely the insularity granted by the association of these spaces for dissident subcultures with an atmosphere that was not culture staged for the outsider, perhaps associated with marginalized populations, that allows dissident subcultures to flourish. Coincidentally, these are the same spaces that are disappearing through the cycle of appropriation by dominant capitalist interests and subsequent atrophy of associated community. German literature scholar Andreas Huyssen developed a concept of the urban palimpsest in *Presents Past: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (2003) where memory preserves a ghostly presence of disappeared places hiding underneath contemporary urban space. The urban palimpsest serves as an effective template to examine the disappearance of flamenco venues and places where flamenco performers and aficionados congregated over the last century. In this regard, my work participates in and attempts to document local histories that are disappearing along with community centers in the wake of restructuring, redevelopment, and gentrification around the world not only in Madrid, as Harvey explained throughout the book *Rebel Cities*. As neoliberal economic policies permit and sometimes even incentivize the appropriation of urban space by corporate interests, more and more unique neighborhood places are (re)placed with franchised, international chains, not unique to the neighborhood or connected to the community. In Madrid, the fluctuating line between *tablaos* and *tabernas*, between performance for the outsider and performance within the community, underlines the destructive potential of tourist and by extension capitalist interest in its ability to erase spaces not created for tourist consumption but important to the life of the residential community. I build on Marxist theories of value, and an emphasis on class struggle,

exploitation, and the destructive potential of commodification and appropriation, to make a more thorough analysis possible. In this manner, I attend to moments in time as well as reach to the past to reveal change over time, to hold the tension between the inevitability of change and the indelibility of what remains though faintly etched under the plaster of the palimpsest.

My inquiry also participates in the related and not altogether separate field of tourism studies, which focuses on the tourism industry, tourist activities, and tourist sites. Three authors in particular offer insight into analysis of tourism. Dean MacCannell in *The Tourist* (1976) used semiotic theory to read the creation of tourist sites and the subsequent use of these sites, focusing on general trends in tourism in the 1970s. Jane Desmond in *Staging Tourism* (1999) examined the circulation of tourist performances of hula as well as the tropes of the natural that surrounded those performances in Hawaii and at Sea World in San Diego in the late twentieth century. Finally, Ruth Hellier-Tinoco, in *Embodying Mexico* (2011), analyzed images of performance of dance and activities from Michoacán, Mexico and their participation in the development of Mexican nationalism as well as the marketing of Mexico for tourist consumption in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. MacCannell used the term “marker” to refer to the (formerly on site) designation of a location as a tourist sight connected to a specific culture or people. (41) For the entirety of flamenco’s presence in the international imaginary—from the mid-nineteenth century to today--, the marker is at best nebulous in global mass culture. It sticks more to Spain in general than to Andalucía in particular. As such, in the economy of international travel, major cities like Barcelona and Madrid,

which serve as hubs of air and train travel become expedient stops to consume Spain and Spanish culture. This, in turn, promotes their thriving *tablaos* scenes.

Economic geographer Yuko Aoyama has redirected tourism studies of flamenco by coining the phrase “flamenco tourism” (“Artists, Tourists, and the State: Cultural Tourism and the Flamenco Industry in Andalusia, Spain” 81). Aoyama used the term to describe international tourists—especially Japanese and American tourists—to Spain who journey not for vacation but primarily to study flamenco and attend specific flamenco oriented events like festivals and choreographic or singing competitions from the 1960s through 2010. I adopt Aoyama’s term to specify flamenco-centric tourists and tourism patterns in Madrid. The tourist sites flamenco tourists frequent can overlap with more general tourist attractions but can also significantly differ from the standard tourist sites in Spain. Per Aoyama, flamenco tourists tend to spend longer periods of time in Spain (several months, sometimes even years) and serve as an important support system for the Spanish flamenco industry. (96) In her 2007 article “The Role of Consumption and Globalization In a Cultural Industry: The Case of Flamenco” and the 2009 article “Artists, Tourists, and the State: Cultural Tourism and the Flamenco Industry in Andalusia, Spain,” the author examined Japanese flamenco tourists, who arguably represent the majority of flamenco tourism, but flamenco tourists also come from other countries like the United States, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Canada, and France. Whereas Aoyama’s work focuses on either flamenco tourism in Spain in general or in Andalucía, my focus on Madrid and the Centro or central district in particular allows for more precision in application of this flamenco tourism lens. Besides the flamenco sites like

tablaos that participate in the standard tourist economy in Spain, sites like the dance studio Amor de Dios participate almost exclusively in the flamenco tourist economy. The neighborhoods of Lavapiés and Tirso de Molina have not typically been associated with standard international tourism but are significant to flamenco tourism.

My findings also intersect with debates in flamencology through its focus on Madrid and on the semi-private spaces that lie between public performance and private family flamenco. Alfredo Grimaldos's *Historia social del flamenco* (2010) comes closest to the social area that I pursue. He included anecdotes about after-hours *juergas* (informal jam sessions) in Madrid *tablaos* in the sixties. However, his book relied almost exclusively on oral histories—mostly from men—whereas I put this kind of research in conversation with both archival and embodied research. José Blas Vega in *El flamenco en Madrid* (2006) used both archival research and oral histories to examine the history of flamenco in Madrid. However, Blas Vega confined his use of archival sources to flamenco history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and he switched to oral history and a kind of unacknowledged autoethnography as sources for the later years of his study, 1960s through 1990s. I bring a dance studies lens to the traditionally music-centric field of flamencology, as do Meira Goldberg in *Sonidos Negros* (2019), Michelle Heffner-Hayes in *Flamenco: Conflicted Histories of the Dance* (2009), and both authors in the anthology *Flamenco on the Global Stage* (2015). I also pay attention to moving bodies not only onstage but also in dance classes and on the streets. Whereas Goldberg and Heffner Hayes reacted against music-centered flamencology, in my emphasis on noise and sound as well as music centered social interaction, I attempt to construct a

dance studies approach that gives equal attention to music as it affects the transmission of dance and shapes the social practice of flamenco. Flamencologist Cristina Cruces Roldán provided a template for charting flamenco social and performance spaces. She mentioned the fiestas in *tabernas* and private apartments but refrained from specific case studies, writing about flamenco spaces and categories in general. In *Más allá de la música Vol. I* (2002), she charted and classified general flamenco performance spaces (concert stage, *tablaó*, *peña*, private party). I plunge into the black lines that separate the categories in her chart, to delve into the interstices.

From the time of folklorists like Serafín Estébanez Calderón and Demófilo in the nineteenth century through its growth as an academic discipline in the 1950s, flamencology (the academic study of flamenco) has relied extensively on informal ethnography and oral history. Due to flamenco's early years as a form associated mainly with lower classes or groups that did not record their histories in writing, studies dealing with flamenco's eighteenth and nineteenth century history are necessarily limited to secondary accounts of oral histories and ethnographic reports. Most archival evidence incorporated by researchers of these eras tends to be drawn from newspapers and theatrical programs. A few researchers have found unique ways to use official municipal or state archival sources to illuminate these early years. In her 2005 MA thesis *Buen Metal de Voz: the Calé Blacksmiths and Flamenco Cante Jondo*, Gretchen Williams utilized sources in the archive library of the Cátedra de Flamencología de Jerez to examine registries of flamenco performers from the nineteenth century, and she cross-referenced these with occupations, focusing on blacksmiths. She then applied a linguistic

analysis of the blacksmith vocabulary in Caló—the dialect of Spanish associated with Spanish Roma—to link both blacksmithing and flamenco to the pathways of the Romani migrations. In this dissertation, I build on the tradition of ethnography—but focusing more on autoethnography—to frame my archival and theoretical work.

Finally, I decenter the dance studies lens as well. In an inversion of the format of many dance studies works, such as Sansan Kwan’s *Kinesthetic City* (2013), I move the center of the study from the concert stage to the street and the tavern. Although Kwan wrote about walking in the city in her introduction, she focused mostly on the concert stage and formal dance practices, and not bars or other gathering spots and social practices. While the stage and the dance classroom form an important part of this study, its heart lies in the Madrid neighborhoods themselves. I address flamenco and flamenco performance in informal settings, some of which are occasionally difficult to access. I also seek to reintegrate dance practice in general into the urban life of the city. I do this by looking at a dance studio, Madrid’s Amor de Dios studio, as a concrete geographic location affected by gentrification and restructuring as much as were the bars and taverns, equally important locations for dance and music. Much like Cynthia Novack’s social history of U.S. contact improvisation *Sharing the Dance* (1990), I weigh non-formal venues more heavily than formal performances. I differ from Novack in that I include the Amor de Dios flamenco classroom not as the main site for transmission of dance but as only one of several, along with bars, taverns, and private parties. Cindy Garcia in *Salsa Crossings* (2013) used nightclubs as ethnographic sites in her study of L.A. salsa in the early 2000s. Nightclubs enable a different kind of sociality than do neighborhood bars.

People go to nightclubs specifically to dance. They go to bars to drink and socialize, any dancing that occurs is incidental. I have found this to be the case in the U.S. as well as Spain. Dance studies has focused on choreographic analyses of dance rather than on informal interaction between music and dance constitutive of flamenco—a form not considered a “social” dance form like salsa or rumba which Juliet McMains writes about in *Spinning Mambo into Salsa* from 2015. I challenge the dance studies paradigm much more to analyze dance at a neighborhood bar than I would to analyze dance in a dance-centered nightclub.

II. Methodology

This project combines autoethnography, archival research, and embodied practice methods to reach into the in-between, the intangible sometimes impossible connections between local community and flamenco in Madrid in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Embodied practice as research (the use of physical dance practice as a form of academic investigation) is a standard methodological approach in 2010s dance studies as employed by Diyah Larasati in *The Dance That Makes You Vanish* (2013) to historicize and theorize the repression by the Suharto regime and the vanishing of the *Gerwani* (female dancers) in Indonesia from 1965 through the end of the twentieth century. She drew on her lifetime of training in Javanese court dance forms she studied, adding a scholarly perspective to the practice. Dance scholar Ann Cooper Albright in *Traces of Light* (2007) utilized embodied research by constructing and then dancing with some of the staging and lighting equipment used by Loïe Fuller a century before. Cooper Albright’s corporeal investment enabled her to assess the kinesthetic and embodied

aspects of Fuller’s movement vocabulary. Like Larasati, I am uniquely prepared to conduct embodied research due to my decades of flamenco and Spanish dance training, more than would be a researcher coming either from a non-dance background or from a different genre of dance training. Also like Larasati, my research draws on years of training as a physical basis for comparing changes in Spanish dance and flamenco. Taking classes at Amor de Dios, in addition to comprising an integral part of a flamenco ethnography of Madrid, has allowed me to embody my research. Many of the older teachers who teach there do not travel to teach in other countries like younger performers do. For example, Eduardo Serrano “El Güito” now refuses to travel via plane due to a harrowing cross-Atlantic experience over twenty years ago.² Teachers are repositories of techniques that are perhaps available in adapted form from students—such as Alfonso Losa’s use of some of Güito’s techniques—but the techniques usually bear a definite stylistic stamp of the student as well. In my first experiences of Amor de Dios, I studied with Carmela Greco and La China, both veterans of the old *tablaó* scene as well as the doyenne of Madrid Spanish dance technique, Maria Magdalena, who—like La China—no longer teaches class. Fewer and fewer students attend the classes of the old maestros and instead opt to study with the better known, more “hip” younger flamenco stars. Indeed, during my 2017 dissertation research when I studied with the legendary maestro El Güito, there were never more than three or four students in class. Likewise, the classes of the fabulous La Uchi (Maria Luisa Martín Garcia), who offers a wealth of stories and knowledge, revolve around participation by four or five long term students and

² Per personal conversation with El Güito, 16 September 2017.

occasional outsiders who drop in for a class or two. Both of these masters took the time not only to share their personal stories of flamenco—Güito about his time with Antonio Gades and Mario Maya; stories from the *tablaó* circuit and the old Amor de Dios from Uchi and her husband Toni “El Pelao,” but also to share their unique interpretations of flamenco built from their embodied ties to maestros of previous eras. With the twenty-first century emphasis on innovation in flamenco dance especially in the international context, it can be difficult to track the embodied traces of other eras.

Participation in classes also offered an important way for me to build credibility as a knowledgeable flamenca with potential interview subjects. Due to the teachers’ summer vacations I was only able to take classes for a few weeks in 2017. I spent mornings (until around noon) in one of the archives and took classes from one pm until six pm at Amor de Dios. That was my first time taking classes at the new Amor de Dios location. During my time in Madrid, in 1998 and 2001, Amor de Dios had temporarily relocated from its original building on the street of the same name in the Atocha neighborhood to a location near the metro stop Embajadores almost a thirty minute walk away (see Escobilla). Following the more recent location in 2005, the studio sits more directly in Tirso de Molina around the corner from Casa Patas and up the street from Candela. It helped concentrate the distribution of explicitly flamenco sites in Madrid; further, it necessarily changed my choreography of walking in the city.

Studying changes in this distribution of places and the movement habits of people sheds some light on possible strategies for preservation of artistic communities through concentration and centralization. One aspect of the study of these changes is Michel De

Certeau's "walking in the city," a form of embodied research that he introduced in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984). While my research focused on the core area of the mid-southern part of the Centro district (approximately one kilometer distance), it also reached a few blocks North to Plaza Santa Ana, East to the Calle Amor de Dios and metro stop Anton Martin, West to the Plaza Mayor with a short hop to Corral de la Morería on Calle Bailen, covering around two square kilometers total. It encompassed the areas around not only the Lavapiés and Tirso de Molina metro stops but also Anton Martin, Atocha, and La Latina stops (see Maps in Appendix A). It cuts across the official municipal zones of Palacio (Corral de la Morería and Cava Baja/La Soleá), Embajadores (Amor de Dios, Casa Patas, Candela, and Lavapiés), Cortes (Villa Rosa, Cardamomo, Los Gabrieles, Plaza Santa Ana and Calle Echegaray) and Sol (Plaza Mayor and Las Carboneras). In these areas, sometimes referred to as the "ancient" or *antigua* area of Madrid, walking and metro riding are increasingly the main forms of transportation. Beginning in 2014, the city of Madrid began banning cars in its city center to anyone except residents. In November 2018, these restrictions increased to include all vehicles that did not meet emissions standards whether or not the owners were residents or they were being used for deliveries to businesses (León 30 Nov 2018). This necessarily changed how the city is experienced. During my stays in Madrid, I always walked or took the metro. As a semi-homeless English teacher in 2001, I spent hours a day walking or riding on trains. This experience provides a counterpoint to the "planned city," especially because Madrid is not set up on a neat grid, but instead consists of winding streets that radiate from small plazas. Shortcuts and alleyways provide numerous choices for one's

choreography of walking. De Certeau asserted that walking “manipulates spatial organizations... it creates shadows and ambiguities within them [and] inserts its multitudinous references and citations into them” (101). He described practices of walking that densify and elide—my paths around the center performed these actions. Walking connects certain locations while skipping others and provides the walker with a kind of agency that can undermine the planned city. My experiences walking in Madrid demonstrate that the routes available around the city influence the development of the places they connect.

The Amor de Dios dance studios and Casa Patas flamenco bar and *tablaos* served as my main sources for securing interviews and ethnographic participant-observation. The dance studio has housed many flamenco dancers who performed extensively in Madrid from the late Franco period, and as instructors in more recent years. In addition to El Güito and La Uchi, Cristobal Reyes, Toni “El Pelao,” Francisca Sadornil Ruiz “La Tati,” and Carmela Greco also maintain regular classes at the studio. I also researched *tablaos* like the century old Villa Rosa, Corral de la Morería—founded in 1956, the aforementioned Casa Patas dating only from the seventies, bars like the now disappeared Los Gabrieles and La Soleá, Candela dating from the eighties, and the relatively youthful *tablaos* Cardamomo and Las Carboneras. I investigated business records in the municipal archives, talked with owners, workers and performers, and examined government data on regulation of public performances and alcohol. I spent almost every night of my dissertation research sitting at the bar at Casa Patas. I became a familiar, if somewhat unusual, sight to the workers and the few regulars. My presence occasionally confused

people. I overheard one older gentleman at a bar asking the bartender if I was a prostitute. People constantly approached me to ask what I was writing about. These interactions served as forums that allowed residents to volunteer their viewpoints on the subject matter. In Madrid, I also used professional connections with visiting artists forged during my time in Albuquerque and also additional, more personal, connections lingering from my pre-academic residencies in Madrid. I include the conversations and interactions with bartenders and owners as well as local discourse about the Madrileño places I have studied as an essential element of my research.

My ethnographic approach differs from the ethnographies that I have read in my studies at UCR. In my 2017 fieldwork, I used the kind of deep hanging out proposed by Clifford Geertz in “Deep Hanging Out” (1998) which is more informal, that is not based around structured interviews but rather casual observation and presence at a location. I combined it with informal interviews, usually unplanned. This approach allows for a blending of the inside and the outside, or in anthropological parlance, the emic and the etic, and it puts less pressure on extracting large amounts of information from individual interviews. For my introductory anecdotes, I employ an autoethnographic approach that used reflection on my personal experiences in Madrid over the years as a source of cultural information about the area. Carol Ellis, Tony E. Adams, and Arthur P. Bochner in 2011 described autoethnography as “both process and product” which “recognize[s] the innumerable ways personal experience influences the research process.” (“Autoethnography: An Overview”) In this dissertation, the autoethnographic interludes supplement archival and online information. I use them to give depth and a personal

perspective to the places I analyze. However, as a result, these anecdotes occasionally include people from my personal, pre-academic life as characters. Diyah Larasati employed pseudonyms to shield the identity of several of her sources and protect them from political retaliation, which could be more severe than simply loss of performance opportunities or reputation (2013: xxi-xxii). Where possible, in this dissertation I utilize nicknames or pseudonyms in my anecdotes to protect identities.

III. *Quien soy yo: Positioning the Author*

Situating myself as researcher, informal ethnographer, and writer has involved unpacking not only my experience of Madrid and of flamenco but also much of my unique, nomadic and sometimes traumatic life experience. My approach to ethnography troubles the classic anthropological distinction between etic and emic (outside and inside) approaches. While I am by no means an “insider” in the Madrid flamenco community, I am not a complete “outsider” either. My goal in this dissertation is not to produce a straight ethnography, that is one based on a year to 1.5 years of residence and participant observation in a community. Nor does it aim to describe a community whose picture is fixed with regard to a particular period, but to write a flamenco history of an urban area, one that describes the communal spaces, used by both residential and temporary communities and chart changes over time. Previous flamenco ethnographic approaches have been taken by “outsiders” or ethnographers who work their way into a community, like Donn Pohren in *The Art of Flamenco* (1962). The ethnographic approach that informs this dissertation is different in several key ways. First, my familiarity with flamenco extends back to my childhood. I have studied and performed for over thirty

years. My “ethnography” begins before my days in academia, when I was a true participant and the observation was only incidental. Also, as a woman participating in the flamenco social space in a not always completely scholarly way, I directly experienced some of the gendered interactions that a scholar like Loren Chuse witnessed (2015: 224-233). Thus my direct reference to specific experiences serves to fill certain gaps in other research.

For most of my earlier time in Madrid— 1998 to 2001, I was in my twenties and not in a position of power relative to the flamencos with whom I socialized. As a woman, I was sometimes treated the way I have seen male musicians in the U.S. treat women, as a *groupie*. Based on these experiences, I viewed the sexism and gendered interactions in Spain as elements in larger popular culture constructions of masculinity, music, and fame (even on a limited scale) rather than constructions unique to flamenco or Spanish Catholicism. I have not critiqued these after-hours interactions as stereotyped Latino *machismo* because I have seen this behavior in musicians from around the world, as well as from non-flamenco musicians from Spain and flamenco musicians from the US. In addition, in my experience much of the sexist discrimination in the flamenco professional world comes not from men but from women. In order to situate myself in regard to this dissertation research, I relate a few of the more difficult aspects of my life in 1998 and 2001, while I also endeavor to protect my own privacy. During my longest stay in Madrid in 2001, I was frequently homeless, starving, and stranded in the country as a non-Spanish citizen.³ While on my return to Madrid in 2017, I did not encounter these

³ I had planned financially to stay for only a few weeks with friends. However, upon my arrival, first my

difficulties, the earlier experiences necessarily shaped in substantial part my understanding of the city.

As a researcher, I do not fit the “tourist” mold of Dean MacCannell or Edward Bruner in *Culture on Tour* (2005). Being a tourist implies leaving one’s home for a vacation from the everyday, per MacCannell. By that definition, I am a permanent tourist everywhere I go as I have not had a home base from which to travel in over twenty years. With the exception of my four years in Hollywood from 2008 to 2012 and doctoral studies from 2014 to 2019, I never spent more than a few months at a time in any one place. I had never even owned any furniture beyond a mattress on the floor before the last few years. I have lived in several different places often more than once: San Antonio (until high school graduation in 1995, and for brief stints in 1999, 2003, 2006-7, and 2012); Austin (1995-1999, 2000, 2003); Mexico City (2000), Madrid (1998, 2001); New York City (2002); Los Angeles (2004-2006, 2008-2012, and 2014-2019); and Albuquerque (2012-2014). On a personal level, this experience has perhaps contributed to my interest in bars and places that transplants in large cities frequent. In each city, I had to start more or less from scratch with very little money, no job, and sometimes no friends at all. I discovered many of these sites—mostly coffee shops and bars—as places in which I could forge ties to the urban community, and then (re)enter or (re)incorporate myself after years of absence. They have allowed me to have multiple homes around the world, to juggle my own subjective experience of the global and the local. I seem to

carry on was stolen at the airport and later that evening my purse was stolen from a bar with my paper return ticket, all my cash and debit card, and my passport. I was forced to support myself until I could earn enough money to return and recovered my passport from the US Embassy months later.

never be able to find enough homes. This has shaped my position as ethnographer. Ethnomusicologist Joshua Pilzer in *Hearts of Pine* (2012) wrote of the relationship between ethnographer and subject that it “is neither an inconvenience to be minimized nor something to fetishize and celebrate. Rather it is a very fraught and very hopeful thing.” (xi) In this dissertation, I have used my multi-local experience and my comfort with being lost in the big city as an asset, and my permanent outsider status as means of maintaining a bit of scholarly distance.

III. *La Forma Flamenca*: Writing a More “Flamenco” Dissertation

This dissertation proceeds as a flamenco performance. I have endeavored to write academically in a distinctly flamenco manner. There are works that approximate this approach in Spanish (notably Anselmo Climent’s 1957 book *Flamencología*) but few in English. What exactly is “flamenco” or does it mean to be “flamenco”? This is a notoriously slippery subject, as Gretchen Williams writes in her 2005 master’s thesis. Over my thirty-two years of experience with the form, I have developed my own sometimes academic sometimes poetic theories of flamenco practice, which may or may not match other experiences of flamenco. These theories emphasize individual expression, the ability to improvise within a given rhythmic and lyric structure, a poetic approach that includes not only the profound but also the absurd, the ability to look forward to the future and backward to the past at the same time, an intense sense of community and family, and a certain disregard or outright dismissal of what might be considered “proper” in upper class European or U.S. society.

I readily acknowledge the personal nature of this list and note that it is not meant

to be comprehensive or universal to the flamenco experience. Thinking along the lines raised by Dorinne Kondo in her book *Crafting Selves* (1990), I try to unpack the “I” that appears in these pages, the self I have crafted as a dancer, as an academic, as a bartender, as a barfly, and as a woman. I embrace Kondo’s contention that the personal cannot be removed from relations of power in ethnography. The personal intrudes in this dissertation most painfully in the *Entrada*, where I expose a glimpse of my trauma, though I cowardly hide the larger part of that side of myself from view. It comes out somewhat in the introductory anecdotes that start each section. Although Kondo considers the crafting of selves mostly in relation to ethnography, I maintain that it also pertains to embodied research. My dancing self most directly shaped my dance research, each maestro and maestra is embedded in my *brazeo* and *zapateado* as are all the other dance forms I have practiced. As with most flamenco dancers, I add my own “extra” quality, that personal touch, to my dancing as well as my writing. The written form I had the most experience in before returning to academia was poetry. I embrace my poetic tendencies in the pages that follow, striving for the poetic feel of the *letras*, the lyric forms, that shape flamenco. I use the form of a flamenco *baile* or dance, built around *cante* (singing). The *cante* is the sonic and poetic ground the dancer dances on. They answer it at points, mark time and carve space to give visual form to the words and sounds it creates.

This study’s *Entrada*, as with the *entrada* in a performance, searches for the tone, the musical note to start with. The introductory *estribillo* or chorus comes from *cantaor* Enrique Morente’s landmark 1996 punk, metal, flamenco fusion album *Omega*. It

adapted poet Federico Garcia Lorca's "Poema para los muertos" or "Poem for the Dead" recorded in the *palo* of *siguiriya*, a slow, dirge-like *palo* or rhythm in the twelve count rhythm family of flamenco. As with all of the lyrics I quote in each chapter, I try to use the words of the poem as sources for the writing of the piece, dancing with them not on top of them. The Primera Letra uses the lyric *por soleá*, another slow, somber twelve count *palo*, "Fui piedra y perdí mi centro" ("I was stone and I lost my center"), which also provided the inspiration for the title of my dissertation. This chapter asks: What is the center? When the center is lost, can it be recovered? I theorize with this lyric and the idea of the center, to lay the theoretical groundwork for the rest of the dissertation. The Segunda Letra shifts the mood slightly, and it would be an unconventional but not impossible choice for a staged choreography. It would most likely not appear in a structured improvisation. The rhythm of the *letra*, "Cuando suben y bajan los Andaluces" ("When the Andalusians go up and down") *por caracoles*, is a lively, up-beat, slightly faster twelve count *palo*, and this verse is sometimes referred to as "Caracoles de Madrid." Apart from the explicitly Madrileño lyric content, the tone of *caracoles* fits the fast pace of my selective history of Madrid, which speeds through many eras, tracing the "ups and downs" of Spanish politics and the Spanish economy, and migrations of Andalusians in and around Madrid.

The Escobilla or footwork chapter moves to the intricate work of the case studies in this dissertation, hammering out the details of the life of the dance studio Amor de Dios. This third chapter asks: Can a place survive relocation? By the term "place," I embrace the nexus of a building, its spatial affordances, and activities or events enacted

there; I elaborate this in the Primera Letra. Here, the analysis puts into conversation documents from both the private archive of former owner Juan Maria Martínez de Bourio Balanzategui and the municipal archives of the Villa de Madrid. Noise complaints become a theme, as they frequently accompany flamenco footwork. The Tercera Letra—“Na’ es eterno”—shifts to the fast paced *palo* of *bulerias*, since the late twentieth century a standard way to end a solo in most twelve count rhythms. It employs the lyric “Nothing is Eternal” which tells how one pain takes away another, to refer to the two disappeared places, Los Gabrieles and La Soleá. The case studies search for these places, sometimes in vain, in archives, online, and in local legend and discourse. They ask: What is lost when a place disappears? In these cases, the discourse, both online and in personal conversations, surrounding the shuttering of these locations reveals more about the nature of loss and the grieving of place than any archival document could. The *macho*, in traditional flamenco performances, increases the speed or tempo of the music and dance even more, accelerating just before the end of the piece and the exit of the dancer. In my chapter of the same name, the epigraph lyric “Esta noche mando yo” (“Tonight I Command”) speaks to the struggle over policing and regulation of flamenco places—in particular, of the nebulous after-hours period. It asks: Who rules the night? In the time after a business officially closes, when it becomes a purely social space for the enjoyment of owners, employees, and (former) clientele now converted to comrades by the end of commercial business hours, who should control what goes on in that space? Two larger case studies, focused on Corral de la Morería and Candela, as well as the more abbreviated studies of a few other major locations in my research area—Casa Patas, Villa

Rosa, Cardamomo, and Las Carboneras—complete the range of locations addressed.

In the *Ida*, the exit, and what serves as my conclusion, I draw once again from Garcia Lorca and a groundbreaking flamenco fusion album, *La leyenda del tiempo* by the great *cantaor* Camarón de la Isla. I expand from Lorca’s image of “the dream” floating on time like a sailboat. This conclusion asks: What is the dream of the center? Is it a kind of elastic continuity that is able to float on time? I propose several potential solutions, none of them absolute and all dependent upon multiple forms of intervention from both top-down— that is state or municipal, international organizations—and bottom-up sources, such as community organizing and collaboration of business owners. Both bookends to the dissertation reference flamenco fusion albums. Although the albums themselves are not necessarily associated with Madrid, their style and tendency towards fusion have proliferated on stages and in jam sessions there.

Now, the house lights fade and the audience goes silent. A sound pierces this quiet, this darkness, and cries out with the voice of the dead, of the remembered and the forgotten, both people and places. The dead haunt these pages as they haunt the physical sites both in memory and in the anguish of forgetting.

Entrada: Poema para los muertos
Entering the Space

No solloces. Silencio. Silencio, que no nos sientan
Se cayeron las estatuas
*Al abrirse la gran puerta.*⁴⁵

I do not remember exactly what day of the week it was. I know it was one of our last nights in Madrid the summer of 1998. I was twenty-one. It had to have been either a Sunday or Monday night, I think Casa Patas was closed. That was why we were walking down Calle Magdalena so late at night. We probably stayed behind packing. The sun sets so late in Madrid in the summer, dusk falls around ten at night. It was already dark when we were walking down Calle Magdalena. I was with one of my friends. Three of us had come to Madrid together to take classes at Amor de Dios. We had walked this way before, from the Atocha train stop down Calle Magdalena to La Soleá on Cava Baja. I was wearing the dress that my ex-boyfriend had bought for me. He broke into my apartment to take back that dress after we broke up and then used it as bait to lure me to his apartment. The dress was made of swimsuit material decorated with a pastel blue and pink tropical sunset. It tied in a halter on top like a bikini with a short skirt that hugged my hips. I did not notice the boys lurking in the doorway of one of the buildings that lined the street. We were approaching the main plaza of Tirso de Molina, still in the narrow stretch of Magdalena near Casa Patas. We were talking, I cannot remember what about. All of a sudden I tripped. One of the boys who had been watching us had run in

⁴ Translation: “Don’t weep. Silence. Silence, for we do not feel/The statues fell/ When the great door was opened.” Letra adapted for the 1996 album *Omega* by Enrique Morente and members of Lagartija Nick from the Federico Garcia Lorca poem “Poema para los muertos” or “Poem for the Dead.”

⁵ All translations by Theresa Goldbach unless otherwise noted in Bibliography.

front of me and crouched on the pavement to cause my fall. They had to be around twelve years old... children. Before I knew what was happening, one of his companions ran up behind me, pulled up my skirt and pulled down my panties. I momentarily froze from the shock, my buttocks bare, vulnerable. The boys laughed giving my exposed body a thumbs up. I pulled up my underwear and pulled off one of the clog shoes I was wearing, knock-off Candies so popular at the time (not very practical for running). I started hitting the kid over the head with my shoe and screaming at him. He laughed and pointed to the doorway. There were ten boys there ranging in age from twelve to sixteen. I froze. They stepped towards us. I told my friend to run and slipped off my other shoe. I ran barefoot, past the Teatro Nuevo Apolo, through the empty plaza (it had to have been a Sunday), all the way to Cava Baja. The boys threw fruit at us as we fled.

I start with this memory, a traumatic one, one of my most vivid memories. For much of the work that follows, I build on my own memories, over twenty years worth, of Madrid to give shape and color to the places I write about. I build on my bodily sensations, my emotions, to shape my theory and guide my narrative. I readily acknowledge that personal memory is not always reliable. Some memories fade. I cannot remember every single day I spent in Madrid anymore than any individual day I spent anywhere I have lived.⁶ There are moments that stick out. In the case of this opening moment, it is something I have never been able to forget though I have tried. It is a moment that leaps back, unexpected, across the twenty years into my present day being.

⁶ Upon returning to the United States in Fall 2017, I discovered my old journals from my time in Madrid in 2001 which helped not only remember my experiences there, but also, thanks to my obsessive budgeting, remember prices in pesetas of various things in Madrid in 2001.

That was not the first time I was attacked in a street nor the last time. It was not a moment particular to Madrid or particular to Tirso de Molina. That intersection near Casa Patas is known as a dangerous place. During my dissertation research in Madrid in the summer of 2017, my bartender friends at Patas frequently warned me not to walk down that way. I told them I knew to avoid it. I never told them why.

I start with trauma in an attempt to situate myself not only as a researcher, a writer, and an ethnographer but also as a woman. On reading through the following pages, I was struck by the accidental absence of gender. It peeks through occasionally but I fail to confront it directly. I had to question why this was. I believe it is because writing about gender implicates me too much for my own comfort. During my fieldwork, I was the weird girl at the bar furiously taking notes, present almost every night. No matter what I wore, baggy clothing, no makeup, glasses, my gender and my solitude marked me as unusual. I am naturally self-conscious and socially awkward with people I do not know. My reticence frequently clashes not only with my research but also with my need to prowl around at night, my hatred of being indoors alone after dark, my need for connection. This desire for connection and the impossibility of such connection colors my work in ways I do not dare describe. There are certain corners of my life I feel the need to keep hidden, people who need to be protected. Even in this age of #metoo, I have been unable to name my traumas, name the things that happened to me. I apologize for hiding things from this work. I hide my heartbreaks and my loves. I hide highs as well as lows.

I start with traumatic memory as a way in to thinking through memory and loss,

change and death. After I returned to the United States in fall of 2017, I was diagnosed with something called Complex Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (C-PTSD).⁷ I was told there is no cure for it, and in my case, medication would not help. Like regular PTSD, C-PTSD brings flashbacks, nightmares, insomnia, and fits of depression. C-PTSD can also cause problems with emotional regulation, mild dissociation, and a profound sense of isolation that has plagued me my entire life. These symptoms manifest primarily in my personal life, aggravating my alienation from others. I saw a therapist for almost a year before she left the practice. In that year, I mostly talked about current stresses, my PhD program, my writing, my family, my recent love life. I barely touched on any of the things that caused my condition. I never even told her about that night on Calle Magdalena. I forced myself to include it here as a way to force myself to write about these things. For me, separation of past, present, and future into discrete temporal frames can be difficult. Occasionally, the past, in form of traumatic memories or inexplicable emotional reactions, invades the present drowning out anything else happening in the moment, the present tense, obscuring possibilities for the future, for any future. Trauma writes itself into the brain: the trauma of violence and also the trauma of loss, of people and of places. In my experience, people remember the ends of things more than the quotidian routines.

I start with the painfully personal because all of my research is personal. All research is personal. Academic distance is an illusion. Scholars are also people, with personal lives. Perhaps because of my condition, I tend to intertwine the personal with the

⁷ For more information on C-PTSD or Complex Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, see the work of Bessel Van der Kolk in the book *The Body Keeps the Score* (2014).

professional more than most. I fill my notebooks from fieldwork with personal mullings, budgets, and letters I never send in addition to ethnographic observation and notes from conversations. Rather than look at this as a weakness, I try here to embrace it as a strength. Because of my personal experiences of Madrid and of flamenco, I possess a depth of experience beyond anything available in books or in a classroom. In embracing this positionality, I am working with the tradition of dance studies of scholars like Marta Savilgiano and Priya Srinivasan. I embrace Savigliano's blending of dramatic verse with a more prosaic academic analysis in her 1995 work *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion*. I embrace Srinivasan's persona of the "unruly ethnographer" who inserts herself into her work, interrupting and disrupting in her 2011 book *Sweating Saris*. The "unruly ethnographer" is all the more significant because the practice that anchors Srinivasan's book has been transmitted through a guru-student system of teaching where in students are tutored but not expected to interrupt or disrupt. I build on this desire to experiment with form and positionality while not sacrificing content. I also follow the tradition in flamencology of using personal experience as referents and the form of the *cante* as inspiration. This dissertation starts with theories of space, time, and the city, moves to the ups and downs of the flamenco history of Madrid, culminates in case studies of places, and ends in the search for solutions. Poetry and the personal are part and parcel of flamenco aesthetics and the tradition of flamencology. In my work, I concentrate on the public and semi-private spaces. I keep the private flamenco spaces of my experience, the apartments and bedrooms, hidden for the most part.

I start this introduction with my experience so that I do not need to expose the

privacy of anyone else. I purposefully hide names. I conceal the experiences of other women in flamenco in my own. Gender in flamenco is evolving onstage. Brilliant artists like Rocío Molina and Manuel Liñan are challenging expectations and expanding gender expression in flamenco in fantastic ways. However, in the social world of flamenco, change is not so easily achieved. A female dancer can have her reputation ruined and lose opportunities to perform if stories about her personal life and interactions with artists come to light. As of 2019 this remains a problem in flamenco. It is as much the fault of those who spread these stories as of the men who use women without thinking of the consequences. Since the sixties and the influx of American tourists to the country, Spaniards have often portrayed the stereotypical American woman as sexually available, often lacking interiority. I hope to restore those insides by exposing some of my own. I expose my feelings, positive and negative.

I start this dissertation with a memory of a beloved space in which something awful happened to avoid over-romanticizing the city. Cities can be wonderful marvelous spaces of possibilities. However, these possibilities include violence and loss as well as connection and discovery. One possibility does not erase the other, and the good does not excuse the bad. Both poles create the realm of the possible in the urban, like equally powerful magnets holding us all in their pull.

I start with the repetitive nature of traumatic memory to emphasize the repetition of daily life, of familiarity.

I start in the dark amongst the dead with the sounds of Enrique Morente's *Omega* echoing in my mind. This is the plaintive cry of the *siguiriyá*, the dirge, a bit of poetry

before the business of storytelling. I start with the people who are no longer in the spaces that remain, and the places gone forever. I start with the burden of memories of the dead or the merely absent. I start with the horror of forgetting, as though via the mental process of thinking of someone or some place I could preserve some part of them if only in a passing image, a thought or a song. I start here in the dark amongst the dead with the lament of loss, of sorrow, of loneliness. I begin with grief and trauma and try to find the light on the other side of the door.

1. Primera Letra
Fui piedra y perdí mi centro: Searching for the Center

*Fui piedra y perdí mi centro
y me arrojaron al mar
y a fuerza de mucho tiempo
mi centro vine a encontrar
fui piedra y perdí mi centro
y me arrojaron al mar*⁸

From 2001 until 2013, I stayed away from Madrid. My life and finances did not allow for cross-Atlantic travel. Couchsurfing and surviving on cigarettes and Coca-light lost its glamor for me in my thirties. Once I started graduate school and received funding to do research, I found my way back to Madrid, to Lavapiés, and to Tirso de Molina. The first time I landed in Madrid on an international flight in 1998, almost every passenger lit up a cigarette immediately upon exiting the plane. The customs line was shrouded in smoke. In 2017, smoking was no longer allowed in Barajas Airport. The customs and passport experience was a more streamlined process, clear signs pointed to lines for European Union citizens and lines for everyone else. “Parece que te gusta mucho a Madrid,” (Looks like you like Madrid a lot) quipped the young officer checking our passports. In 1998, my friends and I had caught a taxi, and even though at the time I claimed I did not speak Spanish, survival instinct ignited the Spanish from my childhood and dance experiences enough to communicate with the driver. In 2017, with my sister, I purchased the extended metro ticket and rode the Barajas line to Nuevos Ministerios switching to the blue line at Cuatro Caminos. When I lived there in 2001, I knew these

⁸ Translation: “I was stone and I lost my center/and [they] threw me into the sea/and by the passage of much time/ I came to find my center again/I was stone and I lost my center/and [they] threw me into the sea” (Letra of *soleá* attributed to singer La Serneta and recorded by La Niña de los Peines).

lines like the back of my hand, nimbly able to navigate around the city to different locations to teach English each day. I spent much of my daylight hours on the metro trains in those days. In 2017, the relief upon reaching the blue line, the line with the stops that I remember most, eased my anxiety over navigating for both of us. “Proxima estación: Tirso de Molina” (Next station: Tirso de Molina), the words feel like “welcome home.” As we drag our bags up from the bowels of the subway, once again, most of the passengers began to light cigarettes the minute we hit the last flight of stairs. Emerging from the haze, jet-lagged and sleep deprived to the point of inebriation, my eyes struggle to focus. Where am I? The Plaza spreads out in a triangular pattern, at least ten streets fanning out in stellar rays from the center. My sister expected me to lead the way, to take charge. I doubted myself for a few seconds, then I saw the Café Tirso de Molina, covered in Art Nouveau muraled panels, and the Panaderia we used to frequent. Then I knew. Almost without thinking, my body moved in the direction I needed to go, a corporeal navigation, a flesh memory of stone streets and buildings. I had located my center.

In this chapter, I build the foundations of the key theories that my case studies illustrate. Many of these theories revolve around the sometimes futile sometimes fruitful search for centers, ranging from metaphorical to material, for the grounding of memory, and/or identity. Centers can be theorized in multiple ways: spatially, temporally, mentally, physically, personally, economically, geographically, and imaginary. In uniting diverse theorists and disciplines, from philosophy to performance theory, from psychology and neuroscience to urban planning and economics, I reach towards a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the center. What does it mean to “lose the

center”? What does it mean to lose the center for a performance practice? What does it mean for Madrileño flamenco to lose its center? Once such a piece of an entity is lost, can it ever be restored?

I. Locating the Center: Centering Spacetime

Space, time, and the relation between them serve as a primary way of thinking through the idea of the center and centrality for this dissertation. How can different conceptions of space and modes of framing time alter what I call the monolithic totality of the center? Geographer David Harvey, in the chapter "Spacetime and the World" from his 2009 book *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*, asserted that space with regard to global politics “internalizes multiple meanings” and that the “spatial frame varies according to what is relativized and by whom.” (133, 135) He parsed concepts originally proposed by philosopher Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* (1974) to distinguish three different modalities or conceptions of space—Spaces of Practice, Representations of Space, and Spaces of Representations—that interrelate with three different theories of space and time (Absolute Space and Time, Relative Space-Time, and Relational Spacetime) (145). Harvey referred to the “Spaces of Practice” as “Spaces of Material Practice” to emphasize the materiality of production in these spaces whereas in *The Production of Space* Lefebvre used the term “Spatial Practice” to emphasize the activity of production (Harvey 145: Lefebvre 33). Lefebvre distinguished “mental” or “theoretical” space from “social space” which he claimed was a “(social) product.” (26) Here, the differences between “practice” per Lefebvre and “product” per Harvey become vital as one term implies activity and the other the result of this activity. An emphasis on

production and material products can obscure the active experience of space that an emphasis on practice can illuminate. Although production is a form of practice, in this dissertation I aim to draw attention to physical practices of space that might not aim at producing a material or even immaterial product. In *The Phenomenology of Perception* (1945), philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty centered this idea of the active experience of space on the bodily experience of space, as not “based on an act of thought [but] already built into my bodily structure and ... its inseparable correlative.” (164) He wrote of the body moving in space that it is “not limited to submitting passively to space and time [but] actively assumes them,” foregrounding the practice of movement as central to understanding space and time (117). Lefebvre described the spatial practice of the “spaces of practice” as ensuring the “continuity and some degree of cohesion” of social spaces (33). He included not only “one social space but... an unlimited multiplicity or uncountable set of social spaces which we refer to generically as ‘social space’” and that these social spaces “interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another.” (86) These theorists’ ontological references to activity, to multiplicity, to tangled conceptions and practices of space make the location of a spatial center, especially of a densely populated and constantly used urban space, difficult and necessarily—if not completely—subjective then at least relative. These theoretical constructs provide flexible frameworks that are general enough to apply to many different urban spaces, something more geographically limited constructs sometimes lack.

Harvey referenced Cartesian geometry to define the notion of Absolute Space and Time, and Einstein’s Theory of Relativity to shape Relative Space-Time. Of the third

conception of “spacetime” the author argued that “[r]elational spacetime implies... the idea of internal relations, and this... is fundamental to dialectical modes of analysis.”

(137) A dialectical mode of analysis would contain contradictions without necessarily trying to resolve them. Lefebvre proposed such a dialectical mode. In his critique of “traditional historiography,” the writing of history, he wrote that it “assumes that thought can perform cross-sections upon time, arresting its flow without too much difficulty; its analyses thus tend to fragment and segment temporality.” (110) Connecting the historiography of time to space Lefebvre continued, describing their inextricability:

the historical and diachronic realms and the generative past are forever leaving their inscriptions upon the writing-tablet... of space. The uncertain traces left by events are not the only marks on (or in) space: society in its actuality also deposits its script, the result and product of social activities... The space engendered by time is always actual and synchronic, and it always presents itself as of a piece; its component parts are bound together by internal links and connections themselves produced by time. (110)

Events, activity, and bodies all sew together the spacetime of locations to create places and the appearance of continuity or at the very least consistency to the person experiencing the place. In attempting to decipher any history of a place, these “component parts” (events, activities, bodies) form a web, whose nodes can be laced together by a narrative not to conceal a fragmented temporality but to emphasize its mosaic segmentation.

Harvey elaborated on the “event, process, or thing” that:

crystallizes out of a field of flows into what [philosopher Alfred North] Whitehead calls either ‘an event’ or ‘a permanence.’ By doing so ‘it’ internalizes everything going

on around it within that field of flows, in past, present, and even future. (137)⁹

Harvey located these “events” as not necessarily singular centers or end points of a singular process, but multiple centers, points floating in these shifting flows. He included “past, present, and even future” in the field of flows, troubling the idea of linear time. In *The Archive and the Repertoire* (2003), performance studies theorist Diana Taylor likewise troubled notions of linear time. She distinguished between “limit events” or “limit cases” (like September 11th) and the “nonevents” of daily life and asserted that “[l]imit cases signal models to which many disparate issues can be related, but only as illustration.” (273) Taylor referred to the “messy entanglements” of “hemispheric relations” and used an episodic form in her writing to “[try] to put limit events into conversation with the daily, noneventful enactments of embodied practice” as opposed to a linear narrative form in which “all of the elements [are] tightly interwoven to culminate in crisis and dénouement.” (274) In her discussion of limit events and nonevents, Taylor emphasized the multiple, simultaneous, and layered nature of nonevents and the episodic. (274) Although she does not use the term “spacetime” itself, theories of space and time for Taylor are inherently tied to the colonial history of the Americas and of the writing of history because of the domination of European written histories to explain the history of Latin America (16-19). Likewise, for decolonial scholar Walter D. Mignolo, the way in which space and time are conceived is a decolonial project. In *The Darker Side of Modernity* (2011), Mignolo asserted that “[t]he ‘where’ is not just a geographical

⁹ Many of Whitehead’s theories of space and time were published in the three volume *Principia Mathematica* written with Bertrand Russell. However, Harvey cited the treatment of Whitehead’s theories by political theory scholar Bertell Ollman in *Dialectical Investigations* (1993).

location, but geopolitical in the sense of how imperially made regions, beyond ‘natural environment,’ shape and conform people dwelling in that region.” (117) He explained how the concepts of “modernity” and “progress” relied upon a linear view of time with European colonial histories supplying a foundation (164). Mignolo’s theoretical version of the center would be the “zero point” which “is always in the present of time and the center of space,” and whose “imperiality consists precisely in hiding its locality.” (80) He critiqued the traditional Western view of history which centered colonial European powers and constructions of time, what he called “the colonial matrix of power,” as the zero point (208). In Mignolo’s view, multiple conceptions of interrelated space and time are necessary for a more decolonial, pluriversal epistemology (207). Performance studies theorist Rebecca Schneider, in *Performing Remains* (2011), with regard to Civil War reenactments in the US in the 2000s, similarly noted that:

[t]o trouble linear temporality—to suggest that time may be touched, crossed, visited or revisited, that time is transitive and flexible, that time may recur in time, that time is not one—never only one—is to court the ancient (and tired) Western anxiety over ideality and originality. (30)

Schneider emphasized the idea that different times can interact with each other via performance and historical (re)enactment. (31) Both Schneider and Mignolo question the idea of the “one true time” (Schneider 30; Mignolo 170). I suggest that—taking Schneider, Mignolo, Taylor, and Harvey together—any interpretation of the “event” and of spacetime in general, would therefore be dependent on the subjective position of the observer, as a zero point, and that such interpretations are always merely one of many possible options. Merleau-Ponty, who thought of events as “shapes cut out by a finite

observer from the spatio- temporal totality of the objective world” claimed that change presupposed such a zero point—although he termed it “the subject”—and that “there are no events without someone to whom they happen and whose finite perspective is the basis of their individuality.” (477) Is the center of any construction of spacetime a zero point? Then, as composer and narrator of this dissertation’s particular construction of Madrid’s center, am I the zero? If so, then I intend my emphasis on my subjective position in this dissertation to illuminate rather than conceal my positionality.

For Lefebvre, the spatiotemporal center—or rather the “form of centrality”—is empty. (399) Writing about the concepts of mental space and social space in the context of the city, but without stating where and when for the city, he claimed that only “[b]y becoming a locus of action, of a sequence of operations, this form [of centrality] acquires a *functional* reality” which is “always of the moment, contributing, along with form and function, to a practice.” (399) Lefebvre also cautioned that “[a]ny centrality, once established, is destined to suffer dispersal, to dissolve or to explode from the effects of saturation, attrition, outside aggressions, and so on... the ‘real’ can never become completely fixed, that it is constantly in a state of mobilization.” (399) The view that the center is partially ephemeral—but still partially fixed—aligns with Rebecca Schneider’s theory in *Performing Remains* of “remains” of performance and of the past:

“[R]emains” might be understood not solely as object or document material, but also as the immaterial labor of bodies engaged in and with that incomplete past: bodies striking poses, making gestures, voicing calls, reading words, singing songs, or standing witness... Or, such bodily labor might be ... a twenty-first-century body interacting with traces of *acts* as history (33)

This understanding of remains as sometimes immaterial labor, traces of acts, of practice relates to the conceptions of social space and social practice I previously described. In flamenco in general the best example of this would be the *juerga*, or informal jam session. A *juerga* can be convened anywhere, usually either at a private home or in the liminal space of the after hours of a bar or *tablao*. The participants form a makeshift *cuadro flamenco* usually in the form of a circle with performers entering and exiting the center. A *juerga* can last for days or just hours. Once the participants disperse, the space that was the *juerga* disappears but may be reformed at any time with available space. However, control mechanisms like noise ordinances and alcohol regulation necessarily limit the potential for reforming the *juerga*. The spacetime of the *juerga* is thus fixed upon both a specific event and a floating potential, a possible formation of flamenco social practice.

“Space” and “Time” serve as the primary mental constructions with which human beings in the Western World attempt to center themselves in the twenty-first century. I try to understand “Space” and “Time” not as simple x and y axes upon which distinct events are plotted. Rather I understand them as intersecting and overlapping layers, that vary from place to place and person to person sometimes matching up to an external, measurable system but sometimes also distorting, elongating or expanding at certain points then contracting back into themselves. They create multiple centers, moments and locations of condensed memories and complex meanings each of which form their own portion of stories, always plural. In the next few chapters I will tell many stories of Madrid, wherein my analysis zooms in and out of the historic city center, focusing on

specific places, spreading out the lives of these places, sometimes offering only a cross section or a historic anecdote, in regard to the ongoing lifespan of an active locale, sometimes providing an obituary or eulogy, summarizing—and necessarily abbreviating—the life of a dead place in Madrid’s center.

II. Remembering the Center: Memory Studies

According to neuroscience, philosophy, and memory studies, human perceptions of spacetime are necessarily connected to the human faculty of memory and the sense of personal identity. Memory forms the center for the construction of a sense of personal time as well as the foundation of identity. Per Harvey in *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*, “[m]emories and dreams are the stuff” of the fusion of spacetime (137). To underline the social nature of memory and its relation to the ideas of space and place, he pointed to the instance of many people gathered in a room who bring with them “a vast array of past experiences, memories, and dreams accumulated directly or indirectly (through reading, for example) from their engagements with the world, as well as a wide array of anticipations and hopes about the future.” (137) Psychiatrist and trauma theorist Bessel Van der Kolk, writing in the 2000s in *The Body Keeps the Score* (2014), foregrounded the social nature of memory writing that “the social environment interacts with brain chemistry.” (34) Neuroscientist Antonio Damasio in *The Feeling of What Happens* (1999) linked the process of remembering and sensory input to the production of emotions. Based on his research into the science of consciousness, he cited examples of “when the organism takes in the sight of a familiar face or place” and “conjures up from memory certain objects and situations and represents them as images

in the thought process—for instance, remembering the face of a friend and the fact she has just died” as such demonstrations of this link (56). Damasio also cited memory as central to the faculty of “extended consciousness” (as opposed to core consciousness, grounded in the present moment). He maintained that this faculty extended “both backward and forward. The here and now is still there, but it is flanked by the past, as much past as you may need to illuminate the now effectively, and, just as importantly, it is flanked by the anticipated future.” (95) In this view, extended consciousness thus relates to “working memory” of events occurring in a relatively brief past and also to “autobiographical memory” or memory of the life of what Damasio referred to as “the organism.” He asserted that “[t]he autobiographical self hinges on the consistent reactivation and display of selected sets of autobiographical memories.” (196) Thus, my conception of who I am, my sense of personal identity, is connected more to what I remember of my life, of the places I have been, the people I have interacted with, than necessarily where and when I happen to be at any given moment.¹⁰

Writing about performance, memory and identity in North American and European performance art in *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (1993), performance theorist Peggy Phelan observed that “[o]ne’s own origin is both real and

¹⁰ While Damasio only examined cases of physical trauma to the brain, Van de Kolk focussed on psychological trauma resulting from child abuse, imprisonment, and war. In the case of the psychologically traumatized, those suffering from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, the past can remain even more significant than the present moment. Even when we are out of danger, no longer exposed to the threats, the situations, or the events that traumatized us, individuals with forms of PTSD can still feel in danger and are often unable to feel safe, whether or not explicit traumatic memories are activated. Van der Kolk explained this phenomenon as originating in the body, in the physical sensations and reactions called up by even unconscious reminders of the trauma writing that “the imprints of traumatic experiences are organized not as coherent logical narratives but in fragmented sensory and emotional traces: images, sounds, and physical sensations.” (176)

imagined.” (4) She elaborated on this mental, almost dissociative relation between the self and the conception of the self that “the ‘I’ cannot be witnessed by the ‘eye’” and “[t]he process of self-identity is a leap into a narrative that employs seeing as a way of knowing.” (5) Phelan employed the analogy of the “after-image” which she described as “a shadow of an image which remains on the retina for a brief second after the image has actually vanished from the visual field ([making] the perception of cinematic continuity possible),” to cite the psychological phenomenon of the “‘trace’ of a psychic event [which] remains in the unconscious” allowing for a broader, lived sense of continuity (14). In this view, the perception of the present depends upon memory for even the semblance of personal narrative cohesion. For Phelan, however, the “live” nature of performance in the “maniacally charged present” of late twentieth century Euro-American art was the main focus, not necessarily the coexistence of past and present or the difficulty distinguishing the two (140). Rebecca Schneider in 2011 questions the idea of “liveness,” citing Phelan—as well as Gertrude Stein’s quip about the “syncopated time” of theatre—and asking:

Is the live really only a matter of temporal immediacy, happening only in an uncomplicated now, a “transitory” present, an im-mediate moment? Is a “maniacally charged present” not punctuated by, syncopated with, indeed charged by other moments, other times? (92)

In a vein similar to Schneider, my experience of Madrid in 2017 builds on my experiences in 1996, 1998, 2001, 2013, and 2015, almost as though phantom selves walk alongside me leaving me traces to follow, syncopating my footsteps. Still further, 2017 depends on the previous years and previous selves not only for knowledge of the

environment but for knowledge of the self, for actions, decisions, and reactions.

In *How Societies Remember* (1989) memory theorist Paul Connerton wrote of this constant presence (or “present”) of the past, without stipulating specific societies, that:

We experience our present world in a context which is causally connected with past events and objects, and hence with reference to events and objects which we are not experiencing when we are experiencing the present...Hence the difficulty of extracting our past from our present: not simply because present factors tend to influence—some might want to say distort—our recollections of the past, but also because past factors tend to influence, or distort, our experience of the present.(2)

In Connerton’s view, the present shapes the past while the past shapes the present to create a deceptively seamless appearance. They center the current physical moment, where my body is right now, for instance, but do not erase everywhere else it has been and will be in the future. However, what happens when the past and present cannot build upon each other due to erasures? What happens when central defining people and places disappear from the life of the “organism”? In *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (1996) theatre scholar Joseph Roach explored “the three-sided relationship of memory, performance, and substitution” which he referred to as “surrogation,” occurring in communities to suture over such absences (2). Addressing London and New Orleans and the circulations between them in the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, he theorized how surrogation occurs:

the process of surrogation does not begin or end but continues as actual or perceived vacancies occur in the network of relations that constitutes the social fabric. Into the cavities created by loss through death or other forms of departure, I hypothesize, survivors attempt to fit satisfactory alternates. Because collective memory works

selectively, imaginatively, and often perversely, surrogation rarely if ever succeeds... The fit cannot be exact.(2)

Even in surrogation, Roach suggests that the palpable feeling of discontinuity, of something that is not quite right, remains despite attempts to reconcile the new alternative. The absences echo in the present as disembodied phantoms of people and places haunting our lives just out of view. In the instance of urban places, absences alter the way our bodies navigate the cityscape. Roach appropriated the term “kinesthetic imagination” to describe the role of body memory in performance and in the life of communities (26). He wrote that “[a]s a faculty of memory, the kinesthetic imagination exists interdependently but by no means coextensively with other phenomena of social memory: written records, spoken narratives, architectural monuments, built environments.” (38) Roach here argued that body memory and place memory do work together, that multiple forms of memory (some personal, some social) intertwine in the relationship between body memory and place memory. Thinking back to Merleau-Ponty, I propose that it is the place of my body in space that determines what I call the “present,” my perception of the “now” to a certain extent, shaped by the places it has been and shaping where it will go in the future.

Philosopher Edward S. Casey in *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (1987) also pointed to the centrality of body memories in reconciling present and past as “not just memories of the body but instances of remembering places, events, and people with and in the lived body.” (xi) Casey primarily wrote about his own experience of remembering and theories of memory and consciousness from philosophy and psychoanalytic theory. He tied body memories to place memory as inherent and wrote

that “the pivotal phenomenon is place memory, that is, the fact that concrete places retain the past in a way that can be reanimated by our remembering them” (xi). Casey and other place theorists distinguish between empty space, place, territory, and region, and they lay much more emphasis on the phenomenological experience of place than on any of the other categories. David Harvey, however, argued in *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* for “many points of overlap” between these categories and invoked the concept of “landscape” in Western Apache culture as described by anthropologist Keith Basso to demonstrate this overlap. In *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (1996), Basso explored the dependence of language on the physical landscape to create meaning in Western Apache culture. Harvey argued:

The permanence of places in the landscape, coupled with stories about those places, provides a means to perpetuate a cultural identity... We here encounter, in the symbolic dimension, a dialectic between the social and environmental aspects of experience in place and mental attachments to a territorialized landscape. (175)

It is important to note how little attention Native American theory has received from Euro-American theorists. Harvey goes on to define “places” as “sites of collective memories that hold out the prospects for different futures.” (179) This is one of the key functions that places can serve in both individual and collective memories, points where spacetime collapses to almost tangibly reach across years to bridge gaps between past, present, and future. Sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel explored the ideas of “past” and “present” and the vagaries of both social and individual memories in his 2003 book *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*, which drew on examples

from multiple eras and areas around the world.¹¹ He referred to the process of connecting past and present, seemingly localizable in places as “mental bridging” which he defined as “the mnemonic effort to integrate temporally noncontiguous manifestations of what we nevertheless consider ‘the same’ entity” (40). Zerubavel theorized the most effective mental bridging as “establishing a connection that allows them to almost literally touch one another” and cited “[c]onstancy of place” as an example of this:

even as we ourselves undergo dramatic changes both individually and collectively, our physical surroundings usually remain relatively stable. As a result, they constitute a reliable locus of memories and often serve as major foci of personal as well as group nostalgia. (41)

Writing nearly twenty years ago, Zerubavel’s focus was on memory of history and place, not on change over time or shifting of geography due to climate change. On the other hand, philosopher Michel De Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), like Roach, negotiated the concepts of memory and forgetfulness together not as opposing forces but as mutually supportive operations. De Certeau emphasized both the ephemerality of place memory and its persistence in stories and legends, stating that “[t]he dispersion of stories points to the dispersion of the memorable as well... memory is a sort of anti-museum: it is not localizable. Fragments of it come out in legends.” (108) He claimed that stories and legends “haunt urban space like superfluous or additional inhabitants.” (106) Here, the delicate almost fragile nature of social and personal

¹¹ Zerubavel explored what he referred to as “sociomental topography of the past” rather than any historical or geographic specifics. (2) He included numerous examples of historical memory and historiography of memory throughout the book ranging from Israel in the 1980s, Bulgarian national holidays, the Roman Empire, Versailles after the French Revolution, the presidency of Jimmy Carter, the conflict over Kosovo in the 1990s, and pharaonic Egypt to name just a few. Zerubavel referred to these examples as “cross-contextual evidence.” (10)

memory, tied to place defies both preservation and extermination. Can memory be both “localizable” and dispersed? I argue in subsequent chapters that social memory of a community can distort the passage of time and be stubbornly tied to specific places. Conversely, as members of the group to whom the place was special die out or leave the area, so too do the memories, stories, and legends that preserve the ghostly presence of the place disappear although the physical space (the empty blocks of real estate) may remain behind.

Many scholars refer to physical spaces that house layers of previous places within their walls as “palimpsests,” a term used in literature studies of texts which are physically written over multiple times. Of these kinds of (usually) urban spaces, De Certeau continued that “[i]n this place that is a palimpsest, subjectivity is already linked to the absence that structures it as existence and makes it ‘be there’.” (109) Writing about New York’s Times Square, Buenos Aires and Berlin in the 1990s, German literature scholar Andreas Huyssen also employed the idea of the palimpsest in his 2003 *Presents Past* to describe the alternate urban geographies of memory, writing that:

we have come to read cities and buildings as palimpsests of space, monuments as transformable and transitory, and sculpture as subject to the vicissitudes of time... an urban imaginary in its temporal reach may well put different things in one place: memory of what was there before, imagined alternatives to what there is. (7)

I would here underline the limited nature of urban spaces, the bounded idea of a city center. This closed area and the commodity exchange of the physical, Absolute Space of urban centers to make room for new places entails the erasure of older places, a necessary precondition for the creation of an urban palimpsest. Such erasure or disappearance can

sometimes for the community who used the place feel like a death, a traumatic event. Huyssen characterized this trauma as “a psychic phenomenon... located on the threshold between remembering and forgetting, seeing and not seeing, transparency and occlusion, experience and its absence in repetition.” He cautioned, however, against “collaps[ing] all memory into trauma” which he claimed, “would unduly confine our understanding of memory, marking it too exclusively in terms of pain, suffering, and loss.” Huyssen argued that “[m]emory, whether individual or generational, political or public, is always more than just the prison house of the past.” (8) However, studies of at least personal trauma—as Van der Kolk would counter, reveal that repression of trauma does not resolve it any more than forced confrontation.¹² Perhaps allowing the past to visibly exist in the present in urban space, not plastered over but not confined in static monuments, could free it from a “prison of trauma.”

Performance scholars Diana Taylor and Rebecca Schneider might argue that performance is a key method for remembering the past and expressing trauma.¹³ Flamenco tends to “preserve” its ghosts in gesture and quotation. Place names label specific rhythms and lyrics. Dancers frequently quote or allude to the great Carmen Amaya in certain marking steps or Antonio Gades with a defined, linear pose in the *farruca*. However, despite these embodied and musical memories, facility in the form

¹² Van der Kolk claimed both that “the act of telling the story doesn’t necessarily alter the automatic physical and hormonal responses of bodies that remain hypervigilant, prepared to be assaulted or violated at any time.” (21) But he also cited psychiatrist Elvin Semrad’s work, writing that “[h]ealing... depends on experiential knowledge: You can be fully in charge of your life only if you can acknowledge the reality of your body, in all its visceral dimensions.” (27)

¹³ See Taylor’s chapters “Scenarios of Discovery” on the conquest of Mexico by the Spanish (53-78) and “Memory as Cultural Practice” on the figure of the *mestiza* in Mexican cultural memory (79-109) and Schneider’s chapter “Reenactment and relative pain” (32-60) on Civil War reenactments.

springs from being able to (re)interpret and (re)imagine flamenco in one's own style, linked to the past but not a rote repetition of it. Innovation and stylization, a kind of kinesthetic palimpsest, are possible at the same time as homage, history and memory in my view. One of the key ways this obverse pull can be achieved is through a continuity of social connection. Fixity is not the same thing as stagnation, and neither is a necessary component of continuity. New figures, new places, new sounds and movement ideas fit into the flamenco icon pantheon without displacing or replacing older memories. I maintain that because flamenco is ultimately a practice of space, the most fertile flamenco places around the world, like many urban spaces, are those that can house both old and new, expert and dilettante, insider and outsider.

III. Planning the Center: City Centers

De Certeau described the “practices of space” in urban centers as “refer[ring] to a specific form of operations (‘ways of operating’), to ‘another spatiality,’ (an ‘anthropological,’ poetic and mythic experience of space), and to an opaque and blind mobility characteristic of the bustling city.” (93) He distinguished between the “migrational, or metaphorical” city and the “clear text of the planned and readable city.” (93) What is the “text” of Madrid’s center? Can it be read? Huyssen argued of the urban palimpsest that “literary techniques of reading historically, intertextually, constructively, and deconstructively at the same time can be woven into our understanding of urban spaces as lived spaces that shape collective imaginaries.” (7) De Certeau notably employed the literary terms “synecdoche” and “asyndeton” to describe how pedestrians “write” (or, as I would put it, choreograph) their pathways through the city. (101)

However, De Certeau also acknowledged that the urban space of the modern city—what he called the “panorama-city” in *The Practice of Everyday Life* in reference to New York City—is meticulously planned to be read a certain way. (93) In a city like Madrid, more than a thousand years old, as the *Segunda Letra* discusses, the older center becomes surrounded and written over by different ideas of what the city should be, whether these new authors are monarchs, dictators, corporations, or merely bureaucrats. The actual Madrileño residents have less and less control over the story that is told.

What is “the urban” and what unique properties does it contain compared to other types of inhabited space— including rural and suburban? Urban theorists and planners who focused on the city, from the late nineteenth through the early twenty-first century, first in Europe and America and later globally, dealt with the idea of the city or “urban space” as a “center” as indicated in the anthology *Readings in Planning Theory* (2016) and the introductory survey by Susan Fainstein and James DeFilippis of the history of the field. (1-18) These were centers of population, commerce, culture, and transportation.

Lefebvre described the centralizing tendency of urban space:

Urban space gathers crowds, products in the markets, acts and symbols. It concentrates all these, and accumulates them. To say ‘urban space’ is to say centre and centrality, and it does not matter whether these are actual or merely possible, saturated, broken up or under fire, for we are speaking here of a dialectical centrality. (*The Production of Space* 101)

He wrote on the concept of the dialectical centrality of the urban in the 1970 book *Urban Revolution*, which theorized about postindustrial or urban society in general without geographic specificity. (2) Lefebvre observed that “the urban center fills to saturation; it

decays or explodes. From time to time, it reverses direction and surrounds itself with emptiness and scarcity,” and he portrayed the urban as unstable and in constant flux (39). The dialectical at times contradictory relationship between flux and the desire for stability in the urban, much like the tension between memory and forgetting, feeds into sentimental attachment to places in urban space. Of the more sentimental attachment to these places, Lefebvre asserted that in urban space:

anything can become a home, a place of convergence, a privileged site, to the extent that every urban space bears within it this possible-impossible, its own negation—to the extent that every urban space was, is, and will be concentrated and poly(multi)centric. The shape of the urban space evokes and provokes this process of concentration and dispersion: crowds, colossal accumulation, evacuation, sudden ejection. (39)

In Lefebvre’s telling, the multiplicity of places in the urban develops as an automatic response to the constant disappearance of places. The urban center(s) seems to create these contradictions between continuity and breakage, permanence and ephemerality.

David Harvey in *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* related this tension to the active nature of cities in general in which permanences—“absolute spaces with an internal ordering” within the flows of “relative space-time”—“become foci of innovative activities and new global imaginaries—relationalities—that transform the spatio-temporal forms and the socio-ecological dynamics going on around them.” (191)

He related the impossible nature of permanences to the economic life of the city:

Phenomena like urban growth, changing regional divisions of labor, deindustrialization, gentrification, regional class alliance formation, and the like are products of this process [the circulation of capital]. Place-making and the production of uneven geographical development go hand in

hand. (197-198)

Extrapolating from Harvey and Lefebvre, I suggest that by its very centralizing nature, the urban and the places it contains bring about their own destruction under capitalism. The formation of the urban, as described by Harvey and Lefebvre, is a deliberate process, ostensibly directed by city planners and municipal administration. De Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life* described the city as “provid[ing] a way of conceiving and constructing space on the basis of a finite number of stable, isolatable, and interconnected properties.”(94) Of the sometimes dispassionate, “‘speculative’ and classificatory,” organization of this space, he asserted that:

On the one hand, there is a differentiation and redistribution of the parts and functions of the city, as a result of inversions, displacements, accumulations, etc.; on the other there is a rejection of everything that is not capable of being dealt with in this way and so constitutes the ‘waste products’ of a functionalist administration (abnormality, deviance, illness, death, etc.). To be sure, progress allows an increasing number of these waste products. (94)

Here, ephemerality and permanence, construction and destruction form the foundations of urban space. De Certeau understood the dialectic of construction-destruction in the urban as a product of “the functionalist organization” of city planning, which “by privileging progress (i.e., time), causes the condition of its own possibility—space itself—to be forgotten.”(95) Urban planning scholars Susan Fainstein and Robert Beauregard in the anthology *Readings in Planning Theory* (2016) detailed alternative methods and guidelines in the twenty-first century that city planners could follow to more “justly” develop urban spaces around the world. In his chapter, “The Neglected Places of Practice,” Beauregard noted theories of place as essential to this criticism. They “propose

an alternative understanding which infuses place with attachments and meanings, part of an integrated set of social relations that involve identity, history, memory, and moral attachments” (287). He pointed to the desire for a legibility or representability of urban space in the history of planning, which “can be organized around the need to create stable and actionable representations – ichnographic maps, GIS displays – of space and place” (287). This legibility does not take into account the specificity of place in urban sociality. Beauregard emphasized the social nature of place, asserting that “[u]nlike space, places exist because people and things occupy them, give them shared meanings, and situate them in collective memory. Places are not empty but rather filled.” (288) He implied that prospective city maps and designs often fail to include the social, human, or communal layers in their planning. A plan of urban space that notes important social centers and weighs them as more than just the buildings in which they reside might help to bring more “just” city planning and real estate development.

Do city planners bear sole responsibility for justice in the construction and destruction of places in the urban space internationally? Is destruction of place inevitable in the city? Urban planning theorist Edward Soja in *Postmodern Geographies* (1989) proposed that this “sequence of urban spatializations is cumulative, with each phase containing traces of earlier geographies,” and that “already formed urban spatial divisions of labour... do not disappear so much as become selectively rearranged.” (175) Soja, citing Doreen Massey’s geological metaphor of sedimentation for the global division of labor, noted that “the specifically urban spatializations can also be seen as ‘layered’ one on top of the other to reflect pronounced shifts in the geographies of investment,

industrial production, collective consumption, and social struggle.” (175) He described this sedimentation as “more complex and labyrinthine than a simple layering, for each cross-section contains representations of the past as well as the contexts for the next round of restructuring.” (175) In the *Readings on Urban Theory* anthology, American urban planning scholar John Friedman also employed a geological metaphor of erosion when he called “the forces of contemporary life that steadily eat away at our sense of being anywhere at all, erasing our sense of place ... entropic.” (504) In his chapter “Place and Place-Making in Cities: A Global Perspective,” Friedman described the formation of urban places as initiating through “reiterative social practices.” (508) He added to these “characteristics of urban places... [which encompass] reiterative social practices, inclusiveness, performability, dynamic quality,” the premise that “the place must be small, inhabited, and come to be cherished or valued by its resident population for all that it represents or means to them.” (509) Friedman asserted attachment to place as “constitutive of place” and noted that it “is a subjective, invisible attribute.” (509) He argued that “whether it’s slum clearance or gentrification, the results are the same: the erasure of places is a violent act, as established patterns of human relationships are destroyed.” (512) He rejected conventional reasoning that “older and often overcrowded parts of the city must inevitably be redeveloped, that no place is forever” contending that this erasure “is not a natural phenomenon but a consequence of human action” and that it “is actual people who make these decisions, who tell the bulldozers to move in and do their dirty work.” (512) By refusing to accept the inevitability of the erasure of place, Friedman put the social responsibility for the preservation or at least the maintenance of

the continuity of these places in the hands not only of planners but of developers and the construction industry in general.

Which urban places “deserve” preservation? Do places that serve alcohol or are tied to other control substances merit any protection? Writing in 1970, sociologist Richard Sennett described the role that such places had in— especially working class— communities in the postindustrial United States and the class-based drive to remove them during the 1960s. He maintained that “the urban renewal of working-class neighborhoods is also destroying gathering spots... there has been destruction of arenas for social interchange—little bars, shops, and pool halls—because of a middle-class vision of what a comfortable and secure place should really be.” (77) In addition to gathering people together for social interchange, these places serve as what Roach would call “behavioral vortices of the cityscape.” (28) He described the vortex as—“a kind of spatially induced carnival, a center of cultural self-invention through the restoration of behavior.” Into these places:

the magnetic forces of commerce and pleasure suck the willing and unwilling alike. Although such a zone or district seems to offer a place for transgression... in fact what it provides is far more official: a place in which everyday practices and attitudes may be legitimated, ‘brought out into the open,’ reinforced, celebrated, or intensified. When this happens, what I will be calling condensational events result. The principal characteristic of such events is that they gain a powerful enough hold on collective memory that they will survive the transformation or the relocation of the spaces in which they first flourished. (28)

Roach pointed to the ability of such events to survive relocation of these spaces. In the Escobilla, I trace the relocation of the dance studios Amor de Dios, which did survive

transplantation but not without many difficulties and the loss of an intangible sense of “magic” according to those who knew the old location (Per personal conversation with La Uchi 4 September 2017: “*había mucha magia allá*”— “there was a lot of magic there”). The ability to retain the community that supported the place helped bridge the break in physical space. We might consider such places as special locations, not interchangeable, and necessary for the life of a community, what urban planning scholar Richard E. Klosterman called “public goods.” In his chapter in *Readings in Urban Theory* (2016), “Arguments for and Against Planning,” Klosterman defined public goods by two characteristics:

(i) ‘jointed’ or ‘non-rivalrous’ consumption such that, once produced, they can be enjoyed simultaneously by more than one person; and (ii) ‘non-excludability’ or ‘non-appropriability’ such that it is difficult (in some cases impossible) to assign well-defined property rights or restrict consumer access. (171)¹⁴

The 2011 UNESCO declaration of flamenco as “Intangible Cultural Heritage” included the informal flamenco sociality of what the declaration refers to as “the club.”¹⁵ the declaration stated that “[t]ransmission occurs through dynasties, families, social groups and Flamenco clubs, all of which play a key role in its preservation and dissemination.” (“Decision of the Intergovernmental Committee: 5. Com.6.39” UNESCO website) By using the word sociality, I approximate the way flamencologist Cristina Cruces Roldán used the Spanish word *sociabilidad*. In the context of flamenco, *sociabilidad* is better translated as sociality or group social interaction, than sociability which can also describe

¹⁴ Single quotation marks appear in the original text.

¹⁵ The Trump Administration decision to withdraw the US from UNESCO (made in 2017 and put into effect in 2019) should be noted. (See AP News 4 November 2017).

an individual personality trait or connote garrulousness. I interpret the inclusion of flamenco sociality by UNESCO as fulfilling Klosterman's preconditions for a public good. Klosterman pointed to the "fundamental problem" for public goods as "the interdependence between individual actions and the accompanying disjunction between individual benefits and costs and social benefits and costs." He suggested government action to "deal with the public and external effects which are neglected in the pursuit of individual gain." (173) In the cases of Amor de Dios and Los Gabrieles (Tercera Letra), the only individual gain from their displacement was to the real estate corporations who bought and sold the buildings. In the case of Los Gabrieles, with nearly a century of communal roots, the social cost is impossible to measure.

Short of a quantifiable monetary value assigned to social practice, can the value of such places ever be measured by the state or by a UNESCO-like organization? Lefebvre in "The Right to the City" (1968) theorized the competing values of community versus state/capitalist interest in urban space as "the right to the city." In his 2013 book *Rebel Cities*, which surveyed gentrification of cities around the world, David Harvey claimed that the right to the city was: "a collective rather than an individual right, since reinventing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization." (4) He argued that the "creative destruction" of urban places "nearly always has a class dimension, since it is usually the poor, the underprivileged, and those marginalized from political power that suffer first and foremost from this process." (16) Harvey placed the "authorship" of the places of the city in the hands of those who eventually lose these places, those who "create an interesting and stimulating

everyday neighborhood life [and] lose it to the predatory practices of the real estate entrepreneurs, the financiers and upper class consumers bereft of any urban social imagination.” (78) I suggest that the creation of places like Casa Patas, Los Gabrieles, and Amor de Dios could be attributed to a “flamenco” social imagination grounded in the urban hub of Madrid, based on a mobile flamenco sociality, overlapping at times with capitalist interests but often times at odds with the system.

IV. Selling the Center: Capitalism, Urbanization, and Flamenco

Commodification

Harvey in *Rebel Cities* emphasized the interrelatedness of urbanization and capitalism, asserting that urbanization “is about the perpetual production of an urban commons (or its shadow- form of public spaces and public goods) and its perpetual appropriation and destruction by private interests.” (80) He contended that “[q]uality of urban life has become a commodity for those with money, as has the city itself” (14) and that a “process of displacement and dispossession... lies at the core of the urban process under capitalism.” (18) Harvey based much of his analysis and criticism of urban development in the late twentieth century in Karl Marx’s definitions and usage of the concept of value. In *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (2009), he elaborated on Marx’s definition of value as a social relation that it also “internalizes the whole history and geography of concrete labors in the world market.” (150) In his 2018 book *Marx, Capital, and the Madness of Economic Reason*, Harvey also employed Marx’s definition of capital as value in motion, surmising that “[t]he circulation and accumulation of capital occurs in a specific organisation of space and time even as it

simultaneously defines and redefines the times and spaces within which it moves.” (131) Similar in kind to the process Harvey articulated, these flows and choreographies of capital in an urban space like Madrid seem to inevitably draw a version of the city, a version of Spain itself, across the antique architecture and cobblestone streets of the center, writing over alternate versions in the process.

Soja, in *Postmodern Geographies* and referring to Lefebvre, outlined the operation of capital in the urban space, detailing how the dominant relations of production “are reproduced in a concretized and created spatiality that has been progressively ‘occupied’ by an advancing capitalism, fragmented into parcels, homogenized into discrete commodities, organized into locations of control.” (92) In both Soja’s and Lefebvre’s estimations, capitalist urbanization tends to separate out segments of the city in opposition to the concentrating pull of the urban center. Richard Fogelson, an urban studies theorist of US and Floridian urban planning, in the *Readings in Urban Theory* anthology, termed this operation “the central contradiction of capitalist urbanization” which he defined as “the contradiction between the social character of land and its private ownership and control.” (112) One problematic byproduct of private ownership of urban space is rent, both of residential and business properties. In *Marx, Capital, and the Madness of Economic Reason* (2018), Harvey used Marx’s assertion “that capitalism cannot possibly function without its own distinctive form of land rent” to surmise that:

What [Marx] did not anticipate was that new forms of capitalist rent might also evolve within the evolutionary structures of capitalism and that rent-seeking might go well beyond that which he found both necessary and functional

as well as politically tolerable for a mature form of capitalist development. (37)

In *Rebel Cities*, Harvey related rent to the ambience or local personality of a city and the tourism industry insisting that “[t]he ambience and attractiveness of a city... is a collective product of its citizens, but it is the tourist trade that commercially capitalizes upon that common to extract monopoly rents.” (74) In *Marx, Capital, and the Madness of Economic Reason*, he expanded upon this correspondence between geographical specificity—or what I would term fixity—versus geographical mobility and capital, calling it “an important tension centred around fixed capital of an immoveable [sic] kind.” (149) Harvey related geographical fixity to cultural meaning describing how without such fixity “[t]he rootedness of cultural meanings becomes less secure, open to casual reconstructions in accord with contemporary fantasies. Identities float in a sea of transitory and ephemeral attachments.” (199) I read flamenco in Madrid through Harvey’s lens. Already a moved, mobile, migrant form, when robbed of the few defining places in the city, the flamenco centers of Madrid, flamenco becomes a floating identity, easy to appropriate, to misinterpret, to mistranslate, and to commodify, and it can potentially lose culturally and socially specific meanings.

Flamencology provides frameworks for analyzing the socially specific meanings of flamenco. Flamencologist Cristina Cruces Roldán, in her 2002 work on the social aspects of flamenco, *Antropología y flamenco (Más allá de la música I)*, insisted that any analysis of flamenco sociality or *sociabilidad* in general required a methodological framework that examines three variables: “Its level of institutionalization and formalization... [t]he degree of participation and the links between the parts that integrate

them... [t]he distinction between... the *use value* of flamenco expression, and its *exchange value*, once converted into commodity” (24)¹⁶ Cruces Roldán applied Marx’s terminology to flamenco, creating the terms *flamenco de uso* or “use flamenco” and *flamenco de cambio* or “exchange flamenco.” She defined *institutionalized flamenco sociality* as occurring “when the [flamenco] social interaction is manifested in the heart of predetermined frameworks” and the *not* or *non-institutionalized flamenco sociality* as being “without any other objective but the very search for interaction.” (25)¹⁷ Her examples of an institutionalized or structured flamenco sociality mainly revolve around flamenco presented on a stage, theatrical stage or in a *tablao*. The noninstitutionalized flamenco sociality occurs mostly in private homes or private parties but can also be found in the *juerga* or even in a flamenco bar without a formal stage.

Of her second analytical variable, the degree of participation, Cruces Roldán placed on one end of a continuum the flamenco of the stage or what she referred to as “the flamenco-spectacle,” with “the figure of the exclusive spectator, without engagement in the ritual, for he that participation will not exist,” and at the other extreme the family fiesta with “absolute participation... where *all are flamencos* (even though all may not be technically capable of executing the singing, dancing, or playing), in a situation of

¹⁶ Original text: “La pluralidad de ritualizaciones del flamenco requiere un marco metodológico que contemple y analice, al menos, tres variables: 1.- Su nivel de institucionalización y formalización 2.- El grado de participación y los vínculos entre las partes que los integran 3.- La distinción entre lo que denominaremos el *valor de uso* de la expresión flamenca, y su *valor de cambio*, una vez que ésta se convierte en mercancía.” (24)

¹⁷ Original text: “1.- Respecto al nivel de institucionalización y formalización que se alcanza en dichos rituales, hablamos de sociabilidad flamenca institucionalizada cuando la interacción social se manifiesta en el seno de marcos predeterminados. Por contra, la sociabilidad flamenca no institucionalizada se presenta, al menos en forma aparente, sin otro objetivo que la propia búsqueda de interacción.” (25)

highest emotional engagement.”(25)¹⁸ For a social analysis, the degree of participation could signal a measure of social value, of value to the community. Her third variable, which she described as “perhaps the most important and that, in great measure, determines the previous [ones],” is that of *use-value* and *exchange-value* in flamenco. She defined the use-value of flamenco as “the collective enjoyment of some musical forms, some contents and some expressive resources without any other purpose than to directly satisfy a need.” (26)¹⁹ She asserted that of this form of flamenco, it is “impossible to establish a proportionality with money.”(26) Cruces Roldán defined the exchange-value of flamenco as “a quantitative relation and of proportion, according to which the use-values of one class are exchanged for those of another class, [a] relation that changes constantly according to the place and time.” She linked exchange-value to another distinction among social forms of flamenco: “*public flamenco*” [as opposed to] “*private flamenco*,” and connected these terms to the degree of access with public flamenco “remain[ing] integrated in the habitual circuits of commercialization, and, therefore... accessible to anyone who complies with the law of the market (the exchange of products and its mediation in money).” (26)²⁰ Here, commoditization ironically opens

¹⁸ Original text: “La segunda variable a utilizar en la clasificación de los rituales flamencos es el grado de *participación* de los individuos que los integran. En un extremo, en el flamenco-espectáculo, encontraríamos la figura del exclusivo espectador, sin compromiso en el ritual, para el que la participación no existiría, en el otro, la absoluta participación, caso de un cuarto o una fiesta familiar, donde *todos son flamencos* (aunque no todos sean capaces técnicamente de ejecutar el cante, el baile o el toque), en una situación de alto compromiso emocional.” (25)

¹⁹ Original text: “La tercera variable, la más importante quizá y que, en gran medida, determina las anteriores, es la distinción entre lo que denominaremos el *valor de uso* de la expresión flamenca, *valor de cambio*, una vez que ésta se convierte en mercancía. El primero... refiere al disfrute colectivo de unas formas musicales, unos contenidos y unos recursos expresivos sin otro propósito que el de satisfacer directamente una necesidad. La experiencia flamenca se manifiesta entonces como inintercambiable, y se hace imposible establecer una proporcionalidad con la moneda.” (26)

²⁰ Original text: “El valor de cambio se presenta como una relación cuantitativa y de proporción, según la

the form up for outsiders, breaks it out of the private world of the family or the neighborhood, but at the same time commercializes and perhaps homogenizes or alters the form to comply with tastes of the general public. Even within public flamenco, the degree of intimacy, or proximity of the performers and audience varies between staged formats with the *tablaos* lying at one end and the concert stage at the other.

Cruces Roldán referred to attendance at a *peña* as intermediate participation or “a moment of intermediate participation, in which flamenco is paid for (therefore, is converted into commodity), within a framework of sociality not institutionalized but formalized.” (27)²¹ The *peña*, or flamenco bar or tavern where artists are paid to participate in a *juerga*-like atmosphere, bridges the differences between the extremes of participation, and this “intermediate participation” is one of the few venues that allow access for outsiders to more direct participatory forms of flamenco (see Tercera Letra). It is a place where one can learn how to participate, how to “be” flamenco. It is both a ludic and a pedagogic space, including both use-flamenco and exchange-flamenco, and it represents a transitory point. Such spaces of intermediate participation, as with the cases of Los Gabrieles and La Soleá in the Tercera Letra, are the ones most endangered by late twentieth and early twenty-first century corporate real estate practices and the emptying out of the center of Madrid. With such economic practices, both in Madrid and

cual los valores de uso de una clase se cambian por otros de otra clase, relación que cambia constantemente según el lugar y el tiempo. Imbuido de valor de cambio, lo que en alguna ocasión hemos denominado “*flamenco público*” frente al “*flamenco privado*,” la producción folklórica queda integrada en los habituales circuitos de comercialización, y, por tanto, es accesible a cualquiera que cumpla con la ley del mercado (el intercambio de productos y su medición en moneda), aunque por lo común en forma de consumo en masa.” (26)

²¹ Original text: “un momento de participación intermedia, en el que el flamenco se paga (por tanto, se convierte en mercancía), dentro de un marco de sociabilidad no institucionalizada pero formalizada;” (27)

Andalucía, flamenco becomes more concentrated at the extremes, with fewer entry points for outsiders. Even in a place like Amor de Dios, the formal pedagogic space of the studio needs the informal pedagogic space of the lobby and hallway to build a broader understanding of flamenco sociality. If these places, these entry points, disappear, flamenco loses the social understanding of the form, especially for those without access to the family space. Such understanding of the social aspects of flamenco is necessary in order for flamenco to not only grow in the home, but to be able to move, travel, and take root in other places. Otherwise, the form becomes frozen in commodity form, available to outsiders only in prepackaged bites of choreography and recorded arrangements.

V. Dancing Around the Center: Flamenco and Dance Studies

In his 2018 work *Marx, Capital, and the Madness of Economic Reason*, David Harvey commented on the definition of capital as value in motion that:

Motion cannot occur in a vacuum. We need to shift from a visualisation of value in motion that is grounded anywhere to seeing it as it creates geographies of cities and transport networks; ... encompasses flows of people, goods, information... all the while acknowledging how the political and social struggles of people living in particular places leave behind memories and hopes of alternative unalienated ways of living and being. (127)

In viewing the motion of capital, dance studies can intercede by analyzing ways in which capital choreographs the city. Dance Studies scholar Sansan Kwan asked similar questions in her 2013 book *The Kinesthetic City*, asking “[h]ow do places choreograph identities and how do identities choreograph places?” (4) She described her use of the term *choreography*, as “highlight[ing] the fundamental relationship between bodies and space (in time).” (4) Kwan also applied “the idea of choreography” as “the conscious

designing of bodily movement through space and time” and its implication of “a relationship in which bodies are explicit agents that, within certain parameters, shape the space around them.” (4) She suggested that “a study of these community formations [cities and neighborhoods] incites a choreographic approach, one that considers community in concert with bodies as they shift in space.” (11) My case studies in the subsequent chapters follow such movements of bodies in space, their points of convergence and dispersal, sometimes using my own body as a primary referent. In analyzing the flamenco community of Madrid, I embrace Kwan’s assertion that:

[c]ommunity identity, as it is tied to space, however, is also problematic. A group of individuals who share the same city or neighborhood is not reducible to one shared identity. Nor is there ever just a single identity that coheres to a place... [t]erms such as *community* or *identity* or *nationalism*, or even *space* and *place* do not describe primordial entities but rather are discursive constructs that must be continually reiterated to sustain meaning.(11)

In this chapter, I have already situated key sources that inform my understanding of space, time, and place. In the Segunda Letra, I step into the story of the Spanish nation, first conceived as a religious entity, later a colonial empire, then a loose association of regions, and finally an authoritarian nation state, brutally forged in civil war, and most recently a parliamentary monarchy. I explore this history to better understand the context not only of flamenco and Madrid’s historic development but the ongoing forces at play in the global and local imaginary of Spain, Madrid, and flamenco.

Ethnomusicologist Ruth Hellier Tinoco in *Embodying Mexico* (2011) viewed dance and music through the lens of identity management, writing of dances in the late 1990s and early 2000s in the tourist context of Michoacán, Mexico that:

the idea of the tactical management of ethnic identity... for nation building relates to hegemonic processes as a means of shaping and controlling notions of nationhood. For nationalist purposes, these processes involve the formation or appropriation of uniting symbols, myths, and figures around which the nation as people can gain a sense of community and belonging. (35)

In flamenco, this process evolved mostly during the reign of dictator Francisco Franco (1936-1975) and it united the national propaganda industry with the tourist industry. Hellier-Tinoco used the term “performism” to describe the “matters of process, practice, doctrine, and theory” involved in this production of identity. She wrote that the term “index[es] a network of ideas that is political, pragmatic, and processual ...[and] engages with an ideological and philosophical perspective, and also with the ongoing strategies, activities, and processes that move an idea into practice” (38). As Hellier-Tinoco used it, the word describes not only what happens on the stage, but also everything surrounding the staged performance including rehearsals, socializing, and the informal pedagogy of the community atmosphere. Performism encompasses the kinds of activities and spaces that I examine in this dissertation. In *Sweating Saris* (2011), Dance Studies scholar Priya Srinivasan also argued for a broader understanding of dance, calling for “a genealogical inquiry [which] offers a way of reading an alternative archive, to think through the fragmentation of history and diasporic practices from an embodied perspective and from the vantage point of bodily practices.” (8) She insisted that such an inquiry “does not search for origins and instead demonstrates multiple and contradictory pasts that reveal the effect that power has had on truth.” (8) I draw support from Srinivasan’s emphasis on things contradictory, for much of the writing on flamenco history has obsessed over

origins, purity, and ownership, overlooking the complexity of the ongoing development of the form. Flamencologist Meira Goldberg in her chapter in the 2014 *Flamenco on the Global Stage* anthology, “Jaleo de Jerez,” asserted that “[f]lamenco’s representation of the Gitano archives a complex history of power and identity negotiations in Spain. It bears traces of relationships, alliances, and densely interwoven analogies between.” (124) Goldberg, too, acknowledged flamenco’s complexity. While the “Gitano,” who I usually refer to as the Spanish Roma, is not the focus of my case studies, many individual Roma actively participate in my primary research sites in Madrid. Their stories weave in and out of the fabric of this social history.

Much of what flamencos and non-flamenco Spaniards considered a “flamenco way of life” springs from older social connections distinct to Andalusian and more specifically Romani Andaluz ways of life and ways of being in the world that are difficult to quantify and commodify. Cruces Roldán asserted that this flamenco way of being “is not a matter of ‘being with,’ but rather of ‘being like,’ by way of a true ceremonial metamorphosis that cannot be incorporated in a culture standardized for the masses.” (33)²² Flamencologist Alfredo Grimaldos in his 2010 social history of flamenco, *Historia Social del Flamenco*, claimed that “[f]lamenco is an art of oral transmission that, over much time, has been preserved, fundamentally, in the bosom of the great dynasties of lower Andalucía, transmitted from generation to generation in the family environment and the neighborhood.” (15) As he documented the oral histories of flamenco places not only in Andalucía but also in Madrid, he noted how “as a consequence of urban

²² Original text: “No se trata de “estar *con*,” sino de “ser *como*,” a través de una verdadera metamorfosis ceremonial que no puede incorporarse a una cultura estandarizada de masas.” (33)

speculation and change in the quotidian life, [these places] are disappearing, the natural environments in which the *cante* has always germinated, the patio of neighbors, the little tavern where one can sing, the multitudinous family parties.” (21) Cruces Roldán also emphasized the importance of “[a] tavern, a bar, a street, a patio of neighbors,” in flamenco sociality noting that these all “can be ‘private spaces’, that, beyond their flamenco aspect, can also serve as community paths and nodes of interaction of a wider character.” (34)²³ By looking at such public-private spaces in the Madrileño flamenco community, I try to center these nodes of interaction, these ways of being flamenco not always readily visible from the stage.

VI. Contextualizing the Center

In her study of contact improvisation in U.S. culture, *Sharing the Dance* (1990), dance studies theorist Cynthia Novack advised that “[i]n order to understand the development of any dance form, one must examine the interplay of different ‘areas’ of dance, which, although theoretically separable, are in fact interacting, related, sometimes conflicting processes” and included the “lives and perspectives of the artists/participants” and “the means through which dance is organized and produced.” (15) Her assertion that contact improvisation was “an attempt to place dance in a liminal social context which fitted neither the category of theater dance nor the category of social dance” could also be applied to flamenco (16). Madrid as a center, throughout its existence, has been often difficult to categorize. In the next letra, I move from Madrid as pre-urban military center,

²³ Original text: “Una taberna, una venta, una calle, un patio de vecinos, pueden ser “espacios privados,” que, además de su vertiente flamenca, suelen servir de vía comunitaria y nodos de interacción de carácter más amplio.” (34)

to center of empire, to center of the nation, to center of travel and finance. Many of the locations I describe in the subsequent chapters also elude or shift between categories. These places did not develop in a vacuum. They are the results of accumulations of daily lives and struggles, of oppression and sponsorship, confrontations of the local with the global, and, ultimately, the voracious appetite of capitalist real estate practices. By emphasizing my own bodily presence in these spaces and places, my own sense of center, I try to highlight the important role of place in flamenco pedagogy and flamenco sociality. For me, a place does not exist apart from the practice and use of the space, what I sometimes refer to as the “life” of a place or—more generally—the practice of place. It is this social use that distinguishes a physical space from a place.

In a 2016 article for the online magazine “El Estado Mental” (“The Mental State”), art historians Claudia Rodríguez-Ponga and Antonio J. Pradel analyze the *letra* “Fui Piedra” and offer a few potential interpretations. The *letra*, attributed to nineteenth-century *cantaora* Mercedes Fernández Vargas (“La Serneta”), speaks from the point of view of a stone which has lost its center, is thrown out to the sea where, after a long time, it regains its center. The authors of the article read the *letra* in several ways. They primarily relate it to the immigrant experience but also give it a more concrete, Marxist reading. The authors wrote that this “enigmatic *letra* of *soleá* ‘Fui piedra y perdí mi centro’... refers to a millstone that, worn out by time, literally loses its center and as such its use-value, and is thrown into the sea.” In my view, the *letra* speaks metaphorically to the experience of the city center: the stone spaces that lose their use-value and are reduced to exchange-value in real estate transactions, often remaining unused and empty

for years. The authors concluded that this image of the stone links the listener with the possibility of recovering the center.²⁴ Is it possible to recover a city center? Once a place has died can it be reborn, even in altered form? In the flamenco case studies that follow, I search for some hope, some possibility, amidst the loss, some persisting potential, some continuity in a sea of erasure.

²⁴ Original text: “La enigmática letra de la soleá ‘Fui piedra y perdí mi centro’, en realidad, se remite a una piedra de molino que, desgastada por el tiempo, pierde literalmente el centro y por lo tanto el valor de uso, y es arrojada al mar. Sin embargo, por medio de esta imagen enlazamos con otra experiencia en la que sí existe la posibilidad de recuperar el centro.”

2. Segunda Letra

Cuando suben y bajan: Mapping Space and Time in Madrid's Flamenco Cityscape

*Cómo reluce
la gran calle de Alcalá
cuando suben y bajan
los andaluces²⁵*

When I hear these lyrics, I imagine *bailaoras* in *batas de colas* (long train skirts) gliding up and down the present day Calle de Alcalá in the center of Madrid past cars, buses, and through throngs of tourists. The image takes me back to my first experiences of Madrid, of walking with my friends a half hour from Atocha down Mesón de Paredes to the temporary location of the Amor de Dios Academy. We would stop on the way at a bakery in Tirso de Molina for delicious freshly baked *napolitanas de chocolate* covered in powdered sugar. At the end of a day of grueling flamenco classes we would sweatily drag ourselves back up through dusty Lavapiés. After a shower and maybe a nap, we would go back out and journey again to Tirso perhaps to Casa Patas to try to get into a show or just to hang out at the bar and eat tapas. In other years, it was all about Plaza Santa Ana, Calle Echegaray, Cardamomo, and Los Gabrieles. From there, we might go to Candela and maybe attain entrance into the *cueva*, the downstairs cave, that exclusive place. Even upon making it into the inner sanctum, my painful shyness and reticence earned me the nicknames *la seria* (the serious one) and *la callada* (the quiet one). When I did manage to speak up, it was always to ask a question of a *cantaor*. What does this *letra* mean? Where does that *palo* come from? Madrid represented the foundations of my flamenco experience in Spain and also marked my experience of growing into adulthood.

²⁵ Translation: “How it shines/the great Alcalá street/when the Andalusians/go up and down” (*Caracoles*, author unknown – quoted by José Blas Vega in *El flamenco en Madrid* 137).

The streets and places (some gone, some remaining) contain and stimulate my memories, and the connected emotions and reflections on the evolution of my life, pleasant and unpleasant.

In this chapter I examine the difficult status of Madrid as the capital of Spain, the roots of flamenco in Madrid from the eighteenth century through the twentieth, migrations from Andalucía and immigration from South America and Africa, as well as the connection between political change and city planning. This chapter lays the groundwork for the case studies of individual locations in the subsequent chapters, introducing names and places, mapping space and charting time. In my history of Madrid flamenco, I weave the threads of political and institutional change, urban development, cultural change, into the narrative of how, when, and where the art of flamenco took root in the city. I pay particular attention to the rise to prominence of Madrid as a flamenco site from the “pre-flamenco” era of the eighteenth century, the *cafés cantantes* of the nineteenth, the birth of the theatrical flamenco genre in 1915, the *franquista* era of the *tablaos*, and finally the post-Franco negotiation of a unique brand of madrileño flamenco in the last decades of the twentieth century. Often dismissed as peripheral to flamenco history, the changing landscape of flamenco in Madrid, especially during the twentieth century, provided a transitory point, an entryway, for the larger global landscape and expansion of the artform.

The history of flamenco in Madrid, always already framed as a displaced regional form, results from patterns of movements of different groups of people through the city, which absorbs, rejects, or reframes the various alternative “Spanish” identities and/or

“otherness” represented by these bodies. In Madrid, flamenco arose from preexisting, working class, urban subcultures still symbolic of certain historic areas of the city.

During the Franco regime, the state encouraged and subsidized the use of flamenco as the representative form of Spanish national identity which included a neocolonial cooptation of Latinos in the Americas as satellite Spaniards. The story of Madrid demonstrates two key questions in the development of Spanish national identity: what does “Spanishness” or “Madridness” (*lo Madrileño*) mean or look like and are they different at different points in time? How were these overlapping identities embodied by dancers and represented by the cityscape?

I. *Capitalidad: Madrid as Spain’s Neutral Center*

Unlike most European capital cities, Madrid’s status as capital has historically been something foisted upon the city, sometimes rather forcefully, rather than functionally developed through commerce or culture. In her 2003 *Cultural History of Madrid*, cultural studies scholar Deborah Parsons described its “capital status” as “the result of its *lack* of earlier historical eminence.” (13) The author asserted that Madrid “would function primarily as a court rather than a city [which] never really achieved the social and economic infrastructure of its major European counterparts until the 1900s.” (5) She also quoted Spanish film director Pedro Almodóvar’s statement in 1991 that “Madrid is as unembraceable as a human being. As contradictory and as varied.” (2) The 1977 Planning and Urban Development of Madrid guide issued by the Housing Ministry referred to Madrid as “an ‘artificial’ city, a city in a ‘desert’”(1).²⁶ At many points in its

²⁶ Original text: “Se ha venido afirmando que Madrid es una Ciudad ‘artificial’, una Ciudad en un

history, the effort to make the city the capital of Spain came as much from its perceived lack of regional identity as from its central location.

Toledo was an early urban center in the region, fought over during the wars of reconquest between the Muslim caliphate and the Catholic royal families for several centuries. Madrid originated as “an Arab fortress in the ninth century... to protect nearby Toledo from Christian attack,” the name coming from the Arabic *mayrit* or *magerit* meaning “rich in water” (Parsons 13). From 939 through 1083, Catholic forces under various monarchs conquered and sacked the city, with Alfonso VI definitively incorporating the town into his growing territory (Chanes and Vicente 168). The first “Fuero de Madrid” (a distinct group of laws particular to a region in Spain under the monarchy), set up in 1202, included early “penal and processal [rights], and municipal ordinances” (168).²⁷ The Catholic Kings, Isabel and Fernando, finally set foot in Madrid in 1477 (169).²⁸ However, the town remained relatively unimportant in the incipient Catholic holdings in Spain through the end of the reconquest and the beginning of the Hapsburg line, sometimes referred to as the “Austrias” in Spanish.

The Hapsburg dynasty moved the capital from Toledo in the sixteenth century. Parsons summarized the historical view of this decision by Philip II in 1561 as “generally agreed to have been both arbitrary and short-sighted.. [but] ideally suited to Philip’s desire for a neutral centre” (13). The author pointed to the population explosion that occurred in Madrid as the result of the court’s presence, growing from around “18,000 in

‘desierto’” (1).

²⁷ Original text: “1202. Se redacta la mayor parte del ‘Fuero de Madrid’, documento que agrupa disposiciones de derecho penal y procesal, y ordenanzas municipales.” (Chanes and Vicente 168)

²⁸ The Spanish crown granted lordship of Madrid to a refugee Armenian monarch from 1373 until 1391 (ibid).

1561 to over 80,000 by... 1598” (13). In 1622, the canonization of five Catholic saints took place in the recently constructed Plaza Mayor (Chanes and Vicente 170-171). The canonization of saints, which include figures important in the Spanish church like Teresa of Ávila, Ignacio of Loyola and Isidro Labrador, highlighted Madrid’s potential to be not only a political but also a religious center of Spain.

In the early eighteenth century, the War of Spanish Succession led to a new royal family for Spain more closely allied with neighboring France and the absolutist style of Louis XIV. The freshly installed French Bourbon dynasty implemented centralizing urban development similar to those in France. By 1759, the Bourbon king Carlos III concentrated his local efforts on construction and early urban planning which his successor Carlos IV did not continue (171). The Bourbons brought with them a surge of French diplomats and courtiers who popularized French fashions and politics at court in contrast to the growing regional and local identifications. A distinct Madrileño identity began to foment amongst the populace around the two main central districts called “Madrid de los Austrias” after the Austrian Hapsburgs and “Madrid de los Borbones” to distinguish the two different eras of development.

As these urban areas densified and developed, subcultures and fashions simultaneously germinated in the newly cobbled streets. Fashion or style over time came to iconically represent these lower class urban subcultures, which eventually coalesced into first a distinctly Madrileño style and later a stereotypically Spanish style. In *Subculture: the Meaning of Style* (1979), British sociologist Dick Hebdige, writing about the development of punk subculture in Britain in the 1970s, described subcultural style as

“pregnant with significance.” (18) Hebdige defined “subculture” as “the expressive forms and rituals of ... subordinate groups.” (2) In *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990), political scientist James C. Scott surveyed numerous folk and urban subcultures around the world and moved the locus of his definition of culture from first, that of peasant folk culture, then to urban dissident subculture, which exists at times in opposition to dominant culture, a kind of counterculture. Madrileño subculture followed this timeline throughout the eighteenth century. Parsons described how Madrid during this era “gradually acquired the hallmarks of a bourgeois metropolis...[but] retained a resilient countercultural identity based in a popular mythology of its traditional working class.” (10) This working class madrileño culture is popularly referred to as *castizo* Madrid. Parsons translates the term *castizo* as “authentically Spanish” and as descriptive of “the popular, local colour of its lower classes, and in particular the social identity of the southern-lying *barrios* of La Latina, Lavapiés and Embajadores” (10). Over the years, many different subcultures and fashions emerged around these areas. The most distinct of these was *majismo*. In the 2011 anthology *Coreografiar la historia europea* (Choreographing European History), dance historian Beatriz Martínez del Fresno referred to *majismo* as “a xenophobic and self-affirming reaction of city people which began as a way of making fun of [those that followed French fashions]” (150).²⁹ The *afrancesados*, those in the court and fashionable circles in Madrid who followed French fashion and politics, started to fall out of favor with the Bourbon court after the 1789 French revolution. The liberal ideas that produced the revolution were not entirely welcomed by

²⁹ Original text: “una reacción xenofóbica y autoafirmativa del pueblo de las ciudades que empezó a burlarse de los *usias*, *petimetres* y *petimetas*, *currutacos* y *madamitas*” (Martínez del Fresno 150).

a monarchy that still retained aspirations of absolutism. In 1799, the court of Carlos IV issued a Royal Decree “that prohibited [theatrical] performances in any language other than Spanish and by actors, singers or dancers who were not Spaniards or naturalized [citizens].” (154)³⁰ Martínez del Fresno pointed out that this decision “has frequently been interpreted as a patriotic interventionist gesture, but it should not be forgotten that economic questions weighed heavily among [the king’s] immediate motivations.” (154)³¹ With this decree, the dance form now called *escuela bolera* along with the Spanish operetta form called *zarzuela*, came to prominence on the Madrid stage.

Escuela bolera or simply bolero began as a synthesis of court dance forms with Spanish folk dance forms like the *seguidillas manchegas* from the nearby region of Castilla La Mancha. In the 2011 *Choreographing European History* anthology, Spanish dance historian Guadalupe Mera wrote of the period of protected growth under the royal order:

between December of 1799 and May of 1808, the national dance most interpreted in Madrid was the bolero—to the point that one could speak of a “bolero mania”—followed, at a great distance, by the *fandango* and the *guaracha*... It is interesting to note the nominal hybridization that supposes the existence of dances like... the bolero *afandangado*, of which we know little or nothing choreographically. (185)³²

³⁰ Original text: “Las tensiones desembocarán en el decreto de 28 de diciembre de 1799, que prohibió las representaciones en cualquier lengua distinta de la española y por actores, cantantes o bailarines que no fueran españoles o naturalizados.” (154)

³¹ Original text: “Esta decisión del gobierno de Carlos IV se ha interpretado a menudo como un gesto de patriotismo intervencionista, pero conviene no olvidar que entre sus motivaciones inmediatas pesaban mucho las cuestiones económicas” (154).

³² Original text: “entre diciembre de 1799 y mayo de 1808, el baile nacional más interpretado en Madrid fue el bolero-- hasta el punto que podría hablarse de una “bolero mania”--, seguido, con mucha distancia, por el fandango y la guaracha... Es interesante constatar la hibridación nominal que supone la existencia de bailes como el minué o el bolero afandangados, de los que poco sabemos coreográficamente.”

Mera centered Madrid in the world of early nineteenth century bolero, a mirroring of its position as center of Spanish government. Given these conditions in the increasingly metropolitan area, one could say that the bolero emerged in the cultural exchange not only between France and Spain but also between the growing cosmopolitan Spain and the rural provinces. Especially after the 1814 restoration of Spanish independence from France, Spanish national fashions— the results of the influence of different social classes— seemed to symbolize Spain’s new unique, independent, national character as well as Madrid’s *castizo* color.

Majismo surged in the first decade of the nineteenth century with the rise in anti-French sentiment. The figure of the *majo* exemplified the beginnings of a Spanish national identity in the postwar period through their exaggerated form of dress that emphasized a renewed “Spanishness” in opposition to the French styles that had dominated before the war. In his 2006 *El flamenco en Madrid*, José Blas Vega located the first definition of the term *majo* in a dictionary from 1734 which described the *majo* as a “man who affects handsomeness and valor in his actions and words. Commonly so called are those who live in the quarters near the court” thus associating the *majo* with Madrid, *lo castizo*, and the less affluent neighborhoods of the central urban area. (18)³³ The *majos*, and their female counterparts *majas* and *manolas*, became the dominant images of this urban subculture linked to the center of Madrid and the middle and lower classes, the *castizo* Madrid. The female *manola* with her large *peineta* (hair comb) and black lace

³³ Original text: “La primera definición que encontramos nos la proporciona el *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid, 1734): ‘Majo es el hombre que afecta guapeza y valentía en las acciones y palabras. Comúnmente llaman así a los que viven en los arrabales de esta corte.’” (Blas Vega 18)

mantilla (long head scarf) came to represent for foreigners (especially the influx of Romantic era tourists from Britain and France) the stereotypical Spanish woman. Spanishness was gendered as female and exoticized by these male foreign tourists with her male counterpart reduced to a violent, primitive caricature. These figures were also associated with many forms of song, dance, and theatre that flamencologists refer to as “preflamenco,” such as *sainetes*, *tonadillas*, *seguidillas*, in addition to *escuela bolera*.³⁴ During the nineteenth century, *lo castizo*, as Parsons analyzed it, became increasingly “[r]edefined by national ideologies... [and] lost much of its specific urban context and cadence; multicultural, lower-class Madrid [was] substituted [for] a fantasized rural Castile.” (10) Thus *majos* and *manolas* painted by Goya in the late eighteenth century and later on tiles decorating Madrid’s taverns symbolized a bucolic Madrid very different from the working class milieu which gave birth to the figures.

II. *Cuando suben y bajan: Intraregional Migrations, Urbanization, and Flamencoization*

By the early nineteenth century, another dictionary definition of *majo* reflected a shift in the use of the term calling it:

the name used especially in Andalucía to designate a townsperson that was differentiated from others by his particular dress, by his proud comportment and by his manners full of grace and effortlessness, by his luxurious costume, full of adornments, by his brave handsomeness and his air of toughness. (Blas Vega 19)³⁵

³⁴ The term “preflamenco” is misleading as it implies an evolutionary link between the forms. Although these forms were better known in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and they may have influenced the development of early flamenco, there is no evidence of a direct or ancestral link between them.

³⁵ Original text: “Ya en el siglo XIX don Nicolás María Serrano, en su *Diccionario Universal*, matizaba así: “Majo es nombre usado especialmente en Andalucía para designar la persona del pueblo que se

Here, the term is associated with Andalucía and by extension Andalusian transplants in Madrid. Starting in 1851, rail lines began to connect Madrid first to nearby cities and eventually to the rest of Spain bringing even more migrants to the center from rural or impoverished regions like Andalucía (Parsons 33). This influx of transplants coincided with commercial and economic growth in the city that led to an increase in planned public spaces like the Plaza Santa Ana and expansion of already existing ones like the Puerta del Sol. In his examination of urban planning history in Madrid, *The Imaginative Institution* (2016), urban planning historian Michael Neuman cited a royal decree instituted an official city plan designed by engineer Carlos María de Castro in 1860 similar to the more expansive one by Ildefons Cerdà assigned to Barcelona (7). Most of the working class new arrivals settled in neighborhoods to the south of the old center including Atocha, Embajadores, Delicias, and Lavapiés (Parsons 34). Here, the newcomers arrived in areas already dominated by *majismo* subculture perhaps confusing the definition of the term.

Blas Vega cited historian and linguist Julio Caro Baroja who, in *Ensayo sobre la literatura de cordel* (1969), claimed that the *majo* “is the special product of certain neighborhoods in Madrid.” (20)³⁶ Blas Vega pinpointed one of these neighborhoods as Lavapiés, located southeast of the Palace and south of the Plaza Mayor and Puerta del Sol. He emphasized the connection between flamenco and the neighborhood writing that:

diferencia de las demás por su traje particular, por su porte garboso y por sus maneras llenas de gracia y desenvoltura, por su vestido lujoso, lleno de adornos, por su valentía guapeza y su aire de perdonavidas’.” (Blas Vega 19)

³⁶ Original text: “Julio Caro también afirma que el majo ‘es un producto especial de ciertos barrios madrileños’.” (20)

[i]n the history of Madrid flamenco, the neighborhood of Lavapiés was always the most important nucleus... Until recent times [it] contributed the largest roster of Madrileño artists, being their preferred residential place, including *gitanos* [sic] and Andalusians... It comprises such flamenco areas as Toledo [and] Embajadores streets, El Rastro, Arganzuela, Mesón de Paredes... Lavapiés has represented the genuine and the cool of Madrid, transmitting its styles, its sayings and its grace through the singing, the dance, and the guitar. (20)³⁷

In his history of flamenco in Madrid, Blas Vega repeatedly emphasized the importance of the Lavapiés area. The author argued that the neighborhood “creat[ed] and foment[ed] the [nighttime celebrations] of *fandangos*, the antecedent of the Andalusian flamenco *juerga*, like no other place.” (21)³⁸ He also asserted that Madrid was “the homeland of the fandango” and the nighttime *bailes de candil* or “candle dances” that took place in the wee hours of the morning long before electric lights artificially prolonged Madrid nightlife.³⁹

In the mid-nineteenth century, flamenco came to the foreground of Spanish subcultures, especially in the sketches (visual and prose) of mostly French and British Romantic tourists to Spain like Charles Davillier, George Borrow, and Prosper Mérimée. Around the same time, starting in Sevilla in Andalucía, *cafés* sprang up (called *cafés*

³⁷ “En la historia del flamenco madrileño, el barrio de Lavapiés siempre fue el núcleo más importante. Hasta tiempos recientes aportó la mayor nómina de los artistas madrileños, siendo su lugar residencial preferente, incluidos los gitanos y andaluces de adopción. Comprende zonas tan flamencas como las calles Toledo, Embajadores, El Rastro, Arganzuela, Mesón de Paredes... Lavapiés ha representado lo castizo y lo chulo de Madrid, transmitiendo sus modas, sus dichos y su gracia para el cante, el baile y la guitarra” (20)

³⁸ Original text: “En Lavapiés se crean y se fomentan como en ningún otro sitio los fandangos de candil, todo un antecedente de la juerga flamenca andaluza.” (21)

³⁹ Parsons cited the wedding of King Alfonso XII in 1878 as the first time electric lights were used in the capital to illuminate the Puerta del Sol (77).

cantantes) in urban areas that specialized in showcasing flamenco alongside other novelties and popular musical forms. In the 1998 history of flamenco dance *El Baile Flamenco*, flamencologist Angel Álvarez Caballero cited the first notice of a flamenco show in Madrid from 1853 at a salon called Vensano located off of the Plaza Santa Ana (26). From notices like this and advertisements for flamenco parties and performances at other cafés, Álvarez Caballero argued that “in the middle of the nineteenth century in Madrid some fairly professional flamencos [were] already perform[ing], and although the *bailaora* was not yet the star, [she] made a notable impression in the chronicles not written, evidently, by *those in the know*” [italics in the original] (*El baile flamenco* 27).⁴⁰ The author located the surge in flamenco as a fashion in Madrid in the 1880s noting, however, that this surge also coincided with an anti-flamenco backlash (*antiflamenquismo*) that would find expression in the discourse of the Madrid intellectuals of the Generation of ’98, for example, with writers like Miguel de Unamuno and Pio Baroja who frequently disparaged the form. In an article titled “El arte Flamenco en las dos Españas (Principio y fin del Antiflamenquismo)” or “The Art of Flamenco in the Two Spains (Beginning and End of Antiflamenquismo)” in the 1999 collection *El Flamenco en la cultura española*, flamencologist Genesis Garcia Gomez wrote that “[l]a generación del 98 fue unánimemente antiflamenquista” or “the generation of 98 was unanimously antiflamenquista.” (19) In her chapter in the *Coreografía la historia europea* anthology, flamencologist Ana María Díaz Olaya included playwright Ramón

⁴⁰ Original text: “Textos que nos dan idea, en definitiva, de que a mediados del siglo XIX en Madrid actuaban ya unos flamencos bastante profesionalizados, y aunque la bailaora no parece ser todavía la estrella, si se le da un relieve notable en crónicas no escritas, evidentemente, por *entendidos*.” (27)

Valle-Inclán in the list of anti-flamenco intellectuals and cited a passage by Baroja which ridicules a typical *café cantante* performance. (202) These figures, as well as the novelist Benito Pérez Galdós, formed part of Madrid's intellectual *café* society that existed alongside the perhaps less socially prestigious *café cantantes* in the last decades of the nineteenth century. An example of such negative estimation lies in the scene in Galdós' 1882 novel *El amigo manso* in which the protagonist and a companion encounter flamenco performers in a bar after their performance at a *café cantante*. The performers are described in a classist and racialized manner that both exoticized and disparaged the characters (108-109).

At that time, and up through the early years of the twentieth century, Madrid flamenco was still largely dominated by Andalusian transplants. Álvarez Caballero mentioned Manuel Jiménez Fernández "Mangoli," and Soledad Lozano "La Guerrita" as notable regulars in the Madrid *café* circuit (72). The author also described how the Madrileños "appropriated" the Sevillian dancer Salud Rodríguez "La Hija del Ciego" after she moved to the capital and "never left" (90). Álvarez Caballero singled out Juan Sánchez Valencia y Rendón Avila, known as "El Estampío," a well known *bailaor* from Jerez de la Frontera who performed at the *Café de la Magdalena* off of the Plaza Tirso de Molina, eventually opening a dance school and taking up residence in Lavapiés (91-92). Citing the author and eye witness to the *café cantante* period Antonio Arévalo, Álvarez Caballero asserted that "there were no women in the audience [at that time], all were men" (72).⁴¹ He also described the repertoire of the *café*s of the early twentieth century as

⁴¹ Original text: "no había mujeres entre el público, que todo eran hombres" (72).

consisting of not only flamenco but also *zarzuela*, opera, and jazz. In his list of the most famous Madrid *café cantantes* of the era he included the Café de la Magdalena, Café Imparcial, Café de la Marina, Café de Levante, and Café del Progreso (97). By the early years of the twentieth century Álvarez Caballero situated Rita Ortega “La Gorda” and her brother José Ortega “Joselito la Morala” of the flamenco Ortega family from Andalucía as regulars at Los Gabrieles and Villa Rosa off of the Plaza Santa Ana (see Tercera Letra and Macho).

Spaniards, particularly Spanish Roma and Andalusians dominate the mix of flamenco artists listed by flamencologists up until the mid-twentieth century. Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century many Spanish Roma families located their home base in Madrid, especially Lavapiés. Lavapiés had historically been a center for marginalized communities within Madrid. According to somewhat controversial local lore, the neighborhood, in the days before the expulsion of Spanish Jews, was home to Madrid’s Jewish community and later their *converso*—convert—descendants. Parsons asserted that the neighborhood originated as “the outer-city settlements of the city’s Jewish and Muslim population” (10). It should be noted that journalist M.R. Domingo of the Spanish periodical *ABC* and scholar Sidney David Markham have refuted the legend (9 April 2015 Domingo; 41-42 Markham). Whether or not the neighborhood ever actually housed a Jewish community is not as relevant as the cultural memory of Lavapiés as a multi-ethnic, multicultural locus in the city. Part of this legend could be related to the association of the neighborhood with *manolera*, one of the urban subcultures that formed part of the *majismo* trend of the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries. The style was associated with *crisianos nuevos* and descendents of the *conversos*. The legend represents an acknowledgement, at least in popular discourse, that the Madrileña identity was never really a homogenous or monolithic Spanish Catholic one.

III. *No pasarán*: War, Dictatorship, and Modernity

In addition to these internal others (Spanish Roma, Jews, and Muslims), circulation of people between Spain in general and its colonies occurred throughout the colonial era. Internal political instability, numerous civil wars (the Carlist wars), the loss of the colonies in the Americas, and a definitive loss of international status created a growing national identity crisis that crescendoed at the end of the nineteenth century. Conflicting beliefs about modernity and progress held Spain in a tug of war throughout the century. Historians describe this deeply entrenched division as “las dos Españas” or the two Spains (Álvarez Junco and Shubert 1). The division set up a conservative, monarchist, and decidedly Catholic vision of Spain on one side and progressive, democratic, and cosmopolitan aspirations on the other. Despite a decrease in immigration to Spain from Latin American areas, in Madrid, the population doubled between 1900 and 1931 due mostly to the onset of urbanization and industrialization in greater Spain. (Thayer Watkins “History of Madrid”; “Spain” in *Statesman’s Year-book* (1910) 1220; General Census of 31 December 1930 “Orden de las capitales de provincia por el número de sus habitantes” via the Instituto Nacional Estadística Historical Database). On the municipal level, the introduction of the metro line in 1919 created the conditions necessary for internal circulations of commuters and increasing commercial development

of the center (Parsons 79).

Madrid began to step into the spotlight in the flamenco world with the debut of the first “flamenco ballet,” *El Amor Brujo* by Manuel de Falla, at the Teatro Lara (located north of the Puerta del Sol) in 1915. Álvarez Caballero summarized that “*El Amor Brujo* is considered ‘the first ballet flamenco via antonomasia,’ its music is regarded as ‘the first formal orchestration of flamenco rhythms brought to the theatre.’” (186)⁴² In *El Baile Flamenco*, the author offered testimony from the librettist Gregorio Martínez Sierra and even de Falla himself that de Falla composed the piece for the flamenco dancer Pastora Imperio. Pastora Rojas Monje (known professionally as Pastora Imperio), was born in Sevilla to the legendary café cantante dancer Rosario “La Mejorana” Monje in 1888 and moved with the family to Madrid around 1899 (186). Imperio and her mother, both Roma women and respected figures in the café cantantes, bridged the transition of flamenco from the cafes to the theatrical stage. Non-Roma dancers coming from classical Spanish genres like Antonia Mercé “La Argentina” and Encarnación López “La Argentinita” elaborated on the theatrical flamenco form and brought pieces like *El Amor Brujo* on tour to international audiences.

The outbreak of World War I in continental Europe forced many dance companies across the ocean in search of safer touring arenas. Innovations in steam technology, resulting in increased cross Atlantic and overseas travel, enabled Spanish dance companies to increase their international touring territories beyond Europe to include

⁴² Original text: “En cualquier caso *El Amor Brujo* es considerado “el ballet flamenco por antonomasia,” cuya música puede reputarse como “la primera orquestación formal de ritmos flamencos llevados al teatro.” En su composición se detectan ritmos de farruca, garrotín, zambra, tientos, bulerías, soleares y siguiiriyas.” (186)

frequent trips not only to North and South America but as far as Japan. Japanese Butoh dancer Kazuo Ohno frequently cited his attendance at a 1926 performance by La Argentina in Japan as an influence on his dancing (Ohno's biography on his official website www.kazuohnodancestudio.com; Soll 408-409). Barcelona born Roma dancer Carmen Amaya attracted numerous new students of flamenco especially in Latin America, where her performances inspired dancers from Mexico, the Caribbean, and South and Central America to study the form. Madrid increasingly served as base for most of the dancers and companies, causing the city to become associated with theatrical flamenco in the minds of many purists. For example, the *cantaor* and flamencologist Antonio Mairena, a figurehead of orthodox flamenco purism in the twentieth century, famously quipped of the flamenco scene in Madrid that "[i]n Madrid [they] dance the *petenera*, the *tarantos*, the songs *por tonás* and [they] have put dance to the *siguiriyas* [rhythms traditionally reserved for singing only] which is another disgrace...in Madrid they do not respect anything, [they] dance the *taranto*, *La Traviata*, even the Our Father" (quoted in *El Baile Flamenco* 266).

Politically, Madrid became increasingly associated with the Spanish state and a central government in addition to the still active, though troubled Bourbon monarchy. With Spain's loss of international prestige after the defeat in the Spanish-American war of 1898, a surge in nationalist sentiments in Spain's military leadership paralleled the rise of fascist movements elsewhere in Europe. After World War I, a 1923 military coup d'état in Spain resulted in the dictatorship of General Miguel Primo de Rivera. Although the coup took place in Barcelona, Primo de Rivera maintained Madrid as his capital

throughout his regime. Michael Neuman described city planning under Primo de Rivera as focussing on connecting the *extrarradio* or outskirts of the city with the center citing the 1926 *Plan de Extensión* (Extension Plan) and 1928 formation of the *Sección de Urbanismo* (City Planning Section) as highlights (96). In 1931, the second democratically elected Republic in Spain replaced the dictatorship and utilized Madrid as seat of the government. The memorable ceramic tiles that label the street names in the central district with visual illustrations of those names remain one lasting legacy of the Republic, the result of a project designed to employ out of work artisans during a time of international economic difficulty. Although the municipal government drafted a new version of the Extension Plan which was approved in 1933, another military coup d'état, this one led by General Francisco Franco, resulted in the devastating Spanish Civil War that brought all city development to a halt in Madrid.

From 1936 through 1939, Republican forces defended Madrid against the conglomeration of military, monarchist, Catholic fundamentalist, nationalist, and fascist forces invading from the south. Using assistance from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Franco's legions clashed with the uncomfortable alliance of Republican, regionalist, centrist, communist, and anarchist groups on land and attacked from the air as with the infamous bombing of the Basque town of Güernica. Franco and his allies also frequently shelled Madrid; leftist forces also sacked and burned churches, scarring its landscape in some cases permanently. In Lavapiés, the remains of a destroyed church on Calle Mesón de Paredes stand as memorial to what the city endured during the war. It now serves as the library the Biblioteca Universitaria del Centro Asociado de Madrid UNED renovated

in 1996. Sometimes called either the Battle of Madrid or the Siege of Madrid, the attack persisted from November of 1936 (four months after the initial military invasion) until March of 1939, with the city holding out after most of the rest of Spain had fallen to Franco. “No pasarán” or “they will not pass” became the slogan for the defense of Madrid.

Madrid also served as a sanctuary for flamenco artists who remained in the country, as Andalucía was one of the first regions decimated by the war. Most of the theatrical flamenco companies (La Argentinita and her sister Pilar López, Antonio and Rosario, Carmen Amaya) remained on tour indefinitely in the Western Hemisphere throughout the war and the first years of the dictatorship (Álvarez Caballero 1999: 219, 266, 276). La Argentina suffered a heart attack and died while in the south of France upon hearing of the invasion in July of 1936 (Bennahum 183). Family of the young dancer Antonio Ruiz Soler “Antonio El Bailarín” and partner Florencia Pérez Padilla “Rosario” smuggled the teenagers out of the country through Barcelona using contacts in the anarchist and communist community of the city (Fuentes-Guío 38-39). Among those who stayed, many, like the legendary cantaora Pastora Pavón “La Niña de los Peines,” took shelter in Madrid throughout the conflict. While in Madrid, Pavón popularized a verse of *tangos* that indirectly referred to the fall (and potential recapture) of the neighborhood of Triana in Sevilla: “Triana, Triana/how beautiful is Triana... when they put on the bridge/the Republican flag” in reference to the iconic purple, yellow, and red flag of the elected government.⁴³ After the war, singers replaced the phrase “republican

⁴³ Original verse: “Triana, triana, que bontio esta Triana/cuando le pone al puente/bandera republicana.”

flag” with “banderitas gitanas” or “little Gypsy [sic] flags” to avoid arrest for anti-Franco sedition (Goldbach 33-35).

After the end of the war, most flamenco artists returned to Spain and to Madrid eventually. A few, like celebrated guitarist Sabicas, remained abroad for the rest of their lives or until after the death of the dictator. La Argentinita died after a performance in New York in 1945 and her sister Pilar returned to Spain the same year forming her own company with dancers trained in New York like José Greco (Álvarez Caballero 1999: 276). Carmen Amaya returned to Barcelona in 1947 after the death of her father and Antonio and Rosario returned to Madrid in 1949 but parted company within a few years of their return (266, 297). With the exception of Amaya, most of this returning talent settled in Madrid, with the new companies of Pilar López and Antonio rehearsing in the some of the same spaces and increasing the status of Madrid as a center for flamenco (see Escobilla).

Their return coincided with the massive reconstruction project inaugurated by the new dictatorship in Madrid which called for an increase in the *capitalidad* of the city. Neuman asserts that this word has no direct translation in English (83-84). However, by taking the root “capital” with the ending “-dad” as in *identidad* (identity) or *nacionalidad* (nationality), I form and offer a neologism in English that could capture some sense of the Spanish word: “capitality” - a city’s sense of identity as capital of a nation. In 1977 the municipal planning commission COPLACO described Madrid’s capitality as its “true personality” with the aim of the dictatorship’s planning strategies having been to convert it to a business and financial capital as well as the seat of government and of the Royal

Court (136723/6, 2). Neuman cited Franco's preamble to the law adopting the 1941 reconstruction plan by architect Pedro Bigador which explained the dictator's view of the "capitality" of Madrid:

The capital of a nation is the symbol of what the nation is, and the capital of Spain, as it disgracefully was in other times, did not respond to the spirits of our youths, to the sacrifices of so many Spaniards. Thus Madrid has to be a living example for all Spaniards. I have always felt the sadness, on entering Madrid, of contemplating those miserable suburbs [under developed outskirts of the city]... This new law means... the correction of this sad reality and the possibility that the bordering towns enter into the area of action of the capital so that these entrances that do not correspond to the importance of a great city, disappear. (99)

The Franco regime modeled the plan, which Neuman refers to as "Great Madrid," after similar projects planned by Hitler in Berlin and Mussolini in Rome. Much of Franco's postwar cultural strategy likewise imitated propaganda initiatives of the Nazis and Fascists (Goldbach "Nacionalflamenquismo: Fascism, Flamenco, and Ballet Español" 1-30). With the loss of the axis powers in World War II, and taking advantage of Spain's appearance of neutrality during the conflict, the regime quickly sought to sever ties with its former allies and realign itself to the United States and the shared persecution of leftists and communists.

The regime renamed many streets in honor of Falangist and nationalist heroes, such as changing the Gran Via to Avenida José Antonio Primo de Rivera in honor of the Falangist martyr and Avenida de la Castellana to Avenida del Generalísimo in honor of Franco (Ofer 20). Most of the renovations in the central district centered on such symbolic gestures and the creation of monuments to the dictatorship. In her 2017

examination of the history of squatting in Madrid during the Franco era, *Claiming the City and Contesting the State*, Spanish historian Inbal Ofer referred to these planning practices as the regime's writing the city in order for it to be read by citizens and visitors alike (190). As international air travel became the postwar preferred method of transportation, Madrid became the central air hub of Spain and served as greeting point for incoming visitors especially from the Western hemisphere. The capitality of the city fused with the idea of a singular Spanish Catholic identity imposed by the dictatorship and packaged with advertising and public relations to be sold to the world and replace the images of the horrors of war and the brutality of authoritarianism.⁴⁴

IV. Franquista Madrid: Dictatorship, Bureaucracy, and Centering Flamenco

In the 1950s, the return of international tourists from the United States, Britain, and other European countries accompanied the return of expatriates to Spain. Despite the ravages of the Civil War, Madrid's population rose from 576,538 in 1900 to 1,326,647 in 1940 and nearly double by 1960 (Ofer 19). For flamenco, Madrid's status as central hub for tourists to Spain meant the explosion of the *tablaó* scene with new opportunities for work for many flamenco artists. Regional migrations brought people and artists from the South to work in the center and more from rural areas to the urban nucleus. Ofer described the choreography of these internal migrations, writing:

Under the dictatorship, the four regions of Andalusia [sic], Extremadura and the two Castillas generated 86 percent of all migratory flows, while Cataluña, Madrid, Valencia, and the urbanized Basque region absorbed almost the entire migrating population. (40)

⁴⁴ See Sasha Pack *Tourism and Dictatorship* (2006) and Justin Crumbaugh *Destination Dictatorship* (2009) for more analysis of this phenomenon.

This recentering of population also recentered flamenco. Madrid absorbed flamenco migrants from both Andalucía and Extremadura. In addition to the historic flamenco neighborhoods near Lavapiés and Tirso de Molina, Andalusian enclaves sprang up in the periphery (*extrarradio*) of Madrid in Vallecas, Caño Roto, and Orcasitas.

To handle the influx of people to the capital, the Franco government issued a new Land Law in 1956 to help develop the periphery. The law coincided with a restructuring of the government in 1957, which brought new ministers to the cabinet and created new ministries (such as the Ministry of Tourism and Culture). Most of the new appointees belonged to the fundamentalist Opus Dei sect of Catholicism and replaced the last of the old Falangists— members of the original fascist party that became the official state party of the Franco dictatorship— demonstrating the definitive shift away from the old fascist alliances and marking a new stage in the history of *franquismo*. The creation of the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, elevated from a department within the Ministry of Information and Tourism, enacted the shift in the regime’s strategy slightly away from overtly oppressive tactics to more subtle hegemonic controls (Goldbach 64-79).

With the alliance with the United States and relaxation of the outward appearance of authoritarianism, external immigration to Spain ebbed and flowed throughout the rest of the Franco dictatorship with most non-Europeans hailing from Latin American countries. The regime promoted the idea of “Hispanidad” or a sort of shared identity between Spain and its former colonies demonstrated through language and culture. The Ministry of Tourism sent flamenco artists to tour throughout Latin America and touted the flamenco artists hailing from these countries—like Mexicans Luis Dávila “Luisillo,”

Manolo Vargas, and Roberto Ximénez and Venezuelan Tatiana Reyna—as exemplars of Hispanidad. During the sixties and seventies, many non-Spanish flamenco artists—dancers in particular—resided in Madrid for varying periods of time both to study and to perform. As early as 1968, the room logs for the Amor de Dios dance studios regularly featured the names of American dancers like Pablo Rodarte and Japanese dancers like Moriko (Bourio Archive Archivo Regional Comunidad de Madrid 74434).

Franco's renewed nationalist project directly affected the governance and economy of Madrid, with the regime attempting to promote the city not only as the cultural and political center of the nation but also as a regionally neutral center, symbolic of a distilled Spanishness untainted by regional affiliation. The surge of flamenco activity in the capital, not only in the *tablaos* but also in theatres and festivals, during this time demonstrated the regime's simultaneous use of the form as symbolic of Spain in its entirety and not just of Andalucía. Like the Bourbons, Franco attempted to erase many regional identities, most notably banning the Catalan and Euskera languages which are from the regions of Cataluña and the areas known as the *Paises Vascos* or Basque countries respectively. Even the development of the railway system, with every track leading to Madrid, reflected this forcible focus on the capital. The flamenco identity became a facet of Spanish identity, like bullfighting or paella, used to sell the idea of Spain to tourists and to Spaniards alike. In the 2006 exploration of tourism in Franco's Spain, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, tourism scholar Sasha Pack described the regime's political use of image and advertising as a tool of international diplomacy writing that:

Few cases illustrate the potency of tourism as a form of international relations better than the experience of

Franco's Spain ... Spain became a major hub of postwar European leisure, absorbing a massive current of vacationers in search of seaside pleasures and an escape from staid routine. The consequences for Spain were at once economic, cultural, and political. Foreign tourists strengthened the ostracized regime, providing by the mid-1950s both its largest source of foreign currency and compelling evidence of its acceptance by democratic Europe (47).

Tourism drove the development of Madrid's *tablaos* circuit, with tourists becoming the primary market for these flamenco dinner shows. In addition to older places like Los Gabrieles and Villa Rosa near the Plaza Santa Ana, the Madrid flamenco circuit also featured a fresh crop of *tablaos*. By 1972, according to flamencologist Estela Zatanía, the circuit included:

at least sixteen *tablaos* type establishments in Madrid: Zambra, Arco de Cuchilleros, Los Canasteros, Las Brujas, El Café de Chinitas, La Venta del Gato, El Duende, Corral de la Pacheca, Torres Bermejas, Cuevas de Nemesio... and the great Corral de la Morería. ("Hace 50 Años... Los *tablaos* históricos de Madrid.")⁴⁵

Artists, like the members of the "Habichuela" family from Granada and the legendary *cantaor* José Monge Cruz "Camarón de la Isla" from Cádiz, migrated from the still impoverished south in search of work in the capital throughout the sixties and seventies (*The Flamenco Clan* 2006; *Camarón: Flamenco y Revolución* 2018; Blas Vega 170-194).

Politically, the sixties saw a further relaxation of direct social controls by the dictatorship. Historians refer to this third period of *franquismo* as the *dictablanda* or "soft

⁴⁵ Original text: "En el '72, recuerdo haber contado al menos dieciséis establecimientos de tipo *tablaos* en Madrid: Zambra, Arco de Cuchilleros, Los Canasteros, Las Brujas, El Café de Chinitas, La Venta del Gato, El Duende, Corral de la Pacheca, Torres Bermejas, Cuevas de Nemesio... Y el gran Corral de la Morería, que en 1963 llevaba 6 años funcionando, y ya se hablaba de su solera."

dictatorship.” The waning of the dictatorship saw a decline in the economy as the government struggled to redefine itself and continued to cede some of its precious centralized bureaucratic powers to provincial and regional institutions. The regime continued to send flamenco artists as cultural emissaries overseas relaxing many restrictions on movement sending Manuela Vargas to the US in 1963 and Mario Maya from 1967 through 1969. Antonio Gades even managed to get permission for tours to Communist USSR and Cuba in the seventies. A letter in the file (3)49.8 35272 from the Department of Popular Culture in the Archivo General de la Administración confirmed the Manuela Vargas sponsored tour to the US. Mario Maya’s time in the United States is well documented in newspaper articles and in interviews quoted in Álvarez Caballero’s *El baile flamenco* (359).

In terms of urban planning, this period also inaugurated an increase in municipal power in response to the weakening of the central government. Madrid grew in population from 2,259,931 in 1960 to 3,188,297 in 1981 (Neuman 108). The Comisaría General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid (General Commissary for the Urban Planning of Madrid) adopted a new plan for Madrid in 1963 (9). The plan, designed in 1961, created the new Comisión de Planeamiento y Coordinación del Área Metropolitana de Madrid, or Madrid Metropolitan Planning and Coordination Commission, abbreviated as COPLACO. COPLACO attempted to redevelop the old center of Madrid and improve conditions in the peripheral suburbs of the city.

On stage, theatrical flamenco experienced a resurgence, incorporating elements of avant garde theatre in Spain and beyond. Musically, fusion explorations that challenged

flamenco orthodoxy began in the seventies by artists like Camarón de la Isla, Paco de Lucía, Pata Negra, Enrique Morente, and El Lebrijano. This so-called *Renacimiento Flamenco* or Flamenco Renaissance included overtly political works by Mario Maya: *Ceremonial* (1974), *Camelamos Naquerar* (1976), and *¡Ay... Jondo!* (1980). These highlighted the historic persecution and marginalization of Spanish Roma. Antonio Gades revived the work *Bodas de Sangre* by Spanish poet Federico García Lorca, martyred by Franco's forces in the first days of the Civil War, as a contemporary flamenco ballet in 1974 and filmed as a documentary by Spanish director Carlos Saura in 1981. This shift in focus to the theatrical stage reflected an ebbing of tourist influx to the capital, as the global economy slowed in the seventies, stifling the audience base of many *tablaos*. Previously successful Madrid locations like Zambra and Duende folded in the last years of the dictatorship.

Those that remained had to survive the demolition and redevelopment policies of COPLACO. During the late sixties and seventies, the Commission increasingly faced opposition from neighborhood, grassroots organizations. As the central power of the state gradually fell apart, especially during the chaos that followed Franco's death in 1975, these local organizations of citizens held power until a new bureaucratic municipal system emerged. Neuman described this process as involving three changes in Spanish politics:

The first was the well- documented citizens' movement. The second was the realization that hierarchical institutions no longer corresponded to political and social realities (owing to the grassroots movement). Lastly, the [1963] plan's hub and spoke spatial model of the region was no longer corresponding to actual patterns of growth. (106)

The Citizens' Movement came to a head after 1975 when many neighborhood associations (*asociaciones de vecinos*) merged to seize municipal control in the ensuing power vacuum as the Madrid Federation of Neighborhood Associations (Ofer 86). Ofer described the origins of the neighborhood associations, writing that “[i]n Madrid the first neighborhood association was constituted in the barrio of Puerto Chico in the spring of 1967. Palomeras Bajas followed suit in 1968 and El Pozo del Tío Raimundo in 1969.” (86) Neuman stated the aims of these associations as “direct participation in politics and government,” public housing redevelopment, “improvement of urban services,” “preservation of the historic city [center],” and “changes in urban policy so redevelopment would not displace families” (110). Inbal Ofer wrote of the changes the death of the dictator stimulated in the Movement that:

[I]t shifted the associations' sphere of action from the neighborhoods of the periphery into the center of the capital. Large-scale demonstrations literally occupied (even if for a short time) the streets of Madrid. Collective sit-downs, on the other hand, were usually staged in front of government ministries and of municipal buildings, while lock-downs usually occupied community buildings of an intermediate scale (such as local churches, schools and at times market places). Those acts of occupation centered on fixed protest sites, but they did so while employing a range of mobile and flexible spatial strategies. (115)

The associations effectively stopped COPLACO's original plan to tear down many older buildings in the city center but their time in power was short lived. The Constitution of 1978, the first democratic elections since the Republic in 1979, and, in Madrid, the election of Socialist mayor Enrique Tierno Galván in 1980 all eroded the power bases of the movement. Ofer quoted Spanish Urban Planning scholar Manuel Castells who

summarized this waning of momentum as “[t]he ‘Citizen Movement fell apart, unable to absorb the contradiction between its political origins and its autonomous stand as a social movement’” (Ofer 111). Despite this formal dissolution, the framework of the neighborhood association remained working within new municipal bureaucratic systems rather than engaging in direct action against the state.

V. *Vente pa Madrid*:⁴⁶ Flamenco and the Shifting Space of Madrid

The Constitution of 1978 preserved Madrid as capital of the national government (Article 5). The Royal Decree 11/ 1980 of 26 September 1980 dissolved COPLACO (Neuman 112). The Comunidad de Madrid was officially formed as an autonomous governing body in 1982, gaining bureaucratic powers in 1983 (Neuman 54). Madrid’s 1985 General Plan for Urban Redevelopment, which was not implemented until 1992, followed many of the demands set forth by the neighborhood associations in the previous decade (13). Neuman cited the development of Madrid as Spain’s financial center during the post-Franco years as key to its growth:

Madrid, in the context of adapting to a global economy reliant on knowledge and information technologies, became the financial and service capital of Spain. From 1970 to 1985 the share of banks headquartered in Madrid rose from 29 to 50 percent (68 percent including banks held by other entities whose headquarters were in Madrid). 31 of 32 foreign banks that opened nationwide from 1978 to 1987 chose Madrid for their headquarters. 67 percent of investment funds, 63 percent of investment corporations, 73 percent of the capital of financial institutions, 82 percent of money market brokerage houses, and 92 percent of individual brokers were based in Madrid. (56)

The city grew into a Metropolitan Region encompassing the formerly rundown

⁴⁶ This is the title of a popular hit song from 1988 by the Madrid based flamenco pop group Ketama.

extrarradio, now filled with high-rise apartments and offices.

After its inclusion in the European Union in 1986, immigration to Spain exploded. Between 1985 and 1990, the total number of foreign residents in Spain doubled with the largest percentage coming from Latin America followed by Asia and Africa (Masterson-Aguilar 2-4, 21-25). Culturally, the transition to democracy in Madrid became associated with the *movida madrileña* movement. Parsons characterized the *movida* as a shift in urban identity writing that “[t]he Madrid ‘scene’ or *movida madrileña* as it was later called, of the late 1970s and early 1980s, was headed by an artistic coterie who outrageously paraded their self-claimed identity as ‘the moderns’.” (106) Spanish directors Pedro Almodovar and Carlos Saura rose to international prominence and modern and contemporary dance companies proliferated in the capital during the last decades of the twentieth century.

It was also during this time that Madrileño flamenco took on its own distinctive sound and look. Groups like Ketama and artists like Ray Heredia continued the fusion explorations of the seventies. These Madrileño flamencos drew on the new soundscapes surrounding flamenco in the city and made inroads in non-flamenco pop charts. Flamencologist Gerhard Steingress in *Flamenco Postmoderno* (2007) referred to this new movement of fusion and heterodox flamenco styles as both “postmodern flamenco” and “nuevo flamenco” (6). Steingress noted the tendency towards hybridization in flamenco at the end of the twentieth century and related this tendency as much to growth in consumer markets for “world music” as a pull away from nationalist and identitarian packaging of flamenco. As Madrid became more of the media capital of Spain, its

importance not only as performance outlet but as public relations and flamenco business center increased. On the urban level in the capital, new *tablaos* like Casa Patas and bars like Candela and later Cardamomo sprang up to serve the now large flamenco community which included numerous transplants (both professional and students) from around the world. By 1988, non-Spanish names of Japanese origin dominated the room logs of Amor de Dios with Israeli and Arabic names listed alongside names of the legendary teachers and dancers (Bourio archive in the Archivo Regional 74431).

International exchanges of dance technique, ongoing since the sixties by artists like Mario Maya and Antonio Gades became more daring with choreographers like José Granero and dancers like Isabel Bayón, Belén Maya, and Joaquin Cortés incorporating modern and contemporary dance technique into their individual styles. Graham technique became a requirement, alongside ballet, Spanish classical, and flamenco, for dancers aspiring to join most of the large flamenco companies in Spain. Contemporary dancers and flamenco dancers mixed in the company of Teresa Nieto, a Spanish dance artist trained in contemporary and modern dance, who created works that fused theatrical flamenco with other dance styles and the dance theatre of Pina Bausch (Barrios, Gladstone 2004 and 2005, Arrieritos Website, El Arte de Vivir Flamenco Website).

VI. *Ver a Madrid vacía:*⁴⁷ The 2008 Financial Crisis and the Emptying of Urban Space

The dawning of the twenty-first century coincided with Spain's adoption of the

⁴⁷ This is a line from the rumba "La Vida Sale" recorded by the cantaor José Mercé on the 2000 album *Aire* which describes the emptiness of Madrid during the Semana Santa (Holy Week) Holidays but could describe the evictions and foreclosures during the financial crisis of 2008.

Euro to replace the peseta as its national currency in 2002. The nation moved to distance itself from the fascist associations of the Franco era, furthering its reintegration into global political circles. Social policy scholar Michael Humphrey described the “Pact of Forgetting” as an agreement between Franco era politicians and officials and the subsequent democratic governments marked by the passage of two separate Amnesty Laws in 1939 and 1977 (26). By 2006, Madrid had removed most monuments to the dictatorship. One notable exception, the “Valle de los Caídos” monument outside of Madrid has recently become the center of a struggle by some conservatives to retain at least one link to the dictatorship and by protest of descendents of the victims. The exhumation of Franco’s remains buried at the monument, voted by Spain’s parliament in September 2018 to be moved to the Real Palacio in Madrid, stands as one small victory for the victims (Diéz). The city also renamed streets named for Falangist leaders attempting to rewrite its own history on the urban level. The government began formal recognition of the crimes of the dictatorship with the passage of the “Law of Historical Memory” in 2007 (Humphrey 25). The law represented an attempt to join in the series of “transitional justice cultures” and international human rights efforts in the wake of military dictatorships around the world (such as those in Chile and Argentina) (40).

By early 2008, Spain “ranked next to the United States in the league of countries with the largest net import of capital” (Marisol García, 2010). However, inflation in housing and real estate prices accompanied this financial growth at the upper levels of the financial system. Around the world, national economies came close to collapse due to similar disparities resulting in the 2008 financial crisis. In 2010 Spain began

implementing austerity policies “consisting of restrictions on public investment, salary reductions, and cutbacks in social spending” to combat the crisis and receive aid from the European Union (de Leon et al 1091). Cuts to funding for the arts figured into these austerity measures. The *New York Times* reported in 2013 that in Spain “since 2009 the average cultural organization had reduced its budget or volume of activity by 49.8 percent.” (Woolfe 10) Spain took longer to recover than countries like the US or Germany.

Grassroots protest movements like the *Indignados* voiced the anger of Spaniards who were:

outraged at the high unemployment and massive cuts to educational, social and cultural programmes as part of the structural adjustment measures promised by the government to international financial organizations, at the same time that Spanish banks were being bailed out with public funds, and the foreign debt increased. (Castañeda 310)

The movement emerged around the same time as Occupy Wall Street in the US.

Beginning in May of 2011 before elections, the *Indignados* made use of protest tactics like those of the Citizens’ Movements, such as occupying public spaces like the Puerta del Sol. The group also used occupation tactics to protest the mass evictions resulting from the collapse of the housing bubble.

On the quotidian level in Madrid, some examples of inflated prices appeared on the flamenco circuit: a *copa* (glass) of sangria at Casa Patas was 175 pesetas (one dollar) in 2001 and two Euros (over two dollars) by 2013; monthly rental for hostels in Lavapiés rose from around four hundred dollars a month in 2001 to almost a thousand a month by 2013 (Goldbach budget data). The 2011 cuts to arts funding directly affected not only the

Spanish theatre circuit but also the Spanish flamenco festival circuit. As a result, artists who had focused more on theatrical flamenco went back to the tablao stage, displacing lesser-known (sometimes foreign) performers. By 2013, the Spanish economy had recovered somewhat, but the move away from central government funding of the arts appears somewhat permanent. However on the municipal level, flamenco continues to figure as an important area for sponsorship. In Madrid, the festival “Suma flamenca” began in 2005 and continued throughout the crisis. With ongoing sponsorship and promotion by the council of Employment, Tourism and Culture of the Community of Madrid, the festival maintains a strong social media presence and produces promotional videos months in advance of the June festival dates.

VII. Madrid, Madrid, Madrid: Why is Madrid’s flamenco history important?

The 2017 promotional video for Suma flamenca revolved around well known flamenco dancers and musicians performing throughout the city at landmarks, in streets, at train stations, and the Barajas airport. Artists associated with Madrid like Alfonso Losa and Carmen La Talegona dance to a flamenco version of Mexican composer Agustín Lara’s 1948 song “Madrid” which celebrated the cityscape.⁴⁸ The video, produced by the Ayuntamiento, through site-specific choreographies, demonstrated the centrality of flamenco to the city’s cultural identity as purveyed by municipal decision makers. It went on to win seventeen international prizes (reported by *La Vanguardia* 22 November 2018).

⁴⁸ Lyrics include: “cuando llegues a Madrid chulona mía, Voy a hacerte emperatriz de Lavapiés” (“when you get to Madrid, my pretty one, I’ll make you empress of Lavapiés”) and “más castizo que la calle de Alcalá” (“more *castizo* than the Calle de Alcalá”). The chorus repeats the name of the city: “Madrid, Madrid, Madrid, pedazo de la España en que nací” (“piece of the Spain in which I was born”) and Madrid, Madrid, Madrid, en México se piensa mucho en ti” (“in Mexico [they] think much of you”). (https://letradecancion.com.mx/madrid_agustin-lara.html)

However, *antiflamenquismo* still exists across Spain, as illustrated by a publicity campaign in Valencia for the 2018 Premios Jaume which implied that flamenco tarnished the national image and eclipsed any scientific or technological innovations produced by the country. The campaign featured a poster which centered on the marked out word “Flamenco,” causing an uproar on social media in flamenco circles (Santiago Botella, 4 April 2018). In Madrid, the form still carries associations with tourism. The majority of the audience for each of the *tablaos* shows I attended in the summers of 2017, 2015, and 2013 were non-Spanish speaking tourists. Internationally, even amongst many flamenco aficionados, Andalusian “ownership” of flamenco remains unquestioned, as demonstrated by the 2011 UNESCO declaration of the art as Cultural Patrimony located in Andalucía and the southern parts of Spain, not Madrid. The Decision of the UNESCO committee that accepted Spain’s nomination asserted that “Flamenco is an artistic expression fusing song (*cante*), dance (*baile*) and musicianship (*toque*). Andalusia in southern Spain is the heartland of Flamenco, although it also has roots in regions such as Murcia and Extremadura.” (UNESCO decisions website)

By looking at Madrid over time and flamenco in Madrid, I problematize the essentialist view of flamenco as only one thing from only one region. Even in the South, there are myriad different styles sometimes even of the same *palo* in the same city. I fashion my Madrid flamenco time map not as an exhaustive history per se but rather as a demonstration of the multiplicity of overlapping, sometimes complementary sometimes contradictory chains of events and trends that have shaped the cultures (always already multiple) of the city. This mapping of space and time shows the pathways taken by

migrants, immigrants, emigrants up and down the country, back and forth across the ocean, and even in and out of the city space itself. The chapters that follow zoom in on particular sites within the city center to trace how these establishments dealt with these shifts in the economic environment and municipal policy.

3. *Escobilla*: Amor de Dios and the Fight for Space

Hombro, codo, muñeca, mano

A diminutive, rotund older woman sits in front of a class of sweaty dancers smoking a cigarette and eating a ham sandwich with one hand and keeping time by pounding a large stick (*bastón*) with the other.

Cara guapa, ponte aquí... pequeña, tú allá

Maria Magdalena gives all of her instructions from her seat, with a singularly amazing ability to correct and adjust using precise instructions.

Levanteís los pies

Each *maestro* at Amor de Dios has their own way of teaching with emblematic phrases: “*¡No corraís!*” (don’t run) growls La China. La Uchi emphasizes labor and effort frequently stating “*Hay que trabajar*” (One must work) or “*Me gusta trabajar*” (I like to work). Cristobal Reyes conversely warns against having *un infarto*, a heart attack, by wasting too much effort. Each teacher leaves their mark, a kind of moving signature, on the dancing of the students: how a dancer holds herself while executing footwork, another’s relationship with torque and his center, a facility with the *abanico* (fan) or the *bata de cola*, or even a distinct articulation of the shoulder, elbow, wrist and hand.

This chapter investigates the political, economic, and social tension surrounding the closing of the Amor de Dios Academy of flamenco and Spanish dance in Madrid in 1993, the protests and struggle of the dance community to save it, and subsequent relocation and change in ownership. The case of Amor de Dios demonstrates a community-based effort at preservation of a dance space which brought together diverse

dance teachers, students from around the world, and provided affordable rehearsal (and later performance) spaces. While a prime site in what Yuki Aoyama referred to as “flamenco tourism,” Amor de Dios has only tangential connection to mainstream international tourism (2009 81; 2007 106).

I analyze the role of Amor de Dios historically, since its founding in 1957, in the Madrid dance community. I trace the conflict with Spanish government and municipal authorities over curriculum (including the teaching of modern dance), noise, and shifting discourses about business, art, and industry in Madrid. Utilizing documents from the private archive of the original owner, Juan María Martínez de Bourio Balanzategui, housed since 2014 in the Archivo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, as well as documents from the Archivo de Villa Ayuntamiento de Madrid, I discuss connections between place/space, memory, dance, and community and how these concepts connect to neoliberal discourses of economy and progress.

What is/was special about Amor de Dios? I argue that as a decentralized yet collectivized pedagogic space, with no predetermined curriculum, it gave and continues to give students a certain amount of agency in determining their technical development. It offered a range of Spanish forms, only concentrating on flamenco in later years, since the 1980s. It was created to fill a need in the dance community not to profit from the community. Beginning in 1962, conflicts with first *franquista* state authorities and later with local authorities ranged from the *franquista* need to police artistic content, whether directly or indirectly, and, in more recent years, in the struggle over urban space and conflicting interests of local residents, local artists, commercial property ownership,

business, and municipal regulations as instruments of discipline and reappropriation by the city government. How did it survive? The most serious threat to the existence of the studio came in the early 1990s when it was displaced from the original location on the eponymous street near the Metro stop Antón Martín to a location about a half hour walk south through the neighborhood of Lavapiés to the street Fray Luis de León. A community-based effort on the part of students and teachers as well as the intervention of a flamenco appreciation foundation enabled this temporary solution. The relatively recent return of the studio to the Antón Martín area, now on Calle Santa Isabel on the opposite side of the Plaza Antón Martín, may indicate a renewed need to consolidate the flamenco landscape of Madrid.

I. Bourio: Creating the “Cathedral of Flamenco”

Juan María Bourio del Balanzategui was born in 1917 in Bilbao in the region of Vizcaya in Northern Spain but grew up in Sevilla in the Southern region of Andalucía until age 12. He studied law and later film and served in the military after the Spanish Civil War. Despite his military service, it is unclear what his personal political leanings were. In addition to his involvement with the arts, among his collections of newspaper clippings and correspondence are communist periodicals and correspondence from friends with a decidedly leftist bent. He was also a known acquaintance of martyred Spanish poet Garcia Lorca. However, during the Franco years, Bourio’s military service was frequently mentioned in any dealings with government or police. His brief training in law may have also facilitated some of his interactions with authority. Bourio began his professional involvement with dance as a film student in Madrid in the late forties and

early fifties, during the heyday of the large Ballet Español companies. In 1953 he began representing Luisillo's company in dealings with the early days of the Festivales de España campaign. He also worked for Antonio el Bailarín, Guillermina Cabrejas (French born "Mariema"), *escuela bolera* scion Ángel Pericet, Rafael de Cordova (Argentinian born Rafael Oscar Martinez), and later El Güito, as well as representing non-Spanish dance companies touring in Spain like those of Maurice Béjart and Paul Taylor.

In 1957, Antonio's manager contacted Bourio about finding a suitable rehearsal space for the dancer and his company. At first, they began rehearsing in a warehouse rented by Bourio at number 24 on the Calle de la Montera (Bourio Archive 74419, 1). Either in 1957 or in 1960-- diverging claims exist in Bourio's archive—they moved the rehearsal space to number 4 on the Calle Amor de Dios, from which the studio eventually took its name. Pinpointing the exact year for the move is difficult as different years are listing on different licencias de apertura or "opening licenses" which any business should have in order to open its doors for customers, but many did not. The opening license is like an operating license and one of the first things requested by police or government officials when investigating complaints or potential violations at a business. Throughout the Franco years, Amor de Dios also maintained a "permiso de funcionamiento" or "operating permit" that was renewed every few years. The opening license for the Amor de Dios location dates to September 18 1957, however it is unclear whether that license pertains to the location on Calle Amor de Dios or on Calle de la Montera (Bourio Archive 74425/1). The original rental contract for the Calle Amor de Dios location, first floor and basement, dates to the 15 of March 1957 (Bourio Archive 74425/1). The contract

included the hallway to the adjacent number 8 Calle Santa Maria, sometimes called Ave Maria, which eventually became a part of the studio though never listed as a separate address on the opening license. The ninth clause of the rental agreement specified:

The lessee will dedicate the location [that is the] object of the lease to offices of [an] Artistic Agent and for rehearsal[s] of Ballet companies that he represents, thus taking the legal consideration for the location, and synchronizing with this activity, and including change in property, of the new business established. (Bourio Archive 74425/1 2)⁴⁹

This clause explicitly states the use of the location for dance rehearsals. The term “Ballet” here should be interpreted in the context of Spanish dance terminology of the time. The term “Ballet Español” referred to the large companies of artists like Antonio, Luisillo, Mariemma, and Pilar López who performed repertoires that relied mostly on Spanish idioms including (but not limited to) Spanish classical dance, *escuela bolera* (a distinct form of Spanish classical dance), Spanish folk dance (including *jotas* from Northern Spain), and flamenco. These companies also frequently featured folk dance forms from throughout Latin America and occasional forays into what the broader dance world would recognize as “ballet,” usually in Spanish referred to as “ballet clasico” to differentiate.

The importance of this implication of the term Ballet, especially capitalized, bears heavily on future noise complaints regarding the studio. The amount of noise generated from what most American and European scholars refer to as “ballet” is miniscule

⁴⁹ “9ª. - El arrendatario dedicará el local objeto el arrendamiento a oficinas de Agente Artístico y para ensayo de compañías de Ballet que represente, teniendo por tanto la consideración legal de local de negocio, y pudiendo simultanear con esta actividad, e incluso cambiar de la propiedad, del nuevo negocio a establecer.”

compared to the amount of noise generated by most Spanish forms. Many Spanish dance forms are based around percussion: the obvious *zapateado* (footwork), *palmas* (hand clapping), percussive slapping or striking of the body, and the iconically Spanish castanets. While *palmas* and striking of the body are mostly limited to flamenco, *zapateado* and castanets are used by many Spanish forms. Classical Spanish dance, some folk forms, and even a certain brand of *escuela bolera* use *zapateado* while castanets originated in *escuela bolera* and were adopted in the twentieth century by flamenco dancers. Spanish folk forms like the *jota* employ castanets with the main difference being the positioning and playing technique of the instrument. The amount of noise generated solely by the dancing, especially if a large group is practicing, is not comparable to noise generated just by dance in most Western European forms. This does not include musical accompaniment. Live musical accompaniment of flamenco, where available, is extremely important as the form, especially in non-theatrical performances, is based around structured improvisations that build from the music.

In an interview with British flamenco aficionado Vicky Hayward and current director of Amor de Dios Joaquín Sanjuán that took place sometime between 1995 and 2001, Bourio emphasized that “[i]n the beginning there was not so much flamenco. Although if anyone asks if [legendary Spanish dance technique teacher] Maria Magdalena taught flamenco the answer is yes. But she was an expert.” (Bourio Archive 74419, 7)⁵⁰ Of the forms present in the early years of the studio, Bourio cited “*escuela*

⁵⁰ The interview (second document from signatura 74419 from the Bourio archive) survives in a handwritten transcription which (in addition to having legibility issues) appears to have been created by someone who is not a native Spanish speaker and thus contains numerous spelling mistakes. I have

bolera... [t]he dance of Maestra Palitas [which] was an amalgam of Spanish dance and flamenco as one of the elements among regional dances, *jotas*, and pasodoble, but it was not pure flamenco.” (Bourio Archive 74419, 8)⁵¹ This reflects the Ballet Español form as a multigenre umbrella form which dominated theatrical Spanish dance during the Franco years. From the forties through the early sixties, there were few purely flamenco theatrical shows which did not include regional dances or classical pieces. Especially in the sixties, many government officials and bureaucrats sought to encourage flamenco as a unique marker of Spanish national identity, rather than distinctly Andalusian regional identity, and thus officially encouraged the performance and transmission of the form along with the other distinctly Spanish forms as part of their project of reinforcing a united national Spanish culture (Goldbach 38-46). “Classical” ballet, in the fifties almost always represented by French ballet, was encouraged as an element of high European culture, like opera, which Spain expressed in its own native forms.

Nonetheless, Amor de Dios, almost from its inception, received several visits from state and municipal officials as well as police officers due to noise complaints from neighbors. Only two of these reports date to the Franco years, one in 1962 and another in 1967, with the last two dating to 1982 and 1991, after the transition to democracy. A close examination of each complaint and its repercussions demonstrates evolutions in the policing of urban life by the state and the city. They represent different views of what

attempted to translate what makes sense from the text available. Original text: “Al principio no había tanto flamenco. Aunque si alguien pregunte si Maria Magdalena enseñaba flamenco la respuesta es si [sic]. Pero ella era experta”

⁵¹ Original text: “en otras formas de danza tambien [sic] como la escuela bolera. La danza de la Maestra Palitas era una amalgama <insertion> de danza <end insertion> española con el flamenco como uno de los elementos entre danzas regionales, jotás y paso dobles, pero no era puro flamenco.”

kind of activity should be encouraged, what kind of values (industry or health versus art) should be supported and encouraged by the city of Madrid, and also who has the right to the city.

II. *Modernismo: Is There a Spanish Modern Dance?*

Ministry of the Government
Madrid 27 of October of 1962
By virtue of a formal complaint against [Bourio] and [having] verified the deeds that motivated it, the Illustrious Lord Superior Chief of Police has dictated the following Decree:
Being of sound mind, I impose the sanction of FIVE HUNDRED pesetas for celebrating public dances without the needed authorization.
Notice given. — Madrid 24 of October of 1962 (Bourio Archive 74424/7)

This citation from 1962 pertained not to the fact of the dancing but in the kind of dancing that occurred. A subsequent document in Bourio's archive explained the reasoning:

14 November of 1962
STATES That on the 21st day of this past October an agent of the Commissariat of Police of the district appeared at the cited location suspending some modern dance classes [clases de baile moderno] organized in the academy demonstrating that these could be considered as public dancing because the students were charged a certain amount and that the celebrating supposed an infraction of the Law. (Bourio Archive 74424/7)⁵²

It is unclear from the citation how the Police heard about the illicit modern dance classes.

Besides the network of inspectors, under the Franco regime there were also networks of

⁵² Original text: "EXPONE Que el día 21 de octubre próximo pasado se personó en el citado local un agente de la Comisaría de Policía del distrito suspendiendo unas clases de baile moderno organizados en la academia manifestando que estas había considerarlas como baile público porque se cobraba una cantidad a los alumnos y que el celebrar suponía una infracción de la Ley..."

informants who would report any potentially questionable activity to the authorities. Although the early sixties, especially after the relaxing of formal censorship in 1961, saw less of the oppressive monitoring of citizens than the forties and fifties, as late as 1974, the year before the dictator's death, a famous figure and friend of the regime like Antonio el Bailarín could be secretly denounced and arrested for blasphemy as detailed in his 1974 autobiographical *Antonio: Mi diario en la cárcel*. It is unclear whether the officer considered the content of the class objectionable due to moral, national, or purely bureaucratic reasons. Most internal state documents referring to the censorship of dance in particular in the forties and fifties, primarily cited forms like vaudeville (*vodevil*), musical comedies, and others associated with American popular culture as dangerous (Goldbach 35-37). In 1943, the National Propaganda Delegation circulated a memo that specified jazz as a particularly pernicious form, noting its degenerate and "animal" characteristics (Agente Provocador, 18 Nov 2015). The citation recognized the importance of other forms taught at the studio in its recommendation:

CONSIDERING That to take these classes as illegal and prohibited would considerably reduce the income that can be obtained by this business and taking into account that all of the students were informed in writing that a tuition payment would be solicited, that the amount of TWENTY PESETAS is for three hours of a modern dance class [*clase de baile moderno*] according to the card attached, something that the agent could verify...

IT IS ASKED That the exercise of this professor be permitted the same as the academies of classical, Spanish, and flamenco dance that in the cited Center up to fifteen professors conduct, since the maintenance of it [the Center], the most important in existence until now in Spain as a center of choreographic training and one that has been honored with the presence of distinguished personalities, is extremely costly, starting with paying EIGHT

THOUSAND PESETAS monthly for rent...and all this is little income for the sustenance and conservation of the location. 8 November 1962 (Bourio Archive 74424/7)⁵³

The term “*baile moderno*” used by the official who composed the account of the class in question is nebulous for many reasons. By indicating that students paid to take the class and that the class occurred in an organized dance academy, the reporting officer undermined any informal connotation of his use of the term “baile.” A reading of the term as connoting popular dance is also difficult as most Spaniards would be able to recognize popular Spanish forms and would have referred to any American popular forms as “baile americano,” jazz, or swing—all terminology used by officials and officers in documents throughout the forties and fifties. Likewise, Latin American based forms would have been designated as such because they were so referenced in other documents.

The use of the nebulous “moderno” designation reflects the use of the term in English. In Bourio’s notes for his never published history of dance, he referred to modern dance as “Danza Moderna y Contemporánea” in his title for a chapter about modern dance in Spain. (Bourio Archive 74425 f 35) “Contemporánea” has been the accepted terminology in Spanish for both modern dance and contemporary dance since the late twentieth century. Bourio traced the roots of these forms to the oft-cited, problematic

⁵³ Original text: “CONSIDERANDO Que como al tomar estas clases como ilegales y prohibirlas se reduce considerablemente los ingresos que se pueden obtener de este negocio y teniendo en cuenta que se informaba por escrito a todos los alumnos que solicitaban el pago de matrícula, que la cantidad de VEINTE PESETAS era por tres horas de clase de baile moderno según se indica en la tarjeta adjunta, cosa que pudo comprobar el agente...SOLICITA Que sea permitido el ejercicio de este profesorado igual que el de las academias de danza clásica, española y flamenca que en citado Centro funcionan hasta con quince profesores, puesto que el mantenimiento de el, el más importante existente hasta ahora en España como centro de formación coreográfica y el que se ha visto honrado con la presencia de distinguidas personalidades, es costosisimo, empezando por pagar OCHO MIL PESETAS mensuales de Renta local, más contribución, etc., y todo es poco como ingreso para sostenimiento y conservación local. 8 Nov 1962” (74424/7)

figure of Tórtola Valencia, a contemporary of Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis, known for similar classicist and exoticist fantasy pieces; the Barcelona-based Joan Tena, influenced by Ausdrücktanz— German modern dance— and Mary Wigman; and Madrid based Pilar Sierra, also a student of Ausdrücktanz. The last two were active in the fifties, two of the only practitioners of modern dance in Spain during the height of the Franco regime. Bourio also included Maurice Béjart (who he represented in Spain) as a strong influence on the development of contemporary dance in Spain, and whose activity during the dictatorship was facilitated by Béjart's ability to claim strains of ballet as his base. The only other person Bourio named who would have been active in Madrid in 1962, indeed, in all of Spain until the late sixties for that matter, is Ana Maleras, a former ballerina at the Teatro Liceo, who practiced, like Béjart, a precursor of contemporary ballet strongly influenced by Graham, Limon, and Cunningham techniques. The instructor of this class was most likely a Spaniard, else the nationality would be mentioned in reports, and not using ballet techniques, which are specified in the reports as legitimate forms for study. An educated guess would be either an Ausdrücktanz based class taught by Sierra or a Graham technique class taught by Maleras. In the international flamenco community, Graham technique tends to be the most widely used modern dance technical base in flamenco. The fact that Bourio mentioned both in his Spanish modern dance chapter demonstrates that he knew them, although his relationship with Béjart was much better documented. A Graham class would also explain the reaction of the official to the class: the use of contractions and rolling on the floor could have seemed shocking to an inspector expecting to view rows of upright dancers playing castanets, chaînée-ing

across the room, or performing footwork drills.

At the time, though flamenco and certain signifiers of Spanishness were sometimes appropriated by modern dance choreographers, modern dance was not included in the spectrum covered by Ballet Español in the same way as in ballet. For example, Joseph Giffords' 1947 choreography for "The Pursued" was inspired by the bombing of the Basque cultural center of Guernica but utilized a flamenco *palo* (a *saeta*) that is normally only sung and not danced, and is symbolic of Semana Santa (Holy Week) celebrations in the South. It also used pseudo-flamenco movements rather than movements from Basque dance thus reproducing the kind of cultural erasure the Basque people were struggling against throughout the Franco era. Making a variety of techniques available to students, even with an emphasis on Spanish forms, was something that Bourio, as well as the later director Joaquín Sanjuán, emphasized. In the Hayward interview, Bourio asserted as one of his main policies at the studio that "there should be space for everybody" (Bourio Archive 74419, 4). Sanjuán emphasized that because of this policy, as well as the "choose your own adventure," student-driven curriculum, there tended to be "a certain interchange of techniques" that is not always well-received by strictly flamenco teachers (Bourio Archive 74419, 10). This demonstrates the ongoing tension between innovation and orthodoxy in flamenco that continues to this day. Ballet Español showcased different Spanish forms through which performers could move while maintaining the distinct technical form of each style. Cross-training even in ballet was controversial for many flamencos but by the fifties had become standard for most Ballet Español companies. In essence, this first citation represented an attempt of the Franco

regime to control the cultural identity of Spanish dance, and indeed of Spain in general.

III. *Ruidos musicales: Plugged In*

Ayuntamiento de Madrid
Delegation of Estate, Rents, and Heritage
Date of communication: 24-6-67
Interested party and address: D. Juan M^a Martínez Bourio
Amor de Dios 4, Academy of Dance
Review of infraction committed:
Day and time: 20-5-67 17,00
Detail: Producing great noises with wind [air] instruments transcending to the exterior [of the building] and causing a nuisance for the neighborhood.(Bourio Archive 74424/8)⁵⁴

Complaints of loud music in other areas of Europe or the United States in 1967 would probably be due to rock music and electric guitars. In the above noise complaint, “air” or wind instruments are specified as the source of the problematic noises, instruments not typically associated with flamenco. This noise complaint exemplified a recurring theme in the interactions between Amor de Dios and the municipal government: what is an acceptable level of noise for a dance studio that teaches Spanish dance? What level of financial responsibility for noise insulation should the director of the studio be required to take? What presents the greater priority for cultural preservation, the study of music and dance or the neighbors’ sleep patterns?

This last question boils down to the competing interests of the different groups who occupy space in the city. In the 1967 complaint and later in a 1983 complaint, the interests of the neighborhood residents are pitted against the operation of the dance

⁵⁴ Original text: “Ayuntamiento de Madrid DELEGACION DE HACIENDA, RENTAS Y PATRIMONIO Fecha de la comunicación 24-6-67 N/referencia GE-14149/67 Interesado y dirección D. Juan M^a Martínez Bourio. Amor de Dios, 4-Academia de baile. Reseña de la infracción cometida, Día y hora 20-5-67 17,00 Lugar Amor de Dios, 4-Acad^a baile. Detalle Producir grandes ruidos con instrumentos de aire trascendiendo los mismos al exterior y causando molestias al vecindario.”

studio. In addition to these two groups—artists versus residents, there is the group of tourists who form a transitory local community, albeit briefly. It is difficult to draw a clear line dividing the three groups as housing information from the neighborhood, which is unavailable for private residences from this period, would have to be examined against student enrollment for which only names of students who personally rented studio space appear in archival documents. It is likely that many of the dance students and musicians were also local residents. Some documents mention a hostel in operation in the same building as the dance studio, a likely candidate for temporary student residents and tourists.

The duty of weighing the various sometimes competing interests of these groups fell to city officials implementing noise, health and safety, and environmental ordinances that changed over the years (see Macho). Often times, it appears that many officials were unaware of the history of the studio, especially in later years, or of its ever growing importance as the flamenco center of Madrid. The documents accompanying this first noise complaint showed attempts by the city government and in particular the College of Architects to work with Bourio to minimize the noise created as a necessary output of the daily activities of a Spanish dance studio. Many of the concerns related to vibrations and architectural problems pertaining to flooring in a studio which teaches many forms that use *zapateado*. One document from the Official College of Architects of Madrid from January of 1963 certifies that particular repairs to the flooring in two of the studios—numbers 1 and 5, repeat offenders—eliminated vibrations (Bourio Archive 74424/1). Inspections of the building seem to accompany annual or semi-annual requests for

renewal of the operating permit of the studio. Requests appeared from 1959 (for the original operating permit), 1962, 1965, 1966, 1968, and 1973. It is unclear what happened in the interim years not accounted for or after 1973. As the expiration date for the 1973 permit could coincide with the death of General Franco, especially if the permit term was two years, this drop off could be the result of the collapse of the dictatorship, the general chaos and confusion in the government, or subsequent restructuring. These frequent inspections, by inspectors concerned with noise and structural soundness rather than artistic content, coincide with receipts and descriptions of repairs to the studio in Bourio's archive dated at least through the mid 1980s.

The outcome of the 1967 noise complaint was a fine paid by Bourio and an admonition to "establish a schedule, prudence or discretion, to which those who practice music training or rehearsal must abide." (dated 12 February 1968, Bourio Archive 74424/8)⁵⁵ In terms of a schedule, the original Amor de Dios (as of 1968) appeared to maintain operating hours, that is rehearsal and class hours, between ten am and ten pm. The room logs from these years, maintained in the Bourio Archive at the Archivo Regional, and which list studio number, time rented, name of renter, and rental fee paid for every day of operation, do not specify the genres practiced by the various renters, nor whether it was a private rehearsal or public class. (Bourio Archive 74434/1; 74434/2; 74434/3) They often only list renters by their first name. However, from the few recognizable names, an estimation of the range of generated noise is possible. On

⁵⁵ Original text: "CONSIDERANDO: Que los hechos sancionados constituyen una infracción del artículo 53, apartado 3º de las Ordenanzas de Policía Urbana y gobierno de la villa de Madrid que establecen un horario, prudencia o discreción, al que deberán atenerse quienes practiquen entrenamientos o ensayos de música." (74424/8)

Wednesday May 8, 1968, the renowned technique teacher Maria Magdalena taught in studio number one from eleven am until two pm. When I studied with her in 1998, her classes were one hour long and rotated thematically throughout the week— arm day, footwork day, castanet day— with themes repeating at different rates based on the class. Another legendary teacher at the studio, the *jota* maestro Pedro Azorin, taught classes that same Wednesday from ten am to eleven am and noon to one pm in studio number five. The *danza española* teacher Maria Rosa Merced reserved two large chunks of time in studio three, from eleven am to two pm and three pm to nine pm. Other *danza española* figures with time on that particular day include Elva Roy (four pm to five pm in studio one and five pm to nine pm in studio four) and Julio Principe (three to four pm in studio four). Sara Lezana stands out as one of the few recognizable flamenco names, with time in studio two from five to six pm, studio seven from six to seven pm, and studio one from seven to eight pm. Of the renters recorded only by one name, besides Azorin, only “Granero” stands out as almost certainly referring to Argentine born classical dancer turned flamenco dancer and choreographer José Granero, whom Bourio also listed in the Hayward interview as a frequent presence at Amor de Dios.

This list of less immediately recognizable names includes Enrique, Victorio, Diana, Pablo, Venegas, Rene, Elena, Lina, and Maravilla. Lina most likely refers to flamenco and *danza española* dancer and instructor Lina Fonteboa, who is still teaching at the current incarnation of Amor de Dios. Pablo could be American born flamenco dancer and instructor Pablo Rodarte, who is listed on the logs from 1969, and as of 2017 lives and teaches in Tucson, Arizona. Although the legendary flamenco dancer and

choreographer Antonio Gades was not listed on this particular day, he does appear frequently in other logs from that time period, usually with large chunks of time that extend to the latest hour of the studios (ten pm). This mix of genres and names bears out Bourio's assertion that the studios originally focused more on danza española and other Spanish forms than on flamenco. Given that these various forms involve various levels of noise production, with only flamenco requiring live music, it seems that in order to follow the Ayuntamiento's injunction to keep a sensible schedule would involve policing what forms were practiced at what times. To do so would go against Bourio's hands-off philosophy when it came to curriculum.

IV. *Molestias a la vecindad: Neighbors, Noise, and Democracy*

Don Carlos Fernández Sanz, resident of Amor de Dios, 5 - 4G... respectfully:

STATES On the street Amor de Dios number 4 in the basement and bottom floor, there exist locations where dance and folklore classes are given with an overflow of musical instruments, such as castanets, drums, and [guitars].

Said instruments resound particularly loudly everyday except Saturday (when they do not give class), from 3 to 6 in the afternoon and Tuesday and Friday from 8 to 10 at night. All other hours the sounds come intermittently due to the start and end of various classes.

For all these reasons,

IT IS ASKED to [your illustriousness] to verify if these said sounds are within reason, to request that the proprietor of said locations to install sound proofing, as he has already ignored the petitions of our Community President...

Madrid, 28 of April 1982, (Archivo de Villa de Madrid 59-177-32)⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Original text: "Ilustrísimo señor: Don Carlos Fernández Sanz domiciliado en amor de dios, 5-4° G distrito postal 14 ..., respetuosamente: EXPONE En la calle Amor de Dios, 4 sótano y 1ª planta existen unos locales donde se imparten clases de danza y folclore con derroche de instrumentos musicales, tales como castañuelas, tambores y gaitas[sic]. Dichos instrumentos se hacen especialmente altisonantes todos los días excepto Sábados (que no imparten clases), de 3 h. a 6 h. de la tarde y los Martes y Viernes de 8 h. a

This request did not start with the Police or with uncited, anonymous complaints. It represents a direct confrontation between the dance studios and their neighbors, fellow residents of the neighborhood. Over the next two years, Bourio, the neighborhood community group, and municipal authorities exchanged a series of correspondence, citations, and formal requests that ultimately represent the conflicting claims on this piece of urban space. Who should decide what goes on in a neighborhood? Is it the residents who live there, the people who work there, the business owners who operate there, the property owners who own it, or the municipal authorities charged with regulating it? As described in the Segunda Letra, such neighborhood associations rose to power in the seventies and held political power through the early eighties.

Bourio's archive contained only two official notices from the Ayuntamiento: a parking citation from 1979 and a request for building repairs in 1977. The file on the location at the city archive began with this neighborhood association request from 1982. Because documentation from the 1970s in the city archive is spotty at best, it is unclear if this lack of correspondence indicates an abatement in official regulation of the site or a shift to more informal means. The letter from April of 1982 mentioned requests to Bourio not found in his personal archive. It could be that these requests, from neighbor to neighbor, were made orally, in person or perhaps even at a neighborhood meeting. Bourio might have ignored the requests because of the lack of formality or because, after having

10 h. de la noche. Las demás horas los sonidos se hacen intermitentes debido a la entrada y salida de las diversas clases. Por todo lo cual SUPLICA a V.I. Comprueben dichos sonidos para que si estuvieran fuera de lo razonable, se inste al propietario de dichos locales a la insonorización de los mismos, ya que hace caso omiso a las peticiones de nuestro Presidente de Comunidad. Dios guarde a V.I. muchos años. Madrid, 28 de Abril de 1.982”

made extensive repairs and soundproofing renovations in response to the 1967 complaint, thought he had done his part. It bears repeating that flamenco and Spanish dance are loud. But how loud is too loud? To what extent is the complaint reasonable or unreasonable?

The resident group seems to be informing the city here that dance classes are being given at a location that the city might not be aware of. At this point, Amor de Dios had existed there for at least twenty plus years. Also, the letter stated that the studios operate everyday but Saturday. Per the room logs, dated from 1968 through 1988, the studios regularly operated on Saturday but were closed on Sunday. It is unclear why this easily discounted misinformation was included. Perhaps it would be taken for granted, in a country which even today still operates according to the Catholic calendar of holidays, that a business would be closed on Sunday. Perhaps the use of the studio on Saturdays did not disturb the neighbors as much as the weekday use since classes usually ran Monday through Friday with private rehearsal rentals on Saturday. This may well have been a written follow up to a complaint made either by phone or in person, as the requested verification had already taken place two months before:

10 FEB. 1982

The Police Officer D. Francisco Martin Sanz reports on the musical noises

The members of Patrol E-4 reported to the address indicated above [calle Amor de Dios, 5] where they could verify the existence of a dance academy at Amor de Dios number 4 bottom floor. It would be convenient to have the technical Services make a visit to verify that the most noise is produced at 16 to 16:30 in the afternoon [4:00 to 4:30 pm]. (Archivo de Villa 59-177-32)⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Original Text: "El Policía D. Francisco Martín Sanz informará sobre ruidos musicales INFORME Se personaron los componente del Patrulla E-4 en el lugar arriba indicado donde pudieron comprobar, la existencia de una Academia de baile, situado en la c/Amor de dios n° 4 planta baja, Sería conveniente fuese

It is unclear why the presence of the dance studio would need to be verified in person. Since the last license renewal was almost ten years old in 1982, and following the chaos at the end of the dictatorship, perhaps paperwork would have seemed unreliable at this point. If the authorities had waited a year, they would have seen the studio, and Maria Magdalena's class, featured in a scene in director Carlos Saura's 1983 version of *Carmen* featuring Amor de Dios regular Antonio Gades and guitar virtuoso Paco de Lucia. The film circulated around the world in film festivals and later on VHS, served as publicity for the studio, and Magdalena's class, and brought in students from flamenco communities from around the world.

By early 1983, a subsequent petition received by the city stated the case for disciplining the studio a little more forcefully, and towards the end it seemed to frame the issue as a public health threat:

Don JESUS ESPINOSA AYUSO, ... as Administrator of
the Community of the Street Amor de Dios number 5
respectfully:

STATES:

That there exists an ACADEMY OF DANCE, in number 4
of the street Amor de Dios, in Madrid, in front of number 5
of the same street. On 27 of December of 1980, a written
request was sent by the Community of number 5 to the
Director of said Academy asking him in the shortest period
possible to proceed with his soundproofing of the dance
studios, that such noise is produced that makes it
impossible to abide, especially during the seasons in which
the windows are left open, and seeing as up to this date we
have not been addressed by this gentleman, for this reason:

WE REQUEST:

That [your Excellency] give the appropriate orders, so that

girada una visita por los Servicios técnicos para su comprobación ya que cuando más ruido producido es de 16 de la tarde a 16'30."

our petitions should be addressed and ascertain that all that we state is totally true, there are days when the noise they create is insupportable, because it should be taken into account that many older and a few sick people live here... Madrid, 2 February 1983 (Archivo de Villa 59-177-32)⁵⁸

The bottom and reverse side of this last document carried twenty-seven signatures from various residents. The mention of older and sick people who lived there directly framed the issue as a clash of interests between the different groups. Which group's interests should be protected by the city? It depends on how the authorities viewed the issue: teaching of dance versus mental and physical health of the neighborhood or practice of art versus naptime. Perhaps due to the number of signatures, the intervention of a legal representative, or due to the framing of the issue, this last petition received more response from the city council. A memo dated February 16, 1983 from the President of the Council to the Police Department requested officers to not only verify the noise level and veracity of the complaint but also to check on the opening license, lack of which would result in immediate closure. The police responded with the following information:

Mr. President of the Council:
Pursuant to your previous Decree, related to a dance

⁵⁸ Original text: "ILMO. SR. Don JESUS ESPINOSA AYUSO, con domicilio en Madrid c/Arroyo de la Media Legua nº 46, casado, mayor de edad y con D.N.I. nº 2.159.185, expedido en Madrid con fecha 6 de Marzo de 1979 y como Administrador de la Comunidad de la Calle de Amor de Dios nº 5 a V.E., respetuosamente: EXPONE: Que existe una ACADEMIA DE BAILE, en el nº 4 de la Calle de Amor de Dios, de Madrid, frente al nº 5 de la misma calle. Con fecha 27 de Diciembre de 1.980, se mandó un escrito por la Comunidad del nº 5 al Director de dicha Academia rogándole que por favor en le <sic> menor plazo que le fuese posible procediese [sic]a su insonorización de los salones de baile, ya que es tal los ruidos que producen, que se hace imposible el aguantarlos, sobretodo en las épocas que dejan las ventanas abiertas, y como quiera que hasta la fecha no hemos sido atendidos por éste Sr., es por lo que: SUPPLICAMOS: Que V.E. dé las órdenes oportunas, para que sean atendidas nuestras peticiones y compruebe que lo que le exponemos es totalmente cierto, hay dias [sic]que se hacen insoportables los ruidos, por que [sic] hay que tener en cuenta, que viven personas mayores y algunos enfermos.Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años Madrid, 2 de Febrero de 1.983."

academy at this property number 4 of the c/Amor de Dios, I put to your knowledge that by personnel of this Unit, at my command, the denounced noises have been verified, are normal in this class of activity, authorized for the schedule of 10 [am] to [10 pm], prove to be most bothersome in the morning, when the castanet classes are given. - They present an opening license, nº exp. 3.567/68, dated 2-7-1968, in the name of JUAN MARIA MARTINEZ DE BARRIO BULANRATEGUI. Madrid, 7 de marzo de 1983. (Archivo de Villa 59-177-32; Bourio Archive 74424/10)⁵⁹

For the officers to verify that not only were the noises very real and normal for this kind of activity, but to also be able to pinpoint the castanet class as the primary culprit, they would need to monitor the studios almost everyday at different times of day. The Ayuntamiento recommended improving the soundproofing as well as keeping the windows closed at all times. Documents in Bourio's archive reveal Bourio's attempts to communicate this to the professors. However, even in 2017, most flamenco professors preferred natural air to air conditioning and would frequently request air conditioners be turned off during their classes. Bourio's response to the final order to fix soundproofing noted that "despite the order to users (different Professors and students) to not open the shutters during the use of the assigned classroom" users by and large ignored the rule.⁶⁰ It is not uncommon among dancers or even yoga practitioners, to exercise in heated rooms

⁵⁹ Original text: "SEÑOR CONCEJAL PRESIDENTE: En cumplimiento de su anterior Decreto, relacionado con academia de baile en la finca n 4 de la c/Amor de Dios, pongo en conocimiento de Vd. que por personal de esta Unidad, a mi Mando, ha sido comprobado que los ruidos denunciados, son normales en esta clase de actividad, autorizada en horario de 10 á 22 horas, manifiestan que cuando más puede molestar es por la mañana, que se dan clases de castañuelas. - Presentan licencia de apertura, nº exp. 3.567/68, de fecha, 2-7-1968, a nombre de D. JUAN MARIA MARTINEZ DE BARRIO BULANRATEGUI. Madrid, 7 de marzo de 1983."

⁶⁰ Original text: "que a pesar de dar la órden [sic] a los usuarios (diferentes Profesores y alumnos) de no abrir las contraventanas durante el use del salón asignado a cada uno, por ver que ésta no se cumplía, se han puesto cierres y candados en cada uno de los huecos y ahora la órden [sic] es cumplida a rajatable [sic]." (Bourio Archive 74424/10)

to prevent the muscles from getting cold during pauses in instruction. This becomes a problem during the hot months of summer when in Madrid the temperatures can rise to over 100 degrees Fahrenheit or 40 degrees Celsius.

[dated 7-1-84]

SITE: C/Amor de Dios 4 bottom floor

TITLE HOLDER: Juan M^a Martinez del Barrio [sic]

Bulanategui [sic].

ACTIVITY: Dance Academy

REQUEST. Concession of an extended deadline for not giving the title holder acknowledgment of the previous request. Having amply exceeded the deadline given by the previous request from this Bureau dated 16-7-83 to remedy the deficiencies indicated in the same request and not having acknowledged the same notification, a FINAL and UNPOSTPONABLE deadline of 30 days is conceded in order to carry out the prescribed [remedies] and not having complied with the request, the relevant government sanctions will be applied, in this case DENIAL of the opening license...

CORRECTIVE MEASURES:

- Augment the existing soundproofing ... [so that] the sound level of noises transmitted to the exterior does not exceed ... 45 dB (A) from [11pm to 8am] and 55 dB (A) from [8am to 11pm].

[signed] THE CHIEF OF THE MUNICIPAL OFFICE

[and] THE MUNICIPAL POLICE (c/ Amor de Dios n^o 4, Archivo de Villa 59-177-32; Bourio Archive 74424/10)⁶¹

⁶¹ Original Text: "Fecha 7-1-84 ... EMPLAZAMIENTO : C/ Amor de Dios 4 pta. baja. TITULAR : Juan M^a Martinez del Barrio Bulanategui. ACTIVIDAD : Academia de Baile.... Asunto: REQUERIMIENTO. Concesión de un último plazo por no dar el titular contestación al anterior requerimiento. Habiendo transcurrido ampliamente el plazo concedido en el requerimiento de este Negociado de fecha 16-7-83 para subsanar las deficiencias indicadas en el mismo y no habiendo dado contestación a dicha notificación, se le concede un ULTIMO [sic] e IMPRORRROGABLE plazo de 30 DIAS [sic] para cumplimentar el señalado y no se ha dado cumplimiento a lo solicitado, le será aplicado el régimen de sanciones correspondiente, y en su caso la DENEGACION [sic] de la Licencia de Apertura. Una vez tenga preparada la documentación indicada en forma correcta, deberá presentarla Vd. o persona que le represente debidamente, dentro del indicado plazo, cualquier día laborable, de 9,30 a 13 horas, en el Registro de esta Junta Municipal. MEDIDAS CORRECTORAS: -Aumentar la protección acústica de los elementos constructivos que delimitan los locales ocupados por esta actividad, de la forma precisa para conseguir que el nivel sonoro de los ruidos transmitidos al exterior, no exceda el valor de 45 dB (A) de 22 h. a 8h. y 55 dB (A) de 8 h. a 22 h. EL JEFE DE LA OFICINA MUNICIPAL ... EL POLICIA [sic] MUNICIPAL"

Among other issues, this notification along with the previous one began a series of interactions with the city in which the Ayuntamiento gradually began to incorrectly list his name— “Barrio” instead of Bourio in this notice and “Bulanrategui” instead of Balanzategui on both, something which did not occur before. Additionally, in previous communications with officials, Bourio’s military record and official relationship as a booking agent with the Ministry of Culture were frequently cited. After a disastrous stint as Güito’s manager in 1962, Bourio pulled back somewhat from fulltime work as artist representative. He continued to maintain relationships with dance companies and theatres around the world. He worked for the inclusion of Rafael de Cordova’s company in the Festivales de España campaign. Some of his last official duties for the Ministry of Culture included procuring payment for the Paul Taylor Company in 1977 after the Ministry failed to pay the group for a 1976 tour connected to the last of the Festivales de España campaign (Bourio Archive 328914/33). It appears from the documents in this bundle (memos, telegrams, etc) that Bourio may have stepped in on behalf of the Taylor Company due to the increasing chaos at the state level in the months after Franco’s death at the request of the Ministry of Information and Tourism (letter dated January 31, 1976, Bourio Archive 328914/33). This intervention dates his relationship with the government to after Franco’s death. The early eighties, also marked a time when much of the country was anxious to forget the dictatorship, as seen with the Pact of Forgetting of 1977 discussed in the Segunda Letra. This could partially explain Bourio’s gradual loss of position in regards to official matters. It should be noted that controversy surrounding who actively collaborated and the extent to which resistance was possible for working

artists in Spain still lingers. The legacy of a figure like Antonio el Bailarín was tainted by his association with the Franco family despite not only the imprisonment of his brother after the Civil War but his own arrest in 1974.

Conversely, Antonio Gades was able not only to actively maintain associations with communist parties around the world, most notably in Cuba, and a successful dance career in Spain. The two Antonios dominated two different eras of Spanish dance and two different phases of dictatorship which makes a direct comparison problematic. Gades's long association with Bourio and the Amor de Dios studios make any speculation at Bourio's links to the Franco regime difficult. Whether or not Bourio actively supported the regime, he did maintain, as a smart businessman, ties at least with the Ministry of Information and Tourism due to his role as artist representative. However, this 1976 exchange more directly demonstrated the increased power of the municipal bureaucracy in regards to urban planning, policy, and policing, a move not only away from the centralized state of the dictatorship but also from the citizen's movement backed by neighborhood and community associations like that of Amor de Dios number five.

The department that handled most of this matter bore the title of *medio ambiente* or "environment," demonstrating another new factor in urban planning in Madrid and around the world: appeals to environmental concerns. The second letter from the community group began to hint at this by framing the noise as a health matter. "Dance studio" as a special noise category is a distinctly Spanish thing. Even in other traditions that utilize footwork, the technique of flamenco *zapateado* is unique in the power required. It is quite common to feel the ground— even in a studio with a special floor

designed for flamenco— vibrate from yards away when even one dancer is practicing footwork. In addition, castanets need no amplification to sound loud. Indeed, a beginning castanet class could compete with a beginning violin class for "nails on the blackboard" levels of noise. In the case of Amor de Dios, the Ayuntamiento based its recommendations in technology: air-conditioning and insulation.

Other items in the file at the city archives include numerous receipts for building repairs, window insulation, and air conditioning installation. The last document in the file for this *denuncia* is an order to archive the file which states: “the causes for the *denuncias* have been remedied, and it has been established that they have not recurred, it is proposed that the file be archived.” (Archivo de Villa 59-177-32)⁶² The archive order is dated February 10, 1992, a year that marked another important, and for the studio potentially fatal, transition.

V. *Arte e industria: Money and the Right to the City*

WARNING

Federación de Peñas Flamencas de Madrid...

D. Agustín Tena DIRECTOR

Center of Cultural Studies and Activities

COUNCIL OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE...

Madrid 8 of June of 1993

Esteemed Mr. Tena:

We would like to bring to your attention the lamentable situation of the Flamenco Center amor de Dios, threatened with imminent closure, to which end we are attaching a copy of a letter directed to the Council director [Sr. Consejero] in which this event and its consequences are reflected.

Similar letters have been directed to our presidents Misters González and Leguina, the Minister of Culture and senior

⁶² Original text: “Subsanadas las causas que motivaron las denuncias y puesto que éstas no se han reproducido, se propone el ARCHIVO del expediente.” (Archivo de Villa 59-177-32)

department heads, the Mayor of Madrid and the head of the Cultural Council, definitely to all the responsible persons at the institutions which could contribute solutions to this problem.

Letters of concern about this closure have arrived from cultural institutions all over the world, precipitated by the exhaustion of a man of seventy-six, D. Juan María Martínez de Bourio, director - proprietor of Amor de Dios, tenant of the location of the studios, who has finally come to the agreement to close and vacate the premises in the interests of the company which owns the building. The flamenco entities are going to express their rejection of the lack of interest by our society in maintaining their cultural entities, in an authorized demonstration on the 17th at 20:30 [8:30pm].

We have to move quickly to alternative solutions to the current location and the totally private responsibility of a Center with such international repercussions for our culture and our economy such that already... the dispersion of the teachers of Amor de Dios and its consequences will make any posterior action useless.

The flamenco world unites behind an adequate response from our cultural authorities, we are sure that you will do everything in your power to propitiate it.

Attentively,

Joaquín Sanjuán Pérez⁶³

PRESIDENT FED. FLAMENCO ENTITIES OF THE
C.A.M. [Autonomous Community of Madrid] (Bourio
Archive 74439/6)⁶⁴

⁶³ As Sanjuán's last name appeared as one word in this and most formal correspondence, I chose to use that spelling throughout the dissertation. In social media and in some newspaper articles it appeared as "San Juan."

⁶⁴ Original text "AVISO... Federación de Peñas Flamencas de Madrid ...<To>D. Agustín Tena GERENTE Centro de Estudios y Actividades Culturales CONSEJERIA DE EDUCACION Y CULTURA... Madrid, 8 de Junio de 1.993 Estimado Sr. Tena: Queremos poner en su conocimiento la lamentable situación del Centro Flamenco Amor de Dios, amenazado de cierre inminente, para lo que le adjuntamos copia de la carta dirigida al Sr. Consejero en la que se refleja esta hecho y sus consecuencias. Cartas similares se han dirigido a nuestros presidentes Srs. González y Leguina, Sr. Ministro de Cultura y altos cargos del Departamento, Sr. Alcalde de Madrid y Concejala de Cultura, en definitiva a todos los responsables de las instituciones que pueden aportar soluciones a este problema. De Instituciones Culturales de distintas partes del mundo están llegando escritos de preocupación por este cierre, propiciado por el cansancio de un hombre de setenta y seis años D. Juan María Martínez de Bourio, director - propietario de Amor de Dios, inquilino de los locales donde se asienta, que finalmente a llegado al acuerdo de cerrar y dejar el local expedito a los intereses de la inmobiliaria propietaria del edificio. Las entidades del flamenco van a expresar su rechazo a la falta de interés de nuestra sociedad por mantener sus entidades culturales, en

As dire as this letter from then head of Madrid's Flamenco Federation and future director of Amor de Dios after 1993 sounds, the situation that the original Amor de Dios faced in the years 1991 through 1993 was still worse. What changed in the decade since the 1983 neighborhood noise complaint? Did business fall off? Were the studios failing? If anything, the popularity of Saura's flamenco trilogy with Antonio Gades brought renewed interest in flamenco and heightened the reputation of the studios. The very same year that the original location closed, Bourio was honored by the Ministry of Culture for his work. An increasingly international student base supported the studios, which came to symbolize the "cathedral" of flamenco in Madrid for many around the world.

According to the correspondence of Bourio in his desperate attempts to keep the studio doors open stretched out over two years. The events he highlighted in his testimonies, the obtuse responses by the city government and the alleged actions of the company who purchased the building all point to either an active conspiracy of municipal government with corporate interests or else a purposeful permitting of the destruction of an iconic cultural institution in the name of profit. The increasing forgetfulness and willful ignorance of the municipal authorities in regards to the studio create a frustrating read. The documents relating to the closure were not included in the city's file on the location; Bourio's private files paint a depressing picture of this battle. Read with the

manifestación autorizada el próximo día 17 a las 20:30 horas. Hemos de salir pronto al paso con soluciones alternativas al local actual y a la responsabilidad totalmente privada de un Centro con tanta repercusión internacional para nuestra cultura y nuestra economía ya que, de no ser así, la dispersión de los maestros de Amor de Dios y sus consecuencias hará inútil <sic> cualquier acción posterior. El mundo del flamenco confla en una respuesta adecuada de nuestras autoridades culturales, estamos seguros que hará cuanto esté en su mano para propiciarla. Atentamente. FDO. Joaquín Sanjuán Pérez PRESIDENTE FED. ENTIDADES FLAMENCAS DE LA C.A.M." (Bourio Archive 74439/6)

Hayward interview conducted about ten years after the events, Bourio's apparent bitterness seems warranted. The shift to decentralized municipal bureaucracy and growing neoliberal emphasis on business, the economy, and modernization worked in the background in the decade before the end of the original location. The idea of Amor de Dios, living on in principle, name, and in some of the same teachers, survived this crisis only through the efforts of the flamenco community, the work of the teachers, students, and aficionados not through any *deus ex machina* state intervention.

The beginning of the end of the original location came with the purchase of the building. The same file that contained most of the correspondence surrounding this incident in Bourio's archive also contained several lease agreements first between Bourio and Maria Victoria Castelo Elguero (dating from 1957 and 1973), Luisa Manzanares Urosa (1976), and finally Consuelo Castelo Soriano (1981 and 1985). The Castelos appeared to be part of the same family and their relationship to Bourio spanned thirty-five years and perhaps more than one generation. Bourio wrote a six-page, single-spaced, typewritten account of the events (starting in September 1991) and sent it to the District Council President in April of 1992, plus another, slightly shorter version, to the Department of Building Protection of the Ayuntamiento in May of 1992 (Bourio Archive 74425/16). In the April 1992 account, he stated that he had occupied the rooms in which the studios were located since March 15 of 1957 and had operated the studios in this area since September 17 of 1957. Given previous communications with the municipal government, he understandably felt the need to lay out not only how long he has occupied the property but also the exact dates and validity of not only his opening license, but of at

least four other types of fiscal licenses he has received for the studios over the years 1957, 1964, 1981, and 1992.

Bourio wrote that on February 27, 1992 he received a notification from the previous administrators of the property, Consuelo Castelo Soriano and Luis López Castelo, which began “[f]or the present and as longtime proprietors of the property sited in Madrid, calle Amor de Dios 4 - Santa Maria 8,” and proceeded to communicate what Bourio terms a simple change in ownership of the property (Bourio Archive 74425/15, 1).⁶⁵ In the May 1992 account for the Department of Building Protection, he related:

in the month of September of 1991, as a consequence of a complaint filed by the tenant of the first floor of the building, owner of the Pension called “La Granja,” in which attention was called to the partitions or walls of the property and some beams from his floor, (roof of the rooms that I occupy), an inspection of the property was conducted by this Department... which resulted in the completion of operations and works to protect the building, performed by the Ayuntamiento... consisting especially in:

- tearing out the partition or wall referred to in the denuncia and, in its place in order to supplement its support function,
- wooden beam walkways, in the first floor as well as the bottom floor and mezzanine. (Bourio Archive 74425/16, 1)

Bourio asserted in the longer account from April 1992 that this original denuncia by his neighbor was really the work of the real estate company Alquiler y Rehabilitación de Viviendas, S. A. who were about to purchase the building. The notice Bourio received

⁶⁵ Original text: “Que en el mes de Septiembre de 1.991, como consecuencia de una denuncia formulada por el inquilino del piso primero de la misma casa, titular de la Pensión denominada “La Granja,” en la que se alertaba sobre el mal estado en que se encontraba el tabique o pared de dicha finca y algunas vigas de su suelo, (techo de las que yo ocupo), se efectuó por ese Departamento, dentro del oportuno expediente a que dió lugar aquella denuncia, una inspección de la finca que dio resultado la realización de una serie de actuaciones u obras de protección del edificio, llevadas a cabo por sustitución por el propio Ayuntamiento, por medio de la Empresa Construcciones y Contratas, consistentes esencialmente en: - Derribo del tabique o pared a que se refería la denuncia y, en su lugar para suplir su función de apoyo, - Colocación de apeos con vigas de madera, tanto en el piso primero como en la planta baja o entresuelo.” (1)

from the Ayuntamiento states:

[I]t is communicated that you are ordered within a time limit of 15 days from now to present the corresponding license of the activity exercised and the documents and justifications that are pertinent to your rights... meaning that once this time frame has passed without having attended [to this requirement] it will proceed to [formal] suspension of the activity. (Bourio Archive 74425/15)⁶⁶

It is worth noting here that even the location of the Amor de Dios studios since 2005 displays its Opening License prominently next to the window at the reception desk. The 1992 notification continued the trend of the municipal government confusing his name-- he is referred to as "Luis" rather than Juan-- which could symbolize not only the short term memory of the Ayuntamiento but also a growing distance between the government and the community.

In his response to the notice, Bourio wrote that "I consider the complaint... as one more of the illegitimate coercions that since said company took possession of the property, last March, have been exercised on myself and on the other tenants of the building" (Bourio Archive 74425/15, 3).⁶⁷ He added that he also received a letter in which he is:

made responsible for all of the misfortunes that could happen to me or to the people who use the location of my

⁶⁶ Original text: "Tramitándose expediente en esta Junta Municipal, se le comunica que dispone Vd. de un plazo 15 días a fin de que presente la correspondiente licencia que ampare la actividad ejercida y los documentos y justificaciones que estimen pertinentes en defensa de sus derechos y todo ello de conformidad con el art. 91 de la Ley de Procedimiento Administrativo de 17.07.58 (B.O.E.nº 171 de 18.07.58), significándole que transcurrido dicho plazo sin que el mismo haya sido atendido se procederá a la suspensión de la actividad."

⁶⁷ Original text: "Por último, he de manifestar que considero la denuncia que ha dado lugar al expediente de referencia como una más las coacciones ilegítimas que desde tomó posesión de la finca a título de propietaria, en el mes de Marzo último, viene ejerciendo sobre mi y sobre los demás inquilinos de la casa la Sociedad 'Alquiler y Rehabilitación de Viviendas, S. A.'" (3)

activity **if I do not vacate immediately** [emphasis in original] owing to the ruinous condition that, according to them [Alquiler y Rehabilitación de Viviendas, S. A], the building is found.⁶⁸

Bourio included in the list of illegal coercive actions the “cutting of the supply of electricity without prior notice to the tenants” and the complete removal of the floor to the entranceway to the building and “destruction of various partitions from the same access zone” (Bourio Archive 74425/15, 3).⁶⁹ These actions might sound familiar to any tenant who has been caught in the middle of gentrification projects in large cities in the US. Tenants’ Rights laws, both in the US and Europe, make evictions a long and involved process even if said tenants have failed to pay rent for long periods of time, of which Bourio was certainly not guilty. However, by using the excuse of necessary repairs, the property owners can cutoff water and electricity— although notice is normally required— or partially impede access to the building, which makes life difficult especially for businesses.

Bourio saved his most damning accusation for the end of his summary of events:

Although all this may seem unrelated to the issue referred to by these allegations, it is demonstrated by two directors or gentlemen related to said company, [who] in a personal interview that took place on the 13th of [the last month], have admitted that they were the initiators of said complaint,

⁶⁸ Original text: “Tal denuncia, pues, hay que colocarla al lado de (i) una carta en la que se me hace responsable de todas las desgracias que me puedan ocurrir a mí y a las personas que usan los locales de mi actividad si no los desalojo de forma inmediata, debido a la situación de ruina en que, según ellos, se encuentra la casa (por cierto, sin haber solicitado aún nada al respecto)” (3)

⁶⁹ Original text: “(ii), corte del suministro de electricidad, sin ningún aviso previo a los inquilinos de que tal corte se iba a producir, siendo debido el mismo a la no realización por la propiedad de las obras de reforma de la instalación que Industria le venía exigiendo reiteradamente que realizasen desde hacía más de dos años; (iii), levantamiento total del piso del portal de acceso a la finca por calle Amor de dios, 4, y destrucción de varios tabiques en la misma zona de acceso a la casa desde dicho portal, so pretexto de examinar el estado de la edificación, etc.”

above all, because I know that these same gentlemen in conversation with other people have flaunted ‘having great influence’ in the municipal Administration. (Bourio Archive 74425/15, 3)⁷⁰

The suggestion at the end of his statement, though not directly aimed at the Ayuntamiento, is an implicit accusation of corruption at the municipal level. Since he sent this letter to a department that itself was part of the municipal Administration, the accusation probably did little to help his case.

As urban property ownership in Spain, and around the world, grew into more of a capitalist venture than a means for obtaining basic living conditions, the gulf grew between municipal authorities and financial interests on one hand and those who actually live and work in the city on the other. I could suggest that a complicity between urban planning and administration and corporations is inevitable. The shift in those conducting business from people and families to faceless depersonalized companies created the conditions necessary for such coercive actions. This case clearly demonstrates the literal dislocation between historic or cultural value of a space conceived as inhering in the building itself rather than the ways in which people use the building. The supposed renovations meant to improve the space actually impeded and eventually drove out the special, unique, and culturally invaluable use of the place. Even in 2017, the name of the website of the historical heritage commission of Madrid is “Monumenta Madrid” or “Monument Madrid” (www.monumentamadrid.es). It includes pages on urban

⁷⁰ Original text: “Aunque todo esto pudiera parecer que no tiene relación con el asunto a que se refieren estas alegaciones, se manifiesta porque dos directivos o Sres. relacionados con dicha Sociedad, en entrevista personal celebrada el día 13 de los corrientes, han admitido ser ellos los inductores de dicha denuncia, sobre todo, porque me consta que esos mismos Sres. en conversación con otras personas han hecho alarde de ‘tener gran influencia’ en la Administración municipal.”

monuments, historical buildings, and monographs. The logic of historical preservation here, and in many other places in the world, is what performance scholar Diana Taylor might term the logic of the archive. The Amor de Dios studios represent a kind of living archive, comprised of a collection of people who are repositories of cultural knowledge rather than papers. Indeed, even in terms of paper archives, the personal archive compiled by Bourio, though now housed in the Archivo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, contained the most information about the studio not the official government archives.

Even the behind the scenes interactions, gossip, and conflicts that surrounded the first demise of the studio peek through in Bourio's meticulous documentation. Through following the documents in this archive, I constructed a tentative timeline of these events from 1991 through 1993. The original complaint dates to August of 1991. The Ayuntamiento conducted an inspection in September and made a few repairs. The real estate company AREVISA took possession of the building in February 1992; the old administrators sent out the notice to tenants on the 27th of that month. In March of 1992 the threats and intimidation attempts began with the destruction of the entryway. Bourio received the notice of imminent suspension of activity from the Ayuntamiento on March 27th and on March 31st AREVISA sent him and the other tenants a letter advising that they should vacate the building as soon as possible. Bourio sent his account to the various departments in April and May of 1992. Plans for restructuring his other property, office on calle Bordadores in Madrid, appear in the archive dated July 1992, indicating that Bourio was at least exploring the possibility of an alternate location for the studios at that time.

What happened over the next year remains unclear. Per Spanish press coverage, the company Metal Trade bought AREVISA in March of 1993 and continued the efforts of the previous company to have the building condemned and force all of the tenants out. The periodical *El Pais* reported that the Urban Management division of the Ayuntamiento had been trying to force repairs on the building since February 1989 and that in March of 1991 firefighters had to make emergency repairs to prevent a partition from falling (“La ruina danza” 2 May 1989). While none of this documentation is included in the file on the building in the Archivo de Villa as of September 2017, this is the condition the building would have been in when originally purchased in February of 1992, indicating that the intention all along was to evict the tenants and rebuild.

Given the current laws of privacy that protect businesses in Spain, obtaining access to files less than twenty years old relating to buildings or businesses is extremely difficult. One potential way that the *El Pais* reporter could have accessed these files is through the company itself, in which case the reasons behind revealing this information would support the company’s attempt to have the building declared uninhabitable. Bourio seemed to have stopped trying to fight the eviction. A handwritten note by Bourio was directed to Antonio Corcovado, then president of the Federation of Flamenco Associations dated June 1, 1993. The note began with the word “AVISO” - warning, urgent. Bourio invited Corcovado to a meeting at Casa Patas “to clarify the closure of the cited studios [Amor de Dios]” with “the objective of pointing out and demonstrating all of the efforts that have been made to prevent the closure” (Bourio Archive 74425/9).⁷¹

⁷¹ Original text: “AVISO con el ruego de ATENCION Don Antonio Corcovado presidente de la Federación

While no transcript of the meeting exists, besides circulating his account of the events, Bourio probably also announced his retirement, because after this meeting Joaquín Sanjuán wrote his letter to the Ministry of Culture on June 8, 1993 mentioning Bourio's imminent departure as director. A demonstration *por bulerías*, as the Spanish newspaper ABC phrased it, to protest the closure took place June 17 with protesters singing, dancing, and doing *palmas* from the Plaza Antón Martín down calle Amor de Dios to Calle Huertas (Galindo 98). However, in a June 1993 article covering the protest in *El País*, the director of Metaltrade claimed that Bourio had already come to an agreement with AREVISA to vacate the building before the change in ownership (Sanz 18 June 1993). No documentation existed in Bourio's archive to verify this claim. In fact, every document pointed to Bourio's resistance to the eviction. In the very last week before the closure, the state, in the person of Ramón Caravaca, Deputy Minister of Education and Culture for the Community of Madrid, stepped in to attempt to negotiate a compromise with Metaltrade. However, by June 22 Metaltrade triumphed and the school officially closed.

How much of the background machinations would the students and professors at the school have known? An undated semi-legible handwritten letter from a student named Nuria asked Bourio what was going on with the studios (Bourio Archive 74425/20). She wrote that everyone was upset and no one knew what was happening. She referred to the

de asociaciones Flamencas ... propietario de LOS ESTUDIOS de AMOR de Dios para que asista a la reunion [sic] que se celebrará el día 2 (miercoles) a las 8:30 de la tarde en "CASA PATAS" para aclarar el cierre de los citados estudios. El director muy agradecido va a asistir a dicho reunion [sic] con el objeto de puntualizar y demostrar con documentos todas las gestiones que ha realizado para evitar el cierre de los estudios y por ello convoca a todos los interesados a que asistan y le escuchen, agradeciendo [sic] esta oportunidad." (74425/9)

removal of the chair and mirrors from the studios and how everyone hated “Marco” now. “Marco” is probably the contemporary Spanish dancer Marco Berriel, former principal dancer with the companies of Maurice Béjart, Nacho Duato, and Joaquín Cortés. Berriel frequented the studio and was tasked with removing said items from the studios. He told his side of the story in a letter that was publicly posted at the studios:

TO THE DANCE PROFESSIONALS:

Madrid, June 25, 1993

After a series of misunderstandings that were produced on June 21 as a consequence of a transfer of material (specifically some mirrors) from the Amor de Dios studios, a series of malicious rumors has fallen on my person that appear to have been divulged between professionals and students, misconstruing my attitude. Nothing further from my intention [could have] caused the alleged incident.

As a consequence of these rumors, I feel profoundly wounded, not only as a professional but as a person. The defamation and calumny is very serious.

I understand that feelings were exacerbated at the time, but not to the point of accusing me of breaking mirrors, causing “vandalous destruction,” or contributing to the closure of the studios. This, apart from being absurd, is TOTALLY FALSE. Any of the professionals who know me know that I would be incapable of doing anything like that. And besides, to what end?

Searching for absurd “turkish heads” [scapegoats] is something too obvious and unjust for a problem this complex.

One must remember that these studios have been maintained privately for 35 years and when the walls were falling literally “in pieces” their director never received any kind of help (though it was requested) from officials, individuals, or from any collective to help face the costly and necessary repairs of the building.

It seems, before the act of closure, these responses are coming, but perhaps a little too late for a 76 year old person tired of fighting and hoping to live out his life in peace.

I believe that the adjective “traitor[ous]” is flimsy recognition for an individual who only has the merit of having created, invented, and maintained the studios during

so much time at prices affordable for the wallets of all artists. Perhaps, it is sad to affirm, that this was the revulsive that was needed so that the official organisms would take notice, for once and for all, of the needs of a large collective like that of dance.

The closure of the studios is something very serious in such difficult times, it is lamentable that by bickering, dance professionals find ourselves more divided than ever.

More than this it is to say that I support any kind of initiative for the formation of a space that would give continuity to the labor carried out in the Amor de Dios studios and that I will aid in the formation of new interpretations.

A salutation,

Marco Berriel (Bourio Archive 74439/7)⁷²

This rather strongly worded missive revealed the infighting and divisions that developed in the community at the time of the closure. It feels like the kind of refutation that, if written today, would be posted on someone's social media account. The removal of chairs and mirrors (maybe for his own studio space) was authorized by Bourio, an act

⁷² Original text: "A LOS PROFESIONALES DE LA DANZA Madrid, 25 junio 1993 Tras una serie de malos entidades que se produjeron en día 21 de junio a consecuencia de un traslado de material (concretamente unos espejos) de los estudios Amor de Dios, han recaído sobre mi persona una serie de infundios que al parecer se han divulgado entre profesionales y alumnos, tergiversando mi actitud. Nada más lejos de mi ánimo que provocar el supuesto incidente. A consecuencia de estos rumores, me siento profundamente herido, no sólo como profesional, sino como persona. La difamación y la calumnia es algo muy grave. Comprendo que los ánimos estuvieran exacerbados en esos momentos, pero no hasta el punto de acusarme de romper espejos, causar 'destrozos vandálicos' o contribuir al cierre de los estudios. Esto, a parte de ser absurdo, es TOTALMENTE FALSO. Cualquiera de los profesionales que me conocen, saben que sería incapaz de hacer algo así. Además ¿con qué fin? Buscar absurdas 'cabezas de turco' es algo demasiado obvio e injusto para un problema tan complejo. He de recordar que esos estudios han sido mantenidos de forma privada durante 35 años y que cuando las paredes se caían literalmente "a trozos" su director nunca recibió ningún tipo de ayuda (aunque fue pedida) ni de parte oficial, ni particular, ni de ningún colectivo para hacer frente a las costosas y necesarias reparaciones del inmueble. Al parecer, ante el hecho consumado del cierre, estas respuestas van llegando, pero quizá demasiado tarde para una persona de 76 años cansada de luchar y que pretende acabar su vida en paz. Creo que el adjetivo "traidor" es muy flaco reconocimiento para un particular que sólo tiene el mérito de haber creado, inventado y mantenido unos estudios durante tanto tiempo a unos precios asequibles al bolsillo de todos los artistas. Quizás, es triste constatarlo, este era el revulsivo que hacía falta para que los organismo oficiales se hicieran cargo, de una vez por todas, de las necesidades de un gran colectivo como es el de la danza. El cierre de los estudios es algo muy grave y en momentos tan duros, es lamentable y contraproducente que por dimes y diretes los profesionales de la danza nos veamos aún más divididos. De más está decir que apoyo cualquier tipo de iniciativa para la formación de un espacio que dé continuidad a la labor desarrollada en los estudios Amor de Dios y que ayude a la formación de nuevos intérpretes. Un saludo Marco Berriel" (74439/7)

which set Berriel up in the eyes of many of the students and teachers as a factor in the closure. This tension could have been exacerbated by the fact that he mostly practiced contemporary and modern dance forms, not flamenco, which already set him up as an outsider to many.

Berriel's mention of the walls falling down around them recalls for me what I was told when I first attempted to reach the original Amor de Dios in 1998: "The ceiling collapsed!" For most of the students and larger flamenco community, the state of the building was blamed for the closure, something emphasized in popular press coverage. Indeed, the vandalism of the mirrors, mentioned in a quote from student Maria Moreno in the June 1993 *El País* article on the studio closure, was the work of Metaltrade, not Marco Berriel (Sanz 23 June 1993). In the article the journalist, Juan Carlos Sanz, recounted how at one point (unclear exactly when but most likely sometime during the last week of classes) when the studio was empty, workers began some of the planned installations to the building, resulting in the aforementioned damage to the mirrors. Berriel may have actually been trying to help save the studio equipment by removing it. Sanz noted that Moreno spent the last night of Amor de Dios *en vela* or in vigil at the studio perhaps to prevent further vandalism by the company. Caravaca, negotiating on behalf of the local government, pointed out that the Community of Madrid "still need[ed] to give [Metaltrade] permission to renovate the building," but no records in either Bourio's archive or the municipal archive of Madrid indicated that he followed through with this threat. The Community of Madrid regularly issued permits for performing such renovation (*permisos de obras* or permits for works) as seen in the municipal files on the

bars Cardamomo (1996-1998) and Casa Patas (1986) (Archivo de Villa 59-416-20, 58-450-16). Metaltrade went through with the eviction and renovated the location, turning the building into what a 1999 *El País* article referred to as “luxury apartments” (Muñoz-Rojas 28 November 1999). As of 2018, an internet search for the company “Metaltrade” returned entries for a company *extinguida*—extinct. However, Amor de Dios continued to retain the name through two shifts in location over the next ten years.

VI. Postscript: *La lucha sigue*—The Fight Continues

In November of 1993, five months after the closure of the original location, Joaquín Sanjuán announced that a new location had been obtained on the street Fray Luis de León and would continue to use the “Amor de Dios” name. A few months later, in March of 1994, a headline in *El País* declared that the Ayuntamiento of Arganzuela (the new location sat just south of the borders of the Centro district) had denied the licencia de apertura for the new location. Juan Carlos Sanz described in a March 1994 article titled “El PP niega la licencia de apertura a la nueva academia de danza flamenca Amor de Dios,” the continuing controversy surrounding the academy:

[The idea of] a flamenco school in the same district where the Compañía Nacional de Danza, directed by Nacho Duato, does not fit in the head of the municipal bureaucracy... Madrileño flamencos, who fear a diaspora of professors and students, saved the academy from the chopping block with sit-ins and protests por bulerías. A stay of execution pulled from the owners saved them from eviction last summer and with the new year they moved to the new location on called Fray Luis de León. (7 March 1994)⁷³

⁷³ Original text: “A la burocracia municipal no le cabe en la cabeza una escuela de flamenco en el mismo distrito donde ensaya la Compañía Nacional de Danza, dirigida por Nacho Duato. La academia nació en la calle del Amor de Dios, en el barrio de Antón Martín, hace más de 30 años. En sus salas dio sus primeros pasos de baile Antonio Gades y, años más tarde, Carlos Saura filmó algunas escenas de la película Carmen. Los flamencos madrileños, que temían una diáspora de maestros y alumnos, salvaron de la piqueta

Sanz remarked on the presence of another dance company's rehearsal space (one that at the time centered on contemporary dance rather than flamenco) to hint at a differing valorization system by the district in regards to dance idioms. He detailed the contradictory actions of the municipal and state bodies in regards to the academy:

At the end of January, a few days after the Minister of Culture, Carmen Alborch, awarded the academy the silver medal of Bellas Artes, the Junta of Arganzuela District notified the academy that they did not have the official approval. The zone accepts cultural activities in its borders, but always [only if] they occupy "a complete edifice." The councilman Clemente Torres plays the forgetful one. But still remembers the threat of closure of the alternative theatre Cuarta Pared, in the same Arganzuela District. "If it is not possible to give the permit for opening, I am not going to give it, but if [no one] files a denuncia I will not close the dance academy either," assures Torres with the ordinances in his hand. There is no order to close Amor de Dios, but he will tolerate its continuity.⁷⁴

It is unclear where the resistance by the municipal authorities came from. Sanz mentioned the plans for the academy to move into a future Center of Regional Arts and Culture at the location which in 2017 housed the regional archives (including Bourio's archive). This never happened.

The Fray Luis de León location— the Amor de Dios that I attended— lasted for

la academia con encierros y manifestaciones por bulerías. Una prórroga arrancada a los propietarios les salvó del desahucio el pasado verano, y con el nuevo año se trasladaron a los actuales locales de la calle de Fray Luis de León."

⁷⁴ Original text: "A finales de enero, pocos días después de que la ministra de Cultura, Carmen Alborch, entregara a la academia la medalla de plata de las Bellas Artes, la Junta de Distrito de Arganzuela notificó a la academia que no tenían el visto bueno oficial. La zona admite actividades culturales en sus parcelas, pero siempre que ocupen 'un edificio completo'. El concejal Clemente Torres se hace el despistado. Pero aún recuerda la amenaza de cierre de lasala de teatro alternativo Cuarta Pared, en el mismo distrito de Arganzuela. 'Si no se puede dar el permiso de apertura, no lo voy a dar, pero si no se presenta una denunciatampoco voy a cerrar la academia de baile', asegura Torres con las ordenanzas en la mano. No hay orden de cierre para Amor de Dios, pero se va a tolerar su continuidad."

five more years. Sanjuán, in a 2010 interview with Ángeles Castellano, claimed that this location was always intended to be provisional, awaiting the promised state sponsored permanent location. When the lease expired at the end of the year in 1999, Sanjuán decided to stop waiting on the Ministry and formally incorporated the academy to be able to apply for a corporate line of credit. The discovery of the third location happened by chance. Sanjuán told Castellano that “[o]ne day I went up to buy something at the market of Santa María de la Cabeza and saw that the top floor was empty,” he explained (Castellano).⁷⁵ Castellano stated that “[s]ince then, Amor de Dios is joined to the Mercado de Antón Martín and is a totally private center.” Sanjuán described the business arrangement that remained in place from the older locations:

The professors pay a fee to use the facilities and the studios are rented to professionals who need to rehearse. The professors, at the same time, charge the students, who renew their [tuition] every week. “It is difficult to know how many we have, we can say that approximately one thousand people pass here daily,” says San Juan. [sic]⁷⁶

Bourio died in 2008, passing the last fifteen years of his life away from the management of the studios. In the Hayward interview he expressed his hope that:

[W]ith the few years that remain for me, what I would most like is to see the continuation of Amor de Dios assured without its spirit changed. I would like to see a Foundation that joined the studios and my archival collection that is maintained in the Ministry of Culture in Almagro. The ideal would be to have a kind of subsidy from the state but at the same time not permit the destruction of its natural

⁷⁵ Original text: “Un día subí a comprar algo al mercado de Santa María de la Cabeza y vi que la plantade arriba estaba vacía.”

⁷⁶ Original text: “Los profesores pagan una cuota por utilizar las instalaciones y se alquilan los estudios para los profesionales que necesitan ensayar. Los maestros, a su vez, cobran a los alumnos, que renuevan sus compromisos cada semana. ‘Es difícil saber cuántos tenemos, de manera aproximada podemos decir que pasan diariamente mil personas por aquí’, dice San Juan.”

atmosphere. (Bourio Archive 74419 11-12)⁷⁷

There is no information in Bourio's private archive about the failure of the state subsidy for the new location. However, even ten years after the failure of the proposed location at the cultural center, in the 2010 Sanz interview Sanjuán remained bitter:

“Public funds only [subsidize] the conservation of [building] structures,” [he] denounces, [referring to] his annoyance at how the Madrid [municipal] institutions have not for years supported flamenco, which had the city as epicenter for decades: “Flamenco is not of the people, this is a story. Flamenco is a stage art, and from Madrid it was brought from being considered an important folklore to a theatrical art for the world, and [this is] what the Madrid authorities forget.”⁷⁸

Sanjuán discursively challenged the social art aspect of flamenco to underline its importance to Madrid's place in the world of high art and also questioned the state valorization of architecture over the practice of live art forms. The headline for the interview compared the academy to the legendary Actor's Studio in New York, further emphasizing the connection between the flamenco practiced there and the theatrical stage. By emphasizing the “high art” or theatrical side of flamenco, Sanjuán, in essence, argued not so much against the social or more participatory side of flamenco which still figures as an element of the flamenco practiced at Amor de Dios but for the importance

⁷⁷ Original text: “con los pocos años que me quedan, lo que mas me gustaria es ver la continuidad de Amor de Dios asegurada sin que su espiritu se cambie. Me gustaria ver una Fundación que juntase los estudios y mi colección archivo que mantiene en la actualidad el ministerio de Cultura en Almagro. Lo ideal sería tener una cierta subvención del estado pero que al mismo no se permitiese la destrucción de su atmosfera natural.” (11-12)

⁷⁸ Original text: ““Los dineros públicos solamente sirven para conservar las estructuras’, denuncia, al tiempo que se queja de que las instituciones madrileñas no apostaran hace años por el flamenco, que durante décadas tuvo como epicentro la ciudad: ‘El flamenco no es del pueblo, eso es un cuento. El flamenco es un arte de escenarios, y desde Madrid se hizo que pasara de ser un folclore importante a un arte de escenario para el mundo, y de esto, las autoridades madrileñas se olvidan.”

of the center as a place for honing one's craft, a center from which madrileño flamenco could spread across the world.

Unlike the rationale advanced for the bars and taverns I will discuss in the next chapter, the academy's appeal to cultural patrimony is here framed as a formal pedagogic practice based on the importance of the studio, in name and reputation, to the flamenco community in Madrid and around the world. However, a social, informal pedagogy remains an element of the place. The studios sit above the Antón Martín market, noise from the classes floats above the noise of the various carts and stations in the market below. Professors, students and musicians still gather in the small main lobby around the front desk area. Many professors, especially the older ones, gather hours before their classes to converse and catch up with each other. Students hurry from one class to the other, drenched in sweat, and they congregate in the dressing rooms and dining area, which consists of two long tables with chairs and a microwave. The corridor that connects the studios in this configuration is circular, winding around the dining area, in contrast to the configuration of the Fray Luis de León location, which had a linear hallway. One can wander around the corridor, amidst the old posters from shows, costumes, photographs, and newspaper articles framed on the walls. Phrases from the various classes drift through the soundscape of the studios: the rhythm of a footwork combination, Belén López correcting alignment, a *soleá* on guitar from María Juncal's armwork class, Alfonso Losa shouting "no..no...no...sí!" Shows now also take place after hours at the studios, with tickets selling out quickly almost every night. Sanjuán's embrace of a corporate business model appeared to be functioning well in 2017. His son

Javier handles repairs to the studios and the social media for the academy (promoting workshop series, regular classes, and after hours events). The professors still retain complete autonomy over their individual curricula. However, the collectivist, almost anti-capitalist formation of its earlier years has been replaced with a more corporate model for practical reasons. State funding through the national government never came through and the municipality of Madrid never offered any such support. The resort to incorporation by Joaquín Sanjuán was an effort to ensure the financial independence of the studios. This financial independence from the state may hold the key for its future survival as well. Nonetheless, because of the decision to remain a private enterprise, the future of the studios rests with Javier San Juan⁷⁹ and depends on his commitment to his father's and Bourio's original vision of the studios.

⁷⁹ Javier San Juan appeared to prefer the two-word version of the last name (in emails and on social media) so I used that spelling in reference to him in the dissertation.

4. Tercera Letra:
Na' es eterno: The impermanence of urban spaces

*Quita una pena otra pena,
Y un dolor otro dolor,
Y un clavo saca otro clavo,
Y un amor quita otro amor.
Na ,na,na...es eterno.⁸⁰*

The first places I went when I lived in Madrid in 1998 were La Soleá and Los Gabrieles. I was studying at Amor de Dios. I shared an apartment close to the original location of Amor de Dios near the Atocha metro stop with two girlfriends. We were only a few blocks away from Calle Echegaray and Plaza Santa Ana, and a ten minute walk from Cava Baja, all nightlife centers at the time. I remember getting dressed up and walking down to La Soleá on Cava Baja. There, we sat on benches around the perimeter of a small room. A man with long dark hair pulled back in a ponytail played guitar. People would randomly start singing or get up to dance in the middle of the room and then return to their seats. My high school flamenco dance teacher had met her *cantaor* husband there. We met a group of flamenco musicians who were around our age at the time—I was 21, my friends were 18 and 22. They were impressed that a group of American girls could do *palmas* correctly. They took us to Los Gabrieles, a place that screamed Spanish-ness and flamenco with its painted tiles, bullfighting decorations, and musical selection. We would make the trek, perhaps first to Casa Patas for a cheap sangria, then down Calle Magdalena to Cava Baja, back through Lavapiés to Candela and

⁸⁰ Letra por bulerías by Camarón de la Isla: “[One] pain takes away another pain/ one sorrow takes away another sorrow/one nail removes another nail/one love takes away another love/Nothing, nothing, nothing is eternal.” Camarón goes on to sing “My pain is a castle/with towers of suffering/You yourself built it/when you said you were sorry.”

up to Los Gabrieles every night we were there. Echegaray was always busy in those days, people spilling out from one bar to another, flamencos migrating from the flamenco bars (Los Gabrieles, El Burladero, Cardamomo “Carda”) to the club Sol for a bit of salsa dancing, laughing, singing, and drinking. The times I went back to Echegaray on the 2017 trip, the street was nearly deserted. Cardamomo is now a *tablaó* not a bar and Los Gabrieles no longer exists. I would occasionally see a few flamencos smoking cigarettes in the street perhaps during a break from the shows at Carda. The street is not the same. The community has shifted and left those two blocks as peripheral no longer central. While flamenco has not vanished entirely from the street, it no longer spills out across the pavement with the same vigor.

In this chapter, I analyze the processes and impact of closures and disappearances in the network of flamenco places in the Centro district of Madrid through the saga of the closure of the legendary flamenco bar Los Gabrieles and the traces of the *peña*-style bar La Soleá, for what these stories reveal about both preservation of communities and impacts of tourism and real estate interests. In addition, Madrid houses various professional and semi-professional levels of flamenco artists, who represent a distinct portion not only of the music and dance communities but of the city’s arts community in general. As with the case of Amor de Dios, multiple groups overlapped in their use of these places. In addition to the arts community, other groups like local residents, property owners, and municipal authorities often come into conflict over the urban spaces utilized in tourist related industries.

As described in the Segunda Letra, Madrid has been a flamenco center since the

form first migrated from Andalucía with the influx of migrants from the South to the capital city in the nineteenth century. While various neighborhoods around the perimeter of the city (such as Vallecas and Orcasitas) have hosted groups of Andalusian transplants, the central region of Madrid (simply called Centro) holds the densest flamenco background of other neighborhoods in the city. As Inbal Ofer explained in *Claiming the City and Contesting the State: Squatting, Community Formation and Democratization in Spain (1955-1986)*, most of the migration of Andalusians to these areas of Madrid took place in the 1940s through 1970s, after the Spanish Civil War. Therefore I surmise that the communities in the Centro would have already been well established as the flamenco centers by the time these new migrants arrived. (40) In the book *El flamenco en Madrid*, noted flamencologist José Blas Vega argued that although Madrid is situated by traditional flamencology as outside of the *cuna* or cradle of flamenco (Andalucía, more precisely the area made up of Sevilla, Jerez de la Frontera, and Cádiz), it has played and continues to play a significant role in the development and transformation of flamenco music and dance. Although the first traces of public flamenco performances in Madrid date from the mid-nineteenth century, a definite upsurge in places devoted to flamenco occurred during the era of the *cafés cantantes* from the late nineteenth century through the start of the Civil War (107-143).

Within the Centro, the neighborhoods— or microlocalities— of Lavapiés, Latina, Huertas, and the Barrio de las Letras figured as hubs for flamenco activity and lifestyle since the mid to late nineteenth century. The street Cava Baja in La Latina hosted a number of nightlife sites (restaurants, taverns, bars) and a place called La Soleá (circa

1990 - 2010) where flamenco performers would show up after professional shows for impromptu jam sessions amongst the aficionados and tourists. Situated between Calle Huertas and Carrera de San Jeronimo, Calle Echegaray provided a greater concentration of flamenco sites and community throughout the twentieth century. A primary locus of this community was the flamenco tavern Los Gabrieles, whose life spanned nearly a century. Both of these sites closed permanently in the first decade of the twenty-first century. The public struggle over Los Gabrieles was well documented by the press while the lesser known and younger La Soleá disappeared more privately and lingers only in a few travel blogs and comments on travel websites. They represent the most recently disappeared Madrid flamenco sites and join a list that includes the *tablaos* Zambra (1954 - 1975), Las Brujas (1960-1982), El Duende (1959-1979), and Los Canasteros (1963-1993). What differentiates Los Gabrieles and La Soleá from these other places is the nature of informal performance and social mingling of performers and spectators that defies the typical separation structured by the stage and monetary impediment of the entrance fee which limits who can afford to even enter them.

Besides following different trajectories and exerting different perceived historical impact, these two places also had distinctly different functions and denominations in the social space of flamenco. “*Peña*” is an official designation. *Peñas* are more private organizations, like clubs, formed by flamenco aficionados who pay artists to basically “hang out” at their bars and hold jam sessions. Donn Pohren defines the *peña* simply as a club in the glossary to his *Lives and Legends of Flamenco* (1988/2014). However, a more accurate definition would be “social club” almost like a fan club. As La Soleá was open

to the public, it would not be considered a *peña*, but the style of the performances and the nature of the interaction between artists and audience was more like that of a *peña* than of a bar or a *tablao*. The term *tablao* denotes a place where patrons pay an entrance fee to sit and eat dinner or have drinks while watching a flamenco show, and it is a direct descendant of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century *cafés cantantes* that served as the primary performance spaces of the Golden Age of flamenco (see Macho). The terms *taberna* (tavern), bar, *venta*, and *colmao* describe similar functions— primarily drinking establishments where most performances are informal, unpaid, voluntary. The word *venta* comes from the verb *vender* meaning “to sell” but is also a synonym for “inn,” linking it to a place of lodging that also serves alcohol, like many British inn/tavern combinations. The word *colmao* is an Andalusian pronunciation of *colmado* or grocery store and refers to a place that sold alcohol to go but also allowed consumption on the premises. A *taberna* is a tavern or pub, an equivalent to the use of the term in the UK.

Political scientist James C. Scott argued in 1990 that:

[the] importance of the tavern or its equivalent as a site of antihegemonic discourse lay less in the drinking it fostered or in its relative insulation from surveillance than in the fact that it was the main point of unauthorized assembly for lower-class neighbors and workers. (122)

Scott grouped taverns with ale houses and pubs as social spaces for dissident subcultures (114). “Bar” in Spanish is a loan word from English, popularized in the twentieth century due to the influence of English speaking tourists and British and American popular culture. Per the 2018 dictionary of the Real Academia Española, “bar” refers to a place where drinks are consumed standing at a counter. It appears in municipal documents as

early as 1908 but does not appear as frequently as *taberna* until the mid-twentieth century. Documented in the Ficheros por calle (Files by street name) in the Archivo de Villa of the Ayuntamiento de Madrid, in 1908 the city granted an opening license for a “bar” at Echegaray n^o 13 to Pascual Casanova. Most licenses for establishments that sold alcohol listed business type as “*vinos*” (wines), “*cerveceria*” (beer shop), or “*sidras*” (ciders) (Ficheros por calle Archivo de Villa). The word *taberna*, as with the word tavern in English, implies a certain historical referent. Per the 2018 *Oxford English Dictionary*, a tavern is “a public house” where alcohol is served and also a workshop or a cellar. Los Gabrieles is variously described in municipal archival sources, newspaper articles, and blog posts as a *tablao*, *taberna*, restaurant or bar. My experience of Los Gabrieles, from 1998 through 2001, was of a place that alternated between *tablao* and bar or tavern. Some nights it held formal, organized shows, sometimes charging an entrance fee, but most nights it was open to the public, without fee. Unlike a formal *tablao*, it did not separate audience and performer on non-*tablao* nights. Also, the patrons could mingle, talk and form smaller social groups for interaction. The only remaining places in 2017 that approximated this atmosphere were El Burladero, Candela, and Casa Patas (see Macho).

The series of events that led to the shuttering of Los Gabrieles explicitly illustrates what urban planning scholar Robert Beauregard wrote about as the three different aspects of place in planning theory: “(1) as sites (i.e. places being planned), (2) as context, and (3) as places of practice” (278). Seen through Beauregard’s lens, the network of flamenco places forms the context for Madrileño flamenco with each individual location representing a place of practice. The term “place of practice” indicates

ongoing activity, movement, performance and sociality. Beauregard described criticism of planning that disregards the importance of places of practice and treats everything as a potential site for development (287). This understanding of place aligns with David Harvey's definition of "commoning" from *Rebel Cities* (2013) as a "practice [which] produces a social relation with a common whose uses are either exclusive to a social group or partially or fully open to all and sundry." (73) Harvey related this social practice to the conception of the cultural capital of cities, which he posited as something created by the residents of an area, writing that: "[t]hrough their daily activities and struggles, individuals and social groups create the social world of the city, and thereby create something common as a framework within which all can dwell." (73) By "all" Harvey referred to at the very least all within the social group, in this case residents, that produced the cultural capital or cultural common of the neighborhood. Looking for an ideal community formation in the center of Madrid, "anyone" or "someone" could replace "all" as the waning of number of residents that has eaten away at the cultural commons of that area. Harvey went on to differentiate the cultural commons of cities from other commodity forms:

That culture is a form of commons, and that it has become a commodity of some sort, is undeniable. Yet there is also a widespread belief that there is something so special about certain cultural products and events (be they in the arts, theater, music, cinema, architecture, or more broadly in localized ways of life, heritage, collective memories, and affective communities) as to set them apart from ordinary commodities like shirts and shoes. (74)

Thinking along Harvey's lines, I ask what kind of heritage or way of life was lost with

Los Gabrieles and La Soleá? What local character, personality died? What kinds of events were silenced?

The removal of such places of practice, invaluable cultural commons, left tears in the fabric of the flamenco community that remain unsutured. Accessing memories of these places whether through visual aids like photographs and written descriptions in newspaper articles or through the imperfect mechanism of personal memory, allows for a certain amount of written reconstitution or reconstruction, but the kinds of performance that these places enabled are much more difficult to convey via prose. As open access points, where an entrance fee was not required, the heterogeneous mix of people—insider and outsider, Spanish and foreigner—at Los Gabrieles and La Soleá stood in stark opposition to the more homogeneous mix of wealthy, mostly foreign, families that dominated *tablaos* audiences. The absent presences, especially Los Gabrieles, demonstrate the power of memory and the importance of these loci to the larger flow of people, ideas, and art. Even just one missing connection shifts the arterial network of the larger communal body.

I. Los Gabrieles

A 2012 article by Patricia Gosálvez in the Spanish periodical *El País* quoted art historian Natacha Seseña, who referred to Los Gabrieles as “the Sistine chapel of madrileña tiles” (Gosálvez, 13 April 2012). Indeed, most attention to the now vanished locale concentrated on the artistic and historic value of the elaborate murals painted on the tiles of the walls (called *azulejos*). Descriptions of the tiles focus on the scenes depicted more than the artistry involved:

[T]here are historic scenes that recreate Quixote, much flamenco folklore of bullfighters and Gitanas and some more modernist figures like the saucy naked girl with the grapevine hair that squeezes sherry directly from a cluster of grapes... [and an] unforgettable mural by Enrique Guijo in which some skeletons dance rumba. (Gosálvez, 13 April 2012)⁸¹

Newspaper coverage of the final closing of Los Gabrieles focused on the tiles and the building itself not so much on the actual business. Numerous articles and blogs posts memorializing the place referred to the bar itself as “mythic,” a source of legend, of infamy, and a tie to a time gone by. For example, in a 2017 *El País* article on the time of early twentieth-century vanguard painter Sonia Delauney in Madrid, journalist Use La Hoz included Los Gabrieles in the group of “mythic places” that one could visit in the 1910s and 1920s during which time it was “a fashionable place for intellectuals and aristocrats” (25 August 2017). Also in *El País*, Javier Barroso referred to the place as a “mythic *tablao*” (18 March 2012). To what time exactly did Los Gabrieles tie modern day Madrileños, one can ask? In addition, what about the place embodied that link?

The early years of Los Gabrieles involved shifting locations and themes. The place “Los Gabrieles” was born as a restaurant on the Calle de la Visitación in 1898 (Giménez blog). The physical place known as Los Gabrieles from 1910 until 2004 began life when the restaurant moved to Calle Echegaray in 1907 and converted to a Sevillian theme in 1911 (Blas Vega 133, Giménez). Its opening license was issued to Rafael José Jimenez in 1910, lists the address as Echegaray nº 19 and the type of business

⁸¹ Original text: “ En ellos hay escenas historicistas que recrean el Quijote, mucho folclore flamenco de toreros y gitanas y algunas figuras más modernistas, como la pícara chica desnuda que con pelo de parra exprime jerez directamente de un racimo de uvas. Inolvidable el mural de Enrique Guijo en el que unos esqueletos bailan la rumba” (Gosálvez, 13 April 2012).

establishment as “restaurant.” Calle Echegaray was renumbered a few times so the address of Los Gabrieles was some years n° 19 and some years n° 17. Also, many businesses would share the same address— either as “*derecha*” right side or “*izquierda*” left side of the building— further complicated records. However, the record for Echegaray n° 19 in 1910 specifically lists “Los Gabrieles” as the name of the establishment (Archivo de Villa, Ficheros por Calle, Calle Echegaray). This address in 2017 was occupied by the flamenco bar El Burladero per files in the Villa de Madrid archive on the address (c/ Echegaray n° 19, Archivo de Villa 47-144-46; c/ Echegaray n° 15, Archivo de Villa 38-440-83). The birth of Los Gabrieles coincided with the heyday of the *café cantantes* in Madrid and soon attracted some of the legendary flamencos of the era like cantaor Antonio Chacón. The flamenco world of the *café cantante* presented a blend of Andalusian folk culture and torero culture; bullfighters regularly mixed with flamenco artists in late night *juergas*. This Golden Age of Madrid nightlife forms the basis of most references to Los Gabrieles’ importance to the city and to the flamenco community.

Other anecdotes from this period describe some of the seedier elements of this nightlife and the role of Los Gabrieles in producing it. Gonsálvez recounted:

They say that in one of the caves of the cellar of Los Gabrieles tavern, the señoritos, naked, would pretend to be bullfighters and the prostitutes bulls. The only witnesses to this most private bullring were the characters tiled on the azulejos of the vaulted ceiling, murals with taurine scenes. (13 April 2012) ⁸²

⁸² Original text: “Cuentan que en una de las cuevas del sótano de la taberna Los Gabrieles, los señoritos, enpelotas, hacían de toreros, y las prostitutas de toros. Los únicos testigos de la privadísima corridaeran los

The 2016 post about Los Gabrieles on the blog “Antiguos Cafés de Madrid” cites the fame of the place as alternating between “wealthy debauchery and a clientele of artists and writers of prestigious acclaim,” as though the two elements could be easily separated (Giménez). The blog— and various newspaper articles— credit artists Enrique Orce Mármol, Enrique Guijo Navarro, Daniel Perea Rojas, and Alfonso Romero Mesa among others with the painting of the azulejo murals (Barroso, 18, 19, 21, and 27 March 2012; Gosálvez, 13 April 2012; Cuevas, 27 March 2015; Lahoz, 25 August 2017). José Blas Vega (2006) included Los Gabrieles as an essential spot in the early twentieth-century flamenco world. In his section on the life of legendary cantaor Antonio Chacón titled “Chacón in Madrid,” he wrote of Los Gabrieles:

Chacón made Los Gabrieles the most fashionable spot of all Madrid... [Calle Echegaray was] the axis of a periphery, that envelope[d] all the secrets and attitudes of a way of life [and] of knowing how to be [that is] very madrileña ... and began to mix with an Andalusian modus and philosophy, converting itself into a unique scene, of a singular and unrepeatably Madrid already disappeared. Beginning with Los Gabrieles, calle Echegaray and its surroundings were converted into an Andalusian colony, with bars, *colmaos*, cafes cantantes, strong-minded women, azulejos, windows of wrought iron, wine from Jerez, sherry from Sanlúcar, ham from Huelva and Granada, olives from Sevilla, bread from Alcalá, shortbreads from Écija and Estepa, soldiers from Pavía and waiters from down there with their glowing white jackets, and joy, much joy. (133)⁸³

personajes alicatados en los azulejos del techo abovedado, unos murales con escenas taurinas” (Gosálvez 13 April 2012).

⁸³ Original text: “Chacón hizo de Los Gabrieles el sitio de moda del todo Madrid...[calle Echegaray] es eje de toda una periferia, que envuelve los secretos y actitudes de una forma de vida del saber ser y estar muy madrileña si se quiere, y que vino a mezclarse con un modus y una filosofía andaluza, convirtiéndose en un

The author went on to recount a visit by the dictator Primo de Rivera to Los Gabrieles to hear Chacón sing. Blas Vega contrasted the patronage of the “elegant world” of Madrid in the early twentieth century with the constant presence of flamenco artists like Fosforito (singer), Rita Ortega (dancer), Estampío (dancer), Pepe la Matrona (singer), Pepa de Oro (dancer), Faico (dancer), Niña de los Peines (singer), and Ramón Montoya (guitarist), all of whom— especially Niña de los Peines— figure importantly in flamenco history (134). The number of women on this list merits attention, as during this time, women— at least “respectable” women— did not have much of a presence in Spanish nightlife. As scholars Mary Nash in a 1999 anthology chapter and Inés Alberdi in a 2003 article explain, Spanish women were not granted suffrage until 1931 and while women (especially unmarried ones) were permitted to work outside the home, their presence in bars carried an association with promiscuity or sexual availability still frowned upon in conservative Catholic Spain of the early twentieth century.

Blas Vega situated the Los Gabrieles of its youthful first few decades as the epicenter of a growing and evolving urban subculture that fused Andalusian culture with Madrid’s cosmopolitan art and social world. This subculture represented a confrontation, albeit a convivial one, between the lower class Andalusian transplants and the wealthy fashionable elite which formed the foundation of Madrid’s unique brand of flamenco.

Writing about the political and theatrical landscape of early eighteenth century London,

escenario único, de un único e irrepitible Madrid ya desaparecido. A partir de Los Gabrieles, la calle Echegaray y sus aledaños se convirtieron en una colonia andaluza, con bares, colmaos, cafés cantantes, mujeres de rompe y rasga, azulejería, ventanas de hierro forjado, vinos de Jerez, manzanilla de Sanlúcar, jamones de Huelva y Granada, aceitunas de Sevilla, pan de Alcalá, polvorones de Écija y Estepa, soldaditos de Pavía y camareros de allí abajo con sus chaquetillas blancas relucientes, y alegría, mucha alegría” (133).

the behavioral vortices, Joseph Roach emphasized the importance of :

the socially liminal space of the coffee or chocolate house as a forum for the transmission and refinement of public culture through performance. The London coffeehouse thus functioned in the role of behavioral vortex, a combination of built environment and performative habit that facilitated not simply the reproduction but also, according to circumstance and opportunity, the displacement of cultural transmission. (86)

In Blas Vega's Madrid of the early twentieth century, I suggest calle Echegaray and Los Gabrieles functioned in a similar manner as a behavioral vortex, one that enabled the birth of Madrid's flamenco scene.

The Civil War and later the second World War interrupted this flamenco scene, forcing many artists, from both flamenco and the larger art world, as well as writers into exile overseas. The Franco government imposed strict rules for censorship of live performances and the Guardia Civil policed many late-night gatherings. For example, flamencologist Alfredo Grimaldos in his book *Historia social del flamenco* recounted enounters by police and flamenco artists. He included a memory from the dancer El Güito of a late night after-hours *juerga* sometime in the late fifties or early sixties being interrupted by the police (188). However, flamenco in Madrid found ways to survive. Despite and perhaps to a certain extent because of the censorship and oppression of the Franco regime— which policed “foreign” art forms more meticulously than “national” forms, and because of government appropriation of the form as a symbol of national identity, flamenco grew to be more prominent in Spanish culture than ever before (Goldbach 22-72). International tourists began to return to Spain in 1949, and their

numbers exploded over the next decade (Pack 53). This inaugurated the era of the *tablaos*, where the focus shifted from the debauchery of the earlier days of flamenco social life to after hours and formal performances with entrance fees; little mingling between performers and audience became the norm. Around this time the nearby tavern Villa Rosa in Plaza Santa Ana switched to a *tablaos* format (Pza Santa Ana nº 15, Opening License, Archivo de Villa 46-380-2_0002).

In his blog, Giménez recounted a post-war decline of the Los Gabrieles, in which “[t]he fame of Los Gabrieles, that alternated between wealthy debauchery and a clientele of artists and writers of prestigious acclaim, was falling apart at the end of the fifties of the last century.”⁸⁴ Los Gabrieles became a late night spot, a place for after the show, especially as more and more flamenco and Ballet Español theatrical productions danced across Madrid’s stages. Giménez located a kind of resurgence in Los Gabrieles repute in the eighties when “the place returned to its flamenco origins, receiving a heterogeneous clientele composed of young people and foreigners.” This coincided with Spain’s joining the European Union in 1986, another jump in international tourism due to increased overseas flights, and the ever growing influx of flamenco tourists looking for flamenco sites.¹ Per the US Bureau of Transportation Statistics, growth in international flight began in 1978 with the US deregulation of airlines and increased even more when agreements between the US and various European countries allowed for greater freedom of travel between 1992 and 2002 (“Aviation in Focus” Bureau of Transportation

⁸⁴ Original text: “La fama de Los Gabrieles, que alternaba la golfería pudiente con una clientela de artistas y escritores de reconocido prestigio, fue decayendo al finalizar la década de los años 50 del pasado siglo” (Giménez).

Statistics).

Despite this resurgence, in 2004 Los Gabrieles closed down because the owner sold the building (Giménez blog). However, its famous tiled walls, the legendary azulejos, were protected by a 1997 municipal Urban General Plan Ordinance that contained a provision for the “protection of natural and historic patrimony” (“Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid - 1997” 122). Title 4 of Article 4.1.2 of the General Plan enumerated the:

Classification of patrimony and scope of protection (N-1). For the purpose of regulating the intervention into the patrimony conforming to the distinct elements that make it up, this is classified according to the following division: 1. Natural spaces[,] 2. Edification[,] 3. Special architectonic elements[,] 4. Historic parks, gardens of interest, and unique woodlands[,] 5. Roadway spaces[,] 6. Historic cemeteries. (122)⁸⁵

The azulejos that decorated Los Gabrieles fell under the “Special architectonic elements” category and were thus afforded official protection. The building was also designated as historic per the classification of “edification” which could also be translated simply as “building” in English. According to an article from *El País* from April of 2012, the original aim of the closure was to restore the tiles and renovate the building. The General Direction of Patrimony of the Community of Madrid supervised the initial restoration project.

In the *El País* article, journalist Patricia Gosálvez detailed the controversies that

⁸⁵ Original text: “Artículo 4.1.2 Clasificación del patrimonio y alcance de la protección (N-1) A fin de regular la intervención sobre el patrimonio conforme a los distintos elementos que lo componen, este se clasifica según la siguiente división: 1. Espacios naturales[,] 2. Edificación[,] 3. Elementos arquitectónicos especiales[,] 4. Parques históricos, jardines de interés y arbolado singular[,] 5. Espacios viarios[,] 6. Cementerios históricos” (122).

swirled around the restoration. She described the process by which the tiles were ripped from the walls and stored for a future replacement that never came. Most press coverage of the restoration came when members of the Madrid branch of the Occupy movement (called *okupas* in the Spanish press) occupied the building in March of 2012. Gosálvez described the events; as of 2019 the video she mentioned in the below was not available for viewing.

During the days that they remained there, the occupiers— who broke a few doors but did not touch the azulejos—invited the ceramicist Adolfo Montes and filmed a video in which he harshly criticizes the renovation calling it the “destruction” (in the video, the ceramicist, who is not a restorer, appears as a member of Madrid, Citizenry and Patrimony, but their president has disclaimed his comments). “They did not need to remove the azulejos,” Montes repeats by phone, “and in any case, with ceramics... you cannot restore them, it is better to replace them with new ones.” (13 April 2012)⁸⁶

I ask, to what extent does any “restoration” project necessarily require destruction of a certain portion of a material object? Gosálvez framed this challenge to the integrity of the restoration project as that of a non-specialist; Montes is “not a restorer.” Gosálvez immediately presented the contestation of this criticism.

ECRA, the restoration enterprise, very bothered with this video, disagrees (supported by the General Direction of Patrimony of the Community of Madrid, who supervised the project). “The original

⁸⁶ Original text: “Durante los días que permanecieron allí, los okupas —que reventaron un par de puertas pero no tocaron los azulejos— invitaron al ceramista Adolfo Montes y grabaron un vídeo en el que este critica con dureza la rehabilitación calificándola de ‘destrozo’ (en el vídeo, el ceramista, que no es restaurador, aparece como miembro de Madrid, Ciudadanía y Patrimonio, pero su presidente se ha desmarcado de las declaraciones). ‘No hacía falta arrancar los azulejos’, repite por teléfono Montes, ‘y en todo caso, con la cerámica no hay tu tía, no se puede restaurar, es mejor reponer, encargar unos nuevos’”(13 April 2012).

is sacred,” says Abraham Rudio, its director. “Putting a new azulejo is a lie, a false historicity; in restoration you always have to use materials that differ from the original in a technical manner and are reversible... And, the removal, always traumatic, was here unpreventable” (13 April 2012)⁸⁷

The “false historicity” that Rudio commented on could refer to any building from a previous era that has been restored or redecorated to approximate its original appearance. As mentioned in the “Primera Letra,” Andreas Huyssen, in *Presents Past* (2003), detailed the process by which architecture in general attempts to negotiate the at times uncomfortable coexistence of different time periods and different narratives with the idea of the urban palimpsest. Putting Huyssen in conversation with David Harvey, in writings such as *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (2009), *Rebel Cities* (2013), and *Marx, Capital, and the Madness of Economic Reason* (2018), I note that in its emphasis on production and profit, capitalism encourages a constant destruction of the past to make space for future products. The disposability of culture often times seems to erase the visibility of local history as well. The spaces remain but the places are rendered invisible or at least obscured by the overwriting. The absence of the former occupants and repurposing of the space also overwrites or, in essence, evicts the carriers of these histories, these memories. The palimpsest is a metaphor: the visuals seeping through are not necessarily material but might only remain within the mind of the one remembering the place. I argue that while the attempt to restore the azulejos was meant to preserve

⁸⁷ Original text: “ECRA, la empresa restauradora, muy molesta con el vídeo, disiente (avalada por la Dirección General de Patrimonio de la Comunidad de Madrid, que supervisó la obra). ‘El original es sagrado,’ dice Abraham Rubio, su director. ‘Poner un azulejo nuevo es mentir, un falso histórico; en restauración siempre hay que usar materiales que se diferencien de manera técnica del original y que sean reversibles... Y, el arranque, siempre traumático, era aquí imprescindible’” (13 April 2012).

them, by focusing on the materiality of the historicity of Los Gabrieles, the restorers and those tasked with its preservation omit the practice housed within the walls and the restoration thus resulted in rendering the space a palimpsest, walls scraped of any visible trace of historicity.

Rudio's "false historicity" could also refer to any historically designated site (physical location) framed as a tourist attraction or "sight," place to be experienced optically. In his 1976 study of tourism around the world, *The Tourist*, sociologist Dean MacCannell formulated a relationship that produces the tourist attraction consisting of tourist, site, and marker. Markers, at the time he was writing, consisted mostly of blurbs in tourist guidebooks, art history books, what MacCannell referred to as off-site markers, or plaques describing the sight, what he called on-site markers. Los Gabrieles regularly figured in such guidebooks, that normally emphasized the azulejos and its storied past. The azulejos represented a sight in themselves. Their use-value as decoration receded in the later years as they increasingly became an optic commodity, a tourist attraction. In the 2010s, the internet has taken up much of this "marking" work. Currently, the azulejos dominate most images available of Los Gabrieles online. MacCannell described the act of sightseeing as a kind of ritual of modern society that seeks to transcend the fragmentation endemic to modernity (19). In his view, culture in the tourist industry, which may overlap with popular or mass culture in its commodification, must be tied to location and reputation in order to create a tourist attraction. MacCannell aligned his conceptions of popular or mass culture with the idea of the global and the commodification of culture as opposed to the local or what might be termed folk culture or subculture tied to local

populations. The fame of Los Gabrieles only grew with the dawn of the internet age and, I speculate, would have continued growing had its life not ended so soon.

Rudio's use of the word "traumatic" to describe the removal of the azulejos almost anthropomorphizes the building itself, as if its flesh had been torn from its body. The description of the removal process sounds almost medical, with workers using blue mesh to bandage the exposed walls. However, journalist Gosálvez's sources seem to place the preservation of the building at odds with the retention of the tiles. She wrote that:

When the restorers began their work seven years ago, the building had been officially designated by the city. "It is a building typical of madrileña architecture from the end of the XIX century, serious and sensible, but it was falling apart," recounts Lorenzo Alonso, architect of the renovation. "I had to duplicate the entire structure, it would have been impossible to do so with the azulejos there." The architect's studio made a poetic video to conserve "the outside memory of the place" in which one can see the disappeared bar where the *madame* used to receive, the pink painted room of the bullfighter where Manolete was attended to and the washed out posters of the girls' [bath]rooms.⁸⁸

I ask, which artifact, which historical treasure merits preservation more: the azulejos or the building structure? The key issue in this distinction is an appeal to "public safety" that is implied in the public claim in interviews and newspaper accounts that the building was

⁸⁸ Original text: "Cuando los restauradores comenzaron su trabajo hace siete años, el edificio estaba apuntalado de oficio por el Ayuntamiento. 'Es un edificio típico de la arquitectura madrileña de finales del XIX, serio y sensato, pero se estaba cayendo', cuenta Lorenzo Alonso, arquitecto de la rehabilitación. 'Hubo que duplicar toda la estructura, habría sido imposible hacerlo con los azulejos allí'. El estudio del arquitecto ha realizado un poético vídeo para conservar 'la memoria canalla del lugar' en el que se puede ver la desaparecida barra donde recibía la *madame*, la sala pintada de rosa media de torero donde despachaba Manolete y los *pósteres* desvaídos de las habitaciones de las chicas."

“falling apart,” much like with the old building of Amor de Dios. However, by making this rhetorical claim, the new owners then had legal right to evict not only historic businesses but also residents. It is unclear from information available in the municipal archives whether or not owners would have had to present proof of unsafe conditions. No information about the sale of the building or closure of the business was included in the file on the address at the Archivo de Villa de Madrid municipal archive. In the case of Amor de Dios, no evidence for unsafe conditions was included in either the Bourio personal archive or the municipal archive

The name of the action that motivated the occupation of the building in 2012 was “el movimiento por vivienda digna” or “the movement for decent housing.” The title gave an indication that the controversy over the renovation of the building centered not only on questions of historical preservation and cultural patrimony but also on the impact of gentrification on the daily lives of the residents. Javier Barroso, in his 2012 series of articles detailing the occupation in *El País*, quoted one of the members of the movement as stating that “[m]any people from the neighborhood have come to see us who were very pissed off by the way they threw out the old tenant women who used to live here”; the source characterized the displaced residents as not only elderly but also female (19 March 2012).⁸⁹ The owner of the property countered the accusation of cruelty with an economic explanation for his actions. Barroso recounted owner Manuel García’s summary of the renovation process:

The renovation of the property lasted three years and

⁸⁹ Original text: ““Nos ha venido mucha gente del vecindario que estaba muy cabreada por como echaron hace tiempo a las ancianas de renta antigua que vivían aquí”” (Barroso 19 March 2012).

included the supervision of the General Directory of Archeology of the Community of Madrid. “It was very laborious and very costly,” the owner recognizes. One of the aspects that the most care was taken of were the tiles of the historic Los Gabrieles *tablao*. Now they are protected so that they will not deteriorate. “[We] only need 150.000 euros to put the floor on this part of the building [that hugs the corner] and the decoration to use it how they want. This was not done to dissuade interested parties,” ensures García. He fears that the assembly of 200 people could damage them. (Barroso 19 March 2012)⁹⁰

The azulejos again appear fragile, a priceless inheritance to be protected—here from the occupiers whereas in the Gosálvez article, to be protected from the property owners. Each party contested the use of the building and framed their claims around either cultural patrimony or a constitutional right to housing. One of the banners hung by the occupiers read: “Housing is a right, not a business. Take it.” (Barroso 18 March 2012).⁹¹ However, this same movement also made the video in which, per the 2012 Gosálvez article, their own ceramics expert accused the restoration project of destruction of Patrimony. The occupiers criticized the renovation as a capitalist enterprise aimed not at preserving cultural heritage but at turning a profit even if this treasure were damaged or lost.

The resulting closure and burial of the tiles in the cellar of the building proved this accusation accurate. García’s statements to Barroso indicate that the financial crisis

⁹⁰ Original text: “La rehabilitación del inmueble duró tres años y contó con la supervisión de la Dirección General de Arqueología de la Comunidad de Madrid. ‘Fue muy laboriosa y muy costosa’, reconoce el dueño. Uno de los aspectos que más se cuidó fueron los azulejos del histórico tablao de los Gabrieles. Ahora están protegidos para que no se deterioren. ‘A esa parte del edificio [la que pega a la esquina] solo le faltan un desembolso de 150.000 euros para ponerle el suelo y la decoración para el uso que se le quiera dar. No se ha hecho para no condicionar a los interesados’, asegura García. Este teme que las asambleas de 200 personas puedan deteriorarlos.”

⁹¹ Original text: “La vivienda es un derecho, no es un negocio. Tómalo.”

of 2008 may share some of the blame. In the March 19, 2012 article Barroso wrote that:

[The owners] tried to sell the apartments one by one, but the arrival of the crisis impeded this. Now they had obtained the signature of investors who were going to rent it. The handing over of the property was to take place this week. “The entire operation could be frustrated if the occupiers continue,” he [Garcia] adds.⁹²

The occupiers did not prevent this change in ownership. The last article in the series assured that the handing over would take place after the protesters left but closed with the ominous statement: “However, the destiny of the historic zone of the mythic tablao Los Gabrieles is still unknown.”(27 March 2012)⁹³ According to the Gosálvez article written a few weeks later, the owners retained the Los Gabrieles property after selling the rest of the building as apartments. She ended her article with the warning that “[t]hey do not have concrete plans, or dates, about the future of the location, but they hope to be able to return to reopen ‘the chapel’ to the public.”⁹⁴ The Los Gabrieles entry in the blog “Flaneando por Madrid” dated May 2014, two years after the media attention and sale of the building, expressed the hope that the renovation of the tiles “would come to an end and that neighbors and outsiders could return and enjoy in all its splendor an authentic monument of the art of azulejos and above all a location with a lot of history.” (Lajas Rodríguez)⁹⁵ The interviews Garcia gave to Barroso suggest that lack of funds— the

⁹² Original text: “Intentaron vender uno a uno los apartamentos, pero la llegada de la crisis lo impidió. Ahora habían conseguido una firma de inversores que los iba a alquilar. La entrega del inmueble se hacía esta semana. ‘Toda la operación puede frustrarse si siguen los okupas’, añade.”

⁹³ Original text: “Aún se desconoce el destino para la zona histórica del mítico tablao [sic] de Los Gabrieles.”

⁹⁴ Original text: “No tienen planes concretos, ni fechas, sobre el futuro del local, pero esperan poder volver a abrir pronto ‘la capilla’ al público.”

⁹⁵ Original Text: “Sólo hay que desear que dicha reforma llegue a su fin y que vecinos y forasteros puedan

150,000 Euros needed to complete the restoration of just the floor, for example— most likely prevented this reopening from occurring.

Los Gabrieles lives on in memory and reputation, listed among the famous places to visit in the Barrio de la Letras in a 2015 article in the newspaper *El País* about the area. It noted that “[t]here used to be followers of Los Gabrieles, an Andalusian tavern of costumbrist azulejos now closed, and the flamenco Villa Rosa” (Cuevas “Paseo por el barrio de las Letras” *El País* 17 March 2015).⁹⁶ A series of comments on the travel site TripAdvisor between January 2015 and March 2016 demonstrated that tourists were still searching for the place as a destination site. Google searches between December 2017 and May 2019 of the terms “Los Gabrieles Madrid” yielded this comment thread as the top result. The only other user generated review website that appeared in these searches was Yelp, which only contained four comments (Google search 11 May 2019). Both websites allow users to post comments and exchange questions and experiences about various locations around the world. TripAdvisor is geared more towards travel and tourism whereas Yelp emphasizes customer service and hospitality. On January 25, 2015 TripAdvisor user “Liz” listed as from the UK asked why she could not find Los Gabrieles when she recently returned to Madrid. User “Revolgo” (listed as Madrid based) replied that it was being renovated. In December of 2015, user “Adam W” (listed as from London) replied “[s]adly it has been demolished and turned into a hotel. Those great tiles were not saved.” User “Mark N” commented “[s]hame, that's the hangout place of our

volver a disfrutar en todo su esplendor de un auténtico monumento al arte del azulejo y sobre todo de un local con muchísimo pasado.”

⁹⁶ Original text: “Había adeptos a Los Gabrieles, una taberna andaluza de azulejos costumbristas, ahora cerrada, y al flamenco Villa Rosa (plaza de Santa Ana, 15).”

heroes.” In February 2016, user “jc1616” countered the claim that it was now a hotel with the comment “[i]t hasn't been turned into a hotel. The tavern remains closed and - apparently - the tiles are in storage awaiting the time when the bar will open again and they can be reinstalled.” User “Mikespireite” (self-identified as British) commented “Is it not possible to get an EU grant to reinstate this wonderful wonderful venue . I remember the flamenco so exotic. Please please refit those awesome tiles.” User “jyfb” (also listed as based in the UK) closed out the exchange with the comment:

I was in Madrid a few years ago and as the builders were inside I was able to take a look. All the tiles were gone and were apparently in storage for restoring. There is a wine shop listed at Echegaray 17, but Google Maps clearly shows Los Gabrieles next door and bricked up. The third floor has been converted into a flat and as far as I can tell the rest of the building remains derelict. You would have thought that were the bar in it's [sic] original condition it would be making a fortune.

This online exchange demonstrates that more than a decade after the original closure, people were still searching for Los Gabrieles. As the comment thread was dormant for a year after this last comment— which seemed to put the debate to rest— the Trip Advisor Staff closed the topic with a message: “This topic has been closed to new posts due to inactivity. We hope you'll join the conversation by posting to an open topic or starting a new one.” (27 March 2017) During my time in Spain in 2017, people regularly mentioned the bar to me, lamenting the closure and speaking about it as if it had only closed a few years before.

Michel de Certeau wrote about this kind of immediacy of places that no longer exist, “haunted places” that survive only in memory and legend, asserting that “it is the

very definition of a place, in fact, that it is composed by these series of displacements and effects among the fragmented strata that form it and that it plays on these moving layers.”

(108) The tiles in the remembering of Los Gabrieles came to symbolize the entirety of the place itself, a kind of synecdoche. This representational replacement demonstrates the kind of fixation that De Certeau referred to as a procedure for forgetting:

These fixations constitute procedures for forgetting.
The trace left behind is substituted for the practice.
It exhibits the (voracious) property that the
geographical system has of being able to transform
action into legibility, but in doing so it causes a way
of being in the world to be forgotten. (131)

Although the place lives on in our memories, the “way of being in the world” that Los Gabrieles provided is increasingly distant in time from the present moment, and fewer and fewer places remain to approximate it.

II. La Soleá

Although its closure did not merit as much media attention as that of Los Gabrieles, La Soleá enjoys a similar cyber afterlife in comments and posts online in travel forums and on travel sites. Its early history is not documented as carefully as Los Gabrieles. The street Cava Baja follows the lines of the medieval city walls and has long been known for first its inns and taverns and now its tapas restaurants and bars. The street address for La Soleá is listed on various websites and online sources as n^o 34 or n^o 27 Cava Baja. The double address could be the result of a street renumbering, the 2007 expansion of the location, or to lack of oversight by the websites. In 2017, when I consulted the microfiche of the records of the street, which covers urban licensing from as early as the eighteenth century through the Franco years, there was no Opening

License for the location (Archivo de Villa de Madrid). El Guille, flamenco percussionist and former regular at the place, recalled that the location used to be a place called “El Empaque” and that La Soleá opened sometime in the late eighties or early nineties, after the years covered by the microfiche (conversation with author 4 September 2017).

Patricia Gosálvez summarized the pedagogic value of La Soleá in a listing of places on Cava Baja for a 2004 *El País* article:

Under the subtitle of “*Colmao Flamenco*” this classic place appears where cante is offered at close quarters. Its two rooms bunch its clients closely together ([it] is one of its charms) where they meet every weekend to listen and drink. If it is [your] first time, it is helpful to look around and learn the norms and protocol of *jondo*.⁹⁷

It was a place to watch and learn how to participate in flamenco even if one were not a professional or already familiar with the practice. A *New York Times* article by Valerie Gladstone in May 2007 publicized the unique atmosphere and spontaneous environment of the place. Gladstone described the experience of visiting La Solea:

Stepping into the almost hidden doorway of the flamenco bar La Soleá in Madrid, one enters a smoky L-shaped room, its walls adorned with blue and white tiles. Well after midnight on a recent Thursday the place was packed with Gypsies [sic] and Madrileños, all in thrall to the rhythmic, heartfelt music produced by a Gypsy [sic] guitarist and a singer, both dressed in black pants and white shirts. Soon, they were joined by a woman with flowing black hair. Luckily for the customers, she was a master of cante jondo, or deep song, and for the next

⁹⁷ Original text: “Bajo el subtítulo de ‘Colmao Flamenco’ se presenta este local clásico donde se ofrece cante en las distancias cortas. Sus dos salas apelotonan a los clientes (es uno de sus encantos) que se reúnen cada fin de semana para escuchar y tomar copas. Si es la primera vez, conviene mirar alrededor para aprender las normas del protocolo jondo.”

hour, her voice rose and fell, as she sung a tale of lost love — a favorite flamenco theme.

Gladstone did not explain how she knew which participants were Roma and which were *payos* - I suspect most likely based solely on physical appearance. The guitarist pictured in the accompanying photo is actually Mexican born and Austin, Texas based Isai Chacon. Gladstone noted that the bar had “moved to larger quarters last winter to accommodate its growing clientele,” indicating that business, as of the year before the crisis, was booming. A May 2009 comment, titled “intimate and amazing,” on Trip Advisor’s “La Solea” page from user “Katrina C” of New York raved of the place:

[I]f you didn't know this place was there, you would walk right past the nondescript doorway without a second thought. [B]ut you have to stop, it is not to be missed. [T]he small room is decorated with intricate tiles and photos of flamenco masters, and packed with madrilenos soaking up the sounds of the resident flamenco guitar player, accompanied by....well, you never know who. [W]e heard a number of performers, young and old, and it is so moving and incredible. [B]efore i knew it, four hours had passed and we had to go home, but we went back again before leaving madrid. everyone was warm, welcoming and fascinating.

As of an October 2009 listing of various flamenco sites in Madrid by the Spanish magazine *¡Hola!*, La Solea had the reputation of demonstrating that “the *duende* of Madrid can be something scandalous and where the spontaneities are welcomed.”⁹⁸ It should be noted here that most of these accounts, with the exception of Gosálvez, come from either tourists or tourist magazines and sites, all comments attributed to outsiders.

⁹⁸ Original text: “Es uno de esos locales que demuestran que el duende de Madrid puede también llegar a ser algo canalla y donde los espontáneos son bien acogidos.”

Local residents might have expressed a different view not only of La Soleá but of the entire Cava Baja area in general. As early as 2007, *El País* reported residents' complaints about the negligence and lack of interest on the part of the Ayuntamiento in regards to the area ("IU denuncia el mal estado de la Cava Baja," 25 July 2007). Little public complaint was registered during the height of the crisis, 2008 to 2012, I suspect due to the wane in tourism, which probably contributed to the closure of La Soleá. In a 2013 article in *El País*, a resident of Cava Baja (reportedly since 1950) complained that "the bars have invaded us" (Granados).⁹⁹ Over the last decade, residents of major Spanish cities have come to see tourism, especially by the British, as a major social problem. Certain Spanish cities like Barcelona have passed laws aimed at limiting tourist related industries. Lurid stories of British and American tourists having sex in public, urinating, and generally carousing in residential neighborhoods abound. One example stemmed from the viral video of British tourists in the neighborhood of Barceloneta in Barcelona, which the newspaper *La Vanguardia* described as "practically having full on sex in full daylight" on a bench in front of a children's play park and school (10 July 2017). Locals have organized protests in Barcelona and even in longtime tourist havens like Ibiza and Mallorca. Rafat Ali, CEO of the travel research firm Skift, coined the term "overtourism" in 2016 to refer to this phenomenon. In an article on the company's website Ali called overtourism:

a potential hazard to popular destinations worldwide, as the dynamic forces that power tourism often inflict unavoidable negative consequences if not managed well. In some countries, this can lead to a

⁹⁹ Original text: "Nos han invadido los bares."

decline in tourism as a sustainable framework is never put into place for coping with the economic, environmental, and sociocultural effects of tourism. The impact on local residents cannot be understated either. (23 August 2016)

The most infamous symbol of the potential effects of tourism is Venice or, as an August 2017 *New York Times* article by Jason Horowitz called it, “Disneyland on the Sea,” which Ali cited in his article along with Barcelona as examples. David Harvey, in *Rebel Cities* (2013), explained the effects of what many call “Disneyfication” on many European cities:

[I]t is sobering to reflect on how much Europe is attempting to redesign itself to Disney standards (and not only for the benefit of American tourists). But—and here is the heart of the contradiction—the more Europe becomes Disneyfied, the less unique and special it is. The bland homogeneity that goes with pure commodification erases monopoly advantages. (92)

The *New York Times* article characterized the center of Venice around Piazza San Marco as emptied of residents and filled only with hotels and bed and breakfasts. The only “residents” of the city live in a peripheral neighborhood and “enjoy a semblance of normal life. But only a semblance.” (Horowitz 2 August 2017) Horowitz related his experience of this new desolate Venice:

For me it is the one I first encountered nearly 20 years ago, before Google Maps, when I could get lost and stumble onto seemingly deserted or forgotten campos[...] Those enchanting hours stretched into the early morning, before the tourists stirred, when St. Mark’s Square itself was empty except for the pigeons and the early risers headed to work. Those hours, with the shadows still long and the light reflecting off the lagoon and the triforia

windows, reminded me of what Raffaele Nocera, who otherwise sounded depressed about the state of his city, told me as he navigated a water bus around the Grand Canal. ‘If you get up early enough,’ Mr. Nocera said, ‘you get all of Venice to yourself.’ It reminds you of why it is so worth protecting, and why Italians have been taking a stand. ‘Today it’s Piazza San Marco or Ponte di Rialto,’ Mr. Franceschini [Italy’s Minister of Culture] said. ‘In a few years it could be that the problem spreads.’

The case of Venice could provide a vision of the future of the center of Madrid, which—especially with the dawn of Airbnb—has seen a large portion of its residents and workers move to other districts. Is “job creation” worth the social destruction of a neighborhood? Although jobs may remain in hospitality and tourism industries, if the workers either cannot afford to live in these areas or if no residential spaces are available, then the area might remain bereft of any residents indefinitely.

A basic search via the Airbnb website of even just the core portion of the Centro district (bordered on the east by Barrio de la Letras and on the southwest by La Latina) revealed well over 300 homes for rent in May 2018. Prices ranged from 21 dollars per night to 108 dollars per night (www.airbnb.com 27 May 2018). The city of Amsterdam in May of 2018 banned short term Airbnb rentals in an attempt “to curb the so-called ‘Disneyfication’ of the Dutch capital.” (Dickinson, 25 May 2018) The founding of the Airbnb company in 2007 coincided with the onset of the 2008 financial crisis and preceded the wave of foreclosures and evictions that accompanied the housing crisis in Madrid, Spain, and the United States. This clearing of the space allowed corporations as well as non-residents looking at rentals as investments to take advantage of the tourist draw of the area, the new format for extraction of rent, and the opportunity to undercut

formal hotel rates. However, while La Soleá may have gained a reputation as a tourist spot, it was more widely known among the specific flamenco tourists than non-flamenco specific international tourists. In the years following the crisis, there was a pronounced downswing in flamenco tourism in most flamenco places addition to a stagnation of international tourism. In two examples, the Festival Flamenco Internacional in Albuquerque— one of the oldest and largest flamenco festivals in the US— canceled its 2009 edition due to the financial crisis (Encinias). The most prestigious flamenco festival, the Bienal de Sevilla, also experienced a downswing in attendance in its 2008 edition with the 2010 edition, the year of the UNESCO declaration of flamenco as Intangible Cultural Heritage, showing a 4% increase (“Balance de la Bienal de Flamenco de Sevilla 2010”).

In contrast with the situation at Los Gabrieles, it is unclear from records and conversations with local people what caused the closure of La Soleá. While it was not a historically protected landmark or officially proclaimed cultural patrimony, La Soleá provided a unique way of experiencing flamenco in a social setting not available in the formal performance setting of the *tablaó*. Even those unfamiliar with flamenco or Madrid could in the cyberage learn of the place without direct access to flamenco tourist oral networks. The last comment on the TripAdvisor “La Solea” page confirming the existence of the place is dated 28 May 2009. The next comment, titled “La Solea doesn’t exist anymore!” is dated 11 January 2011 where user “PetMay” reportedly from France described discovering the disappearance of the place:

I was in Madrid last weekend, and decided to visit
La Solea due to the good references on Tripadvisor.

We have been walking 10 times through the street where La Solea should be, and finally asked a nearby restaurant where we could find it. They told us that it doesn't exist anymore, since a few months. So don't look for this place, because it is not there anymore!

Depending on the informant's definition of "a few months," this would place the end of La Soleá sometime in the Fall of 2010. A further comment from local Madrid user "jlua001" confirmed this writing: "Unfortunately, this place no longer exists. It was one of my favorite places in Madrid to have a drink and listen to a little flamenco in a truly authentic atmosphere. Sad..." (Tripadvisor, 25 September 2013). When I returned to Spain in the summer of 2013 for archival research, I also searched in vain for La Soleá. At first I thought I must have misremembered its location. By 2013, tourist numbers in Spain had recovered, per *The Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report 2013* (320). As of the time of my dissertation fieldwork in summer 2017, the original location of La Soleá was still empty as was Los Gabrieles.

During my 2017 fieldwork at Casa Patas, I came across one of my original companions from my first visit to La Soleá. It had been nineteen years since we met. He lamented its closure and that of Los Gabrieles. We spoke about mutual friends and getting older. He told me that Madrid was not the same anymore and that he was not the same. At least Casa Patas had not changed. He was grateful for that.

III. Centering Absences

The monuments Andreas Huyssen cited attempt to convey an official historical narrative, not a personal narrative. However, many places appear in and between the two points in this continuum. They figure in many personal narratives and occasionally veer

into markers of official historical patrimony. They layer meanings and memories as varied as the people who used them. De Certeau explained the relationship between the palimpsest, place and memory:

Places are fragmentary and inward-turning histories, pasts that others are not allowed to read, accumulated times that can be unfolded but like stories held in reserve, remaining in an enigmatic state... The memorable is that which can be dreamed about a place. (108-109)

De Certeau also referred to the interplay between memory, fantasy, absence, and place as the “haunting” of places (108). Applying De Certeau’s thinking, I found that Los Gabrieles haunted the Madrid of local memory, a legend. I question if the legend could be reborn, resurrected, by merely replacing the tiles?

The tiles merely symbolize the activity, the social practices that occurred inside. The practitioners cannot be boxed away and stored in the cellar for future use. I was unable to find any places of informal flamenco social interaction in Madrid during my 2017 fieldwork. My failed search does not mean they do not exist. The activity may have shifted to more private spaces, out of reach of the general public, impermeable. My questions here are: What is lost in this shift? Who is left out? Writing in the nineteen sixties about American cities, sociologist Richard Sennett asserted an optimistic vision of the potential of cities to become places where people of different backgrounds would be forced to share space and thus forced to understand each other. The loss of places of practice that enabled both flamencos and non-flamencos to interact, including flamencos from different countries and ethnic groups, could change the nature of Madrid flamenco by limiting its potential development. A local popular band during my earlier stays in

Madrid (1998, 2001) named itself after Calle Echegaray, the “Echegaray Street Band” also making a reference to Bruce Springsteen’s E Street Band. Its sound blended flamenco, Caribbean son, Latin jazz, and funk. Ketama, the most famous pop flamenco group from Madrid, employs a similar fusion of influences. This Madrid flamenco sound reflects the diverse population of Madrid from the 1980s through 2019. While not as cosmopolitan or world famous as Barcelona, Madrid has long served as a travel hub, a shorter transfer point on the way to somewhere else in Spain or Europe. This has created miniature transplant communities— microlocalities— within the city. As the emptying out of the Centro increases, these communities move further away from each other, in suburbs and outskirts, and are not compelled into contact in the same way as in a dense urban center. In April 2019 the municipality of Madrid began to address the problem of lack of permanent residents in the Centro by passing limitations on Air Bnb rentals in the area. Neither the city nor the state, as of May 2019, has made any effort to save historic businesses. The loss of places like La Soleá and Los Gabrieles symbolizes this loss of potential for contact, for interaction, for connection. The next chapter examines how other places managed to survive the financial crisis of 2008 and shifts in the type of flamenco establishments in the area.

5. Macho

Esta noche mando yo: Regulating Nightlife in Madrid

*Esta noche mando yo
mañana mande quien quiera
esta noche voy a poner
por la esquina bandera¹⁰⁰*

Walking down the darkened Calle Cañizares away from the Plaza Santa Ana, past Casa Patas, it felt as though we were journeying to a dangerous secret lair. On a weeknight Calle Magdalena would be deserted and silent as you approached the juncture where Cañizares became Calle Olivar. As my friends and I descended to the corner of Olivar and Calle del Olmo, suddenly music poured out from the little bar, windowless, marked only by jagged black letters spelling the word “Candela.” We entered a smokey room with flamenco music blaring through the soundsystem. We had met the owner, Miguelín, earlier in our trip and he sat down at our table with us. A rather distant looking, blue-eyed, dark haired, scruffy man wandered through the tables and around the bar asking people for cigarettes and change. Pepe (as he was called) would occasionally halt his search to break into a *remate* or a bit of a *patada*. “He used to be a dancer,” we were told, but he “lost his mind to drugs.”

Many well-known musicians filtered in throughout the night. Some nights there would be *juergas* in the *cueva* downstairs well into the morning hours. This night, a singer who had won a prestigious *cante* prize a few weeks ago walked in. He was handsome, and he wore shorter hair than was the style with most flamencos at the time,

¹⁰⁰ Translation: “Tonight I command/tomorrow whoever wants to commands/tonight I will put/a flag on the corner.” *Letra* version taken from the Ana de los Reyes recording.

but longer in the front and frequently covering his eyes. We had seen him before at La Soleá. He saw us and approached our table. He sat down with us and asked to look at my hand —“to tell my fortune.” I obliged. He then grabbed it and began to sing to me the letra “Su pelo como la endrina” about a woman with hair black as sloe grapes. I felt the eyes of the entire bar riveted on us. I blushed. We saw him quite a few times after that and eventually began referring to him as “Señor Mil Pesetas” among ourselves. That was not the first time I was the recipient of a spontaneous serenade nor the last, those little bursts of song into bars, into the mundane, private interactions of other customers, into the nocturnal sonic environment.

This chapter unpacks the official classifications and regulations of nightlife venues and activities by the municipal government of Madrid and the government of Spain. This unpacking can help analyze how these categories and ordinances have been applied to two particular sites, Corral de la Morería and Candela, and how these contrast with newer *tablaos*, Cardamomo and Las Carboneras. It also assists with thinking through how the tablao-restaurant Casa Patas has maintained its specific atmosphere and clientele over the years. Discursive distinctions between “entertainment” or “recreation” and “cultural performance” or “artistic activity” play heavily in the categorization of venues and activities as do discourses of noise pollution and what qualifies as a dangerous activity. In these cases, I take particular care with my translations, laying bare that the translation process is not an establishment of easy equivalency but rather the making of a choice among multiple options most times with a slight shift in meaning. I offer as an example Diana Taylor’s parsing of the word “performance” in *The Archive*

and the Repertoire (2003) and the term's translation from Spanish into English. In the same way that it is important to distinguish between the words *baile* and *danza* in Spanish, I pick apart the possible translations of the word *espectaculo* in English. The two main case studies in this chapter examine not only the charges, fines, and punishments issued by the authorities, whether the Municipal government or the Municipal Police, but also the appeals and accommodations of the business owners and, where available, the voices of the neighbors complaining about the flamenco activities. For the last four locations, for whom little paper trail exists in the municipal archives, I rely not only on personal experience but, as with Los Gabrieles and La Soleá in the previous chapter, a synthesis of available online information and testimony from audiences as well as informal conversations I conducted with performers, workers, and owners between 2012 and 2019.

The laws, ordinances, and decrees applied by the authorities over the years come from various levels of municipal, regional, state, and even royal government, as Spain is still a constitutional monarchy. These pieces of legislation also date from as far back as 1948, with Francoist laws cited as late as 1990. Some of these laws deal with the structure of bureaucracy in Madrid, something which proliferated and elaborated greatly during the Franco regime. The main police ordinance governing the city also dates from the Franco years, since the dictatorship placed primary importance on policing the populace on even the most miniscule level. Some deal with procedures for sanctioning businesses or individuals and appeals of these sanctions. However, I focus my analysis on the ones that deal with categories, definitions, and prohibitions. My selection criteria for

these texts involved cross-referencing the legislation most frequently cited by inspectors, police officers, and municipal officials in the Archivo de Villa del Ayuntamiento de Madrid (Centro District) for infractions by both Corral de la Morería and Candela dating from 1984 through the end of the twentieth century. For the locations that did not leave such footprints in the archives, mostly because they were established more recently, I parse the still valid categorizations and definitions to approximate the places' various strategies, conscious or not, for survival. Each of these places had to negotiate with the city and the district for their right to the spaces they occupy. Each one, as of 2019, remains open for business, some more changed with age than others. Some, like Casa Patas, have maintained an almost visceral sense of continuity. Some have changed almost beyond recognition. How did these places survive? What has allowed for a sense of continuity in a place? How has this continuity connected to a sense of community?

I. Placing Flamenco: Classification of Venues and Activities

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the main regulations and ordinances cited in interactions between authorities and flamenco establishments, in addition to building and fire codes, involve regulation and control of alcohol, noise, live performance, and what constitutes a “disturbance.” Most of these words and related concepts need unpacking in order to fully understand the relationship between authority and flamenco sociality during this time in Madrid. The years on which this chapter's case studies focus are the post-Franco years, after 1980 and the transition to democracy, years that involved a transition from the bureaucracy of a centralized state government, dictatorship, to the bureaucracy of the municipal governments. In this opening section, I work backwards through the

language of the regulations and ordinances to unpack the ideological values at their core. The main regulations cited, other than procedural ordinances, include: the Royal Decree 2818/1982 for the “General Regulation of Policing of Public Entertainments and Recreational Activities,”¹⁰¹ the Decree 184/1998 or the “Catalogue of Public Performances, Activities, Recreations, Establishments, Locations and Installations,”¹⁰² the Decree 2414/1961 or the “Regulation of Disturbing, Unhealthy, Harmful, or Dangerous Activities,”¹⁰³ and the “Municipal Ordinance of the Urban Police and Government of the City” originally dating from 1948 (*Boletín Oficial del Estado; Boletín Oficial Comunidad de Madrid; Boletín Oficial del Ayuntamiento de Madrid*).¹⁰⁴ Each regulation, ranging from 1948 through 1998, lays out definitions, descriptions, and prescriptions, as well as injunctions that reveal who or what kind of activity is targeted and who is protected. I visit the work of Diana Taylor, Rebecca Schneider, and Peggy Phelan to help flesh out the concept of “live performance” and Aimee Boutin, Jacques Attali, and R. Murray Schafer to clarify “noise.” Other terms that cross these conceptual borders include: music, dance, spectacle, entertainment, and harmful. I also consult the standard definitions and etymologies given by both the official 2018 *Dictionary of the Royal Academy of Spanish* and the 2018 *Oxford English Dictionary* to make my translations more transparent and less final.

It is important to note that the places discussed in this chapter all serve alcohol

¹⁰¹ Original title: “Real Decreto 2818/1982, de 27 de agosto de 1982 por el que se aprueba el Reglamento General de Policía de Espectáculos Públicos y Actividades Recreativas.”

¹⁰² Original title: “DECRETO 184/1998, de 22 octubre. Catálogo de Espectáculos Públicos, Actividades Recreativas, Establecimientos, Locales e Instalaciones.”

¹⁰³ Original title: “Decreto 2414/1961, de 30 de noviembre, por el que se aprueba el Reglamento de actividades molestas, insalubres, nocivas y peligrosas.”

¹⁰⁴ Original title: “Ordenanza Municipal de Policía Urbana y Gobierno de la Villa.”

and thus have fallen under the scrutiny of all four regulations listed above. In contrast, neither La Soleá nor Los Gabrieles was ever cited for anything by the police and thus left no police record (Tercera Letra). Nor has the state ever offered any help to these businesses. Amor de Dios is a dance studio, thus the only regulation it challenged had to do with noise. Whereas data for the study of Amor de Dios, Los Gabrieles, and La Soleá drew heavily from Bourio's private archive, newspaper and online accounts, the case studies in this chapter plumb the materials gathered in the files of the Archivo de Villa de Madrid (Centro District).

The first paragraph of the Royal Decree for the General Regulation of Policing of Public Entertainments and Recreational Activities issued in August of 1982 stated the reason for the new regulation:

The necessity and the opportunity to dictate a new Regulation of Policing of Entertainments could not be more evident, if [one] takes into account what has happened [in the] more than forty-five years since the existing [law] was issued ... during this time, the general problematic of entertainment, the preoccupations and attitudes of the society at which they are directed and the administrative structures charged with monitoring the protection of the general interests related to them have changed substantially. ("Real Decreto 2818/1982" 30570)¹⁰⁵

The previous law was issued in 1935, just before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and four years before the start of the Franco dictatorship. Under the Franco regime, every

¹⁰⁵ Original text: "La necesidad y la oportunidad de dictar un nuevo Reglamento de Policía de Espectáculos no pueden ser más evidentes, si se tiene en cuenta que han transcurrido más de cuarenta y cinco años desde que se promulgara el vigente, de tres de mayo de mil novecientos treinta y cinco, y que durante ese tiempo, han cambiado sustancialmente, la problemática general de los espectáculos. las preocupaciones y actitudes de la sociedad destinataria de los mismos y las estructuras administrativas encargadas de velar por la protección de los intereses generales relacionados con ellos."

type of public activity or gathering was carefully monitored by the police, inspectors, and informants (Goldbach 22-87). In addition to formal, paid inspectors, known to the general population, the dictatorship also maintained a network of unpaid informants who spied on neighbors, eavesdropped on conversations, and registered complaints about questionable nighttime activity. It created a paranoid atmosphere in which anyone could be taken for a potential government agent. Most of the monitoring dealt with political content and the enforcement of moral and social standards. With the fall of the dictatorship, much of this previously centralized censorship apparatus became useless. In the 1982 Royal Decree, the king noted that the rigid Catholic standards of the previous four decades of *franquismo* had relaxed substantially not only since the early years of the dictatorship, but since the dictator's death in 1975. The 1982 Decree provided guidelines for municipal regulation of public performance and is referred to by the subsequent 1998 decree issued by the Community of Madrid. I assert that while the 1982 decree attempted to maintain the same kinds of censoring powers of the dictatorship— like demanding a copy of the program be submitted to the mayor's office three days before the performance for approval, the structures for conducting this monitoring, beyond the municipal police and the Civil Guard, no longer existed. The network of informants no longer had a central state agency— like the Ministry of Information— to report to and the powers of the national government were increasingly ceded to municipal bodies like the Villa de Madrid (Goldbach 25-34). Michael Neuman elaborated more on the transition from the centralized state power of the dictatorship to the municipal bureaucracy during the 1980s in Chapter four of *The Imaginative Institution: Planning and Governance in Madrid*

(2010).

The 1982 and 1998 ordinances regulated “live performances” or “live shows” alongside “recreational activities”: the line between these categories and those of “art” or “culture” frequently shifted and overlapped. The 1982 Decree’s section for “Nomenclature” specified two categories of “public performances” in buildings or locations, one category of “other performances and sporting activities,” three categories of “other recreational activities,” and one category of “public establishments.” The specification of “*tablaó flamenco*” fell under the last category. Per the *Dictionary of the Real Academia Español* online, the term in Spanish used most frequently, along with *actuación* or *música en vivo*, to designate performance is *espectáculo público* which can be translated as “public spectacle,” “public entertainment,” “public show,” or, as I have chosen here, “public performance.” In *The Archive and the Repertoire*, Diana Taylor wrote of the word *espectáculo* that, along with *teatralidad*, “like theatricality and spectacle in English, [they] capture the constructed, all-encompassing sense of performance.” (13) As with a great deal of the regulation of public performance in these ordinances, it is the space of performance that is regulated as much, if not more than, the act of performance. Taylor, in the same work, went on to reference Guy Debord, commenting on *espectáculo*/spectacle that it “is not an image but a series of social relations mediated by images.” (14) Many of the spaces regulated in the 1982 legislation are social spaces, their sociality highlighted by the constant pairing of public performance with recreational activity. In the 1985 book *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, noise theorist Jacques Attali used the term “spectacle” to describe one of the essential types of

music distribution networks that he conceptualized for music in general:

A new network of music emerges with representation. Music becomes a spectacle attended at specific places: concert halls, the closed space of the simulacrum of ritual—a confinement made necessary by the collection of entrance fees...In this network, the value of music is its use-value as spectacle. This new value simulates and replaces the sacrificial value of music in the preceding network. Performers and actors are producers of a special kind who are paid in money by spectators. (31)

Attali's definition of spectacle and its alignment with the collection of money captures some of the way the ordinances use *espectáculo*. However, "spectacle" in the English connotations of the word is not a fully accurate translation of this use of the word in some of its more negative implications (as in to make a spectacle of something). The second entry in the *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of "spectacle" specifies the word as referring to "[a] person or thing exhibited to, or set before, the public gaze as an object either (a) of curiosity or contempt, or (b) of marvel or admiration." The "curiosity or contempt" part does not accurately portray the meaning of *espectáculo* in Spanish. The 1998 Ordinance defines *espectáculos públicos* as "locations of public performances... in which, with the aim of congregating, as spectators, the general public, activities, representations, or exhibitions of an artistic, cultural, or sporting nature are organized." ("Decreto 184/1998" 6)¹⁰⁶ Again, this definition of *espectáculos públicos* focuses heavily on the "public" dimension: the act of gathering in a space as spectators, suggesting that

¹⁰⁶ Original text: "Se entenderán por locales de espectáculos públicos aquellos en los que, con el fin de congregarse, como espectadores, al público en general, se organizan actividades, representaciones o exhibiciones de naturaleza artística, cultural o deportiva." ("DECRETO 184/1998, de 22 octubre. Catálogo de Espectáculos Públicos, Actividades Recreativas, Establecimientos, Locales e Instalaciones," 6)

the main purpose for which people gather determines how the space and the activity is classified.

The catalog of classifications of locations distinguishes between locations of “amusement and fun,” “cultural and artistic,” “recreational activities,” “sporting recreational,” “recreational games and gambling,” “culture and leisure,” “open enclosures and public streets,” “leisure and diversion,” and “hospitality and restaurants.” (“Decreto 184/1998” 4-6). *Tablaos* like Corral de la Morería possess the “*restaurante-espectáculo*” type of functioning license which places them in the “amusements and fun” classification whereas a bar like Los Gabrieles or Candela originally possessed a “bar” functioning license, placing them in the “hospitality and restaurant” category. The principal differences between these categories are the presence or absence of food on premises and whether or not performances take place on a regular basis. The bars that fall under the “hospitality and restaurants” classification are the ones where the presence of food or kitchen are the most closely regulated. (“Decreto 184/1998” 10) In contrast to Peggy Phelan’s exploration in *Unmarked* of performance’s ephemerality, “performance” in the context of these regulations is an activity that is constantly repeated, which lines up with Richard Schechter’s definition of performance as twice behaved behavior or Rebecca Schneider’s notion of (re)enactment as “syncopated time” (Schneider 14, 2). The regularity or consistency of performances —though the content and performers vary— determines a place’s classification. This method of regulation aligns with Robert Beauregard’s term “places of practice” and Michel De Certeau’s “practices of space.” Both concepts emphasize how space is used, an activity, rather than the concrete

emptiness of a location. The regulations recognize the material presence and needs of these places— in fire codes, bathroom requirements, and designations of where trash can be collected— as well as the practices that make use of the space, whether primarily commercial, social, recreational, cultural, or (most often) a combination of many intersecting practices.

The practice that ties together the case studies in this chapter is flamenco music and dance. The two remaining ordinances most often invoked against the case study sites are the Municipal Police Ordinance (1948) and the Regulation of Disturbing, Unhealthy, Harmful, and Dangerous Activities (1961). In what context could music and dance be deemed “unhealthy” or “disturbing”? The answer lies primarily in how, when and where the authorities define something as “noise” rather than music. In the 2015 book *City of Noise: Sound and Nineteenth-Century Paris*, cultural historian Aimee Boutin explained that “[n]oise perception is subjective and related to a specific historical context.” (3)

Boutin delineated the distinction between sound and noise:

For a sound to qualify as noise, it must lack syntax and be disorderly, unregulated, unrhythmical, and discordant. Noise can be shrill or mournful, but not harmonious. Frequently, noise lacks a temporal or concrete form, because it is persistent and uncontrollable. Yet, noise is context-bound and subjective. What sounds like rhythmic, harmonious, and expressive sound to one person in a given context, may be noise to another; despite the particularity of noise perception, however, cultural meanings of noise are typically shared. Additionally, noise confounds meaning and is linked to distraction as well as nonsense. Sounds are likewise perceived as noise when they do not have use-value and seem gratuitous... Finally, noise elicits strong affective reactions; it irritates and can drive some people mad,

whereas others are revitalized by the blare. (5)

Boutin made a direct connection in this final point between noise and the concept of harm or disturbance. She also commented on the etymology of the word noise in that “it derives either from ‘nausea’ (from the Latin *nausea*) or from ‘nuisance,’ ‘noxious behavior,’ and ‘crime’ (from the Latin *noxia*).”(5) In Spanish, the term *ruido* derives from the root word “*rugire*” meaning to bellow or roar in Latin (*Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* entry for “*ruido*”; *Oxford Latin Dictionary* entry for “*rugire*”). The English term connotes the effects of noise on the listener whereas the Spanish term describes a quality of the sound. Even without technological amplification, the volume of flamenco singers and the sounds of footwork, percussion, and castanets can reach high levels. The distinct style of flamenco *cante* can sometimes seem strange or even brutal to non-flamenco aficionados, like screaming, much like heavy metal or punk rock vocals. Sound studies scholar R. Murray Schafer in his 1976 work *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* commented on the history of noise legislation in Europe from the middle ages through the 1960s that:

Changes in legislation give us clues to changing social attitudes and perceptions, and these are important for the accurate treatment of sound symbolism. Early noise abatement legislation was selective and qualitative, contrasting with that of the modern era, which has begun to fix quantitative limits in decibels for all sounds. While most of the legislation of the past was directed against the human voice (or rather the rougher voices of the lower classes), no piece of European legislation was ever directed against the far larger sound—if objectively measured—of the church bell, nor against the equally loud machine which filled the church’s inner vaults with music, sustaining the

institution imperiously as the hub of community life—until its eventual displacement by the industrialized factory. (4)

Neither the Municipal Police Ordinance nor the Harmful Activities Regulation mentioned construction noise, the crashing and rumbling of machines that drown out any human noise in the recent spate of building and renovation in the center of Madrid in the last twenty years.

The 1961 “Regulation of Disturbing, Unhealthy, Harmful, and Dangerous Activities” defined the activities that it was intended to regulate as those that could “produce inconveniences, alter the normal conditions of health or hygiene of the surrounding environment causing damage to public or private wealth or imply risks to persons or goods.” (“Decreto 2414/1961” 17259)¹⁰⁷ The emphasis in this definition of “harm” is placed not only on risk to personal well being but on risk to property. The term *molestia*, which I have chosen to translate as “disturbing,” is defined by the Real Academia Española as uneasiness or discomfort, and also “lack of comfort or impediment to the free movement of the body.” In conversation, *molestia* could also be translated as “bothersome” or “annoying,” although in the language of regulation and ordinance these translations do not capture the physical implications that the term “discomfort” does. The third article of the 1961 regulation defined the term *molestia* or [*actividades*] *molestas* as activities which “constitute a discomfort because of the noises

¹⁰⁷ Original text: “Artículo 1º El presente Reglamento de obligatoria observancia en todo el territorio nacional tiene por objeto evitar que las instalaciones, establecimientos, actividades industrias o almacenes, sean oficiales o particulares, públicos o privados, a todos los cuales se aplica indistintamente en el mismo la denominación de ‘actividades’, produzca incomodidades, alteren las condiciones normales de salubridad o higiene del medio ambiente ocasionado daños a las riquezas pública o privada o impliquen riesgos graves para las personas o los bienes.” (“Decreto 2414/1961” 17259)

or vibrations that they produce or the smokes, gases, odors, clouds, dust or substances that they emit.” (“Decreto 2414/1961” 17259)¹⁰⁸ This definition focused primarily on “noise” or “ruido” as an emission, a byproduct of an activity. Noise did not appear in the definitions of the terms unhealthy, harmful, and dangerous.

The 1948 Municipal Police Ordinance of Madrid also used the term “molesta” to describe certain regulated or prohibited activities. Chapter IV of the Ordinance is titled “Molestias al vecindario” or “Disturbances to the neighborhood.” Article 51 described the purpose of the prohibitions in this section of the ordinance as serving “the aim of avoiding as much as possible many disturbances that can perturb the normal life of the neighborhood” before enumerating prohibited activities that ranged from burning objects or combustibles to the use of horns or other bothersome instruments in public (“Ordenanza Municipal de Policía Urbana y Gobierno de la Villa” 9). The activities specifically related to flamenco that were prohibited by this article include “producing any noise that can disturb the neighborhood after twelve o’clock at night”; “letting out shouts or [excessive/arrhythmic] chants anytime at any hour of the day or night”; “giving serenades or roaming the streets in singing groups without permission from the authorities”; and “celebrating dances or street festivals not expressly authorized.” (“Ordenanza Municipal de Policía Urbana y Gobierno de la Villa” 9)¹⁰⁹ The ordinance used the word “*descompasado*” or lacking *compás* to describe the nature of the chants it

¹⁰⁸ Original text: “*Molestas* Art. 3o Serán calificadas como *molestas* las actividades que constituyan una incomodidad por los ruidos o vibraciones que produzcan o por los humos, gases, olores, nieblas, polvos en suspensión o substancias que eliminen.” (“Decreto 2414/1961” 17259)

¹⁰⁹ Original text: “1.º Producir ruido alguno que pueda molestar al vecindario después de las doce de la noche. 2.º Lanzar gritos o cánticos descompasados a cualquier hora del día o de la noche. 3.º Dar serenatas o recorrer las vías en rondallas sin permiso de la Autoridad. 4.º Celebrar bailes y verbenas no autorizados expresamente.” (“Ordenanza Municipal de Policía Urbana y Gobierno de la Villa” 9)

bans. In flamenco, the *compás* is the base rhythm of a song or musical piece. Flamenco rhythms are extremely complex and precise; maintaining the *compás* is essential for a successful collaboration between musicians and dancers. It is the basic syntax of flamenco communication. In order to perform flamenco, one must necessarily maintain *compás*. In flamenco, being *descompasado* or *fuera de compás* (out of compás) is an almost unforgivable sin, a sign of an inexperienced performer. However, the *descompasado* clause could be used against any potentially disturbing outdoor singing. These prohibitions, taken together, limit the majority of the practice of flamenco to indoors, away from the public street.

Other prohibitions in the Police Ordinance similarly limited activity on public streets. Article 58 banned public drunkenness and 59 prescribed a fine for blasphemy. Article 32 restricted activities ranging from the dusting of carpets and drying of clothes on balconies to the raising of chickens within city limits. It also dealt with alcohol consumption. Clause 15 of this article expressly banned “consuming in the public street, outside of the places authorized by ordinances and municipal regulations, any class of beverage that contains alcohol.” (“Ordenanza Municipal de Policía Urbana y Gobierno de la Villa” 7)¹¹⁰ Clause 16 extended this ban to include “dispensing or serving beverages, even ones that do not contain alcohol, to be consumed in the public street, outside of place not authorized and to those that the anterior clause refers” (“Ordenanza Municipal

¹¹⁰ Original text: “15. Consumir en la vía pública, fuera de los lugares autorizados por las Ordenanzas y Reglamentos municipales, cualquier clase de bebida que contenga alcohol” (“Ordenanza Municipal de Policía Urbana y Gobierno de la Villa” 7).

de Policía Urbana y Gobierno de la Villa” 7).¹¹¹ These two clauses targeted the sale and consumption of beverages, even non-alcoholic ones, in public streets. Therefore, even if an establishment is allowed, per its operating license, to sell alcoholic beverages, it may still be cited for selling alcohol to go or if their patrons consume the beverages in the street.

This ordinance, unlike the 1961 regulation, primarily singled out outdoor activities. Although the places profiled in this chapter are enclosed spaces, the manner in which authorities cited these regulations emphasize the porosity of enclosed spaces in the urban environment. Noise and alcohol frequently elude the safety of the enclosure and can be used to justify any incursions into a legitimately operating space. Writing about the relationship between private property and acoustic space in Western society in general, R. Murray Schafer compared sound to a physical intruder and asked: “[a] property-owner is permitted by law to restrict entry to his private garden or bedroom. What rights does he have to resist the sonic intruder?” (40) This question brings forward some of the tension between private and public use of the city and the issue of who has the right to intrude upon the private citizen. For instance, a resident may file a complaint with authorities about noise from a bar or dance studio but not about noise from a construction site. The following examples illustrate different strategies for coping with this tension and the need in the twenty-first century for flamenco places to exist outside of traditional notions of public/private boundaries, or be able to transcend them.

¹¹¹ Original text: “16. Exender o servir bebidas, aunque no contengan alcohol, para ser consumidas en la vía pública, fuera de los lugares no autorizados y a los que se refiere el apartado anterior.” (“Ordenanza Municipal de Policía Urbana y Gobierno de la Villa” 7)

II. Corral de la Morería: Patrimony or Nuisance

The word “*tablao*” comes from the boards, *tablas*, installed at restaurants to allow for flamenco footwork and dance. The designation, as seen in the Categorization of entertainment venues, exists as a formal category and necessarily implies the presence not only of dance but of footwork, which municipal documents sometimes referred to as *zapateado* or *taconeo*. The *tablao* Corral de la Morería, located on Calle de la Morería off of Calle Bailen just south of the Royal Palace and a few blocks west of La Latina and Tirso de Molina, began life in 1956 under the ownership of Manuel Del Rey, who passed away in 2006. Probably the best known of *tablaos*, a flamenco tourist referred to it as the “Beverly Hills of Madrid.” (Facebook message to author on 24 July 2017) In December of 2018, Corral became the first flamenco *tablao* to receive a prestigious Michelin star. It outlasted many of the other legendary *tablaos* from the post Civil War years like Zambra, Los Canasteros, and El Duende. It is associated with dancer Blanca Del Rey, the brilliant *mantón* technician and wife of the original owner. Today it regularly draws big names in the flamenco world as performers as well as international celebrities to the audience. The official Corral de la Morería website mentions visits by Ava Gardner, Frank Sinatra, Salvador Dalí, John Lennon, Justin Bieber, KISS, Che Guevara, and Ronald Reagan. In Alfredo Grimaldos’ *Historia Social del Flamenco* (2010), Corral figures as the setting for anecdotes about Sinatra forcibly removing Gardner from the *tablao*, Rudolf Nureyev hopping on stage for an impromptu dance, and Dalí trying to bring his pet panther to a show.

Despite all of the attention that celebrity visits brought to the location, the only

conflict with the authorities that Grimaldos noted in his section on the place involved police breaking up an after hours *juerga* in the cellar during the Franco years (188). The author attributed this incident to neighbors informing on the after hours activities of the *tablao*, not an uncommon occurrence during the dictatorship. However, it was after the transition to democracy and the formation of the municipal Madrid bureaucracy in 1982 that the most serious threats to the life of Corral came. In 1984, fire inspectors found deficiencies in fire safety requirements, such as proper emergency exits, access to the cellar, and evacuation paths, which forced a brief closure of the *tablao* the next year to fix the problem (c/Corral de la Morería nº 17, Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648). By August of 1986, an official inspection certified the place's compliance with the fire code (Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648 d 2908/61).

However, less than a year later in June of 1987 a neighbor, Don Juan Antonio Martínez López, filed a complaint against the *tablao*, having gathered signatures from eleven other local residents. López claimed that “from 030 until 3:30 in the morning it is materially impossible to sleep” because of “[t]he deafening noise produced by the zapateo [sic] of the dancers on the wooden *tablao*” and “[t]he noise of the machinery and other utensils also produced by the aforementioned Tablao.”¹¹² He requested:

an inspection to said location to prove the veracity of what I have stated, also to my apartment, and that they be obligated to make the necessary repairs to avoid the inconveniences that all of us in the

¹¹² Original text: “desde las 030 horas hasta las 3.30 de la madrugada es materialmente imposible poder descansar debido entre otras a las siguientes causas: 1º El ruido ensordecedor que produce el zapateo<sic> de los bailarines sobre el tablao de madera. 2º El ruido de maquinaria u otros utensilios además de los producidos por el citado Tablao Flamenco” (Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648).

neighborhood are suffering on greater or smaller scale. (Complaint 8 June 1987, Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648)¹¹³

López used the word “molestias” which aligned his complaint not only with the 1948 Police Ordinance but also the 1961 Regulation of activities *molestas*. The requested sonic inspection measured the ambient noise of the *tablao* at 28 and the *taconeo* at 33-36. Per the inspection document, the maximum allowable limit was 30 for the units used to measure. Units were not given; the units are likely not decibels as the American Public Health Association lists average noise exposure at 55 decibels a day (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5308171/>). While the complaints against the workings of the machinery proved unfounded, the *taconeo* did certainly exceed the permissible limits.

The municipal Department of Atmospheric Contamination sent a notice to Del Rey on October 13 notifying the proprietor of the sonic violation and requesting corrective measures, specifically to “[m]odify the installation of the *tablao*, mounting it on shock absorbers whose antivibratory characteristics gather the sufficient level of efficiency to cut the structural transmission of the *taconeo*.” It gave him one month to comply (Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648).¹¹⁴ Del Rey replied with two main points:

1) That said *tablao* operated for 30 years without bothering the adjacent [areas] or neighbors, and that

¹¹³ Original text: “SOLICITA Envie <sic> una inspección<sic> a dicho local para comprobar la veracidad de lo expuesto, así como a mi domicilio, y que sean obligados a efectuar los arreglos necesarios para evitar las molestias que estamos sufriendo toda la vecidad <sic> en mayor o menor escala” (Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648).

¹¹⁴ Original text: “Modificar la instalación del *tablao*, montándolo sobre amortiguadores cuyas características antivibratorias<sic> reunan<sic> el suficiente grado de eficacia para cortar la transmisión estructural del *taconeo*” (Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648).

despite this I will alter it as suggested, as I do not desire to produce any disturbance but stating that as I said earlier it [has been there for] 30 years.
2) That said Ayuntamiento concedes me a time limit of three months, which already [makes] the time limit that you gave me as insufficient for said modifications. (24 November 1987 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648)¹¹⁵

He asked for the longer time frame of three months to make the modifications. In February of 1988 the *tablaó* was cited for operating “the activity of tablaó flamenco” without a license. A subsequent communication, dated 11 March 1988, from the Department of Civil Protection to the Municipal Board indicated that the soundproofing deficiencies had been remedied but that the proper documentation for the Emergency Plan required by the new fire code had not been submitted as of September of the previous year and thus an opening license could not be issued. The Department of Industry then sent a notice of yet another inspection to take place in May of 1988 to obtain this documentation. Del Rey replied with another request for a three-month extension to remedy all the noise problems (13 April 1988 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648). The Department conceded this extension but warned that:

[t]he concession of this term, does not authorize the exercising of the activity, accordingly the exercise of this [activity] must be suspended (in the case of having been initiated), from the moment that the present requirement is received, until the corresponding Opening License should be extended. (3 October 1988 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648)¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Original text: “1º) Que dicho tablaó lleva 30 años funcionando sin quejarse los colindantes ni vecinos, y que a pesar de ello voy a reformarlo com indican, pués no deseo que se produzca ninguna molestia pero que conste que lleva como he dicho anteriormente 30 años. 2º) Que dicho Ayuntamiento me conceda un plazo de tres meses, ya que el plazo que Vds., me dan es insuficiente para dicha modificación” (24 November 1987 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648).

¹¹⁶ Original text: “La concesión de este plazo, no autoriza el ejercicio de la actividad, por lo tanto deberá

Corral was placed by the Municipal Police Department on a list of places to be monitored for potential closure. The location then filed a request for “changes to existing license holder, previously granted” from July of 1989, followed by a request for a name change of the location— from “Corral de la Morería” to “Corral de la Morería S.A.” (July 1989 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648) Both could have been attempts to get around closure.

As of June of 1990, the Municipal Board sent a demand for a hearing to Del Rey citing the failure to present documentation of the repair of the structural deficiencies. Del Rey’s son José Maria Del Rey responded attaching twenty pages of receipts, test and inspection records, even a swatch of carpet, dating back through June 1984. His reply was written on official Corral de La Morería stationary that touted it as “the most famous tablao in the world.” The Municipal Board continued to claim that all this documentation did not suffice and demand that the location cease the activity until a formal hearing can take place. It sent a formal “Propuesta de Cese” or “Proposal for Cessation [of the activity]” dated 7 October 1994 (7 October 1994 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648). The younger Del Rey once again requested an extension of sixty days to complete the required structural adjustments (14 November 1994 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648). A subsequent inspection resulted in a report dated 13 December 1994 that cited seven different building and fire code violations (13 December 1994 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648). The Municipal Board sent yet another demand for a hearing on 27 December 1994 claiming as infraction the “exercising of the referenced activity without

suspender el ejercicio de la misma (en el supuesto de haberlo iniciado), desde el momento en que reciba el presente requerimiento, hasta tanto le sea extendida la correspondiente Licencia de Apertura” (3 October 1988 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648).

presenting the mandatory municipal license and/or without having corrected the deficiencies” (27 December 1994 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648). It gave Del Rey only ten days to appear before the Board (27 December 1994 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648).¹¹⁷

While no documentation of the hearing existed in the file on Corral at the Central District archive in 2017, the December 1994 demand for a hearing was the last communication with the proprietor included in the file. A proposal for the granting of the operating license— conditional upon periodic inspections— via internal technical report followed an inspection on 19 April 1995 (19 April 1995 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648). While the *tablaó* avoided formal threats of closure for the next decade, a few minor fixes and adjustments to comply with new laws and ordinances occurred in 2000. The final resolution of the issue came in 2009 with the official changing of the categorization of Corral from “*Restaurante con Tablaó Flamenco*” to “*Restaurante Espectáculo*” to conform with the designations of the Decree 184/98 (2 October 2009 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648). The last action in Corral’s files at the Archivo de Villa de Madrid was the assignment of a new identification number date 16 February 2011 (16 February 2011 Archivo de Villa 520/84/33648).

The years of the most heated conflict with the Municipal authorities coincided with the creation of the municipal bureaucracy (1984-1995) and the initial shift in power after the fall of the dictatorship. By this time, the late night *juergas* of the Franco years were mostly a thing of the past, such activity having moved along to other spots in the

¹¹⁷ Original text: “Infracción: Ejercer la actividad referencia sin presentar la preceptiva licencia municipal y/o sin haber subsanado deficiencias” (27 December 1994 Archivo de Villa de Madrid 520/84/33648).

1980s and increasingly involved drugs in addition to alcohol. As important as Corral de la Morería is to the flamenco world, as a *tablaó*, training ground for future stars, and for flamenco tourists as a place to see both future stars and an intimate spot to see those already established, as of August 2018, the entrance fee of 49.97 Euros or 57.15 U.S. dollars for show and a drink marks one of the steepest prices for a *tablaó* show in the area (casapatras.com; tablaoflamencovillarosa.entradas; cardamomo.com; tablaolascarboneras.com; flamencocandela.com; www.corraldelamoreria.com, 19 August 2018). Unlike La Soleá or Los Gabrieles, Corral is a closed location requiring the purchase of an entry fee just to enter the establishment. I accounted for this fee in my budget for my 2017 fieldwork. During my multiple visits to the place in the summer of 2015 and the summer of 2017, the majority of the audience were British and American tourists, including many children. There was not a specialized area for the viewing of the show, meaning that in order to gain entrance a customer would need to pay a fee. The audience sat in a restaurant area with a raised stage in the far right corner from the entrance. Performers mostly entered to perform and then returned to the backstage area. Thus the format of the place necessarily creates a separation between artist/performer and public/spectator, though some of the performers might spend time at the bar or go into the audience to greet friends in between sets. Dancer Rosario Toledo greeted me during one of the shows I attended there in which she was performing. While such separation is an impediment to communal participation and community creation, it does not necessarily interfere with the flamenco practiced at Corral. However, the format of the *tablaó* is one that has increasingly overtaken more interactive and inclusive formats of flamenco places

in Madrid, as with the cases of Candela and Cardamomo.

III. Candela: After-hours and the Flamenco Underground

The 2018 website for Candela described the origins of the place in a rather poetic manner:

The old *peña* Chaquetón, founded approximately in the year 1982 by Miguel Candela, as we lovingly call him, would not be sufficient, as to cover everything that was cooking at that time in Madrid. Miguel... decided to abandon the *peña*, [and] his Candela was born, the Candela of everyone. At first as meeting place, of guitarists especially, [it] is for this that automatically, [it] pass[ed] to the hands of all the Flamencos in general ABOVE ALL INCLUDING THE PUBLIC NOT SPECIFICALLY FLAMENCO.
(<http://flamencocandela.com/historia/>)¹¹⁸

The use of capitalization in the last phrase of the original emphasizes an inclusivity that the new Candela strives for and even writes into its own history. Like the Corral website, it goes on to list numerous celebrity customers like Ruben Blades, Sade, Alicia Keys, Pina Bausch, Chick Corea, and Pedro Almodóvar, as well as big names in flamenco like Camarón de la Isla, Paco de Lucía, Enrique Morente, Antonio Canales and Javier Limón who made the place their home bar. Limón was actually sitting at our table the night that I described in this chapter's opening anecdote.

The website even references some of the more infamous activities that took place in the cellar. It notes that the “famous nocturnal *juergas*” and other meetings are “mythic

¹¹⁸ Original text: “La antigua peña Chaquetón, fundada en el año 1982 aproximadamente por Miguel Candela, como cariñosamente le llamábamos, no sería tanto suficiente, como para abarcar todo lo que en aquella época se estaba cocinando en Madrid. Miguel convencido, decide abandonar la peña, nace su Candela, el Candela de todos. Primero como lugar de encuentro, de guitarristas en especial, es por eso que automáticamente, pasa a manos de todos los Flamencos en general ANTES INCLUSO QUE AL PÚBLICO NO ESPECÍFICAMENTE FLAMENCO.” (<http://flamencocandela.com/historia/>)

in Flamenco history.”¹¹⁹ The cellar was, during my experience with Candela, exclusively the place for after hours parties and private gatherings of flamencos. According to the 2019 website, the basement is used as a *tablaó* that charges an entrance fee and does not require a private invitation, as in the past, to attend informal gatherings. The upper level still contains the separate bar area. The website’s “History” page claims that the new director Octavio Aguilera decided to convert the cellar into a formal *tablaó* because “in the lower level, in the cave, there have been seen things that would be difficult to explain.”¹²⁰ The goings on in the *cueva*, the cave or cellar portion of Candela, were well known in the flamenco community of Madrid. Alcohol and various substances, some perhaps not entirely legal, figured prominently in the nighttime hours-long *juergas* that took place there. The 1998 live CD recording of a Candela cellar jam session titled *En Un Ratito* featured numerous big names in flamenco and popular Spanish music. Journalist Amelia Castilla described the recording of it and reviewed the album for *El País* in the 11 November 1998 edition. Candela’s literal underground space featured prominently in a series of *denuncias* (citations) levied against the place from 1988 through 1990. It is unclear from the official documents whether police were aware of any illegal activity at the location but I interpret the frequency of the citations as clear cut indication that Candela was targeted during this time period.

The cellar first appeared in public record when a request for a new operating license was filed in 1985. The official response from the Ayuntamiento de Madrid noted

¹¹⁹ Original text: “Sus famosas juergas nocturnas, y encuentros entre grandes Artistas y pequeños, son míticas en la historia del Flamenco.”

¹²⁰ Original text: “Octavio Aguilera su actual director, puso en marcha la idea de dotar de contenido escénico a Candela, del cual carecía de forma oficial porque a nivel bajo tierra, en la cueva, se han visto cosas que serían difíciles de explicar” (<http://flamencocandela.com/historia/>).

that the basement “is not authorized for public use, only being allowed to be used exclusively as warehouse auxiliary to the activity” (c/Olmo nº 2, 17 December 1985 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11)¹²¹ This “Tramitación de solicitud de licencia de Instalación” or “Processing of request for license of installation” made no reference to how the cellar was being used at the time. As of 17 September 1987, the threatened closure was lifted since the “the corrective measures required have been adopted... and to continue processing the application for [an] opening license.” (17 September 1987 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11 8869/83)¹²² The title holder in both documents is listed as Manuel Aguilera Fernández. The document does not list what the corrective measures were. Police filed a citation that year against the location for not presenting the Opening license (17 October 1987 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11). Although noise was not initially listed on this complaint, the time of the police visit (around midnight) points to problematic nighttime activity.

The first noise complaints dated to June of 1988, occurred at 1:10am and 2:30am, and were directed against Manuel Aguilera Fernández, same title holder as recorded on the request for the new license (3 June, 16 June 1988 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11). By 1988, Candela was under the ownership of Miguel Aguilera Fernández, also known as Miguel Candela or Miguelín. The owner was additionally cited for not presenting the opening license to police upon request (3 June 1988 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11). The Junta levied a sanction of twenty-five thousand pesetas against the location, which

¹²¹ Original text: “El sótano no es autorizado para el uso público, pudiéndose <sic> emplear exclusivamente como almacén auxiliar de la actividad.” (17 December 1985 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11)

¹²² Original text: “que han sido adoptadas las medias correctoras impuestas en requerimiento de fecha 27.12.85 y proseguir la tramitación del expediente de solicitud de Licencia de Apertura” (17 September 1987 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

converted to approximately two hundred twenty US dollars at the time (Per the Bank of England online US dollar exchange rates for 1988). Miguel Aguilera Fernández refuted the fine by claiming that not only was he not the title holder named in the complaint but that the police who filed the citation estimated the volume aurally and not with instruments to measure sound volume; he further stated that he was consulting a sound technician to control future noise levels (1 December 1988 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11). The Municipal Office responded, dropping the fine, but still requiring Fernández to present the required documentation to prove the consultation with a sound technician as well as possession of the opening license (24 January 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

Candela appeared, as PUB CANDELA, on a list of trouble spots internally circulated by the Municipal Police Force in May of 1989 (Internal Police Memo 8 May 1989, Archivo de Villa 59-393-11). The memo listed Candela along with “Pubs” Nabuco, Viva Madrid, and Averno as well as Bodega Casa Donato as not only having violated Article 32 of the 1948 Municipal Police Ordinance but also the 1961 Regulation of Disturbing, Unhealthy, Harmful, and Dangerous Activities. The memo recommended the immediate revocation of the licenses for the locations. The number of citations grew over the next few months. The next citation filed against Candela (at 2:45 in the morning) specified the infraction as “selling drinks for consumption in the public street” thus violating yet another clause of Article 51 of the Police Ordinance (8 May 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).¹²³ This was followed in June by another citation at 1:55am for “producing disturbing noises with music at great volume” (8 June 1989 Archivo de Villa

¹²³ Original text: “EXPENDER BEBIDA, PARA SU CONSUMO EN LA VIA PÚBLICA” (8 May 1988 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

59-393-11).¹²⁴

Beginning in October of that same year, police increased the frequency of their visits to the location and filed a series of citations, sometimes as many as five per visit, at least once a week, through the end of the year in a concerted effort to force the closure of the place (series of citations in the file 59-393-11 on Calle Olmo 2 from the Archivo de Villa). One of the citations from 9 October 1989, at 3:35am, recorded a new infraction—“remaining open to the public outside of established [operating] hours”—and pointed to the Royal Decree from 1982 concerning the Regulation of Public Entertainments (9 October 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).¹²⁵ The infraction for 13 October 1989 at 2:35am is listed as “producing musical noises at great volume disturbing the sleep of the neighborhood,” a description that implies not only noise infractions but the schedule infraction and a threat to public health as well (13 October 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11). A citation from 23 October 1989 at 3:40am entered the reason for citation as “exercising the activity of its class outside of established [operating] hours” implying both the activity and time of its performance as illegal (23 October 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).¹²⁶ The citations from the night of 27 October 1989 divided the infractions in two with “producing musical noises at great volume disturbing the neighborhood” on one and “remaining open to the public outside of established [operating] hours” on the second

¹²⁴ Original text: “PRODUCIR RUIDOS MOLESTOS CON MUSICA A GRAN VOLUMEN” (8 June 1988 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

¹²⁵ Original text: “Permanecer abierto al público fuera del horario establecido” (9 October 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

¹²⁶ Original text: “Ejercer la actividad de su clase fuera del horario establecido” (23 October 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

(27 October 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).¹²⁷ One of the citations from 19 November 1989 at 4:50am adjusted the afterhours infraction to “exercising the activity of Pub outside of established [operating] hours” specifying that the “Pub” nature of the activity was what was problematic (19 November 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).¹²⁸

A lull occurred in the policing of Candela at the end of November and beginning of December 1989. It is unclear from documentation in the Archivo de Villa’s file on the address whether that was due to relaxation of surveillance by authorities or to reduced after-hours activity. However, just before and after Christmas 1989, police levied multiple citations against the place (22, 26, and 28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11). The citations from 3:20am, 22 December 1989, listed the infraction as “producing musical noises at great volume with disturbances to the neighborhood” and the 26 December described the reason for citation as “exercising the activity of Pub without presenting the Municipal opening license,” combining the “not presenting the license” and the “exercising the activity of Pub” infractions into one (22 December 1989, 26 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).¹²⁹ Police wrote a staggering five citations in one visit at 4:05am on 28 December 1989, perhaps purposefully disaggregating some of these infractions in order to demonstrate multiple violations (28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11). One registered the violation as “not

¹²⁷ Original text: “Producir ruidos musicales a gran volume <sic> con molestias al vecindario” and “Permanecer abierto al publico fuera del horario establecido” (27 October 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

¹²⁸ Original text: “Ejercer la actividad de Pub fuera del horario establecido” (19 November 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

¹²⁹ Original text: “Producir ruidos musicales a gran volumen con molestias al vecindario” and “Ejercer la actividad de Pub sin presentar la Licencia de Apertura Municipal” (22 December 1989, 26 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

respecting the closing hours” (the standard after-hours citation) (28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).¹³⁰ Another described the reason for citation as “not presenting the municipal opening license” written in all capital letters on the document (28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).¹³¹ Yet another citation separated out this from “not presenting fiscal license” and “not presenting a claims sheet” (28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).¹³² The standard noise complaint varied a bit on this night with the citing agent describing the violation as “producing disturbing noises with musical instruments reverberating through the exterior of the location” (28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).¹³³ This more precise description of the noise complaint emphasized the acoustic nature of the violation and cuts to the heart of the issue of noise in the city. Like Schafer’s characterization of noise as a “sonic intruder,” noise can also be a “sonic escapee” unconfined, bleeding through walls, transgressing boundaries, entering where it can.

After this crescendo of citations, the Ayuntamiento circulated a series of internal memoranda that resulted in the reimposition of the twenty-five thousand peseta sanction from the previous year. The notice sent to Aguilera Fernández cited “the musical noises produced until the early hours of the morning” as the reason for the sanction and asserted that if these violations of Article 51 of the Police Ordinance continued they could result in “the suspension and closure of the activity” (22 February 1990 Archivo de Villa 59-

¹³⁰ Original text: “No respetar horario de cierre” (28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

¹³¹ Original text: “NO PRESENTAR LICENCIA DE APERTURA MUNICIPAL” (28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

¹³² Original text: “NO PRESENTAR LICENCIA FISCAL” and “No presentar hoja de reclamaciones” (28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

¹³³ Original text: “Producir ruidos molestos por aparatos musicales repercutiendo en el exterior del local” (28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

393-11).¹³⁴ This notice was the last document in the Ayuntamiento's file on Candela other than a 1993 notice to archive or place the documents in the archive file with the Villa de Madrid. It is unclear whether the citations waned due to relaxation of police surveillance, better sound insulation, or the cessation of after hours parties in the *cueva*. Most of the time I spent at Candela was during the summer of 1998 and in 2001. At that time, after hours parties still regularly occurred, perhaps with smaller more exclusive groups. Although only one citation mentioned alcohol, the activity of "Pub" could be understood as the distribution of alcohol for consumption on the property. The main focus of the citations from 1988 to 1993 was the noise. However, the sounds of the after hours would be the only indication of the activity from the exterior and could be used as an excuse by police to enter the location and look for signs of other violations.

The 2017 use of the cellar as a *tablaó* indicates that sufficient soundproofing occurred at some time to allow for the volume of sound output from a *tablaó* (as with Corral) to be limited to permissible levels. The 2019 website asserts the current director's reason for the shift to a *tablaó* format as "recuperating a part that was missing, by memory and affection that we all respect" (<http://flamencocandela.com/historia/>).¹³⁵ This frames the *tablaó* as a form of reenactment of the former after hours, not entirely legal goings on at Candela, this time cleansed of their nefarious associations in the repetition. What was once a participatory gathering, of musicians and aficionados, is now staged

¹³⁴ Original text: "debido a los ruidos musicales producidos hasta altas horas de la mañana y de forma permanente, incumpliendo el Art. 51 de las Ordenanzas de Policía Urbana y gobierno Municipal Madrid, según consta en numerosas denuncias de Policía Municipal advirtiéndole que de persistir las molestias se podría llegar a la suspensión y precinto de la actividad" (28 December 1989 Archivo de Villa 59-393-11).

¹³⁵ Original text: "recuperando una parte que faltaba, por la memoria y afecto que nos toca a todos respetar" (<http://flamencocandela.com/historia/>).

with a physical separation between audience and performer. This division of space and limitation to normal operating hours is obviously safer for the establishment. However, the experience of flamenco in a *tablaos* is not that of a *juerga*. Although both involve alcohol (a drink is usually included in the entrance fee for a *tablaos* show) the consumption of alcohol in the *juerga* is that of enjoying a drink with the people making music and dancing rather than drinking while watching a performance. This prompts me to question: Should the *juerga* disappear in order to safeguard a flamenco establishment from authorities? Is the *tablaos* format the only permissible one?

IV. Cardamomo, Villa Rosa, and Las Carboneras: The Tablaos Circuit

Other important *tablaos* remained in operation in central Madrid as of June 2019. Torres Bermejas, open since 1960, is located just north of my research area. Within my geographical scope, besides Casa Patas, Villa Rosa has been open since 1911 off of Plaza Santa Ana near Calle Echegaray. Newer establishments, like Cardamomo (open since 1998) on Echegaray and Las Carboneras (open since 2006) near metro La Latina just east of Tirso de Molina and west of Corral de la Morería, can also offer interesting counterpoints to the case studies already presented here. The archive of the Ayuntamiento de Madrid contains some documentation for Villa Rosa and Cardamomo although not nearly as much as for Candela and Corral at the time I reviewed them in 2017. The information provided here on Las Carboneras, as with Casa Patas, comes mostly from informal conversations I conducted with staff and owners as well as numerous research visits in 2017.

While perhaps not as famous as its former neighbor Los Gabrieles, or other

tablaos like Corral or Torres Bermejas, Villa Rosa is, as its website in August 2018 touted, the “oldest Flamenco Tablao in Madrid” founded in 1911. Its founders were bullfighting assistants— two *picadores* and one *banderillero*, a correspondence that demonstrates, like Los Gabrieles, the early links between flamenco and bullfighting. Also like Los Gabrieles, its walls are decorated with painted tiles depicting Andalusian themed scenes, painted in 1928 by Alfonso Romero (Blas Vega 143). In *el Flamenco en Madrid* (2006), José Blas Vega dated its establishment as a flamenco performance center to 1918 with a transfer in ownership to Antonio Torres and Tomás Pajares Valverde and a party organized in honor of flamenco singer Antonio Chacón in 1921 (143). Villa Rosa formed a part of the choreography of flamenco nightlife in the years before the Civil War in Madrid, hosting some of the same artists and performers as Los Gabrieles. Blas Vega situated the end of Villa Rosa’s centrality to the flamenco social scene as 1960, coinciding with the heyday of the Madrileño *tablaos* (144). Villa Rosa adapted to that format, benefitting from the tourist influx associated with the trend. In June 2019, many of the same performers who grace the stages of Corral de la Morería and Casa Patas also perform at Villa Rosa, making it a vital part of the Madrid *tablao* circuit. Franco-era documentation of Corral and Villa Rosa was not available in the Archivo General del Estado.

Of all the files on locations that I reviewed in 2017 at the Archivo de Villa (Municipal Archive), Villa Rosa’s file is the only one that contained documents dated to the dictatorship pre-1975. Casa Patas opened in 1974, Cardamomo in 1994, and Las Carboneras in 2000, all after the fall of the dictatorship. Villa Rosa first appeared in the

Archivo de Villa de Madrid with a document dated October 1974 that requested an extension of its existing opening license to include card games, chess, and bingo (Pza Santa Ana nº 15, Archivo de Villa 46-380-2_0002). On the solicitation, the category of establishment was hand written as “Restaurant with show and” just above the listing of the activity as card games, chess, and bingo. The plan for the location showed a wall separating off a salon with seating near the entrance from the main dining room where the *tablaos* stage was located (Archivo de Villa 46-380-2_0013). The layout in 2017 did not include a separate salon and consisted of one large dining area with a bar where the salon was located. As a result, patrons must pay the entrance fee for the show to even enter the bar area, unlike the layout of Casa Patas but much like Corral de la Morería. From the documents in the Archive de Villa de Madrid, it is unclear when the wall which created the two separate spaces was removed but at least by the late nineties when I first visited the location, it was no longer there. Still, this element could be easily restored in future refurbishment of the location.

Cardamomo, located at Calle Echegaray nº 15, demonstrates another reconfiguration of space from one that was formerly multiuse to one that is solely devoted to the collection of entrance fees and attendance at the *tablaos* show. The Cardamomo website in August 2018 described the location as having been “created in 1994” and as the “rehearsal room” for many artists. The location first appeared in the Archive de Villa de Madrid in a series of communications from 1998 between the business and the Municipal authorities concerning attempted construction at the place (c/Echegaray nº 15, 27 April 1998 Archivo de Villa 59-416-20). As with other *tablaos*,

this construction was intended to install sound insulation, but also new light fixtures, and to update the facade of the place with a new sign and look (Undated photo Archivo de Villa 59-416-20). It is unclear whether *tablaos* style performances had already been taking place at the location prior to this, as the most recent opening license in the Echegaray street file was for a “taberna” and dated from 1975 (Archivo de Villa Ficheros por Calle, Calle Echegaray). However, at the time of my most frequent attendance, January through July 2001, the place functioned as a bar for socializing, much like Los Gabrieles and the exterior dining room at Casa Patas. In 2001, Cardamomo was a necessary stop on any flamenco night out in Madrid, a place to see and be seen for many flamenco performers and flamenco tourists.

Like Los Gabrieles, Cardamomo in 2001 occasionally presented performances but in a much less formal manner: no food, no included drinks, no seating, and only occasionally a cover charge. The space was divided into two rooms with a short open corridor separating the two. The stage was located on one side with its own bar and a separate bar area was located on the other. At some point between 2001 and 2013, a dividing wall and door were erected to more efficiently separate the two spaces. By my last visit in summer 2017, the separate bar space had completely disappeared and was replaced with a multimedia interactive flamenco “museum” that effectively functioned as an advertising space. No bar or seating area stood apart from formal seating for the *tablaos* show. Cardamomo still offered a roster of up and coming flamenco artists, but it no longer served as a social locus for the street. The only activity visible on the street on most weeknights during my most recent—summer 2017— stay in Madrid was the

handful of artists smoking outside during the breaks between shows.

One more recent addition to the *tablao* circuit is Las Carboneras, located near the La Latina metro stop a few blocks east of Tirso de Molina and Casa Patas. According to Rafael Manjavacas in the “De Tablao en tablao” section of the online magazine *Deflamenco* (added in February 2019), the tablao opened in 2000. The *tablao* is owned and operated by dancers Ana Romero and “La Tacha” González. The layout is similar to Corral de la Morería and Villa Rosa in that the location consists of a large dining area and stage without a separate room for the bar. It differs in the configuration of the stage, which is raised approximately less than one foot in height— unlike taller stages in other locations— sitting instead on an almost even level with the dining tables. Romero attributed their most frequent problem with neighbors to the vibrations from the footwork (Per personal conversations with author 12 June and 1 August 2017). For some time, despite soundproofing and insulation, this problem persisted. The owners finally realized that the problem stemmed not so much from the dancing on stage as from dancers warming up or rehearsing in the dressing rooms. In this case, it was the backstage activity that attracted somewhat negative attention rather than onstage or after hours activity. Las Carboneras, along with Villa Rosa, Corral de la Morería, and Casa Patas, continues to form one of the central points of the *tablao* circuit featuring the same artists alternating among locations (two weeks at one spot, one week at another).

V. Casa Patas: Continuity and Community in a Changing Landscape

Portraits and posters of flamenco greats like Camarón de la Isla, Enrique Morente, and Paco de Lucía decorate the walls of the main dining area at Casa Patas, and their

music colors its sonic landscape. The eponymous “Pata Negra” legs of cured ham hang from the ceiling and serve as complimentary tapas or snacks for patrons sitting at the bar. The room fills and empties cyclically according to the timing of the shows in the interior theatre. In summer 2017, doors opened approximately thirty minutes before the show and audience members who had either dined at one of the tables or snacked at the bar entered the enclosed theatre space. During the show, at least a few bar denizens remained behind. The pattern repeated during the intermissions and also before the second show of the night. Seating at the bar did not require the purchase of an entrance fee or even food. The purchase of a two to three-Euro glass of wine would suffice. During the week, students and teachers from the nearby Amor de Dios studios frequently used the place to unwind after the end of classes. The bartenders knew all of the regulars and most of the flamenco artists who spent time there whether or not they were performing.

Very little had changed about Casa Patas since my first extended stay in Madrid in 1998. Maybe a new poster here and there, and the use of Euros instead of pesetas. In 2017, there were fewer familiar faces, but perhaps new ones that I would recognize upon return. One night I recognized an even more disheveled and gray Pepe wandering through asking for cigarettes and spare change. Perhaps Candela was not as welcoming of an environment to him anymore. I saw Señor Mil Pesetas in the halls at Amor de Dios. I had seen him at Casa Patas again in 2001 and he greeted me warmly, if with a bit of surprise. He did not sing to me either time and did not seem to recognize me at all in 2017. The onus of retaining a sense of continuity, the sense of being the same place and having the same personality, as well as serving as a social locus for flamenco artists and flamenco

tourists in Madrid rests with Casa Patas, with some later night activity on Calle Echegaray at El Burladero and near Gran Vía at Cafe Berlin. Perhaps because of my age, perhaps because I was alone, or perhaps because I am a bit more cautious these days, I did not find my way to any after hours activity in 2017. This is not to say that it no longer occurs, but that the locations may be more private and entry a bit more exclusive.

**Ida: *La leyenda del tiempo*
Searching for Solutions**

*El sueño va sobre el tiempo
Flotando como un velero
Nadie puede abrir semillas
En el corazón del sueño.*¹³⁶

Another desolate Monday night in Madrid, it was towards the end of my dissertation research trip, in early September 2017. A friend who was traveling around Spain stopped through for a visit. I think the staff at Casa Patas was shocked to see that I had friends. I had been “that weird girl at the bar” all summer long. My friend and her travelling companion showed up at the very end of the night at Patas, only time for one drink. We moved on to Calle Echegaray looking for signs of life. We happened upon a decent bar at the very top of the street, looking out on Cardamomo and the remains of Los Gabrieles. It felt like visiting a cemetery, with the streets all silent and empty, the storefronts like tombstones marking graves. Once inside the bar, I had the uncanny feeling that I had been here before but it was a different place. The bartender was about to close up but served us a round anyway. I surveyed his array of herbs and fruit, now requisite with the craft cocktail movement, and I commented how much I hate making those drinks. He agreed adding that it was just the latest trend and will go away. I took the opportunity to ask him about the place, did it use to be a Mexican place? He verified this, astounded that I was old enough to remember. I mentioned my research and we began talking as he cleaned up the bar. My friends moved on to look for more after hours

¹³⁶ Translation: “The dream goes on top of time/Floating like a sailboat/No one can open seeds/In the heart of the dream.” Letra adapted from the Federico García Lorca poem “La leyenda del tiempo” by flamenco producer Ricardo Pachón for Camarón de la Isla’s album of the same name in 1979.

spots, leaving me behind to continue my conversation. When we got to the topic of Los Gabrieles, he stopped and elaborated on it: “Una lastima”—a shame, he said, how the death of the place was pointless and unnecessary. It was one of those places, “muy madrileña”—very Madrid, that have disappeared in the last decade. He had worked in bars around the center for almost twenty years. “El Centro”—the central district, he said, used to have its own personality. No one who works here lives here anymore. Hardly anyone lives here. It’s all Air Bnbs, hostels, and hotels. He ended with the observation “ya no hay centro”—there is no more center. The center has been lost.

If the center has been lost, can it be found again like in the lyric of *La Serneta* from the *Primera Letra*? I end where I began, with the great Garcia Lorca and another groundbreaking album by a legendary flamenco singer, one with a note of ephemerality but also hope. Perhaps the “dream” here is the romantic notion of the center, the urban community, the illusion of consistency, the dream of place. In the previous pages, this theme of place and the idea of the center or centers formed the heart of my dissertation. I have theorized the center in spacetime, memory, city, economy, and dance. In the *Segunda Letra*, I charted the changing landscape of Madrid, following several teleological strands through the development of the city center to the breakdown of these connections at the beginning of the twenty-first century. I tracked the changing locations of the dance studio *Amor de Dios* and the shifting power dynamics between centralized government powers, neighborhood communities, municipal bureaucracy, and finally, corporate real estate interests. I searched for the disappeared locations of Los Gabrieles and *La Soleá*, their roles in the Madrid flamenco network outlined by their vacancies. I

also traced the changes and continuities in the main Madrid *tablaos* circuit, looking for fixity, sometimes finding conflict, sometimes resignation. I ended with Casa Patas as a beacon of consistency in a sea of change.

I began with questions: how have redevelopment and tourism shaped flamenco social life at the local level in Madrid in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries? Tourism provided a definite economic support to many places, as seen in the proliferation of *tablaos* in the mid to late twentieth century, and also preserved in online discourse memories of places that disappeared, as seen in the cases of Los Gabrieles and La Soleá. On the other hand, the rise in short term vacation rentals associated with tourism in the 2010s in the city center and accompanying rise in rents has displaced many of the former residents, the local community of regulars who provide a more permanent customer base for flamenco sites. The Spanish periodical *El Mundo* estimated that rents rose in the Centro district 7.2% between August 2017 and August 2018, 60% higher than the national average (“El precio del alquiler en Madrid, casi un 60% más caro que la media nacional,” 25 September 2018). Redevelopment has also had a profoundly negative impact on flamenco social life. Besides displacing residents and raising rents, as in the case of Amor de Dios, redevelopment projects and real estate speculation have forced out culturally and socially important flamenco establishments sometimes, as with Los Gabrieles, permanently. I also asked of the places that remain, what strategies have the owners and operators employed to persevere? In the preceding chapter, the Macho, I recounted how places like Candela and Cardamomo adjusted their social spaces to focus more directly on tourism and tourist performance, thus erasing some of the more informal

social interaction and avoiding potential police scrutiny. Amor de Dios and Corral de la Morería moved towards a more corporate business model over the years to facilitate dealings with municipal authorities and, as Amor de Dios owner Joaquín Sanjuán affirmed, to build lines of credit (Personal conversation with author 28 August 2017). Methodologically, by putting archival sources in conversation with autoethnography, oral history, and embodied research, I exposed a more personal experience of these changes over time and a deeper understanding of the flamenco social spaces of Madrid.

I. Future Possible Lines of Research

Several possible lines of research could be taken up in light of my investigation and findings. Because my inquiry exposed a more personal experience of changes over time, its approach makes an objective assessment of gender dimensions in this research difficult. My personal experience of that aspect of flamenco social life remains too raw for full inclusion here. Future research in flamenco in Madrid could include a lens on gender and the experience of dancers in the *tablaos* scene. I contend that someone with more direct professional experience in Spain would need to volunteer their own experience as grist for such a study. A longer stay by a dancer working in *tablaos* could also produce a more traditional ethnography that notes more about the social lives of these places. An expanded form of my research focus on flamenco places and their neighborhoods in Madrid could include the venues Café Berlin and Torres Bermejas—located in the neighborhood of Gran Vía— and El Burladero—located on Calle Echegaray— that were left out of this dissertation due to its microlocal nature. Both El Burladero and Café Berlin operate primarily late nights and were not necessarily safe for

a female researcher to walk to unaccompanied. Perhaps a duo or team of researchers could expand to include these venues. The ongoing queering of flamenco onstage and increased visibility of LGBTQ flamenco performers holds out another potential arena for investigation. As a fourth possible line of investigation, similar studies of place and flamenco could occur in Andalucía, in cities like Sevilla and Jerez that have also experienced the loss of many local flamenco gathering spots over the years. It bears investigation whether the rate or magnitude of loss of places may exert different impacts on flamenco in this founding region of the practice. Another satellite flamenco city, Barcelona contains a thriving *tablaó* scene as well which could serve as a fertile ground for research. The city's situation as port of call for Mediterranean and oceanic cruises adds to the kinds of tourism that feature for Barcelona, and the impact of its mix of tourisms on flamenco practice warrants scrutiny. Examination of place, urban change, and music forms in city centers could serve as a template for other artforms besides flamenco. The loss of performing venues on the Sunset Strip in Los Angeles comes to mind as such a potential research subject.

II. Proposals for Slowing or Stopping Erosion of “Places” in the Urban Environment

Perhaps change is inevitable. As the Second Law of Thermodynamics states, all things tend towards entropy. However, entropy is not the same thing as oblivion. I reject a nihilistic vision of the current neoliberal capitalist climate as the apocalypse. Even if this is such an end time, it is one that is of human creation. Global warming, pollution, and overpopulation are all problems created by humanity. As with these problems in the

natural environment, the forces wreaking havoc on the urban environment in cities like Madrid can be slowed or even stopped if not all together reversed. I readily acknowledge that there is no easy or absolute fix to the problem and many of these proposals would rely on efforts on multiple fronts. With regard to environmental problems, some strategies involve institutional change, change from above, but there are also changes that can come from below, from the communities affected and ravaged by the loss of places. The problems are related. When rents become unaffordable, when community centers like coffee shops, bars, and dance studios close or become unavailable to residents, people leave a neighborhood. Dispersion of population from centers eats away at the rural environment surrounding cities with new developments like Madrid's *extrarradio* (Neuman 99-101). Construction, destruction, and reconstruction of urban structures, the creation of palimpsests, also create waste and use energy.

Framing the disappearance or erosion of places in the urban environment as a problem of sustainability opens an entry point to begin to propose solutions. As with natural resources, the ideas of protection and preservation merit reference. Like natural resources (soil, water), the use of the urban social environment necessarily changes that environment. Facilities wear down, buildings need repair. However, unlike natural resources, it is also this very use that creates the resource of sociality, the spatial practice of the city. Laws like the provision for preservation of patrimony in Madrid's 1997 Urban General Plan—discussed in the Tercera Letra—recognize buildings and architecture as historically important to preserve but not the social activities they house. Without social activity, these spaces become empty graves, valuable only for optical use. The

fundamentally active nature of social space highlights the tension between on the one end preservation and protection and, on the other end, growth and evolution. Nonetheless, there is a difference between the organic evolution of a place or a practice of place and forced change that comes from outside of the community and excludes the main, long term practitioners of that place. Whereas the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage model attempts to fix and codify the practices it seeks to preserve, I propose a more elastic model for preservation that recognizes the necessity for occasional extension, adjustment, and growth. I propose in this *Ida* a model that attempts to integrate a certain amount of modification while recognizing the limit beyond which the identity of a place will collapse from the strain.

Another question I proposed in this dissertation was: if the disappeared places do constitute a definitive loss of local personality, can that personality be regained? The answer lies in the community, in the neighborhood, in the family of regulars who support the place as well as the workers who give the places life and soul. However, logistically, as space in urban centers like Madrid's Centro becomes ever more unaffordable, the ability of individual owners to purchase property likewise becomes ever more unfeasible. Corporate real estate speculation drives up commercial real estate prices as well as residential rents. In Madrid, the bureaucratic apparatus is already in place which could, with minor adjustment, incorporate the kinds of neighborhood organizations that held sway at the end of the dictatorship. On an International level, a UNESCO like organization could compile a list of places with long term historical ties to both local communities and performing practices— and it could make such a list available to city

and development entities, as well as to commercial developers. In terms of performing practices, such a list should include places that may not be formal performance venues as they form integral parts of the supporting networks not only of artists but of residents. Special incentives— by municipal, regional, or national governments— could be given to business owners who agree to maintain a continuity of place-ness. Incentives could include tax breaks, promotion— as with the Intangible Cultural Heritage list, and special funds available for maintenance— as with historically protected buildings.

Other top down strategies could be implemented by city planners and municipal organizations, like better regulation of Airbnb rentals. In May of 2018 the Municipality of Madrid began to tackle the dilemma of Airbnb regulation with a new Housing Plan meant to curb the number of vacation rentals in the city center (“El Ayuntamiento estudia una nueva regulación de las viviendas turísticas” *Ayuntamiento de Madrid*, 10 May 2018). The city council banned Airbnb rentals without private entrances on March 27 2019. Journalist Gloria Rodríguez-Pina of *El País* estimated that this new restriction would shut down over 10,000 Madrid listings on the website (“Madrid adopts rules that will shut down over 10,000 holiday apartments”). Writer Fergus O’Sullivan of the online magazine *Citylab* expressed doubt about the potential for success of the new regulations citing a similar but failed attempt to deal with Air Bnb and overtourism in Berlin (“Madrid Bans Airbnb Apartments That Don’t Have Private Entrances” 3 April 2019). These regulations appeared after my 2017 fieldwork and have had little time to succeed, fail, or make much difference as of April of 2019. A revisiting of how these regulations

affected the Centro and its flamenco community figures as another future avenue for research.

Besides regulating Airbnb rentals, other municipal-based strategies could involve better regulation of real estate purchases in the city. In Madrid, when large developers look to buy and develop property, and where municipal approval is needed, a list of properties that house chain stores or franchises, places not unique to the neighborhood, could be offered to buyers as alternatives to acquiring unique spaces. Such action would require city planners and officials to be more involved and aware of the life of the neighborhoods they regulate and organize. If such real estate transactions are inevitable, efforts could be made to fund relocation of unique places. Amor de Dios struggled while awaiting government assistance in their relocation, and in fact, met with resistance from authorities (see Escobilla). In their case it was the community that supported the studios who organized to save the practice. Yet as seen with Los Gabrieles, community organizing does not always succeed. In that case, emergency renovation funds, from the municipality or even the state, could have saved the place in the face of crisis. Also, more communication and engagement between the business owner and the residents that support that business would be advisable as a means to shift conversation away from pecuniary gain from real estate sales to mutual investment in practices and places that give a neighborhood cultural capital in Bourdieu's terms.

Ultimately, the biggest hurdle around the world in this regard is corporate ownership of the vast majority of urban real estate. This affects both residential and commercial properties and rents. In Madrid, the largest property owner is the US

financial services group Blackstone, owning a total of 12 billion Euros of property in Spain as of August 2017 and an estimated 375 billion Euros in holdings globally (Doncel 10 August 2017). Sometimes, as with Los Gabrieles, building owners might prefer to maintain vacant properties rather than rent at a reasonable but lower than market rate. A March 2019 article in *El País* updated the ongoing coverage of Los Gabrieles with news that the building owners had restored the tiles and as of 2019— fifteen years after the bar closed and seven years after the occupation and contested restoration process—were attempting to lease the property, showing off the restored azulejos to prospective tenants (Ferrero 20 April 2019). Exorbitant, ever-climbing rents earn a short-term profit but are unsustainable in the long run. In his 2005 book *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, David Harvey related this drive— not only towards short-term profit but also short-term contracts in labor and a constant cycle of financial crises in the economies of Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States in the late twentieth century to the economic theory of neoliberalism popular with world leaders on both sides of the political spectrum since the seventies. He described neoliberalism as “seek[ing] to bring all human action into the domain of the market.” (3) Harvey wrote of the “commodification of everything” under neoliberal policies in the US and in Europe which “presumes... that a price can be put on [social relations].” (165) Commodifying social relations or social practices, not only in Madrid but around the world, relates to what he claimed about the commodification of “sexuality, culture, history, heritage... nature,” that it amounts to “putting a price on things that were never actually produced as commodities.” (166) As the commodification of nature by corporate interests has led to horrific and sometimes

irreversible environmental damage, so too does the commodification of city culture. Areas like Madrid's Centro district are mined for their unique personality, for temporary novelty. It is redeveloped as the new cool neighborhood; the people and places who originally gave the area its distinctive flair are displaced, written over, and erased. What remains is a social desert, like the "dead city" of Venice, a stone monument to a culture that no longer exists, a postmodern Pompeii sinking in the ever rising sea.

In contrast with individual endeavors to achieve environmental sustainability, that have started to win some— although not unanimous— support from citizens especially in Western countries, there are few bottom-up individual strategies that can tackle communal sustainability short of outright revolution. The equivalent of watching one's carbon footprint would be to shop, eat, or drink locally—all of which, especially drinking locally, are advisable. This may help the small business on a minute scale. But as shown by the case of La Soleá, which closed despite relative financial, commerce is not necessarily a cure-all. In this regard, incentives by municipal, regional or state entities for local businesses with historic ties to the community, like Los Gabrieles, Amor de Dios, Corral de la Morería, and Villa Rosa, might help insulate these places financially from the threat of real estate speculation. In addition, I would recommend incentives by municipalities for workers in neighborhoods to also live there, a tactic which would cut down on traffic and ease overloaded public transportation systems like Madrid's metro. The flamenco places of Madrid benefit from the presence of not only professional and nonprofessional flamencos but also from the flamenco aficionado neighbor— those not more concerned with sleep than culture— familiar with the form from the edges,

informed by hearing swaths of *cante* floating up from the streets, and from watching shows from the sidelines. Such extended networks of acquaintance, networks of knowing, include people not related necessarily by blood but who have built relationships with neighbors over years of residency. This is what I deem the “urban community”: the extended family of friends, acquaintances and co-workers who populate each others lives. The proximity of work and leisure community deepens these networks of acquaintance and communal ties. In the long term, I predict sustainability and renewability of both environmental and social or communal resources will generate more profit than short-term exploitation. Emphasis on one myopic conception of time is a poor business practice. There is no profit to be made in the ashes of a post-apocalyptic wasteland.

In the end, the struggle for the center in Madrid is the struggle for human connection in the face of the separation endemic to modern life. It is the desire to know people, to have friends, to fight off loneliness. The music and dance forms that gather people together in urban centers may change from city to city, but I would argue that the feeling of coming together is basically the same. It is the feeling of light in the darkness and music in the face of the silence of death. Living and working in the city, one can circulate in the same streets as someone else and never meet that other person. People can lead parallel lives divided into apartments like packages boxed away for sale. The behavioral vortices, the ludic spaces, the gathering points of a city like Madrid allow paths to intersect, lifelines to cross, new ways of being, of living to be discovered. If a place can be dreamed of it can be (re)created in my view. As long as the practice that

animates it survives, a place can be made anew. City places are life and its continuity in memory after death. In memory, they float on time like a sailboat.

Glossary

Baile: “dance”; sometimes used as a translation of “ballet”; synonymous with *danza* but used more to refer to a particular school of dance or dance in general than *danza*; its verb form *bailar* is used almost universally to speak of the act of dancing.

Bailaor/a: “dancer”; in flamenco refers to a flamenco dancer.

Bailarín: “dancer”; usually used in flamenco to differentiate a classically (*escuela bolera* or French or Russian ballet) trained dancer from a strictly flamenco dancer.

Ballet: in Spanish dance terminology, the term refers either to the French and Russian traditions of dance (usually referred to in Spanish as *ballet classico*) and sometimes also to a large dance company or a classical dance tradition.

Brazeo: armwork; movement of arms sometimes accompanying marking steps or footwork or sometimes in isolation.

Bulerías: flamenco rhythm in the *soleares* group.

Café Cantante: “singing cafe”; one of many cafés which showcased flamenco performances and catered to theatregoers in the mid- nineteenth and early twentieth century Spain. Though the phenomenon began in Andalucía (Sevilla) these cafés eventually spread to Madrid as well.

Caló/Calé: language of the Gitanos of Spain; uses Romani words with Spanish grammatical structure; also another name used by Spanish Roma to self-identify.

Cantaor/a: flamenco singer.

Cante: flamenco song or singing.

Cantiñas: flamenco song/rhythm that tends to be joyful in character. *Cantiñas* is also used to refer to the entire group of rhythms or songs.

Caracoles: flamenco song in the *cantiñas* group.

Danza: “dance”; sometimes synonymous with *baile* but more often used to refer to specific examples of dance considered more formal or ritual.

Dictablanda: “soft dictatorship”; play on the term *dictadura* (Spanish for dictatorship) and the fact that in Spanish *dura* also means “hard”; used to refer to the last decade of the Franco dictatorship when enforcement of oppressive regulations eased.

Entrada: sometimes called a “*salida*,” the first part of a flamenco dance number when the dancer enters the stage space to begin dancing.

Escobilla: percussive footwork section of a flamenco dance.

Escuela bolera: “bolero school”; classical Spanish dance form related to Spanish court and folk dance as well as French ballet.

Franquismo: political ideology of dictator Francisco Franco marked by hyper-nationalism and conservative Catholicism.

Gitano/a: sometimes called “Gypsy” in English, a member of the Roma population of Spain.

Ida: the “exit” part of the typical flamenco dance where the dancer either exits the stage space or returns to their seat.

Jota: Spanish folk dances from many regions of Spain; most iconically associated with Northern Spanish regions of Navarra and Aragon.

Juerga: informal flamenco jam session.

Letras: flamenco lyrics or verses, typically one three to six line stanzas; these are usually mixed and matched with other verses (composed or traditionally used for the same *palo*) and sung within the same performance or recording.

Macho: end of flamenco dance before exit section; usually faster rhythm than the rest of the dance.

Palo: flamenco rhythm or song; each *palo* not only has a more or less set rhythmic and song structure but also various groups of lyrics the performer may choose from to sing.

Peña: a private organization formed by flamenco aficionados who pay artists to hang out at their bars and hold jam sessions.

Señorito: “little lord”; usually used in a pejorative sense to describe a wealthy young man overly occupied with leisure pursuits. Similar to “dandy” but with a class distinction made.

Siguiriyas/Siguriya/Seguiriyas/Seguriya: dirge-like flamenco song in the *jondo* register; also the group of songs related to the *siguriya*.

Soleares/ Soleá: flamenco song in the *jondo* register; also the group of songs related to the *soleares*.

Tablao: flamenco dinner show; began as dance became more dominant in tourist shows and as *cafés cantantes* died out after the Spanish Civil War, with a zenith in the late fifties and early sixties.

Zapateado: flamenco footwork in general.

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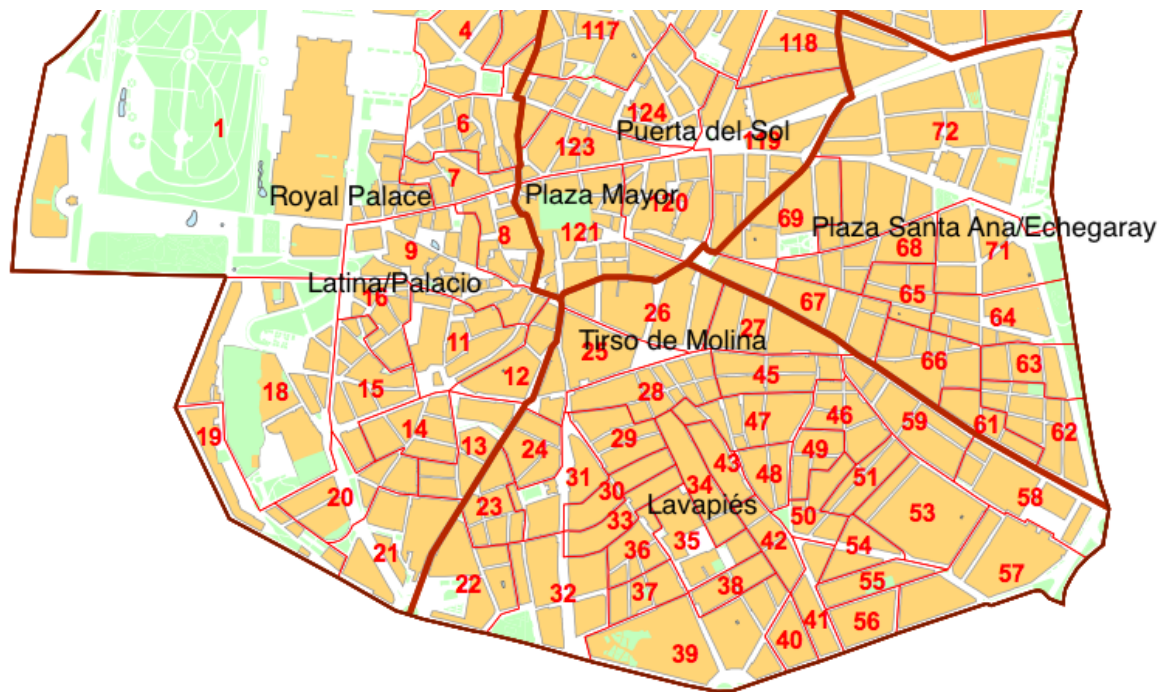
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Appendix A Maps

Map of Centro district—Annotated by author from public plan available on Villa de Madrid website:

<https://www.madrid.es/UnidadesDescentralizadas/UDCEstadistica/Nuevaweb/Territorio,%20Clima%20y%20Medio%20Ambiente/Territorio/Mapas%20de%20dist%20y%20bar/Centro/Distrito%2001%20-%20Centro.pdf> (Accessed 15 April 2019)



Barrios
11 - Palacio
12 - Embajadores
13 - Cortes
14 - Justicia
15 - Universidad
16 - Sol



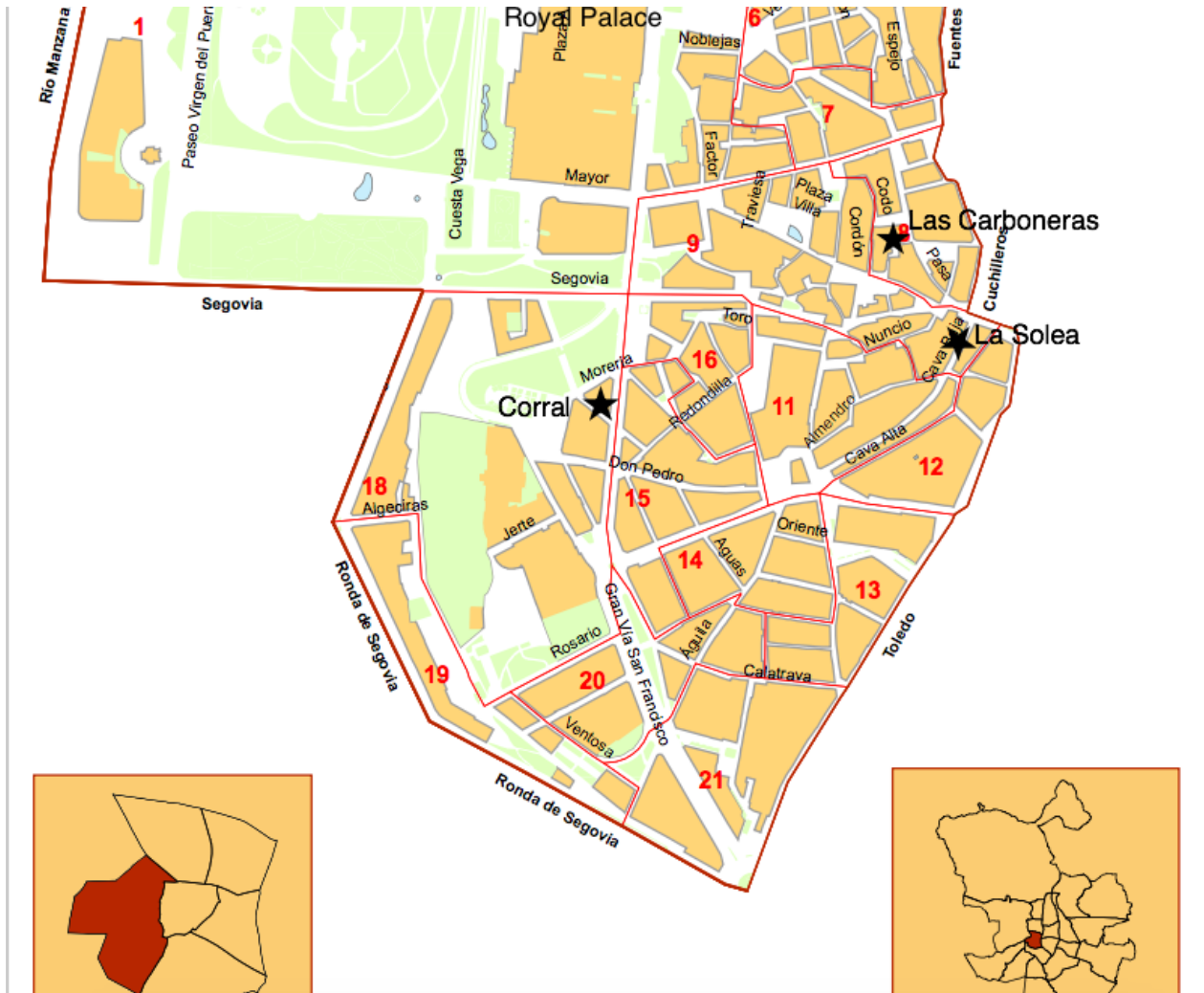
Map of Plaza Santa Ana/Echegaray Area (District 1 - Centro, Neighborhood 13 - Cortes)



Map of Lavapiés/Tirso de Molina area (District 1 - Centro, Neighborhood 12 - Embajadores)



Map of Latina/Palacio area (District 1 - Centro, Neighborhood 11- Palacio)





Appendix B Photos of Sites

Amor de Dios - original location (photo from 2 September 2017 by author)



Amor de Dios - location since 2005 (photos by author 2 July 2015 and 4 September 2017)



Los Gabrieles location - photo by author 7 August 2017



La Solea location - photo by author 11 August 2017



Cardamomo - Museum side (photo by author 7 August 2017)



Exterior Candela - photo by author 9 August 2017



Author and companions in Celler at Candela - June 1998



Appendix C
Plan for Villa Rosa 28 October 1978

Archivo de Villa Ayuntamiento de Madrid (46-380-2_0013)

