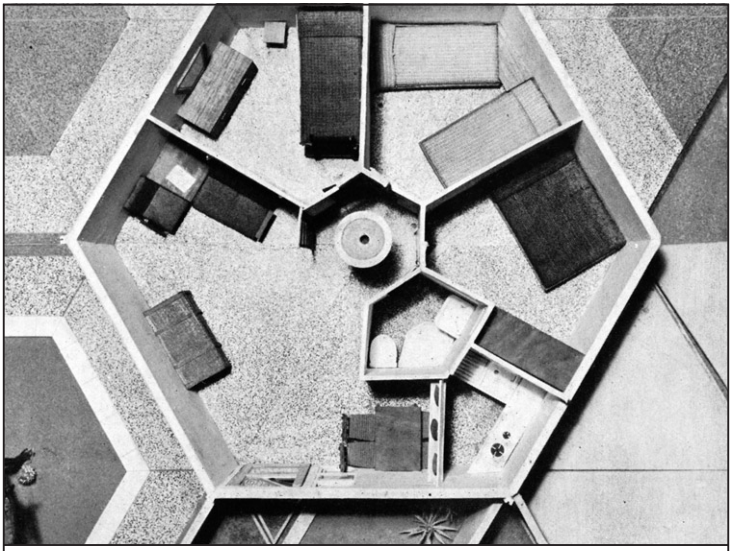

MACHINES FOR LIVING

Flamenco and Architecture in the Occupation and Vacating of Spaces

This project traces a historical genealogy of the ways of situating oneself in the modern space, architecture and urbanisme, developed between the middle of the 20th century and the present day. Our era has turned living into an administered manner of dwelling. This formula needs turning back to front to make living a political mode of dwelling in the world.

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Barcelona

La Virgencica Housing Unit
Photograph of the model featured in issue 61 of *Hogar y Arquitectura* magazine, 1965

Machines for Living. Flamenco and Architecture in the Occupation and Vacating of Spaces takes its title from a comment made by Federico García Lorca to Manuel de Falla, recorded in *Arquitectura del cante jondo* (circa 1932), when the two of them were walking down a street in Granada and suddenly heard an old *cante* song, a voice and a guitar playing, issuing from within a house. As they peered in through the window, they saw "a white, aseptic room without a single picture, just like a machine for living in by the architect Corbusier".

Lorca was applying here to the home of a flamenco singer Le Corbusier's famous notion of the *machine à habiter*, associating in a free, debatable and even colonialist manner the functionalism of the modern home with the enforced austerity of the dwelling of a poor man.

Nevertheless, it is in the distinction drawn by the poet between the meanings of living and living in, between natural and political life, between *zoe* and *bios*, that this project resides. The gap in these meanings provides fertile territory for tracing a historical genealogy of the ways of situating oneself in the domestic space, architecture and urbanism, exploring those reinventions of the circulatory flows, mobility and flânerie that began in the second half of the 20th century and which have developed in a complex manner in the present.

Using dances, pieces of music, actions, set designs, paintings, films, photos and documents, the exhibition presents a space-time adjustment between three different fields of production, three ways of understanding the territory, the city and the home, described under the epigraphs of *Radical Space*, *Social Space* and *Theatre Space*, all preceded by a *Preface*.

Our era is perhaps the one that has turned living into an administered form of living-in. This formula needs turning back to front to make living a political mode of living in the world. Or rather, we need to comprehend once again that that which separates living and living-in is something invisible, undoubtedly intangible, something that slips away from us between the various rooms and successive spaces: that which is lost. What is lost is sung. That is the living that we beckon to us and from which we would like to learn.

PREFACE

On how Federico García Lorca interprets Le Corbusier's architecture

"A few years back, just after I had returned from my university in Madrid to Granada for the holidays, I was walking with Manuel de Falla down a street where you sometimes come across those typical Moorish orchards found nowhere else in the world. It was summer and as we talked, we wiped away the silver sweat caused by the Andalusian full moon. Falla was talking about the degeneration, the forgetfulness and loss of prestige affecting our old songs, branded as coarse, brazen and ridiculous by most people, and just when he was complaining and objecting to this, a pure old song came out of a window, raised with brio in the face of time.

> Flowers, leave me
> flowers, leave me
> for he who has sorrow
> it amuses no-one.
> I went out to the fields to have fun
> leave me, flowers, leave me.

We peered in and through the green blinds we saw a white, aseptic room without a single picture, just like a machine for living in by the architect Corbusier, and in it two men, one with a guitar and the other with his voice. What he was singing was so immaculate that the man with the vihuela averted his eyes slightly to avoid seeing him in all his nakedness. And we perceived clearly that that guitar was not the guitar that comes in raisin boxes and has coffee stains on it, but the liturgical box, the guitar that goes out at night when no-one sees it and becomes spring water. The guitar made of wood from a Greek ship and hair from an African mule."

> Federico García Lorca, excerpt from his essay and lecture *Arquitectura del cante jondo*, written and given in 1932

Machines for living in

Strolling through Granada was Manuel de Falla's way of sensorially getting close to *cante jondo*. Not just with Lorca but also with Daniel Vázquez Díaz and Miguel Cerón, who gave him the idea

of organising an event, which later became the Cante Jondo Competition held on Corpus Christi in 1922. Comparisons between the space of architecture and the space of popular music appear constantly in the various testimonies they have left us of those strolls. The tension between an Orientalist architecture imbued with an appreciation of the Moors and popular architecture in the Arab style polarised the references with similar stylistic comparisons between flamenco—ornamental and erotic—and *cante jondo*—austere and transcendent. Lorca recorded the tale of his particular walk in the early 1930s in his seminal *Arquitectura del cante jondo* and it was then that he introduced the functionalist thinking of Le Corbusier, whom he had met in February 1928 in the Students' Residence. At that time, Lorca, and Falla too, was altering his theory regarding *lo jondo* to a considerable extent and blurring the differences between it and flamenco. The translation of *machine à habiter* as *machine for living in* has a semantic logic. In one of the architectural similes that he suggested to Vázquez Díaz, Falla compares the perfect use of the working-class home with the sober functionalism of a guitar and with its player's magnificent exploitation of the sound possibilities of the basic instrument. And perhaps the use of the space, and not so much its design, is the nuance that Lorca ousts by using the word 'vivir' (living) rather than the term 'habitar' (living in) when describing the dwelling of those flamenco artists behind the green blind.

On Photography

It seems appropriate that an account such as that of Machines for Living, *constructed fundamentally from photographs taken in the recent past, should halt and reflect on the quality of these depictions. The flamenco, gypsy and Romany imaginary has been mediated by photographic images since its romantic crystallisation, the stereotypes of exoticism and the poor realism of bohemianism. It is with good reason that the cover photo of the English-language edition of* On Photography *(1977), Susan Sontag's classic, is* Gypsy watching the police evict his family, *taken by Don McCullin in 1963. The photo expresses social criticism and solidarity with the persecuted, yet the image is strongly imbued with signs of the society that produced it: stereotypes associated with lives on the fringes, excluding idealisations of difference, and the naturalisation of political differences. Gypsies, and to a similar extent the flamenco community as well, have been the favourite subjects and objects of the great theatre of exotic photography.*

Nobody, perhaps, has been better able to trace the imaginary of gypsies, the European Roma, than Josef Koudelka; no-one has done so with greater effectiveness, to the extent of stylistically endowing the genre with an entire manner of portrayal: bodies expressed in gestures, dignity in the face of the adversity of the material conditions of life, the scenographic composition that is theatrical yet crudely realistic in equal measure.

Jo Spence worked with Koudelka on the reports that this Czech photographer did in Britain. His early social pieces began there, working with associations that help gypsy boys and girls, the children of what in Britain are known as Roma, gypsies and travellers. Spence began her own work with a question concerning Koudelka's photographs: is it possible to represent, or rather, to present in a different manner ways of life, chancy work, the uses of habitation that gypsies construct in their cities?

RADICAL SPACE

The Situationist International, influences and consequences between dwelling and ways of life

This section of the exhibition shows and reconstructs the attention that the Situationist International—possibly the last radical avant-garde movement—paid to the occupations and mobilities in the territories of the Roma, gypsies and flamenco communities, and the bohemianism of Spanish political exile, especially the libertarian exiles. This interest was evident from the outset, during the days it was founded in Cosio di Arroscia, when Pinot Gallizio was named "gypsy prince".

Featured here are works by Constant Nieuwenhuys, Har Oudejans, Asger Jorn, Guy Debord, Walter Olmo and Pinot Gallizio himself on flamenco and more particularly the gypsy camp at Alba in northern Italy, which provided the inspiration for the later *New Babylon* project.

In addition, following May '68—events in which the Situationist International played an unquestionably central role—and once many of its political proposals had been defeated, there was a renewal of Guy Debord and Alice Becker-Ho's approach to the genealogies involving gypsies and members of the flamenco community, from Jan Yoors to Tony Gatlif. We are referring here

to nomadism and the rejection of work; to the use and enjoyment of the urban space, to the predominance of play and criminal anomy; to the labyrinth and the wheel; to argot; low industrial production; and to the *détournement*. Debord himself summed up some of these aspects in an acute observation on the gypsies, about whom he said "capitalism runs right through them and does not change their way of life in any way whatsoever".

The New Babylonians

The housing problem faced by a group of gypsies in Alba in 1956, during the Experimental Laboratory of the International Movement for an Imaginist Bauhaus, was unquestionably disturbing. Pinot Gallizio, as the municipal representative, proposed to find them shelter on the outskirts of the city. Firstly Oudejans and later Constant proposed to build them spaces, places and sites. What we see here is more than the birth of *New Babylon*, the vast utopian urbanism project designed by Constant: what these gypsies brought to light is an entire mythical and poetic universe that, for many of the future Situationists, among them Constant, Pinot Gallizio and Debord, was a political and poetic constant. *Dérives*, psychogeography and *détournement* are also ethnographic tools for describing the life of these wandering gypsies. *Gitano*, *gitane*, gypsy and flamenco encompass an expanded field of meanings: Durruti and Picasso; the anarchists and the Spanish Civil War; Miró and Lorca; the great baroque literature; and flamenco. After May '68, after the end of the Situationist International, once the Provos' rebellion had been quelled, the gypsies appeared, disappeared and reappeared time and time again, like a source of existential resistance. The flamenco, gypsy and Romany communities: the New Babylonians.

The kings of argot

In the philosopher Giorgio Agamben's review of Alice Becker-Ho's book *Les princes du jargon* (1993), he points to a political hypothesis. In the inventory of argot expressions of gypsy provenance—Romany, Sinti, flamenco, *gitano*, etc., at no point is this way of talking associated with a particular people or culture—a new class of political subject seems to be identified, though not one manifested as a people even though it might share many of a people's qualities. These *gitanos*, gypsies or flamenco community members—as we know, flamenco and gypsy are one and the same, as are *gitano* and Roma, yet flamenco and Roma are not—throw

the naturalisation of the identification of a language and a people and vice versa into crisis. Agamben writes: "The relation between Gypsies and argot puts this correspondence radically into question in the very instant in which it parodically re-enacts it. Gypsies are to a people what argot its to a language. And although this analogy can last but for a brief moment, it nonetheless sheds light on that truth which the correspondence between languages and people was secretly intended to conceal: all peoples are gangs and *coquilles*, all languages are jargons and argot."

Thus jargon and argot are regarded as political, poetic and philosophical categories and even as a parameter for conceiving the space and the ways of living in it, a category that opposes architecture and urbanism inasmuch as they are dominant languages. Thus, once the Situationist International had broken up, jargon—"*trobar clus*, pure language, minoritarian practice of a grammatical language", Agamben reminds us—becomes for Debord and Becker-Ho a key with which to place in crisis the essential values of the political sovereignty of the states in which they live, the famous identification between a people and a language, but also a tool—a "toolbox", as Deleuze and Guattari would put it—with which to question the knowledge, habits and the ways of life that has formed the basis from which this sovereign identification has dragged them down.

Light and shadow

The debate between the various ways of documenting the social reality is connected with the pictorialist and symbolist traditions, the first two approaches adopted by photography to present itself as art. The specificity of the medium is an incessant search, on the one hand, involving the awareness of the rhetorical artificiality of any technical operation; and, on the other, the aspiration for objectivity, for nothing to mediate between the subject and the camera. Romantic picturesqueness turned gypsies and the marginal residents of the city into objects in a landscape, a kind of actor necessary for the 'Villa Miseria' reduced to mere stereotypes. Waves of photographers using diverse approaches have constantly tended to redeem the subjects they photograph, to attempt to ensure that their reality, life experience and cultural elements legitimise the image taken of them. Colita, for example, in her magnificent series of photographs of the shooting of* Los Tarantos *(1963), the film directed by Francisco Rovira-Beleta, was ultimately not portraying a shanty town so much as a film set that made it possible to place the subjects in carefully designed scenes. This plasticity existed, of course,

but the cinematographic value passed thenceforth into a particular way of photographing the gypsies and other marginal residents dwelling in urban peripheries. In many respects, Colita's gaze, like that of Koudelka at an international level, became the standard, a cliché for the ethnographic portrait of gypsies and flamenco. The outstanding photographs taken by Ramón Zabalza also operate on the basis of the same premises and, mindful of their precursors, attempt to calibrate the ethnographic document differently, especially due to Zabalza's interest in the field of anthropology. It is not that there are solutions, or that photographic objectivity can be learned. Each mode of doing ends up generating its own mannerisms. However, being conscious of formal predecessors makes it possible to act with proportion and to give a range of values to the images.

The French collective 4Taxis, Teresa Lanceta and Julio Jara, present themselves as a timeless exception in the account of *Machines for Living*. Their ways of working have grown out of the same premises as those of the exhibition and coincide with them, and hence they are incorporated into the narrative of the display in the manner of retroactive formulations, interrupting or expanding each of its three sections.

Un an à Séville (pour toujours) – 4Taxis

Michel Aphesbero and Danielle Colomine formed 4Taxis at the Bordeaux School of Fine Art and between 1989 and 2013 they ran their nomadic thinking workshop—PNCI, Pensée Nomade, Chose Imprimée—in many cities around the world. Los Angeles, Naples, Oaxaca, Madrid and Barcelona featured in the magazine of the same name, *4Taxis*, the organ of expression of the collective's particular nomadology. In the late 1980s, they settled in Seville and up until 1992 produced a series of knowledge and teaching experiences related to the city.

One of these works is *Un an à Séville (pour toujours)*, dating from 1992. The urban imaginary poured into the sheets of a universal calendar. Spaces compressed into particular time sequences that present a definitive atlas or museum of images. Its revision of the popular imaginary, the signalling of the political dimension of certain flamenco ways of doing things and the secularisation of traditions are undoubtedly among its successes. The influence of these works by 4Taxis on an entire generation of artists who were working in Seville has perhaps still not been accorded the full value it deserves.

SOCIAL SPACE

The radiant city: gypsies, the flamenco community and migrants amid utopian constructions and the enclosure of the housing estate

This field explores the various social housing projects pursued in France, Spain and Portugal to provide homes for gypsy populations. The common feature of these projects—the antecedents for which are the phalanstery but also the concentration camp—is that they came up against particular family and group characteristics, itinerant crafts and trades and ways of life that are unstable territorially speaking, for example, nomadism.

These projects include the Cité du Soleil near Avignon, designed by Georges Candilis in 1961; La Virgencica, built in Granada to house the people from Albaicín and Sacromonte that were forced to leave their homes due to flooding; the Viviendas para una Comunidad Gitana de O Vao, next to Pontevedra, designed by Pascuala Campos and César Portela; Gao Lacho Drom, a gypsy quarter on the outskirts of Vitoria-Gasteiz that was demolished in 1983; La Malagueira, in Évora, the vast social housing project developed by Álvaro Siza for the working class, farm labourers and gypsies; and lastly Plata y Castañar, the neighbourhood for gypsies designed by Juan Montes in Villaverde, on the outskirts of Madrid, which was razed during the property speculation of the 1990s.

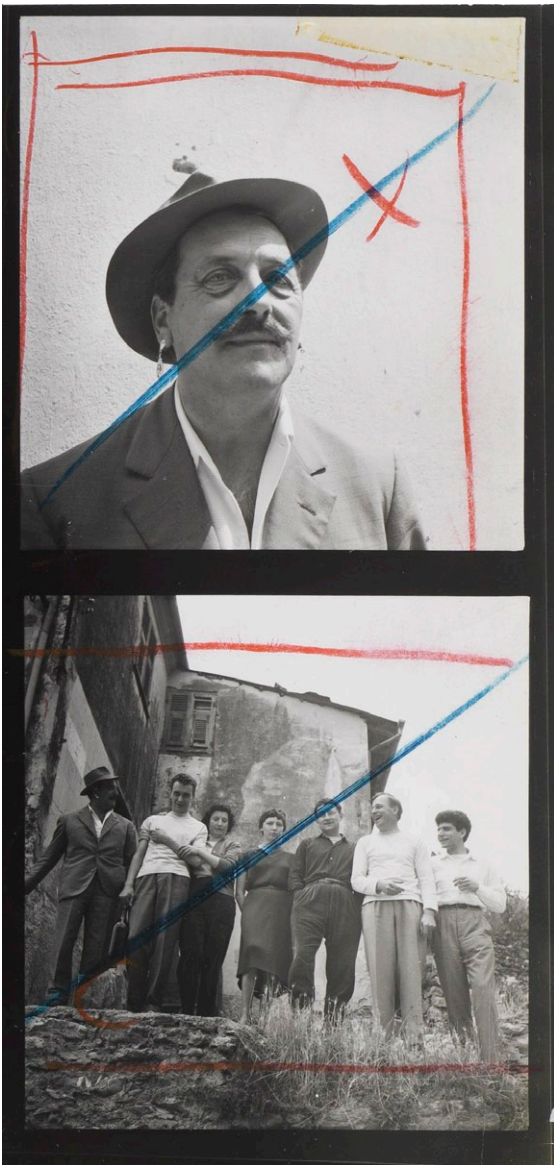
In addition, this part of the exhibition looks at what could be considered a second phase, when the communal projects were deemed to have failed and a new policy was adopted of assimilating the gypsy population, along with other marginalised groups, into the vast housing estates built for the migrants arriving from the countryside and the south. Specific examples that differ from each other include Caño Roto in Madrid, the Bellvitge neighbourhood in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat and the Polígono Sur in Seville, with its famous Tres Mil Viviendas, all of them projects in which the symbolic fact of flamenco plays an important role when it came to living in them, or in which the nostalgia for lost territories is also a poetic reinvention of the new space in which one had to live.

Paradises lost

Gypsy populaces were a particular case study for social and urban planning among European societies after the Second World War. Among of the earliest attempts to tackle the issue from an

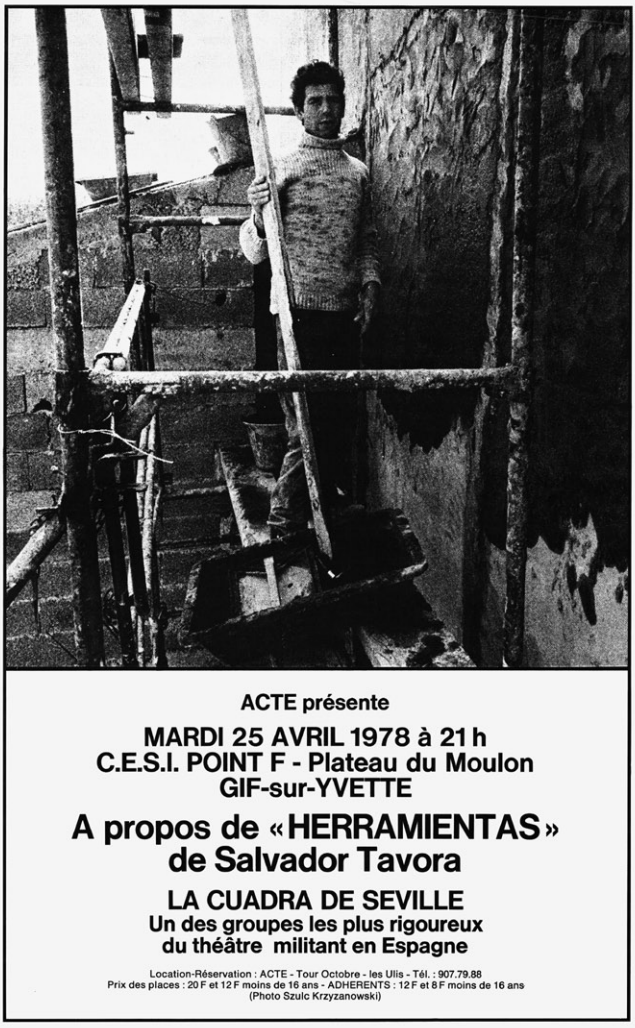
Federico García Lorca
***The Stroll of a Wasp through My Room*, Granada, 1923**
Manuel de Falla Collection

Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Charlotte Perriand
***Charlotte Perriand's conception for Le Pavillon Suisse at Paris's Cité Universitaire,* Paris, 1933**
Anne Laure Gillet and Hernando Pérez Díaz Collection
Photo Lukasz Michalak



Ralph Rumney (attributed)
Top: *Pinot Gallizio wearing earrings, proclaimed "gypsy prince"*
Bottom: *Pinot Gallizio, Piero Simondo, Elena Verrone, Michèle Bernstein, Guy Debord, Asger Jorn and Walter Olmo during the founding of the Situationist International*
Cosio di Arroscia, August, 1957

Julián Álvarez,
¡Bellvitge, Bellvitge!
Top: Ginesa Ortega and Pedro Sierra
Bottom: Torre Building
Barcelona, 1979



Unknown artist, on a photograph by Szuic Krzyzanowski
Apropos of Tools
CESI, Point F Plateau du Moulon, Gif-Sur-Yvette, 1978
Centro de Documentación de las Artes Escénicas de Andalucía

urbanistic perspective were plans to build special cities or camps that would adapt the habitat to the particular way of life and work of Romany communities, many of them itinerant.

These planning policies were haunted by the spectre of the concentration camps, which had in fact been built to exterminate gypsies during the era of the National-Socialist government in Germany and the occupied countries. Back in the prehistoric days of the social engineering of urban planning, gypsies, and the flamenco community, had contradictory genealogies. There was an experimental bid in Scaieni, Romania, to set up a phalanstery, inspired by Fourier, the main community of which consisted of slave and free gypsies. Similarly, an attempt was made in Tempul (Cadiz) to create a community of gypsy and non-gypsy workers from the farming area around Jerez.

So we find, with the shadows of utopia and horror, a series of architects and social engineers attempting to integrate these peripheral communities—Roma and other itinerant communities—into the mainstream of a productivist society, be it of a socialist or fully capitalist bent. The intention was to make their distinguishing features as regards housing productive for the body of society. The experimental constructions of this period—the Cité du Soleil dates from 1961 and Gao Lacho from 1969—aimed to fix nomadic and itinerant communities in the terrain in order to 'integrate them' into society, to instil in them the moral and social values typical of sedentary lives. In short, to fix them so that they would produce and stop being unproductive, since they were a stone in the wheel of progress.

Amid the various social displacements of the time—from waves of migrants looking for work to tourists and even university teachers moving to take up posts—the aim was to normalise those mobile communities that were neither normative nor productive. A population shift that does not go hand in hand with a movement of capital is not seen by the social body as effective, hence the police measures introduced into urban planning. In many respects, these social experiments were a failure, or rather, as Miguel Benasayag puts it, "the result of life paving a way for itself despite the wishes of the planners".

The construction workers of the spectacle

After the Second World War, the acceleration and speed of population shifts from the countryside to cities, from poor parts of the country to rich urban areas, from places devastated by human

and natural disasters to major metropolitan regions, presented a considerable challenge of the megalomaniac modern urbanism projects. The housing estate embodied the triumph and failure of the planning promoted since the Athens Charter (1933-1942), as well as its effects on the Cité Radieuse and the Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles, all projects led by Le Corbusier and an influential group of modern architects and urban planers. However, it must be said that there was no lack of critical voices, from the reformism of Team X—among them, for example, Candilis and Aldo Van Eyck, Constant's mentor—to the Imaginist Bauhaus and later the Situationist International.

The rise of the housing estate came into conflict, of course, with the development speculation of post-industrial capitalism, undermining by means of its class filters the idealistic deployment that undoubtedly motivated the architects of the Modern Movement.

In addition, social engineering came into being with materials that presaged its functional failure. The primitivist inspiration that presented habitats that were austere in form explained a ruralist—popular inspiration has very often served as a pretext in the suppression of needs and services—and even a colonialist turn, setting up experiments with its early projects, for example, on the outskirts of Algiers, there where, symbolically, the Boghari, Colomb-Béchar and Djelfa internment camps had been.

The very intention of experimenting with these forms of habitation in the colonies announced the plans represented by the urban planning for our metropolitan peripheries. At the same time, however, the architecture of the Modern Movement was selling itself with futurist and residential imaginaries. As the Situationists pointed out, these were cities for tourists, vast residential constructions intended for the leisure and retirement of the workers of opulent Europe, who were looking for the environmental wellbeing typical of Mediterranean cities. The contrast between tourist developments and dormitory towns in outlying areas exposes all the keys and contradictions of the modern project. Often, a dormitory town had to be built precisely for the workers, the cheap labour force, which had to construct the housing stock for tourists. And not just tourism areas: our cities, like the service sector companies they want to be, have developed in particular around their productivist 'spectacularisation' and in their wish to be increasingly profitable and to generate significant capital gains in simple accommodation. Thus, phenomena such as the turning of sites into

heritage, gentrification and touristification require cheap labour to sustain them. A housing estate where the construction workers of the spectacle can recover their strength.

The Gypsies

The Gypsies *(1967) is Jan Yoors' masterpiece, a blend of an adventure book and an ethnographic document in which the author narrates his own experience travelling between the ages of twelve and 22 with a number of gypsy families through the heart of Europe. During the Second World War, Yoors served as a link between the gypsies fleeing from and fighting against the Nazis and the allied armies. He visited these gypsy families as a photographer and his reflections on the gypsies' strategies with regard to the images are remarkable. Firstly, he describes their playful vanity kindled by having their photo taken, and secondly, over and above any cultural superstition, he reveals how these photographs soon attained the same value that portraits had for gadjos (non-gypsies). As a result, they went on to administer this symbolic profit as a way of achieving some financial subsistence, but also as a way of managing their dignity and of making their autonomy effective, demonstrating that they remained masters of themselves, of their portrait, even in poverty. This is why it is so interesting to see how Yoors photographed his siblings, because all his images have the reach of the family photo, of the family album. For his book* The Gypsies of Spain *(1974), he invited the photographer André A. López to take the photos, which are without question extraordinary. Nonetheless, from the critical perspective represented by Jo Spence, there was an excessive theatricality, even a certain monumentalisation in the photographs. And this is curious, given that the original images Yoors took on this journey are closer to the social account, to the immediacy of the gestures and the unfiltered spontaneity that the British photographer was seeking at that time. It should be said, as an aside, that thanks to Yoors' photos, it is still possible today to identify many gypsies of both sexes exterminated during the Nazi genocide.*

Calle Jerusalén, n.º 8. Barcelona – Teresa Lanceta

Teresa Lanceta has lived and worked among gypsy women for a long time near the Barrio Chino neighbourhood in Barcelona, close to El Rastro flea market in Madrid, in the congregations in the neighbourhoods of El Arenal and Triana in Seville, on the hills of Granada and elsewhere. There is no original question whatsoever about this preference but numerous consequences in the final stretch of her work. She wove a tapestry in every house where she lived. In response to the square as the prime definition

of modernity, her constructive option is the triangle. This is an immediate consequence of a particular way of doing things. The forms are woven in the manner of a palimpsest, the warp is a grammar that connects moments in a life, snippets of a biography, tragedies and joys. Spider-like when she takes up her threads of experience. Let us think of each intersection of threads as a bit of information. Sensory memory is filled with this expressive intensity, a vague way of living that Teresa Lanceta encountered among those gypsy women.

THEATRE SPACE

The territory in the new Andalusian ritual theatre and the space of the centres of production of the lumpenproletariat

This third section points out how gypsy and flamenco artists, in keeping with the political demands during the late Franco years and the transition to democracy, specifically in the realm of the theatre, were conscious of the successive spatial transformations, developing new modes of dwelling that required a certain 'deterritorialisation' of the old stages.

Featured together here are the Teatro Estudio Lebrijano of Juan Bernabé and his *Oratorio* (1968); La Cuadra in Seville, with Salvador Távora in *Quejío* (Lament) *Los palos* (Sticks) and *Herramientas* (Tools) between 1972 and 1977; the Teatro Gitano Andaluz of Mario Maya, with *Camelamos Naquerar* (We Want to Talk) and *¡Ay! Jondo* (1976-1977), as well as other authors such as Alfonso Jiménez Romero, José Heredia Maya and Juan de Loxa. Various groups and collectives are also included, among them the Teatro Estudio in Arahal, Cascao Teatro in Malaga, the Teatro Algabeño and the theatre experiences of Ocaña, Fernanda Romero, Manuel de Paula, as well as the chaotic *Antigone* by Bertolt Brecht (1969) in which Smash performed with the Esperpento group. Equally, attention is paid to the new production space where these poetics were produced once again: La Cuadra of Paco Lira in Seville, the Reunión de Cante Jondo in La Puebla de Cazalla, with the highly individual activist Francisco Moreno Galván, and the Cortijo Espartero in Morón de la Frontera, where the particular authority of Diego del Gastor stood out in the experimental projects of Darcy Lange.

Flamenco has given rise to a number of sciences for the purpose of studying it, the famous flamencology, consisting of a combination of university academicism and ingenious casualist explanations regarding its origins, functions and developments.

Darwinist naturalism and positivist geography fuelled the early studies of the folklore and thus a cartographic explanation of flamenco spread, placing its origins in the wilder areas of the agricultural world which, in various waves, eventually made their way, with their tunes and popular rhythms, into cities.

The cartographic configuration of the geographical triangle of lowland Andalusia where flamenco originated—Utrera, Lebrija and Jerez in its most restricted expression; Cadiz, Seville and Malaga in its broadest—produced more than a few theories and expressive formalisations that constitute what would be the ethnographic turn in flamenco in the late 1950s.

The gypsy wellspring—especially of the sedentary gypsies in western Andalusia, who had settled in agricultural work in contrast with those who were still itinerant, migrating from place to place—as well as rural primitivism—the fandangos, trillas and other song forms associated with work—form an original and Adamist territory of the soil that constitutes flamenco singing and dance.

The new population shifts from the countryside to the city, the displacement of the working-class masses and gypsies residing in urban centres to the outskirts, emigration from the south to the richer areas in the north of the Iberian Peninsula or the more industrialised Europe shaped a new way of understanding the territory and the movement of its peoples. The clash between the 'territorialisation' of theory and the 'deterritorialisation' of social, political and economic reality gave rise to other ways of understanding flamenco and its portrayals.

In the stage space, singularly permeated by the independent theatre phenomenon, political anti-Franco struggles and the assembly movement of a populist culture also began to fashion various ways of understanding the artistic expressions of flamenco. Consequently, the stage was a privileged place for observing the space and habitation shifts that occurred at this time. It is important to underline the tension between the traditional theory and the new formats, since this interaction between centripetal and centrifugal forces gave rise to the tension and wealth of a panorama that simultaneously combined ritual theatre, political demands and alternative ways of life on the fringes.

Flamenco theatre moved out of the theatres to farmland and villages, to factories and to the cultural centres set up by migrant workers, and at the same time freely espoused the new brutalist approaches, the integration of elements from the culture of agricultural and industrial labour, the bridging of the divide between actors and audience, as well as the collective construction of stage texts and gestures.

Rather than a flamenco that presented itself structured as a tree with various branches and roots, it now appeared in the form of a rhizome, without its early hierarchies or differences between the stem, trunk and roots.

'Lumpenproductivism'

The video artist Darcy Lange from New Zealand was the first to point out that the spaces presented as the original and ancient cores of flamenco were in fact living centres of production of an art that was new and old at one and the same time. Following his structural pieces on industrial work, his multichannel videos on the cognitariat and university knowledge, Lange chose the circle of the Cortijo Espertero and of Diego del Gastor, in Morón de la Frontera, as a case study, examining ways of doing for which the main driving force was the fiesta and for which unproductivity was its greatest wealth, its accumulated fortune, its capital gains.

Together with the Cortijo Espartero, led by the American Donn Pohren and by Diego del Gastor and which, it should be noted in passing, Dan Graham likened to a kind of Warhol Factory with constantly partying Andalusian gypsies and farm labourers, other venues we regard as centres where popular culture was constructed include Reunión de Cante Jondo in La Puebla de Cazalla, with Francisco Moreno Galván—the brother of the influential art critic José María Moreno Galván—as the intellectual force providing criticism and responsible for artistic renewal; and La Cuadra, run by Paco Lira, with its various branches in Seville—La Carbonería is the last of the venues that sprang from La Cuadra—where people from the worlds of the theatre, rock, classical and experimental poetry, painting and bohemianism in Seville would gather. Pisco Lira, who inherited one of these spaces, provided an illuminating illustration of this by accepting the simultaneous teachings of Agustín García Calvo and Antonio Mairena.

All these centres kept a close eye on technological advances and on the modern roll-out of the culture of technical reproduction.

Not just because they were venues for radio workshops, DJs' first practice sessions, independent film and early videos, TV programmes such as *Rito y geografía del cante flamenco* (Rite and Geography of Flamenco Singing), new approaches in visual poetry and printing—from workshops on popular screen printing to the first photocopiers—but also because of the collective and community-based way in which these activities were developed, blurring, in accordance with the flamenco myth, the differences between author and audience, between the creators and the people that supported them.

Phenomena such as the so-called 'Andalusian ritual theatre' took place in this type of space, with the collaboration of diverse authors and actors. Let us consider, for example, an event as simple as the incorporation of *cante jondo* into the form of the chorus of the original Greek tragedy, due to the concurrence of Alfonso Jiménez Romero, Juan Bernabé, Salvador Távora, Ángela Mendaro, Teatro Estudio Lebrijano, Joaquín Arbide, Joao Cabral do Melo, Margarita López Pedregal, Teatro Estudio in Arahal, José Monleón and Paco Lira himself, the owner and driving force behind La Cuadra.

La Chanca

The ethnographic turn in photography proved paradoxical when it came to portraying peri-urban social ambits and the non-theatrical representations of flamenco. When classic photography turned towards ethnography, it discovered early picturesque models that it tried to move beyond. Soviet photography of the working class, British documentarism and the work of photographers who illustrated the New Deal in the United States were contributions that tried to break away from the stereotypes they were photographing. At the same time, they were constructing clichés that it was hard not to repeat. The photographs taken by Carlos Pérez Siquier of the La Chanca gypsy neighbourhood in Almería are unable to escape the impressive stage sets of whitewash, a white so white that all the subjects are silhouetted against it, turning them into the protagonists of an anthropological scene but at the same time into actors in a theatrical moment. As Juan Goytisolo reminds us: "Reflected in the enormous theatricality presented to us by the poor, in the portrayal of their miseries, there is also an entire economy of gesture, the learning of that ability to express with very little and the memory of showing in each gesture a surviving life". They are the attempts made by photography to portray and document flamenco beyond the theatrical aspect, in other words, off stage or outside the flamenco club which

a certain critical tradition regarded as falsifications even as it exaggerated and distorted a flamenco originating in homes, courtyards and rooftops. So, in these attempts at veracity, paradoxically we find once again the absolutely theatrical conditions of this art, the gestures that reveal a perfect knowledge of the stage, the foot that stamps on the sandy ground hoping to find wood. In the magnificent work of Mario Fuentes, a photographer from Lebrija who has exhaustively documented every farming and stockbreeding task, craft traditions and fiestas associated with flamenco, as well as that of the photographers who were part of the Flamenco Project—David George, Mark Johnson, William Davidson, Charles Mullen, Maria Silver, Chris Carnes, Ira Gavrin, Robert Klein, George Krause, Daniel Seymour, Dick Frissel, Jane Grossenbacher, Paco Grande, Ruth Frazier and Steve Kahn—we find an example of these paradoxes between documentary truth and the staged representation.

El infrapayo – Julio Jara

In the early 1990s, Julio Jara began to develop an entire series of activities, works and artistic pieces that defy classification. In general, the discovery of the *infrapayo* is a way of showing very different modes of doing, approaches that attempt to combine the experimental poetic demands of everyday lumpen life. Flamenco, gypsy and rumba in its most basic sense are all contained within it, amid experimentation and experience, in that Y that Jara sees as the main identifying standard. The liturgies of the lumpenproletariat have an exceptional and devoted performer in Julio Jara. From *Mapa de Y* (Map of Y) to *La vida ilustrada del infrapayo* (The Illustrated Life of the *Infrapayo*), there is a complete map of tensions and energies that could also be called 'psychogeography'. And above all, of inventing a language, an argot, a lumpen Esperanto that is not what the mafia or drug pushers speak, that is not Madrid slang, but a *trobar clus*, a poetic speech, a pure language in the words of Walter Benjamin. As El Samaruc would put it: «Asiena lai ye chabo quu salo can selo quu arruma che lai zingaluntia yei infrapayo».

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