



## From *La leyenda del tiempo* to *La leyenda del espacio*: Three Decades of Rock and Flamenco Hybridisation in Andalusian Music

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### Abstract

This paper aims to analyse and consider the hybridisations of popular music genres emerged in Andalusia, Spain, during the last thirty-five years. Fusions between urban music such as rock, pop and indie, and the folk music typical from the south of Spain: flamenco. For these purposes, two of the most important albums of this trend have been analysed, *La leyenda del tiempo* by the flamenco singer José Monge, also known as “Camarón” and *La leyenda del espacio* by the Spanish indie band from the city of Granada Los Planetas: origin and evolution of formal, aesthetic, social and commercial parameters of these albums.

**Keywords:** *rock gitano* (Gypsy rock); *rock andaluz* (Andalusian rock); indie.

The sub-genres *rock gitano* and *rock andaluz* first appeared in Andalusia (Spain) during the 1960s and 1970s. Both are the result from the hybridisation of rock and the most popular music of Spain’s southern region: flamenco. These two musical genres, however, sound completely different. We can take note of this contrast by comparing a song from the band Veneno (Veneno 1977), formed by the Amador Gypsy brothers, and another from the band Medina (Azahara Medina Azahara 1979), which is a clear example of *rock andaluz* sound.

As Ricardo Pachón stated in the documentary *Dame Veneno*, *rock flamenco* or *rock gitano* emerged under the influence of works such as *Rock encounter* from Sabicas and Joe Beck (Barbadillo 2009). Bands falling into this category have instrumental formats similar to those used by other rock sub-genres, including *rock andaluz*. Nevertheless, unlike this genre, it has a distinctly flamenco nature exemplified by Spanish guitars, *palmas* (hand clapping), *zapateados* (flamenco tap dancing) and *cantaos* (singers) from the Andalusian tradition, instead of singers from urban centers. The main characteristic of *rock gitano* is the strong racial component. Despite collaborating with artists from other ethnic groups, *rock gitano* bands consist of Andalusian Gypsies only. These musicians blend naturally, almost innately, popular folk music learned from childhood with foreign urban influences that came to Spain during the 60s and 70s through the U.S. military bases (Pachón 2013). Works from bands such as Pata Negra or the album *Veneno* from the band Veneno are the result of this fusion.

On the other hand, *rock andaluz* emerges almost exclusively under the influence of British and American progressive and symphonic rock bands from the late 60’s. The instrumental format keeps essential elements from rock, while placing more emphasis on instruments such as the synthesizer or mellotron. *Rock andaluz* is noted for avoiding common structures in urban popular music (ABAB). Instead, songs have rich structures presented as movements, rich in long instrumental passages and

topics, generally more complex than in rock music.<sup>1</sup> Songs are not isolated creations, but are conceived as part of a whole. These are concept-albums where all musical ideas contribute to a single overall theme. Accordingly, lyrics elude irrelevant concepts and bring in leading topics such as politics. Thus, *rock andaluz* bands followed the themes developed by progressive rock, while introducing certain Arabic components in the melody resulting in a new sound. At times, the sound evoked the Andalusian folklore and its exoticism (see example 1). In contrast to *rock gitano*, they would seldom incorporate features from flamenco, such as the Spanish guitars used by Sevillian band, Triana.



**Example 1:** Initial guitar riff of the song “Paseando por la Mezquita” by the band Medina Azahara, 00:00-00:07 (own transcription).

Last but not least, we need to define the keyword indie and its Spanish variant for the clear understanding of this paper. Within the wide range of urban popular genres and styles, indie music is probably one of the most difficult to determine; especially since it is not strictly a musical genre. At the beginning, it was conceived as a descriptor applied to certain genres; hence, rock or pop could be classified as indie. However, the frequent use has led to accepting indie as a musical genre and the appearance of sub-genres such as indie rock, indie pop, etc.

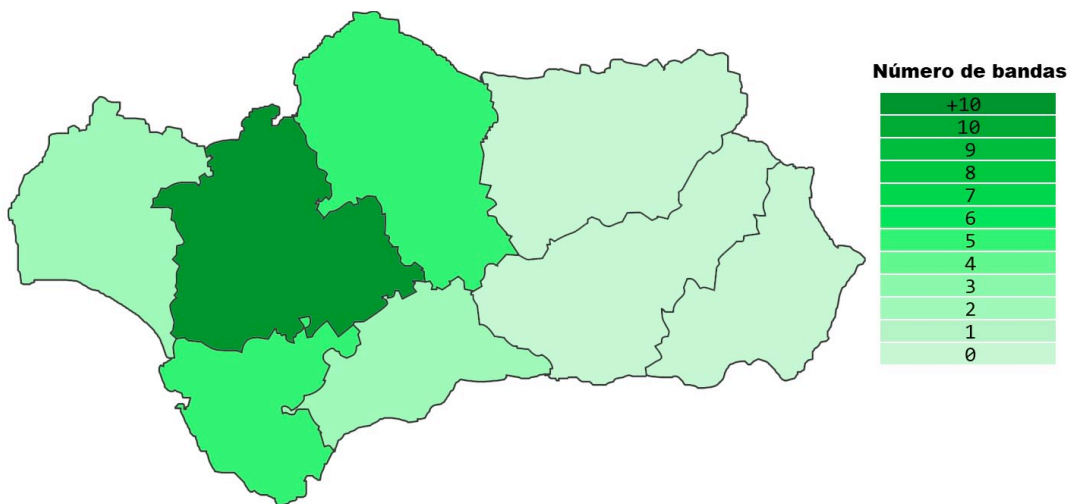
By definition, indie or independent music encompasses urban artists, whose works are not associated with “mainstream music” (commercial music released by major record companies), and prioritise the idea of music-as-art over the commercial product (Shuker 1998, 171). The above definition, which would suit most international indie artists, does not, however, apply to indie in Spain.

The term indie, a shortened form of independent, was first used in Spain in the early 1990s to designate a group of young bands with no deals signed with record labels, who self-produced their music. Probably, the name was first used by journalist Julio Ruiz, in the demo contest of RN3’s (third station of Spanish National Radio) radio program *Disco Grande*. Nowadays the term and the Spanish use have been so diversified that clarifications on the initial idea are needed for a clear understanding.

<sup>1</sup> Progressive Rock: “Genre, with a strong emphasis placed upon musicological constituents and structures [...] long, structured and multi-movement compositions with dynamic arrangements; a blending of acoustic, electric and electronic instruments; a mix of soft and loud musical passages; extended instrumental sections and solos; and the use of musical styles other than the American blues/rock format common to much commercially popular music in Britain, Europe and the USA in the mid-1960s” (Anderton 2010, 417-435).

Within the paper's scope, we will consider Spanish indie bands as urban music groups with, at least initially, no deals with major labels, and that even after joining a multinational company, have continued creating music far from the mainstream media. These bands usually sing in Spanish and the instrumental formats are similar to those from other rock and pop sub-genres: guitars, electric bass, drums, keyboards and usually electric pianos and synthesizers too. Likewise, in many of these bands it is difficult to find choirs or virtuous instrumental passages. The key element of the melody is the lead vocals, while the band brings rhythmic and harmonic accompaniment. Spanish indie sound, like in any other international indie band, was firstly typified by significant use of heavy drums and distorted guitars. However, nowadays there are hints of psychedelic rock in bands such as Pony Bravo, or American folk country in Sr. Chinarro. For the past fifteen years, indie bands have surprisingly started to incorporate elements from flamenco, perhaps in search of a unique sound that differentiates Spanish indie from international indie music.

### Rock andaluz y rock gitano en Andalucía entre 1960 y 1980



**Example 2:** Instances of *rock andaluz* and *rock gitano* in Andalusia between 1960 and 1989 (own elaboration).

### Music Hybridisation vs. Industry and Tradition

Even though flamenco and urban genres share a conservative point of view on the creative aspect, both styles have been fused for over forty years. Both have fought against *mestizaje* (cross-breeding) and musical evolution in favour of a constant search for “forced” authenticity, its own identity, rejecting the use of new technologies, in the case of rock, and fusion with other genres in the case of flamenco. Conversely, the struggle has been pointless in the light of evidence. They have found a common creative approach in Andalusia: the acculturation of flamenco with other genres such as rock and pop. Hybridisation has brought benefits to both genres. On the one hand, urban music is usually easier to assimilate by the public, which has resulted in higher economic profit and

social acceptance. On the other hand, Andalusian folk music has spread out internationally thanks to the increasing demand.

Unfortunately, despite the “cross-gendered” interest and international significance, the hybridism trend has not always been positive. Indeed, in most cases the consumption and distribution of Andalusian music have been triggered by this trend, thus promoting the survival of a local scene. Yet many of these correlations were created exclusively to meet the worldwide demand of flamenco, driven only by commercial interest as “diversity sells” (Robertson 1995, 29). Musicians were aware that the transgression of flamenco traditions was only done for economic benefits. As stated by guitarist Luis Habichuela regarding the marketing and trivialization in relation to Ketama, the flamenco-fusion band formed by members of his own family, “they went mainstream because that’s where the dough was” (Cruces Roldán 2008, 168).

This mainstream variant known as “new flamenco” and their approaches are completely different from *rock gitano* or Spanish indie music, where venturing into the world of flamenco had an experimental spirit, away from the record industry, since the commercial success should not overshadow the musical creation (Steingress 2004).

To study the modern evolution of hybridisation in Andalusia, we will analyse two albums released twenty-years apart: *La leyenda del tiempo* (1979) by “Camarón” and *La leyenda del espacio* (2007) by Los Planetas. The choice of these two albums is not random. In the case of *La leyenda del tiempo*, it is not the first attempt of hybridisation between folk and urban music in Andalusia. Between the fifties and the seventies, a large number of albums were released, both inside and outside of Andalusia, merging genres such as jazz or rock with flamenco. Albums from artists like Veneno, Lole y Manuel or Smash, combined nineteenth-century folk tradition with urban genres like rock or blues, giving rise to *rock gitano* and *rock andaluz*, hence turning a global phenomenon into local. Nevertheless, *La leyenda del tiempo* is one of the most important examples because of the participation of “Camarón de la Isla.” In 1979, the singer from San Fernando was already a flamenco legend and he had achieved international renown for his previous nine studio albums. “Camarón,” however, embarked on a journey to produce an album as risky as *La leyenda del tiempo*; a flamenco trip to the urban sounds in order to open new channels for the Andalusian folklore. Obviously, it had a powerful impact on his audience.

In the second case, *La leyenda del espacio*, went from the opposite direction: from urban music to flamenco –thus outreaching the band’s career. Again, a band with a proven record (six studio albums, two compilation albums, and almost twenty years on stage), that broke away from their previous sound to pay tribute to the singer from San Fernando embarking on an adventure as risky as “Camarón”’s journey in the 1970s.

### ***La leyenda del tiempo* by “Camarón” (1979), a risky bet**

“Camarón”’s tenth album was released in 1979. During the 1960s, the famous maestro Antonio “Mairena” had marketed and managed the *Antología del cante flamenco y el cante gitano* (Anthology of Flamenco and Gypsy Singing) and *Gran historia del cante gitano andaluz* (Complete

History of Andalusian Gypsy Singing), two compilation albums with traditional Andalusian *cantes* that established the foundations of the pure flamenco concept (Lefranc 2000, 199-201). However, young and daring artists like Paco “de Lucía,” Enrique Morente and José Monge “Camarón,” drawn in the Andalusian heritage, decided to experience new ways to avoid flamenco dying in the pursuit of authenticity. Consequently they plunged into the infinite debate about the origin and evolution of the genre, which pitted those who defended standardised models compiled by “Mairena” against supporters of blending with other music styles to avoid stagnation.

These young artists were aware that “tradition should not lead to historical mistakes,” since flamenco was born as “the result of several cultural intersections” in the 19th century (Ruesga Bono 2004, 5-16). The music of Andalusian Gypsies was born from “a wide range of combinations of Romantic music” (Steingress 2004).

Putting aside the controversy and resuming the forgotten spirit of those who adapted the genre in the nineteenth century, “Camarón,” who ironically had been awarded with the Chair of Flamenco and Andalusian Folklore Studies of Jerez de la Frontera for his labour preserving the *cante* tradition, joined forces with producer Ricardo Pachón to create *La leyenda del tiempo*. Pachón’s cover letter was *Veneno by Veneno*; a Spanish ground-breaking urban album, particularly innovative because of the provocative lyrics. He “asked him to write and produce a new album for him” (D’Averc 2004).

Pachón’s influence was far-reaching in the new work from the *cantaor* from San Fernando (Sánchez Montes 2009). The first track is a great example on the acculturation of sound from previous albums with other genres such as rock or pop; resulting in something totally new to flamenco fans, who did not accept “Camarón”’s stylistic change.

In “*La leyenda del tiempo*,” the album’s opening track, featuring vocals, flamenco guitar, electric bass, electric keyboards, synthesizer, percussion and drums, two clearly differentiated sections can be seen. The first section (A) consists of most of the strophes; the second one (B) contains the chorus, creating a contrast with section A and shaping the song into an ABAA’BAA’BAA’ form. The A’ sections follow the A chord progression in an ostinato form, working as instrumental bridges for section B. Likewise, A’ sections are different from each other. Flamenco guitar has a major role in the first part over the electric keyboards, electric bass, *palmas* and drums. The second A’ section features a magnificent Fender Rhodes solo (an electric piano widely used during the 1970’s and the 1980’s), and a synthesizer solo in the third A’ section played by performer Manolo Marinelli, a member of other bands such as Alameda.

The melody of “*La leyenda del tiempo*,” inspired by the songs “*La señora zapatera*” and “*Por las orillas del río se está la noche mojando*,” transcribed and harmonized by García Lorca in 1932, ranges between two different themes (García Lorca 2008, 417 & 423). On the one hand, the motif used by “Camarón” in the A section strophes throughout the song (see example 6). This motif is repeated by a second feminine voice one octave higher in parallel with “Camarón”’s melody. On the other hand, the track has the ever-present distinctive electric bass motif backing up “Camarón”’s melody (see example 7).



with A, and is used by “Camarón” to sing the rest of the poem’s stanzas. In Lorca’s poem they all have the same relevance, whereas in the song these strophes are surpassed by the overwhelming presence of section A (see example 8).

Unfortunately for the San Fernando *cantaor*, *La leyenda del tiempo* had poor sales, like other contemporary works blending flamenco and urban music, for instance the album *Veneno*. In fact, “Camarón” did not take the lack of acceptance from critics and fans very well, despite having created a ground-breaking album in flamenco history. Overwhelmed by negative criticism, he told Pachón, his producer, that the next album would be a return to traditional flamenco: flamenco guitar, vocals and *palmas* (Sánchez Montes 2009). *La leyenda del tiempo* only sold seven thousand copies in its first fifteen years (D’Averc 2004). Thus, work performed by musicians with the likes of “Tomatito,” Raimundo Amador, Manolo Marinelli or Manuel Rosa has been concealed for over 20 years.

### **Omega, the Turning Point**

This first period of music hybridisation between flamenco and urban genres in Andalusia was not very well received. On the one hand, bands of *rock andaluz* attracted a good number of loyal fans, being always urban music listeners. These groups never reached commercial success or acclaim from flamenco enthusiasts. On the other hand, *rock gitano* sales were very poor in general. Bands such as *Veneno* or *Smash* were dissolved, whereas *cantaores* like “Camarón” returned to their traditional roots. Only artists such as Lole y Manuel or Pata Negra connected with a young audience, and achieved a reasonable number of sales.

Nevertheless, this initial pessimism was to be changed 20 years later thanks to the perseverance of the great Granadian *cantaor* Enrique Morente. Despite reluctance from traditional artists and public, he collaborated with many different artists such as jazz drummer Max Roach or bandoneon player Rubén Juárez, combining flamenco and tango (Viana 2010). He also worked together with Spanish and international indie artists, such as Sonic Youth (Del Llano 2010) or Sr. Chinarro in the album *El fuego amigo* (Pons, 2005). As a result of this teamwork, music from Granada was clearly enriched, with Morente as the ultimate cultural ambassador.

Indeed, one of these collaborations between the maestro and a rock band succeeded in bringing together critics and audience acclaim. It was the album *Omega* (1996), featuring the band Lagartija Nick, which sold over fifty thousand copies (Castilla 2008). This work combines the poetry from García Lorca, Granada’s most famous poet, the voice of Morente, the “glocalized” *cantaor*, Leonard Cohen’s covers, and features artists like “Tomatito,” Vicente Amigo and above all, one of the most prominent indie bands in Granada, Lagartija Nick, whose back up was essential. Thanks to the positive reception, works like *Leyenda del tiempo* and *Veneno* were re-launched and gained critical and commercial praise retroactively, almost 20 years after (Fernández-Santos 2003).

### Los Planetas and *La leyenda del espacio* (2007)

Winners of best Spanish album of the year in 2007 and of the decade in 2009 by magazine *Rockdelux*, and best Spanish alternative rock album by the Spanish Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2008, this recording homogenises the situation of many artists and projects that fused indie and flamenco in Andalusia. In fact, producing this work was a decision that could have compromised the twenty-year career of its authors, Granada-based band Los Planetas, who had a solid characteristic sound. Under the influence of Enrique Morente, they pursued new harmonies and melodies inspired by flamenco. The result is hard to typify since “it is neither flamenco, nor rock, and it is far from rock flamenco” (Daniel 2007). This is the seventh studio recording (ninth including compilations), of Los Planetas, which still keeps the timbre of rock bands. The question is, which genre or genres appear in the album and what elements made *La leyenda del espacio* a work full of remembrances to the Andalusian sound? And subsequently, how does Andalusian folk tradition survive in the current digital era?

Los Planetas passed over the remarkable trend set in albums such as *Omega* or *Veneno* where collaborations with flamenco guitarists, *palmeros*, etc. were present. They generally include two or three electric guitars backed up by heavy drums and an electric bass. Keyboards add density to the texture and eventually make small melodic motives along with the vocals, resulting in a compact wall of sound, similar to *shoegaze* or indie rock bands such as My Bloody Valentine, where it is difficult to distinguish the different elements.<sup>3</sup> As an exception, it is worth mentioning the song “Tendrá que haber un camino,” performed by Enrique Morente, where the *cantaor*’s voice prevails over the instruments. His voice has a remarkable Andalusian sound. Indeed, we may consider the use of Andalusian dialect as a timbre resource close to flamenco style. This evolution on speech is present in the fandango “Ya no me asomo a la reja,” by pronouncing “soledá” instead of “soledad” or in the song “Negras las intenciones,” where they turn “vendido” into “vendío.” Therefore, with the exception of speech and Morente’s collaboration on a song, we can consider that the rock timbre remains.

Moreover, by comparing the structures of previous singles of Los Planetas with *La leyenda del espacio*, we may observe that there are no big differences in structural aspects. Overall, the 2007 album keeps the basic pop and rock form consisting in two alternate sections (ABAB), one related to strophes and another for chorus that are replayed with modulations. These constant changes are presented in a chord progression in the form of an instrumental ostinato as prelude, A’. The variation, along with the vocal melody of one or two strophes, gives shape to section A. Followed by these two sections, there is a B second motif used as refrain that may be repeated two or three times in the song. The recapitulation of the prelude motif, A’, appears as well as instrumental interlude or bridge section between B and A. Finally, these songs mainly end with a new variation of the initial motif, shaping the scheme A’AABA’AABA’.

<sup>3</sup> “Shoegaze is a sub-genre of alternative rock that emerged from the United Kingdom in the late 1980s by bands such as My Bloody Valentine. Originally considered pejorative, the term was coined after the musicians in these bands, who stood relatively still during live performances hence the idea that they were gazing at their shoes” (Healy 2007, 476).

This structure also appears in several prior songs of the band, for instance “Segundo premio” or “Pesadilla en el parque de atracciones,” and remains in the seventh album with slight variations. Modifications do not change the band’s core structure, like in the songs “Reunión en la cumber,” “Deseando una cosa” or “El canto del Bute.” Hence we can reject the idea of structural evolution arouse in reviews of music magazines, for instance “they breathe the inner nature of flamenco in their sound without changing anything beyond structure and rhythm” (Del Águila 2007).

Leaving structural aspects to one side and focusing on melody, *La leyenda del espacio* introduces innovations when compared to previous works. Indeed, these enhancements shape one of the most appealing elements for the study of the interaction between urban and folk music in this album. To understand the extent of hybridisation present in many of this album’s melodies, we simply need to examine the beginning of the song “La verdulera,” a hint to the song “She said” by The Beatles, played a half-step down using a synthesizer (see examples 8 and 9).

| “Fosforito,” “La leyenda del tiempo”   | Lorca, excerpt from the poem <i>La leyenda del tiempo</i>  |
|--|--|
| <p>El sueño va sobre el tiempo<br/>flotando como un velero.<br/>Nadie puede abrir semillas<br/>en el corazón del sueño.<br/>El tiempo va sobre el sueño<br/>hundido hasta los cabellos.<br/>Ayer y mañana comen<br/>oscuras flores de duelo.<br/>El sueño va sobre el tiempo<br/>flotando como un velero.<br/>Nadie puede abrir semillas<br/>en el corazón del sueño.<br/>Sobre la misma columna<br/>abrazados sueño y tiempo,<br/>cruza el gemido del niño<br/>la lengua rota del viejo.<br/>El sueño va sobre el tiempo<br/>flotando como un velero.</p> | <p>El Sueño va sobre el Tiempo<br/>flotando como un velero.<br/>Nadie puede abrir semillas<br/>En el corazón del Sueño.<br/>¡Ay, cómo canta el alba! ¡Cómo canta!<br/>¡Qué témpanos de hielo azul levanta!<br/>El Tiempo va sobre el Sueño<br/>hundido hasta los cabellos.<br/>Ayer y mañana comen<br/>oscuras flores de duelo.<br/>Ay, cómo canta la noche! ¡Cómo canta!<br/>¡Qué espesura de anémonas levanta!<br/>Sobre la misma columna,<br/>abrazados Sueño y Tiempo,<br/>cruza el gemido del niño,<br/>la lengua rota del viejo.<br/>¡Ay cómo canta el alba! ¡Cómo canta!<br/>¡Qué espesura de anémonas levanta!</p> |

<sup>4</sup> “CAMARÓN”, *La leyenda del tiempo* [sound recording] (Madrid: Philips-Polygram, 1979).

Nadie puede abrir semillas  
 en el corazón del sueño.  
 Y si el sueño finge muros  
 en la llanura del tiempo  
 el tiempo le hace creer  
 que nace en aquel momento.  
 El sueño va sobre el tiempo  
 flotando como un velero.  
 Nadie puede abrir semillas  
 en el corazón del sueño <sup>4</sup>.

Y si el Sueño finge muros  
 en la llanura del Tiempo,  
 el Tiempo le hace creer  
 que nace en aquel momento.  
 ¡Ay, cómo canta la noche! ¡Cómo canta!  
 ¡Qué tímpanos de hielo azul levanta! <sup>5</sup>.

**Example 8:** “La leyenda del tiempo”  
 by “Camarón” and the original poem by Lorca.

By contrast, it is possible to find melodies that would fit perfectly in the repertoire of any flamenco singer, with descending progressions by conjoint degrees on the same syllable. This is evidenced by two excerpts of the same song “La verdulera” (see examples 9, 10 and 11). These melodies, usually performed by the vocalist, directly clash with the simplicity of the instrumental lines (see example 12). Most of them are quite harmonious and very similar to other melodies previously performed by flamenco singers, such as Enrique Morente.



**Example 9:** Vocal melody excerpt from the song “La verdulera,”  
 00:53-00:57 (own transcription).



**Example 10:** Vocal melody excerpt from the song “La verdulera,” 01:13-01:15 (own transcription).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibíd.* 104.



**Example 11:** Vocal melody excerpt from the song “Deseando una cosa,” 01:16-01:18 (own transcription).

**Example 12:** Guitar, bass and drums of the song “Entre las flores del campo,” time signatures 13-18 (own transcription).

In the course of the analysis, some of the most outstanding elements of this production in connection with flamenco can be identified in the rhythm and harmony. With the drums, Eric Jiménez constantly seeks to emulate rhythms from different *palos* to subsequently modify them and adapt them to the common structures used by Los Planetas. Time signatures, such as the characteristic  $\frac{3}{4}$  used in Fandango in which accent falls alternatively on the first and the second part of the signature [123 12-], can be found in the song “Ya no me asomo a la reja.” The harmonies used in the album also seek the flamenco and Andalusian sounds. “La verdulera,” which is a version of a *mirabrás*, is perhaps one of the most striking examples of *La leyenda del espacio*.<sup>6</sup> It is performed in the style of *cantiñas*, in major scale and with the “por medio” position (key of A). This treatment is also present in other songs like “Sol y sombra” or “Alegrías del incendio,” which introduces a transposition of classic fifth leap characteristic of *alegrías* played “por arriba” (key of E).<sup>7</sup>

We also find other harmonic elements such as the use of the Andalusian cadence, noticeable in the song “Ya no me asomo a la reja.” In this example, one of the more conventional sequences of chords in the *fandango de Huelva* is present, alternately using the chords of E-major and A-major during the *llamada* (signal that indicate a change to a different section) and concluding with the chords of G-major, F-major and E-major, although this song was transposed a major third. This cadence is also found in the song “La que vive en la Carrera,” the prelude of which performs the

<sup>6</sup> The “cantes de Cádiz”, including alegrías, mirabrás, cantiñas, etc., use tonal system and a time signature with 12 beats similar to that of soleá (Fernández Lola 2004, 47).

<sup>7</sup> Playing “por medio” or “por arriba” corresponds to playing in A-major tonality or E-major tonality, respectively (Cruces Roldán 2003, 19).

same sequence of chords transposed up a minor third, or in the song “Negras las intenciones” bassline (see examples 13 and 14).



**Example 13:** Andalusian cadence included in the song “La que vive en la carrera,” 01:35-01:40 (own transcription).



**Example 14:** Melodic line excerpt performed by the bass in the song “Negra las intenciones,” 00:40-00:43 (own transcription).

Finally, we will remark the procedures used to create the lyrics of this album. The lyrical style characteristic of new flamenco is present, as foreseen by Cruces, who describes one of the resources used in the productions mixing urban music with flamenco. This resource is about the appropriate use of *coplas* and flamenco lyrics by joining them freely, playing with the micro-composition of free verses in flamenco *coplas* and eventually combining them into an album together with songs composed by the author (Cruces Roldán 2008, 184). In the album *La leyenda del espacio*, many examples in which lyrics are composed from different *coplas* taken from traditional repertoire commonly used by flamenco singers are found. Flamenco singers such as Antonio “Mairena,” Manolo “Caracol,” “Camarón,” Enrique Morente or José Menese (Llanos 2007). For example, the verses “Y a mí que me importa que un rey me culpe / si el pueblo es grande y me adora” included in the song “La verdulera,” were previously performed by flamenco singers such as “Mairena,” “El niño de Almadén” or “Pericón de Cádiz.” Another example are the verses “que vaya acelerando / que la que yo más quiero / me está esperando,” found in the song “Deseando una cosa,” which were previously used in the *cantiñas* performed by “Onofre de Córdoba” and “Fosforito.” Furthermore, we find songs whose lyrics are fully taken from *coplas* adapted by other flamenco singers; for example the song “Ya no me asomo a la reja,” which was previously recorded by Enrique Morente in his album *Esencias Flamencas* or the song “Si estaba Loco por ti” previously performed by “Fosforito.”

## Conclusions

Flamenco is currently undergoing a strong process of transculturalisation with other music genres. This interaction can be appreciated at many different levels. On the one hand, the contemporary trend arising from the use of Internet and new digital tools is reproduced in connection with the fusion between genres from anywhere in the world. A large number of artists from Andalusia involved in the folklore of this region are working in a network environment with musicians from other countries. On the other hand, and despite this globalisation trend, the Andalusian folk music is also fusing with other genres at local level. This type of interaction between folklore and different kinds of urban music is not a new phenomenon. Artists such as “Camarón” or “Veneno,” as well as music bands such as Medina Azahara and Triana, released different albums of which the songs were the result of fusing flamenco and other sorts of popular music, for example, rock and roll, during the 1970s and the 1980s. These songs were even the origin of two new sub-genres, *rock gitano* and *rock andaluz*, different from each other but with a common reference: the search for an Andalusian sound as a symbol of identity.

However, in spite of not being an “original” trend, the revival that arose in the 1990s is very interesting due to its double effect: The first stage of these musical sub-genres, hybrid between rock and flamenco, was developed between the 1960s and the 1980s. The bands that created these new styles enjoyed their finest hours during the 1970s. Subsequently, the number of works was decreasing during more than a decade until these influences finally disappeared almost completely without reaching the deserved recognition in those days. After the surprising process of revival of such hybridisations arising from the release of the album *Omega* by Morente and Lagartija Nick, productions that emerged in the 1970s have been re-evaluated and albums such as *La leyenda del tiempo* or *Veneno* have won, more than 20 years later, several national awards recognising them as the best works of urban music of the twentieth century in Spain.

One of the most significant examples of the subsequent recognition of these works is found in the film *Kill Bill, vol. 2.* (2004). The American film director Quentin Tarantino used the song “Tu mirá” (1976) by Lole y Manuel for the soundtrack of the feature film. Moreover, there is a second effect that also emerged as a result of the release of the album *Omega*. After this album’s release, a strong music movement fusing flamenco and indie rock was developed, creating a new hybrid sub-genre which has been well received by critics and public. This new sample of transculturalisation is also meaningful since it is related to one specific genre (Spanish indie) which, in turn, was originated as a version of another foreign genre and subsequently embraced and transformed into a local product with unique symbols of identity differed from the original genre; indie rock coming from the U.S. and Britain. Proof of this trend is the fact that many artists such as La Bien Querida have gone far beyond flamenco music and incorporated the aesthetic attitude of flamenco culture. Ana Fernández, band leader, frequently wears a *bata de cola* (flamenco dress) as part of her common outfit (see example 15).



**Example 15:** Cover of the album *Romancero* by La bien querida.

All these changes experienced by indie music in Spain and the adaptations made from flamenco are easily observable and measurable:

Bands performing indie music merged with flamenco have a similar line up as other rock and urban groups. These bands consist of electric guitars, drums, electric bass and vocalist. In some particular cases, traditional elements like a flamenco singer or guitar are used. Likewise, prototypical structures of urban genres are kept, such as ABAB that alternates strophes and chorus, while introducing minor nuances. Using this kind of structures makes flamenco more accessible for any audiences, exponentially increasing the historic capacity of dissemination of conventional folk genre. In addition, current production and distribution channels allow local music to reach a larger global audience, which was inconceivable a few decades ago.

However, the elements imported from flamenco differentiate indie recordings from other close genres. The anthropologist Cristina Cruces already listed some of them in her works on new flamenco. Melodies from *La leyenda del espacio* (2007), by Los Planetas, are mainly adaptations of recordings from classical flamenco singers. In other cases, melodies are based on a specific “palo” rather than a cantaor’s work. Accordingly, rhythms played by drummer “Eric” Jiménez, from Los Planetas, emulate flamenco beats such as those used in bulerías, seguiriyas or tientos. Concerning harmonies, many of these bands try to approach flamenco by introducing certain sequences of chords like the descending progression of Andalusian cadence or the chord alternation taken from different flamenco palos, especially from cantiñas, due to its joyful and marketable character.

Lastly, one of the most interesting features of hybridisation is not strictly related to music. Many artists are taking up an aesthetic attitude traditionally associated with flamenco, mixing the current fashion trends with the traditional flamenco outfit (batas de cola, sombreros cordobeses, etc.). Same trend towards flamenco has spread across other artistic fields, such as comics or films.

As noted from the analysis developed in this study about the different works interrelating popular music in Andalusia, this trend is reasonably healthy at the moment. These musical products are widely requested both at national and international levels. The foreign search for these fusions exported by Andalusia causes that this local interaction between urban genres and flamenco generates substantial revenues, which consequently provides a future for the musical heritage of Andalusia, while promoting a new channel for the interaction of different scenes shaping the music reality of the region.

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