

## Module 1

### 1.4 BLACKNESS AND OTHERNESS

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## 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

How are the politics of blackness represented in the body that dances flamenco?<sup>1</sup> Or to put the question another way, what does flamenco dance tell us about the construction of race in the Atlantic world? The idea of race, of blackness as meaning religious confusion or deviation and, therefore, a subjugated social status, developed in the Iberian Peninsula during the Reconquista, a struggle of almost eight hundred years to expel Islam and Judaism. During this time "Cleanliness of blood" attested to loyalty to the Catholic state, while non-Christian lineage was synonymous with depravity and abjection. Race was defined in terms of Christianity and its opposite, thus classifying ethnic and religious differences within a caste system whose governance served to unseat and, at the same time, incorporate the rich Judeo-Islamic cosmopolitan past.

Aligned, both socially and metaphorically, with a large population of enslaved people from West and Central Africa, and with gypsy immigrants, whose mysterious origins and obscure appearance provided them with a sometimes useful, often dangerous ambiguity, the "Moors" of medieval Spain, that is, its Muslim inhabitants, became "Blacks," implying both a degraded moral condition and racial identity.

With the emergence of Spain as a Catholic empire founded on the basis of the Atlantic slave trade, the religious imagery of the Reconquista wars was used to justify the brutal conquest of the Americas, and for the mass enslavement of Native Americans, Africans, and their descendants. Since the ideology of purity of blood became a guiding principle of colonization and slavery, this allowed the development of something that closely resembles modern ideas of race. The conceptualization of Central and West African ethnic traits, such as skin color, to define Blackness

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<sup>1</sup> This text is based on the translation, by Kiko Mora, of K. Meira Goldberg, *Sonidos Negros: On the Blackness of Flamenco* (Oxford University Press, 2019, forthcoming 2022 from Editorial Libargo, Granada).

as an object social status operated through Christian theology: For the Catholic state, that light was Jesus Christ, who offered the possibility of redemption from primordial chaos<sup>2</sup>.

In Spain, the symbolic connection of the Moor seen as the incarnation of Blackness with the enslavement of Africans thus constituted visible proof of the morality and inevitability of European and Christian domination of the "Western" hemisphere. Thus, Spain established an ideological framework that would be used by all colonial slave-owning powers.

## 2. RACE AND REDEMPTION – THE SHEPHERD FOOL

Already in the medieval representations of Christmas (as antecedents of Spanish theater), there was the bobo shepherd, who expressed with his dance the Christian narrative of redemption<sup>3</sup>. The bobo speaks Castilian incorrectly and his dance is also incorrect, described in terms of a confused jumble of "gambetas" (leaps) and "çapatetas", which Sebastián de Covarrubias in his *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (1611) defines as the blows that the dancer gives "with the palms of the hands, on the feet, on the shoes, to the sound of some instrument"<sup>4</sup>. Performed in churches and churchyards, this Christmas festival stars a lazy, cowardly, ignorant, gluttonous, lewd, and often scatological gracioso or fool, "full of terror at the sight of the angel and the star," who finally experiences an epiphany, offering a joyously danced and sung conclusion as he approaches the manger with his simple offerings<sup>5</sup>. Hispanist Charlotte Stern writes that in depictions such as Fray Iñigo de Mendoza's *Vita Christi* (Zaragoza, 1482),

The eager-eyed, gawking Spanish biblical pastor remains rapt, an amazed witness to the miracle of God's incarnation, and then is literally swept off the ground by the sheer wonder of it all, breaking into an ecstatic dance to express his unleashed joy and enthusiasm: "repica la çapateta / ahuer de marras apuetro" (making abnormal leaps like a colt)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Baltasar Fra Molinero, *La imagen de los negros en el teatro del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1995), 2, 7. Cf. also Aurelia Martín Casares and Marga García Barranco, eds, *La esclavitud negroafricana en la historia de España siglos XVI y XVII* (Granada: Editorial Comares, S.L., 2010).

<sup>3</sup> James Pyle Wickersham Crawford, "The Pastor and Bobo in the Spanish religious drama of the sixteenth century", *The Romanic Review*, vol. 2 (1911), 376-401; William S. Hendrix, *Some Native Comic Types in the Early Spanish Drama* (Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Chicago, 1922); John Brotherton, *The Pastor-Bobo in the Spanish theatre, before the time of Lope de Vega* (Londres: Tamesis, 1975); Edwin D. Craun, *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); y Warren Edminster, "Foolish Shepherds and Priest Folly: Festive Influence in *Prima Pastorum*", *Medieval Perspectives*, vol. 15 (2000): 57-73.

<sup>4</sup> Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, impresor del Rey N.S., 1611), 263- 64; Crawford, "The Pastor and Bobo", 380; Lynn Matluck Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain's Golden Age* (Kassel: Ed. Reichenberger, 1988), 176; Albert E. Sloman, "The Phonology of Moorish Jargon in the Works of Early Spanish Dramatists and Lope de Vega", *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 44, núm. 2 (abril, 1949): 207.

<sup>5</sup> Brotherton, *The Pastor-Bobo*, x; Crawford, "The Pastor and Bobo," 380.

<sup>6</sup> Charlotte Stern, "Fray Iñigo de Mendoza and Medieval Dramatic Ritual," *Hispanic Review*, 33.3 (1965): 205, cites Fray Iñigo de Mendoza, *Vita Christi*; fecho en coplas, Facsimile (Madrid: Real Academia Española, [Zamora, 1482] 1953), 147; RAE, "marrar," <http://dle.rae.es/?id=OTw165C>.

The entertainment value of the goofy pastor, his ability to capture and therefore indoctrinate the audience lies in his comic confusion, in his inability to see what his audience instantly recognizes: that Christ has been born. *Will the goofy pastor understand what he has seen or not? Will he be redeemed or not?* The bobo pastor asked rude and impertinent questions; his role was essential to make understandable to the humblest peasants in the audience "the doctrines of the Incarnation, Redemption, Transubstantiation and Immaculate Conception".<sup>7</sup>

His very figure and his narrative were thus tools of evangelization and, consequently, of the colonization of the Americas, staged in religious processions throughout the New World.<sup>8</sup>

To be confused is to be unredeemed; the shock of the bobo accurately describes the notions of ethno-religious difference prevalent during the early modern era. Blood cleanliness is "an internal attribute that cannot be seen," states Javier Irigoyen-García in his excellent book on pastoral discourse and ethnicity in Golden Age Spain, "projected onto a repertoire of cultural objects and practices".<sup>9</sup> Thus, the boisterous gambetas and zapatetas of the bobo shepherd imply a suspect lineage and, in fact, the villain's scenes thus often included the wit of "naming the generations": a burlesque of the certification of blood purity, which Hispanist Lucas Marchante-Aragón refers to as a "widespread exercise.... widespread among the new Spanish Renaissance nobility who needed to cleanse their past of...any Semitic stain".<sup>10</sup> The bobo speaks a "debased dialect, dresses badly," and "eats pork and wine voraciously"—which ostensibly demonstrates that he is neither Muslim nor Jew. "He boasts of possessing the purity of blood that makes him superior to the converts," and boasts of his "rustic genealogy by reciting a long list of relatives and ancestors with ridiculous names".<sup>11</sup>

The ambiguity of these ridiculously pretentious genealogies, Irigoyen writes, "clearly connect...the dramatic pastor with the doctrine of blood purity"; the aestheticization of the figure of the pastor is "inherent to racism".<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Crawford, "El pastor y Bobo", 395-6. Cfr. también Tess Knighton y Álvaro Torrente, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800: The Villancico and Related Genres* (Aldershot, Hants, Inglaterra: Ashgate, 2007), 43-5.

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. Brooks, *Dances of the Processions*, y Lynn Matluck Brooks, *The Art of Dancing in Seventeenth Century Spain: Juan de Esquivel Navarro and His World* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2003), 40-1; y Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain* (Austin (Tex.: University of Texas Press, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> Javier Irigoyen-García, *The Spanish Arcadia: Sheep Herding, Pastoral Discourse, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 94.

<sup>10</sup> Juan José Rey, *Danzas cantadas en el renacimiento español* (Madrid: SedeM, 1978), 36-7, 40-3, cites *Cancionero Musical del Palacio (CMP)*, no 282, Juan del Encina, "Daca, bailemos, carillo." I thank Miguel Ángel Berlanga for this reference. Cf. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de Entremeses, Loas, Bailes, Jácaras y Mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI à mediados del XVIII* (Madrid: Bailly Ballière, 1911), clxxvi; Stern, "Iñigo," 221; Craig H. Russell, *Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldivar No. 4': A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico*, vol. 1 (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1995), 36, cites Calderón, *Relación de una fiesta que la Universidad de Baeza celebra á la Inmaculada Concepción* (Baeza: Pedro de la Cuesta 1618), cited also in Cotarelo, *Entremeses*, ccl, cclxiv; Lucas Marchante-Aragón, "The King, the Nation, and the Moor: Imperial Spectacle and the Rejection of Hybridity in The Masque of the Expulsion of the Moriscos," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2008): 111.

<sup>11</sup> Irigoyen-García, *The Spanish Arcadia*, 5, 82.

<sup>12</sup> Irigoyen-García, *The Spanish Arcadia*, 29, cites Étienne Balibar and Immanuel M. Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London [England]: Routledge, Chapman & Hall), 57-8.

However, by representing the Christian narrative of redemption, the goofy pastor simultaneously calls into question the racial determinism of blood cleansing. Although the staging of the pastoral may have had "as its goal to oppose the Moorish cultural and genealogical legacy," writes Irigoyen-García, these representations equally promoted "a homogeneous concept of a national identity that subsumes distinctions between social classes".<sup>13</sup>

The game of possibilities that the bobo represents, therefore, embodies another aspect of the polemics on slavery in the 16th and 17th centuries: if there is no possibility of redemption through the catechumen and cultural assimilation, the colonial enterprise, founded on slavery, loses its moral basis and hence its indispensable support from the Catholic Church. A significant moment in this discourse was the debate in 1550 before Charles V between the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas, who in 1542 had written the "Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias", arguing that even non-Christians were also part of Christendom, and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, who had translated Aristotle's Politics in 1548, arguing that the indigenous Americans were "natural slaves" in the Aristotelian sense.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. BULLA, ZAPATEADO, AND THE SINFULNESS OF NEGRITUDE

In 1611, Covarrubias expressly connects the noisy and turbulent footwork of the 'bobo' pastor with the redemption narrative. Covarrubias defines his "çapato" as "la cosa más humilde que ay, trayéndolo debaxo del pie" ("the most humble thing under the foot") and thus symbolic of the "humility and baxeza" ("beauty") of "Cristo nuestro Redentor" (Christ the Redeemer)<sup>15</sup>. This type of footwork is dancing", slapping of palms and hitting the shoes to the sound of some instrument; and çapatetas are "the hits of the çapatos." In 1739, the Royal Academy of Spanish (RAE) followed Covarrubias in defining "zapateta" as ""The blow, or slap that is given on the foot, or shoe when jumping at the same time as a sign of rejoicing", adding, in its definition of "zapatear", that it is used "more frequently in the dance called 'The villain'".<sup>16</sup> The RAE underlines the connotation of humility inherent in this boisterous rejoicing in the villain, citing the words of Sancho Panza in

<sup>13</sup> Irigoyen-García, *The Spanish Arcadia*, 25.

<sup>14</sup> Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias: Crónica de Indias*, (Verbum, [1552] 2020); on Aristotle's "natural slave," cf. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, ed., *Race and the Enlightenment* (Malden, Mass., and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 4.

<sup>15</sup> Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, "Çapato," *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, impresor del Rey N.S., 1611), 263-4. <sup>16</sup> Real Academia Española (RAE), "Zapateta," "Zapatear," *Diccionario de la lengua castellana ... Tomo VI, (S, T, V, S, Y, Z)* (Madrid: Francisco del Hierro, 1739), 558-9.

<sup>16</sup> Real Academia Española (RAE), "Zapateta," "Zapatear," *Diccionario de la lengua castellana ... Tomo VI, (S, T, V, S, Y, Z)* (Madrid: Francisco del Hierro, 1739), 558-9.

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*Don Quixote de la Mancha*: "if having to tap, I would know your fault, as I tap like a bird but in dancing I'm no good."<sup>17</sup>

Likewise, in the definition of "zapateador" the RAE cites another passage from *Don Quixote*, which firmly identifies the "malheridas danzas" of zapateado, "assi de espadas" with the bailes de cascabel, the popular dances<sup>18</sup>. These bells, Miguel Querol Gavaldá has explained about the music described by Cervantes, are like the bobo's leaps and noisy footwork. They signal confusion, not only in the sense of being people from the countryside or rednecks, and not in a religious sense simply but also racially, because they were used to represent the Moors. "In the olden days, the jesters' hats were garnished with rattles," and the dancers who performed the "morisca" or "cascabelada"-carried "strings of rattles attached to their calves on a piece of leather."<sup>19</sup>

As described by Thoinot Arbeau in his *Orchésographie* (1589), the moresque dancers, with "their faces smeared in black" and "tights covered with bells," danced "tapping their feet."<sup>20</sup> Such blackface footwork was profane: "moresque dancers will not be admitted to the heaven imagined in the farce *"Trois Galans et un Badin,"* writes musicologist Howard Mayer Brown in *French Secular Theater 1400-1550*, "because their movements were likely to collapse the floor."<sup>21</sup> Brown documents a depiction of the bobo's ethnic and moral confusion and being loud, scatological, and even obscene in another French farce of this period, in which a character "refers to himself with 'le cul aussi decouvert / Comme un danseur de morisque'" (with his ass in the air / like a moresque dancer).

## 4. DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS AND TRANSIENCE

Writing about the proto-history of the bulería in the "cantes, toques y bailes entre la gente crúa, valentona, escandalosa y flamenca" the illustrious flamencologist Luis Suárez Ávila points out that since at least the 16th century the cantes and dances that give rise to flamenco

<sup>17</sup> RAE, "Zapatear," vol. 6 (1739), 558, citing Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, "Segunda Parte, Capítulo LXII," in *Obras completas de Cervantes: Don Quixote de la Mancha*. Tomo VI Texto corregido con especial estudio de la primera edición, por D. J. E. Hartzenbusch (Argamasilla de Alba: M. Rivadeneyra, 1863), 204.

<sup>18</sup> RAE, "Zapateador," vol. 6 (1739), 558, citing Cervantes, *Quixote*, "Segunda Parte, Capítulo XIX," in *Obras completas*, Vol. V, 163.

<sup>19</sup> Miguel Querol Gavaldá, *La música en la obra de Cervantes* (Barcelona: Ediciones Comtalia, 1948), on cascabeles: 161- 2, on the morisca: 116-9. On the morisca/moresca/morris, and the momos, which Cotarelo relates to the origins of the entremés, cf. Cotarelo, *Entremeses*, lvi-iii, ccliv. Also, Ludwig Pfandl, *Cultura y costumbres del pueblo español de los siglos XVI y XVII: Introducción al estudio del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Visor, [1929] 1994); John Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing, 1483-1750* (Cambridge: Clarke, 1999); Max Harris and Lada C. Feldman, "Blackened Faces and a Veiled Woman: the Early Korčula Moreška", *Comparative Drama*, vol. 37 (2003): 297- 320; y Anthony M. Cummings, "Dance and 'The Other': The Moresca", en Barbara Grammenati, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Ballet a Multi-Art Spectacle* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2011), 39-60.

<sup>20</sup> Thoinot Arbeau (*Jehan Tabourot*), *Orchésographie*, Mary Stewart Evans, trad. (Nueva York: Dover Publications, Inc. [1589] 1967), 177.

<sup>21</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1550* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), 162, quoted in Cummings, "Moresca," 47. 22

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breathed the atmosphere of "bulla, jolgorio, in short, jaleo".<sup>22</sup> Querol, writing about the morisca, agrees, noting "the custom of firing guns and making all kinds of noises at the end of the [morisca]," whose main motif, as we saw above in Cervantes, was often "a sword fight between Christians and Mohammedans" not only wearing the bells of the bobo but also often with the face blackened in black, "to look like a Moor."<sup>23</sup>

This commotion or uproar, point to the core of the racialized concepts of the dance. They signify primarily the confusion of not having accepted Christ and the consequent danger of a suspicious lineage. Depictions of jaleo or uproar like this, contains contain all the potential for condemnation, and thus constitutes the term by which slavery was justified boisterousness and confusion construct a disturbing figure that traces from the Negro carols of the Golden Age to the American "Jim Crow" era and the theme of the obedient and "jolly" slave.<sup>24</sup> This jaleo or commotion is a consummately kinesthetic concept and also heralds the noisy, unbridled uproar of unbridled sensuality: lasciviousness is another of the universal indicators of Blackness, conceived as a sinful error.<sup>25</sup>

But if the danced deviance of the bulla represents a moral and racial aberration, it also invokes an ambiguity that can conceal resistance and dissent.<sup>26</sup> Suggestive, comic, and irrepressible confusion is, of course, the key to the popular appeal of Blackness in dance. The jaleo or confusion recreates what performative theorist Jayna Brown describes as "the sly trap": the Black performer's "multisignifying practices of dissimulation," performing "in the field of racialized fantasies."<sup>27</sup> Brown's idea, that performance that exploits such racial imagery simultaneously allows a "space for satirical commentary on the meaninglessness of such representations," is related to what W. E. B. Du Bois calls "double consciousness," one of the most useful tools of performative theories of Blackness that can be employed when considering flamenco.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Luis Suárez Ávila, "Jaleos, Gilianas, versus Bulerías," *Revista de Flamencología*, year X, vol. 20, no. 2 (2004): 8, 16.

<sup>23</sup> Querol, *La música en la obra de Cervantes*, 117-18.

<sup>24</sup> On "el esclavo alegre," cf. Fra Molinero, *La imagen de los negros. On black carols*, cf. Horacio J. Becco,

<sup>25</sup> Brenda Dixon Gottschild, *Digging the Africanist Presence in American Performance, Dance and Other Contexts* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 9.

<sup>26</sup> Cfr. Mark Franko sobre "Political Erotics of Burlesque Ballet, 1624-1627", *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 62-106.

<sup>27</sup> Jayna Brown, *Babylon Girls: Black Women Performers and the Shaping of the Modern* (Durham y Londres: Duke University Press, 2008), 6, cita a Michel de Certeau y Steven Rendall (traducción), *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley/Los Ángeles: University of California Press, 1984), 37; y Marvin Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction* (Londres: Routledge, 1996), 173.

<sup>28</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Nueva York: Vintage Books/Library of America, [1903] 1990), 3. Además de Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993); y Brown, *Babylon Girls*, otras fuentes fundamentales que responden al concepto de "doble consciencia" y "fugacidad" se encuentran en Ralph Ellison, "Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke", *Partisan Review* 25 (primavera de 1958): 212-22, reimpresso en Ralph Ellison, *Shadow and Act* (Nueva York: Random House, 1964), 45-59; Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (Nueva York: Grove Press, 1967); y Stefano Harney y Fred Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study* (Wivenhoe; Nueva York; Port Watson: Minor Compositions, 2013).

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Indeed, with regard to these practices of dissimulation, one might wonder whether, as far as Spain at least is concerned, is it the chicken or the egg that begins the circle first? The representation of a cunning or intentional confusion, together with "disillusionment" (the breaking of the theatrical illusion), is one of the hallmarks of Spanish literature.<sup>29</sup> This is perfectly logical. On the one hand, since the dangerous stain of impure blood was invisible,

appearances cannot be trusted. On the other, the economic explosion of Spain's American colonies, driven by enslaved labor, paradoxically sucked prosperity from the metropolis. Don Quixote, an impoverished knight, obsessively clinging to his nobility of spirit in the most severe circumstances of the real world, bases his crusade on the honorable ideals of God, Country and King; but in the ironic comments of his squire, Sancho Panza, as well as in the patent incongruity of his adventures (think of the famous saying "fighting windmills"), lies a critical, skeptical and underhanded attitude towards the state.

This ambiguous perspective operates through a profound identification with picaresque figures, spokespersons for a deeply felt dissent and disillusionment.<sup>30</sup> Sometimes female or sometimes male, sometimes urban or sometimes rural, the refracted images of this figure surface frequently, reflecting a "mobile, fragmentary, and contradictory" interpretation of the world.<sup>31</sup> The uncouth shepherd, faced with the advance of Goliath in Diego Sánchez de Badajoz's "Farsa del rey David" (1554), turns to the audience and exclaims, "I'm sweating... and I have to pee!"<sup>32</sup> This superdialogical and direct commentary was based on the "techniques of concealment and multiplication of meaning."<sup>33</sup> These country people or village 'hicks', the enslaved characters, and the outcasts of Spain were "disqualified within the context of the dramatic illusion," musicologist Elisabeth Le Guin strongly opines, "but the metatheatrical disjunction and the disillusionment that goes with it" gave them a "special power to challenge the whole illusion."<sup>34</sup>

La bulla embraces nonsense: expressions, such as the uninhibited and sexually triumphant "cucu-ru-cu-cu-cú" (or gurugú) of the rooster's crowing (or perhaps the contented cooing of the well-loved dove), can be traced as a denotative characteristic of Negritude in Spanish

<sup>29</sup> Cf., for example, José María Díez Borque, *Sociedad y teatro en la España de Lope de Vega* (Barcelona: Antoni Bosch, 1978), 207, cited in Antonia Martín Marcos, "El actor en la representación barroca: Verosimilitud, gesto y ademán," in Javier Huerta Calvo, Harm den Boer, and Fermín Sierra Martínez, eds, *Amsterdam Hispanic Dialogues 8/1 - Spanish Theater in the Late Seventeenth Century - History, Culture, and Theater in the Spain of Charles II*, vol. 3, *Representations and Festivals* (Amsterdam, Atlanta, Georgia: Rodipi, 1989), 764; and José María Díez Borque, *Sociología de la comedia española del siglo XVII* (Madrid, Cátedra, 1976).

<sup>30</sup> Cf., for example, John Brotherton's exposition of the goofy shepherd as Common Man: *The Pastor-Bobo*, 60-1.

<sup>31</sup> Nicholas Spadaccini and Jenaro Taléns, *Through the Shattering Glass: Cervantes and the Self-Made World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), xiv.

<sup>32</sup> Françoise Cazal, "Del pastor bobo al gracioso: el pastor de Diego Sánchez de Badajoz," *CRITICÓN*, no. 60 (1994): 9-10.

<sup>33</sup> Ignacio Arellano, "La poesía burlesca áurea, ejercicio de lectura conceptista y apostillas al romance 'Boda de negros' de Quevedo," *Filología Románica*, vol. 5 (Madrid: Editorial Universidad Complutense, 1987-1988): 263.

<sup>34</sup> Elisabeth Le Guin, *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 154, cita a Juan Manuel, Príncipe de Villena, "Exemplo XXXII", y observa que "el Libro de los exemplos, o El Conde Lucanor (1335), una antología española medieval de fábulas y parábolas, fue la fuente para la alegoría de Hans Christian Andersen de 'El nuevo traje del emperador'".

literature. Such nonsense is euphemistic: its semantic force resides in what remains unsaid.<sup>35</sup> Euphemistic verbal expressions are aligned with the bodily deviations of gambetas and zapatas, these being ambiguous expressions of racialized confusion and sonorous goofiness. These nonsenses include the blasphemous expletive—the powerful, if harshly repressed, voice of resistance.<sup>36</sup> In other words, if the bulla embodies the Blackness of not having "seen the light" of Christ, it also expresses a forceful critique of and resistance to the Christian state.

We are asked by Fred Moten in *The Undercommons*, which could be translated as *Underground Shared Spaces* (2013), "What does disorder mean in the language of the sovereign?" "We must pay attention to cacophony", Moten writes; we must "inhabit and almost even cultivate...the site that manifests itself here and now, in the space and time of the sovereign, as absence, darkness, death, things that are not."<sup>37</sup>

Moten starts from a concept of diaspora as a "radical state of homelessness," an expression of an "ethic of the self...attuned to the margins."<sup>38</sup> Flamenco, whose minstrel-like blackness is represented by gypsy imagery, knows this denationalization thoroughly and has always carried out this encoding. How, then, can flamenco illuminate theories of race and identity representation? How can we consider its double-intended, purposefully deceptive din? When cultural richness—of verse, rhythm, or gesture, for example—is extracted, fused, and rendered in the likeness of the oppressor, what of its animating spirit, what of its soul remains?<sup>39</sup>

The flamenco imaginary revolves around the imagined gypsy who dances on the edge of a razor that delineates black and white worlds. Balancing between ostentatious and sinful confusion, on the one hand, and the humility of the epiphany on the other, this figure relates to an earlier trope: the foolish ('bobo') shepherd, who, seeing the angel's appearance, must decide between accepting the enlightenment of Jesus Christ or remaining in darkness. The symbolic linking of this religious danger with the dark dungeon of slavery constitutes the evangelical narrative that defeated the Moors and enslaved the Americas; an ideological framework that would be deployed in all states of slave domination.

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<sup>35</sup> Benjamin Liu, *Medieval Joke Poetry: The Cantigas d'Escarnho e de Mal Dizer* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004).

<sup>36</sup> Jacques Attali, *Ruido: The Political Economy of Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985).

<sup>37</sup> Harney y Moten, *The Undercommons*, 137.

<sup>38</sup> Stuart Hall, Kobena Mercer y Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *The Fateful Triangle: Race, Ethnicity, Nation* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2017), xvi-viii.

<sup>39</sup> VK Preston, "Relaciones barrocas: Performing Silver and Gold in Daniel Rabel's 'Ballets of the Americas'", en Mark Franko, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Reenactment* (Nueva York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 285-310.



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The precarious condition of the state of confusion in which the bobo finds himself, attractive for the comic, also bears the pathos of the final gamble of his decision heaven or hell, safety or extermination creating a swarming vision of a body politics not determined by exploitation, and not conforming to colonial identity. The black sounds of flamenco live in this moment of noise, confusion and uproar that conceal the resistance to subjugation, the lament for what has been lost, and the values and aspirations rendered invisible by slavery and intended cultural genocide.

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