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COUNTERCULTURE AND POP-ROCK MUSIC IN SPAIN DURING LATE FRANCOISM (1964-1975)

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to provide a re-evaluation of the relationship between pop-rock music and the Spanish counterculture during late Francoism. I seek to explore four main areas of research: the reception of pop-rock music in Spain, considering the convoluted socio-political context of the period; the correspondence between the Spanish and the Anglo-American countercultures; the interaction between the music industry and the counterculture; and the reading of pop-rock music as a countercultural artifact.

By analysing the cultural networks and oeuvres of some of the most representative artists of the period, this study examines the factors that shaped the nuances of the Spanish counterculture, establishing how far it can be seen as an independent phenomenon from its Anglo-American counterpart, and in which ways it was affected by the constrictions of the right-wing authoritarism of the Francoist dictatorship. My study focuses in exploring of the career of artists such as Los Brincos, Vainica Doble, Pau Riba, Jaume Sisa, Smash and Triana, who epitomize the contradictions, successes and failures of the Spanish counterculture.

It is in my contention that there was a counterculture in Spain during late Francoism and that pop-rock music constituted one of its cultural pillars, acquiring a prominent symbolic role and becoming one of the central tools for the dissemination of the countercultural ideas. While its extent and social relevance cannot be compared to that of its Anglo-American counterpart, Spanish countercultural pop-rock got to build its own set of iconic artists and events, permeating through the points of contact with a transnational movement.

Contents

INTRODUCTION

The term ‘counterculture’ has been used with various, often contradictory, connotations since its popularization in the 1960s. It was firstly associated with a variety of anti-establishment stances that rejected the core of the technocratic Western lifestyle, including antiracism, second-wave feminism, gay liberation, anti-nuclear movement, and alternative lifestyles, among others. The expansion of the counterculture in the Western countries coincided in Spain with late Francoism, a period of political unrest in which Spanish culture was caught amidst the relative isolationism of the authoritarian regime and the worldwide expansion of the Anglo-American culture. The revision and re-evaluation of the Spanish counterculture and its history has recently gathered momentum within official cultural institutions, as proven by exhibitions and events such as ‘Ajoblanco: Ruptura, contestación y vitalismo [1974-1999]’ (Centro de Cultura Contemporánea Condeduque, Madrid, May-September 2014), ‘Psicodelia en la cultura visual de la era beat 1962-1972’ (Círculo de Bellas Artes, Madrid, October 2018 - January 2019), ‘El pintor de canciones’ (Centro Cultural Fernando Fernán Gómez, Madrid, September-November 2018), ‘40 años de (contra)cultura en España’ (Fundación Telefónica, Madrid, 11 December 2018), ‘Raptos de la imaginación: jornada sobre la contracultura en el posfranquismo’ (Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, 1 February 2019), ‘Jornadas sobre contracultura’ (Institut Valencià d’Art Modern, Valencia, 28-29 February 2020) and ‘El underground y la contracultura en la Cataluña de los 70: un reconocimiento’ (Palau Robert, Barcelona, June-November 2021). Most of these events consider pop-rock music either as the central (‘El pintor de canciones’) or, at the very least, a significant element in the analysis

of the artistic phenomena that surround Spanish counterculture. 'El underground y la contracultural en la Cataluña de los 70: un reconocimiento', curated by Pepe Ribas, former editor of the *Ajoblanco* magazine (1974-1980), vindicated the role of the counterculture as a collective experience in contrast with an apperceived generalized narcissism that defines 'la era del yo' (2021, 13). Public institutions and museums 'acknowledge' the counterculture by pushing it away from its underground nature.

Simultaneously to this recent institutional interest in the history of the counterculture, the term 'counterculture' has been used in radically different contexts. The conservative cultural magazine *Centinela,* which was launched in September 2017, uses as a commercial slogan *la revista de la nueva contracultura* (2017, n.p.). [1] Similarly, the 20 January 2020 issue of the daily newspaper *La Razón*, a right-wing oriented publication, included a manifesto entitled *'¿Por qué alzar la voz contra la intolerancia y las nuevas censuras?*', where Julio Valdeón anticipated the creation of a new section for the newspaper entitled 'Contracultura'. Valdeón argued in his text for a platform that defends a traditional, male-centered vision of art against the supposed oppression by the so-called 'woke culture' (n.p.).[2] Eliah Bures has suggested that, in the Anglo-American context, the New Right has embraced the term counterculture in 'an effort to wrest the mantle of transgression and bold emancipation away from the leftist counterculture of the 1960s' (2020, 30). The political power embedded in the word

[1] This term 'centinela' has military connotations, particularly in the Francoist context, as Luis de Galinsoga entitled *Centinela de occidente* (1960) his Francisco Franco's hagiography, paraphrasing one of the epic epithets that the fascist regime used to praise Franco in the media.

[2] The author mentions a variety of cultural figures, such as Woody Allen, Charles Bukowski, Dylan Thomas, Harold Bloom, Nabokov's *Lolita*, Winston Churchill, Camille Paglia and Richard Dawkins as referents for his vision of the counterculture.

counterculture has survived the counterculture of the 1960, remaining a valuable trope for any sociopolitical movement that aspires to be seen challenging to the status quo, regardless of how far the foundations of that movement could be from its original referent. From this renewed interest in the idea and development of the counterculture arise some of the underlying questions of the thesis: What is at stake at the recent debate and events surrounding the counterculture? Why does this concept remain attractive and in use in a completely different sociopolitical context, and to such disparate users?

The Spanish counterculture was from the very beginning populated with a great variety of political and cultural views and can hardly be conceived as a uniform phenomenon. Jordi Costa points out that the Spanish counterculture can be characterized as a 'entidad polimórfica que, en determinado momento, parece avanzar como una sola fuerza en busca de la materialización de diversos ideales de transformación' (2018
, 24). This understanding of the counterculture as a common path for different idealistic, transformative worldviews reveals a necessary utopian undertone that sets up an ultimate barrier between the counterculture of the 1960s and the contemporary reappropriations of the term. My research has been conducted following the premise that counterculture was an intrinsically idealistic phenomenon, never only a reaction to a specific oppression, but a deliberate effort to create alternative and radical artistic forms, and lifestyles. While I will acknowledge the ideological, financial, and sociopolitical constraints that the Spanish counterculture faced, idealism always underpins the countercultural project.

In starting to explore the relationship between counterculture and pop-rock music it soon became clear that, while pop-rock was one of the central elements of dissemination of countercultural ideas, a remarkable part of its production and distribution processes were marked by its close relationship with mass culture's structure and the industrial system that sustains it. This inner, unavoidable contradiction is imbedded in the foundation of the countercultural ideology (Bennett 2014, 21). Therefore, my thesis explores a paradoxical territory, the meeting point between the industrial and the underground, between the radical and the establishment, between the popular and the avant-garde. Spain, due to its geographical, historical, economic, and political idiosyncrasy, experimented an uneven reception of the Anglo-American counterculture, deeply mediated by the encounter between the American cultural expansionism in post-war Europe and the censorship of the Francoist dictatorship.

Aims and objectives

The main aim of my thesis is to explore the historical development of counterculture-related pop-rock music in Spain during late Francoism. I aim to account for the process of reception, assimilation, and production of pop-rock music between 1964 and 1975. In the former year the Francoist *25 años de paz* and the first recordings of Los Brincos took place, the foundational band of modern Spanish pop-rock, while the death of Franco took place in 1975. The areas of my research are: (1) the historical reception of pop-rock music in Spain, determined by the specific political and social circumstances of late Francoism, (2) the acknowledgment and adaptation of the Anglo-American anti-establishment counterculture of the 1960s in Spain, (3) the contradictory relationship between the counterculture and the music industry and (4) the pop-rock music-related

cultural object as a countercultural artifact. The intersection between these four areas contributes to analysing the role of pop-rock music in the wider context of the alternative political, social, and cultural projects to Francoism, acting as opposition to both the Francoist regime and the predominant anti-Francoist movements, led by the Spanish Communist Party and Catalan and Basque nationalist movements. Ultimately, my thesis seeks to contribute to a re-evaluation of pop-rock music as a political and cultural tool outside the Anglo-American world.

Accordingly, the first questions that concern me through the thesis seek to define the idea of the countercultural and to differentiate the general characteristics of the counterculture and those that are specific of the Spanish counterculture. Thus, I will be asking: What were the distinctive characteristics of the Spanish counterculture? Was counterculture in Spain a localized phenomenon or did it take place in distinct contexts? If there were different contexts, were the diverse countercultural scenes interconnected or did they operate as independent entities? How did the Anglo-American counterculture interact with its Spanish counterpart? Once the ideological, social, and artistic networks that can be defined as countercultural are identified, I will then focus on the specific role of pop-rock music within them, giving an answer to questions such as: What were the elements that made pop-rock countercultural, both at an international and at a Spanish level? In which ways were the pop-rock music production and reception affected by political and social events? What was the role of women within the countercultural pop-rock scene? How have the narratives about pop-rock music and the counterculture evolved through time? The answer to these questions will be grounded on the premise that the development of the counterculture-related pop-

rock can be read as a political signifier that acquires a distinctive meaning in the context of late Francoism. Also, as I will introduce throughout the thesis elements of class analysis to delimitate and understand the social networks of the Spanish counterculture and of each of its specific local and regional scenes, avoiding centralist points of view.

Methodology

The counterculture was multidisciplinary in nature, so the question that may arise and that should be answered before pursuing the research is why, among all artistic disciplines, pop-rock music is worth of scrutiny. The counterculture of the 1960s arose in a convoluted moment in Western popular music, with rock'n'roll being one of the first examples of American mass culture to have an international impact (Cunningham et al 2016, 868). Nonetheless, the relationship between pop-rock music and the counterculture is deeply impacted by changes in the music production and recording technologies, particularly multitrack recording, studio effects such as wah-wah, delay loops, feedback, fuzz and backwards tapes and the growing availability of electrical instruments and amplifiers. These technologies became usual in the Spanish recording industry from the mid 1960s onwards, slowly changing the ways music was performed, and contributing to the idea of pop-rock music as a complex, powerful tool of artistic expression. Early literature on the counterculture already highlights the importance of pop-rock music within the movement, as a code that defies national, linguistic, and sociocultural barriers to create a generational esperanto (Neville 1971, 14). Sheila Whiteley identifies progressive rock as 'the prime organ of communication within the counter-culture' (1990, 37). Her work reaffirms the idea of pop-rock music as an international language for the counterculture, a shared element of all the movements

that emerged from the Anglo-American counterculture of the 1960s. By engaging with the existing scholarship on the relationship between pop-rock music and the counterculture and applying it to the specific context of Spain two obvious questions arise. Does the scholarly analysis of the Anglo-American counterculture apply to the specific case of Spanish counterculture? How does Spanish pop-rock interact with the Spanish folklore and with the already established *cantautores* scene?

As a researcher, I acknowledge that the inherited assumptions about the role of pop-rock music in such a politicized environment as late Francoist Spain involves by necessity dealing with writings published in different timelines, some coetaneous with the process, some far removed from it. The earlier produced in a context where censorship is key, the later, not similarly constrained. Firstly, I will engage with the literature that was produced in the period that this thesis covers. The Spanish counterculture had echoes in both underground publications and mainstream media, through a wide variety of perspectives, ranging from the mixture of curiosity and scaremongering of the pro-regime daily newspapers to the scrutinizing perspective of progressive publications such as *Triunfo*. There were also purely countercultural communication channels, particularly from 1974 onwards, the year in which *Star* (1974-1980), *Vibraciones* (1974-1982) and *Ajoblanco* were launched. I will focus on analyzing how the intersection between counterculture and pop-rock music has been understood in media through time, contributing to create received ideas about it. My thesis seeks, thus, to provide a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between pop-rock music and counterculture through in-depth examination of previously unused archival sources, particularly

written media, and close readings of the most relevant musical artifacts of the 1964-1975 period.

I have previously mentioned that the point of departure of my research is 1964. Chronologies of pop-rock music tend to avoid strictly temporary demarcations, and while this research focuses on the period 1964-1975, I will mention works that were published outside this timeframe. This responds to the progressive nature of evolution in popular music, and to the need to avoid 'year zero' narratives that do not acknowledge the nuances of cultural phenomena. Regarding the specific timeline of the Spanish counterculture, there are opposing views among scholars and essayists. In *Culpables por la literatura: imaginación política y contracultura en la transición española (1968-1986)* Germán Labrador Méndez starts his chronology in 1968, acknowledging the international symbolism of the year and associating it with a generational awakening in which the global dimension of the counterculture converged with the specific processes that Anti-Francoism was stimulating (2017, 187-88). In *Cómo acabar con la contracultura* (2018) Jordi Costa does not provide a clear timeline, but the core of his research also assumes 1968 as the starting point of the counterculture in Spain. Other authors, such as Pepe García-Lloret in *Psicodelia, hippies y underground en España (1965-1980)*, challenge this view, considering 1965 as the arrival of countercultural influences in Spanish pop-rock, demonstrable through the release of The Canaries *Flying High with The Canaries*, that he regards as the first acid-rock related recording published by a Spanish artist (2004, 69). In my research, I have chosen 1964 as the starting year of the relationship between the emerging counterculture and Spanish pop-rock. There are three main reasons behind my choice. Firstly, 1964 is a symbolic year in Francoism. The

celebration of the *25 años de paz* brought along a reflection on the state of Spain after 25 years of authoritarian regime and resulted in a transformation of the rhetoric of Francoism, particularly in the media (see Sánchez-Biosca 2007, 98). Spain was in the middle of structural change, forced by international pressure, resulting in a relative legal and cultural laxity. Growing numbers were joining anti-Francoist organizations, particularly among the young, a tendency that would open doors for the Anglo-American counterculture to have a receptive cultural landing ground (Granell Toledo 2020, 225). 1964 is also the year of Los Brincos' debut song, 'Flamenco'. As I will argue in Chapter 2, the impact of this band resulted in a structural change in the Spanish music industry, which became progressively more sympathetic towards pop-rock bands that wrote their own songs, paving the way for the establishment of pop-rock music as a field in which artists could have increasing creative control over their oeuvre. Lastly, incorporating to my research the period between 1964 and 1968 allows me to analyze the years that Pau Malvido coined as 'de rock y futbolines' in *Nosotros los malditos* (2004), in which the subcultural gradually becomes countercultural, a process that I will engage with in Chapter 1. The end date of the period of study of this thesis is 1975. Franco's death remains a milestone in Spanish cultural history, even if some authors such as Teresa Vilarós use 1973 as the landmark for the beginning of the *Transición* period, as she does in *El mono del desencanto. Una crítica cultural de la transición española* (1998, 37-38). These dates, although indicative, must be understood as flexible, in pursuit of a holistic understanding of the nature of the development of popular music and the counterculture in Spain.

Academic research about Spanish pop-rock music is a relatively new area of study, particularly in comparison to its Anglo-American counterpart, which has been the object of study for more than four decades by Paul Willis (1978), Simon Frith (1978), Dick Hebdige (1979), Iain Chambers (1985), Angela McRobbie (1988), Sheila Whiteley (1992) and Andy Bennett (2001), among others. Academic monographs about Spanish pop-rock music have mainly focused on the *Transición* period, such as the theses of Héctor Fouce (2005) and Fernán del Val (2015). Other periods and subgenres have been analysed in more recent works, and often through a strictly musicological lens, such as Andalusian rock by Diego García Peinazo (2016), progressive rock by Eduardo García Salueña (2014) and Guillermo Delis López (2017) and glam rock by Sara Arenillas Meléndez (2017). Though shorter in dimension, there are two articles that have been essential in my research, particularly for Chapter 2, and those are Celsa Alonso (2005) and Isabelle Marc (2006). The specific period that I cover in my thesis is the object of a variety of non-academic research, particularly in Pepe García Lloret (2005) and Adrián Vogel (2017). Specific local scenes have written testimonies such as that of Alex Gómez-Font on Barcelona (2011), Julián Molero on Madrid (2015) and Ignacio Díaz Pérez on Andalusia (2018). Similarly, specific artists have published books and biographies, such as César Campoy on Los Brincos (2006), Fernando Márquez (1984) and Marcos Gendre (2014) on Vainica Doble, Magda Bonet on Pau Riba (1993) and Ramón Moreno López (2018) and Víctor Claudín (1981) and Donat Putx (2015) on Jaume Sisa. Some of the protagonists of the period of study published their accounts of the counterculture from a variety of points of view, such as Jesús Ordovás (1977, 2017), Luis Racionero (1977) and Pepe Ribas (2007), while other important writers had their works posthumously published, such as Pau Malvido (2004) and Claudi Montañá (2019). Relevant monographs about the history

of pop-rock in Spain are those of Gerardo Irles (1997), Salvador Domínguez (2002) and José Ramón Pardo (2005). My approach, although it converges at some points with musicological studies, is closer to the work about the counterculture of cultural theorists and hispanists, the Francoist period and the *Transición*. I am being guided by the writings of Teresa Vilarós (1998), Jo Labanyi (2002), Tatjana Pavlović (2011), Paul Julian Smith (2012), Brice Chamouleau (2017), Jordi Costa (2018), Germán Labrador Méndez (2018) and Duncan Wheeler (2020). I shall be referring to these authors throughout my thesis.

One of the most challenging aspects of this thesis is the answer to one of the recurring debates regarding the Spanish counterculture: Did the counterculture succeed? Was it a failure? Did it leave an imprint? Throughout these chapters, I will analyse careers that were fruitful, both commercially and critically, but also projects that came to nothing, artists that could not pursue professional careers or bands that achieved only a cult status, at best. *Mundo, demonio, carne* (1970) is an example: an album that failed commercially, that did not leave an imprint in form of influence in future generations, and which has not been reissued in the last 25 years, but still remains a pertinent testimony of a specific moment in the history of the relationship between pop-rock music and the counterculture, due to its pioneering qualities and the relevance of how a popular band navigates a process of assumption of countercultural values. Moreover, in this thesis, I aim to reformulate this question towards a different inquiry: Is it possible to fully account for any (counter)cultural movement without acknowledging its failures? Critical reception of the counterculture, such as in Vilarós (1998) or Labrador Méndez (2018), has focused on the idea of the disenchantment, the progressive estrangement of the counterculture-related individuals from the movement. This is due to either their

joining cultural institutions and thus their gradual conformity with mainstream values or to the disenchantment faced with the impossibility of the emancipation processes that were *theorised* before the *Transición* period. Throughout the thesis, I shall be arguing that the Spanish counterculture was caught between its fascination with the Anglo-American countercultural icons and the scarce support of the mainstream cultural industry. Despite this, the heritage of the Spanish counterculture lays beneath many of the layers of later Spanish culture. The invisible thread that underlies beneath the surface of Spanish pop-rock culture goes necessarily through the counterculture, not only in the obvious links between it and the 1980's *Movida*, clearly depicted in Costa (2018), but also in the 1990s indie music that reached its audience using dissemination channels that were inherited from the counterculture. The fact that *Rockdelux* was a direct heir to *Vibraciones* illustrates how the echoes of the counterculture remain hidden in contemporary culture, regardless of the potential institutional recognition and the elasticity of the term 'counterculture'.

Structure

The extreme malleability of the term counterculture requires an insightful approach to terminology. Therefore, in Chapter 1, I will focus on providing a reflection about the term counterculture and its historical evolution, both in Spain and internationally. By tracing a chronology of its uses, I aim to define an appropriate meaning that encompasses both its employment in the Anglo-American context and how the term was gradually introduced in Spain, which other terms were used as synonymous and how the terminological discussion was introduced in the period studied in the thesis and retrospectively. The chapter traces the manifestations of the countercultural in a variety

of disciplines and discourses, ranging from the sociological approach of authors such as J. Milton Yinger (1960) and Theodore Roszak (1969) to the cultural studies interpretations of Stuart Hall (1968) and Dick Hebdige (1979). Following Sheila Whiteley (1992), I engage with the musicological dimension of counterculture and how the evolution of technological resources in pop-rock music relates to the development of a countercultural sensibility, notions that will frame my methodological approach towards the oeuvre of counterculture-related artists. Later in the chapter. I will engage in the theoretical debate on counterculture in the Spanish context, accounting for both the evolution of the academic approaches to the term and for the debate that was generated in the counterculture-related publications themselves. The initial chapter offers the reader a discussion of the main concepts that will be central throughout the thesis: counterculture, underground, psychedelia, hippie, and subculture, and the wide range of translations that a variety of authors have used to describe their counterparts in Spanish.

Chapters 2 to 5 are case studies that focus on the career of specific artists in the period of research. Not all the artists are engaged with the political project of the counterculture, but all have varying degrees of connection with its development. These differences illustrate the nature of the countercultural phenomenon in Spanish music. As I shall be arguing, even if the Spanish counterculture did not permeate mainstream culture to the extent that its Anglo-American counterpart did, it created a network of cultural dissemination that enabled the circulation of alternative worldviews and influenced subsequent cultural phenomena. The paradoxical nature of the relationship between the counterculture and mainstream culture is central for the understanding of

the role of pop-rock within the counterculture, a mass phenomenon that embodies underground values while being supported by international corporations. A band such as Los Brincos, which are the focus of Chapter 2, can hardly be considered a countercultural band with a politicized discourse, but their work is central to the development of a creative paradigm that allowed pop-rock musicians to introduce counterculture-related elements in their production. Celsa Alonso's work on Los Brincos, which focused on their role in the development of a purely Spanish scene of beat music, will be the foundation that I will use to build on how the band contributed to the notion of authorship within Spanish pop-rock music and in which ways the band used their recently acquired creative freedom to assimilate avant-garde and counterculture-influenced elements in their oeuvre. The pivotal question that underlies the chapter is to what extent a mass commodity such as pop-rock music, whose production and distribution are perfectly embedded in the mainstream cultural industry, can be considered countercultural. The analysis of the habitus of Los Brincos provides arguments on how Madrid upper-middle classes used pop-rock as a sign of distinction, how the introduction of many of the cultural practices that we read as countercultural started in Spain through the disenchanted children of the bourgeoisie. [3]

The Madrilenian pop-rock duo Vainica Doble, whose work is rooted in the intersection between the *cantautores* scene and the Anglo-American pop-rock influence, is the focus of the case study in chapter 3. The study of this band allows us to understand in which

[3] The idea of *habitus* is one of the central concepts of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory. The author defines it as a "system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action" (1990, 12-13). Bourdieu encompasses in the idea of habitus the internalized, class-specific, durable cultural perceptions that the individual acquires through their process of socialisation.

ways the countercultural influence was assimilated by a pre-counterculture bohemian intelligentsia. Vainica Doble were unique in many of their characteristics, as they were a female duo in a moment when the Spanish counterculture musical expression was very male-centered. Moreover, they were significantly older than their contemporaries in the pop-rock scene. Finally, they differed because they experimented with the fusion of a wide range of genres that had not previously been incorporated into the Spanish countercultural scene. The class-centered analysis of Chapter 2 is also relevant for the arguments in Chapter 3 about the networks that connect Televisión Española, the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando and the cafés and private parties of the Madrilenian bourgeois cultural scene, which incorporated and assimilated countercultural elements into their creative discourse but did not fully engage with the political project of the counterculture. My contention is that Vainica Doble's work, and specifically their albums *Vainica Doble* (1971), *Heliotropo* (1973) and *Contracorriente* (1976), blend three different approaches to the pop-rock song: the influence of countercultural pop-rock, particularly that of the progressive and psychedelic rock subgenres, the musical gentleness of *canción ligera* and the socio-political lyrical references of the singer-songwriter scene, with a particular focus on the critique of the Francoist regime through *costumbrismo*. In Vainica Doble's oeuvre the countercultural is subsumed in a wider creative apparatus that connects with a liberal arts tradition that existed before pop-rock music, and with a political vision that inherits its values from the progressive vision of the pre-Francoist Republican bourgeoisie. Lastly, in this chapter I will acknowledge the deferred reception of the band to argue that, even if most of the countercultural-related pop-rock artists did not achieve popular recognition in sales or popularity, Vainica Doble was very influential for subsequent generations of artists.

Hence, we may argue that even if the counterculture did not become part of the mainstream of late Francoism, it left an imprint on future generations of artists.

Chapters 2 and 3 centre on the interaction between the countercultural influence and previously existing cultural institutions through the example of Los Brincos and Vainica Doble. Chapter 4 shifts the focus to a different geographical and socio-political context. The previous chapters pinpointed the absorption of countercultural tendencies in Madrid, a city in which the pop-rock music scene did not have an obvious political focus and the bands had close ties with public institutions and the recording industry. Chapter 4 examines the development of the countercultural pop-rock scene in Catalonia, a phenomenon linked with the socio-political nuances of the region. Catalonian counterculture absorbed the political foundations of Anarchism, a tendency ingrained in the Catalonian socio-political structure since the late twentieth century. The chapter examines the ways in which the networks of consumption and production of pop-rock turned Barcelona into a site of the countercultural activity. I argue that Catalonia's leaning towards Anarchism, its privileged geographical position as a transit point in the 'hippie trail' and the acquiescence of an editorial sector that launched ad-hoc publications such as *Vibraciones* and *Ajoblanco* were the main factors that turned Barcelona into the capital of countercultural pop-rock. The second half of the chapter explores the production of two artists that can be considered pivotal names in the Catalan counterculture, Pau Riba and Jaume Sisa. My reading of the former's oeuvre understands the countercultural values as aimed to subvert the parent culture, this being the conservative Catalan bourgeoisie, while the latter produces a critique of the development of the counterculture itself through a working-class perspective.

The final chapter examines countercultural production outside the cultural axis Madrid-Barcelona through the exploration of the role of Andalusia in the development of a countercultural pop-rock scene. The chapter aims to show how the merge of the Anglo-American countercultural references with the specificities of the musical and cultural tradition of Andalusia contributed to the development of a branch of the counterculture that was uniquely Spanish, bearing the marks of its sociohistorical location. To do this, I will explore the history of the mergers between rock music and flamenco, both in the Anglo-American world and in Spain, arguing that flamenco entered the axis of values of the counterculture as part of the exotic fascination for non-Anglo-American folklores. Chapter 5 explores the ways in which the counterculture exploited the cracks of American expansionism, as the development of an Andalusian counterculture is directly linked to the influence of the American military bases of Rota and Morón. In this sense, I will discuss the contradictory relationship between cultural imperialism and the counterculture, and whether the Spanish counterculture should be considered an independent entity from its Anglo-American counterpart. In the second half of Chapter 5, I will focus on two bands whose career is paradigmatic of the development of the relationship of music and counterculture outside of the Madrid-Barcelona axis. Smash exemplify an early stage of development of the countercultural discourse, but through their 'Manifiesto de lo borde' aspire to frame and theorise a specifically Andalusian and Spanish conception of the counterculture. Lastly, I will read Triana's early career and their album *El patio* (1975) as the turning point in the institutional and industrial assumption of the absorption of the counterculture both in Andalusia and nationally.

CHAPTER 1: A HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF THE COUNTERCULTURE(S)

Introduction

This chapter traces the historical connotations that have been given to the concept of the counterculture, both in an international context and in the Spanish cultural environment. As I stated in the introduction to this thesis, the concept counterculture is politically charged. The objective of this chapter is to analyze how it evolved over time and how the term has been re-signified and used by a variety of political and cultural agents, particularly in the specific context of popular music. The historical survey proposed in this chapter will pay particular attention to the terms analogous to counterculture (*underground*, *rrollo*, etc.) to argue that, even if has sometimes been considered as a carbon copy of an originally American concept, counterculture names a historical Spanish reality, a set of subversive practices that took place during Late Francoist Spain and that has left an imprint on the Spanish cultural legacy that passed through generations.

For this reason, questions that concern me in this chapter are: what do we understand as counterculture? How has the meaning of the term since its inception? Is the meaning of counterculture different in Spain from the rest of the world? How is artistic production -and more specifically musical- shaped by the countercultural influence? Is the counterculture a univocal fact or were there several countercultures or various movements within a counterculture? What is the difference between subcultures and countercultures? Is it possible to speak of counterculture in the context of non-

democratic societies, as was the case in Spain in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s? Answering these questions will help me to provide a framework to further analysis of the Spanish musical production of late Francoism in subsequent chapters. Timothy Leary claimed that the counterculture 'blooms wherever and whenever a few members of a society choose lifestyles, artistic expressions, and ways of thinking and being that wholeheartedly embrace the ancient axiom that the only true constant is change itself' (2004, 23). As I will maintain throughout this chapter, the analysis of the counterculture, although it has a certain aesthetic and theoretical anchor in a worldview from a predominantly English-speaking, white and bourgeois world of the 1960s, is also a complex and in permanent movement, whose footprints reach far beyond the American counterculture of the 1960s.

The chapter is organized as follows: It begins with an etymological and historical exploration of the term that concerns us, its limitations, and its theoretical implications. It opens with the coining of the term in the field of criminalistic sociology and its reappropriation within the theory of culture and the sociology of culture in the late 1960s. It continues assessing how from the 1970s onwards a theory of counterculture was developed, and what role was given to popular music within it. Finally, I will frame how the concept of counterculture was received and analyzed in the Spanish context, from a position of cultural subalternity to the development of a specifically Spanish counterculture.

Contra, counter- and counter: the origin of the counterculture

A retrospective glance at the use of the term counterculture leads any researcher to an inescapable conceptual paradox. On the one hand, the term is inextricably linked to the 1960s, to the 'casual inflation of the term counterculture into a nebula of signifiers comprehending bongs, protest demonstrations, ashrams, and social nudity rears its head at seemingly any Sixties retrospective' (Braunstein and Doyle, 2002, 6). Counterculture has been used as a synonymous with all counter-hegemonic practices that occurred in the second half of the sixties, to the extent that a (very) broad definition of counterculture can encompass such different elements as the Beatles and the Baader Meinhof, Situationism and the Woodstock festival, the Manson family, and the musical *Hair*. On the other hand, an infinity of cultural phenomena has been analyzed as countercultures, such as punk (Marchetto, 2001; Patton, 2018), grime (Fatsis, 2019) or even jihadism (Hemmingsen, 2015). From this conceptual lack of definition arises the need to historicize and narrow the term, in order to provide a solid framework for the rest of the research.

From an etymological point of view, counterculture stems from the idea of counter as a synonym of opposition or resistance, derived from the Latin prefix *contra*- (against, facing, in opposition). The first mentions of the concept of counterculture in literature occur within the field of American criminalistic sociology. Talcott Parsons used the term for the first time to depict deviant subcultures that embraced criminality in urban areas of the USA (1951, 522). He derived the concept from the idea of 'countermores', which

had been previously coined by Harold D. Laswell, who defined them as 'culture patterns which appeal mainly to the id', deviant traits that are expected to occur within a specific sector of the population (1935, 64). These first conceptual steps of the idea of counterculture are linked to the idea of a collective break from the norm, to self-exclusive behaviors of groups with respect to a generalized social consensus. Parsons applied this idea to talk about the forms that exist within a society of breaking with the canons of culture, this defined, in his own terms, as a collective symbolic discourse (1951, 11).[4]

From Parsons' brief mention, Yinger elaborates the concept making a differentiation between standard subcultures and 'contracultures', understanding the former as subcultures whose values are in direct conflict with the dominant national culture (1960, 625). Yinger perceives standard subcultures as neutral subsets of society, such as ethnic or religious groups, which can 'probably conflict in some measure with the larger culture' but are not defined by this conflict (629). This initial consideration, which links the 'contraculture' to criminal connotations, is essential to understand the development of the term. The idea of 'contraculture' was born from sectors of the population that had rejected American national values, ultimately governed by legislation. [5] Yingerian's

[4] The definition of culture is, without a doubt, one of the most complex challenges that any scholar faces in any research process. Although it is a question that widely exceeds the scope of this thesis, it should be noted that Parsons, in addition to introducing the term counterculture into the lexicon, was one of the most prominent figures in functionalist sociology, and his theory of culture, which developed and modified over more than four decades, remains one of the milestones of American cultural theory. For further development, see Parsons (1951), Kroeber and Parsons (1958) or Parsons (1977).

[5] It is essential to bear in mind that in the 1950s there was a mutual interest between the artistic world and the phenomenon observed by Parsons and Yinger of organized juvenile delinquency. The public fascination with films such as *The Wild One* (1954), *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), *Teenage Crime Wave* (1955) or *The Delinquents* (1957) exemplifies how throughout the 1950s the American public had juvenile

contracultural individual was that who belongs to a group that embraces rejection of the system at its core (629). The *contracultural* differs from the subcultural by its desire to dialectically subvert the values of the dominant culture, and by its goal not to become an accepted part of it, but to replace it and impose a new value system. Although the Yingerian definition of the *contracultural* already warns of its willingness to social change, it does not yet incorporate the idea of a defined political project that underlies the rejection of the dominant culture. Yinger perceives an inability in the *contraculture* to define itself beyond opposition to the prevailing system, as he understands it as a reaction to 'conditions of deprivation and frustration of major values […] and weak social controls' (635). By giving it an exclusively reactive character, Yinger's definition (which was conceived before the counterculture of the 60s had taken place, as we have previously mentioned) limits *contraculture*'s possibility of articulating an alternative lifestyle to that of the social status quo. It is, therefore, a primitive state of the definition of counterculture. The theories of Yinger and Parsons anticipate a movement that had yet to take place and introduce into the lexicon a concept that would develop in parallel with the ideological development of the cultural practices that it would end up describing.

The use of the word counterculture changed greatly in the 1960s, particularly after the publication in 1969 of Theodore Roszak's groundbreaking essay *The Making of a Counter Culture*. [6] The validity of Roszak's observations is debatable, as we will see, and a good

delinquency at the center of a collective imagination that aroused both fascination and moral panic. Biltereyest (2021) or Walker (2010) are useful reads on the topic.

[6] Williams and Hannerz noted the terminological change that took place throughout the theoretical development of the concept (2014, n.p.). Although the concept from which Yinger started in 1960 was

part of his theoretical content has been widely criticized by later generations of scholars, such as Clarke et al. (1976), Roberts (1978), Bennett (2001) or Whiteley (2013). Roszak, unlike Parsons and Yinger, transcended the field of criminal sociology in order to categorize the counterculture as a social and political alternative to what he perceived as the dominant technocracy in the US establishment. The success of Roszak's book is partially guilty of the conceptual paradox that underlies all analysis of the counterculture that transcends what happened in the United States from 1965 onwards. Roszak's essay used counterculture as a signifier for the cultural radicalism of the 1960s in the social and political context of the United States. He established a linguistic sign relationship between the words and that specific era and that specific place, a relationship that has had an impression on every later text that made use of the word counterculture. Whether it was to reject the association made by Roszak, or to take it as a starting point, any use of the term is marked by the strong influence of his essay. It could be argued that after Rozsak's essay a relationship of practical metonymy is established between *the* counterculture and *a* counterculture: *the* counterculture of the 1960s became the paradigmatic example that precedes and exemplifies any movement of a countercultural nature. To a large extent, any appreciation of a phenomenon as countercultural seeks a reflection in the counterculture of the 60s, particularly in the way in which it denied the maxims of the prevailing culture in the US.

Roszak identifies 60s counterculture as a reaction to technocracy, 'the social form in which industrial society reaches the peak of its organizational integration' (1969, 5), and

'contraculture', in subsequent essays he accepted the terminology 'counterculture', as can be seen as in Yinger (1977) or Yinger (1982).

a consequence of the alienation of young individuals in that system. Rozsak identifies the roots of baby boom generation's discontent in a double social panic. First there is the atomic fear, ubiquitous in American culture during the Cold War, in childhood and adolescence of the counterculture individuals (57). Moreover, there is the fear (among males) of being drafted into the Vietnam War when they reach an adult age, intermingled with the political rejection of the participation of the US in the conflict (16). These kindled an enormous distrust towards the authorities and powers, state educational, and financial. In Roszak's point of view, the movement aimed 'to discover new types of community, new family patterns, new sexual mores, new kinds of livelihood, new aesthetic forms, new personal identities on the far side of power politics, the bourgeois home, and the consumer society' (66)[7]. It is in this search for new political alternatives that we identify one of the most important features of the counterculture understood from the Roszakian perspective: the counterculture ceases to be, as it was in Yinger, a space for reaction against the system, to be a space for proposing new forms of life in society. The counterculture becomes a milieu of vital and social imagination in which to break existing structures.

This conception of the counterculture as an alternative lifestyle that reacts against the dominant technocracy also appears in Charles E. Reich's *The Greening of America* (1970), who finds in refusal of work the common link between the countercultural sensibilities of the 60s. The author finds that the counterculture 'does not accomplish this [social

[7] When referring to the individuals who are part of the conglomerate that he calls counterculture, it should be noted that Roszak uses terms such as beatniks or hippies interchangeably. Later literature, such as Silos (2003) has got in depth into the differentiation between these two terms.

and political change] by direct political means, but by changing culture and the quality of individual lives, which in turn change politics and ultimately structure' (160). Reich perceives in the counterculture a shift from politics understood as a collective effort towards politics understood as a reconsideration of the role that one fulfills within a society. The counterculture is, for Reich, a common platform for personal self-realization, thus breaking the established ways to exercise subversive politics. King (1972) finds the theoretical framework in which the counterculture operates in the works of Herbert Marcuse, Wilhelm Reich and Norman O. Brown, an intellectual tradition framed in an erotic utopianism. He concurs that there is in these authors, widely read among university students in the late 60s, championed a vindication of carnal enjoyment against the repression of desires, which King considers a central element in the countercultural youth's political discourse (81). [8] The works of King, Roszak and Reich, although they do not provide a precise definition for the term, coincide in overcoming the Yingerian conception of counterculture. If Yinger understood counterculture as a sector of youth that violently opposed an underlying social malaise and consequently breaking the established social values, these works propose a new paradigm. The counterculture is not conceived as a visceral reaction to oppressive conditions but as a collective criticism of the whole cultural apparatus, of a technocracy that limits the possibilities of the individual and of his role with others. The countercultural individual is a subject who has decided to emancipate themself from that oppressive technocracy, ultimate enemy of erotic desire (understood in the Marcusian way) of human subjectivity. However, the works of these three authors

[8] Averyt (1971, 17-25) mentions these three authors, along with Marx and Freud, as the philosophical basis for the countercultural movement.

present a double problem regarding the application of their theories in this thesis: they are too reliant on the exclusivity of an American context for counterculture and the authors are excessively sympathetic towards what they acknowledge as counterculture, which turns them into simultaneous analysts and apologists. Roszak's essay is paradigmatic in this sense, even proposing the counterculture as the ultimate lifeline for Western civilization (1). Although this lack of distance from the phenomenon casts doubts on the academic validity of their claims, these three volumes represent the first comprehensive studies on the phenomenon, and they are necessary readings to understand the counterculture holistically.

A new, more distant and less laudatory perspective on the counterculture stems from the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Sociologist Stuart Hall does not use the word counterculture in his first essay on the topic, 'Hippies: An American *Moment*' (1968), preferring the term 'hippie' instead. [9] His text intends to systematize and make a political reading of the cultural and social forms of the movement that Roszak later called counterculture. For Hall there is an intrinsic value in the alternative ways of life practiced by the members of the movement, since they represent ''definitions of the situation' different from, counter to, those which are maintained as valid and legitimate in the taken-for-granted routines of American middle class: 'an island of deviant meanings within the sea of its society'' (144). Hall identifies

[9] There is a certain lack of definition in the origin of the term hippie, as pointed out by Sheidlower (2004). Although there is the association of the adjective 'hip', meaning 'informed', with the Afro-American culture of the 40s and the world of jazz, there is no proven theory about the etymological origin of this word. It seems proven; however, that the evolution of hip gave rise to the term 'hipster', a term used for white individuals who imitated the aesthetic and attitudinal patterns of African Americans. This was the root for the use of hippie, which is analogous to 'member of the counterculture'.

several values as central to hippie culture. In the first place he highlights the fetishization of poverty from a perspective of abandonment (temporary or total) of middle-class privileges. Hippies came predominantly from suburban areas, which they abandoned to share spaces with economically disadvantaged individuals. It was not the only case of appropriation of the cultural values of a disadvantage collective. Hall points out another process of fetishization, in this case of the American Indian collective (148). He argues that, for hippieism, Indian American culture was an example of resistance to technocracy, and subsequently hippieism made their signifiers its own. Hall also signals that hippie culture is not capable of assimilating and appropriating in the same way the signifiers of Afro-American culture, given that this was at a peak of political and cultural self-determination (150). [10] Another aspect that Hall highlights of hippie culture is its cult to a mystical, pre-technocratic arcadian lifestyle. Hippie idealism is reflected, according to Hall, in a breach of the Protestant ethic. If this was centered on preparing for an uncertain tomorrow, to the accumulation, hippie ethics proposed a greater cult of immediate enjoyment, bodily desires, and a resistance to a perceived 'tyranny of work' (154). Hall is also a pioneer in drawing a timeline that connects the previous *beat* subculture and hippieism. Both movements share a similar vision of the limitations and oppressions of the predominant technocratic culture in the United States. In comparison, the beat movement limits itself to describe the horrors of the ruling technocracy, while hippieism articulates alternative ways of life and countervalues - defined on the axis 'Straight / Hippie- that suppose an unconforming political power

[10] Authors like Carmichael & Hamilton (1967), Geschwender (1977), Joseph (2006) and Ogbar (2019) have analyzed the social, cultural, and political importance of the Afro-American self-determination movements in the 1950s and 1960s.

(162). Hall's perspective is useful for the contemporary analyst of countercultural phenomena, since it maintains a critical distance with the movement that distances him from apologists such as Roszak or Reich. The text is particularly early in many of its insights on the counterculture, since many of the events that we related to it had not yet taken place at the time of writing but is able to adequately characterize a good part of the defining features of the counterculture.

Counterculture as a conceptual problem

These previous texts analyzed belong to what we will call a first stage of the analysis of the countercultural phenomenon. There are three main problems derived from this era of countercultural analysis. First, some authors, such as Roszak or Reich, are excessively close to the movement itself. This perspective clouds any possibility of critical judgment since they placed in the counterculture all the hopes for a social improvement. Moreover, there is the tendency to interpret the countercultural as an exclusive product of the white middle classes, the children of technocracy, as Roszak put out. A retrospective analysis makes this assertion debatable, given that although the origin of a good part of the countercultural movements is unequivocally white and middle class, the development of the counterculture was more transversal. Regarding this specific problem, we find later readings that expand the definition of the counterculture in a satisfactory way. Peter Clecak (1983) overcame the conception of the counterculture as a closed entity that arose from the culture of rejection of the Vietnam War (the so-called 'black-outs' that escape in different ways from mandatory enlistment) through the conception of the counterculture as a conceptual umbrella that allowed the articulation of various causes, among which he mentions

> The civil-rights movement, beginning with blacks but quickly encompassing such other racial minorities as American Indians, Hispanic Americans, and Asian-Americans; (2) the young, especially college students and disaffected intellectuals; (3) the peace and anti-war movements; (4) the poor; (5) women; (6) the human-potential movement; (7) prisoners and other 'outcasts'; (8) gays and lesbians; (9) consumers; (10) environmentalists; (11) the old; and (12) the physically different: the disabled, the very fat, the very tall, the very short. (Clecak, 1983, 18)

The counterculture was, for Clecak, an entity that absorbs all the causes that seek to break with the technocratic status quo, perceived as the common enemy of all of them in the last instance. By turning the counterculture into an umbrella term opens it up to new interpretations, the counterculture ceases to exist to appear *the countercultural*, an underlying condition to the struggles that seek structural change in American society.

A third problem that arose from the first stage of analysis of the counterculture and that will be central in this thesis is the universality of the concept of counterculture. Hall (1968), for example, defined from the very title of his article the American nature of the hippie movement, inextricable, in his opinion, from a series of conditioning factors that only occurred in the United States. Keith A. Roberts (1978) attempted to overcome this through a reconceptualization of the idea of counterculture, as he states that 'serious questions can be raised about that usage in that the American cultural radicalism of the last decade was confined largely to youth and was short-lived' (113). Roberts drew an axis from which to analyze potentially countercultural phenomena, depending on

whether they respond to circumstantial oppressions or sought a radical change in the values of society (123). Roberts differentiated between *counterculture* and *contraculture*, the former being the one that has as a systematic norm the denial of the values of the dominant culture, and therefore is dependent on it, while a counterculture has an independent value scheme and is morally self-sufficient. This allows the author to analyze various rebellious phenomena throughout history in a countercultural key, mentioning examples such as the Ranters in 16th century England. Although Roberts's characterization is incomplete and seems largely intended for the analysis of specific self-sufficient communities (from the Kibbutz to the Oneida community), it will be useful in subsequent analysis of the role of counterculture in Spain, which I will develop in the later section of the chapter. The axis that Roberts proposes allows us to differentiate between anti-Francoism (a circumstantial political movement that was born to alleviate the brutal oppression of a totalitarian regime located in time and space) and the potential countercultural movements that existed in Spain and that, although they shared circumstantial objectives with the anti-Franco regime, they sought a transformation of social uses on a larger scale.

The volatile and problematic nature of the term counterculture is also acknowledged in Elizabeth Nelson's work (1989). The author finds in the debate on the notion of counterculture an extension of the debate on culture itself, which, citing Raymond Williams, continues to be one of the most complex words in the English language (1983, 87). In Nelson's analysis, based on the so-called 'free press' that was published in the UK between 1966 and 1973, she finds evidence of a coherent set of beliefs unifying the counterculture, as she understands it as an offshoot of the anarchist project. She affirms

that counterculture's ultimate failure was made clear by being unable to 'create alternative structures or to positively define the ways and means of achieving the (ill-defined) alternative society, and this, along with hostility and co-option by the dominant society, destroyed the chances of achieving what may, in any case, have been an impossible dream.' (1989, 8). This connection between the anarchist roots and the nature of the counterculture will be central throughout the thesis. To a large extent, Nelson describes counterculture as a movement that, without identifying itself within the anarchist tradition, takes on many of the structures, both thought and social, inherited from the anti-authoritarian projects that had been developing since the nineteenth century in anarchism (34). I shall be returning to the idea of the counterculture as a direct descendant of anarchism that is not fully recognized in the doctrine, since this conception will be essential to analyze, in chapter 5, the position of the counterculture in Catalonia with respect to its own libertarian history. Nevertheless, Nelson's oeuvre is not as useful when trying to discern in which ways two ideas such as counterculture and subculture are disparate.

The work of Hebdige (1979) is particularly appropriate in differentiating countercultural phenomena from youth subcultures, with which they share some elements. Subcultures are characterized by subversion through the reappropriation of symbols of the dominant culture and free time understood as a moment of breakdown of the structures of social oppression.[11] The counterculture is characterized, according to Hebdige, by a

[11] Hebdige's notion of subculture has been criticized for being too male-centered, ignoring the female role and gender perspective. There are several illuminating texts on the subject, particularly McRobbie (1980). The same author will intersect the notion of subculture with the gender approach and the role of rock music in texts such as McRobbie (2000) or McRobbie (2013).

clearer political profile and a greater tendency to create alternative institutions that propose subversive ways of life for the dominant power (200-201). In a similar line of differentiation of the concepts of subculture and counterculture is Bernal Herrera (2006). He understands subculture as the set of alternative cultural practices to the dominant ones but that do not question the central values of the dominant culture in which they are inserted (275). Alternatively, Herrera offers a more open concept of counterculture. While acknowledging the popularity of the term in analyzing the 60s and its specific phenomena, Herrera points out that the idea of counterculture can be useful to 'analizar fenómenos especial y temporalmente lejanos si por él entendemos no un conjunto específico de prácticas culturales, sino un posicionamiento al interior de una formación cultural determinada. Prácticas que en cierto momento y lugar son contraculturales, en otras coordenadas pueden ser dominantes y viceversa' (274). Herrera's contribution is helpful when it comes to rethinking the idea of counterculture from an external point of view to the paradigm of the American counterculture of the 1960s, and reinforces the idea of the counterculture that does not function as a specific set of signifiers (from the mysticism to sexual libertarianism, from psychedelic rock to entheogenic drugs), but rather as a system that largely depends on the culture it opposes and to which proposes a political, social and cultural alternative.

Bennett (2014) also suggests a critical reevaluation of the concept of counterculture, due to its perceived breadth. The author assumes that it is a term of diffuse origin, but at the same time accepts its link with the 60s and the hippie movement, arguing that its development and the popularization of the term go parallel (19). Bennett also warns of the paradoxical nature of the political in the 1960s counterculture, given that 'the very

foundations of countercultural ideology were based on products and resources made possible through mass media and mass consumption - the latter both representing significant arms of late capitalism' (21). Bennett's criticism focuses on what he perceives as historical reductionism. He claims is that interpreting the counterculture of the 60s as an exclusive product of the white middle classes of the United States and the United Kingdom is a simplistic mistake, and he prefers to open the scope of what can be analyzed as a counterculture to more diverse phenomena both in their origin and in their nature. In his opinion 'the term 'counterculture' acts as a mechanism for describing points of convergence through which individuals can connect temporarily in the pursuit of specific goals. Countercultures are, in effect, fluid and mutable expressions of sociality that manifest themselves as individuals temporarily bond to express their support of and / or participation in a common cause' (26). The counterculture would therefore be a space for common participation for various cultural and political actors who share an essential rejection of the values of the dominant culture, and therefore, reducing it to a specific social class in a specific geographical space would be a mistake. Bennett's conception, as we will see later, opens a range of possibilities for understanding countercultural practices in Spain, as I will develop how the counterculture becomes a common symbolical space for a variety of individuals: There were American, German or Scandinavian hippies who assumed rural Spain as a pre-technocratic arcadian. There were also wayward children of the local bourgeoisies who tried to experiment with their bodies and their lives an alternative existence to the parent culture. Other collectives that were represented were anarchist militants who understood the counterculture as an evolution of the ideological project of the libertarian project and members of

marginalized groups in search of a common space where they can live their lives under less oppression.

Sheila Whiteley (2015), for her part, traces a full chronology of the 60s counterculture. She understands it a as a collision of the 'beat' culture heritage and the emergence of youth subcultures. This encounter derives in a forced politicization due to a desire to totally break with the structures of what they call the 'parent culture' (81). Whiteley recognizes the Anglo-American origin of the movement, and its initial link with the university middle class, but assumes the development of the movement in sectors outside it, acknowledging the existence of countercultural movements both in European liberal democracies (Denmark, Italy, West Germany), countries of the Soviet, Asian or South American bloc. When taking stock of the movement, Whiteley is particularly incisive about the marginalization of women within the counterculture, that despite the parallel emergence of women's liberation movements and the third wave of feminism, the countercultural movement maintained patriarchal structures and a hierarchy that sought to keep women in either maternal or sexualized roles (2000, 1-94). We shall return to her views in later sections, particularly in chapters 3 and 5, as both will deal with the gender structures underlying the apparatus of Spanish counterculture.

Another contribution comes from Suri (2009), who in 'The Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture' theorizes about the existence of an international counterculture. Proof of this is, according to the author, the reports of the CIA about the existence of a 'Restless Youth' that flourishes equally in liberal democracies (mentioning West Germany or Japan), communist countries (such as Czechoslovakia or Poland) or

countries of the then called third world (among which it mentions Argentina, Egypt or Tunisia).[12] Suri's conception of the countercultural, although not explicitly defined, encompasses a broad spectrum of rebellious and subversive practices that 'gave voice to criticisms of the basic social assumptions — about work, marriage, and family — connected to the politics of the era' (46). Suri's most interesting finding is the connection between the countercultural substrate and a generalized distress that goes beyond the rejection of technocracy and its forms. The counterculture would be a natural reaction to the policies of the Cold War, which directly or indirectly affected any nation on the planet, regardless of their affiliation in the conflict. The countercultural has in Suri an inescapable global nature. The ultimate enemy of the counterculture is technocracy, and the idea of government itself, rather than proximity to the United States or the Soviet Union in the Cold War conflict.

The sound of the counterculture

The analysis of counterculture has always reserved a privileged place for music. Leaving aside the contributions of Parsons and Yinger, which are a representation of a pre-political era of the analysis of counterculture, most of the canonical readings give music a central role. Roszak (1969) recognises in these genres a potential for enormous political dissent, 'not only in their lyrics but in the whole raucous style of their sound and performance' (291). 1960s countercultural media had already made a political reading of rock as a phenomenon. In the pages of the *Crawdaddy* fanzine, one of the most

[12] The full CIA report, written in 1968 and declassified in 2001 is a piece of research that fully ties in with the counterculture as an international concept, by mentioning how a series of similar ideological parameters were leading university students from very different political and social backgrounds to organized protest.

influential in the United States, it was proclaimed that 'rock is revolutionary per se' (Anderson 1968, 20). In previous pages of this thesis I mentioned the metonymic relationship between the counterculture of the 60s and the abstract idea of *counterculture*. A similar relationship occurs with the presence of rock as a fundamental element in the analysis of the 60s counterculture. An overwhelming majority of the texts that analyse the countercultural experience of the 1960s use rock music as one of its central components. Festivals like Woodstock, Isle of Wight and Altamont, bands like The Doors, The Rolling Stones, Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane, solo artists like Jimi Hendrix, Bob Dylan and Joni Mitchell, media like *Rolling Stone* and *Crawdaddy* and music critics such as Lester Bangs and Nick Kent populated the international imagination that intersected rock music and counterculture. It can be argued that most of those names, if not all, have survived to this day as signifiers that are directly associated with the idea of counterculture. Although the association between rock and the counterculture (or this belonging of the first to the creative apparatus of the second) may appear as something obvious to a contemporary analyst, it is worth asking how this relationship was articulated through time. In this thesis I will argue that there are two main factors that made this occur. The first of these, following Whiteley (1992), is that rock music, particularly in its progressive and psychedelic subgenres, contained a series of musical and lyrical elements that can be considered analogous to the values of the counterculture. Whiteley exemplifies this with songs such as Pink Floyd's 'Astronomy Domine', in which the outer-world lyrical iconography is matched with experimental sounds and a tendency towards trying to recreate 'the state of mind on a hallucinogenic trip' (31). The second element that links rock music and the counterculture has to do with the para-musical experience, this ranging from the aesthetics of the products to

the means of diffusion and distribution of rock music. This constituted a common language that reinforced the idea of the internationalism of the counterculture. As Richard Neville wrote, 'from Berlin to Berkeley, from Zurich to Notting Hill, Movement members exchange a gut solidarity, sharing common aspirations, inspirations, strategy, style, mood and vocabulary. Long hair is their declaration of independence, pop music their Esperanto and they puff pot in their peace pipe' (1971,14). Rock allowed to create a set of signifiers which quickly became international, regardless of their Anglo-American origin.

Rock music acquired progressively became progressively more complex, both in terms of lyrics and music. Cristopher Den Tandt points out that in early rock music exists an articulation of a novel language, sometimes as gibberish as subtle in its recreation of forbidden values for the dominant culture of the 50s but was rarely politically subversive in an explicit way (2001, n.p.). James E. Perone affirms that in the mid-1960s there was a transformation in the axis of influences of rock music in the United States, as rock became open to the influence of folk music, associated with political protest (2004, 21) and radically transforming the limits of what *could be sang* in rock and roll music. Simultaneously, new technological possibilities (the multitrack recording studio, the various editing effects or the distortion and wah-wah pedals) allowed the creation of a new expressive language for rock music. Another important factor of change was the growing popularization of the LP, which allowed artists to create works of greater duration and complexity. This opening of the expressive field for musicians gave rise to subgenres such as progressive rock or psychedelic rock, in which the traditional codes of the 3-minute pop song were broken, based on simple harmonies and simple

structures and with sparse lyrical complexity. These new forms of rock music broadened the expressive field both in musical and lyrical terms.

In her book *The Space Between the Notes* (1992), musicologist Sheila Whiteley explored the ways in which this evolution occurred in rock and how it interacted with the countercultural substratum. For this she proposed the concept of 'psychedelic coding', a series of common characteristics that she appreciates in the aforementioned subgenres that connect, through various timbral, rhythmic, melodic and rhythmic resources, musical creation with the entheogenic experience, 'symbolically representing their own search for alternative cognitive and social modes beneath and outside the dominant culture' (35). In her analysis of the music of Jimi Hendrix, an artist who largely personifies psychedelic rock, Whiteley (1990) finds elements such as the obsessive repetition of certain words, seeking a mesmerizing effect, the use of the fuzz, wah, echo, reverb and tremolo pedals to increase the aggressiveness and strangeness of the sound, the synesthetic associations of the lyrics or the high duration of good part of the songs as defining characteristics of the psychedelic coding of Hendrix' oeuvre. These elements, common in many of the rock artists most related to the counterculture will form part of a collective musical imaginary that will be common to the countercultural experience beyond the borders of the United States and the United Kingdom, as we will see in subsequent chapters. Artists like Hendrix, as well as bands like Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane or Pink Floyd experimented with similar sound technologies, such as multitrack recording or the use of pedals, creating an international language of musical expression that will be associated with the countercultural phenomenon.

Kramer argues that rock music constituted a kind of international political institution, that circulated

> within the mass-mediated channels of American empire during the 1960s and into the early 1970s [...] a stateless entity, more accurately thought of as a state of being or a state of becoming than a state in the conventional political sense. [...] Along with hallucinogenic drugs and new mores about sex, rock became a means of addressing, through culture, two of the core mysteries of democratic citizenship: how do disparate *persons* legitimately assemble into a people? And when they do, how does this affect them as individuals and a community. (2013, 31)

His reflection opens two avenues for us to interpret the heritage of the counterculture of the 60s in Spain. First, it indicates the vital importance that the mass distribution channels of the American cultural industry had for the spread of the countercultural ideology: most of the artists and bands that we associate with the counterculture saw their records released in Spain during the late Franco years, and although his success was limited, there was an industrial and commercial circulation of their singles and albums. Second, his conception of 'the republic of rock' implies a shared code that transcends political and geographical borders, but which, as we will see in later chapters, is adapted to the specific circumstances of each culture. Ultimately a paradox is articulated in Kramer, a duality that is present in any analysis of the heritage of rock and counterculture outside the United States. Rock is at the same time part of a cultural imperialism that the US imposes on other countries, but at the same time transmits counter-hegemonic practices, ideas and concepts that fight against it.

A trip in Spain: The Spanish reception of the counterculture

The study of counterculture, as we have considered in the introduction, acquires specific nuances when it comes to framing it in the Spanish context during the period of late Francoism. It is difficult to gauge the quantitative impact of the great milestones of the counterculture before Franco's death. Neither the Festival de la Cochambre nor the festival de Canet, both held in July 1975 had the dimensions of Woodstock, Altamont, or Isle of Wight Festivals. Nor did the records of Pau Riba, Vainica Doble or Jaume Sisa reach the commercial relevance in the national market that Jimi Hendrix or The Grateful Dead obtained in the US. The remarkable success of a publication like *Ajoblanco*, to which we will return in the fifth chapter, occurred after Franco's death. It is natural to understand, as Duncan Wheeler suggests, that it 'would be ridiculous to think that Spain could have experienced a musical counterculture equivalent to that of the UK or the US in the 1960s with Franco still alive' (2018, 135). However, it would be short-sighted to relegate the counterculture to a footnote in Spanish cultural history. The economic and geopolitical weight of Spain is very different to that of the United States, or even to surrounding countries such as France or the United Kingdom. The American counterculture flourished in an advantageous environment: the breadth of its university system, the heritage of the beat movement and the collusion of various contemporary cultural agents - from the civil rights movement to the music and publishing industries - allowed a movement that was born local, limited to certain environments in cities like San Francisco, New York or Los Angeles, to have amplification throughout the country. And, as Kramer (2013) argues, the powerful influence of the American culture industry and its dominance of the market in much of the world allowed the American

counterculture to expand internationally. Assuming this imbalance as a logical product of material conditions, it is necessary to describe how the concept of counterculture permeated in Spain throughout the late Franco period.

The appointment of Manuel Fraga as Minister of Information and Tourism of the Franco regime, in 1962, marks a turn in international prospects of the regime. The succession of appointments and legislative changes that took place in the ministry after the arrival of Fraga is one of the defining elements of late Francoism, and it is usually associated with greater laxity with respect to the possibilities of dissent in any type of cultural milieu, as we will see in chapter 5. In comparison with the scarcity of published texts and the difficulty of accessing the clandestine editions of the 1939-1962 period (Labrador Méndez 2018, 232), the will of international legitimation of the regime pushed a progressive relaxation in censorship, which will end up leading to the 'década prodigiosa' of the publishing world, in which 'se editó casi todo lo susceptible de editarse', as Vázquez Montalbán (1998, 184) says about the period 1965-1975. Delis Gómez (2017, 148-151) makes an excellent summary of the Spanish editions of authors linked to the counterculture, from Kerouac to Marcuse, proving that the Spanish publishing world was able to absorb the tendencies of the American counterculture with extraordinary speed.[13]

[13] It is particularly significant that one of the founding texts of countercultural thought, Marcuse's *The One-Dimensional Man*, had a translation into Spanish in 1965 (barely a year after its original publication) and another into Catalan in 1968. As if this was not enough, Alianza Editorial published in 1969 Antonio Escohotado's essay *Marcuse, Utopia y Razón*.

The first volume that was distributed in Spain about the countercultural movement was, as García Lloret points out, an Argentine translation of *The Hippie Papers*, a book originally edited by Jerry Hopkins which compiled various articles from the American underground press, in early 1969 (2006, 32). Shortly after, *La Venganza del Eros: 'Hippies' y 'Fans'* was published, written by Pablo Launtielma.[14] This essay, winner of the *Villa de Bilbao* Award in 1969, was the first Spanish bibliographical reference that aimed to carry out a comprehensive study on the countercultural movement, anticipating the translation of Roszak's volume by a few months. Just as Rozsak (1969), Reich (1971) and King (1972), *La venganza del Eros* is an essay with a marked hagiographic character. Launtielma uses psychoanalytic references to establish hippieism as a necessary new cultural paradigm of the 'pop generation' (1969, 21). This essay is several months ahead of the publication of the Spanish translation of Rozsak (1969), which had a remarkable circulation, with four editions before Franco's death. The diffusion of countercultural writing was relatively wide considering the political circumstances of the country. While mainstream media coverage of the hippie phenomenon was tabloid-like, essays written by journalists and cultural critics theorizing - and defending - countercultural ways of life were relatively easily to access and avoided censorship. The essays about counterculture published in Spain in the 1960s present still a notable lack of depth: they still conceive the counterculture as a phenomenon that was taking place abroad, particularly in the United States, and made no reference to the Spanish case. Carlos Gil Muñoz contributed to the field of study from a sociological point of view: the first study of the customs of the hippie community in Ibiza and Formentera, which he characterizes as a

[14] *Nom de plume* of Victorino del Pozo.

heterogeneous population group between 20 and 30 years old, of predominantly American origin, living communally and in many cases bringing children altogether (1970). In Gil Muñoz's opinion, hippie individuals will end up adapting their ways of life to the prevailing culture, but they will always be marked by distrust towards technocratic authorities (182). Gil Muñoz's is therefore first input to the literature on countercultural movements that took place in Spain, but it reduces its presence to individuals of other nationalities who settled in rural areas, not to a defined Spanish counterculture.

Until the publication of Roszak's *The Making of a Counterculture* in Spanish (1970), mentions of the counterculture in Spain never used this specific term: the word hippie had penetrated deeply in the media as well as in the publishing world.[15] The publication of the Spanish translation of Stuart Hall's *The Hippies: An American Moment* (1968) was witness to a terminological change. The translation by Isabel Vericat (1971) used the concept of counterculture (*Los hippies: una contracultura*) in the title, a term that was never used in Hall's text.[16] The publication of Roszak (1970) and Hall (1971) spurred the need to understand the role of the counterculture in Spain. Pons (1971, 10-11) affirms that the counterculture was leaving a mark on the mentality of Spanish youth through a reassessment of sensitivity, and that the absence of a public debate on the

[15] Of varying scholar interest and rigour, throughout the first half of the 1970s, a series of translations of Italian and French texts on hippieism were published in Spain, predominantly using this term, compiled by García Lloret (2006, 32). This would be the case of Arbasino (1971), Labin (1971), Maffi (1975) or Pivano (1975).

[16] The phenomenon of mentioning the idea of counterculture in the title but that it does not appear in the text occurred earlier in the article 'Los cínicos, una contracultura en el mundo antiguo' (Mirallés, 1970, 347-377), a text on Greek antiquity that neither develops nor defines the concept of counterculture that appears in the text.

counterculture was due, above all, to its anti-intellectual stance and its neglect of the written word. This mention of Pons leads to the assumption that part of the legacy of this early stage of the Spanish counterculture was not tangible, in the form of texts, manifestos or scholarly papers, nor even fanzines, comics or pieces of underground writing (which of course existed, as we will see throughout the thesis). The Spanish counterculture developed through vital and organizational forms that transcended the power of the written word, drawing or recorded music.

The growing countercultural experiences in Spanish territory spurred cultural critics to analyze the phenomenon once the decade of the 70s began. Salvador Salcedo published a monograph, divided between the November and December 1971 issues of the Valencian magazine *Gorg*, on 'Hippies y contracultura a València?'. It is a text of a sociological nature, deeply demystifying, which denies the possibility of a hippie community in the specific case of Valencia but not that of a hippie movement or trend in a sector of the youth (1971a, 18). For Salcedo, the self-identified as hippies in Valencia (more than a hundred) are individuals who channel their interest in drugs or sex through their membership in the *tribu*, but do not exert the organized political commitment that would turn hippieism into a counterculture (1971a, 22). Salcedo's vision, as shown in the harsh value judgments against the intelligence and morality of hippie individuals, is part of a Marxist tradition that perceived in the Spanish counterculture little political power a greater interest in hedonist enjoyment than for carrying out an organized society project (1971b, 23). Although Salcedo's sociological description of the vital and aesthetic uses of individuals close to the counterculture is interesting, his text falls into an essential misconception. Salcedo considers aesthetics and lifestyles as elements that are

alien to politics, suggesting, for example, that the communes prove that Valencian hippies do not reject society but flee from it cowardly, implying that their refusal to live with the rest of society indicates a lack of political credibility (1971b, 23).

By 1974 the term 'counterculture' was already in common use in Spain. Proof of this is the large number of articles that mention the term in the earliest issues of magazines such as *Ajoblanco* and *Vibraciones.* [17] The concept of counterculture was incorporated into these publications naturally, as one more element of an ideological apparatus that was largely abandoning the term *hippie* (more reductionist, more pejorative and more parodied from the cultural establishment). The underground press used counterculture and underground as synonymous terms to describe what had happened at the end of the previous decade in the United States but also to describe some intrinsically Spanish phenomena. [18] It was from 1973 onwards, with the launch of all the already mentioned magazines, along with that of *Star* and the short-lived but influential *El Rrollo Enmascarado* (1973) that countercultural phenomena acquired remarkable visibility and developed a network of cultural media to disseminate their content on a scale that transcended the underground. In parallel to the national distribution of media of a countercultural nature and the climate of growing freedoms (although still oppressive and violent) of the last years of Franco's regime, the countercultural media began to historicize itself through articles that reevaluated the development of the counterculture in Spain. Montañá made a chronicle of a countercultural life, understood

[17] Ribas (1974, 17), Rague (1975, 34) and Montañá (1974b, 20) are representative examples of this trend.
[18] Manuel Moreno and Abel Cuevas affirm that the first purely underground magazine appeared in Spain in 1973, mentioning *Apuntes Universitarios* as the pioneer, which would soon become *Ozono* (2020, 17). However, they argue that the countercultural influence had been developing in a variety of music, comic, architecture, film and contemporary art magazines since 1968.

as a marginal life, of rejection of mainstream values (1974a, 12-13). Articulated through an interview with the countercultural activist Salvador Picarol, Montañá describes the Barcelona counterculture as the spontaneous encounter of various dissident tendencies. The underground is presented as a 'way of life' (13), a milieu of expression for all dissident lifes that converge in the urban space, particularly those that imply marginality. Montañá's vision is that of a still romanticized counterculture, which has fed nostalgia for the milestones of the American counterculture in order to reproduce them.

The term counterculture began to be questioned in Spain from 1977 onwards. Issue 18 of *Ajoblanco* magazine included a dossier on 'La muerte de la contracultura', signed by, among others, Pepe Ribas, Luis Racionero, Fernando Savater, Gay Mercader and Picarol. Savater describes counterculture as a 'falsa ruptura de las costumbres', accusing it of being a trifling and irrelevant topic that gained popularity only in certain media (1977, 22), while Racionero affirms that although countercultural practices have moved away from the focus of social relevance, they are still valid ideas, in many cases necessary for the transformation of society (1977, 24). The *Ajoblanco* monograph focused on seeking to overcome the assumed idea of counterculture as a term that only made sense in the 60s and the first half of the 70s. The magazine proposed to recover the anarchist assembly movement as a substitute that would adapt better to post-Franco Spain (27-32). The texts presented in the issue have in common the demystification of the countercultural experience as an irrelevant extension of what the American counterculture had been.

This highly polemical monograph produced an immediate reaction in other media related to the countercultural movement, particularly in *Star* magazine (Harguindey, 1977, n.p.). *Star* published in the same year 1977 two chronicles of what the counterculture had meant in Barcelona and Madrid, the work of Pau Malvido and Oriol Llopis respectively. Malvido's narration responded directly to *Ajoblanco*, stating that '[e]s natural que los Racioneros y Ribas y cia de *Ajoblanco* piensen esto [referring to the death of counterculture], porque ellos mismos, gente procedente de ambientes intelectuales ricos y con vocación elitista, si fueron hippies lo fueron al estilo snob y si no lo fueron la idea que pudieron hacerse venía de amigos hippies ricos y de cuatro libritos yanquis de lo más académico y tonto' (1977, 8). Starting from this initial conception, Malvido reconstructs the evolution of the countercultural movement in Barcelona by establishing its origin in subcultures of hashish consumption in working-class neighborhoods, around 1964. Malvido points out that the transformation from a subcultural to a countercultural stratum began to take place in 1967, because of the desertion of a good part of the PSUC militants due to their ideological rigidity (23), and that around the same time many of these ex-militants began to experiment with living in communes (27). The Barcelona counterculture reached, in Malvido's words, a 'climax psicodélico' in 1971 and 1972, years of greatest popularity of the movement, greater circulation of entheogens and massive gatherings, such as the Granollers festival, held on May 22, 1971 (43). Malvido's narration shows a counterculture where a strong nucleus of individuals engaged with ways of life that were radically different from those of the prevailing culture during the Franco regime, contradicting *Ajoblanco*'s account of the counterculture as a playground for an idle bourgeoisie.

The same *Star* magazine published in 1977 similar texts by other authors to vindicate the countercultural heritage. Oriol Llopis offered a vision of the events from Madrid, a city theoretically less recognized for its countercultural substratum. He mentions that the cultural history and structure of the city made Madrid's counterculture have very specific characteristics, hinting at the influence of the US military bases, the condition of Madrid as a migratory destination for the Spanish rural population and 'el carácter madrileño', among others. [19] Llopis' narration shares with Malvido's the links between the previous subcultures of drugs and rock'n'roll and the establishment of a counterculture. Both texts are an experience-based answer to *Ajoblanco*'s demystifying discourse, rescuing the notion of an underground movement, more politicized and hippie in the case of Barcelona, but responsible for a relevant cultural fabric in both cases. The journalist Jesús Ordovás made a parallel, more historicist reading of urban countercultural experiences in *De qué va el rrollo* (1977), the latter term sometimes used as a synonym for counterculture in Spain. Ordovás depicted Spanish counterculture as a movement that was taking place exclusively in urban spaces as heir to the subculture of drug trafficking and consumption. According to Ordovás, there was an implicit ideological mixture in the practices of the counterculture, which mixed anti-authoritarian and libertarian elements with a tendency towards communitarianism inherited from hippism (1977, 14).

[19] 'el temperamento que desde siempre ha caracterizado a los madrileños... los 'pichis', esos casi mitológicos y legendarios macarrillos castizos fueron los tatarabuelos de los colóquelas que pululan hoy por Madrid, y desde luego no podían haber tenido antecesores más ejemplares, más picaros y más aleccionadores en cuanto a la forma de enrrollarse. El vacile por espíritu deportivo, por 'amor al arte' se viene practicando en la capital desde principios de siglo, nada menos. Y la sangre de los 'pichis' corre hoy por las venas de los que montan tenderetes en el Rastro, arman broncas rocanroleras en los Colegios Mayores y organizan la Cascorro Factory. Y esto influye en el ritmo, la cadencia, el estilo con el que se hacen las cosas...' (Llopis, 1977a, 5).

In the same year 1977, the debate on the counterculture transcended to fields that were closer to academia. Luis Racionero introduced an etymological debate on the understanding of the counterculture in Spain in his essay *Filosofías del underground*, opposing the use of 'contracultura' as its translation to Spanish due to perceived destructive connotations, and preferring the use of *underground*.[20] Racionero's essay ignores the development of the counterculture in Spain to focus on the ideological foundation underlying an international idea of the underground, forged from the Californian counterculture.[21] Its etymological differentiation, although founded on the nuance of complementarity that exists in 'counter' and that does not exist in 'against', did not penetrate deeply in most subsequent essays published in Spain about counterculture. For Racionero the underground 'es la tradición del pensamiento heterodoxo que corre paralela y subterránea a lo largo de toda la historia de Occidente' (1977, 10). He exemplifies his stance through the essay, naming authors of very diverse origin as countercultural references, such as William Blake, Lord Byron, Hermann Hesse, Carlos Castaneda, Patañjali or Plato. Racionero assimilates the idea of underground with the opposition to the mainstream forms of thought of each epoch of humanity. What we have come to know as a counterculture is, for Racionero, an extension of a contrarian tendency that has always existed in the cultural substratum of each era, hence the use of 'underground' to describe it. Rafael Dezcállar analyzes counterculture as a

[20] 'Utilizo el término underground por ser más amplio que el de contracultura. De hecho, el término contracultura es una desafortunada traducción española del inglés 'counter culture'. En inglés se diferencia entre 'counter' y 'against'; 'against' es contra, en cambio 'counter' significa contrapeso, equilibrar por compensación. En este sentido, el término inglés contracultura significa el intento de equilibrar la cultura occidental compensándola en aquellos aspectos cuya carencia está provocando su declive. En la traducción española la idea ha adquirido connotaciones de movimiento anticultural, de ir contra toda cultura y no sólo [contra] los aspectos nocivos de ésta…' (Racionero, 1977, 10)

[21] Malvido (2004, 12) points out that Racionero studied at the University of Berkeley in the late 1960s.

quintessentially American movement but does not deny the possibility of a Spanish counterculture (1984, 210). His critical study, pioneering in the context of Spanish academia, was based on Roszak (1969) and Lasch (1979). He understood counterculture as a continuation of Bakunin's anarchist project in some of its precepts, but he also observed that it became a project of personal self-realization for its members, incapable of carrying out projects that involve the collective. The very individualistic nature of certain countercultural precepts, as Jose Luis Aranguren also argued, was the ultimate cause of the inability to carry out transformative political projects on a bigger scale (1982, 17).

From the 2000s onwards, the Spanish counterculture began to be the object of academic analysis from the fields of sociology and cultural studies. Oriol Romaní and Mauricio Sepúlveda (2005) use a broad definition of what the counterculture is: 'expresiones culturales que de algún modo se enfrentan, explícita o implícitamente, a las corrientes culturales hegemónicas' (n.p.), introducing nuances to the discussion of the development of the counterculture in Spain, particularly in Barcelona's context. First, they conceive as countercultural a historical current that emerges at certain times to propose ways of life outside the hegemonic. Examples of this broad idea of counterculture would be the Goliards in the 12th century, the Italian *benandatani* of the 17th century or Catalan anarchism from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The idea of counterculture serves, therefore, to define any radical movement that seeks a subversion of the vital forms of a society (n.p.). Moreover, they simultaneously assumed the synonymy process that has occurred between the counterculture of the 60s and the term counterculture. Following Hall (1970), Romaní

and Sepúlveda suggested that the Catalan counterculture inherited a language from drug subcultures ('los grifotas'), some aesthetic and expressive forms of rock subcultures and, finally, some elements of politicization of the university students that had been linked to the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC) and other communist movements during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The characterization of Romaní and Sepúlveda helps us to understand the Catalan counterculture as a balance between an expressive pole, linked to aesthetics and musical uses, and an activist pole, linked to political activity.

In *Poesía, pop y contracultura en España* Antonio Orihuela accuses the Spanish counterculture of having been incapable of developing a cultural avant-garde and of lagging behind its surrounding countries, but simultaneously acknowledged a strong political substrate undervalued by revisionist tendencies (2013, 42). Orihuela characterizes the criticism received by the counterculture: 'Fumetas que aparentemente pasaban de todo, como les tacharán desde la prensa de izquierda, aunque lo único que pasaba era que sencillamente se estaban organizando de otra manera, de forma autónoma y autogestionaria y sobre otra visión del trabajo, la propiedad y las relaciones personales y colectivas' (106-107). For Orihuela, the counterculture is a laboratory of life and political experimentation in which the norms of what political action is and is not blurred, and hence the confusion they create for the traditional left, focused on material struggles and above all on ending with the Franco regime. Jaime Gonzalo makes a bittersweet reading of the communal life experiments in *Poder Freak vol.2*, whether urban (shared flats in precarious conditions of worship of 'pasotismo') or rural, but reaffirms that, with its miseries and errors, there was a Catalan

counterculture that imagined and tried to live in accordance with its discontent with the prevailing social values (2011, 356-369). For Labrador Méndez the counterculture of the 1970s was the common space of dissent for the generation of the transition, assuming in this nomenclature the existence of a transitional generation that lived their youth in the period between 1968 and 1986 (2018, 129). Beyond the debatable temporal breadth of his definition, in this thesis I will argue that the counterculture is defined through a break with the expectations of the dominant culture, be it politically, aesthetically, or musically. The reading of Labrador Méndez implies an assumption of the Spanish transition as the defining experience for that generation, relegating any (previous) countercultural experience prior to a prologue of the transition.

Any phenomenon of popular culture of the second half of the twentieth century is going to be overshadowed by American cultural imperialism, and the counterculture of the 60s was not going to be the exception, given its theoretical and aesthetic Californian coinage. However, analyzing any countercultural phenomena that takes place in Spain as an imitation of what happened in the United States or England would be limiting and unfair. The careers of the artists and the cultural scenes that I will analyze in the following four chapters show sufficient substance not to be conceived as simple subaltern products of a foreign metropolis, nor as visceral reactions to the oppression of a dictatorial regime. Jordi Costa affirms that counterculture was not 'un esbozo de la Transición, sino la puesta en marcha de una revolución interior capaz de dejar más huella en lo íntimo que en lo público' (2018, 32). Appearing at a time of growing artistic expressive possibilities, the Spanish counterculture engaged with new creative technologies, new ways of doing politics through music and, ultimately, new possibilities

of developing its own discourse, whose imprint not only resonates intimately, but in an elaborate social fabric, as we will see in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 2: LOS BRINCOS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPANISH POP-ROCK

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to locate the work of Los Brincos in the cultural and historical context in which it was conceived and produced, and to evaluate in which ways it was influenced by the counterculture. To do this, I will be focusing on three fundamental aspects: the development of authorship in pop-rock music in Spain in the early 1960s; the process of hybridation between rock'n'roll and Spanish culture that took place in the mid 1960s; and the process of assimilation of avant-garde elements in *Contrabando* (1968) and *Mundo, Demonio, Carne* (1970). My goal, then, is to illustrate how Los Brincos were an innovative force in the development of Spanish pop-rock, firstly by developing an Spanish-accented variation on pop-rock music, and secondly by defying the music industry conventions by introducing experimental elements in their music and image. In what follows, I will identify and explore the innovative elements in the career of Los Brincos jointly with the development of the Spanish pop-rock, ultimately accounting how they kickstarted a process of assimilation of countercultural elements in it.

Generally, Spanish pop-rock music has been characterised by the process of integration of its very own cultural heritage with the English-speaking tradition of rock'n'roll music. This complex dialogue between the transnational nature of rock ideology and the specificities of the Spanish music tradition is parallel to a similarly complex exchange between the American-born notion of counterculture and the political and cultural

particularities of Spain in the 1960s and 70s. Although the majority of the pop-rock music historians, such as Irles (1997) or Domínguez (2002), acknowledge the fundamental role of Los Brincos in the development of pop-rock music in Spain, not many have analysed in depth the unique position of the band in the Spanish music culture of the 1960s. For this reason, questions that concern me in this chapter are: in which ways was the development of early pop-rock music in Spain different from the rest of the Western world? What were Los Brincos' distinctive musical, aesthetic and cultural elements? What was the role of Los Brincos in the development of this uniqueness? How were Los Brincos influenced by the international counterculture? Does their use of countercultural elements turn them into countercultural music acts? The answer to these questions will be useful for a critical understanding of the history of pop-rock music in Spain.

This chapter will be divided in three sections. The first will focus on the establishment of Spanish pop-rock music in the early 1960s. I will outline its structure considering the role of musicians, industry members, journalists and fans, underscoring its imbrication with the cultural fabric of late Francoism. The second section will focus on the exceptionality of Los Brincos, from the very first circumstances of its creation to the ways in which they contributed to establish a uniquely Spanish pop-rock music and how they contributed to change the music industry conventions contributing to establish the idea of bands as creators. The third section will be centred in how the evolution of the band from 1966 onwards enacts a break-up with the conservatism of most of the Spanish pop-rock music and a progressive adoption of the precepts of the hippie counterculture, particularly in their albums *Contrabando* (1968) and *Mundo, Demonio, Carne* (1970).

The story of Los Brincos will be, therefore, read as a case study that exemplifies the development of a cultural industry and a process of adoption of countercultural elements within a musical project in the context of late Francoist Spain. In this chapter there will also be a discussion of the ways in which Spanish pop-rock music differentiated itself in this early stage from its British and American counterparts, while understanding these as the metropolis for the genre. Los Brincos imbricated a quintessentially Spanish imagery with the Anglo-American rock aesthetics, coinciding with what the sociologist Motti Regev has coined as *aesthetic cosmopolitanism* (2007, 124). This concept alludes to the adaptation of the central values of rock music to the specific language, social and political conditions and previous musical context of each country. [22] Finally, I will explore how this process of assimilation of musical and aesthetic elements linked to the counterculture goes hand in hand with the growing influence of countercultural theory in Spain.

Los Brincos before Los Brincos and the subcultural stage of Spanish pop-rock

Although the first rock'n'roll records in Spain were released almost simultaneously with most of the surrounding European countries, the diffusion and popularity of these was limited to certain social classes and specific cities. The impoverishment of the Spanish middle and working classes in comparison with their French, Italian, German or British equivalents (Tezanos 1978, 10), the limited ownership of record players in Spanish

[22] 'Understanding how aesthetic cosmopolitanism is socially produced from within ethno-national culture entails looking at cultural producers as agents whose cultural work is structured by the simultaneous position they occupy in at least two fields of cultural production: the global field of the art form in question and the field of the ethno-national culture in which they are situated.' (Regev 2007, 127-28)

homes (Fundación Foessa 1975, 975) and the strong entrenchment of traditional Spanish genres, such as copla, in the Spanish working-class psyche[23] (Vogel 2017, 65), limited the expansion of the global phenomenon of rock'n'roll in Spain in the late 1950s. Nicolás Ramos Pintado (2007) gathered together and ranked the royalties generated by songs during the 1950s and early 1960s. [24] In this data we can find the prevalence of copla (Juanito Valderrama, Antonio Molina, Concha Piquer, Rafael Farina), pasodoble (Pepe Blanco, Carmen Sevilla, Estrellita de Palma, Pepe Mairena), bolero (Antonio Machín, Los Panchos, Lucho Gatica), along with a revival of cuplé (particularly thanks to the figure of Sara Montiel and the 1957 film *El Último Cuplé*) and some occasional mambo and ranchera hits. English-speaking successful songs were extremely unusual, except for 1956' Doris Day's 'Whatever Will Be, Will Be (Que Sera, Sera)', an early pop hit that featured in the soundtrack for Alfred Hitchcock's *The Man Who Knew Too Much*. The first rock'n'roll-related hit record in Spain was 1957's Elvis Presley's 'Hound Dog', which was the nineteenth most successful song of the year. The first English-speaking artist to appear regularly in the hit parade was the crooner Paul Anka, particularly with songs such as 'Diana', 'Lonely Boy' and 'You Are My Destiny' (the three of them in the top 10 of the year 1959) or 'Pity, Pity' and 'Adam and Eve' (both reaching number 1 in the hit parade in 1960). The early reception of rock'n'roll-influenced music in Spain was centred in the most melodic subgenres, particularly doo-wap and traditional pop, avoiding upbeat subgenres. The influence of African-American artists such as Chuck

[23] For a further analysis of the importance of copla in Spanish popular culture see Manuel Vázquez Montalbán 1970's *Crónica sentimental de España* and 2000's *Cancionero general del franquismo*.

[24] This data is particularly useful to measure the real popularity of songs and artists, as it includes not only records sold (as we have mentioned, the majority if the Spanish homes did not own a record player at that time) but also radio plays and popular *verbenas* performances, giving a wider picture of the musical taste of the Spanish population at that time.

Berry, Little Richard or Fats Domino was not usually acknowledged, whilist white artists such as Anka, Neil Sedaka or Bill Haley sold better and were more appreciated (Casas 1972, 31).

In the early 1950s Spain had started to slowly enter the international community after more of a decade of autarchy. The concordat signature with the Vatican and the Pact of Madrid with the United States, both taking place in 1953, would define the key political alliances that would define the cultural policies of the subsequent years. Late-Francoism Spain reinforced its condition of ultra-catholic, anti-communist stronghold while slowly opening its economy to USA's consumerism (Delgado 2003, 239). María Kouvarou argues, when analysing the reception of rock'n'roll in West Germany, France, Greece and Italy that 'the political relationship of these countries to the USA is reflected in the ways in which its cultural products were received' (2014, 3). From 1957 onwards Spain started to incorporate rock'n'roll into its musical landscape in a mild-mannered way, as one of the American cultural commodities that entered Spain in the so-called era of *aperturismo*. The primal reading of rock'n'roll music in Spain was marked by the change in conception that was made of American culture in Spain as of the signature of the Pact of Madrid. Sociologist Raymond Williams coined the concept of 'structures of feeling' to understand the dynamic perception of the cultural phenomena, the immediate -and variable- response of the public when approaching the manifestations of emergent culture (1977, 33). The reception of rock'n'roll in Spain was biased by its inherently vertical distribution. The availability of rock music was extremely dependant on factors of class -such as the access to record players- and geographic position, with those living in Madrid or Barcelona having an easier access to radio stations, records and gigs. But it

was also biased due to the general and ever-changing perception of the United States as a closer ally of the Franco regime. The arrival of rock'n'roll coincided with the advent of popular American companies, such as Coca-Cola, with the installation of the American military bases in Rota, Morón, Zaragoza and Torrejón de Ardoz, and with the food distribution of the Ayuda Social Americana.[25] The public perceived and felt rock'n'roll as part of a continuum of just-arrived American influence, exotic, threatening, but, at the same time, encouraging, as it was tangible evidence of the end of the economic and cultural isolationism of early Francoism. Simultaneously, as Daniel Fernández de Miguel states, in the Francoist elites 'los valores, estereotipos y clichés sobre los cuales se había basado el extendido antiamericanismo de los años cuarenta, quedaron apartados, y la imagen del país comenzó a asociarse a otros valores, estereotipos y clichés completamente opuestos' (2009, 219). The arrival of rock'n'roll in Spain was linked to a reframing of USA's culture among the Spanish public.

Early Spanish pop-rock was also marked by its prevalence among young upper middle classes of Madrid and Barcelona. A horde of bands, nicknamed *conjuntos*, emerged in the most elitist private and religious secondary schools, precisely the setting in which the children of the economic elites, close to the Francoist regime, were educated. [26] Paloma Otaola points out the fundamental role of schools such as the Instituto Ramiro

[25] Probably one of the most visible elements of the American-Spanish cooperation during the 1950s, the *Ayuda Social Americana* came in the form of food distribution for the disadvantaged and the school kids, particularly aliments such as milk powder or American cheese (Mínguez Goyanes 1997, 421-462).

[26] The use of the word 'conjuntos' instead of 'bandas' or 'grupos' –which have become the two most used terms to translate band in Spanish was one of the definitory elements of the earliest pop-rock bands during the 60s in Spain. This is evidenced in multiple articles, such as, for example, Chao (1970, 46). The word 'conjunto' was linked to the idea of the pop-rock band as performer of a standard repertoire, and became progressively outdated during the 1970s, as most of the Spanish bands started writing their own songs.

de Maeztu and the Colegio Nuestra Señora del Pilar in the difussion of rock'n'roll during the late 50s and early 60s (2014, n.p.).[27] The most important American rock'n'roll artists were either members of an ethnicity that had been brutally discriminated (Chuck Berry, Little Richard and Fats Domino) or members of the white underclass (Elvis Presley and Jerry Lee Lewis). The earliest steps of rock'n'roll in Spain have a very different social signification if compared with their British or American counterparts. Micky, singer of the then-popular Micky y los Tonys, observes in an interview with Kolega that rock'n'roll was not accessible for the working class because 'no estaba entonces para comprar discos, primero porque no llegaban aquí, nosotros los conseguíamos fuera, y segundo porque aborrecían el inglés' (1990, 53). The singer perceived that, in comparison with later movements (such as late 70s rock urbano), working classes did not participate in early Spanish beat. The main factors for this were the difficulty to buy records (which had to be in most cases imported), the huge price of electrical instruments and amplifiers and the lack of knowledge of English language. In the early 1960s these barriers could only be overcome by members of the social and economic elites of Madrid and Barcelona. Comparatively, rock'n'roll music in the United States was a phenomenon that appeared within marginalised population and was expanded, later reaching white middle and upper classes, through the commercial apparatus of music industry. Spanish rock'n'roll appeared initially as a commodity that was only accessible to a privileged minority, a sign of cultural capital among a certain part of the youth. Sarah Thornton coined in her analysis of the dance music scene in the United Kingdom in the late 1980s

[27] These schools were –and are- located in the centre of Madrid, and count as part of their alumni with some of the most important political and cultural figures in the history of recent Spain, including two Spanish Prime Ministers. (Forcada, 2012, n.p.). They served at the same time as meeting points for young musicians and, in the weekends, as precarious venues for the first festivals and concerts.

and early 1990s the concept of 'subcultural capital', arguing that subcultures were inherently hierarchical, as their members try to escape from the notion of being part of an 'undifferentiated mass' and establish internal divisions in the power structure of the subculture itself (1995, 201). A double hierarchy appears in the case of early Spanish pop-rock. Firstly, the inherent class division that exempted those who did not belong to a social and economic elite from being part of that music scene. Secondly, a division within members of the same social class, embodied in the division of those who perform a role within the subculture and those who are alien, rejected or uninterested about it. Thornton mentions that 'just as books and paintings display cultural capital in the family home, so subcultural capital is objectified in the form of fashionable haircuts and carefully assembled record collections' (1995, 202). The access to the latest American and British hit records and the capacity to acquire electric instruments and amplification supposed an insurmountable class barrier among those interested in rock'n'roll music in this earliest stage of Spanish pop-rock scene.

The members of Los Brincos were not alien to the specificities of the early Spanish rock'n'roll: Fernando Arbex, the drummer and leader of the band came from a military family, with his father, Jose María Arbex y Gusi, being an army colonel, while Juan Pardo (the lead singer of the first incarnation of the band) was the son of an admiral of the Spanish navy. They are characters that represent the exceptionality of rock'n'roll music in Spain: privileged children of the military elite that had access to records that were not easy to obtain, and at the same time rebels that defied the conventions of their families through a music that was perceived as a potential negative influence for their promising professional career. This generational defiance is illustrated through an anecdote about

Fernando Arbex that appears in Campoy (2006, 15), in which it is narrated that Arbex's father reacted to his son's decision to abandon his Law studies to pursue a musical career by smashing his guitar against the wall. Paradoxically, Arbex's musical vocation had been previously instigated by his family, as he mentioned in an interview with Rosado (1967, 34). This contradiction is rooted in the conception of popular music as an acceptable pastime but a profligate occupation.

Social class establishes a clear distance with the American or British counterparts in terms of the generation of the habitus of pop-rock in Spain: Rock'n'roll music is not perceived as a sign of class resistance through the consumption of rhythms of African American origin, but as a sign of distinction among a privileged sector of the Spanish youth. The generation that shaped British beat had as a common thread the importance of art schools in their education, institutions that, due to the system of scholarships allowed an interclass dialogue (Eno 2015, n.p.). In contrast, the generation that started rock'n'roll in Spain, and more specifically in Madrid has as a common nexus the belonging to a certain economic and political elite that used music as a sign of generational identity that defied the conventions of their parents' generation. While the British system allowed that the experience of the bohemian life, central to the rock music ideology (Frith 1981, 77), could be shared by individuals of a variety of social origins, the idiosyncrasy of the early 1960s in Spain, its music industry and more particularly, the diffusion and consumption of rock'n'roll music limited the experience of this musical genre and its *way of life* to a very specific social group. [28] At this stage of

[28] The importance of the previously aforementioned American military bases in the development of English-speaking influenced music in Spain is highly acknowledged by music historians in Spain, such as

development rock'n'roll culture in Spain has not reached a countercultural stage: it constituted a subculture of like-minded individuals that worshiped hard-to-access cultural goods. Their culture is not oppositional and does not confront politically the establishment: it only offered a set of rebellious signifiers within the consumerist society of the early 1960s, specifically for a sector of youth who had enough purchase power to spend in mass-produced entertainment.

The members of Los Brincos belonged to a well-positioned social sphere, with contacts in the media industry that allowed them to kickstart their careers in a privileged position, as Juan Pardo had already worked as a playback actor in *Escala en Hi-Fi*, among other programmes of RTVE (Campoy 2006, 17). [29] Before Los Brincos existed as a band, at the very early age of 18 Fernando Arbex, with his previous project (Los Estudiantes) had already released an EP with Philips, and Juan Pardo had the chance to release an EP in 1963 (*Juan Pardo y su conjunto*, with Los Relámpagos as his backing band) before he briefly joined Los Pekenikes as lead singer, one of the very first successful pop-rock bands in Spain. [30] Antonio Morales, known as *Junior* had also previously been the lead singer of Los Pekenikes, at the extremely precocious age of 17, recording up to three EPs

Domínguez (2002). Cities such as Zaragoza (with an American military base since 1958) or Torrejón de Ardoz (with an American military base since 1953) had a privileged access to import records through young American soldiers that brought rock'n'roll records to Spain with them.

[29] This programme was, as Carreras Lario (2011, 29) points out, pioneer in music chart television programmes in Spain, being broadcasted between 1961 and 1967. In it, a cohort of young actors mimicked the latest chart hits, in a similar vein to the American program *Your Hit Parade*, which was broadcasted between 1950 and 1959.

[30] The case of Los Pekenikes is one of the most interesting in the early history of Spanish pop-rock and worth of research on its own. Mainly instrumental, many of the most important artists in the history of rock music in Spain spent a time with the band, which constantly fluctuated in its membership. Usually compared to the British band The Shadows, this band amalgamated rock influences with diverse folklores, baroque music and bubblegum pop, creating a very distinctive sound. The work of Martín Sequeros explores the relevance of the band (2015).

with the band. Three of the founding members had a remarkably premature recording career. The only exception was the bass player, Manolo González, aged 20, whose brother Agustín was already a popular actor. It can be argued, therefore, that within the field of Spanish pop-rock, the members of Los Brincos had a privileged position before the establishment of the band itself, and in many ways can be treated as a supergroup *avant la lettre*.

The habitat of this early stage of rock'n'roll in Spain, which we can date between 1958 and 1964, was centred in a small circuit of venues, namely colleges and secondary schools of Madrid, the radio programme *Caravana Musical*, the magazine *Fonorama* and a fortnightly festival that took place in a variety of theatres of Madrid, most famously in the *Teatro Circo Price,* between 1962 and 1964 (Rodríguez Centeno, 2020, 95). This early stage took place before the real diffusion of rock'n'roll music through all the country, which corresponded, in many ways, with the establishment of Los Brincos themselves. With the previously mentioned exception of el Dúo Dinámico (Otaola Rodríguez, 2012, n.p.), who transcended this environment and had some nationwide hits on the radio, early Spanish rock'n'roll was a mostly local phenomenon that had very limited exposure in the media outside of Madrid and Barcelona, the cities that concentrated the upper-middle and upper classes that were instrumental in the development of rock'n'roll in Spain. These social sectors had, as Otaola González (2014, 164) points out, the capacity to travel outside Spain, obtain import records and, in general, have a wider picture of the ways in which youth culture was developing outside Spain, and more specifically in Paris, London and Rome. Miguel Ríos draws a depiction of the *matinées* in the Teatro Circo Price in which he acknowledges this early stage of subcultural development,

highlighting how certain individuals were worshipped as influential trendsetters ('aristocracia rockera'), and how certain aesthetic elements were fetishized as symbols of belonging to the subculture, mentioning Fernando Arbex' blue suede shoes with a 10 cents *dime* in the top of the shoe, a metaphor of his devotion towards American culture (2013, 45). The matinées had a mixed reception in the press. Specialized media such as *Fonorama* or *Discóbolo* reported the events in articles such as 'Price Music Hall' (Nieto 1963, 28-29)[31] or 'Price Rock-Twist' (Salaverri 1963, 21-22). Salaverri praised the general quality of all the performers, which he considered to be able to triumph internationally, mentioning Mike Rios, Los Relámpagos and Los Gatos Negros, and the fact of being a 'festival sin relleno' in which none of the acts sounded amateur. Jesús García de Dueñas analysed the phenomenon in the progressive-leaning weekly magazine *Triunfo,* celebrating 'una explosión tal de vitalidad liberada poco frecuente por nuestros paralelos, a excepción del fútbol' (1962, 23).

Nevertheless, there were some extremely negative reactions to the rock'n'roll phenomena, particularly in the daily newspaper *ABC,* as mentioned by Juan Carlos Rodíguez Centeno (2020, 84). This media had already heavily attacked the rise of rock'n'roll in neighbouring countries, particularly in Italy and France. José Cortés Cabanillas, the then correspondent of *ABC* in Rome, had labelled rock'n'roll as 'el himno oficial del gamberrismo' (1956, 60). Early Spanish rock'n'roll concerts received similar critiques in articles such as 'Una perversidad más' (González-Ruano 1963, 88), in which

[31] The case of Nieto's article illustrates the social inbreeding of the scene, as he was both organiser of the events and laudatory journalist that chronicled them. He was also the director of the radio programme *Nosotros los jóvenes* in Radio España, and his brother played drums in Los Pekenikes.

the author qualifies the rock'n'roll-induced dancing as '*bailes [que] atentan a la dignidad humana*'. Rodríguez Centeno highlights 1964 as the year in which the growing tension that was taking place in the rock'n'roll events turned into riots, mentioning the last Circo Price concert (before its closure by the Francoist authorities), in which there were 'destrozos en el mobiliario público, sobre todo la rotura de semáforos y farolas' (2020, 96). Concern about potential street riots had previously grown in the government, particularly because, although in the 1940s the brutal repression had eradicated any public presence of political or social opposition to the Franco regime, the 1950s saw a change in the status quo. Civil boycotts against the rise of the price of the tramway ticket in Barcelona led in 1951 to the first civil outages since the end of the Civil War in 1939, being this symbolically read as the end of the *postguerra* period (Colomer 1987, 86). Further street confrontations, such as the 1957 riots in Barcelona, paved the way for major-scale protests, such as the emblematic 1962 Asturian miners' strike, which kickstarted the social resistance against the Francoist regime (Vega García 2002, 17). Although the intentions of the revolts produced in the early Spanish rock'n'roll concerts were totally different and did not have an obvious political component, it can be said that their very existence is the result of a climate of confrontation with the factual power unconceivable years before. Despite this, the political left was publicly critical of the rise of Spanish pop / rock. Manrique (2012, n.p.) indicates that the matinées drew criticism from progressive-leaning figures such as the theatre director Adolfo Marsillach, who described the Circo Price's audience as 'rebeldes sin causa'. Vázquez Montalbán would later illustrate the position of traditional Marxist left-wing when describing early Spanish pop music as 'aparente liberación de importación […] afinada por los bolsillos de los papás' (1974, 369). Even in a period in which the American influence had started to lose

part of its negative connotations among the elites, there were still sectors, both in the political right and left that mistrusted rock'n'roll as a cultural phenomenon.

At that stage of Spanish pop-rock history bands recorded mainly 4-song EPs that contained covers of classic songs of the Spanish repertoire or adaptations of American, French, British or Italian hit songs[32]. The record company managers had almost unlimited power over the repertoire, and it could vary from an adaptation of the latest American rock'n'roll hit to a pasodoble song, but very rarely a song of their own, or not at least until the band had proved to be profitable enough for the company. Another important feature of this early era of the rock'n'roll development in Spain was the scarcity of the electric instruments, which made that many musicians -among them, as seen in Campoy (2005, 46), future members of Los Brincos such as Fernando Arbex or Manolo González- had to build their own drum sets, electric guitars, and bass guitars. The poor sound quality of manufactured instruments and amplifiers, the subpar recording studios, and the lack of understanding of rock'n'roll by technicians and producers made the first EPs primitive, raw and unpolished in comparison with their American, Italian and French counterparts. This discourse of vindicating themselves as pioneers was essential in the early self-affirmation of the band. Aware of their privileged social background, the members of Los Brincos, and particularly Arbex, rewrote their story as musicians in ways in which they could defend their authenticity –in the sense explained by Auslander in his essays about live performance in rock music (1999, 70)[33]-

[32] Examples of these are Micky y los Tonys covering Ray Charles' 'I Got a Woman' ('Ya lo tengo todo', 1963), Los Pantalones Azules covering Les Chausettes Noirs' 'Daniela' (1960), Los Pekenikes covering Cliff Richard's 'Look in Love' ('Mírame', 1963) or Los Milos covering Adriano Celentano's 'Pitagoras' (1962).

[33] 'The concept of rock authenticity is linked with the romantic bent of rock culture, in which rock music is imagined to be truly expressive of the artists' souls and psyches, and as necessarily politically and

as performers, as musicians whose passion for rock'n'roll music transcends material limitations such as having to build their own instruments. The concept of authenticity, inherited in rock music from a romantic conception of art (Keightley 2001, 136) and reshaped by the influence of folk music (Frith 1981, 159) is one of its ways to justify a genre that is, in many ways, a mass-produced commodity. The *pioneer* discourse enacted by Arbex and González by reaffirming the difficulties that they had to face to have a career in music is a way to proclaim their authenticity and reject judgements that considered Los Brincos a manufactured product and *niños de papá*.

This period provided recordings that were mostly industry-directed and in which the creative freedom of the band was very limited, due to the power of the recording companies to choose the repertoire and record it in conditions that guaranteed that the final product was going to be cheap to produce (Regev 1994, 87). At this stage we cannot speak of a field of production where the musicians were regarded as creators, but more of a purely industrial structure where the artistic decisions were made by industrial standards, and where the final arrangement was decided following the Tin Pan Alley formula (Pérez Colman and Del Val 2013, n.p.). For many musicians this methodology was frustrating, as it both restricted their creative capacity and the final artistic result, particularly due to the constraining exigencies of the record labels of recording as cheaply and quickly as possible. The structure of the Spanish record industry before 1964 was underdeveloped in comparison to its counterparts in other

culturally oppositional. (…) the fact that the criteria for rock authenticity are imaginary has never prevented them from functioning in a very real way for rock fans.'

European countries of the same size, and the future members of Los Brincos, who had grown up admiring artists from countries were the industry was fully developed aspired to escape this limiting paradigm. [34] It could be argued, in any case, that this earliest stage of the adaptation of rock and roll to the Spanish case responds to a general process of *Americanisation* of European culture taking place all across Western Europe (Kouvarou 2015, 4), and, even if the adaptation of Spanish culture to a new paradigm was slower than that of France, Italy or West Germany (where rock'n'roll was already a mass phenomenon by the late 50s) Spain was following that same path.

Los Brincos and the pop-rock band as an author

The origin of Los Brincos comes, precisely, from the intention of two very ambitious musicians, Arbex and Pardo, of transcending the underdeveloped Spanish industry. Campoy mentions that they were 'obsesionados por crear una banda que consiguiera cambiar la forma de entender la hasta entonces, primitiva industria musical española' (2006, 27). As Marc (2013, 120) states, there was a clear intention behind the creation of Los Brincos of transforming Spanish pop-rock music, as they were already, even if they were young, very experienced musicians who had an important background both in the recording studio and playing the Madrid live circuit. As we have already mentioned, Juan Pardo, Fernando Arbex and Junior had already released EPs with Los Pekenikes and Los Estudiantes, respectively. A widespread comment about Los Brincos is to consider them *The Spanish Beatles*, due to their simultaneous popularity and their

[34] Particularly relevant to this extent is the fact that Los Pekenikes, in the era in which Juan Pardo was their lead singer, recorded and released the first cover version of The Beatles in Spain, 'Ella te quiere', a cover of 'She Loves You' that was released as early as in 1963, inaugurating a phenomenon that would be very usual in the subsequent years among Spanish beat bands.

relative musical similarity. We have seen in the previous section that in any case, the social origin of both bands is very different, considering that all members of the Liverpudlian band (except John Lennon) shared a working-class origin and that for them music was, in many ways, a way to escale the social ladder. The fact that Los Brincos appeared precisely in 1964 is particularly symbolical: emblematic date for the Franco regime, this year marked the celebration of the so-called '25 años de paz', ephemeris of self-affirmation of the Francoist elite, and of the figure of Franco himself (Ellwood 1987, 225). Amid the whitewashing campaign of a dictatorial regime, which aspired to maintain an image of a moderate peacemaker both internally and in its international projection, Spanish pop-rock found a cultural gap in which it was allowed to exist without being excessively dangerous for the political powers. In this context, Los Brincos were a perfect band: modern and international enough, as well as Spanish enough in their image and songs to reinforce the idea that Spain was prepared for pop culture, while at the same time the slogan of 'Spain is Different' was still valid.

The circumstances about the creation of the band are essential to understand Los Brincos. They were, at the same time, a band that was created *within* the music industry, but also aspired to rewrite and change the ways in which the bands interacted with that music industry. If The Beatles were a major force in rewriting the role of pop-rock musicians as auteurs, as they became in 1964 the first major band to produce LPs only with songs of their own composition (Lewisohn 1988, 47), there was a clear ambition in Los Brincos to be concerned not only with the execution of the songs, but to act as a crucial force in the whole creative process. The nature of the image of Los Brincos, that we will analyse later in this chapter, is seen as part of the creative process, inseparable

from the band itself as a cultural artifact. As Alonso (2005, 233) points out, this process is essential to consolidate the project as the first step in the professionalization of the Spanish rock'n'roll –from there on, the 'Spanish beat'-, as they are the first band that presents a fully developed product that aspires to reunite both the Spanish tradition and the English-speaking modernity. [35] There is a very significant quote of Juan Pardo to this respect: 'la diferencia entre nuestro lanzamiento, premeditado y preparado, y el de muchos artistas actuales, radica en que nosotros formábamos parte de esa maquinaria. Nuestra fue la idea, las canciones, la imagen… todo.' (Campoy, 2006, 32). This self-awareness and involvement of the band as a creative entity that transcends the vertical nature of the industry defies the conventions of the pre-Spanish beat era and rewrites the role of pop-rock musicians. If bands of the same period such as Micky y los Tonys, Los Relámpagos or solo artists such as Mike Rios still conceived themselves as interpreters or adapters, Los Brincos played an integral role not only in the creation of the songs, but also in the marketisation of the band.

This lack of differentiation between artists and their image already appeared in the very first references to the band in the Spanish music magazines: in the issue of August 1964 of *Fonorama* (a bimonthly publication that focused on the entanglement between music and youth culture) appears a mysterious advert: 'Una idea magnífica: la capa española se pone de moda entre la juventud. Un conjunto nuevo –que va a dar mucho que hablar- inició la moda. Tendrá un éxito enorme.' (1964, 14). This self-fulfilling prophecy is evidence of the conceptual frame that surrounded the release of the first record of Los

[35] Alonso (2005, 234) dates the first apparition of the term "Spanish beat" in an article published in the magazine *Discóbolo* in December 1964.

Brincos, a band that had a presence in the media before they had just released a single song. In the following issue of *Fonorama* we can find a review of the album that exemplifies how the discourse that the band wanted to embrace (that they were the Spanish band that aspired to be comparable to its British and American counterparts) had reached the critics: '¡Si los Brincos fueran ingleses…!' (Pardo 1964, 33). Their exceptionality is not only represented by their songs or their sound: Los Brincos are conceived as a continuum that includes the publicity, the public image, and their presence in the media.

A distinguishing feature of their early production, as discussed in Marc (2013, 120), is their Spanishness. There are several elements in their imagery that showcased the band's aim appear as intrinsically Spanish, being even *carpetovetónicos* in some ways. [36] Their use of the traditional cape and the castellano *moccasins* projected an image that entangled with pre-rock'n'roll Spanish traditions.[37] This had a double signification in the context of Francoist Spain. Firstly, it provided Los Brincos with a distinctive, unique appearance that made the band stand out among their peers, in an exercise of product differentiation. Secondly, the mixture of traditional Spanish elements and foreign modernity fitted the paradigm of what the late Francoist regime expected from the youth: a relative openness to change mixed with an entrenchment in the nationalist project that underpinned its ideological rhetoric. From a musical point of view, the

[36] This untranslatable term is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as 'patriotically Spanish in a reactionary and chauvinistic manner' (2004, 132).

[37] Defined as a 'short, hooded cape cut as a three-quarter-circle and usually cropped to about the hips' (Hill 2011, 355), this piece of clothing had been popular among students in Spain during the 16th and 17th centuries and had some contemporary use among the members of the 'tuna universitaria', serenade-singing groups of university students.

release of their first single, 'Flamenco', was a clear statement. Released in December 1964, it mentioned the most international Spanish music genre in its title, has a Spanish guitar introduction and reproduces in its lyrics the defiant *macho* discourse that was the quintessence of the masculine perspective in Francoist Spain. Los Brincos are not a a political band by any means, but the political reading of their performative means is tempting. Their vindication of traditional, male chauvinistic Spanishness was mostly a publicity stunt and an effort to gain relevance by extramusical means, but, in a context in which Spanishness was co-opted by a national-catholic regime which had among its ideological foundations the exploitation of patriotic symbols, their stance could be read as indulgent with Francoism. Los Brincos represented at this stage step into modernity because of the rock'n'roll influence and a step back onto the reigning ideology symbolic terms. 'Flamenco' is, in many ways, the result of a collision, of the tension between patriotic imagery and hybridization, and it can only be understood as a dialogue between two parallel histories: that of English-speaking pop-rock music (because, ultimately, 'Flamenco' is mostly a Merseybeat song) and that of Spanish culture.

The recording of the first album of Los Brincos can also be considered the testimony of a turning point in the mechanics of the Spanish industry. Even if the available technology was still precarious (a two-track recording machine that prevented the band from using overdub techniques), they entered the studio to put into tape 12 of their own compositions, with no intention of recording any cover of any established artist, an oddity during that period. The band, even if they had not previously released any 4-songs EP (which, as we have previously mentioned, was the usual practice of the bands at the time) were allowed by their recording label to spend all their recording time in

their own compositions. Unable to deal with the band's needs, the record label Zafiro-Novola decided to hire the services of Maryní Callejo, an exceptionally young musician, only 19 years old at the moment of the recording (González 2019, 90). Callejo, an extremely precocious female musician in a-male dominated world, oversaw the production of an album in which record executives had put the hopes of a likely success. This is a very unusual situation that has very few national or international counterparts. Her role has been compared to that of George Martin with the Beatles (Moratinos 2018, n.p.): she made decisions over the tracklist, wrote part of the arrangements and was at the same time the commercial and the artistic directress of the band (Campoy 2006, 35). Celsa Alonso insists on the idea of the creation of the 'Brincos' product as an extraordinarily detailed process, possible thanks to the great ambition of the musicians, producer, and record label (2005, 47). Edward R. Kealy, who has theorised about the role of producers and sound engineers in the process of recording of an album, describes the methodology used in the first album of Los Brincos as still shaped by the 'entrepreneurial mode' of recording (1979, 10), which is characterised by a simplification of the technological means to produce cheaper recordings. Paradoxically, the degree of artistic freedom that Callejo and the band were allowed during their creative process would correspond to what Kealy describes as the 'art mode' of recording. We would be speaking, therefore, of a record that serves as a bridge between two ways of conceiving how pop-rock music was going to be written, recorded and released in Spain, a hybrid release that supposes a milestone in Spanish industry. The subsequent exploration of experimental sounds and the incorporation of countercultural imagery in their work can only be understood as part of a creative

continuum that begins with the (relative) lack of commercial pressure that Los Brincos had from their very first recordings.

Even if 'Flamenco' is the song that stands out, due to its innovative Spanish imagery, its originality, and its strength, the full repertoire of their debut album is worth of consideration. It has songs in both Spanish and English. They were conscious that their artistic personality was linked to Spain and to a discourse that, as we have previously seen, was imbued in Spanishness. While the natural option would have been to release an album fully using their mother tongue, the band aspired to expand its popularity and reach the pipe-dream of the English-speaking market, and compete with the bands that they admired and, in many ways, imitated. [38] The album includes songs that are very Merseybeat-influenced ('Dance the Pulga', 'Bye, bye, chiquilla' or 'I'm Not Bad' –with very strong Beatles reminiscences-) mixed up with Italian-influenced ballads ('Es para ti' or 'Es como un sueño'). [39] *Los Brincos* is an ambitious catalogue of the subgenres that most Spanish Beat bands had as part of their repertoire , a statement of their ability as composers and an exhibition of their virtues as performers. Lyrically, except for the macho display of 'Flamenco', the album is based in instructional dance songs and male-gaze romantic songs. The LP as a whole, even if it can be read as a proof of the capacities of the band, was secondary from an industrial point of view, as singles and EPs were the

[38] The success of Los Brincos in the English-speaking countries was minimal, even if they had released an important number of songs in English. Paradoxically, their *rival* band, Los Bravos, would eventually reach top 2 in the United Kingdom and top 4 in the United States with 'Black is Black', staying up to 12 weeks in the Billboard list (Whitburn 2010, 73).

[39] Alberto Soler-Montagud points out in González that the admiration for the Liverpool sound was central in the development of the sound of Los Brincos, and that 'más que imitar a Los Beatles (o tal vez además de intentar un remedo español de ellos) Los Brincos fue un grupo que bebió de las mismas fuentes del cuarteto de Liverpool' (2019, 94-95).

best-selling formats until the end of the decade (Chapple and Garofalo 1977, 76). [40] The band's immersive process in the preparation of the album and their preference for the LP format anticipated the creative processes of the later counterculture-influenced subgenres of rock music, such as psychedelic and progressive rock. *Los Brincos* paved the way for the Spanish music industry to assume bands as creative, artistic entities.

In March 1965 Los Brincos obtained their first number one with 'Flamenco' and three months later they repeated the success with 'Borracho' (Vogel 2017, 165). Very shortly after the release of their first album they had become the most successful Spanish pop-rock band to date. The achievement was unprecedented for any artist of the genre and provoked that Zafiro-Novola decided to invest more in the band. They had the chance to use the Saar Studios, in Milano, Italy, to record their second album, only months after their first and homonymous album had been released (Campoy 2006, 53). Six months into their existence Los Brincos had not only become an extremely successful band, but they had been instrumental in changing how pop-rock music was conceived within the Spanish music industry. Bands stopped to have a secondary role in the promotional efforts of the labels to become a major recipient of investment, at a similar level to balladists or copla singers. The magazine *Fans* summed the achievements of the band up in a panegyrical article entitled 'El record de Los Brincos'. They had received more than 50 awards, sold more records than any previous Spanish band and had become 'el primer conjunto de fama internacional' (*Fans* 1965, 21). If the arrival of Spanish beat had supposed an 'acto colectivo de formación identitaria', as Alonso (2005, 236)

[40] Salaverri (2015, 19) acknowledges that 'Flamenco' stayed for two weeks on the top of the Spanish chart, but not the official data of copies pressed and sold.

suggests, for a generation that needed to find its own discourse, the band had simultaneously supposed a change of the paradigm of what was the role of pop-rock musicians within the industry. If The Beatles had universalized the image of the band that writes their own songs and does not depend on covers, Los Brincos had adapted this paradigm to the Spanish context. The creative manners of bands such as Los Bravos, Los Canarios, Los Mitos, Los Pop-Tops or Los Ángeles cannot be understood without the influence of what Los Brincos had meant. Bands started to write their own repertoire, to conceive a distinctive imagery to stand out and be easily recognised.

Spanish pop-rock acquired a certain degree of autonomy after the arrival of Los Brincos due to two main factors. Within the Spanish musical industry, pop-rock started to differentiate itself from the rest of the genres, becoming a creative entity of its own, with its own artistic values and ways of distribution and marketisation of the records. The *Los Brincos* commercial success showed the industry that pop-rock required a new, specific way to compose, record and promote the music: The Tin Pan Alley formula quickly became outdated. The role of the musicians within the process of production of the records also changed: Los Brincos, through a process of self-affirmation (that embraced controlling all their creative process, both in terms of music and image) rewrote the role of pop-rock musician. Los Brincos became *authors* and preconised the change from the *conjuntos* (bands as performers) to *grupos* (bands as creative units). Los Brincos understood the change that was taking place in the global structures of pop-rock music (through the observation and analysis of British bands) and started the symbolic effort to echo this transformation in the more precarious Spanish pop-rock industry. The success of Los Brincos in the 1964-1966 period led the Spanish records

companies to bet on a great variety of bands in order to replicate it, with Los Bravos, Los Canarios, Los Pop-Tops, Los Ángeles, Los Gritos, Los Pasos, Los Íberos or Los Mitos.

By the time Los Brincos were recording their second (and also homonymous) album in Italy the structural change in Spanish pop-rock music was conspicuous. The band, which still counted with Maryní Callejo as the producer, had at their disposal a full professional 8-track studio, and almost unlimited recording time. The material conditions had changed: the *conjuntos* were not secondary in the action plan of the record labels anymore. Their popularity had grown so much that even film producers started conversations with the band to star in a musical film with the band declaring in the magazine *Fans* 'tres productoras diferentes nos ofrecen dos millones de pesetas, adelantadas, y el 50% de los beneficios del filme' (1965b, 18). Their status within the industry was fully consolidated, the media, both critics and fans' magazines had put their eyes on the band. [41] Their second album was anticipated by a single, 'Mejor', which showed a more polished sound, a clear performative improvement (particularly in the guitar technique) and a great effort in developing complex harmonies. It turned to be their fourth number one single in less than 18 months, an unprecedented success. In the recording session of the album there was a clear effort to expand the popularity of the band to potential new markets, by recording songs in Italian ('Piccole cose') and French ('Malgré Toi Tu Oublieras', 'Encore Faudrait-Il'). The album shows an uncommon commercial ambition and a will of universality that fitted perfectly with the new plans

[41] Campoy (2005, 54) mentions that in 1965 they obtained the *Premio de la Crítica* and the popularity awarded by the Madrid newspaper *Pueblo.*

within the industry.[42] By the time of the release of their sophomore album, in April 1966, Los Brincos were still a Spanish beat band, with no psychedelic or experimental influences, but they had already provoked a change in the role of a pop-rock musician. The LP maintained the Merseybeat-influenced rhythms and structures and the romantic-oriented lyrics, but the fact that the band centred their creative efforts with the long-play album format as a creative goal contributed to the reconfiguration of the role of the musician and of the meaning of pop-rock in Spain. The future assimilation of the countercultural influence relied on both the notion of the bands as creative directors of the musical product and on the LP as an expressive form that allowed to transcend the limits of the standard 3-minute pop song. In the following section I will examine how this change took place.

The psychedelic drift in Los Brincos

1967 was a key year in the history of pop-rock music: it was the year of the 'summer of love' in San Francisco, some of the most celebrated albums ever were released (*Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* by The Beatles, *The Velvet Underground and Nico* by The Velvet Underground and *The Doors*, by The Doors) and psychedelic music started to develop as a genre. The term psychedelia, coined by the doctor Humphrey Osmond in 1957, referred to the effects of LSD in the perception of the individuals (Dyck and Farrell 2018, 241), and its popularisation, first in student and bohemian communities in California, and later throughout the Western world, gave name to a series of artistic practices that were directly or indirectly influenced by this entheogenic substance. The

[42] Other contemporary bands had already recorded abroad, such as Los Bravos, who recorded their international hit 'Black is Black' in London with British producer Ivor Raymonde.

diffusion of this psychedelic culture in Spain is relatively coetaneous to its British and American counterparts. Usó (2001, 20-21) mentions that by 1955 various Spanish faculties of medicine were experimenting with LSD, both as a potential psychiatric drug and for recreational use. Usó quotes the words of psychiatry professor Ramón Sarró Burbano, who observed that 'cabe que personas dotadas de capacidad artística e imaginativa puedan beneficiarse del LSD' (21). Garcia Lloret mentions that by 1967 the magazine *Fonorama* mentioned the concept psychedelia and used psychedelic-influenced typography and logos (2006, 51). This international trend was slowly permeating Spanish mainstream culture. In literature, García Lloret also discusses the early interest in psychedelic culture reflected in 1965's Camilo José Cela's *María Sabina* (2006, 24). Other author that has been linked to this early stage of psychedelic influence is Agustín García Calvo (Ardillo 2011, n.p.). Also, the visual poetry of authors such as Juan Hidalgo, Joan Brossa or Bouza shared a similar iconography to certain psychedelic illustrators (Masgrau Juanola 2002, 49-58). While at this stage it would be excessive to speak about a developed Spanish psychedelic scene, psychedelic imagery was already impregnating mainstream and underground Spanish culture.

For Los Brincos, 1967 was a traumatic year. An ego conflict between Juan Pardo and Fernando Arbex for the musical leadership of the band had been breeding since 1964. The progressive weariness of the first and the bombastic attitude towards the press of the second caused the definitive rupture of the band (Campoy 2005, 64). Pardo understands the break-up of the band as an unavoidable destiny for Los Brincos due to the internal tensions: 'Por ejemplo, a medio ensayar se le ocurre un cambio o una idea. Es muy impresionable y espontáneo; hay que hacer lo que a él le gusta para que haya

paz y como siempre andábamos discutiendo no hubo más remedio que separarnos y cada cual con sus ideas' (Marcos 1967, 31). There were two visions for the future of the band, two creative leaders, and, eventually, two projects. Juan Pardo was more conventional, song-centred and aspired to continue the path of songs such as 'Mejor', soft pop for a wider audience. Arbex, on the other hand, had a more avant-garde approach, aspiring to avoid the stereotypes of romantic music (Sánchez 1967, 13). During this period the original members of Los Brincos divided between those that stayed in the original project (now totally Arbex-led) and Juan Pardo and Antonio Morales 'Junior', who started to record and perform as Juan y Junior. This division anticipated a central debate within the bands that had belonged to the Spanish beat: assimilating the growing influence of the Anglo-American counterculture or approaching the radio-friendly *canción melódica*.

As the British bands that he admired were quickly absorbing underground tendencies (with The Beatles and The Rolling Stones releasing psychedelic rock albums and The Who attempting –and failing– to create a rock opera in *A Quick One*), Arbex' started to incorporate in his music avant-garde tendencies. The creative freedom the band had previously achieved was central in the choices that they could make towards the assimilation of contemporary influences, as Arbex was prone to recreating the conditions in which his favourite albums were recorded. The band used the same recording studios –the world-famous Abbey Road Studios, in London– and sought to replicate the sound of the pillars of Anglo-American pop-rock (particularly The Who), departing from the uniquely Spanish references of the 'Flamenco' era. 'El Pasaporte', their first single without Juan Pardo and 'Junior', was hugely influenced by The Who's *A*

Quick One, and its fuzzy guitars heralded the arrival of psychedelic rock in Spanish music. Spanishness disappears from their music, while Juan y Junior retain most of the characteristics of early Brincos. Juan y Junior based their career in a back-to-roots, earthly approach to pop-rock song, exploiting a nostalgic lyricism that appealed to what Marc qualified as a 'self-centered, nationalist and/or escapist product of an old-fashioned culture' (2013, 122). Their sentimental lyricism was based in mellifluous narratives that appealed to ruralist nostalgia ('Anduriña'), Catholic imagery ('En San Juan') and idealization of an archaistic vision of romantic love ('A dos niñas', 'Nada'). Comparatively, the work of Fernando Arbex-led Brincos sought to profit creatively from the points of contact with the contemporary Anglo-American bands, having Larry Page (The Kinks, The Troggs) as producer. The recording of *Contrabando* was ambitious and expensive (Iñigo 1967, 9), as were the publicity stunts that they conceived to promote their career in the United Kingdom (González 2019, 102). Los Brincos aspired to transcend the Spanish market and become an internationally proficient band, as proven by their apparition in the cover of the *New Musical Express* weekly magazine (27 May 1967) their performance live at BBC Radio, in the *Saturday Club Show*, with Arbex being interviewed between the performance of 'Lola' and 'El pasaporte' (30 October 1967). The band, contrarily to the majoritarian tendency within Spanish bands, which often relied on studio musicians, sought to keep their creative autonomy by playing all instruments except bassoon and violin (Popthing 2009, n.p.)

Contrabando was released in 1968, and still possessed many of the characteristics of the early Brincos, exemplified in the surprisingly conservative 'Lola', the only song in which Maryní Callejo had writing credits and the only that can be linked to the melodramatic

and middle-of-the-road sound of Juan y Junior. The cover art of the album, designed by Iván Zulueta, evoked Klaus Voorman's artwork for The Beatles' *Revolver (*Bonet 2010, n.p.*)* and can be considered one of the most important exponents of the early psychedelic imagery in Spanish pop (García Lloret 2006, 43). [43] The connection of the *Contrabando*-era Brincos with the counterculture stands out in two songs of the album. The lyrics of 'Un mundo diferente', a proto-hippiesque narration that proclaims the utopian will of the narrator, linked to the back-to-land approach of the hippie movement ('*un mundo diferente quiero conseguir / hacer cambiar a la gente / verlos sonreír / soñar toda la vida y nunca despertar / amar es cosa mía / amar a los demás / debo ser mucho más / y encontrar la verdad*'). It anticipates one of the key lyrical concepts that would become essential in the future imagery of the band, and one of the main points in common of the band with the hippie counterculture: the idea of pop-rock music as a tool for pacifism which relates to the the almost universal cult to pacifism among the *hijos de las flores* (Dezcállar 1984, 230). A similar tone is replicated in 'Pequeño pájaro' ('*Cántame tu canción / habla en ella del amor / de la luz en el campo / de tus días sin sol / cantaré tu canción / ya que no puedo volar / soñaré muchas cosas / hablaré de libertad*'). Musically, the album hints at showcasing psychedelic influences in 'Big Temptation', that incorporates a bridge in a similar vein to Pink Floyd's *The Piper at the Gates of Dawn*, particularly in its flute motif and its child-like but unsettling arrangement. The fuzz-filled 'Contrabando', and the b-sides 'Ananai' and 'Las alegres

[43] Apart from his very influential career as a filmmaker, Zulueta's work as an illustrator for a variety of pop-rock bands is very appreciated, particularly his work for the band Vainica Doble, as we will see in chapter 3.

chicas de San Diego' incorporate Latin rock and progressive rock influences, displaying the widened referential palette and improved ambition of the band.

From *Contrabando* onwards Los Brincos entered a process of assimilation of countercultural influences, a progressive approach towards more experimental ways of conceiving pop-rock music. While they never became a politically engaged or explicit band, topics such as pacifism and universalism turned into the centre of their lyrical universe, displacing the fixation with romantic love. The band embraces a discourse that is ingrained in the nonconformist ideals that stem from Herbert Marcuse's theory, central to the countercultural theoretical paradigm (López Saenz 1988, 82). By impregnating their songs with a social discourse, based in the idealisation of a pre-technologic humanity and in the fetishization of the contact with nature, Los Brincos connected with the emancipatory potential that Marcuse observes in the rebellion against what he calls the 'technological rationality' (1964, 2).[44] The final rupture with Spanish beat is enacted with their 1970 album *Mundo, Demonio, carne*.[45] It represents the final step towards their assimilation of the counterculture influences, parting ways with their assumed position as hit creators and attempting to record a highly anticipated conceptual project based in (vaguely) adapting the Holy Bible to a double album (De Juana 1968, 28). The tumultuous process of recording, in which the project was severely

[44] 'The very structure of human existence would be altered; the individual would be liberated from the work world's imposing on him alien needs and alien possibilities. The individual would be free to exert autonomy over a life that would be his own. If the productive apparatus could be organized and directed toward the satisfaction of the vital needs, its control might well be centralized; such control would not prevent individual autonomy but render it possible. This is the goal within the capabilities of advanced industrial civilization, the 'end' of technological rationality' (2).

[45] The album was simultaneously released in Spanish and in English, with this version being entitled *World, Evil, Body*,

mutilated, required a change in the line-up of the band, which incorporated Miguel Morales (brother of previous member *Junior*) and the Colombian multiinstrumentalist Óscar Lasprilla, who assumed the role of main songwriter along with Arbex, who described the album as their most ambitious up to date (Arancibia 1969, 25).[46] *Mundo, demonio, carne* was recorded in London, in the Wessex Sound Studios, during January and February 1970, with Robin Thompson (who had previously collaborated with progressive rock icons such as King Crimson or The Moody Blues) as main engineer. The producer of the album was Augusto Algueró, an extremely popular arranger and composer who had written hits such as Marisol's 'Tómbola' (1962) or Concha Velasco's 'Chica yeyé' (1963). The fact that such an established artist was linked with an avant-garde influenced project showcases the great degree of creative freedom that Los Brincos had reached by the late 1960s. The band absorbed a vast array of subgenres that were central in the Anglo-American pop-rock scene at the time, exploring raga rock ('Kama Sutra'), progressive rock ('Mundo, Demonio y Carne') or acid rock ('Emancipación'). The album assimilated a discourse that was being generated in the English-speaking countries in which pop-rock music had to escape its roots as a danceable, single-oriented music to embrace more intricate structures, experimental sonorities and a variety of resources of avant-garde and jazz music, basing its value in the complexity of the songs and the narrative ambition of the lyrical apparatus.

[46] While Arbex was always the most important songwriter and ideologue of the band, his approach towards songwriting betted on a collaborative effort, and all the members of this stage of Los Brincos signed their own songs.

Even if the initial idea of adapting the Holy Bible was watered down, the album shows a total departure from their Spanish beat era, lyrically and musically. All the album is marked by a tone of ambiguous spirituality, which intertwines Christian imagery with ideas drawn from alternative religions. Ideas such as world peace, the need for a prophet to unite all mankind against armed conflicts ('Profeta Ismael'), the conflict between the technocracy and faith ('World, Evil, Body'), personal liberation through the rejection of consumerism and greed ('Emancipación') and lysergic drugs as a transformative experience ('Jenny la genio', 'Butterfly') are central in the lyrical apparatus of the album, which blends the Spanish Catholic heritage with the countercultural influences that the band was absorbing through their contact with Anglo-American sources. 'Emancipation' is one of the pivotal words of the album's lyrical apparatus: emancipation from the values of the technocratic society, emancipation from an oppressive sociopolitical environment, but also emancipation from the commercial impositions of record companies and the industrial music system and from the idea of wage labour. 'Love', used as a catchphrase to sum up (watered down) countercultural values is the other central lyrical element through the album. Romantic love, fraternal love, the Catholic conception of God as love and the pacifist quest for love blend in one. Even the songs that have a similar tone to their early material ('Vive la realidad', 'Carmen' and 'Esa mujer') revolve around a naïve idea of love.

The lyrical apparatus of the album is complemented by a statement of intent included in the album's folder. The band depicts itself as ambitious and aware of their role within the pop-rock scene ('creemos haber entrado en una fase de nuestra propia evolución (…) Puede que sea música progresiva, ya que en el amplio sentido de la palabra significa

nuestro progreso') but does not renounce to reach a massive public ('se trata de música para ser comprendida por todos'). Arbex signed a short text in which he tried to explain the conceptual narrative of the homonymous song and the album: 'una polémica visión de los llamados 'tres enemigos del alma': Mundo, Demonio y Carne […] Mundo: Descripción informal de la sociedad actual. Es el mundo de los hombres y las mujeres sin rostro, de las mentes ahorcadas […]. Demonio: la tentación. Carne: El 'ser' vuelve a la vida. Risa. La carne es vida. Las carnes cantan sensualidad…'. Arbex's general idea stems from an attempt to achieve through music a spirituality that, according to him, contemporary, technocratic and capitalist society had lost. *Mundo, demonio, carne* merged in its discourse hippie percepts with esoteric Christianism, in a similar vein to American's Jesus People Movement, which was born in California at the same time the American counterculture of the 1960s appeared. The Jesus People Movement, in its return-to-roots approach and precepts of commune life, can be seen as the encounter between Christianism and hippieism. The heterogeneous spiritual vision of *Mundo, demonio, carne* works as a chaotic melting pot of past and present influences in which the band does not embrace a fully defined worldview, result of the not totally satisfactory process of conception and recording of the album, as 'las muchas expectativas y esperanzas que se habían depositado en aquel disco serían también de un nivel tan inesperadamente tóxico que finalmente terminarían matando al grupo de puro desánimo y abatimiento' (Montes 2020, n.p.).

The chaotic release of the album (which had three different editions with three different tracklists) watered down the conceptual intention of the album, but it was still the most ambitious LP released by an established Spanish pop-rock band to date. We cannot fully

consider *Mundo, demonio, carne* a countercultural album, as the discourse of the band was very vaguely political and the background of the band was imbricated in the structure of the music industry. Los Brincos aspired to create a bridge between an emerging underground scene and the Spanish mainstream, but this effort was not fruitful and it can be argued that no other popular band tried to merge commerciality with avant-garde ambitions until 1974's Los Canarios *Ciclos*. [47] Ultimately, *Mundo, demonio, carne* was a commercial failure, and its critical reception was mixed. [48]. It ended up being the last album of Los Brincos. [49] It could be argued that the Spanish rock public favoured American and British bands over Spanish acts which were perceived as *the original ones*, not copycats. By 1970, the band had moved towards the sounds that the underground rock scene favoured, but the *ye-yé* past of the band was still too ingrained in the psyche the rock fans to be forgotten. The weight of 'Flamenco', 'Mejor' or 'Lola' was still on their shoulders, and it would not be until the 1990s that the album considered a cult classic, being reissued several times. *Mundo, demonio, carne* was, in many ways, a rarity in the Spanish musical panorama, an attempt to equate Spanish pop-rock with its international influences, but which did not fully satisfy neither the commercial wishes of the record label nor the creative desire of the band. Despite this, its place in the history of Spanish popular music is guaranteed, due to its surprising creative ambition and its status as a unique product.

[47] Montañá (1975, 19) mentions as a key moment for the development of Spanish countercultural rock the 'I Festival Permanente de Música Progresiva', which took place between 16 October and 4 December 1970 and which had among its participants acts such as Los Brincos, Los Canarios, Música Dispersa, Pau Riba or Smash.

[48] Íñigo (1970, 23) published a favourable review in *Mundo Joven*, but other authors such as Casas (1975, 3) and Ordovás (1987, 93) perceived the album as pretentious.

[49] Except for the album released during their short-lived comeback in the year 2000, which was virtually ignored by the public and the press.

Chapter 3: Vainica Doble and the change of perspective in Spanish countercultural pop-rock

Introduction

The history of pop-rock music has been keen on providing figures that could be described as organic intellectuals seeking to explore topics such as race, gender, class, nation, and sexuality using popular music as their fundamental tool. In the Anglo-American sphere artists such as Bob Dylan (Taylor and Israelson 2015), Ray Davies (Gildart 2012), Joni Mitchell (Charnock,2012), or Stevie Wonder (Gaines 2011), have been regarded as representatives of challenging, when not directly countercultural, points of view regarding the previously aforementioned topics. This phenomenon has its echoes outside the Anglo-American world in countries that share more cultural resemblances to Spain, such as Portugal, in which we see the case of Zeca Afonso (Ribeiro 1994) and Italy, with names such as Fabrizio de Andre (Pietropaoli 2006). The late 60s and early 70s were years in which the symbolic value of popular music as an agent of social and political change was widely acknowledged all around the Western world, as was the central position of pop-rock music. Meanwhile, in the specific period (late Francoism) and space (Spain) that is being analysed in this thesis, the quintessential artists that were using music as their main means of political expression were the so-called *cantautores* (Torrego Egido 1999, 138). [50] In musical terms the oeuvre of most *cantautores* is far more influenced by the French *chanson* and the Latin American *nueva canción* than by any Anglo-American genre.[51] If we analyse their political significance

[50] The diffuse boundaries between the *cantautor* tradition and the Anglo-American influx of pop-rock music are worth further consideration and will be discussed more in depth in chapter 5.

[51] Some exceptions could be mentioned, such as Hilario Camacho (Del Val and Green 2016, 168) or Luis Eduardo Aute (Trujillo 2015, 153), who have mentioned at some points of their career artists such as Bob Dylan or Leonard Cohen as their main influences.

and activism, most of the artists operate in the political coordinates of the main anti-Francoist organizations, particularly the Spanish clandestine Communist Party.

This chapter will discuss the band Vainica Doble. This duo, which was formed in in 1971 by Carmen Santonja and Gloria Van Aerssen, operated irregularly until the death of the former, in 2000, and has enjoyed substantial critical recognition as one of the most influential Spanish pop bands ever. Due to the temporal boundaries of this thesis, the focus will be put in the early stage of their career, the span between the formation of the band in 1971 and the release of their album *Contracorriente* in 1976. Vainica Doble will be discussed as an example of many of the contradictions of late Francoism's pop-rock: as a project that blended Spanish tradition with experimental elements as a countercultural act that was financed by official -and Francoist-controlled- institutions such as Televisión Española and as a female-led band in the sein of a hyper-macho culture in which women were relegated to secondary roles. From these theoretical paradoxes stem the unique consideration of Vainica Doble in the history of Spanish pop-rock.

This chapter will be divided in two main sections and a postface. The first section will explore the sociocultural origin of the band, analysing the class and gender factors in their artistic education, the influence of art schools and the creative networks that the members of the band belonged to. To do this I will consider how the band's development is directly influenced by their attachment to a bohemian bourgeoisie that revolved around Televisión Española (RTVE henceforth), the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando and the cafés and private parties of the Madrilenian cultural

scene. I will also contextualise the ways in which RTVE incorporated pop-rock music into their programmes, both as the central topic of the programme and as a soundtrack.

The second section will explore critically the band's early discography. The first, *Vainica Doble* (1971), a hotchpotch of recordings that merged previous singles with some of their work for TVE and new songs, remains an example of their ways of incorporating the classic literary tradition and folkloric elements into avant-garde influence pop-rock songs. The second, *Heliotropo* (1973), is recognised as one of the quintessential Spanish pop /rock albums of the decade and pursues a melange of genres that defies the borders between highbrow and lowbrow culture. The last, *Contracorriente* (1976), testimonies the encounter of the band with Gonzalo García-Pelayo, guru of the Spanish counterculture, record producer and cultural agitator that links the band with the libertarian and hippie movements that were flowering during the mid 70s. Lastly, in the postface of the chapter I will acknowledge how the reception of the band has evolved, leading to a deferral recognition and a cult status due to their influence in subsequent generations of pop-rock musicians.

Spaces, institutions, and networks in Vainica Doble's early history

Familiar and educational context

Gloria Van Aerssen and Carmen Santonja were born in 1932 and 1934, respectively, 4 and 6 years before the beginning of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the most significant event in the country during the Twentieth century and a period that radically changed the social and cultural structures of the nation. The birth and early childhood of the members of the band took place in an era of turmoil, with the exile of most of the

progressive politicians and of the 'mejor parte de sus intelectuales' (Novoa Portela 2012, 418). The families in which both Van Aerssen and Santonja were born were unusual for the period to their easy access to culture. In the case of Santonja, she was born in an artistic environment, being a great-granddaughter of the well-known impressionist painter Eduardo Rosales, and she grew up in a relatively bohemian family (García-Luengo Manchado 2009, 186). If the Francoist take of power had expelled a great majority of the progressive Intellectuals, there was still a place for families in which women were encouraged to pursue artistic careers among some upper-class elites. In the testimony of Carmen Santonja 'desde pequeña tenía aptitud para el piano […] me metieron en el Conservatorio y me pasé cinco años tocando el piano hasta aburrirme' (Márquez 1983, 16). Santonja also refers to her father as 'a chiquilicuatre, pintor de dudoso porvenir, hijo de un profesor del conservatorio sin horizonte alguno. Así pues, la estrechez económica fue siempre la constante familiar tanto de un lado como del otro' (Márquez 1983, 17). She also refers to the economic situation of her mother's family in similar terms.

> *Por parte de mi madre la ruina nos viene de antiguo; de las guerras carlistas, en las que sus ancestros paternos, pertenecientes a la más rancia (en todos los sentidos) nobleza cántabra, apostaron su patrimonio por la causa más obsoleta. Más tarde, mi abuelo se encargó de rematar la decadencia vertiginosa de su familia, con una desafortunada operación bancaria cuyo resultado fue ¡el desastre!, como decía mamá con voz y gesto teatrales, mirando al cielo con los ojos en blanco.*
>
> Santonja (2014, n.p.)

This represents an anomaly to the common situation of women at the time, even of those that belonged to the upper classes. The family of Carmen Santonja is one of the few reminiscences of a world that had almost disappeared after the end of the Spanish 2nd Republic: a family that supplied the –relative– absence of financial capital with a

remarkable cultural capital. Santonja's family context reinforced the figure of women as free entities, not dependent on the decisions of the male members of the family. Carme Molinero defines early Francoism's conception of women as that of a 'ser inferior espiritual e intelectualmente, que carecía de una dimensión social y política y que tenía una vocación inequívoca de ama de casa y madre' (1998, 99). The history of Vainica Doble is therefore marked, like that of most women under Franco, by the reactionary turn of a regime that García Nieto defines as 'patriarcal y androcéntrico en el que prevaleció un sistema de género masculino con profunda incidencia en las relaciones sociales' (1993, 663). The institutions that governed the social role of women in postwar Spain were, to a large extent, Falange's Sección Femenina, women's branch of the governing Falangist regime, and the Catholic church. The first was an organism devised to impose a reactionary lifestyle in women. It included a compulsory *social service* for unmarried women under 35, promoted a feminine socialization co-opted by the idea of being, above all, wife, and mother. The second reinforced through sermons and religious organizations (such as Acción Católica) an oppressive view of the female role in society (Larumbe 2004, 18). The influence of these organisations, along with the repressive legislation, [52] established a panorama that relegated women to social, financial, and family subordination and unpaid work. Helen Graham points out that a univocal vision of women under Francoism does not reflect the nuances of social class or nearness to political powers (1995, 182). All these factors must be considered when understanding the context of Vainica Doble.

[52] The Abortion Law (1941) and the Adultery and Regulations Law (1942) are examples of the legal against women in early Francoism.

Gloria Van Aerssen's family history shares some similarities with Santonja's, but it is appropriate to remark on the differences. There is an obvious parallel in the easy access to the means of artistic creation and performance, conceived as a *possible, achievable* profession, for example when Van Aerssen mentions that 'ballet he hecho siempre (…) mi hermano, Alberto Lorca, también bailaba, y como veía que se ganaba dinero… y como dinero era lo que hacía falta…' (Márquez 1983, 16). Her own experience in the School, to which she arrived at the very early age of thirteen after being personally tutored at home, shows, again, her belonging to a family and social environment in which the role of women was not that only of the wife and mother that Francoism advocated, but in which there was a substantial notion of freedom in what they *could* do. The need for money that Van Aerssen mentions reflects a similar decadence to that of Carmen's family, a factor that is enlightened by her condition of 'nieta de un barón holandés, descendiente de banderilleros de chusma y pariente lejana de Audrey Hepburn' (Macondo 1997, 57). The generation of Vainica Doble supplied the loss of economic capital of their families with keeping their cultural capital status through the performance of artistic activities.

Another central factor to understand Van Aerssen's context is that her father was a diplomat and an amateur violinist (Gendre 2014, 23). Adrian Vogel has examined the essential importance of the descendants of diplomats in the development of Spanish pop-rock music, more specifically in Madrid (2017, 83). Examples such as the whole Morales family (that were part of the creation of Los Brincos, among others), Micky (singer of Micky y los Tonys), Eddy Guzmán (Los Pekenikes) or the singer/songwriter Luis Eduardo Aute were children of the diplomatic force. Rock'n'roll music required, at that

early stage of development, economic affluence, access to foreign markets, and, in return, its universal vocation provided relief from the tendency to uproot this collective.[53] Children of diplomats were, among the Spanish upper classes, one of the few social groups that had direct contact with foreign countries, and who could legally avoid the consequences of Francoist isolationism. Rock music, along with other foreign cultural phenomena, arrives in Spain thanks to the networks of a privileged social class that eludes the legal and moral constraints of Franco's regime, making its way through the sphere of the private.

The *Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* had a central role not only in the development of the band, but in their development as artists, in general. It is not only the place where they met, as early as 1949, but it is the centre of a bohemian exception in the still underdeveloped post-war Madrid, in which they become part of a larger network of art-related youngsters.[54] This institution has played a central role in the history of Spanish art since its creation back in 1752, and artists such as Francisco de Goya, Salvador Dalí and Antonio López have been linked to it. Pedro Navascués Palacio depicts the institution as particularly conservative in its approach to art teaching, with three sections -sculpture, architecture, and painting- that were established from its inception and one -music- that was added in 1864 (2005, 11-29). It was not until 1987 that it included cinematography, photography, and television as a part of its contents. Carmen Santonja started her studies in the *Academia de Bellas Artes* in a period in which Spanish art was beginning to assume the innovations of the international avant-garde,

[53] See Chapter 2 for more information on relationship between social class and early Spanish pop-rock.
[54] They met in the Sports Fields of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, but they say in Ordovás (1976, 12) that their early friendship happened, mostly, in the Escuela de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.

as part of the strategy of use of contemporary art as an element of international normalisation. This is particularly reinforced during the period in which the future Francoist minister Manuel Fraga was the secretary-general for the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (ICH) between 1951 and 1953, an entity of the Franco government created to promote cultural and artistic relations between Spain and the rest of the Spanish-speaking countries. An institution such as the *Academia de Bellas Artes* was not alien to this general development, and gradually sheltered artists that defied academicism (Recio Aguado 2018, 75).

Art schools have been analysed in the Anglo-American world as catalysts of music scenes.[55] Simon Frith and Howard Horne depict them as 'a place where young people… can hang out and learn/fantasize what it means to be an artist, a bohemian, a star', while mentioning cases such as The Who, Roxy Music, Talking Heads or The Rolling Stones, bands whose members met in art schools (1987, 22). The early education and familiar references of both Carmen Santonja and Gloria Van Aerssen were, in many ways, exceptional. They were freed of the worst economic constraints of most of the Spanish population of the post-Civil war and had a relatively privileged position as women in a country in which a particularly aggressive vision of patriarchy was the governmental position. Bourdieu and Wacquant define a field as a 'space of objective relations between positions defined by their rank in the distribution of competing powers or species of capital' (1992, 113). It could be argued that, even if their economical capital

[55] In most of the analysis of the British art schools there is a strong element of reversal of the subjacent class system: most of the approaches, such as Eno's (2015, n.p.) refer to the ways in which a working-class young person, could, thanks to the British system of bursaries, allow themselves to explore their artistic creativity without an urgent need for money.

was not particularly thriving when they met – as Carmen mentions 'la situación en nuestras casas era siniestra' (Márquez 1983, 17) – their social positioning and the network of contacts they made put them in a very privileged position within the artistic field. They did not only belong to a social class in which artistic creation was *conceivable* as a professional activity, but they were close to figures such as 'Fernando Fernán Gómez, María Asquerino, Alberto Closas, Amparo Baró, Jose Luís Pradera, Oscar de la Renta…' (Gendre 2014, 128), apart from the close friendship with the well-known cartoonist Mingote (Gendre 2014b, n.p.). The art-school, along with the Santonja's family home and the close social environment, which celebrated their musical expressions –'Gloria y yo, junto con Chus [Lampreave, popular actor] y mi hermana [Elena Santonja] llevábamos muchos años siendo el centro de atracción de fiestas y guateques' (Santonja 2014, n.p.) – was a part of a network of connections that will be essential to understand the development of the band, and also their artistic status.

The post-war period reversed the process of emancipation and freedom for women that the truncated Second Republic had brought about. The members of Vainica Doble found in the bohemian environment a partial relief to what Varela (1997, 12) has called the 'feminization device', a system of institutions, practices and knowledges that contributed to confer on women a subordinate nature to men as well as functions in accordance with an imposed identity. In the artistic scene in which they were immersed, both Carmen Santonja and Gloria Van Aerssen were able to be creative and considered artists, partially escaping the fate that was imposed on women in the logic of the Franco regime.

TVE and Madrid's bohemian networks

Their presence in the artistic scene in 1950s Madrid gradually transcended the sphere of the private. Van Aerssen, simultaneously to her fine arts studies, was an occasional dancer in the *Ballet Español de Pilar López* between 1953 and 1955, even performing with the company in London. She had strong ties with the company, as her brother was the dancer and choreographer Alberto Lorca. [56] In an Ana Zunzarren article, her stint as professional dancer is described as a rejection of her own career a painter – 'como pintar no le gustaba, se dedicó a bailar. Con la compañía de Pilar López viajó por todo el mundo' (1970, 42) –. Her connection with the world of ballet remained during the Vainica Doble era, as Bustamante (1973, 14) suggests. In the case of Carmen Santonja, her public exposure in the cultural scene begins with her participation as singer in *Entre nosotras* (1957-1958), an unsuccessful TV show in which her sister, Elena Santonja, was the presenter. *Entre nosotras* was a pioneering experience in creating a female oriented programme, but the lack of an audience and conflicts with the RTVE leadership led to an early cancellation (De Armiñán 2014, n.p.). [57] Thanks to her direct connection to Santonja and her husband, screenwriter, and film director Jaime de Armiñán, Carmen Santonja started to be a regular actress in other TVE programmes such as the children-oriented show *Érase una vez* (1958), in which classic fairy tales were adapted to 30-minutes pieces. She continued her acting career with minor roles in films such as Marco Ferreri's *El cochecito* (1960), Luis García Berlanga's *Muerte y leñador* (1962), Jaime de Armiñán's *La becerrada* (1963) and Manuel Summers' *La niña de luto* (1964), but she

[56] Stage name of Albrecht Nicolaas van Aerssen Beyeren.

[57] De Armiñán mentions 'escasos 2.000 espectadores' (2014, n.p.). This data must be understood in a context in which televisions were still extremely rare.

felt alien at the acting profession, stating that it was a 'oficio para el que no tengo el menor talento' (Santonja, 2014, n.p.). In parallel to the experience of Santonja in the audio-visual media, Van Aerssen illustrated and wrote *Mil canciones españolas* (1953), co-signed with his then husband, Juan Ignacio Cárdenas, and published by the *Sección Femenina*. The members of Vainica Doble could therefore be aligned to a non-explicitly Francoist side of the official powers, close enough to the cultural elites to be in a position of sway without having to be belligerently in favour of the regime's discourse. In the same way their benefactor Jaime de Armiñán was described as the 'puente entre la tradición y la modernidad, entre el desarrollismo y el tardofranquismo de la España de los sesenta y setenta y el proceso de transición […] que lleva al máximo los límites del posibilismo dentro del mundo de la comedia' (Buezo 2002, n.p.). Carmen Santonja and Gloria Van Aerssen are part of a cultural scene that acts as a bridge between many different worlds.

Televisión Española had started its regular broadcasting the 29 October 1956, as part of a process of cultural and technological whirlwind of changes that took place in the second half of Francoism, and by 1965 it had already reached around 1.425.000 televisions (Rueda Lafond 2005, 55). By the mid 1960s it could be argued that television was one of the main vehicles of the ideological propaganda of the Francoist regime. It is, in terms of popularity and integration into the psyche of the Spanish population, consolidated as a mass phenomenon in which the ideological apparatus that sustained the dictatorship found a loudspeaker that allowed Francoism to channel the discourse it needed to perpetuate itself, even if Franco himself had warned about the potential

dangers of the media in his 1955 Christmas message.[58] There is a substantial difference between television and the other available media at the time in Francoist Spain. There were alternatives in radio, more specifically pirate radios based in other countries, such as for example Radio Pirenaica, created by the Communist Party, which gained a remarkable share of popularity among left-wing Spanish citizens, as Zaragoza Fernández analyses (2008, 20). The distribution of banned books through private meetings and the *pirate* sections of bookshops was also relatively usual. In comparison, television was virtually monopolised: there were never alternatives to the two official channels that TVE offered.[59] The so-called *ente* had an absolute dominion over the audio-visual material that the Spanish public could consume at home.

Television studies, using the concepts defined by Umberto Eco differentiate between 'paleotelevision' and 'neotelevision' (1986, 86). The first refers to the contents that project the idea of the television channel (which in the era of paleotelevision is in most of the cases a public channel controlled by the government of each country) as a mass cultural education project. The television is used to broadcast realities that transcend the idea of television itself and to bring the spectator closer to a series of phenomena of the real world that cannot be accessed in their daily life. Music was a central element in the planning of the contents of the early 'paleotelevisión' Televisión Española. From the earliest programmes that took place during the broadcast testing phase, in the mid

[58] '*Tengo que preveniros de un peligro, con la facilidad de comunicación, el poder de las ondas, el cine y la televisión, se han dilatado las ventanas de nuestra fortaleza. El libertinaje de las ondas y de la letra impresa, vuela por los espacios y los aires de fuera, penetran por nuestras ventanas, viciando la pureza de nuestro ambiente'* (122)

[59] The second channel, called La 2, started broadcasting in November 1966, taking advantage of the newly created UHF technology and focusing its programmes on the cultured urban middle classes, in contrast with the more popular La 1. (Contreras and Palacio 2001, 57).

50s, music was an important but still not central element in programmes such as *Festival Marconi* (1956-1957), *La Gran Parada* (1959-1963) or *La Hora Philips* (1957-1958), in which national and international artists such as Carmen Sevilla, Antonio Machín, Amalia Rodrigues or Renato Carosone played live (Carreras Lario 2012, 19). By 1961, TVE had established its first regular music programme, *Escala en Hi-Fi*, in which young actors performed playbacks of the hit songs of each moment.[60] From that moment onwards, popular music achieved a regular consideration in TVE scheduling, either in TVE1, with programmes such as *Aplauso* (1978-1983) and *Tocata* (1983-1987) and in TVE2, with *El ultimo grito* (1968-1970), *Popgrama* (1977-1981) and *Musical Exprés* (1980-1983) being examples of this (Viñuela 2013, 180-181).

The early TVE programming also relied frequently on filmed theatre plays, which did not go through a process of cinematographic montage until 1964, the year in which Narciso Ibáñez Serrador created *Mañana puede ser…,* and, therefore, had the possibility of adding a soundtrack and using music as a creative element. This expansion of the resources that the TV formats could use, opened a variety of new fields of expression. 'Paleotelevision' did not just represent realities as they were, but it started to create its

[60] In a the first issue of the modern era of the weekly magazine *Triunfo,* Fernando Díaz de la Vega, director of *Escala en Hi-Fi* affirmed that '*Los programas de variedades son, sin duda, el lugar más adecuado para la música moderna. Pero la televisión tropieza con un fuerte inconveniente: contar con un número de intérpretes frente a la cámara que, teniendo un mínimo de cualidades artísticas, sean suficientes en número para dar a conocer y difundir esta música moderna sin cansar al espectador con excesiva repetición de ellos... ¿Existen en el mundo intérpretes suficientes como para hacer posible esta programación ideal? Sí, pero es imposible reunirlos frente a unas mismas cámaras semana tras semana. Entonces, ¿por qué no crear para cada canción un intérprete ideal que, conservando las cualidades musicales y vocales del original, proporcionara una variedad grande en la imagen? Así es Escala en Hi-fi. Por tener su principal punto de apoyo en la música y en las canciones, cada programa es diferente, porque diferentes son la música y las canciones que se escuchan. Y al ser diferentes la música y las canciones, los actores parecen cada vez diferentes'* (1962, 80)

own resources and its own language. In this early stage, Jaime de Armiñán (Carmen Santonja's brother-in-law), became one of the most relevant screenwriters and directors of TVE, (Palacio Arranz 2020, 148). Armiñán was the main link between Vainica Doble and TVE, but their connections did not end there. The social network in which they were immersed was prominent in the production of programmes for TVE. For example, in the early 1960s Santonja collaborated in several theatre plays directed by Adolfo Marsillach, who would eventually become one of the most important series directors for TVE (Santonja 2014, n.p.). Also, Van Aerssen and Santonja's close friend Chus Lampreave had become regulars in the filmed theatre plays of TVE. Before having any public presence as songwriters or performers, the *Vainicas* had created a network of influential peers that would multiply their future exposure and opportunities as musicians.

From Santonja and Van Aerssen to Vainica Doble

The first musical collaboration between Carmen Santonja and Gloria Van Aerssen that was officially recorded stems, again, from the insistence of Jaime de Armiñán. The filmmaker asked them to write and perform the theme song for his new series*, Tiempo y hora* (1965-1967), a project for which they felt unready, as they thought they were too amateur as musicians. The circus music-influenced jazz theme would be the first time in which Santonja and Van Aerssen worked as a creative entity, but the two moments that defined the creation of the band and their relationship with television would take place later in 1966 and 1967.Firstly, in an often repeated anecdote – in Zunzarren (1970), Méndez Vigo (1974) and Ordovás (1976) – they recall that their decision to form a band was due to the apperceived poor level of most of the songs in Benidorm's festival that

year. Zunzarren explains that they '*empezaron a cantar porque les gustaba. Eran amigas de siempre, y un día, después de un Festival de Benidorm, se les ocurrió componer una canción. Crear música, porque es realmente lo que les interesa, y una letra para decir, porque (sic) les gusta cantar*' (1970, 41). Most of the narratives about how the band started revolve around this foundational myth. In their interview book with Fernando Márquez the narration is even more comical:

> *Allá por el 66, viendo el Festival de Benidorm, me escandalicé tanto de lo malo que era aquello, que llamé a Mari Carmen y le dije por qué no lanzarnos a hacer canciones nosotras. A mí tras ver aquel espanto, me parecía de lo más fácil […] Empezamos por componer canciones en 'pichinglis', que es como yo me arranco a cantar siempre. Antes de que Mari Carmen se decidiese a escribir letras, pues cogimos una poesía de Bécquer que encajaba con una de las músicas […] Nos salió una cosa horrenda, grandilocuente, realmente digna de Benidorm […]*
>
> Van Aerssen, in Márquez (1983, 29)

Vainica Doble, with their calculated self-deprecation, their rejection of the sacralization of international pop figures and their iconoclasm, connect with an amateurism that would be one of the ideological bases of later movements such as punk and punk-influenced cultural movements, such as the 80s Movida (Fouce 2004, 201). The iconoclastic attitude is linked with the public image of the festival in the Spanish cultural imaginary. The Benidorm festival, created in 1959 as a contest for young artists from the Spanish-speaking sphere, was part of the Francoist promotion plan to transform Benidorm into an international tourist destination (Mazón Martínez 2010, 13). The festival, filmed by TVE and broadcast in France, Portugal and Italy was centred on balladists and crooners (Otaola González 2012, n.p.) and was the platform to success of artists such as Julio Iglesias, Raphael or Dyango. The following project in which Vainica Doble participated changed their status within Spanish pop-rock music. The soundtrack

for the TV series *Fábulas* (1968-1969) would be the confirmation of Vainica Doble as songwriters. Several songs that will be part of their future LPs appear in this soundtrack. Based on Samaniego's classic fables, this Jaime de Armiñán-led project gave the Vainicas a generous budget and an unprecedented creative freedom, with the sole obligation to include lyrical material that reinforced the content of the fables themselves.

> *A nivel musical, no nos hemos visto forzadas casi nunca, (….) ahora, el hecho de tener que hacer prácticamente una canción cada semana, en esas épocas, nos obligaba a una marcha tremenda en la composición, al vernos obligadas a hacerlo a la fuerza; y claro, salían unas cosas mejores que otras. Luego a nivel literario, en las 'Fábulas', por ejemplo si era una fábula real, de verdad digamos, pues te obligaba a tener que meterla por completo o casi; lo que a veces era prácticamente imposible, porque las letras de Harztenbusch o Samaniego a veces no tenían sentido, hoy día, y teníamos que cambiarlas un poco. Hasta el punto de tener incluso que inventar algunos versos, cosa que era muy divertida y estaba muy bien.*
>
> Van Aerssen, in Márquez (1983, 25)

Several elements that will be central in all future releases of Vainica Doble already appeared in these first recordings. The first and most evident element is the unequivocal narrative vocation of their songs, here forced by the format of song-summary of the episode, which had a clear educational goal implied in the use of traditional fables. Palacio asserts that fiction series within TVE were pedagogical in nature and that 'las formas de lo pedagógico que varían según los periodos, pero los objetivos siempre son los mismos: partir de las capas de la sedimentación histórica del pasado para reelaborar el espacio público cultural del presente' (2020, 145). Vainica Doble's work in *Fábulas* is part of an attempt of modernization in this pedagogical effort, using the format of the pop-rock song as a potential educational tool. The song 'La cigarra y la hormiga' serves

as a defining example, summarising the Samaniego's original fable in a quirky minute-and-a-half pop song.

Cantando la cigarra pasó el verano entero
sin hacer provisiones allá para el invierno
Cantar está muy bien pero hay que trabajar también
la vida fácil es si lo haces a la vez
Trabajando, la hormiga, pasó todo este tiempo
acaparando el grano con egoísmo fiero
Trabajar está bien pero hay que cantar también
la vida fácil es si lo haces a la vez.

(Vainica Doble 1971)

Contemporary Spanish *cantautores* had reappropriated the heritage of classic Spanish poetry to provide a political re-reading that created a sense of community in the exile, regardless of whether this exile was factual or metaphorical. Vainica Doble adapted classic Spanish child literature to a new public with a contemporary sensibility. The hybridation of pop-rock elements (structural, musical) with traditional poetic metrics and eccentric and childish arrangements (recorder and child choirs in 'La cigarra y la hormiga', kazoo in 'La cotorra') was usual through their career. The relative success of the songs, along with the growing reputation of the duo as songwriters paved their following steps in their career: their repeated participation in other TVE programmes and their new adventure as songwriters for other bands and artists.

One of the watershed moments in Vainica Doble's early career took place when they entered the music industry as songwriters after showing their demos to Pepe Nieto, an emerging arranger for the record company *Areta.* They were hired to write 4 songs for a band called Nuevos Horizontes. This work is the very first proof of their growing reputation among respected figures of the recording industry. In an interview with

Fernando Márquez Van Aerssen affirms that 'el arreglista Pepe Nieto oyó uno de los temas [de la primera cinta casera grabada con sus temas], 'Las cuatro estaciones' y dijo algo muy bonito 'No he oído nunca afinar tan bien en este país'... Se privó con nosotras' (2002, n.p.). In-house songwriters for a recording company before they were established as a performing band, Vainica Doble followed the same path of other artists in the Anglo-American world, such as Lou Reed or Carole King. These new songs anticipated the sound and approaches that would be common on their early albums as Vainica Doble. For example, 'El afinador de cítaras', the first single that they wrote for the band, released in June 1969, employs archaistic forms ('¿sois acaso el afinador de cítaras?') while remaining observational in the depiction of everyday-life references ('calle del Álamo, número 29, E'). Vainica Doble's lyricism unites the surreal with the realistic, the ordinary with the literary. Musically, the song is an upbeat baroque pop song in which the most significant element is the interplay of vocal harmonies, reminiscent of The Mamas and the Papas and other folk-pop bands of the American West Coast. The writing process of the song was influenced by informal conversations that Santonja had with filmmaker Luis García Berlanga (Márquez 1983, 29). Once again, Vainica Doble acted as a bridge between theoretically distant cultural scenes. García Berlanga was already established as one of the most popular and respected Spanish filmmakers (Marsh 2006, 97), but his works were far from what we could call pop-music related. This condition of bridge between different generations and sensibilities of the Spanish cultural network will be a constant throughout their career: Santonja and Van Aerssen acted as a link between the 1950s Madrid' bohemia and the early countercultural pop-rock scene, as they acted as a link between the 70s counterculture and the 80s *movida*, and between the 80s *movida* and the 90s indie scene. Other Nuevos Horizontes' 1969, Vainica Doble-

written songs display avant-garde elements, such as the surrealist lyricism of 'Mi mosca favorita', the Beatles-influenced escapist fantasy of 'Tio vivo' or the psychedelic vocal interplay of 'Cuatro estaciones', showcasing Santonja and Van Aerssen's ability to adapt their song writing for a vocal quartet.

When analysing the trajectory of Vainica Doble and their relationship with cinema there is a major moment that must be highlighted: their participation in the first feature film of the Basque director Iván Zulueta, entitled *Un, dos, tres, al escondite inglés* (1969). This is significant due to a variety of reasons. Firstly, Zulueta's film is considered one of the most important oeuvres of Spanish Pop Cinema (Fraile Prieto 2019, 88), and has progressively achieved cult status. It also meant the first collaboration between Zulueta and the duo, the preamble of a fruitful and long-lasting partnership. The filmmaker had already shown his interest in pop music by illustrating the cover of the then-last album by Los Brincos, *Contrabando* (1968). The film's plot is centred around the attempts of a group of Spanish pop fans of boycotting the presence of a song entitled 'Mentira, mentira' in a parody of Eurovision called Mundocanal. Initially Zulueta felt reluctant about the potential collaboration due to the perceived generational gap. Zulueta was a decade younger – 'nos veía muy carcas', in Van Aerssen's words to Macondo (1997, 37) – but eventually they found out common artistic ground.[61]

There are four Vainica Doble songs in the film. The first one appeared years later in the LP *Heliotropo* (1973) with the title 'A la sombra de un banano', an up-tempo Hawaiian-

[61] 'desde que conocimos a Iván, nos habíamos convertido en unas progres de lo más progre: descubríamos a Zappa, a la Incredible String Band... Todo esto después dejaría su poso' (Márquez 1983, 31)

influenced song that showcases Santonja and Van Aerssen's ability to mimic exotic genres while remaining expressive in the use of Spanish. Likewise, the other two untitled songs reproduce, respectively, a French Java song and a Broadway number. The central song for the film, which acts as a musical MacGuffin for the plot is 'Mentira, mentira'. This song, interpreted histrionically off screen by Gloria Van Aerssen and mimicked on screen by Clara Benayas, is a pivotal element in the plotline of the film, mocking the overacting melodrama of song contests such as Eurovision, San Remo or Benidorm. The songs of Vainica Doble, in this pre-recording stage, are songs in which intentional functionality prevails, in which the development of an own discourse is subject to the narrative intentions of the audio-visual products for which they are produced.

Another very remarkable collaboration that took place at the early stage of their career is their contribution to Armiñan's TV series *Del dicho al hecho* (1971) with the theme song, 'Refranes', recorded with Tickets as a backing band. In Orozco (1971) we find one of the most extended descriptions of the situation of the band within the Spanish music scene:

> *Vainica Doble es el único dúo femenino que hay en España. Son únicas en eso y en otras muchas cosas: en su buen humor, por ejemplo. Muy escuchadas, aunque poco conocidas. Cada semana, Televisión Española pone en antena un espacio escrito por Jaime Armiñán, 'Del dicho al hecho', que se abre con la canción 'Refranes', escrita e interpretada por Vainica Doble.*
>
> (Orozco, 1971, 41)

The discourse remarks the exceptionality of the band ('el único dúo femenino que hay en España') and the strange situation in which being heard every week in the only TV channel did not give them real popularity ('muy escuchadas, pero poco conocidas'). The

popularity and exposure of their songs did not translate into a large media presence or many records sold.

Vainica Doble's Oeuvre

1970 was a turning point in Vainica Doble's career. Encouraged by the positive reception of Van Aerssen and Santonja's compositions on television, Pepe Nieto offers them the possibility of starting a career as performing artists. Ana Zunzarren mentioned for the first time the name of the band in the newspaper *Madrid* in January (41). This early article, which included a brief interview, anticipates many of the elements that the written press will associate with the band, prior to the release of their first single. Zunzarren highlighted the camp humour of the band, their Anglo-American influences, and the atypical position of a duo of thirty-something women writing and performing rock-influenced music. From the earliest stages of their recording career, Vainica Doble's public coverage was centred on their exceptionality, as women who are married and mothers in an extremely male-centric public sphere, and as portrayers of a referential world (mature, feminine, traditional, surreal) that was unparalleled in Spanish pop-rock. The name itself, 'Double Hemstitch', made a reference to the world of sewing, associated with the image of traditional femininity prevalent during the Francoist period. Santonja and Van Aerssen were aware of their exceptionality, and it became part of their public image, in the way they crafted an image through interviews, lyrics and artworks, they reappropriated and subverted the signifiers of traditional femininity. Vainica Doble' name and early iconography connect with Patricia Mainardi's reading of needlework as 'the one art in which women controlled the education of their daughters, the production of the art, and were also the audience and critics', a reclamation process

of the artistic validity of traditionally undervalued artistic forms (1973, 1). The name 'Vainica Doble' was inspired by the clash of this traditional iconography with the sonority of names of bands of the Anglo-American avant-garde, in this case Vanilla Fudge, as mentioned by Van Aerssen herself in the interview with Márquez. (1983, 33). [62] It was a marketing asset. In the same interview with Márquez they recall that 'A Juan Carlos Eguillor, que dibujaba entonces en '*Mundo Joven*', le debió de hacer mucha gracia el nombre [de Vainica Doble] porque, sin conocernos de nada, nos metía constantemente en sus historietas...' (43). Eguillor is directly connected to Iván Zulueta as part of the pop art-influenced Basque artists of the late 1960s (Fraile Prieto 2019, 90), and both collaborated later in the children's book *Menduguete y Cuatronombres - Susana la de la sopa* (1973) and the fanzine *Euskadi Sioux* (1979).

The early production of Vainica Doble was characterised by unusual structures that connect with Michael Hicks (2000) definition of psychedelic rock as 'loud, reverberant, contrapuntal rock, slowed in tempo, unstable in harmony. and juxtapositional in form' (73). 'La bruja', was released as a single in February 1970, produced by Pepe Nieto and backed up by the members of the band Tickets. [63] It is a relatively unusual choice for a pop band single, as its duration greatly exceeds the three-and-a-half minute's music industry standard and is structure was uncommon due to the long semi-instrumental

[62] «[Gloria] A mí las labores siempre me han gustado mucho. Mari Carmen lo recordaba como lo más desagradable que la había pasado en su vida, hacer vainica. Y dije yo porque no nos llamamos 'Melocotón en almíbar', cosas de la casa. Todo estaba pillado, 'Melocotón en almíbar'. Con Iván Zulueta además estuvimos hablando, diciendo nombres y más nombres, y también él nos ayudó un poco porque nos dijo 'Vanilla Fudge', era aquel grupo de entonces, que bonito era 'Vanilla Fudge', ¿y Vainica?.»

[63] Tickets would eventually become the popular 'rock urbano' band Asfalto, drawing a line that connects Vainica Doble with this scene, which largely competed with the Movida Madrileña during the 80s (Del Val Ripollés 2014, 203).

introduction, to the the absence of a clear verse-chorus-verse pattern and the harmonic profusion. Its kaleidoscopic and convoluted lyricism ('*arsénico, ácido nítrico, mercurio, azufre, antimonio / con la ayuda del demonio y algún signo cabalístico / siete pelos de dragón, dientes de macho cabrío / después de mezclado en frío / se calienta en el crisol, Luego la destilas en un alambique fino*') relates to psychedelic rock' connects with the countercultural fixation with medievalism, which permeated British progressive rock during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The b-side, 'Un metro cuadrado', explores the connection between psychedelic rock and Gregorian chant (an influence that bands such as The Electric Prunes and The Yardbirds had already reproduced in the Anglo-American scene). [64] In this song Vainica Doble presented a hymn to individual resistance against the oppressive threat of a castrating environment ('*Que la gente sepa que todo eso es mío / y nadie se atreva a entrar sin permiso / y, dentro, un manzano o tal vez una parra / para refugiarme en su sombra en verano / con una guitarra, pues no cabe un piano*'). Critics such as Orozco understood that the song 'expone el problema de la necesidad de poseer algo propio, aunque sólo sea un metro cuadrado de tierra, en donde uno pueda refugiarse' (1970, 42). The song faced backlash due to a perceived conservativism. [65] In the progressive environment of the year 1970, when the album came out, the internationalist and collectivist current focused on the Communist Party as the main nucleus of anti-Franco action collided head-on with the demand for individualistic values that could be extracted from the lyrics of 'Un Metro Cuadrado'. However, a rereading

[64] William Erchard points out the connection between gregorian music and mid-1960s psychedelic rock, present in The Kinks' 'See My Friends' (1966), The Byrds' 'Eight Miles High' (1967) and particularly The Yardbirds, observing 'similarity on the level of the signifier is reinforced by parallels in the signifieds of Gregorian and folk topics: mysticism, retreat from modern urban life, collective values, the archaic and ancient' (2017, 91).

[65] 'En ABC nos pusieron a parir... En la Radio, los progres acusaron a 'Un metro cuadrado' de reaccionaria. [Carmen] Nos atacaron por todos lados.' (Márquez, 1983, 41)

that considers the weak social and economic position of women in the population structure could observe in the verses of the song an attempt to dismantle the Francoist maxim according to which women depended economically on their husbands. In this single, therefore, the religious musical tradition intersects with a pagan and countercultural drift, the humorous lyric intersects with social denunciation and the vindication of ancestral traditions. The poetics of Vainica Doble were built on the idea of dismantling the irreconcilability of a priori opposed traditions, in building bridges between theoretically distant cultural currents. The reception of the songs was mild. On one hand there were some positive reviews such as Román Orozco's in *Madrid* ('*dos temas importantes, nuevos, frescos […] casi, casi, como música progresiva, por las ideas renovadoras y por la concepción del mismo'* 1970, 55). On the other hand, the song received virtually no radio airplay and received harsh criticism in other media (Santonja 2014, n.p.). A later article by Román Orozco in the same newspaper the following year illustrates the position within the industry of the band after the release of their first single: '*Vainica Doble es el único dúo femenino que hay en España. Son únicas en eso y en otras muchas cosas: en su buen humor, por ejemplo. Muy escuchadas, aunque poco conocidas*' (1971, 41). Orozco's discourse remarks the exceptionality of the band the paradoxical situation in which their music was: listened but not bought, with popular tunes but not well-known as a band. [66]

Their excellent position within Madrid's artistic networks and their reputation as talented songwriters contributed to the band carrying on with their recording career,

[66] In 1970 and 1971 they participated in the soundtrack of *Fábulas* and *Refranes*, both Jaime de Armiñán-directed TVE series.

regardless of low sales. Ópalo, their second label, which will eventually release their debut self-titled album in 1971 was a 'minuscule label created by the singer, songwriter and producer Manolo Díaz and radio network Cadena Ser with a management model based on 'let's see what happens'' (Zabuel 2018, n.p.). The recording took place in May 1973 the Madrilenian Estudios Celada, the first independent studio in Spain, and the main backing ensemble for Vainica Doble were the members of Tickets, complemented by session musicians such as Carlos Villa, Rafa Gálvez or Santi Villaseñor, who swapped instruments without specific planning, in chaotic recording sessions (Márquez 1983, 33). The artwork of the album is doubly remarkable. Firstly because of the pop-art cover design by Iván Zulueta, in which the Basque artist depicted a bullfighting arena in which the *toros* spectacle is substituted by a battle represented by cut-out soldiers. Zulueta's image, colourful and naive, full of references to a pop Spanishness, allegorically antiwar and ironic represents the multiplicity of layers inherent in *Vainica Doble*'s music. Secondly because the photos of the band that appeared in the back cover of the album were taken by Iván Zulueta, Jaime Chávarri (renowned film director and screenwriter) and Mario Pacheco (record producer and entrepreneur, future director of Nuevos Medios and partially responsible of the popularity of *nuevo flamenco* in the 1970s and 80s). Van Aerssen and Santonja were, again, in the exact centre of the artistic networks in Madrid.

Vainica Doble was released in May 1971. The first song, 'Caramelo de limon', is paradigmatic of the inherent rewriting of the Spanish tradition that takes place in the album. Martial rhythms are juxtaposed with psychedelic effects and a vindication of Spanishness in a key that is far from chauvinistic cliches. The approach 'humorístico,

divertido, muy céltico' (Zunzanrren 1970, 41) to the traditions of the Spanish *canción de autor* is fulfilled by a lyrical imaginary that focuses on traditionally feminine cultural notions ('*Caramelo de limón, el sol de mi país / sol de mi país, cielo blanquecino y gris, palomita de anís / mermelada de ciruela el mar que en sueños vi / que al romper las olas se convierte en chantilly'*). The evocation of the lost homeland through culinary and meteorological metaphors draws a Spain that transcends the imaginary of Franco's national claim. Vainica Doble draw on the imaginary of the everyday and the popular to create a vindictive narrative. For example, 'Dime, Felix', treats animal abuse (and, surreptitiously, macho abuse) in the form of a comic but bittersweet narrative. The narrator describes an insensitive husband capable of killing his pet, a cynical man. The sweetness of the harmony in major chords coarse with lyrics that portray the internal contradictions of patriarchy within the family: *'¿Cómo puedes pertenecer a la sociedad protectora de animales / y al mismo tiempo albergar en el corazón instintos tan criminales*?'. In 'El duende' one of the recurring themes from then on is introduced, the evocation of primal love through magical characters, connecting with the fables of Samaniego and the Brothers Grimm. In the same way that one of the quintessential groups of the British counterculture, Syd Barrett-era's Pink Floyd, took his lyrical imagery from the tradition of children's books by authors such as Lewis Carroll or Kenneth Grahame and their vast knowledge of zoology and botany (Chapman 2012, 56); Vainica Doble appeal to a tradition that is theoretically far from usual pop-rock lyricism.

In songs such as 'Dime, Félix', 'La ballena azul' and '¿Quién le pone el cascabel al gato?' environmental and animal rights struggle become a metaphor for the repression and cruelty of political power. Vainica Doble connect with the conservationist mentality of

the counterculture of the 60s ('*La mataron sin piedad de arponazo bien certero / y la arrastra por el mar un moderno ballenero / la van a descuartizar para llevarla al mercado / mucho hay que aprovechar de un cetáceo congelado'*).[67] The counterculture, as a vast space of vindication which had anti-authoritanism as a common point, allowed Vainica Doble a metaphorical platform to critique hierarchies and cultural violence, both within the human species and that of the human race against other animals. The idea of romantic disaffection in middle-aged women, which the band explores in 'Roberto querido' becomes in Vainica Doble a succinct critique to the lack of fundamental freedoms in women's lifes, as 'Mariluz' does in its explicit depiction of a dreamy female character caught in the patriarchal imposition of an unwanted marriage ('*Y sus padres la querían casar con un brillante ingeniero industrial: / 'Si ahora no le quieres ya le querrás, con la costumbre el amor llegará' / Y ella soñaba con Supermán, y con Tarzán, con Peter-Pan'*). Vainica Doble found in observational songs such as 'Mariluz' and 'Fulgencio Pimentel' a space to depict the contradictions and limits of the authoritarian, patriarchal social system of late Francoist Spain, in which parents' awareness of the potential husbands affluency was a central factor in the formation of couples (Martín Gaite 1987, 403). Vainica Doble's exceptionality stems from its hybridation of theoretically distant worldviews: the middle-aged upper middle class, the feminine and the countercultural.

Vainica Doble was released in May to an almost total failure, both commercially and critically. Fabuel (2018, n.p.) mentions that no written media released any review of the

[67] 'Quién le puso el cascabel al gato', which had already been recorded for the soundtrack of De Armiñán's *Fábulas* became Vainica Doble's first encounter with Franco's censorship[67], who assumed that the cat the song was referring to was the *generalísimo*.

album, and that only 300 copies were pressed. The good reputation of the band in the music industry and the bohemian circles of Madrid did not translate to further interest in their debut release, which media-wise attracted only one interview with Orozco in the *Madrid* newspaper. Other *Vainica Doble*-related releases appeared in the press, such as *Disco Exprés'* review of the single 'Refranes / Fulgencio Pimentel' (released in June 1971, a month after their homonymous LP debut), where the songs were qualified as a 'experiencia poético-musical' and compared to artists of the same period such as Aguaviva (6). Alpuente (1972, 49) mentions in *Triunfo* that the band had provoked in a sector of pop-rock criticism a 'desagrado inexplicable', which he relates to the 'primera impression de ingenuidad' that their songs provoked. In any case, the reception of this first album did not preclude its future status as a classic album in any way.

The conception and recording of their second album were directly affected by the bankruptcy of their previous record label, Ópalo, which disappeared in early 1973, only two years after its foundation as a sub label of Productora de Grabaciones. Gendre mentions that the band tried unsuccessfully to sign with CBS Records immediately after the demise of Ópalo, but they were unsuccessful because the company felt that their music and image overlapped that of Cecilia, a very successful singer-songwriter that released her 3 albums in CBS between 1972 and 1975 (2014, 55). In July 1973 they performed their first official concert as a band, in the Club Morocco, in Madrid. This is a meaningful event due to a variety of reasons. First, Vainica Doble, conceived initially as a studio-only band, started a period of (relative) public exposition, with which both Gloria and Carmen were never comfortable with, as they stated in an interview with *Música Popular* (1984, 23). Secondly, all the accounts of that first concert coincide in

depicting the unique atmosphere at the gig, which perfectly represents the status of the band within a wider cultural scene. Caballero Bonald (1983, 91) recalls the event as organised by Antonio Gades and filled with 'viejos amigos', part of the bohemian elite of 1970s Madrid. [68] Bustamante (1973, 41) mentions in his review, for example, filmmaker Jaime Chávarri, gallerist Enrique Gómez-Acebo, singer Célia Gámez, actress María Asquerino or France Press correspondent in Madrid Jean-Louis Arnaud. Early Vainica Doble concerts worked as an extension of the private parties in which they had started performing together, as they were not conceived as promotional events in which they aspired to expand their public, but as semiprivate celebrations for a very specific social and cultural elite. It was precisely in this Morocco Club gig in which novelist José Manuel Caballero Bonald listened to their music for the first time, and this encounter would eventually be instrumental for the development of *Heliotropo*. Caballero Bonald was impressed with their songs, which he described as 'ingenuas, torpes, amables, despiadadas, melancólicas, conmovedoras, infantiles, maduras, perversas, meticulosas, anárquicas' (1983, 92), and he decided to offer them to record an album for Ariola, the record label that he was working in as a creative director. The recording of *Heliotropo* was marked by a greater degree of freedom for Pepe Nieto in terms of arrangements, using state-of-the-art recording facilities and by the re-recording and re-arrangement of previously developed songs. [69]

[68] Flamenco dancer and choreographer, very well-known both as a performer and as a left-wing activist during late Francoism and in the early Transición period.

[69] In Márquez (1983, 47) Gloria affirms that 'ahí no nos metimos en nada. Lo dejamos totalmente en manos de Pepe Nieto... Estábamos muy cansadas de las broncas, de oír que nuestros músicos perdían mucho tiempo, que había que grabar con profesionales... así que le dijimos a Pepe que lo arreglase él.' If in the previous album, *Vainica Doble*, they had relied on friends as instrumentalists, in *Heliotropo* the recordings were made by Ariola-hired studio musicians.

Heliotropo was first released in December 1973, but its wider distribution took place in February 1974.[70] Broadly speaking it could be argued that the album has a different tone to *Vainica Doble*, both musically and lyrically. If the common thread in the narrative of their homonymous debut was the rewriting of the traditional fables, *Heliotropo* is thematically structured around family life and childhood. Similarly, if *Vainica Doble* can be considered a very psychedelic rock-influenced album, *Heliotropo* relies on orchestral arrangements and non-Anglo-American genres (habanera, lieder, copla). Even though Caballero Bonald is credited as the producer of the album, the key collaborator for Santonja and Van Aerssen is Pepe Nieto, musical director and arranger of the album. Caballero Bonald acted mainly as a bridge between the band and Ariola and as the artwork designer. The cover art shows a composition of two bucolic portraits of the band along with a typographic art piece with the name of the band and the title of the album, credited to a Caballero Bonald's *nom de plume*, Julio Ramentol. The images, in which Santonja and Van Aerssen are surrounded by fishing gear and a picnic bag insists on a rustic, naïve iconography that overlaps with the idea of a band that focuses its poetics on everyday life. This is reinforced in the insert's artwork, a Juan Carlos Eguillor comic strip that includes a motto that sums up Vainica Doble's early public image: '*érase una vez las Vainica Doble que cantaban desde el fondo de un taro de mermelada'*. *Heliotropo*'s iconography acts as a counterpoint to *Vainica Doble'*s – whereas their debut's artwork recreated a colourful, pop-art influenced battlefield, an extension of the psychedelic-influenced frenzy that dominated pop-rock artworks between 1966 and 1971 (García Lloret, 2005, 39-41), their second album aspired to appeal to a different

[70] Ariola's newsletter about the album is dated in February 1974.

cultural clientele, amplifying Vainica Doble's image of pastoral eccentricity and assimilating the band to a more mature audience (to the cantautores), instead of a standard teenager pop-rock public.

The album's opener is 'Requiem por un amigo', that sets up a gloomy, melancholic tone for the album, particularly due to its funeral march-reminiscent drumming pattern. The song explores two recurrent topics in their discography: broken friendships due to betrayal (which will reappear in 'El pabú' or 'Dime, Félix') and characters whose ambition overcomes their human bonds ('Respeto y obediencia'). The succession of animal kingdom metaphors ('*el que nace mariposa y se convierte en araña', 'te hizo caer en un pastel de rica miel, preso de patas en él'* or '*eres pese a tu dinero un oso más que da saltos al son del mismo pandero*') exemplifies the lyrical reappropriation of the popular culture heritage, particularly of child literature, that takes place in Vainica Doble's lyrics. The naiveness of the lyrical references contrasts with the dark atmosphere set up by the song's instrumentation, based on sustained organ chords and Gregorian-like vocals. The synth solo section (1.52-2.16), in which the sound of a Moog synthesiser contrasts with the powerful vocal improvisation of Gloria Van Aerssen recalls Pink Floyd's 'The Great Gig in the Sky', released only months before the recording of *Heliotropo* in 1973. The second song of the album, 'El pabú', continues the usage of infantile imagery through the enumeration of placid childhood memories, particularly of toys ('*una lata y una guita / una espada de madera / un balón, dos perras chicas / cinco o seis pesetas / y un*

pabú').[71] The lyrical scheme reproduces one of most recognisable patterns in Vainica Doble's poetics: a naïve narration that is abruptly unsettled by a change in tone, becoming bitter, disillusioned or uncanny (this scheme will appear later this album, for example, in 'Nana de una madre muy madre', or in 'Coplas Del Iconoclasta Enamorado'). Musically, 'El pabú' follows the instrumental and vocal patterns of Californian folk-rock that they had previously mentioned as an important influence, particularly Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young (Orozco 1971, 41). The two first songs echo the two of the most popular currents among post-psychedelic rock musicians in the Anglo-American world during the early 1970s: the intricate approach of British progressive rock and the return-to-roots attitude of folk rock. Through the album other contemporary currents are channelled, such as the psychedelic influences in 'Dos españoles, tres opiniones',

'Dos españoles, tres opiniones' is arguably the most overly political song in the album and in early Vainica Doble's career. The origin of this song is in their 1971's theme song for the sixth episode of the TVE series *Del dicho al hecho* directed by Jesús Yagüe, scripted by Jaime de Armiñán and starring Fernando Fernán-Gómez, friend, of the band since their Art-school days. [72] The lyrics refer to a perceived individualism in the Spanish population and to the impossibility of collective agreement in a context of growing political disenchantment ('*en este país hay mucha gente cada cual opina diferente cada cual con su ego para luego al final todos borregos'*). Musically, a sustained fuzz effect is used in the main guitar riff and in the guitar solo (1.36-2.02), evocating Indian sitar

[71] 'Perras chicas' was the popular name given to the 5 peseta cents coin during early Francoism (Cantera Ortiz de Urbina 2002, 13). As for 'pabú' *Emérita* references that it was an onomatopoeic term used to refer to cars in 1940s' Madrid (1952, 182).

[72] The title of the chapter is 'Tres españoles, cuatro opiniones', a traditional proverb that the band slightly changed for the sake of musicality.

motifs, one of the most recognizable signifiers of early psychedelic rock (Johnson and Stax 2006, 416). As in the initial 'Requiem por un amigo', the ending of the song echoes Gregorian influences through the counterpoint of two vocal lines sang by Santonja and Van Aerssen alternatively while quoting Christian prayer 'Kyrie eleison'. Intertextuality is also key to the following song, 'Elegía al jardín de mi abuela, una dedicatoria y un suspiro'. The nostalgic narration is interrupted by an avant-la-lettre sample of Schumann's lied 'Widmung', an intradiegetic resource to illustrate the narrator's memories. This musical quote has been analysed by Delis Gómez (2017, 202) as an early exponent of the hybridation between classical music and Spanish pop-rock. The lyrics expand the disillusion with adult life previously mentioned in 'El pabú' and escapism through childhood memories ('*infeliz rincón de hotel de lujo / alegre jardín de mi niñez'*). The narrator's evocation reflects the artistic transmission through the female members of the family, of grandmothers as guarantors of an ancestral culture that is transmitted through a matriarchal lineage, as suggested by Van Aerssen in Márquez (1983, 49). 'Moros, cristianos y chinos' is a very short acoustic song with onomatopoeic vocals that echoes the psychedelic folk experiments of the Scottish The Incredible String Band, an influence that Vainica Doble have acknowledged in various interviews (Márquez 1983 or *Música Popular* 1984). The ending of the A-side of the album is 'Ay, quién fuera a Hawaii '', an exotica pastiche dominated by the sound of a Hawaiian-influenced lap steel guitar. This track renounces to the psychedelic, progressive or folk-rock musical influences to create a parodic, kitsch atmosphere in which Santonja's lyrics contrast the pastoral idealism of a secluded life in Hawaii with the technocratic language of contemporary capitalism ('*Ay, quien fuera Gauguin, quien viviera en un siglo anterior / para escapar de este cruel paisaje, como el buen salvaje vegetar a nivel de Jean Jacques*

Rousseau / Pero somos prisioneros del establishment / vil estructura el establishment marketing marketing').

In *Heliotropo* motherhood becomes a convoluted issue. 'Nana de una madre muy madre' explores and subverts the narrative of devoted motherhood. The narrator presents herself as a *mater amantísima,* an embodiment of the ideal vision of a mother in the Francoist ideals, 'nacida con el don y y la predisposición de encarnar la sublime mission de la maternidad' (Alzard Cerezo 2019, 226). The narration is interspersed with fragments of a traditional lullaby, 'Arrorró mi niño'. The song's arrangement, based on an electric piano and a naïve string arrangement, is unsettled from the minute 1:22 onwards, in which the entrance of the drums and the bass guitar preclude the change of tone in the lyrics. The narrator suddenly abandons the *mater amantísima* role to a more pragmatic approach to education, implying that children must learn to be able to defend themselves during their inherently violent adulthood. 'Nana…' embodies many of the distinctive elements of *Heliotropo*-era Vainica Doble: the subversive and ironic approach to the stereotypes of femineity and motherhood, the transgression of naïve language ('*jironcito', 'corazoncito', 'lucero de la mañana'*) and intertextuality with popular and classical music. Devoted motherhood is also questioned in 'El Pabú' from the perspective of the disillusioned child (*una madre sonriente/ doble filo de navaja / un amigo sonriente / mil duros en la caja*). Motherhood loses in Vainica Doble's oeuvre the sacralised role that had in the Francoist worldview: it becomes a potential source of disillusion, a projection of an oppressive environment.

Individual resistance against a hostile environment (already seen in 'Un metro cuadrado' and 'Mariluz') is central in 'Agáchate que te pierdes' and 'La máquina infernal'. In the former the environmental awareness and the wildlife motifs (which were usual during their career, as it can be seen in 'La ballena azul', 'El oso poderoso', 'Escrito con sal y brea' and 'Pájaro phatwo') symbolizes the wind of change in Spanish politics, using a basic colour association ('*has conseguido que al final tus hojas sean rojas como un desafío al honorable gris loca*l') that surreptitiously recalls anti-Francoist symbology. [73] The latter includes a variety of experimental techniques (loud distorted vocals, fuzz-infused guitars, flamenco-influenced *quejíos*) to reinforce its unsettling mood, which connects with the neo-luddite branch of the 1960s counterculture. The '*máquina infernal*' ('*fabricada para el mal / con diez ojos de cristal / manos de hierro y acero / dientes que mascan dinero/ y corazón de metal*') correlates with the rejection contemporary technological devices as a 'machine was the apparatus of the state and its technology, to be imagined metaphorically as an industrial 'manufactory' system in the nineteenth-century mould' (Jones 2006, 178).

The final stretch of the album starts with 'Habanera del primer amor', probably the most popular song in the album, that reinterprets and reconstructs the habanera genre, very popular in Spain since the mid nineteenth century (Sánchez Sánchez 2006, 4). [74] While musically is far from any influence of the Anglo-American countercultural rock lyrically returns to the recurrent topic of the loss of innocence during childhood, which appears

[73] 'Esta es más política. Para mí refleja la mala leche que había en ese momento. Yo, mis escarceos políticos, los tuve por entonces... Coincide' in Márquez (1983, 51)

[74] As of 2021 it remains one of the most streamed songs of the band, 10 times more than any other song in the same album. Paramío confirms that it became a usual song in the encores of their concerts (1980, 41).

often in the album (‘El pabú’, ‘Nana…’). ‘A la sombra de un banano’, for its part, recovers the humorous Hawaiian pastiche of ‘Ay, quién fuera a Hawaii’ blended with doo-wap vocals and early rock’n’roll instrumentation. The parodic enumeration of Anglo-American pop-culture references was anticipated in the *Un, dos, tres, al escondite inglés* (1969) soundtrack, in which the original version of the song had appeared. Finally, the album ends with ‘Coplas del iconoclasta enamorado’, in which the narrator recounts an ‘amour fou’ and the brutal consequences on his life and his decision-making. The last stanza, in which the song slows down and Van Aerssen's voice abandons the determined tone to sound hesitant, gives rise to moral ambiguity. This song avoids, as many others in the album (‘Habanera…’, ‘Nana…’ or ‘Elegía…’) pop-rock influences to widen their referential palette, keeping the traditional *copla* structure (understood as poetic form, not as a reference to *copla andaluza*). *Heliotropo* functions as a melting pot of countercultural values and Vainica Doble’s own personal experienced, shaped by their generational, class and gender experience, very different to the paradigmatic counterculture-related individual. The album is conceived looking at, being influenced by the counterculture, but not from within. At this stage of their career Vainica Doble cannot be considered a countercultural band but a band whose discourse was being shaped by the ideals of the counterculture, among a panoply of influences.

Heliotropo had a mild reception, particularly in comparison with the consideration of classic that the album reached from the 1980s onwards. There is no official account of the sales of the album, and the album did not reach the top 20 at any point (Vogel 2017, 191), but Gendre (2014, 61) points out to a moderately positive sales reception that was watered down due to Ariola’s poor distribution and the reluctance of the band to do

concerts or promotion, other than the presentation gig in Madrid's Bourbon Street Club in December 1973 and an interview with Mariano Méndez Vigo in *ABC*, published the 10th of March 1974, three months after the album's release. Charo Martínez Garín reviewed positively the album in *El Musiquero*, a short-lived weekly music magazine, praising the ambition shown in the most progressive rock-oriented songs of the album, particularly in 'La máquina infernal' (1974, 5). Although they never performed these songs live on TV, Van Aerssen points out in Macondo (1997, 37) that further disagreements with Ariola regarding their reluctance to promote the album were among the reasons to leave Madrid and move to Altea, a coastal town in Alicante. *Heliotropo*, with its orchestral arrangements, its hotchpotch of chanson, copla, habanera, lied and classical influences and its departure from a strictly psychedelic rock sound may be seen as a rejection of the countercultural influence. But, nevertheless, the musical variety in *Heliotropo* can be directly linked to certain countercultural artists, such as Frank Zappa, who aspired to reflect in his albums a sense of artistic freedom freed from the boundaries of genre. [75] Similarly, the lyrical apparatus of the album relies in an ironic rewriting of different traditional genres (lullabies, coplas, habaneras) that Santonja uses to deploy her anti patriarchal, environmentalist and equalitarian poetics, exploring themes that had been virtually absent from Spanish pop-rock lyricism, such as motherhood, or expanding the semantic field of Spanish pop-rock with vocabulary, expressions and idioms from children's stories or mythological legends.

[75] Van Aerssen mentions in Alcanda (1981, 12) the direct influence of Zappa in the *Heliotropo* era: '*en el 73 y en el 74 estábamos demasiado ocupadas en escuchar lo que salía. Mari Carmen no paraba con Zappa y las Madres de la Invención*.'

From *Heliotropo* onwards the musical and artistic network of Vainica Doble changed greatly. If *Vainica Doble* had been conceived as an extension of their work with Tickets and the orchestrally arranged *Heliotropo* was a product of the availability of studio musicians and the relatively abundant budget of Ariola, *Contracorriente* was the product of the encounter between the band and the burgeoning Andalusian countercultural rock scene.[76] There are several factors to understand the conception and development of Vainica Doble's third album. Firstly, the obvious -and radical- political change since Franco's death in 1975 and the cultural shock wave that subsequently occurred. Secondly, and directly related to the political and cultural change that was taking place in Spain, the huge change in the pop-rock scene, both creatively and industrially. If during the creation of *Heliotropo* subgenres such as progressive and psychedelic rock remained relatively obscure, by 1976 a remarkable array of counterculture-related artists (Triana, Granada, Eduardo Bort, *Ciclos*-era Canarios, Fusioon, Gualberto, Goma, Tarántula), record labels (BASF, Ariola or, particularly, Gong-Movieplay), magazines (*Ajoblanco*, *Vibraciones*, *Star* or *Ozono*) or festivals (1975' Festival de la Cochambre, 1975' Canet Rock, 1976' Primer Enrollamiento Internacional del Rock Ciudad de León). Apart from the changes in the political and cultural context, the personal situation of Van Aerssen had changed, particularly after her 1974 relocation to Altea (Alicante). *Contracorriente* was preceded by the work on the band in Jose Luis Borau's *Furtivos* soundtrack, a bittersweet experience for the band due to the scarce presence of their compositions in the final edit of the film (Música Popular 1984, 43). [77] Gong, a sub label

[76] For further analysis of Andalusian countercultural rock and the figure of Gonzalo García Pelayo see chapter 5 of this thesis.

[77] The collaboration of the band with Jose Luis Borau had already started in 1969 when Borau was the producer of *Uno, dos, tres, al escondite inglés* and continued in 1991 with the soundtrack of Borau's series *Celia*.

of Movieplay Records run by Gonzalo García Pelayo, had specialized from 1974 onwards on releasing political singer-songwriters (Victor Jara, Hilario Camacho, Silvio Rodríguez and Violeta Parra), progressive and psychedelic rock artists (Triana, Eduardo Bort, Granada, Goma or Pau Riba) and diverse folkloric and fusion artists (Inti Illimani, Quilapayún or Lole y Manuel). García Pelayo points out in Lapuente (2014, n.p.) that Gong was a Movieplay investment to reach a new public, and that he had full decision-making autonomy without inquiries from the parent company. Vainica Doble enter Gong thanks to the mediation of Moncho Alpuente, a satiric singer-songwriter with whom they had collaborated on *Vidas Ejemplares* (1973), the only album of Alpuente's first band, Desde Santurce a Bilbao Blues Band. Remarkably, Alpuente, who was also a music journalist, had started directing and hosting a music TV programme in TVE, *Mundo pop* (1974-1976). Previously to the recording and release of the album we can find an interesting mention to Vainica Doble in the December 1975 issue of the magazine *Vibraciones*. Juan José Abad, in an article entitled '*En Madrid, rock obrero'* mentions Vainica Doble as a completely opposite project to the burgeoning '*rock bronca'* scene that was flourishing in Madrid at the time, while still complaining about the scarce commercial success of Vainica Doble, mentioning that '*debido al despiste de sus responsables de promoción es posible que sigan siendo inéditas para la mayoría mucho tiempo aún*' (20). Vainica Doble were, by 1975, a greatly respected band in Madrid's cultural scene, a well-known secret whose music was regularly exposed in TVE but whose name was still virtually unknown for the public. [78]

[78] Apart from the previously mentioned soundtracks and collaborations for a variety of TVE programmes and series, the music of Vainica Doble appeared 4 times between 1973 and 1976 in TVE's test card.

Contracorriente's genesis took place in Altea, where Van Aerssen was living with her family. The rehearsal sessions for the songs were deeply influenced by the encounters with the local counterculture, consumption of contemporary music and the possibility of arranging the songs with a full band before entering the recording studio.[79] *Contracorriente* was Vainica Doble's deliberate effort of recording a more rock-oriented album, and was recorded in the Kirios recording studios, in Madrid, in two weeks of November 1975. Even though Van Aerssen and Santonja recall the process of preparation of *Contracorriente* as particularly enjoyable, their experience in the recording process itself was frustrating, due to the budget constraints, having to mix the album in only 24 hours (Márquez 1983, 55). It should be noted that in *Contracorriente* the band that accompanied Vainica Doble included Gualberto (multi-instrumentalist that had been part of the influential Sevillian band Smash and who later collaborated with artists such as Camarón de la Isla, Lole y Manuel or María Jiménez), Salvador Domínguez (former member of Los Pekenikes and Los Canarios), Hilario Camacho (Bob Dylan-influenced singer songwriter) or Carlos Cárcamo (leader of the prog rock band Granada). Although Gonzalo García Pelayo did not contribute with any arrangement as a producer, he attempted to gather around all Gong recordings instrumentalists with a countercultural sensibility, with clear progressive and psychedelic rock influences. *Contracorriente*'s cover art was, as in *Vainica Doble*, designed by Iván Zulueta, not

[79] Regarding the final result of *Contracorriente* Van Aerssen declared '*Pues os voy a decir que a mí me hubiese gustado que todos nuestros discos se pareciesen a Contracorriente, porque a mí me va muy bien ese rollo, trabajar en unión de un grupo estable, que haga también sus propias cosas, donde se mezclen las canciones con partes instrumentales*.' (Van Aerssen in Música Popular 1984, 45). Van Aerssen also mentioned in an interview with *El Planeta* regarding the circumstances of recording that '*Y ahí estaba hasta el último jipi, que Altea era muy jipi entonces. Y vino aquella chica con los pastelitos, ¿te acuerdas? Que a saber lo que tenían los pastelitos ¡qué tontas éramos! Entre eso y los gin-tonics... 24 horas pegando saltos. Yo, con cuatro niños, con un marido...*' (1998, 19)

coincidentally one of the main influences of Van Aerssen and Santonja in discovering new music. The cover art of the album depicts a scene from the Disney animated movie *Bambi* (1942), a scene whose dialogue is quoted in the album's 'La rabieta (Diálogo de la película 'Bambi' y tema musical de la película 'Furtivos')'. De Felipe (2006, 199) understands this gesture as part of Zulueta's obsession with the film, developed also in an iconic scene of his magnum opus, *Arrebato* (1979). The aggressively camp, colourful tone of the art cover suggest a departure from the elegant, *cantautor*-oriented cover of *Heliotropo*, implying a return to purely countercultural aesthetics.

Contracorriente continues *Heliotropo's* effort to deconstruct received ideas about parenting, as seen in 'Un mal entendido amor (Respeto y obediencia)', in which coercive education and parental violence are vehemently critiqued ('*Paternidad investida de poder omnipresente / autoridad sin medida con derecho omnipotente / Destacada tiranía pretenciosa y omniscente / dictadura consentida, despotismo inconsecuente...*'). The postmodern pastiche of 'La Rabieta' quotes Bambi and intercalates Rafael Duyós and Javier Romo's lullaby 'Nana del cabrerillo' with the theme song that they had written for Jose Luis Borau's *Furtivos* (1975) to fathom the perverse logics that are implicit in parenthood. Vainica Doble apply the countercultural point of view to their condition of mothers, understanding the counterculture not simply as a generational stance, but as a change of perspective in the comprehension of the political role of the individual and the group, seeking a succinct critique of the institutions. The child as countercultural subject is also central in 'Que no', which questions parental abuse. Santonja's lyrics understands the child as the essential victim of the inherited inequalities of the social system, assuming that the accomplishments of a new vision of politics (embodied in the

countercultural project) would benefit children enormously. The questioning of family, politics, the class system and the environment are not read as a generational problem, but as an ethical issue.

In the anti-authoritarian stance of 'El oso poderoso' (*Había una vez un oso poderoso / del bosque era el rey / todos le adoraban le reverenciaban y respetaban su ley / Cortejo de negros grajos le seguía por adulación / y al hacerse viejo los del negro cortejo / diéronle muerte sin compasión*) Vainica Doble blend the archaistic tendencies of Santonja's lyrics with a countercultural point of view. Santonja's lyrics avoid the fetishisation of the Anglo-American counterculture, as evidenced in allegation of the Mediterranean virtues in the face of the perceived rigidity and moral superiority of the northern European countries and Luteran values ('*Oscurita es mi pigmentación / Y mi cuerpo es enjuto y resistente / Rubias gentes me tienen compasión / Porque me falta algún diente / Y entre dientes me río yo'*). In 'Magnificat' the rereading of Christian canticle, an early Marian hymn about charity and redistribution of poverty ('*Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles / Esurientes implevit bonis, et divites dimisit inanes*') adds subtly a few verses in Portuguese in reference to the recent Carnation Revolution that had freed the neighbouring country from Salazar's dictatorship.[80]

Contracorriente is arguably the most counterculture-linked album of Vainica Doble, due not only to the previously aforementioned conditions of production and release, but

[80] 'el 'Magnificat' no es, en realidad, un tema religioso, sino más bien de protesta, pero claro, al estar cantando en latín, queda más abstracta. Era un tema dedicado a la revolución portuguesa del 74' (Música Popular 1984, 16)

also to the general antiauthoritarian tone of the songs, that form a fresco of the Van Aerssen and Santonja's sensibility at the time, and their lyrical and musical obsessions and influences. It had a better reception than their previous two albums, as proven by the need for a repressing just months after the album's release. [81] Manrique praised the album in *Disco Exprés*, in a very significant review due to a variety of facts. Firstly, Manrique acknowledges that *Contracorriente* is his first contact with the band and that the fact that they had previously created the soundtrack for a variety of TVE programmes '*no resultaba especialmente prometedor'*. This illustrates the paradoxical situation of Vainica Doble within the music industry: 6 years after their debut LP they remained unknown for some of the most prestigious journalists in Spanish pop-rock criticism. Secondly, Manrique applauded the 'subversive' quality of *Contracorriente*, its connection with contemporary tendencies and the fusion of the *cantautor* lyricism with progressive rock instrumentation (1976, 9). Similarly, in *Ozono* appeared a positive Juan de Pablos review that compared *Contracorriente* to 1975 Jaume Sisa's *Qualselvol Nit Pot Sortir el Sol,* particularly in its mixture of oneirism and *costumbrismo (*1976, 49*).* The relative success of *Contracorriente* helped the band to gain recognition in a wider public, but Vainica Doble never reached professionalism. The progressive recognition of their value will be progressive and deferred in time, as I will mention in the last section of this chapter. In any case, their contribution to the intersection between counterculture and pop-rock music in Spain relies on their capacity to reverse the male-dominated, ageist tendency of counterculture to construct a different, more inclusive, perspective in Spanish pop-rock music.

[81] 'la primera tirada de 'Contracorriente' se ha agotado ya nada más salir a la venta' in Ordovás (1976, 12)

The critic reputation of the band changed deferredly due to the recognition of their influence that a great variety of artists have acknowledged. In the 2000s, the specialized Spanish pop-rock magazines, such as *Rockdelux and Efe Eme,* [82] imbued in a nostalgic fever that paralleled that of their Anglo-American counterparts at that time, published a series of lists of best Spanish albums of the previous century, mainly by the vote of fellow musicians and critics (Del Val et al. 2014, 149). [83] In them, there was an intended attempt of establishing a canon of the history of Spanish pop-rock, and Vainica Doble's 1973 *Heliotropo* appeared in both previously aforementioned lists in 4th and 6th positions, respectively, being in both cases the first female-led albums that appear. This unanimity reflects the consideration of the band as fundamental in the evolution of Spanish music, with Lapuente mentioning the literary value of their lyrics and how influential they were to artists related to *La Movida* or to 90s Indie pop (2004, 36). If there is a characteristic of Vainica Doble's reception that should be pointed out is, as Bianciotto points out, that they are '*paradigma del grupo de culto con modesta incidencia comercial*' (2015, 26). A Spanish music lover growing in this decade could

[82] *Rockdelux* (2004) does not provide a depiction of the ways of elaboration of the list, even if in the editorial the names of the collaborating critics are mentioned (2004, 3) and there is a justification of the need for the list in the depiction of Spanish music as '*tan poco conocida o tan mal* conocida'. *Efe Eme* (2003, 34-50) also avoids mentioning the exact methodology used for the development of the list, while also provides a list of the collaborating critics. Even if both magazines avoid explaining the exact method of elaboration of the list, some critics overlap in both and most of the names are well-known music writers that we can usually find in other important media such as national newspapers (this would be the case of Diego Manrique or Nando Cruz, for example.)

[83] This is directly linked with the definition of Reynolds (2011, xxi) of the phenomena that, in his opinion, has defined popular music from the year 2000, a constant revival of previous cultural phenomena that has led to a crisis of creativity. The approach of some of the most popular music magazines of the decade, such as *Mojo* or *Uncut* (both founded in the 90s) put the classics of the 60s and 70s, such as The Beatles, Bob Dylan or Lou Reed in the covers of the magazines recurrently, creating a discourse of nostalgia of the so-called *golden era of rock music*.

easily assume that the status of Vainica Doble has always been that of a quintessential band.

The turning point in the changing status of Vainica Doble can be traced back to the creation of Kaka Deluxe (a band with future members of subsequent and more successful bands such as Alaska y los Pegamoides, Dinarama, La Mode, Radio Futura or Parálisis Permanente). It is not coincidential that the anecdote that usually portrays the encounter of musicians that will eventually be part of some of the most successful in the 80s revolves around the idea of Vainica Doble (a relatively unknown band). Alex Oró illustrates the scene:

> *Se ha explicado hasta la saciedad cómo se conocieron Berlanga, Canut, Alaska y el Zurdo en el Rastro madrileño pero para los que no conozcan la historia ahí va: a finales de 1977, Berlanga y Canut colocaron un disco de los Sweet y otro de Vainica Doble en el puesto que colocaban todos los domingos con el objetivo de atraer la atención de Alaska y Fernando Márquez, dos habituales del mercadillo. Los cuatro jóvenes congeniaron y apostaron por crear un grupo que canalizara toda su energía creativa.*
> (2010, n.p.)

Vainica Doble enact in the narrative of Spanish pop-rock the role of the band that did not achieve popular success at the time of its creation but found a new place by the means of a rereading of their legacy in further generations of artists. The monograph by Marcos Gendre on the band (2014) revolves around the influence that the band left not only in the previously aforementioned musicians of La Movida, but in the 90s and 2000s indie pop scenes, in which Vainica Doble have been a recurrent reference. The never-ending charm of Vainica Doble among successive generations of pop-rock artists prove the audacity of their compositions and the exceptionality of a band that grew imbued in the values of the counterculture of the 1960s but overpassed its decadence.

Chapter 4 – Catalonian pop-rock and the Libertarian Counterculture

Introduction

As I stated in the introduction to the thesis, there are three markedly countercultural music scenes in late Francoism in Spain: one centred in Madrid, one centred in Andalusia and the last one centred in Catalonia. While the first one does not have the pronounced political focus which countercultural movements have, as we have seen in previous chapters, the scenes that stem from Andalusia, and, particularly, the one that stems from Catalonia have their political foundations in Anarchism, which had triumphed among rural and urban working classes in both regions in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In this chapter I will account for the networks of, cultural production, dissemination and consumption that made Catalonia, and more specifically the city of Barcelona, a key centre of Spain's counterculture in late Francoism and to identify the distinctiveness of this counterculture, both in its way of assimilating Anglo-American influences and the heritage of the Mediterranean countries.

To do this, I will divide the chapter into two sections. The first one will analyses the context that led Catalonia to become a centre of counterculture. There will be three main factors to consider. In the first place, the survival of political anarchism as inspiration for utopian projects. Secondly, the establishment of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands as places of pilgrimage for individuals from the countercultures of the USA and northern Europe. Settlements such as Deià and Cadaqués and figures such as Salvador Dalí and Robert Graves will play an essential role in this process. Lastly, the creation and development of a music press between 1966 and 1975 and how this countercultural pop-rock scene was reviewed and promoted in this new specialised

music press and in the generalist papers, with a particular emphasis on magazines such as *Ajoblanco* and *Vibraciones*, where the countercultural ethos was an essential part of their editorial policies.

The second section of the chapter is three case studies that exemplify the different aesthetic and ideological tendencies of Catalan countercultural pop-rock. The first of them will be focused on the history of the *Grup de Folk,* an informal group of singer-songwriters who pioneered the Anglo-American folk and rock influence in Catalan *cançó*. The second and third case studies will rely on close reading of the lyrics of two of the most relevant artists in countercultural Catalan pop-rock: Pau Riba and Jaume Sisa. Case study number two will focus on the production of Riba in the years 1969 and 1970, more specifically his diptych of albums *Dioptría* and *Dioptría 2*. Through close reading I will analyse them as examples of the contradictions of the countercultural project in Spanish which contained both the kernel of social change and individual liberation (mostly understood as men's liberation) but at the same time contained retrograde misogynistic and repressive elements. In the third and last case study I explore Sisa's career until 1975 and his album *Qualsevol Nit Pot Sortir el Sol* as a sentimental memory of the generation of the counterculture. Both Riba and Sisa's careers are paradigmatic examples of the evolution of 1960s and 1970s counterculture in Catalonia.

The context of Catalan countercultural pop-rock

The anarchist tradition and the countercultural Catalan political subject

The border between the countercultural movement and anarchism is blurred, and this is undoubtedly one of the challenges faced by anyone who tries to unravel the nature of the former. Although anarchism as a political doctrine has both theoretical and practical roots that transcend the dimensions of this research, it is necessary to emphasize that it is impossible to understand the ideological bases of the Spanish countercultural project without understanding the influence that anarchist heritage projected onto any political and cultural project that claimed a libertarian heritage. the pre-civil war Catalan anarchist movement precludes a way of understanding the intersection between politics and culture that will be at the core of the countercultural experience. If the counterculture is a space that allowed a wide variety of practices that threaten both the bourgeois ways of life and the technocratic structuring of human experience (Dezcallar 1984, 209), the anarchist and libertarian practices of pre-Civil War Catalonia anticipate those ways of doing politics and subverting the dominant everyday life. Even if the anarchist movement received constant backlash from the civil authorities and the factual powers before the Spanish Civil War, particularly during and after the events of the so-called *Semana Trágica* (Termés 2011, 232), the anarchist institutions anticipated cultural and vital practices that would be central in what during the 1960s and 1970s would be called counterculture. It is no accident that the two key territories of Spanish anarchism throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth were Catalonia and Andalusia (Maurice 1990, 82), became fertile environments for countercultural practices during late Francoism and

early transition to democracy. During the decades of the 60s and 70s both territories will be the spaces where rock music, in its most experimental and politically expressive forms, will develop its own field of expression.

Anarchism arrived in Catalonia for the first time during the late 1860s, as part of the expansion of the emancipatory projects of the proletariat that had arisen from the First International, mainly through the 1868 tour around Spain of Giuseppe Fanelli, diffuser of the theoretical work of Mikhail Bakunin. Josep Termés exposes that one of the differential facts of anarchism in Catalonia is the speed with which it took hold among the working class, and he traces this to the previous existence of workers' organisations at a local and factory level (2011, 56). Thus, from 1870, the year in which the First Workers' Congress in Barcelona was held, the anarchist organizations progressively gained power to the point of becoming the dominant counter-power among the Catalan proletariat, to the extent of Barcelona being considered 'the capital of Europe's biggest and most enduring anarchist movement' (Ealham 2005, xv). Antoni Castells points out three main causes for the extension of anarchism in Catalonia beyond the networks of solidarity and worker protest: the progressive crisis of the bourgeois industrial model, the clear dominance of anarchist trade unions among the Catalan working class (unlike in the rest of Europe) and the influence of republicanism and anti-state nationalism in much of the middle class (1993, 91). Mercedes Tatjer Mir adds as a factor the weakness of socialist unions, particularly because the UGT, which had been founded in Barcelona in 1888 moved its headquarters to Madrid in 1899, losing part of its Catalan rooting

(1998, 28). [84] Regardless of the reasons for its extraordinary establishment, the quantitative figures of anarchist trade unionism give a good account of its enormous social dimension as in August 1931 'the Confederation could claim 400,000 affiliates in Catalonia, while the Barcelona CNT announced that it had encadred a staggering 58 percent of the city's proletariat'[85] (Ealham 2005, 77). Considering that the estimated population of Catalonia in 1930 was of 2,791,292 (Idescat 2021, n.p.), the numbers put into evidence that anarchism was the driving force among the Catalan working classes and that its rooting transcended contextual support in specific moments.

Although the support for the anarchist project came for the most part due to its role in the workers' struggles, the anarchist doctrine in Catalonia had a wider project that aspired to transform all aspects of society and daily life, not only the relationship between employers and employees (Navarro Navarro 2005, 64). The Catalan anarchist movement has among its central institutions the workers' athenaeums as places for, at the same time, collective meeting and learning. These spaces, modelled on bourgeois clubs, were abundant in Barcelona, and 'between 1877 and 1914, seventy-five were formed in the city' (Ealham 2005, 41). A wide variety of activities were available for the CNT affiliates, such as extensive libraries where workers could access anarchist and Marxist literature, training programs for adults, organization of outdoor activities, theatre performances, concerts and literary encounters (Navarro Navarro 2005, 84) that demonstrate the roots of cultural activities as relevant political practices in the anarchist

[84] UGT is the acronym for Unión General de Trabajadores, the most important Socialist union and still as of today the Spanish workers union with the biggest number of affiliates.
[85] CNT stands for Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores, the main Anarchist union in Catalonia and Spain.

environment. For the Catalan proletariat, the presence of these anarchist institutions during the first three decades of the twentieth century represents a huge cultural paradigm shift. Salvador Giner describes athenaeums as places in which mutual aid took place and several new cultural practices were introduced: 'Darwinian ideas, vegetarianism, Esperanto, internationalism, naturism, all was mixed in the formation of this secular religion' (1980, 25). Anarchism changed Catalan culture profoundly during the period: its greatest contribution was that of a broad solidarity and self-managed fabric in which the experiences that sought not only to improve working conditions, but also to radically change the ways of life and organization of society became present for a large part of the population.

The defeat of the Republican side in the civil war and the subsequent Franco dictatorship cut the roots of the cultural and social initiatives of anarchism, which suffered absolute persecution by the authorities. The prosecution, imprisonment, and on many occasions execution of anarchist activists led a large part of the previous sympathizers to exile or to the forced abandonment of any activity with political or cultural connotations. Antonio Cazorla Sánchez attributed to the anarchist heritage of the city the spontaneity of actions against the Franco regime, such as the pioneering strike of 1951 against the increase in the prices of public transport (2000, 185). Even though Francoist repression practically led to the disappearance of the network of spaces and organizations of the anarchist movement, Catalonia maintained during the Franco period a series of connections with its anarchist substratum that demonstrate the survival of certain forms of doing politics beyond the factual existence of the organizations that supported them in the past.

The Spanish 60s and 70s counterculture, understood according to the definition by Germán Labrador Méndez found in the anarchist political project a close reference that encompassed similar goals, particularly in its enunciation of a transformation of society that included the renewal of daily life and not only of the relationship between the worker and the capital.[86] This is particularly evident in Luis Racionero's 1977 *Filosofías del underground*, an essay that summarizes the philosophical basis of the countercultural sensibility, in which he postulates that '*la forma que encarna con mayor fidelidad la proyección política y moderna del underground es el anarquismo. Si el underground es autoritario, individualista, descentralizante y comunitario, sus afinidades políticas se darán con mayor aproximación en la rama del socialismo llamado utópico y del comunismo libertario*' (1977, 65). The first countercultural wave in Barcelona belonged to '*izquierdistas desengañados o agotados, pequeñoburgueses más bien pobretones, mezclados con grifotas de la línea tradicional [...] y extranjeros peregrinantes*' (Malvido 2004, 12), a heterogeneous group dominated by a triple rejection: towards the oppressive Franco regime, towards the rigidity of communist anti-Francoism and towards the technocratic and consumerist ways of life advocated by the relative economic boom of the Spanish 1960s. Malvido conceives that the birth of the Catalan countercultural project occurs precisely when there is contact between the working class subcultures (heirs of youth gangs from proletarian neighbourhoods, particularly petty delinquents organized for systematic small-scale robbery) with

[86] 'ese amplio espacio de actividades y actitudes que unió a los jóvenes transicionales en un proyecto de sociedad alternativo durante una década, campo de juegos y encuentros para una izquierda sociológica, de perfiles diversos que aglutinaba a izquierdistas, libertarios, ecologistas y activistas de género.' (2017, 129)

politicized university students (2004, 20). The Catalan counterculture is born, therefore, from the encounter between the subcultural and organized political practice, between spontaneous rebellion and a theoretical substrate, between unplanned action and the project of social change. Anarchism becomes, therefore, '*una confirmación de algo que llevan más o menos encima. Para ellos el anarquismo no es un cambio total sino un paso más en su forma de vivir*' (Malvido 2004, 63). The new counterculture naturally assumes the inheritance of the anarchist project as its own practices, given that these were occurring spontaneously among a good part of the young people linked to the counterculture. Anarchism serves, ultimately, to systematize a theoretical and organizational support for countercultural forms of doing politics.

Given these precedents, in Catalonia, in contrast to other territories of the Spanish state, the countercultural political subject that developed in the second half of the 1960s and reached its peak in the mid-1970s -coinciding with the death of Franco and the subsequent period of countercultural heyday- is marked by the heritage of an anarchist influence. If in other territories such as Asturias or the Basque Country the political subject was sifted by the communist heritage, and, to a large extent, the philo-Soviet influence, the countercultural political subject of Catalonia started from a different ideological and historical base that connected the emancipation of the popular classes with the devotion to individual freedom. The countercultural Catalan political subject, understood as a collective subject implied the incorporating an inheritance, and acknowledging itself as follower of a tradition.[87] Oriol Romaní and Mauricio Sepúlveda

[87] Following Valero's understanding of the collective subjectivity (2009, 306) that 'el paso del 'yo' al 'nosotros' y por tanto la conformación de sujetos colectivos se entiende como un proceso de

defined the essential characteristics of the Catalan counterculture, which they perceived as a politicized descendant of the subculture generated around the trafficking and consumption of cannabis and hashish in various areas of Barcelona, particularly the *Barrio Chino.*

> *Se ensayan formas alternativas de actividad económica –autoproducción, artesanías, cooperación, intercambios interpersonales, importancia de las actividades expresivas...–, de relaciones personales y sociales –vida comunitaria, redes de tipo más voluntario que no impuestas desde el exterior, libertad sexual, estética, etc.– y de actividad político-ideológica –importancia de la espontaneidad, cuestionamiento de la política tradicional (incluyendo aquí la democrática, entonces clandestina), actitudes pacifistas, ecologistas, planteamiento de las necesidades 'radicales' de los individuos.* (Romaní & Sepúlveda 2005, 4)

There is, however, an important break with one of the main characteristics of the pre-civil war anarchist tradition. As Antonio Rivera points out '*el tradicional obrerismo anarquista español se veía sustituido en esos años por un componente libertario nutrido más de concepciones culturalistas y vivenciales –contraculturales– que sindicalistas'* (1999, 331). The Barcelona counterculture was heir to the tradition of its own city and contributed enormously to redrawing its cultural landscape at a time when it was as fruitful as it was turbulent, but it did not come to fruition among the city's proletariat as anarchism had done fifty years earlier. Proof of this is, precisely, the scant legacy that it

emancipación social, adquiere el sentido de que los miembros de la sociedad recuperen la posición de sujetos que les corresponde, fundamentado en el interés de cada sujeto en conocer/transformar el medio poniendo en común el despliegue de sus capacidades plenas' it could be argued that the Catalan counterculture, in its variety, represents a political collective subjectivity that crystallized briefly during the mid and late 70s.

left in the city from the 80s and the highly localized of his actions and successes: always more in the center of the city than in the periphery, away from the workers' nuclei of the cities' suburbs. The longer lasting legacy of the counterculture was in the publishing industry (particularly Anagrama), as well as the music or alternative cinema, which could develop and achieve unthinkable public success only ten years before, but the political bequest was quickly displaced both in Catalonia and in Spain (González Férriz 2012, 106). The crowds gathered at the 1977 Libertarian Days (22-25 July 1977), which according to Wilhellmi reached 600,000 people (2015, 91), but an event of this impressive size did not have continuity in the exercise of an emancipatory project in the long term and was dissolved in what was called *democratic normality*.

Ultimately, the conflict of the Catalan counterculture and anarchism is encapsulated in a conversation between the singer songwriter Jaume Sisa and the journalist Claudi Montañá, music critic of various Barcelona-based magazines in the early 70s, and one of the most critical figures of the individualistic and apolitical stance countercultural figures. When Sisa points out that his political tendency is '*anarquismo individualista'*, Montañá replies that this attitude is inherently '*cómoda […] egoista y pequeño-burguesa'* (1975a, 46). This idea of *anarquismo individualista* claimed by Sisa sums up the reading that was made from the Catalan counterculture of the anarchist heritage: a transition towards individual liberation that was less keen on the collective emancipatory project. The affiliation that occurred between groups such as *Ajoblanco* and the traditional anarchist union, the CNT, did not translate into an acceptance of the bulk of working-class affiliates towards countercultural ways of life, but quite the

opposite process took place. The alienation and negative reaction of the workers in the CNT that ultimately separated instance both initiatives.

The Catalan Mediterranean as a hippie headquarters

It is difficult to establish an exact chronology of the arrival of the international countercultural movement to Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, as it occurred gradually. Rafael Abella established the year 1967 as the date in which it could be argued that a stablished hippie movement was taking place in Ibiza, and the following year as the date on which it spread to the rest of the Balearic Islands (1996, 175). The landing of the countercultural movement in the Catalan-speaking areas was a challenge to the Francoist society status quo, but, at the same time, Canyelles Canyelles points to a relative tolerance on the part of the locals, who were curious but unbothered about the phenomenon (2013, 160). He also signals that by mid-1968 there were clubs in Ibiza and Mallorca with a markedly psychedelic atmosphere, run by local businessmen, who saw in the popularity of hippieism a business opportunity. Another of the fundamental elements of the countercultural ideology is the use of hallucinogens. Juan Carlos Usó Arnal (2001, 198) involves the Balearic Islands and, to a lesser extent, Catalonia, as a transit point on the routes of the hippie pilgrimage from California to Goa. In the Balearic Islands and in Catalonia, therefore, a series of factors coincide that favour the arrival of countercultural movements. The existence of a favourable climate, a relatively low population density, low prices by European and US standards, ease of access to drugs, and relative police collusion contribute to a growing popularity during the late 1960s and that reached its zenith during the 70s.

There were two cultural agents whose influence transcended the hippie movement and who contributed to expanding internationally the idea of the Catalan-speaking Mediterranean as a pilgrimage destination for young people with dissident ideologies: Salvador Dalí and Robert Graves. The former, openly Francoist (Mariño Sanmamed 2014, 92), was the subject of greatly influential for some counterculture-related artists, as seen in the artworks that Bob Cato and Victor Moscoso created for bands such as The Moby Grape and Grateful Dead. [88] Dalí himself had public interest in the counterculture, particularly after Edgar Froese (who would later establish the space rock band Tangerine Dream) stayed in his mansion and organized psychedelic-themed parties to which he invited young people from throughout the world on pilgrimage to meet him. Alongside these events, Dalí conceived happenings such as announcing to the local media that he would go on a pilgrimage with a hundred hippies to Santiago de Compostela to convert them to Catholicism (Becerra 2011, n.p.). Cadaqués became hippie enclave on the Catalan coast that contributed significantly to the impetus of the Catalan counterculture itself, which had in now the international pilgrims seeking to reach the Costa Brava. A similar pilgrimage took place in Deià, in the island of Mallorca, to the residence of the British novelist and essayist Robert Graves. The music scene that would eventually become the 1970s Canterbury rock developed around him, with many members of Soft Machine and Gong residing in his country house. Likewise, the island of Formentera became the setting in which several British bands of the time will have holiday periods,

[88] The connection between Cadaqués and the art world Català Marticella (2012, 174-194) Although focused on the description of Cadaqués by the novelist and essayist Josep Pla, it explores the presence of artistic communities in the town since the end of the twentieth century.

such as King Crimson (who dedicated 'Formentera Lady' to their experience) and Cream (who did the same in 'Tale of Brave Ulysses').

The ideology of 60s counterculture, which had the experience of travel as an expression of freedom, escapism of post-industrial society and ultimate self-discovery (Gemie and Ireland 2017, 666), made the Catalan-speaking Mediterranean region one of the central points of its world map. [89] The previously mentioned enclaves were conceived as metaphors for personal liberation, either in the form of getting to know gurus (such as Graves or Dalí) or experiencing a return to a rural life with possibilities of lysergic experimentation (as was the case, particularly, of the experiences of communities in Formentera). This allowed an extraordinary infrastructure unparalleled for the Spain of the time: in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands; there were clubs, record shops, instrument shops, easy access to psychotropics and a constant flow of influences and ideas that allowed a dialogue between local traditions. and the foreign vanguards. The presence of a countercultural youth from the democratic European countries and the US allowed the Catalan and Balearic youth to be directly exposed to psychedelic influences before the rest of the country, and partly explains the strength of their own countercultural movement.

Creating a discourse for the New Underground: The Role of Press

One of the determining factors to explain the development of the countercultural aspect of Catalan song has to do with the support of the written communication media. For

[89] The connotations of the ideas of *travel* and *trip* in the 1960s counterculture go beyond physical displacement, as those concepts encompass the idea of psychedelic, drug-induced trip, and self-discovery. For further reading on the relationship between travel and hippeism see Gemie and Ireland (2017)

this, it is essential to understand the context produced by the drafting and application of the so-called Fraga Law[90] of 1966, which reduced the amount of censorship controls on the written press and will mean a relative liberalization of content of this in political terms (Davara Torrego 2005, 132). This factor explains the staggered change in the structure of the specialist press in the Spanish territory. If until 1966 the newsletters of the record industry and fan magazines had predominated, focusing on a teenager audience, the paradigm shift of popular music (coinciding in time with the popularization of the LP format, the increase in complexity of the structures of the pop song and the vindication of rock as an art form) led to the establishment of new approaches in music criticism.

The first and most relevant of the music publications that took advantage of this recently acquired ~~r~~elative freedom of the press was *Disco Exprés*, founded in Pamplona in 1968 by Joaquín Luqui and José Luis Turrillas. In its first issue, on December 15 1968, the weekly declared its willingness to offer a space for '*un estilo de semanario musical con aire periodístico más que de revista propiamente dicha'* (*Disco Exprés* 1968, 2). In its pages there were the first references to a countercultural scene and a regular space for bands both well positioned in the music industry and underground. Underground an

[90] This is the informal name of the 1966 Law of Press and Printing, enacted under the period of Manuel Fraga as minister of Information and Tourism, position he held between 1962 and 1969. Sánchez Aranda and Barrera del Barrio (1992, 408) analyze this process as a gradual opening of the legislation regarding the press, marked by the need for the regime to soften its international image. Other important factors were the Second Vatican Council and the negotiations with the European Economic Community as the main reasons for the change in the law of press. The two main factors that had an impact on written publications are the fact that press publishers move from the domain of national interest to the domain of private companies and the disappearance of systematic prior censorship, although it introduced new categories of administrative and legal sanctions for the publications, which included the kidnapping of these (Seoane and Saiz 2007, 286).

umbrella term that the magazine used to give coverage to more experimental bands, having a specific homonymous section named in which bands such as Jethro Tull, King Crimson and Emerson, Lake and Palmer were featured. For example, its fourth issue (5 January 1969) the editorial of *Disco Exprés* points out that '*como complemento humano al psychedelismo [sic], surgieron los hippies. Y en 1968 el psychedelismo se ha convertido en underground.*' (3). The following issue, dated 12 January 1969, put in its cover a special about 'underground', in which Joaquín Luqui traces a theory of the development of psychedelic music, in his opinion a movement that derives from the mixture of The Beach Boys' 'Good Vibrations' and The Lovin' Spoonful's 'Summer in the City' (8). Luqui also lists more than 30 British and American bands that he associates with underground rock, ranging from very popular ensembles such as The Doors, Pink Floyd, and Jefferson Airplane to relatively obscure groups such as The Deviants and Mandala. The coexistence of counterculture-related artists and mainstream musicians was one of the most distinctive features during the stretch of *Disco Exprés*, which finished in 1974. It was in its 300th issue (15 November 1974) in which Jordi Sierra i Fabra wrote an editorial entitled 'Igual que en 1969', in which he complained about the commercial lack of success of the Spanish underground bands that had acquired a certain degree of popularity back in 1969 (3). Sierra i Fabra denounces the conservativism of gig promoters and the reluctancy of the general public to assimilate avant-garde sounds and manifests his fear of a similar phenomenon taking place with then-burgeoning bands, such as La Orquesta Platería or Compañía Eléctrica Dharma.

There were more general publications that began to include materials on pop culture in their pages in the early 1970s. Such is the case of the weekly *Triunfo*, a film magazine

founded in 1946 that gradually turned into a progressive political current affairs magazine from the mid 1960s onwards. Authors such as Diego Manrique and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán regularly reported on popular music. *Triunfo* gave, in a famous article in 1971, space for various bands such as Smash, Música Dispersa, Pau Riba and Máquina. The article, entitled 'Música progresiva a cinco duros' (Dávila, 1971, 37-39), was a significant moment for the countercultural music scene, which sees how the generalist weekly with the largest circulation covers this underground movement. Dávila, pseudonym of Vázquez Montalbán, perceived in a new generation of artists a 'cambio cualitativo en la evolucion del gusto musical que requiere un respetuoso análisis (…) una nueva forma de escuchar música, de plantear la relacion intérprete-espectador' (37). The press, therefore, conceived a generational change without return in the importance of popular music and its validity as an artistic form. In subsequent years, the weekly magazine continued to include content on the underground scene with relative regularity, which would include artists such as Jaume Sisa, Pau Riba, Smash, Música Dispersa or Máquina! as most successful exponents. The film magazine *Nuevo Fotogramas* also gave voice to many of the musicians of the incipient Spanish countercultural movement both in interviews and in the regular musical section by Angel Casas, 'Musicollage' (Triana Toribio 2014, 460). The presence of the most important artists of the Catalan countercultural scene is clear in articles such as 'Es Pau Riba un señor estático?' (Casas 1969, 40) and 'Pau Riba, el cantante más corrosivo, inadaptado, indómito y feroz' (Casas 1970, 44-45).

Even though the presence on the pages of these two previously mentioned publications reflected the sympathy of the intelligentsia of a previous generation of left-wing

intellectuals towards the emerging countercultural rock scene in Catalonia in the period, it is not possible to speak of a total support until 1974. The differential fact that marks the change in perception in the music press about these artists is the creation of the musical magazine *Vibraciones* in October of that same year. If *Disco Express* aimed to create itself in the image of British weeklies such as *Melody Maker*, *Sounds* and *NME*, *Vibraciones* is critical of what it perceives as an ordinary and not very rigorous approach to rock criticism, based on poor translations of American and British media (*Vibraciones*, 1974, 3). Taking as a reference the French magazine *Rock and Folk* and trying to get rid of the economic support of record companies, and therefore become a totally independent medium, the publication, directed initially by Angel Casas, aims to become a serious medium that transcends the fan phenomenon and the mercantile impositions (Costa 1977, n.p).

During its first years of existence, it created its own canon, giving presence to the Catalan countercultural pop-rock as an example of advanced music and placing both Jaume Sisa and Pau Riba in the category of heroes of the magazine. Sisa is mentioned in all the issues of the first year and a half of publication, being interviewed on numerous occasions and finally appearing in its cover in the October 1977 issue (n.37) this being the first cover dedicated to a Spanish musician. In the case of Pau Riba, he is mentioned in 13 of the first 18 issues, being the protagonist of numerous reports and interviews. The magazine regularly features other *nova cançó* and counterculture-related artists such as María del Mar Bonet and Joan Manuel Serrat, as well as bands from the Catalan rock scene, such as La Orquesta Platería and Compañía Eléctrica Dharma, which also feature in most of the first issues of the magazine. *Vibraciones* also contributed to the

artists being able to develop an artistic discourse beyond records, through extensive interviews in which they were allowed space to explain in depth both their own work and their vision of the contemporary cultural scene. The magazine's support for the Catalan underground is evident, particularly during the first years of publication, and since the magazine was distributed throughout Spain, it contributed to the Catalan scene acquiring a preponderant role.

The underground press also regularly featured Sisa and Pau Riba, particularly, who became the totems of a counterculture that was looking for referents to match nationally icons such as Lou Reed and Bob Dylan. For example, in 1974 the collective *El Rrollo* (which included cartoonists Mariscal and Nazario) published a fanzine called *Diploma de Honor*, dedicated to honoring Sisa's songs, many of which not yet officially released (Ribas 2011, 303). The construction of a generational history that occurred in the work of Pau Malvido, a chronicler of the time in *Star* magazine, included Sisa and Pau Riba as central characters, as can be seen in the article 'Izquierdistas y grifotas'.

> *Hasta entonces se leían cosas, novelas, libros orientales, noticias de los hippis, se vacilaba mentalmente, habían* [sic] *varios profetas iniciales y un par de músicos del rollo. Pau Riba y Sisa. Conciertos minoritarios en parroquias y colegios. Alguno en la Universidad ante la ira de los politizados (Pau Riba insistiendo casi tres cuartos de hora con 'S'ha mort la besavia'}. Pero en fin, toda esa época entre el 67 y el 70, fue la época de las minorías, del chocolate, del hippismo vacilón y clandestino.* (Malvido 1976, 22)

In *Ajoblanco*, the publication that can be considered '*la revista contracultural más influyente entre la juventud catalana y española de los años setenta, convirtiéndose*

además en un referente de la prensa alternativa de la transición española' (Uson Bandrés 2015, 128), and in which music had a relatively minor role, the presence and appraisal of figures such as Riba and Sisa was constant. For example, in March 1976 issue, in the section entitled 'Rock and Comix', Sisa's *Qualselvol Nit Pot Sortir el Sol* was mentioned as the best Spanish album ever (Puig 1976, 25), while the singer/songwriter was interviewed and was mentioned on the cover of the January 1976 issue. *Ajoblanco*, as a magazine of libertarian inspiration, put a particular emphasis on giving space to the reader, and maintained an important correspondence section in which the reader could find testimonies of young people throughout Spain. A letter from an unnamed fan in the July 1975 issue sums up the significance that both Riba and Sisa had in the consumers of these countercultural publications: '*SISA en Zeleste.* […] *Me he enamorado, necesito que salga su elepé (cuanto antes) o creo que enloqueceré. Es mi héroe.*' (*Ajoblanco* 1975, 36). Comments such as these, which would not have been out of place in a fan's magazine, show the importance that these figures had, not only among the usual writers of the medium, but also among readers, a particularly remarkable fact due to the emphasis in community making of *Ajoblanco,* which aspired to be a benchmark for the growing countercultural youth in Catalonia and Spain.

The great paradox of the Spanish countercultural movement is that, despite its acratic nature, it needed icons, and those roles were filled by Jaume Sisa and Pau Riba. The press was key in the transformation of certain musicians into icons and representatives of the counterculture. The development of Catalan folk rock would hardly have been possible without the previously mentioned magazines, their great power of influence

and their very remarkable circulation[91], which reached immense figures for underground publications, and, therefore, the history of the underground countercultural music needs to be read in parallel to the history of its press and media.

The oeuvre of the Catalan countercultural pop-rock

Breaking with the nova cançó, embracing the counterculture: the Grup de Folk

During the 1960s, a change took place within Catalan popular music. The popularization of the singer-songwriter format as a catalyst for sensitivities outside the Franco regime, the use of the Catalan language and the introduction of new musical trends originating from France and Italy endowed Catalan music with a very particular personality and will be central in the movement that will end up being known as *nova cançó*. [92] However, there was a remarkable diversity within the artists who will be related to the movement, at a musical, lyrical and ideological level.

The original group that supported the development of the movement was Els Setze Jutges, which was born out of a private association of four members of the Barcelona bourgeoisie at the end of 1958. By the end of 1967 it was a group of 16 singer-songwriters, most of whom were professional musicians and eventually became artists of enduring long-standing relevance, such as Pi de la Serra, Guillermina Motta, Lluis Llach and Joan Manuel Serrat. There were stylistic differences between its members, but they

[91] Beaumont (1978, n.p.) estimates the circulation of *Ajoblanco* in 1978 –its moment of splendour- in more than 75000 monthly copies. For further information about the magazine, fundamental in any analysis of the counterculture phenomena in Spain, see Ribas (2007).

[92] The *nova cançó* has been a fertile field of study in the academic world, and there are several publications that analyze it in depth, such as Aragüez Rubio (2006) and Pardo Ayudo (2015).

always operated within a framework of eminently acoustic songs, sung in Catalan, showcasing an evident influence of the French *chanson*, particularly the works of Leo Ferré, Georges Brassens, Jacques Brel and Jacques Moustaki. In ideological terms they tended to embrace left-wing ideology, being a greater or lesser extent Catalanist and always anti-Francoist (Aragüez Rubio 2006, 87). Els Setze Jutges did not have its main referents in British or American music, and although it was not entirely alien to the advancement of pop-rock, it was always constant in a certain obsession with the sounds of the Mediterranean arch, as will be seen, for example, in the career of Lluis Llach and his fascination with Greek culture (González Vaquerizo 2015, 347) or María del Mar Bonet and her pan-Mediterranean vindication. Also, one of the most important events that took place in the heat of the growing success of the members of Els Setze Jutges was the founding of the record company Edigsa in 1961. It was the first label to focus its production on author music in Catalan, and it gave a production and distribution channel to a whole cohort of singer-songwriters until then limited to live music, and, on many occasions, to performances at private homes. The existence of these distribution and consumption channels will later facilitated certain aspects of the career of countercultural singer-songwriters, who had an ambivalent relationship with this scene: they rejected their artistic forms, influences and part of their political discourse, but simultaneously shared with them part of their public and the same record labels and means of distribution.

There had been a fertile pop scene since the early 60s in Barcelona, with bands like Los Cheyenes, Los Salvajes, Los Mustang or Lone Star. Most of them were inspired by R&B and blues, functioning as a more aggressive counterpoint to Madrid's contemporary

bands, such as Los Brincos and Los Bravos (Domínguez 2002, 112). The fusion of the folk song writing with rock instrumentation, sung in Catalan, appeared for the first time in a 1966 single by Els Tres Tambors, 'Romanço del fill de vidua'. It was a cover of Bob Dylan's 'Tombstone Blues', released just a few months earlier on *Highway 61 Revisited* (1965). The promptness with which the Catalan group adapted a rock song by Dylan, the conceptual power of the lyrics that parodied the manners of the Catalan bourgeoisie represented a rupture both with the sound of the *nova cançó* and with the usual lyrics of rock made in Catalonia.

Tinc la vella 'Calor Negre' i la tele amb dos canals,
un telèfon blau de góndola, sillons funcionals.
El '600' vaig canviar-lo per un Dodge Dart tot flamant.
I a l'estiu vaig a fer bronze a la platja de Llafranc.
(…)
En Política som neutres, però no votem en blanc
ella vota en Tarragona i jo voto en Samaranch.
(…) I ara surto amb una nena que no mira pas gens prim
i, de fet, només em costa gelats, lukis i ginpics.
Però sóc catalanista i a casa, amb la mamà,
si no hi ha gent de visita parlo sempre català.
(Els 3 Tambors 1966, n.p.)

The lyrics, written by the poet Pere Quart, mock the cynicism of a young Catalan bourgeois unwilling to claim political or linguistic claims beyond the private sphere. The portrait of this cynical, consumerist young man whose protest attitude is limited to the superficial, fits with Dylan's original, also scathing when it comes to posing the contradictions of the American society of the moment, although Dylan's version is notably more surreal in its imaginary. It represents the first approach of the poetic form of the Catalan *nova cançó* to acid rock sounds, a combination that will be central in Pau Riba and Jaume Sisa's future oeuvre.

The Grup de Folk was created just a year after the release of ‘Romanço del fill de vidua’. If the members of Els Setze Jutges were Francophiles and close to Catalan nationalism, the Grup de Folk was born under the influence of the American folk tradition, in vogue in intellectual circles thanks to figures such as Pete Seeger and taken to the highest levels of popularity by artists like Bob Dylan, Joan Baez and Phil Ochs. The Grup de Folk can be considered as a response to Els Setze Jutges, as it sought a more playful, festive approach to popular song, having open-air concerts, and closer interaction with audiences. This contrasted with the perceived distant, intellectual attitude of its nemesis group. The membership of the Grup de Folk changed constantly its most famous official members were Pau Riba, Jaume Sisa and the Batiste brothers. The role of unofficial members such as Ovidi Montillor and María del Mar Bonet was also remarkable, even if they did not publish songs on the group's compilation LPs. They took part in the group’s events and Bonet was part of both Els Setze Jutges and the Grup de Folk. Pepe Ribas's autobiography points to an implicit generational and political tension between both groups, given that Pau Riba had not been admitted to Els Setze Jutges due to his libertarian vision and his rejection of the centralization of the political conflict in the confrontation between Catalonia and an oppressive Francoist state (2006, 147). Implicitly, the values of the Grup de Folk hint to a break with the Catalan anti-Francoist bourgeois tradition, towards territories closer to what will be the incipient counterculture and international libertarian schemes. Catalan nationalism, for example, was secondary, even if Catalan was the default linguistic choice. The Grup de Folk was

organized through collectivism and embraced participative horizontal assemblies.[93] The political roots of the Grup de Folk were close to the Anarchist Catalan tradition, avoiding the hierarchical structure implicit to Communist-leaning organisations such as PSUC, and preconizing the social and cultural structures that will eventually become what we know as the counterculture.

Although a psychedelic rock band accompanying a singer-songwriter was a relatively common practice at the time in the Anglo-American rock scene, this fusion did not take place in the Catalan singer-songwriter scene until María del Mar Bonet released the single 'Si vens prest / Jo em donaría a qui em volgués' (1969). The distinctive sound of the Catalan counterculture is anticipated on the B-side of the single, which departs from her usual *nova cançó* sound to absorb the tendencies of Anglo-American psychedelic folk, including the break of the standard song structure, the distorted arrangements and the use of electric organs. The Grup de Folk spurred the creation of networks that resulted in a wide array of projects, such as Música Dispersa, Om, Máquina! and La Orquesta Platería, contributing to establish artistic networks that blurred the distance between Catalan songwriting and rock music, which crystallized in the first instance in the previously aforementioned single by Bonet and later in the countercultural singer-songwriter scene and the *laietà* scene. Even if the initial activity of the *Grup de Folk* was limited to the edition of two collective LPs, in 1967 and 1968, respectively, and the organization of a series of festivals in Barcelona's Parc de la Ciudadela (two editions of

[93] '*tot es decidía en grup (…) parlàvem, discutiem propostes d'actuacions, cadascú aportaba la seva visió del que era la canço popular. També es parlava de política (…) no hi havía un decàleg ni unes normes escrites'* (in Riera Vives 2019, 88).

the ‘Festival de Folk’, celebrated the 27 May 1967 and the 23 May 1968), its heritage stayed in the Catalan counterculture indelibly.

Pau Riba and the *Dioptría* diptych

Pau Riba is one of the most ubiquitous figures when it comes to evaluating the impact of the Catalan counterculture. In the retrospective analysis of the artist and particularly of his two first albums, *Dioptría* and *Dioptría 2*, either in the general press (Amat 2017, Bravo 2019 and Matute 2019) or in the specialist music press (Gonzalo 2019, Crespo 2022 and Vilarnau 2022) there is a tendency to describe him as synonymous with the counterculture. Regardless of the prestigious status of his records in both the Spanish and Catalan music album canons, the *Dioptría* dypthic is of historical relevance because of how it was created, the innovative musical forms it used and the reception from both critics and audiences. Likewise, the lyrical apparatus of the album illustrates the contradictions of the countercultural movement, particularly regarding gender issues. Riba’s career showcases the ways the countercultural project was intertwined with pop-rock music and how musicians became active in its political project.

Pau Riba was the grandson of translator and politician Pau Romeva, founder of Unió Democrática de Catalunya in 1931 and grew up in a bourgeois, conservative and Catalan nationalist environment, with strong Catholic roots (Bonet 1993, 8). His career, apart from his previously mentioned stretch at the Grup de Folk began in 1967, with the release of ‘Taxista’, but the influence of the Anglo-American counterculture was not

perceived until the release, in July 1969, of 'L'home estàtic'. This mostly acoustic song recalls the harmonic structure and guitar arrangements of the Scottish psychedelic folk band The Incredible String Band, moving away from the declamatory singing of the nova cançó by using melismatic singing. This peculiar way of intoning became part of his artistic modus operandi, and an essential component of his public image (the publicitary slogan for his records was '*Pau Riba té veu de regadora però una regadora pot regar tot un jardí*'). From the moment it was launched, the press welcomed Riba's innovations and countercultural discourse. One revealing example is Ángel Casas' review of 'L'home estàtic' published in the July 1969 issue of *Nuevo Fotogramas.* Casas explains the formal contradiction at the heart of Riba's project: on the one hand it is '*corrosivo, desbordante de desfachatez y de agudeza'* and capable of having '*los mejores arreglos pop que se hayan hecho en la canción catalana'*, but on the other hand the singer-songwriter is described as a '*terrorista de la canción'* and an author of a '*disco difícilmente digerible*' (1969, 41). From the start, Riba's career was described in terms that made explicit his fracture with the rigidity of a previous tradition, as an e*nfant terrible* to a culture to which he belonged by birth –that of the enlightened Catalan bourgeoisie–.

Soon after the release of 'L'home estatic' Riba began preparing and recording his first LP, between late August and October 1969 (García Lloret 2006, 106). In this project, which will eventually be called *Dioptría*, Pau Riba abandoned the singer-songwriter format to rely on a standard rock band, using in this case the jazz fusion group called Om, led by Toti Soler and Jordi Sabatés, which had already collaborated with María del Mar Bonet, as seen in the previous section. Riba's approach to folk-rock bears a reasonable resemblance to the electrification of Bob Dylan's music from 1965 onwards.

For certain figures of the American and British folk revival of the 60s electrification was part of the natural tendency to assume as own the genres that they had listened to during their childhood and adolescence (Sweers 2005, 38). This can be paralleled with the case of Pau Riba, who incorporated rock'n'roll into his oeuvre, his main influence during his formative years (Casas 1970, 45). The fusion between rock'n'roll and folk becomes, therefore, a generational tool to interweave the idea of the song as a tool of political engagement, inherited from the folk and the nova cançó tradition, with hedonism. This tension will be central in the Catalan counterculture, as I will explain in subsequent sections.

In addition to honouring his taste for rock'n'roll and increasing the sound palette of his songs, being accompanied by a rock band served another purpose in Riba's music. The recreation of the psychedelic experience through the deformation of sound sources – what Sheila Whiteley defined as 'psychedelic coding' (1992, 8)– requires the presence of electric instruments, drums, complex arrangements, and the use of the studio as an instrument.[94] Entheogenic drugs and lysergic experiences were central in the development of the Anglo-American counterculture and Riba fetishized the consumption of LSD as a formative tool before he could have any actual experience with the drug (Riba 2009, 2).

[94] 'the ways that certain sounds – fuzztone electric guitar, delay and phasing and other effects, as well as those musical and stylistic juxtapositions – were semiotically coded to call up and even recreate the psychedelic experience, and by extension via chains of connotation to indicate a wider set of countercultural values and ideas that went along with them' (94)

The record was released in November 1969 on Concentric, a Barcelona record company specialized in Catalan music, where artists from Els Setze Jutges such as Lluis Llach and Guillermina Motta released their albums. It consists of eight songs of varying lengths between four and eight minutes, and the cover is taken from a fragment of a painting by the German romantic painter Otto Runge, moving away from the predominant pop art aesthetic in psychedelic and progressive rock covers of the late 60s. The backing of a psychedelic rock band is constant throughout the entire LP, as well as the doubled voices that support Riba's dylanesque diction. There are blues arrangements ('Rosa d'abril - L'amor s'hi posa'), progressive rock developments that lead to instrumental jams and vocal experiments, Pink Floyd-influenced crescendos ('Ja s'ha mort la besàvia'), influences from the baroque rock of Procol Harum ('Helena, desenganya-t') or the jazz-rock of Soft Machine ('Ars Erotica'). Conceptually and lyrically, there is an effort to create a compact work that goes beyond the idea of an album as a compilation of singles. In the text that accompanied the first LP edition of the record, Riba declares that *Dioptría* is a statement that breaks with what he perceives as a sad and dirty homeland, and with a boring and restrictive well-off bourgeois life experience as opposed to an arcadian place which he calls '*el país de les faltes d'ortografia'* (Riba 1969, n.p.). Meanwhile, he refuses a large part of his family heritage ('*me'n vaig i deixo el petit món familiar -familia-ae: conjunt d'esclaus that belong to a mateix master or senyor*-'). The diopter of the title is, for Riba, a representation of the myopia and closure of Catalan society, and ultimately of the self-repression and imposition of technocratic values during the Franco regime ('*me'n vaig i deixo aquesta enorme insalvable (a pesar d'en barraquer l'arruga i l'otto zutz –diplomat a espanya i alemanya–) miopia i aquesta única immensa frustradora*

dioptria que redueix els horitzons immediats a un trist conventciment de clausura on hi van a refugiar-se els homes asexuats').

When analyzing the lyrics of the album, its thematic fixation, almost conceptual, with the female characters and with the concept of women becomes obvious, particularly women the context of the bourgeois family. Although the first song, 'Kithou', describes an empowered upper-class girl who frees herself from social pressure ('*Corria com folla, dansava molt bé / Heroica i bonica al mig del carrer / Rodava i voltava, s'omplia de vent'*), the rest of the album poses a much more negative image of women, which can be described as misogynistic. The *noia de porcelana* that he describes in the homonymous song is, after all, the young woman who rejects the sexual advances of the narrator of the song ('*Noia de porcellana tens la mirada ben transparent /la pell de cel·lofana i la carn translúcida i repel·lent / Noia de porcellana què vols que et donin no donant res / ets freda i inhumana i et preocupes de cinc a set'*). Similarly, the lyrics of 'Ars erotica (non est mihi)' show us a young victim of a patriarchal system that pushes women to self-realization through marriage and children ('*si en fa d'anys, si en fa d'anys (més de quinze i més de vint) /tant a dins com fora el llit / que somnies en casar-te / per poder anomenar pare / al qui sigui el teu marit'*), but the narrator blames her for her situation without reading her wishes as part of an underlying patriarchal imposition. The narrator's greatest frustration is, ultimately, the abandonment of coquetry and the lack of willingness to participate in the game of seduction. The lyrics of 'Vosté' reflect the a similar theme from an even more misogynistic and aggressive perspective, with a narrator who blames and insults the woman who has undergone an unwanted marriage ('*T'has casat, el cor glaçat / per solucionar la vida / mai no te n'has adonat / t'estic dient*

prostituta!'). In her analysis of the role of women in 1960s American counterculture, Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo explains that, in many ways, American counterculture was marked by a sexist male gaze in the depiction of women[95] (2009, 24). Many of *Dioptría*'s songs emerge from the conflict between this reductionist and objectifying vision of women and the will to criticize the impositions of the Catalan bourgeois family. Riba's gaze lacks compassion in the face of patriarchal opposition, but rather puts one more layer of pressure on women: *Dioptria*'s ideal woman must abandon the traditional marriage institution, but only to become the countercultural young man's lover and muse; in the case of rejecting this she becomes someone to despise. In any case, the album connects with what was denounced by Miles (2004, 16): part of the sexual liberation discourses of the counterculture largely hid access to more female sexual partners than to any attempt to subvert patriarchal logic. This vision has been censored retrospectively by Riba himself, who has declared that 'la evolución del feminismo ha puesto un poco en entredicho el discurso del disco […] el machismo carpetovetónico que llevaba en mi ADN cuando hice el disco ahora se está cuestionando' (Díaz 2019, n.p.).

LSD, as I have previously mentioned, was a central cultural element of the countercultural experience. In 'Al mati just a trenc d'alba', released in the collective EP *Miniatura*, in which he shared the writing and performing responsibilities with Albert Batiste, Jaume Sisa and Juan Manuel Bravo 'Cachas', Riba reenacts his first experience as life-changing. In Usó (2017, 58) the singer-songwriter states that Batiste and Sisa and

[95] 'the feminine motifs that emerged within the counterculture: the sexually promiscuous tease, the innocent and childlike virgin, the magical goddess, and the earth-mother'

he travelled to Formentera in the middle of the summer with the intention of tasting LSD for the first time. 1969 becomes for the members of Miniatura in the year in which the psychedelic rite of passage takes place and, therefore, the entrance in *the countercultural* becomes a full experience.

> *Hubo dos elementos clave. Uno fue el rock'n'roll, una música que con 25 años ya no podías bailar porque era acrobacia y mucha marcha: lo más primitivo del mundo. Y luego llegó el LSD. El ácido nos puso en estado de gracia*. (Riba 2019, n.p.)

The initial experience with entheogenic substances represents in Pau Riba's poetics the definitive step in his separation from the *nova cançó* and the definitive embracement of counterculture: although the consumption of psychostimulant substances –particularly hashish– was central to his cultural and social environment, the experimentation with LSD was considered a central part of the countercultural experience, as it was simultaneously understood as a hedonistic device, a political tool and stimulus for creativity. *Dioptría 2* was conceived as a work that draws on the LSD experience to create at the same time a personal and generational poetics. Even if *Dioptría*'s project had been initially conceived as a double album in which Riba was to be accompanied by Om, due to the financial difficulties of the record company and the emotional impact of his experience with LSD, the second part of the diptych appeared as a separate album and had a very different musical tone (Gendrau 2019, n.p.). The album became almost entirely a duet between Riba and Albert Batiste, project partner in *Miniatura* and one of the leaders in Música Dispersa. The musical inspiration for this album does not stem from the recreation the expansive tendencies of British progressive rock, as in the first

part of the diptych, but rather maintains minimalist structures based on the interaction of two acoustic guitars and the voice with specific arrangements of bass and percussions, except in 'Simfonía # 2' and the new version of 'Taxista', in which a full rock band performs. However, the acoustic sonority does not represent a return to the musical values of the *nova cançó*: the six songs are based on long developments (between 6:44 and 10:08 minutes in length) and in them Riba experiments with melismatic singing (in 'Simfonía #3'), open tunings on guitar, dissonant chord progressions ('Simfonía #2'), and song structures that eschew the verse-chorus format ('Cançó 7ª en colors', the three parts of 'Simfonía'). The recreation of the psychedelic experience, central in the conceptual axis of the album, is achieved through the repetition of obsessive sequences of open chords that emulate the distortion of reality that occurs when consuming entheogenic substances.

Lyrically, the album continues the line of denunciation of the hypocrisy of Catalan society already pointed out in previous works, although it diminishes the fixation with women as the culprit to give a more nuanced vision of social conflicts. In addition to 'Taxista' and 'L'home estatic', which Riba had previously released in single format and which he rerecorded for the LP without changing the lyrics, the new songs sought to outline the contradictions of the bourgeoisie and prevailing morality, while celebrating the liberation of the upcoming countercultural values. 'Cançó 7ª de terra' exalts communion with nature because of the lysergic experience, endowing LSD with a mystical component and returning to a state of non-corruption due to the uses and customs of morality ('*Ha plogut sobre el meu cap hi ha crescut herba molt fresca / i he sortit a passejar la testa florida i verda / perquè també s'hi han fet flors com si jo fos una*

gerra'). The first of the so-called 'symphonies' included in the LP is an observational social portrait in which the narrator portrays how the moral unity of the community is broken in the excesses of a Christmas night ('*Sortirà el sol, silent, i buscarà els forats de les persianes / i els ulls adormits que s'han tancat de matinada / ulls morts de la gent que s'han passat la nit de tasca en tasca'*). The other two parts of the 'Simfonía' suppose an allegorical exaltation of countercultural life, either in the form of rejection of capitalist structures in pursuit of a more unprejudiced and hedonistic way of life, as occurs in 'Simfonía #2˝ or in form of celebration, again, of the lysergic experience as an exercise in individualistic self-knowledge in 'Simfonía #3'.

Dioptría's diptych, together with the singles of the period, composes a unit that exposes the hopes, miseries and contradictions of the counterculture using very varied musical forms. Pau Riba may be an early adopter of alternative lifestyles, but at the same time he is not devoid of old reactionary attitudes. The sensational reception by critics of the project (Casas 1970, *Disco Exprés* 1971, Olayzola 1971), together with the relative mystery generated by the countercultural press during his years of retirement in Formentera and his triumphant return in 1975 (Malvido 2004, 54) ended up crystallizing Riba as the highest representative of Catalan countercultural music. The historical canonization by both the Catalan and Madrid press, fueled during the 90s and 2000s, did nothing but consolidate a status that had been nurtured by the media from the beginning of his solo career.

Jaume Sisa and *Qualsevol nit pot sortir el sol*

As I have mentioned in section 2.2, the Catalan counterculture oscillates between the fetishization of ruralism and the urban space of Barcelona as a nucleus. Within this dichotomy, the figure of Jaume Sisa appears as fundamental to understand the urban narrative of the counterculture's generation. Sisa is as central as Riba to most narratives of how counterculture and pop-rock music interacted in 1970s Catalonia, and they share common influences, particularly that of Dylan, essential to their approach to song writing. Nevertheless, Sisa's oeuvre has a distinct point of view, due to a unique working-class perspective and a more narrative approach in his lyrics. Previously analysed artists, such as Riba, Los Brincos and Vainica Doble, came from a social and cultural environment in which artistic production was a conceivable, possible activity; in which access to records, instruments or recording devices was easy, and in which the belonging of the musician's families to a bourgeois social sphere contributed enormously to establish a network of contacts that was essential to their success. Sisa's main cultural influence was his father, José Sisa, a schoolteacher who suffered Francoist repression after the Civil War. As consequence of his loyalty to the Spanish republic and his belonging to its 132 Brigade during the Civil War, Sisa's father was imprisoned for 14 months in a concentration camp between 1939 and 1940. Sisa's childhood was marked, therefore, by what Jordi Gracia calls '*estética del miedo'*, a social and cultural device marked by explicit and implicit repression towards the losing side of the Civil War and its cultural and political expressions (2003, 17). When describing Sisa's childhood, Victor Claudín states how he 'creció en la calle, como vivían, crecían y se educaban antes los niños de los barrios populares' (1981, 15). Donat Putx, for his part, stresses that Sisa's borders during his childhood were marked by the theoretical borders of the Poble Sec neighbourhood, a reduced referential universe that will be essential in his eventual

songwriting career (2015, 20). Sisa reflected in his songs an alternative, counterculture-influenced vision of the urban working-class lifestyle. The political experience in the working-class families of the losing side was private, restricted to the domestic sphere, to stories untold due to the fear of public humiliation and scarce moments of connection with the pre-war ideals thanks to clandestine radio stations such as Radio Pirenaica and Radio Paris. [96]

Born in 1948, Sisa grew up influenced by a diversity of popular genres among working classes, ranging these between flamenco, copla, Catalan folk music, early rock'n'roll or bolero in equal measure. This eclecticism was eventually reflected in the later development of his career, particularly during his stint as Ricardo Solfa, a stage name adopted in the early 1980s to sing in Spanish. His contact with the local music scene came in 1964, and initially he felt attracted to pop-rock bands such as Los Sírex or Los Mustang. He bought a guitar with his first salary working as a clerk in a scales factory, a professional circumstance distant to those of, for example, Pau Riba or Los Brincos. His contact with the 1960s counterculture is particularly early, as he embarked in 1966 in an international tour with a pop-rock band, Los Descendientes de Walder, created ad-hoc to play in Mediterranean tourist resorts, touring France, Italy, and Tunisia. In these countries Sisa met individuals who belonged to the counterculture and started writing his own songs (Ordoñez 2013, n.p.). His second fundamental exposure to countercultural influences comes after his return to Barcelona in 1968, as he started belonging to the Grup de Folk, temporarily abandoning pop-rock to become a Dylan-

[96] Sisa mentions in Claudin (1981, 19) the deep emotion of his parents when listening to Pau Casals speaking in Catalan in a clandestine Radio Paris emission.

influenced singer/songwriter, as I mentioned in the previous section. Sisa makes a transition between rock'n'roll to folk, becoming a *cantautor* that had his roots in pop-rock music, and not vice versa. Even if a great share of the network of contacts had been stablished before his Mediterranean tour with Los Descendientes de Walder, Sisa's incorporation to the *Grup de Folk* implies his embracement of a horizontal, assembly-functioning, politicized movement (Riera Vives 2016, 89). As I have previously mentioned Sisa's trajectory overlaps with Riba's. Sisa and Riba, along with Albert Batiste became, due to their musical and lyrical evolution, the so-called *boletaire* sector of the *Grup de Folk*, less politically compromised with Anti-Francoism and more interested in the influence of the American counterculture. Both Sisa and Riba's careers should be understood in the context of a reciprocal influence and a common development of musical tastes and songwriting styles. In a matter of two years, between 1966 and 1968 both Riba and Sisa were exposed to the American folk-revival artists (apart from Bob Dylan, other artists such as Pete Seeger and Tom Paxson can be mentioned), and to a variety of rock artists, including The Incredible String Band, Jimi Hendrix, or Pink Floyd (Montañá 1975b, 34).

Sisa's first single is 'L'home dibuixat / Orgía #1', released in 1968, and connected directly with Riba's 'L'home éstatic'. If Riba was depicting the emotional and intellectual closure of the Catalan bourgeoisie, Sisa denounced the manipulation of the masses by the public authorities ('*Jo sóc l'home dibuixat, el que no té cos ni carn, d'homes dibuixats com jo, se n'aprofiten els grans'*). Musically, this single was still deeply influenced by Dylan and the *nova cançó* movement, and there were hints of psychedelic rock influences in the Farfisa organ arrangements of the b-side 'Orgía #1'. During the late 1960s and early

1970s Sisa's oeuvre becomes progressively more counterculture-influenced, particularly during his brief stint in 1969 as part of the collective Miniatura along with Pau Riba, Cachas and Albert Batiste, and his involvement in the short-lived band Música Dispersa, which existed between 1970 and 1971. [97] This last project, a natural continuation of Miniaturareleased a homonymous album in 1970 which showcased Sisa's gradual approach towards avant-garde music, as instead of using Catalan or Spanish, the band used an onomatopoeic, constructed language to avoid the limits of existing languages.[98] Música Dispersa's only collection of songs is predominantly acoustic-guitar led, but they escape any fixed structure or pop-rock hook, with a sound that can be linked to the free folk of artists such as The Incredible String Band, Donovan or Syd Barrett, while incorporating diverse unusual elements such as the slide whistle, the *xiulet* or pseudo-tribal chants.

Even if Música Dispersa never enjoyed commercial success, their first album and live appearances had national media coverage. Luis Dávilacelebrated in *Triunfo* their early concerts, linking the public's disbelief and irritation to Música Dispersa's psychedelic improvisations with the exasperated reactions that had occurred with the first screenings of Michelangelo Antonioni's films. [99] Dávila suggested that Música Dispersa represented the first step in an experimental trend in underground Spanish music (Dávila 1971, 37). Similarly, in *Disco Exprés*, Jordi Serra I Fabra wrote a panegyrical review in which he argued that Música Dispersa was a '*obra celestial […] una nueva*

[97] For an analysis of the Miniatura álbum see the section on Pau Riba.

[98] The two projects shared the same members, except for the fact that Pau Riba was not in Música Dispersa an instead Selene had become a full-time member.

[99] Pen name of Manuel Vázquez-Montalbán.

concepción del sonido y de la música en el campo de la sensibilidad humana, algo que sobrepasa todo valor humano y pasa al campo de lo etéreo' (Serra i Fabra 1970, 5). Música Dispersa's approach towards pop-rock music implied a rejection of the conventions of the traditional structure of the pop-rock song, using improvisational techniques to perform their songs in live concerts and abandoning the guitar/bass/drums format to experiment with different percussion and string instruments. Música Dispersa also connected with avant-garde trends in other artistic fields, as proved by their participation in La Garriga conference of architecture in 1970, which was attended by some burgeoning Spanish architects such as Rafael Moneo, Ricardo Bofill or Francisco Javier Saenz de Olza. (Vázquez-Montalbán 1970, 37). Similarly, Música Dispersa took part in the I Festival de Música Progresiva de Barcelona, organized by Oriol Regàs, owner of the nightclub Bocaccio, headquarters of the so-called *Gauche Divine.* [100] Paradoxically, the relationship of the nascent Barcelona's underground pop-rock with other artistic scenes was tense and not linear, as proved by the fact Bocaccio vetoed Sisa and other underground pop-rock musicians due to a perceived class difference.[101] Sisa and his fellow band members were redefining pop-rock music in Spain in the 1970 as proven by the participation of Cachas, Albert Batiste

[100] These series of *matinées* reunited on its line up artists such as Los Brincos, Los Canarios, Evolution, Máquina! Or Smash, being pionneering in combining emerging underground bands with established acts that had triumphed during the 1960s.

[101] 'A mí en los años sesenta en el Bocaccio no me dejaban entrar, porque yo iba con el pelo largo, desastrado, según las tendencias hippies del momento. El Bocaccio era un sitio más fino, pijo (fresa, pelucón) totalmente. En cambio, unos años más tarde, en la década siguiente, cuando se abrió el Zeleste a principios de los setenta, ahí sí, yo vivía ahí, pasé muchos años que frecuentaba ese local. Cuando saqué *Qualsevol nit pot sortir* el sol a principios del 75, y ese disco triunfó y fue con el que empecé a profesionalizarme, a poder vivir de la música, que hasta entonces no lo había conseguido, yo ya tenía 27 años, entonces sí, entonces ya me dejaron entrar en el Bocaccio, aunque fuera igualmente desastrado y con el pelo largo me dejaron entrar en el Bocaccio, porque ya empezaba a ser conocido', in Llano (2019, n.p.)

and Sisa in May 1970 in a colloquium in the headquarters of the music magazine *Discóbolo* about progressive music, in which Sisa assimilates the idea of progressive music to a disengagement from the vulgarity of commercial pop-rock, that he describes as '*canción cigarillo'* (1970, 25). Música Dispersa was disbanded by the end of 1970, as Cachas left for his military service, but the critic acknowledgement of their relevance transcended their scarce commercial success and helped to position Sisa as one of the most relevant musicians in the early 1970s Catalan pop-rock scene, and was his launchpad to the establishment of his solo career, as he secured an opportunity in Concentric to record and release his first solo album, that would be eventually entitled *Orgía* and released in 1971. [102]

The record label swap, from the progressive-rock oriented Diábolo to the *nova cançó*-centered Concentric anticipates a step back in Sisa's process of assimilation of avant-garde influences, as he returns to traditionally structured songs, even if the influence of psychedelic rock was still evident in most of the album. In terms of the musicians that collaborated in the album, most of the previous musical companions in the Grup de Folk, Miniatura or Música Dispersa are credited in the album in diverse roles, except Pau Riba, who was simultaneously recording *Dioptría*. *Orgía* anticipates the poetics that will eventually make Sisa popular, in its vindication of childhood memories as a metaphor of an unalienated state of mind and its connections between the psychedelic experience and the popular culture of the 1950s in Catalonia. For example, 'Menjant pollastre', the third song of the album is an implicit tribute to the popular Escobar-drawn comic

[102] *Rockdelux* (2004, 54) and *Enderrock* (2020, n.p.), among other magazines, have acknowledged the condition of *Música Dispersa* as a classic álbum.

character, Carpanta, an icon of the representation of poverty in post-war Spain (Blanco-Cordón 2021, 90). I have mentioned in chapter 3 Vainica Doble's poetics re-read Spanish infantile popular culture in a simultaneously sarcastic and poetic manner. Sisa, whose lyrical universe connect directly with Vainica Doble's, exploits a similar theme with a slightly changed perspective (a younger, masculine, working-class gaze). [103] Musically, the most evident influence is still, as in his previous solo singles, Bob Dylan, particularly in the vocal phrasing and the harmonica arrangements of songs such as 'Carrer' or 'En el castell'. The latest, a repetitive, circular-structured folk song inspired in Dylan's 1967 *John Wesley Harding*, can be associated with Vainica Doble's 'Un metro cuadrado' in its vindication of individual resistance against an oppressive environment and its claim of a personal space ('*Muntanyes de paper mullat / tres mil dones de cor estret / paquets de terra del Priorat / i un soldat de plom de juguet […] Faré una casa enmig del camps / quan ja no pugui més'*). The rest of the LP oscillates between the playful recreation of childhood scenes ('Relliscat' or 'Jugant a boles') and the idealization of communal life in the countercultural spots of the Balearic Islands ('Pasqua florida a l'isla d'enlloc', written after Sisa's first experience with LSD in Formentera in 1969). In *Orgía* it can be already perceived that Sisa's poetics are connected to Riba's generational vision, but they differ in perspective. While Riba is more confessional and identifies the countercultural project with his own poetic voice, Sisa remains more observational and distant, offering a distinctive vision of the development of the Catalan underground, more rooted in the connection between the rising counterculture and the Spanish song tradition. Sisa, as

[103] The reciprocal admiration of Vainica Doble and Sisa has been extensely documented, with the former declaring their admiration for Sisa's work in Ordovás (1976, 9) and the later getting to record a tribute álbum to Vainica Doble in 2006.

he proved through his career, was deeply influenced by such as copla, pasodoble or bolero that were entrenched in the collective sentimental memory of the Spanish population after the Civil War. *Orgía*, even if it had a warm critical reception, was not very successful commercially. Agustí Pons reviewed the album in the weekly magazine *Destino*, praising his powerful lyrical framework, that he compares to those of novelists Boris Vian and Jack Kerouac. (1972, 35). The presentation of the album took place seven months after the release of the album, 9 June 1972, within a spectacle called *Darling Sisa* that he had initially conceived as a farewell concert, due to the apparent failure of *Orgía* and the perception of decadence in the countercultural scene (Ordóñez 2013, n.p.). This show was also positively reviewed in *Disco Exprés*, that praised hugely the compelling relationship between Sisa and his public, and the evolution from his *nova cançó* origins (*Disco Exprés* 1972, 5).

Sisa's career goes in parallel with the path of the countercultural pop-rock scene. If between 1968 and 1971 a growing number of artists (Smash, Pau Riba, Los Módulos or Máquina!) and events (Festival de Rock Progresivo, Festival de Granollers) were gaining momentum and diffusing the borders between mainstream and countercultural music, by 1972 the lack of public response (mainly due to the synonymy between the *canción protesta* movement and Anti-Francoism, and the apparent apoliticism of underground or progressive bands in comparison to *cantautores*) led to a remarkable loss of public.[104]

[104] See section 2.3

Pau Malvido, in his historical account of Barcelona's underground music scene, published in 1976 in *Star* magazine, mentions the growing police pressure and the change in the drug habits of the countercultural scene (from marihuana and LSD to alcohol, hashish and heroin) as fundamental factors in the decline of the counterculture from 1972 (Malvido 2004, 44). The Barcelona-based cultural networks disintegrated, as many of the countercultural activists moved to different Mediterranean settlements, particularly in Formentera and Ibiza. In Sisa's case, the impossibility of professionalization after *Orgía* led him to a variety of non-music related occupations and a nomadic lifestyle between Barcelona, the Netherlands and Menorca (Carmona 2008, n.p.). Sisa did not release any new music between 1971 and 1975, but this will be the period of conception of *Qualselvol nit pot sortir el sol*, which was eventually his most successful album. The songs of *Qualselvol*… are deeply influenced by the establishment of the concert hall and nightclub Zeleste in 1973, which became eventually the centre of a new countercultural pop-rock scene in Barcelona, less clandestine and libertarian in spirit but more successful in commercial and artistic terms. (Gómez-Font 2017, 12) Some of the songs, such as 'Maniquí' and 'El fill de mestre', appeared in the 1974 tribute comic fanzine created by El Rrollo collective, entitled *Diploma d'honor*. While some of the performers in the album, such as Jordi Batiste, had already collaborated with Sisa in previous projects. Zeleste and its related nightlife scene allowed him to find new musicians to record his new songs.

In musical terms, *Qualselvol nit pot sortir el sol* is less of an avant-garde album than *Música Dispersa* and *Orgía*, relying in long, narrative songs that echo contemporary albums such as Dylan's *Desire*, both in the structure of the songs and the violin-led

arrangements. While it is not a concept album, it revolves around reflecting Catalan working-class culture and lifestyle, fuelled by Sisa's observational writing style mixed with the oneiric, lysergic imaginary of psychedelic music. The narrative perspective is always innocent, getting to an infantile perspective in 'El fill de mestre', 'Señor botiguer', 'Cançó de la font del gat' and the homonymous last song. Rob Chapman has studied how British psychedelic music centred part of its lyrical content in the nostalgic retrieval of the pure, innocent vision of the child (2015, 503). Sisa's perspective in the album equates the purity sought by the counterculture with a juvenile, impressionable point of view, and even the humorous account of the experience with LSD that takes place in 'El sète cel' is rooted in the search of innocence through lysergic experience, a freedom that eventually only exists 'engendrat dins del teu cap'. Sisa describes a simultaneously idealized and sarcastic account of his childhood. School is described as a place of rebellion against authorities in 'Fill de mestre' ('*El fill del mestre es tira un rot / son pare explica la lliçó / de tant en tant es tira un pet i / es rasca el cul amb gran deleït'*). In 'Cançó de la font del gat' the child-narrator describes the fascination for urban spaces as playgrounds in which freedom and revolt is allowed and the institutional impositions disappear ('*els nens festegen a la font del gat / i dorm un torero un torero daurat / i un plec de tardes de tons roasts / avui que en Picasso pinta un quadre amb el nas*'). Love is described either in the ethereal, psychedelic-like vision of 'Germà aire' or the disturbingly sexual vision of unanimated objects of 'Maniquí'. The tone of the album is summed up in the closing homonymous song, in which Sisa enumerates the fictional icons of his generation's childhood, from the most popular characters of Spanish comics in the 1940s and 50s, such as Roberto Alcázar y Pedrín, Captain Trueno or Mortadelo y Filemón to movie and cartoon figures such as King Kong or Tom and Jerry. In 'Qualsevol

nit pot sortir el sol' Sisa resignifies a variety of fictional characters (some of them, such as Roberto Alcázar y Pedrín or Captain Trueno, deeply enrooted in the psyche of the Spanish population as Francoist icons) in a demystifying manner, that Jordi Costa links with the rereading of 1950s and 60s icons made by comic book author and artist Javier Mariscal, one of the members of the previously aforementioned Rrollo collective, in 1976' *Nos vemos esta noche, nenas* (2018, 218).

Qualselvol nit pot sortir el sol was released in June 1975 to a great success, allowing Sisa to abandon his part time jobs and become a full-time professional musician (Claudín 1981, 29). The festive, optimistic aura of the album connected with the growing perception of the decadence of the Francoist regime. The crystallization of the conversion of Sisa into a countercultural icon took place during the celebration of the Canet Rock festival in July 1975, in which Sisa was scheduled to play but was cancelled by the police (Haro-Ibars 1975, 26). The prohibition of Sisa's performance contributed to his reading as an icon of the relaunch of the counterculture in the aftermath of Francoism. José M. Martí's chronicle of the festival in *Vibraciones* had a section entitled 'Sisa el omnipresente', in which he enumerates the possible reasons behind his cancellation, being the most likely a public declaration in which he declared himself a libertarian. Martí highlighted how the ban on Sisa reversed in the singer-songwriter becoming the whispered secret of the festival, asserting that '*Sisa fue la omnipresencia, durante toda la noche flotó en el ambiente, no solo físicamente, todo el mundo lo vió, sino que su mitificada figura, precisamente a causa de la prohibición (¡Oh contradicción!) presidió el festival*' (1975, 58). The review of the album that Claudi Montañà published in *Vibraciones* is representative of the reaction to the album, that he describes in

generational terms: ‘Es mi vida la que cuentas. Y la tuya. Y la suya. Cuentas la vida de nuestra generación. […] Hijos de la radio y la orquestina. Educación sentimental’ (1975c, 48). By January 1976, when Sisa is interviewed in *Ajoblanco*, the singer-songwriter has effectively become a countercultural icon (Durall 1976, 15). Sisa has become, as seen in his deferred reception, central in the canon of Spanish pop-rock, usually reluctant to non-Spanish singing artists (Del Val et al. 2014, 166). As happened in Riba’s case, his name has become synonymous with the idea of the counterculture of the 60s and 70s in Spain. Even if one of the aspirations of this thesis is to reject the preconceived idea that all markedly countercultural music scenes were in Barcelona, it is necessary to say that Catalonian countercultural pop-rock left the most durable imprint in the cultural fabric of any of the scenes, as evidenced by the retrospective canonization of its most relevant artists.

Chapter 5: Andalusian Rock and the Traditional Sound of the Future

Introduction

The cultural axis that connects Madrid and Barcelona, so often considered the cornerstone of Spanish popular music, is central to understanding recent Spanish history. There is a concentration of cultural agents, individuals, and institutions in both cities that cluster the cultural fact in Spain.[105] On many levels, but particularly on the musical, Andalusia acts as the clearest exception to this cultural duopoly. [106] In this chapter I will discuss the ways in which countercultural concepts impregnated Andalusian music during the late 60s and early 70s.

To do this, I will begin by analysing the peculiarities of the musical and cultural tradition of Andalusia, focusing on the use of Andalusian folklore and more specifically flamenco in the creation of a Spanish cultural imaginary during the Franco regime. I will draw a chronological line to expose the mergers between flamenco and rock'n'roll, not only in Spain, but also in the United States and the United Kingdom, with particular emphasis

[105] For further information on this Rivière (2000) explores the cultural and political tension between the two biggest cities in Spain

[106] Jordi Costa defends the theory of Seville as the centre of the Spanish counterculture: '*si empezamos a estudiar realmente dónde empieza la contracultura, la contracultura empieza en Sevilla. Sevilla es el primer foco contracultural: Smash, Nazario, Ocaña. Lo que luego se da es un efecto de transmisión y de polinización*' (Gragera 2018, n.p.)

on the processes of mutual influence that paved these processes. With this, I will link the approaches in which flamenco entered the Anglo-American-influenced Andalusian counterculture with the ways in which folkloric sounds had been instrumentalized and used in English-speaking countries through subgenres such as psychedelic rock. This will be an example of the development of a discourse of authenticity in subgenres of popular music using traditional influences as of the ways these traditions impregnate a particular reading of counterculture. I will analyse the various cultural agents and geo-social conditions that drove the emergence of Andalusian rock. For this, I will consider and discuss the importance of the American military bases of Rota (Cádiz) and Morón de la Frontera (Sevilla). In this second section, likewise, I will place a particular emphasis on Seville as a countercultural nucleus with an idiosyncrasy differentiated from that of Madrid and Barcelona. To this end, I will trace a map of the places in which the countercultural agents merged, from the *Dom Gonzalo* bar to the *Club Yeyé* or the *Glorieta de los Lotos*, understanding the signification and role of each place as part of an underground map of the city during late Francoism.

The third section of the chapter will focus on the early development of Andalusian rock by analysing the career of Smash. I will focus on the so-called 'Manifesto de lo borde', the founding text of the Sevillian underground and a countercultural branch that fuses Andalusian culture with American influence. I will also analyse in depth the single 'El garrotín / Tangos de Ketama', by the Sevillian band Smash, which fuses elements of the American psychedelia with flamenco, creating the first single that connects the Andalusian tradition with the countercultural vanguard. The role of the record industry in articulating countercultural discourses will also be analysed throughout the section,

with special emphasis on the role of managers as ideologists and catalysers. This section will draw on the idea that from a series of cultural agents (a venue, a record company, a band) arises a *scene*, a term that will be central to our understanding of Andalusian counterculture. Cohen explains that 'the production of scenes is, however, constrained or enabled by relations of power that shape the nature of the scene and the way which it is thought about or imagined' (1991, 245). The goal of this chapter will be to analyse the components of Andalusian Rock by tracing its origins, formation and relevance as a countercultural form that draws influences from both the political and cultural idiosyncrasy of Andalusia and the anti-establishment momentum that crystallised worldwide during the late 60s. The last section of the chapter will focus on *El patio*, released in 1975 by the band Triana. I will address the ways in which this popular and critically acclaimed channelled the aesthetics and discourse of a previously existing counterculture and assimilated them within the institutions and the recording industry,

The context of Andalusian countercultural pop-rock

Tracing the roots of Andalusian Rock: Considerations about the national and cultural nature of Flamenco

The intersection between cultural identity, Spanishness and flamenco during the Francoist period is a complex matter of study that has been interpreted from conflicting points of view. Some historians have pointed out that the Francoist regime used flamenco institutionally as a mark of patriotic pride and a sign of Spanish exceptionality (Muñiz Velázquez 1998, 354). Similarly, flamenco was used internationally as a political tool to destigmatize the international image of Francoism (Washabaugh 2005, 15). Nonetheless, flamenco has been analysedas a site of resistance against the totalitarian

regime, and the genre was resignified by left-wing intellectuals, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s (Rina Simón 2018, 161). From this contradiction stems a first consideration that is fundamental to understand flamenco's fusion with the Anglo-American counterculture and the tradition of rock and psychedelia. While American folk, a genre with which rock had been fused from the mid 1960s, was deeply rooted in a progressive worldview and had a clear affinity with social and political vindications, flamenco was not readily associated with a specific political perspective. Despite this, it would also be problematic to consider flamenco a musical genre anchored in conservative patriotism, as was the case with country music, with which rock also had a fruitful encounter in the mid-1960s (Mellard 2017, 476). It is therefore preferable to understand flamenco as a polyhedral genre that can be read from opposite perspectives, and that despite some associations that link it with a conservative value system, this reading is not the final word on the matter.

To address the historical development of Andalusian rock it is important to understand the state of the question regarding the ethnic and national component of flamenco music. Two of the central components of the scholarly debate on flamenco are the condition of flamenco as an intrinsically Andalusian musical form and as an exclusive immaterial heritage of the roma ethnic group. This debate transcends the nature of this thesis text, but for its proper contextualization it is interesting to consider the position of Gerhard Steingress, (2002, 45), who argues that flamenco has progressively lost its exclusive Andalusian condition throughout the twentieth century to become an element of the postmodern conglomerate of transnational musical genres. In the same text, the author accuses the flamenco identitarian readings of being at the service of a nationalist

or regionalist political agenda. In this chapter, however, I choose to contextualize flamenco as a quintessentially Andalusian genre, following the research lines of Juan Carlos Ríos Martín, who understands it as the sound of 'jornaleros, proletarios y gitano-andaluces que comparten las mismas condiciones de miseria, opresión y marginación, y que se encuentran en estrecho contacto […] son estos tres sectores los que constituirán la base social sobre la que nacerá el flamenco' (2009, 25). Therefore, a parallel could be drawn between flamenco and blues music, insofar as they are geographically delimited genres with an undeniable ethnic component. But, first and foremost, both genres are used as the catalyst of sectors of the population that, while having very different circumstances, shared social exclusion and a poverty of means.

There is a class conflict in recognizing the target audience of flamenco during the 1970s. The genre theoretically appealed to proletarian and marginalized sensibilities, to a triad made up of the Andalusian roma people, the day laborers of the rural areas and the industrial workers of the Andalusian cities. Although the fascination of the bourgeois classes and foreign tourists is firmly rooted in the consumption of flamenco from the late nineteenth century onwards the 'Spain is Different' campaign, dated 1957 and considered the definitive opening of Franco's regime to mass tourism, has an impact on flamenco as one of the distinguishing features of Spain when it comes to attracting tourism that seeks 'the exotic'.[108] By the mid 1960s, flamenco was amidst a process of

[108] 'The señoritos emerged from such flamenco performances, with a clear sense of their identity relative to the masses of impoverished Spaniards, and with a sense of justification - having undergone a ritual of absolution via cante. The poor, for their part, embraced the "romantic" song style of flamenco because it expressed their anguish, and because it referred them backward in time, rendering their miserable pasts rosier in hindsight, and holding out a hope, however faint, that the sincerity of their song would qualify them as bonafide cultural heroes in the future' (Washabaugh 1996, 55)

institutionalization that prompted the creation of a variety of institutions such as national awards, public-funded contests, multinational-marketed anthologies, or thematic television series that by the mid-1960s were operating at a national level (Aix García 2002, 143). Parallelly, flamenco was not alien to the growing anti-Francoist movement, and progressively incorporated a new left-leaning audience, linked to the new political discourses that were appearing in emerging young flamenco artists such as José Menese, Antonio Mairena and Enrique Morente. These artists contributed to the normalisation of flamenco in university student-controlled venues such as the *Colegio Mayor Universitario San Juan Evangelista*, traditionally linked to the anti-Francoist *cantautor* tradition. The arrival of this new public to flamenco events led to a change in the general perception of flamenco, which was resignified by an intellectual, middle-class audience. The extent of this transformation led to a public debate about the natural audience of the genre. For example, we find in Eduardo Haro Ibars' chronicle of the León Flamenco Festival a vindication of the marginalized classes and of the Romani people as a natural recipient of the genre, when mentioning that outside the great national metropolises 'el elemento progre era escaso y parecía que la música flamenca iba a dirigirse, en esta ocasion, a los que verdaderamente constituyen su público' (Haro Ibars 1976, 46). The polyhedral nature of flamenco is endorsed by the multitude of contradictory approaches to it, by the ever-changing nature of the genre and its reception, and late Francoism was a fruitful era in terms of questioning its nature.

As an additional note, when reading current literature about early flamenco rock, such as Díaz Pérez (2018) and García Peinazo (2020); along with the interview book dedicated to a central figure of the Andalusian rock scene as is Gonzalo García-Pelayo (Lapuente

2019) there is a remarkable absence of women as main characters in their narratives of the genre. The only exception in these approaches is usually Dolores 'Lole' Montoya, singer in the duo Lole y Manuel, a project in which the influence of rock was relatively minor. This contradicts the very nature of flamenco music, in which the role of women has always been central, as singers (Chuse 2003), dancers (Cavia Naya 2013) and instrumentalists (Lorenzo Arribas 2011). There were very relevant female-led groups that during the first half of the 70s mixed flamenco with contemporary pop-rock. This would be the case of Arena Caliente, Morena y Clara and the phenomenally popular Las Grecas, bands that enjoyed notable commercial success (Macho 2010, n.p.). Although these groups were influential and, particularly in the case of the latter, their songs achieved enormous popularity, the dominant narratives on the history of flamenco rock have relegated them to a footnote. [109] This omission responds to a values scale imbued in traditional rockism's conception of popular music (Sanneh 2004, n.p.). The elaboration of a pop-rock canon, both in the Anglo-American world and in its Spanish counterpart, has privileged male artists and has hierarchised certain standards: the conceptual long play album as superior to the single, the complexity of rock as worthier of critical appraisal to upbeat pop, the group of rock (formed by virtuoso male instrumentalists) as an inherently more valuable idea than the band composed of female singers and dancers. This hierarchical arrangement will be challenged throughout the chapter to provide a more inclusive reading of the development of Andalusian rock.

Rock Andaluz *avant-la-lettre*: Precedents and Parallels

[109] Las Grecas' debut single, 'Te estoy amando locamente', published in 1973, sold more than 500000 copies, becoming one of the most popular songs in Spain during the 1973-1974 period (Clemente 1995, 41).

Prior to the establishment of Andalusian rock, understood as an established genre that fused the sounds of rock with flamenco, there were attempts to blend the two genres. These *avant-la-lettre* efforts can and should be considered when contextualizing this fusion, as they suggest that musicians perceived that the synthesis of Spanish tradition and Anglo-American pop-rock could be successful, both artistically and commercially. In any case, the isolated attempts that I will mention in this section do not constitute a developed music scene, as they are disconnected from each other and did not generate a network of influences. The earliest precedents for Andalusian rock are found in scores used by local ensembles, in which flamenco elements were already incorporated into then-fashionable dances, such as charleston, foxtrot and rock'n'roll (García Peinazo 2017, 87). Likewise, groups of great popularity, such as the Dúo Dinámico or Los Brincos, both best sellers throughout the 1960s, occasionally incorporated elements of flamenco into their work. Paloma Otaola González indicates that 'Balada gitana', by the Dúo Dinamico, constitutes a paradigmatic example of this fusion of genres (2014, 167). Its use of the so-called Andalusian cadence, its lyrical references to the roma world, Andalusia or to flamenco itself show a clear intention to amalgamate Spanish tradition and pop-rock[110]. Similarly, 'Flamenco', by Los Brincos, recorded and released in 1964, is a song with a structure and rhythm close to the Merseybeat of the early Beatles, but the use of the Andalusian cadence and the typically flamenco interjections of the vocalist ('ele ahí', 'tacatá', etc) convey to the listener the impression of listening to a song that,

[110] The lyrics of 'Balada gitana' use most of the flamenco-related cliches, including '*niña gitana'*, '*niña morena', 'un sonar de guitarras', 'un repique de castañuelas', 'gitana de Andalucía*' or '*gracia española'*. The song exploits the commonplaces of flamenco and roma culture in a fetishised, exoticist manner, an approach that will be common in Spanish pop-rock music from the 1960s onwards.

as its title suggests, draws on both flamenco and beat music[111]. Even though the innovations that appear in these examples are undeniable, it is difficult to speak of a properly established flamenco rock or Andalusian rock genre in the first half of the sixties. Neither flamenco became a dominant element in the career of any of the bands nor was there an infrastructure or network of cultural agents that immediately embraced the fusion of flamenco and rock as a defining characteristic . In any case, both songs were pioneers in adopting flamenco sounds – and therefore, a uniquely Spanish element – to songs that otherwise conform to the canons of Anglo-American pop-rock. Both songs were positively received. 'Balada Gitana' was a finalist in the 1962 Barcelona Mediterranean Song Festival, and in April 6 1963, reached number 1 on the Spanish sales charts. 'Flamenco' reached in April 1965's issue the top of the *Fonorama* hit parade[112]. Theresa Goldbach identifies the period of the second half of the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s as the consolidation of the metonymy between flamenco and Spanish identity on the part of official institutions, particularly regarding tourism-related exhibitions (2014, 40). Both Los Brincos and El Dúo Dinámico, then-defined as modern ensembles who were aware of the evolution of music in Anglo-American culture, took flamenco as a part of their discourse, appealing to an audience that had assumed the genre as a central part of their education. musical but at the same time demanded a contemporary, rock'n'roll-influenced sound.

[111] For further information on the conception and reception of Los Brincos' hit single 'Flamenco' see chapter 2.

[112] Even if the sales figures were at the time opaque and different between different magazines (each using different shops as sources) the monthly *Fonorama* provided the most complete hit parade, listing the 100 best-selling singles of the previous month.

Simultaneously, it must be considered that in the Anglo-American world, the metropolis of pop-rock music, flamenco had already been an influence in a variety of projects. In the mid-60s there was already much history of mergers of flamenco with jazz music and popular approaches of the Spanish language to rock'n'roll. [113] The first records that fully explored the fusion between rock and flamenco in the United States did not appear until the second half of the 1960s. We will look at two specific cases to understand this trend: the 1970's collaboration between Sabicas (the artistic name of the Navarrese flamenco guitarist Agustín Castellón Campos) and Joe Beck, entitled *Rock Encounters*; and the career of the short-lived American-British band Carmen. As in the previously aforementioned case of 'Balada gitana' and 'Flamenco', these two cases cannot be understood as part of a wider music scene, but as isolated preludes of future development of what we will get to know as Andalusian rock.

The collaborative effort between the Navarrese flamenco guitarist Sabicas, exiled in New York; and American jazz and rock guitarist Joe Beck one of the crucial recordings in this pre-Andalusian rock era of the fusion between flamenco and rock, as acknowledged by members of future bands such as Smash or Gong (Gamazo 2018, n.p.). The meeting between the two musicians was recorded on *Rock Encounter,* an album that has provoked numerous discrepancies regarding its recording and publication. Rock historians such as Juan Manuel López have dated its recording and publication in 1966, despite numerous sources dating the album in 1970 (2019, n.p.). However, the edition

[113] For a detailed study of the fusion between flamenco and jazz between 1956 and 1968, see Zagalaz (2016), centered in the fusion attempts of legendary jazzmen such as Lionel Hampton, John Coltrane or Miles Davis. Regarding the rock'n'roll hits sang in Spanish, the most popular case is probably 'La bamba', released in 1958 by Richie Valens, of enormous success and one of the few songs not sung in English that have been able to enter the canon of American rock. (*Rolling Stone* 2003, n.p.)

of the American magazine *Billboard* of June 6, 1970, mentions in a press release the project of producer Harvey Cowan that intended 'to team flamenco artist, Sabicas, with some heavy rock musicians' (6). It was the first time Sabicas had stepped outside of the framework of his flamenco work. For Cowan, it continued a trend he had started within MGM Records the Armenian folk oudist John Berberian combination, precisely, with Joe Beck, to fuse two theoretically distant music traditions. An announcement published in Billboard's issue of November 14, 1970 issue suggests that the album was already out by that date and that it was part of the Polydor label's new releases of the month (37). The publication of the album in Spain is clearly dated in the same year 1970, coinciding with the return of Sabicas to the national territory after a long exile. Magazine *Triunfo* mentioned the end of Sabicas' diaspora as one of the most meaningful cultural events of the year, describing the Navarrese guitarist as 'nuestro más importante concertista internacional de guitarra flamenca' (Almazán 1970, 45). Regardless of the real date of recording, this instrumental album is chronologically the first LP dedicated to the fusion of flamenco sounds with rock instrumentation. Part of the collection of fusion records conceived within MGM records, from the American perspective flamenco becomes an anecdotal exotic element, interchangeable with any other national or regional folklore alien to its own tradition. If we analyse the work of Sabicas, a traditional guitarist, as that of Joe Beck, the interest in developing a creative discourse through the fusion of rock and flamenco was not central. *Rock Encounter* was the fruit of a unique encounter that did not shape their further careers, even if Sabicas repeated the experiment the following year, presenting an album called *The Soul of Flamenco and the Essence of Rock,* recorded with studio musicians in Los Angeles. The little legacy the two albums left in other American musicians and a lukewarm popular reception (neither of the albums did

enter any sales list, although the first one was edited in Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom) make them, from the American perspective, a curiosity. The historical value of the album stems from its deferred reception in Spain, from the word-of-mouth expansion of the experimental and avant-garde elements of the album (Vogel 2017, 141). By 1974 the album was already being mentioned as a preamble of the development of Andalusian rock in *Vibraciones* (Casas 1974, 54).

In addition to the Sabicas and Joe Beck's album, we also find flamenco influences in specific songs of some of the most celebrated bands of the late 1960s. That would be the case of 'Spanish Caravan' by The Doors, which includes a granaínas-influenced intro played with a Spanish guitar by Robbie Krieger or 'Alone Again Or', by Love, with a flamenco-influenced harmonic base. Neither of the two bands developed their careers after these songs around Spanish influences, but, as it happened to the other examples mentioned in this chapter, pop-rock bands were open to assume flamenco as an element that could be fused with their own sound, and that flamenco was considered an expressive tool that could be well received by the Anglo-American public. Less critically and commercially relevant, but still worthy of consideration due to the centrality of flamenco in their sound is Carmen, a British-American rock band active between 1970 and 1975. Founded in Los Angeles by David Allen, a trained flamenco guitarist, the group went unnoticed on the West Coast scene, but achieved certain relevance after its move to London in 1973, receiving support from David Bowie (García Peinazo 2019, 68). Their album *Fandangos in Space*, released in 1973 in the United Kingdom and released in Spain the following year, is, more than a predecessor of Andalusian rock, a curious parallel phenomenon. There are many elements that make

the group's flamenco influence obvious: the name of the band, their public image, the way the record company had put them on the market, the harmonic characteristics of their songs or the arrangements that include *taconeos* or *jaleos*. Despite this, the reception of the Spanish critics towards the album was mixed. While the review that appeared in *Disco Exprés* was positive, praising the professionality of the band, the reviewer suggests that the band are a commercial pastiche trying to profit from the exoticism of flamenco in the Anglo-American world (Roldán 1974, 14). Further articles insist on this vision, negatively comparing the band with their Spanish counterparts, particularly Triana, which are depicted as more authentic (García Pelayo 1974, 18). Carmen have remained an obscure band in Spain, with none of their subsequent albums (1975's *Dancing in the Cold Wind* and *The Gypsies*) being ever reissued in the Spanish territories. Hence, their role as potential precursors of Andalusian rock is very limited, even if the uniqueness of their proposal is worth of consideration.

From Morón to Seville: The Geography of the Andalusian Counterculture

The relationship between specific places and their musical scenes has been studied often, as was be the case of New Orleans and jazz (Sajakeeny 2006), Liverpool and Merseybeat (Cohen 1992) and Nashville and country music (Pecknold 2014). In the case of the sounds of Seville, capital city of Andalusia and apocryphal capital of flamenco music, there is a popular acceptance that the entire city, and particularly the Triana neighbourhood, are *a land of musicians*. When it comes to temporarily demarcating the countercultural rock scene in Seville, I will take the opening of the *Dom Gonzalo* venue in 1967 as its symbolic initial date. There were ensembles in Seville that could be defined

as pop-rock bands since the early 1960s. [114] It can be argued that the inauguration of Dom Gonzalo, which eventually served as a nerve centre for the countercultural activity in the city (as a concert venue. as a meeting place for counterculture-related individuals or as the first place in which import records could be listened) spurred the era of experimentation and changes in Andalusian music. [115] Another essential factor for using *Dom Gonzalo*'s opening as a cornerstone of Andalusian rock is that its owner and promoter was the businessman Gonzalo García-Pelayo. As we will see throughout this chapter, the presence of García-Pelayo in the gears of Andalusian rock is nearly unlimited: he was the proprietor of the venue that shaped Seville's rock scene, the producer and ideologist of many of the scene's bands and a journalist and critic in some of the most popular music magazines. Due precisely to Garcia-Pelayo's omnipresence, it is important to question certain myths that have been surrounding his figure, particularly if we consider that many of the Andalusian rock' narratives have used his testimony as one of the main sources. In any case, his role as a catalyst is undeniable, his influence is very extensive, and his figure was a link between the theoretically distant worlds of counterculture and flamenco. In the words of García-Pelayo himself, *Dom Gonzalo* served from the beginning to disseminate imported albums, little known in Spanish territory.

> *Era algo único. Pink Floyd, por ejemplo, no se escuchaba en ningún otro lugar, no sólo de Sevilla, sino de toda España. Yo traigo los primeros discos de Pink Floyd mucho antes de que tuvieran el éxito de Dark Side of the Moon. Como el A Saucerful of Secrets, o el primero de Jimi*

[114] For more information about this early stage of rock in Andalusia, it is advisable to consult Clemente (1995).

[115] Antonio 'Smash' mentions the pirate radio station *Radio Vida* and, more specifically, its discjockey Alfonso Eduardo as an institution of rock'n'roll music in pre-*Dom Gonzalo*'s Seville (Matute 2019, n.p.).

> *Hendrix, Are You Experienced?, que es un disco que me fascinó desde el primer momento cuando lo escuché y tardó mucho en empezar a conocerse ligeramente en España.*
> Gonzalo García Pelayo, interviewed in Díaz Pérez (2019, 43)

Antonio 'Smash' agrees with García-Pelayo in the appreciation of the club as a place of musical exchange where new sounds were disseminated, emphasizing its notion of community and exclusivity, and analysing the club as an embassy of the foreign avant-garde tendencies. [116] The opening of the premises had a double significance for the Sevillian cultural scene. Firstly, it was a pioneer in disseminating many new cultural tendencies, by hosting a regular gig programming in which local bands could test their skills or by incorporating pop-art decoration. Secondly, Dom Gonzalo became the headquarters for the city's hashish consumers, an element that attracted bohemian subcultures and a heterogeneous mix of individuals from diverse economic and social backgrounds.

Most of the regulars at *Dom Gonzalo* were American soldiers stationed at the Morón military base. This military aerodrome, located just 32 km from Seville, had been ceded in 1953 by Spain to the United States under the Madrid pacts. These were signed by the Francoist government as part of a first phase of political opening, which guaranteed a

[116] Another interview with Antonio Smash in *Jotdown* magazine includes a more comprehensive list of the music played at *Dom Gonzalo*: '*a través de los americanos de la base de Morón, conseguía discos que aquí en España no se habían publicado todavía. Me acuerdo, por ejemplo, de haber escuchado allí por primera vez a Frank Zappa con los Mothers of Invention o a los Pink Floyd de Syd Barrett. Esas atmósferas tan efectistas de un tema como «See Emily Play» era algo que nos gustaba mucho a los Smash. Otro disco que recuerdo haber escuchado allí era el Truth, del Jeff Beck Group, donde cantaba entonces Rod Stewart. La versión que ellos hacían del «Rock Me Baby» de B. B. King la hacíamos nosotros en directo*.' (Matute 2019, n.p.)

series of financial aid that alleviated post-war poverty and its autarkic policies in exchange for unconditional support for the United States in its anti-Soviet manoeuvres (Piñeiro Álvarez 2006, 180). The influence of the American bases on a musical level in the Spanish cities is well known. The musicians residing close to the bases of Rota (Cádiz), Morón (Seville), Zaragoza and Torrejón had easier access to electric instruments, amplifiers and records, as the personnel of the military bases (both American and Spanish) easily acquired imported goods.

Before Andalusian rock was established as a music scene, Morón had already been the setting of the influence interchange between the Anglo-American cultural scene and Andalusian music. An American accountant stationed at the military base, Donn Pohren, also amateur guitarist and flamencologist, had become fascinated with an obscure guitarist from Morón, Diego Del Gastor[117]. Pohren published two essays about the genre, *The Art of flamenco* (1962) and *Lives and Legends of Flamenco: a biographical history* (1964). His fascination made Del Gastor a cult figure in the Anglo-American world, similarly to what the Mississippi bluesmen had become for the first generation of Anglo-American rock. If artists like Robert Johnson and Blind Lemon Jefferson represented the purity of a genre that purged the suffering of a marginalized race, Diego Del Gastor represented for Pohren the essence of a genre that still lived alien to the recording industry, and in which many of the most valuable artists remained semi-anonymous (Vázquez García, 2016, 91).

[117] Apart from Diego del Gastor, some of the other artists that featured in Pohren's texts were Fernanda de Utrera, Perrate, Joselero or Paco Valdepeñas. All of them were regarded as uncommercial, and *pure* in their approach to flamenco.

The cult surrounding the *tocaor* of Morón from these publications triggered the interest of young people, both Americans and Spaniards, who made pilgrimages to Morón to listen to an artist who represented a purity that is rooted in countercultural values. Artist and cartoonist Nazario Luque recalled the scene that was generated around Del Gastor in an interview with Carlos de Castro

> *[U]n grupo de beatniks se instalarán a vivir en los alrededores del pueblo y, posteriormente, un variopinto grupo de californianos jipis (ellos renegaban de dicha palabra), que pululaban alrededor de Diego estudiando la guitarra o el baile flamenco. Así pues mi amigo y yo comenzamos también a estudiar la guitarra flamenca y nos integramos en aquel grupo ajeno al resto del pueblo. Los americanos nos dieron a conocer su cultura jipi y así, además de darnos a conocer el ácido, nos darían a oír por primera vez, no solo a Janis Joplin, Cream o Jimi Hendrix, sino a Oum Kalsoum o Ravi Shankar*
> Nazario Luque, in De Castro (2016, n.p.)

Diego del Gastor was later invited to participate in the 1972 Pamplona Encounters, centred in avant-garde culture and contemporary art, representing a neo-primitivist approach to flamenco, as Pedro G. Romero pointed out in Matute (2020, n.p.). Romero suggests an interesting paradox regarding the figure of Del Gastor and his subsequent influence on Andalusian rock, as his *falsetas* will be the central element of flamenco that will be introduced in the context of the rock instrumentation. Diego del Gastor is simultaneously the *tocaor* that fascinated Anglo-American flamenco fans and the one whose approach to flamenco guitar will be copied by the new-born Andalusian rock bands. Del Gastor became the origin myth of a renewed approach to flamenco that

needed to avoid associations with commercially successful, radio-friendly flamenco. The Morón flamenco scene, enrooted in an underground, familiar tradition, provided a context of perceived authenticity that allowed both the Andalusian rock musicians to distance themselves from the negative associations of flamenco music and the American, Morón base-related public to a *pure* Andalusian experience. The interest in music at the base was twofold and contradictory. The base simultaneously amplified the diffusion of American rock, soul and rhythm & blues and attracted a new international public to flamenco. The presence of the US military entails another duality. The American Morón base-related customers of Dom Gonzalo were simultaneously part of a growing countercultural scene while belonging to the colonial apparatus of the US army, ally of the Francoist regime.

When it comes to analysing the geographical frameworks in which the Seville countercultural scene unfolds, we run the risk of over-assuming the dominant narratives, that 'create a kind of "master narrative" or '"master map" of popular music heritage in the city' (Lashua et al, 2010, 128). For this reason, and without detracting from the importance -central, but well recognized- of *Dom Gonzalo* as the axis of the Seville countercultural scene, there are other fundamental spaces to understand the geography of early Andalusian rock. The venue called *Club Yeyé*, opened in 1967, had a regular schedule of rock concert. Although this place is not as documented as *Dom Gonzalo*, it is central to understanding the development of live music in Seville, being mentioned by Gualberto as the place where he saw the rest of the future members of Smash for the first time. If *Dom Gonzalo* was an avant-garde club, focused on experimental music and where there was a preference for Anglo-American psychedelic

rock, progressive rock and soul (which favoured the presence of African American soldiers stationed in Morón), *Club Yeyé* centred its activity in Spanish pop-rock, giving a space to local bands to be the opening acts for nationally popular artists. Apart from the private-owned spaces created by the hospitality sector, public spaces were central in the development of the Sevillian counterculture. Consumption of hashish and chance encounters made the Glorieta de los Lotos, a gazebo located in the Parque Maria Luisa that became a popular meeting point for counterculture-related individuals. This space, honoured in 1970 with both a homonymous song and album by Smash, was the meeting point during the day for young people interested in alternative music and lifestyles. The *glorieta* and the individuals who met there turned the public space into a territory where countercultural ideals were spread and networks were created, a place where youngsters could interact and find like-minded people (De Castro 2016, n.p).

I have previously mentioned that the countercultural spots of Seville attracted very varied collectives, ranging from the military personnel of the American bases to pop-rock fans or hashish dealers. *Dom Gonzalo* had also a direct connection with the then illicit left-wing politics. When the venue was closed because of neighbourhood pressure in 1970, the defence attorney for the premises was a young Felipe González, future president of the Spanish government, then a member of the clandestine Socialist Party. It is not a casual relationship, González, as future vice-president Alfonso Guerra, was a regular at the club. There are conflicting perspectives on the importance of *Dom Gonzalo* in the gestation of this branch of the Socialist Party in Seville, which would acquire such importance just a decade later. Gonzalo García-Pelayo, has affirmed that the clandestine meetings of the party took place locally, and that 'la policía lo sabía y

esa fue la causa principal de que nos clausuraran en 1970' (Lapuente 2019, 31). Bartolomé Clavero, co-administrator of the premises, confers politics a minor role within the club. [118]

> *Javier García-Pelayo (…) sostiene que Dom Gonzalo fue además un club político. Habría sido base comunista y socialista, de un PC y de un PSOE clandestinos, éste con la presencia de Felipe González. Algo había, pero no tanto. Relaciones existían porque fueran clientes o por amistad. Cuando nos clausuró la policía por consumo de marihuana (creo que luego añadieron más cargos), Felipe fue nuestro abogado.*
>
> Clavero (2018, n.p.)

While the spaces of the Sevillian counterculture were open to a variety of social classes, the ownership and control of the private spaces (*Dom Gonzalo* or *Club Yeyé*) that were central in its geography was limited to upper classes well connected to the Francoist status quo[119]. While some of the artistic and lifestyle practices that were taking place in these spaces suggested a liberalising approach, a glass ceiling existed for women, working-class individuals, or racialized collectives. Male musicians could, though, have

[118] A final connection between the club, clandestine politics, and Seville's countercultural projects occurs in the collaboration of the Esperpento theatre group, of which Alfonso Guerra was a member, and Smash, collaboration developed at Dom Gonzalo. Once again the testimonies of the time contradict each other. In Lapuente (2019, 31) García Pelayo declares that at that time Guerra was the director of the theatre group, while Clavero (2018, n.p.) affirms that he was nothing more than a collaborator, and that he exaggerated his contribution to the group -to the point of assuming as his foreign translations- to create a coherent character prior to his landing in national politics. As the contradictions between his statements in the book *Conversaciones con Alfonso Guerra* (Fernandez-Brasó 1983) and his memoirs, *Cuando el tiempo nos alcanza: Memorias 1940-1982* (2005) show us, proximity to the counterculture is ductile and dependent of the political climate of each moment. If during the first *felipismo* contact with the transgressive culture during the Franco regime was a medal to proudly wear, during the conservative withdrawal of Aznar's second legislature it becomes an irrelevant episode.

[119] Not coincidentally, Gonzalo García-Pelayo came from a Francoist military-related family and Bartolomé Clavero was the son of one of the very few Seville's notaries.

a dominant position within the hierarchy of 'hippies psicodélicos de barrio', as Albert Batiste describes Smash and their entourage (2021, 69). In many ways, the economic structure of the early Sevillian counterculture echoed the hierarchy of the Francoist society. The intersection of Seville and Morón, of the urban spaces of the capital and the rural Andalusia, of the private venues and the public spots and of the locals and the Morón-based American citizens are the base to trace a cartography of the early development of Andalusian rock. [120] Seville's counterculture stems from the rich tapestry of cultures that is imbued in the city's identity, but the Seville-centric narrative should be challenged to provide a more accurate account of the multiplicity of influences that shaped Andalusian rock.

The oeuvre of the Catalan countercultural pop-rock

A song and a manifesto: the case of Smash

The development of the Andalusian rock scene goes parallel to the establishment of countercultural spaces and practices in Seville. The easy access to imported records, the inheritance of its own folklore and the aforementioned spaces contributed to bring forth a scene yielding both commercial and artistic returns. The genesis of what will be called Andalusian rock stems from three bands: Gong, Nuevos Tiempos and Smash. The members of these bands will subsequently be part of the bands that became more popular from the mid 70s onwards (Triana, Alameda, Guadalquivir, Silvio y Sacramento, Mezquita or Vega). As it usually happens with scenes that are very delimited in space

[120] While Seville was the origin for many of the most important artists of the Sevillian counterculture, some key figures had diverse origins. Manuel Molina grew up in Ceuta, Nazario Luque in Castilleja del Campo or Juan José Palacios 'Tele' in El Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz).

and time, inter connections between bands were usual, and the number of musicians was finite. There were also other figures that orbited around the bands, either as external collaborators, managers or producers. This would be the case of the previouslu mentioned Gonzalo García-Pelayo, who between 1968 and 1978 was the manager of Gong and Smash and the producer of Triana, Granada, Alameda or the solo efforts by Gualberto. There were numerous member exchanges between Gong, Nuevos Tiempos and Smash during their pre-discographic era, and the bands shared to a large extent their influences, acquired through the albums played at *Dom Gonzalo* and the *Yeyé Club* and the Morón-based military radio, *Radio Vida*.

Gong was the first of the three bands to be created, in early 1967. As happened with many of the Spanish pop-rock bands of the late 1960s, particularly those that existed far from Madrid or Barcelona, their discographic production was scarce, due to the lack of recording and publishing infrastructure. They recorded and released two singles ('El botellón' and 'A Leadbelly'[1971]), already in their final days and that did not reflect their period of greatest local popularity, which would correspond to 1967 and 1968 (Matute 2018, n.p.). Gong remained a crucial band, as they anticipated the influence of soul music, unprecedented in Sevillian music until then, and earned a cult following among American soldiers. Some of the members of the band went on to form Smash, Alameda, Guadalquivir and Triana, certifying the endogamous nature of the early Andalusian rock scene. Their acceptance was limited outside Seville, and it was not until their late singles that they appeared in nationwide press. *Disco Exprés* suggested that the mastermind behind their idea of fusion of flamenco and blues was, again, Gonzalo García-Pelayo, and that the band was pioneer in being interethnic, having both *payo* and

roma musicians (1971b, 4). For their part, Nuevos Tiempos are worth noting due to the presence of Jesús de la Rosa, future Triana vocalist, and their status as regular band in *Club Yeyé*, where they developed a fusion of folk and psychedelic rock that also had a very limited recording history, as they only released a single ('When I Try to Find the Right Time/Cansado me encontré') in 1970. Both Gong and Nuevos Tiempos careers were constrained by being in Seville Even if their lyrical, musical and aesthetic discourse was assimilating the tendencies of contemporary bands in the Anglo-American world, the insularity of the Sevillian scene and the lack of appropriate recording studios prevented both bands from having a fruitful career, which members of both bands would eventually enjoy in subsequent projects. [121]

Of the three bands, the most relevant, in terms of influence, legacy and popularity was Smash. Their career, even if relatively short (they were active between 1968 and 1973), was fertile, achieving two albums and nine singles, reaching both critical and public repercussion, particularly with their breakthrough single, 'El garrotín', a song that I will analyse in this section and that reached number six on the sales list in May 1971, an outstanding success for a band that was unknown outside of Andalusia (La Vanguardia Española 1971, 51). Smash was originally formed by drummer Antonio Rodríguez (popularly known as Antonio Smash), singer and bassist Julio Matito and guitarist Gualberto García. Previously to Smash they had played together in a project called Foren Dhaf, between 1966 and 1968 and did not record any songs, but had become regular in

[121] Apart from the three aforementioned bands, and with a more rumba-pop oriented sound, Los Payos should be highlighted, as they featured guitarist Eduardo Rodríguez Roday, who would later become a founding member of Triana. While they did not showcase any countercultural or psychedelic influence, they were pioneer in having commercial success while belonging to the Sevillian scene, getting to the number 1 of the singles list with 'María Isabel' (Orozco 1969, 16)

the Sevillian gig scene. The trio was soon completed with the presence of Henrik Liebgott, a Danish guitarist who had moved to Andalusia shortly before to study Spanish and flamenco guitar. Smash differentiated themselves by having a privileged position regarding international influences. The early Andalusian rock scene was still dominated by the macho-driven hierarchy of 60s rock music, a set of values in which women had been systematically excluded and erased from any narrative related to creative work and relegated to consumers and/or groupies (Larsen 2017). Most narratives of the history of Andalusian rock (Clemente 2016, García Peinazo 2017, Díaz Pérez 2018) do not acknowledge the role of women within the scene. In the case of Smash, all members were engaged in sentimental relationships with women who acted as prescriptors and providers of new musical influences.

> *Mi novia era americana. Las novias que teníamos todos en esa época eran americanas. Y eran ellas las que tenían tanto los discos como los tocadiscos para escucharlos. No digo que por eso me echara una novia americana, ¿eh? [risas], pero era así. El padre de mi novia era militar y su familia vivía en la base de Morón de la Frontera. Y por eso conocíamos discos que aquí en España no se habían publicado, como los de Country Joe & The Fish, por ejemplo.*
>
> (Matute and Corazón Rural 2016, n.p.)

Gualberto's relationships with young Americans allowed him to travel to the metropolis of international rock in 1969. There he came into direct contact with the American counterculture, attending Woodstock festival as a spectator, where he was impressed with Indian sitarist Ravi Shankar's performance. Shortly after, Gualberto became the first Spanish rock musician to have a sitar, and on his return to Spain he incorporated

the instrument into Smash's sound. The sitar, a fetish device in the sound of psychedelic rock, was often used as a symbol of exotism. Its use contributed to help Smash transcending blues rock in order to become a psychedelic rock band. Their recording activity was mediated by the usual names of the underground map of the Spanish counterculture. Through the mediation of Gonzalo García Pelayo and Ricardo Pachón (future producer of Camarón de la Isla) they ended up releasing their first two singles on the Catalan label Diabolo, recording their first album in top notch studios in Barcelona and sharing the label's catalogue with like-minded artists such as Sisa or Maquina!

By 1971 the weekly *Triunfo*, highlighted them as a central figure of what the author calls progressive music by affirming that '*En España había unos cuantos iniciados en la música progresiva. Importantes núcleos de incondicionales capitaneados por Sevilla (en torno a Smash) y seguidos por Madrid y Barcelona*' (Davila 1971, 37). The band had managed to be considered the founding nucleus of an emerging movement with just a released LP, 1970's *Glorieta de los Lotos* is considered one of the founding works of Spanish progressive rock (Delis Gómez 2017, 137). It is an atypical album, in which Gualberto's participation was reduced to just four out of twelve songs because his trips to the United States took place amidst recording sessions. Prior to the recording, Gonzalo García Pelayo had managed to get the band to sign for a major label, Phillips. The album still did not feature the elements that would become recognisable in Andalusian rock, as the predominant styles are blues and psychedelic rock. However, the title song gives a hint of the future evolution of the band. In just a few short lines and 58 seconds of song, the Smash elaborate a poetics of the local with musical influences that are equally reminiscent of Gregorian chant and Crosby, Stills and Nash. In this song Smash vindicate

themselves as Sevillians, free from the ties of power, but aware of their origin and where they come from ('*nosotros queremos estar en Sevilla / sentados en el parque / Glorieta de los Lotos / oliendo a flores queremos estar*'). The only Spanish-sang song in their debut album, 'Glorieta de los lotos' functions as a proud statement of a band that defines itself as Sevillian, Andalusian and countercultural, even if they did not incorporate flamenco influences by then.

Regardless of their role within the Sevillian rock scene, there were two episodes that catapulted the importance of Smash in the history of Andalusian rock and the Spanish counterculture. These were the release of the 'Manifesto of lo borde' and the success of their 1971 single 'El garrotín'. [122] The content of one is inextricable from the other, and they deserve to be analysed together , insofar as 'El garrotín' works as a crystallization of the manifesto in the form of a song. Regarding the 'Manifesto de lo Borde', for its part, there is no consensus, as has happened with some of the previously mentioned contributions, about the dates on which it was written and its actual authorship. *Triunfo* was the first national-wide media that gave coverage to Smash manifesto, highlighting that the band had 'un miembro gitano' and being the only band '*que ha pretendido una coherencia escrita a sus planteamientos, dando publicidad a un manifiesto'* (Chamorro 1970, 69). The band explained the aesthetics of 'lo borde' throughout the chapter

[122] There are precedents for manifestos in Andalusian popular music, such as the 'Manifiesto canción del sur', mainly signed by artists who orbited around Granada's cantautores scene, among whom we can find Carlos Cano, Joaquín Sabina and Luis Eduardo Aute. Made known between 1969 and 1970 through the *Poesía 70*, a programme of Granada's *Radio Popular*, its tone was openly political and anti-Francoist, although it revealed weariness towards the forms of the traditional left, and particularly the Communist Party. The manifesto did not have a fixed text but was rather a work in progress to which several artists were linked. (González Lucini 2004, 50).

> *Se podría decir que el rollo particular de cada uno no es más que su universo particular, su forma de ver el mundo, los hombres, las cosas y sus relaciones recíprocas. En definitiva, el rollo en el que debemos estar es el de apreciar todas las posibles armonías de estas relaciones (...). Hablando de música, un buen rollo es algún trozo suficientemente largo y rico en expresión de algo misterioso, que no se comprende bien, pero que se siente ('Sympathy for the Devil' es una canción de los Rolling Stones que, por ejemplo, posee un rollo perfecto. Bob Dylan y los Beatles; los rollos largos de Barch y de Ravi Shankar: 'inici de cantic' y treballare el teu cos' están todos absolutamente en el rollo. En otro terreno, lo mismo se podría decir de gentes como Clarín, Hemingway, Peckinpah, etcétera)' De una forma espontánea, y por el hecho quizá de ser andaluces, surgen en nosotros unos principios estéticos que podríamos definir genéricamente como bordes. Pensamos que lo borde es lo que mejor se adapta a una verdadera expresión del pueblo español en la actualidad. Lo borde es quizá la única salida colectiva como medio de expresión común de los sentimientos distorsionados y exasperados en determinadas circunstancias de frustración. Como ejemplo de lo borde podemos poner a todo el cante gitano andaluz (la bulería en especial), a los mismos cantaores gitanos (incluso en sus rollos personales), a Valle-Inclán, Buñuel (...) o Arrabal.*
>
> Chamorro (1970, 69)

Many of the ideas that crystallized in the final version of the manifesto appear in this early variant. One of the main elements is the desire for freedom, understood as an intrinsically element of the Spanish personality that, due to political and historical circumstances, has been stripped away. The manifesto showcases an anarcho-

individualist inspiration, particularly in the deeply libertarian idea of the *rollo*. It also features a vindication of the history of an alternative Spanish culture, including artists from various disciplines with a tendency towards creative heterodoxy, such as Ramón María del Valle Inclán, Luis Buñuel or Fernando Arrabal, three controversial and provocative figures. The manifesto also evinces the importance of Andalusian roma *cante flamenco* and the admiration for the *cantaores* as an essential element of the text. The manifesto works simultaneously as an artistic statement of intents and a publicity stunt conceived by their manager, producer, and ideologist Gonzalo García-Pelayo. The main idea that underlies the *estética de lo borde* that the manifesto aspires to define is the overcoming of a mimetic phase in Spanish underground rock towards a more creative era. The text is an attempt to theorize what was already taking place in Sevillian countercultural environments, the fusion between the roma and the Anglo-American cultures, and the political projects enunciated through a revolution of the lifestyles. Smash aspired to unite the local with the utopian, creating a kind of libertarianism that did not renounce provincial references, but assuming them as part of its ideological base.

In February 1971 Gonzalo García Pelayo, although still a relevant part of the Sevillian underground scene, ceased to be the band manager and producer. Smash released that same year *We Come to Smash This Time,* a second LP that hardened its sound, but still did not feature flamenco-like arrangements in their music. The two events that gave Smash a pioneering character took place in mid-1971, with the release of 'El garrotín' and the definitive elaboration of the 'Manifesto de lo borde' (although this second would not be officially published until 1972). Away from the influence of García-Pelayo,

Smash once again got in touch with the Catalan art scene, specifically with Oriol Regàs, owner of the Bocaccio club, a meeting place for the *gauche divine* and owner as well as of a homonymous record company. [123] After the release of their second LP the band had decided to incorporate Manuel Molina into the band, a flamenco *cantaor* and *tocaor* of roma ethnicity and resident in Triana. [124] Producer Ricardo Pachón took credit for the idea of having recruited Molina for Smash, and of having managed to get him out of the military service early thanks to his contacts in the army. Oriol Regàs gave the band a large budget, and the sessions were slow and scattered due to the influence of LSD and hashish. Pachón also takes credit for the initial idea of 'El garrotín', which contradicts Gualberto, according to whose testimony the group signed with Bocaccio and went to record in Barcelona after recording a demo that already contained 'El garrotín' (*La caja de música* 2006, n.p.). The song was released 14 May 1971, entering the charts one month after (*Disco Exprés* 1971c, 13) and peaking at number 10 (*Disco Exprés* 1971d) This was a success, to which producer Alain Milhaud's work with the song contributed greatly, but still very significant for a group that came from underground rock. 'El garrotín' is an up-tempo song, built on a simple harmonic base, based on two chords, similarly to flamenco *garrotines*, a variant of flamenco *tangos* (Delis Gómez 2017, 262). The song is radio-friendly and melodic, appealing to a much wider audience than most of the previous underground-related Spanish rock songs. It represented an encounter between a band which had been flagged as representatives and even responsible for

[123] For further information on the so-called *gauche divine* see chapter 4.

[124] Molina, already a musician that the rest of the members of Smash admired, was mentioned in their manifesto before he entered the band: 'Imagínate a Bob Dylan en un cuarto, con una botella de Tío Pepe, Diego el del Gastor, a la guitarra, y la Fernanda y la Bernarda de Utrera haciendo el compás, y dile: canta ahora tus canciones. ¿Qué le entraría a Dylan por ese cuerpecito? Pues lo mismo que a Manuel [Molina] cuando empieza a cantar por bulerías con sonido eléctrico' (Chamorro 1970, 80)

the underground rock scene in Spain. The magazine *Disco Exprés* was commendatory, suggesting that Smash's new song '*no es en absoluto un encuentro con el rock, no es un flamenco Pop, ni muchísimo menos un "flamenco progresivo"; lo de Smash es fundir, duluir el flamenco como espíritu, como lo que llevan dentro de si por derecho e historia' (Agobian 1971, 9). The final version of the Manifiesto de lo borde made reference to similar ideas, saying 'no se trata de hacer "flamenco-pop" ni "blues aflamencado", sino de corromperse por derecho*.' (Smash 1972, 36). In *Mundo Joven* the band reaffirmed its ambition and uniqueness, rejecting categories such as flamenco-pop or flamenco rock (García-Soler 1971, 12). The narrative that the band had created was successful in permeating a rock culture that needed myths to feed, and that affected positively the reception of Smash's post-'Garrotín' era.

The final version of the 'Manifesto de lo borde' was published in the January-February 1972 issue in the bimonthly magazine *CAU*, and it incorporated a hierarchisation of society based in countercultural precepts, called 'cosmogonía de la estética de lo borde'.

> • *Hombres de las praderas (Dylan, Hendrix, Jagger…)*
> • *Hombres de las montañas (Manson, Hitler…)*
> • *Hombres de las cuevas lúgubres (funcionarios)*
> • *Hombres de las cuevas suntuosas (presidentes de consejos de administración, grandes mercaderes)*
>
> *Smash* (1972, 36)

Smash's ideological corpus crystallized in just a few songs (the group's so-called 'flamenco stage' was short-lived, particularly once Gualberto left the group early in 1972). However, the concept of freedom in musical creation promoted by the manifesto including the freedom to absorb foreign tendencies applied to folklore, were not only central to the development of Andalusian rock as a genre, but also to the career of

musicians who experimented with flamenco during the 1970s, such as Camarón, Triana and Kiko Veneno. The deferred reception of the band assumed their status as a crucial band, and by 1978 Smash had become the cornerstone of the narrative of the history of Andalusian rock (Esteban 1978, 45). Precisely in 1978 some of their most flamenco-influenced songs were reissued in a split album with the flamenco *cantaor* Agujetas entitled *Vanguardia y pureza del flamenco*, reaffirming the role of Smash as a junction between two genres and conceptions of the meaning of flamenco. [125]

Triana's *El Patio*, and the consolidation of Andalusian rock

Triana was formed in 1974 by experienced musicians. As I previously mentioned, Jesús de la Rosa was part of Nuevos Tiempos, Eduardo Rodríguez Rodway was between 1966 and 1969 a member of Los Payos, and Tele had been a member of Gong. The three of them were aspiring professional musicians with recording experience, and Triana could be considered a project of maturity of very experienced instrumentalists who aspired to escape amateurism. Juan Puchades mentions that during a very brief period of 1974, before the recording of the first single, Manuel Molina, the last singer of Smash, belonged to Triana, and that he could even be considered one of the band's early ideologues (2018, 125). This connection shows the closeness of most of the Sevillian bands of the time, which maintained a network of collaborations that made the members of one group enter another with remarkable ease, and that caused a notable profusion of parallel projects. The recording of what would eventually become, their debut album, *El patio,* took place in two sets of sessions, the first of which was self-

[125] Oscar Carrera affirms that the release of this album, which included two previously unreleased Smash songs, responded to the Zafiro's absorption of the catalogue of the Bocaccio record label (2021, 92)

produced, in the summer of 1974, in which 'Recuerdos de una noche (bulerías 5x8)' and 'Luminosa Mañana' were recorded. These songs were recorded prior to having any record deal, in a self-financed effort by the musicians. Once these songs were released as a single by Gong, a subdivision of Movieplay led by García Pelayo, the ubiquitous Sevillian producer and businessman, agreed to finance the recording of a full album. Analysing the reception of this very first stage of Triana the first reference in the specialized press (specifically in *Disco Exprés,* in its 11 November 1974 issue) is an interview conducted by Gonzalo García Pelayo himself. In that interview many of the concepts that will be associated with the band already shine through. In interview's introduction García Pelayo anticipated the development of a scene that he was managing 'la explosión de rock del sur que se está produciendo en estos días hay un grupo con disco ya en la calle y sobre el que DISCO EXPRÉS ha hablado dando noticias antes de ser conocidos por todos (...) hacen lo que King Crimson harían si fueran de Sevilla y del barrio que les da nombre' (García Pelayo 1974, 16). [126] Just like Smash had the opportunity to see their excerpts from their manifesto published in the national press before their de facto fusion between flamenco and rock took place, Triana appeared in the national press with their first single. The interview is conceived as a staged opportunity to attract the public's attention, and the members of the band take advantage of it to dismiss other bands (such as Carmen), to define themselves as leaders of a rising *rock del sur* scene and to herald their international ambition. On the November 19 of the same year TVE's programme Mundo pop was centred on the so-

[126] While his official name is Gonzalo García Pelayo, the Andalusian producer signed as 'Garcíapelayo' many of his articles in *Disco Exprés*.

called *rock del sur*scene and featured Triana (*Disco Exprés* 1974, 5). [127] By the time the band was recording their debut album the band was well positioned within the growing Spanish rock industry. Triana inaugurated the reuse of the musical and aesthetic principles of Sevillian counterculture in the context of professionalism and a functional position within the recording industry.

Their first LP, *El patio*, was released the 14 April 1975, a symbolic date in the Antifrancoist collective imagination, the commemoration of the Republic Day. It was only seven months before Franco's death, and the cultural process of the transition to democracy had already started.[128] If the emergence of flamenco influences in Smash had been progressive, theorized and supported by the arrival of Manuel Molina, in Triana there was a premeditated effort from the very first moment to provide the group with a personality that hybridized the traditional with the foreign (García Puig 1976, 13). Paradoxically, whilst the band exploited Andalusian iconography the album was written and recorded outside Andalusia (Ordovás 2018, 114). The conception of this album reflects the contradictions of Andalusian rock until 1975. Although the intention of the group was from its outset to create an artifact deeply rooted in Andalusian culture, they relied on Madrid-based record companies and recording studios, de facto turned into the only possible professionalization option. The main influence for the band at the time of the recording of their first album was British progressive rock groups, particularly King Crimson. The most remarkable difference when comparing Triana's approach to

[127] This label would disappear by 1975 to be substituted by *rock andaluz*.

[128] For further discussion on the temporary framing of the Spanish counterculture and the *transición* see chapter 1.

flamenco to, for example, Smash's, was the fondness for less up-beat subgenres, for an album-centred, semi-conceptual vision of flamenco rock.

The artwork that accompanies 'El patio' blends a typically Sevillian image with an oppressive, almost surreal, atmosphere. The work of illustrator Máximo Moreno portrays the members of the band in a Sevillian corral patio. [129] It is a declaration of intent in itself: The band appears in their natural environment, in the place where they grew up, but there is a patina of strangeness in the line, a disturbing distortion of the traditional setting of the picture. The back cover presents a different angle of the same space, now introducing us to a neighbour from the *corrala*, Dolorcitas, an elderly woman dressed in mourning. The set of graphic art evokes the most ancestral Andalusian tradition passed through the filter of modernity. The album consists of seven songs, six authored by Jesús de la Rosa and a work by Manuel Molina y Tele (the famous 'Todo es de color' with production, again, by García Pelayo. The great discovery at the harmonic level of the album, and what sets it apart from the rest of Spanish progressive rock is the permanent use in six of the songs of the so-called flamenco or Andalusian cadence (I - VII - VI - V7). The underlying idea in Triana is to allow complex instrumental developments from relatively simple harmonies, which are internalized in the audience as an unmistakably flamenco element. Likewise, Jesús de la Rosa evokes with his torn voice the *quejío* of the *cantaores*. Instrumentation-wise, it could be said that it is a relatively standard progressive rock album, with prominence not only of guitar-bass-

[129] The role of this illustrator in giving a graphic identity to Andalusian rock is noteworthy, given his status as a cover designer for Alameda, Paco de Lucía y Camarón, Guadalquivir, Lole y Manuel or Mezquita.

drums but also of Moog analogue synthesizers and mellotrons, common in the first half of the 70s in the albums of the genre.

Lyrically, the album the first half of the album is based on sentimental themes expressed with touches of abstraction and poetic resources that draw on popular tradition. Thus verses such as '*soñaba que te quería / soñaba que era verdad / que los luceros tenían / misterio para soñar*.' ('Abre tu puerta'), '*tú que me hablas / reina de la morería / cada vez que estás a mi vera / siento una gran alegría*.' ('Recuerdos de una noche') or '*Pregunté a la Luna / si era el amor / lo que brilla en tu sonrisa / con tanta ilusión / y llorando me confesaba / que quería ser para mí / y la Luna me contestaba / para amar hay que sufrir / y la Luna me contestaba / yo quisiera ser para ti.*' ('Diálogo'), recall thematic and metaphorical resources of traditional Andalusian romances, coinciding even in the rhyme in alternate verses. For the Spanish listener, the lyrics of the first half of the album evoke a tradition deeply rooted in the collective subconscious. However, in the second half of the album, songs of self-exploration and self-liberation prevail, with profoundly hippie influences. The fleeting love described in 'En el lago', understood as the metaphor of a psychedelic trip ('*Ayer tarde al lago fui con la intención de conocer algo nuevo / Nos reunimos allí y todo comenzó a surgir como un sueño'*), or the country utopianism of 'Sé de un lugar' ('*Sé de un lugar / sé de un lugar / donde brotan las flores para ti / donde el río y el monte se aman / donde el niño que nace es feliz.*'). approach rhetoric counterculture back to the rural world and enrichment through self-knowledge facilitated by entheogens. The album ends with a verse that states '*Qué bonita es la primavera/ Qué bonita es la primavera cuando llega / El clavel que tiene tu ventana /me hace recordar el barrio de Triana*' ('Todo es de color'): The trip, sentimental and

personal, is circular, just like the trip of the members of Triana to Madrid: everything ends in their native Seville and in their native neighbourhood.

Regarding the reception of this debut by Triana, its status as a 'sleeper hit' is noteworthy. According to testimonies from García Pelayo the album sold only 19 copies in its first quarterly sale (Moreno 2015, n.p.). This figure is hard to believe, given that the 5 July they participated in the festival de la Cochambre in Burgos, the, 18 July they appeared in a central report of *Disco Exprés* and in the 27 July a televised performance was broadcasted on the TVE program *Ahora* (Sierra I Fabra 1975, 7). [130] Gong-Movieplay and Triana will develop jointly from *El Patio* onwards, feeding the newborn Andalusian rock, exploiting the countercultural aesthetical references in a less engaged environment. Triana's success paved the way for a professionalization of the Andalusian rock scene, and a progressive estrangement from the countercultural lifestyle. The deferred success of *El patio* was enormous. By the time of the release of Triana's sophomore LP, *Hijos del agobio* Diego Manrique described it as the most anticipated LP in the history of Spanish rock music (1977, 53). By the release of their third album, *Sombra y luz*, the band had a '*despliegue propagandístico sin precedentes en nuestra industria discográfica*' (Feito 1979, 60). Their reputation as a live act grew progressively from the publication of *El patio*, getting to be headliners in the major Spanish festivals and to sell out the biggest available venues by 1978 (*Disco Exprés* 1978 11). Be that as it may, the album, albeit slowly, connected perfectly with a growing sensitivity of the Spanish and particularly

[130] This festival showcased many of the counterculture-related acts of Madrid (Bloque, Iceberg, Hilario Camacho, Burning), Catalonia (Companya Electrica Dharma, Orquesta Mirasol) and Andalusia (Gualberto, Storm, Granada) in a pioneering event.

Andalusian youth, who did not deny or hide their roots but sought to explore vital horizons beyond Franco's regime, and 'El patio' became the mirror in which other Andalusian rock groups looked at themselves. [131]

CONCLUSION

The answer to the question, was there a counterculture in Spain between 1964 and 1975 and did it articulate its discourse through pop-rock music is a resounding yes. The seemingly impenetrable barriers that the authoritarian right-wing regime had erected to keep the world from contaminating the minds of Spaniards, using state censorship to police creativity and controlling broadcasting of foreign and national cultural artifacts, did not keep out countercultural ideas completely. The mainstream might have been closely watched but elsewhere sounds and images seeped through, and once in, took hold among sectors of the population, particularly the elite young.

This happened because the regime created the tools of its own destruction, as Patricia Badenes, Jordi Gracia and others have argued. The counterculture penetrated through the points of contact with the outside that the regime allowed particularly from the 1960s. These points of contact main's purpose was bringing the wealth and prosperity that would keep a nation happy, that is, the development of a mass tourist industry, the establishment of several US military bases in exchange for investment and commerce. I have demonstrated how these points of contact allowed the international phenomenon

[131] The album appears in several lists of specialized media that recopilate the best Spanish albums ever: 15th position in Rockdelux (2004) and 25th in Efe Eme (2003).

of the counterculture in, and once inside, how its ideas connected with pre-dictatorship liberal political beliefs such as Anarchism, that were being revived, particularly among the university-educated urban elites who were also the direct benefactors from the opening to the outside. They grew wealthier, more sophisticated, hedonistic, curious about democratic pre-regime Spanish culture, and more eager for freedom to match that outside Spain's borders.

Indeed, hedonism and political engagement, I have argued throughout, were two poles of how the counterculture was experienced and understood. These two terms, viewed as mutually exclusive, have been central to my understanding of the appropriation of the counterculture. The difference in whether and how these two aspects of the counterculture (counterculture as hedonism, sexual freedom from Catholic mores and experimentation with hallucinogenic substances, or counterculture as encompassing the fight against injustice and inequality), were absorbed and by which groups, are connected with who was the conduit of the counterculture, and in which each area the ideas landed.

As I have shown, in Madrid, capital city, site of power and the most closely watched territory, the counterculture took hold among the privileged sons and daughters of the high-ranking military, precisely because their elite education put foreign rock and roll and pop music within their reach and understanding. Moreover, their wealth enabled them to buy or adapt electric musical instruments, as I explained in chapter 2 and my case study, Los Brincos. As Celsa Alonso argues, Los Brincos, challenged established hierarchies in the music industry. Although I conclude in that chapter that they cannot be considered purely countercultural, they were central to the creation of a system of

dissemination that benefitted future generations of musicians. I have shown that class is a key category in considering how the counterculture took hold and among whom. In Los Brincos class explains access to expensive instruments and records, and class and the networks it brings accounts for what certain actors could reach. For instance, the excellently connected Vainica Doble, also based in Madrid, who acted as a point of contact between the counterculture and the progressive bohemia that revolved around TVE and the Spanish film industry. Both Los Brincos and Vainica Doble hybridated in their creative discourse the countercultural influence with the previous scenes they belonged to, the Spanish beat and the *cantautores* respectively, and were instrumental in giving a distinctively Spanish identity to psychedelic music.

Barcelona and Andalucia have delivered the most pronounced political connections to other ideas that might have been defeated in the Civil War, which were not eliminated but driven underground. The counterculture adapted the precepts of Anarchism to a new socio-political context, and in chapter 4 I explained how the careers of Pau Riba and Jaume Sisa are entwinned with the development of a Catalan underground. Their landmark albums, *Dioptría* and *Qualsevol nit pot sortir el sol* respectively, became milestones of the counterculture, and they became icons, with their concerts turning into furtive celebrations of Utopianism and resistance through hedonism. A fertile music industry developed around them, with magazines such as *Vibraciones*, venues such as Zeleste and festivals such as Canet Rock having an unprecedented repercussion in the Spanish countercultural rock history. Simultaneously, Andalusian rock artists, as I show in chapter 5 were able to adapt the nuances of their regional folklore to create a unique version of progressive rock, with Triana serving as its quintessential example.

On a final note, I shall return to the words of Pepe Ribas in the preamble to the catalogue of the exhibition 'Underground y contracultura en la Cataluña de los 70': 'Fueron unos tiempos de creatividad desbordante, sin cánones impuestos, vividos al margen de prebendas, partidos e instituciones' (2021, 13). Throughout this thesis I have argued that the counterculture did not exist *on the fringes of* the institutional, but that it took advantage of the rifts of the establishment to develop institutions of its own. My examination of the networks that connect these institutions lays the groundwork for future inquiry into the role of pop-rock music in the Spanish counterculture, particularly in specific topics such as the role of women within it, the local scenes that may have been overlooked, and, from a more strictly musicological point of view, the defining musical characteristics of the Spanish counterculture. But the words of Ribas, who concludes vindicating that the counterculture should fuel that 'se sigan rompiendo cadenas, abriendo rejas y derribando muros' (430), succinctly suggest that the identification of counterculture with any current that (theoretically) questions an established power is misleading. The ideological project that underlied the counterculture, while not always fully developed in its practices, was a space in which inclusion and respect to the individual denied the possibility of a reactionary counterculture, no matter how much this reactionism contradicts a progressive establishment. The counterculture's nature precluded nostalgia and conservativeness, no matter how tantalizing the appeal of the word 'counterculture' could be for these. The countercultural pop-rock scene acts like an ultimate metaphor of its legacy. While most of the acts that I have analyzed throughout the thesis never reached the quantifiable success (in terms of sales and popularity) through which we tend to

measure the accomplishments of pop-rock musicians, all of them precluded creative forms that as of today are assumed as standard in contemporary Spanish popular music. Similarly, many of the fights that were central in the political discourse of the counterculture are nowadays essential, unalienable rights that are almost taken for granted. The legacy of the counterculture remains alive, indirectly, in any movement that puts the ability to imagine better worlds before nostalgia.

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