# Review Essay

The Passion of Music and Dance: Body, Gender, and Sexuality, edited by William Washabaugh. Oxford and New York: Berg. 1998. 201 pages. Index. \$55.00 [hardback - ISBN: 1-85973-904-0] \$19.50 [paperback - ISBN: 1-85973-909-1]. Reviewer: Adair Landborn.

This collection of essays sets out to explain the complex social history and the sexual and political dimensions of such diverse popular arts as Spanish Flamenco, Argentinean Tango and Greek Rebetika. The contributors (Donald Castro, Susan Cook, Gail Holst-Warhaft, Timothy deWaall Malefyt, Marta Savigliano, Angela Shand, Gerhard Steingress, Jeffrey Tobin, and William Washabaugh) were linked through participating in an annual session of the American Anthropological Association entitled, 'The Politics of Passion' in 1996. The editor of the book, William Washabaugh, was inspired by the participants' work to assemble an erudite collection of essays with a stated goal of advancing

the quest to understand the complex interweaving of gender, politics, music and dance in modern life while simultaneously opening the way for future explorations of these phenomena (p. vii).

The resulting volume is a fine example of modern scholarship in its willingness to examine the many complex layers of meaning and behavior that flow from such distinct music and dance traditions. Washabaugh's introduction, *Music, Dance, and the Politics of Passion* (pp. 1-26), outlines the topics to be surveyed: Flamenco, Tango, Rebetika and the "bourgeois sanitation" these structured systems of human actions underwent in their translation into forms of North American popular music and dancing.

The historical frame places modern popular music and dancing in the sociocultural context of the 1790s — the historical turn toward modernity signaled by the French Revolution. Washabaugh attributes to popular music and dancing the intrinsic purpose of "changing the world" (p. 1). The three music and dance forms upon which the essays focus have in common that (1) they are "exaggeratedly" emotional (p. 3); (2) the intensity of the gender socialization they contain has survived to the present day, and (3) they are acknowledged nationalistic artifacts redolent of the social ideologies and unconscious assumptions of specific times and social groups. In addition, they are dance-arts that began in relative obscurity, whose influence migrated in the world having wide impact on modern popular music and dancing.

Although the editor's introduction is generous with musical examples, the dance appears under-represented — at risk of being slighted as the tagalong cousin of popular music. I thought that some distinctions important to a full understanding of dancing and dances and their significance in social history were not explored. And, what exactly is "the popular dance" to which

Washabaugh refers? Is it the constantly metamorphosing collection of hybrid forms that result as social dances find their way into theatrical dance venues such as movies and television and back again to social dance floors? It is not clear, either, how Washabaugh distinguishes popular dances from folk dance forms.

## Flamenco

In his essay, Flamenco Song: Clean and Dirty (pp. 27-50), Washabaugh analyzes the film, Flamenco, in which Carlos Saura presents a broad range of today's finest Flamenco artists. The film contains many fascinating contradictions and ambiguous images which Washabaugh astutely explores, however, the tremendous weight of theatrical conventions (their intrinsic social stratification and illusions of control) exert a fundamental influence on the stylistic and behavioral differences between the types of performers and performances seen in the film. Washabaugh does not directly acknowledge this.

For instance, the distinction between the "clean" artistry of dancer Merché Esmeralda (her sylph-like form and allusions to classical ballet), and the "dirty" artistry of the cantaora (female singer) La Paquera, whose tough, matronly presence dominates (as if she were a reincarnation of the Great Mother Goddess herself), points to two distinct performance traditions that coexist in Spanish popular culture. In fact the stylistic contrast between the two performers cannot be attributed to the "problem of gender." The contrast speaks to the significant differences between the "clean" theatrical formality of the Zarzuela (Spanish light opera) supported by Spain's bourgeoisie and upper class and the informal tradition (both rural and when necessary urban and street-wise) of the gypsies and the lower, working classes of Spain.

These differences are powerful signifiers of Spain's social realities, distinguishing rural from urban, past from modern, and upper-class from lower-class social strata. Washabaugh alludes to the differences between the performers, but I believe a greater awareness of the realities of performing artists who engage in the commercial/theatrical production of music and dance would add greatly to his analysis. Surely some appropriate questions for him to consider would be: "Who constitutes the populace that propels an art form into popular awareness?" "How does the obscure traditional folk art of Flamenco borrow from high art traditions to expand its domain in popular culture?" And, "How do Spain's high-brow art traditions borrow from Flamenco to capitalize on the exotic appeal of Flamenco's passion?"

Washabaugh focuses on the problem of gender in Saura's film but overall dismisses what he offers as examples of androgyny, such as the rough raspiness and formidable physical stature of La Paquera. He suggests that androgyny is not useful to "the effort to banish the old cultural politics" (p. 37). Does this writer want the "normative" Flamenco rules of gender qualities and behaviors to be central and constant, so that their refutation will be clear? The human realities shown in Saura's film seem tremendously lush, full and

ambiguous, both supporting stereotypes and simultaneously making them untenable. Merché Esmeralda, the classical icon of femininity described by Washabaugh as "lithe," "winsome" and "distant" (p. 37), fits a female stereotype, but La Paquera also fits a female stereotype: the powerful matriarch, the Spanish matron who has long since left behind her carefree girlhood, moving on to become the hub of her family and a respected elder of her community.

I question Washabaugh's assessment that female Flamenco singers who are husky of voice qualify as 'androgynous' (e.g. La Paquera and Fernanda de Utrera). First, Flamenco singing traditionally uses what is technically called "the chest voice," which has a lower range and rougher texture than the higher bell tones of "the head voice." Second, Washabaugh himself compares the "growling raspiness" of the voice of La Fernanda de Utrera with the vocal qualities of Mae West, Marlene Dietrich and Lauren Bacall (p. 37). This doesn't sound like an androgynous list of women to me! Third, I suspect that the author inaccurately perceives as androgynous the natural attributes of aging women. Age is an important part of the Flamenco picture. Young girls dance the colorful and happy Alegrías. Mature women dance Soleares or another serious cante with an emotional palette of greater depth. Because of this, Washabaugh's approach seems too cerebral and visual. The function of age as a social and physical reality; its impact on social standing, behavior and movement capacity, is largely ignored in his theoretical analysis.

Discussing gender in the context of Flamenco, Washabaugh points out that "Spanish misogyny is as old as Spain itself" (p. 32). I agree that it is important to accept gender attitudes (in particular misogyny) as the unrelieved, ubiquitous social matrix in which the art form and its participants exist(ed). However Washabaugh's analysis does not go far enough regarding the psychology of the gender and identity issues involved in Flamenco performance. Spain's culture places high value on the formation and expression of individuality and personality, therefore Flamenco's performing artists are engaged in an intense quest for *estampa* (a strong Flamenco persona and individual style). As artists, they deal with the psychological issues of gender and identity.

What makes Washabaugh's writing about issues of gender and performance uniquely (sometimes oddly) problematic is his inadequate acknowledgment of the impact of his position (point of view) in relation to the art form. For instance, his assumption that in Saura's film, "Joaquin Cortés, stripped to the waist, certainly turned a few female heads" (p. 36), makes me wonder if Washabaugh is unaware of the transgressive nature of Joaquin Cortés as a choreographer and performer? Cortés places his body as sexual object into a performing context in which men traditionally wore shirts, vests and jackets, rigorously presenting themselves as subjects. Cortés is creating an estampa for himself that relies heavily on androgyny and sexual ambiguity.

In Fashioning Masculinity in Flamenco Dance (pp. 39-50), Washabaugh appropriately mentions male Flamenco dancers' identifying links to the art of bullfighting, yet he doesn't address the fact that female Flamenco dancers also commonly invoke the stances, qualities and movements of bullfighting. It seems to me that this is an example of movement imagery and vocabulary shared by both genders. Women's enactments of the bullfighting image strengthens the female dancer's right to be present as herself in the public eye. By identifying herself with the bullfighter's life and death struggle, her dance becomes her claim to full humanity. It expresses her right to be seen as 'subject' rather than 'object' and demands respect from audiences who witness the existential crucible of her life. By toreando (performing bullfighter's movements) within her dance, is she not also engaged in "fashioning masculinity in Flamenco dance?"

Washabaugh also provides an example of males in humorous escapades of what he calls "gender bending" by lifting the hem of their vests as if they were skirts as they dance. Based upon the description provided, this performance behavior often takes place at exclusively male gatherings. It includes friendly audience heckling of performers with mockingly hilarious shouts of "Olé maricón (homosexual)" (p. 47).

Although male dancers in this example use female movement vocabulary, the context reveals the behavior of male bonding to repudiate and defend themselves against the dual social threat of the "feminine" and "homosexual." I doubt that Washabaugh's example fits the notion of "gender bending" as a transgressive action that seriously challenges gender socialization. Instead, this homosocial behaviour would seem strongly to reassert both maleness and heterosexuality as primary values, reaffirming rather than contesting the androcentricity the author attibutes to Flamenco. Washabaugh makes some unique contributions through his anthropological investigation of Flamenco, but in some instances, his position as an outside observer leaves his analysis lacking. Some consequential distinctions and understandings of art forms will be camouflaged if an author approaches them primarily as an observer of performances. As a male observer, Washabaugh's analysis is susceptible to the obscuring effects of the male gaze -- the predisposition of western spectators to objectify performers, particularly women, as sexual objects. Objectification robs female performers of their active agency in relation to their art-practices, encouraging a tendency to interpret an artist's every move and sound as as an objectified artifact.

Perhaps an 'academic' (or an 'outsider's') viewpoint leads Washabaugh to perceive performers as exotic beings far removed from normal life? If so, he might overlook basic information to be gained through examining Flamenco as it is experienced by performers. Understanding of the social dimensions of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Taken from anthropological observations of the Flamencos in *Jerez de la Frontera* recorded by Maria Papapavlou.

artistic phenomena requires key perceptions of the performers' experience — how, through their engagement with the art form they gain, lose or defend their social and individual identities and sense of personal value within their social milieu. Music and dance as ever-emerging arts pre-exist the participants. Some may discover a new music or dance phenomena as a result of social or geographic mobility. Some may hear and feel the reverberations of a traditional music and dance while still in the womb. In either case, the pre-existence of the art forms of music and dance means that "it is there" — like Mount Everest — an open invitation to join in the social and artistic play. In some cases, such as the homogeneous social scene of Andalucia, Flamenco is the only game in town.

Music and dance exist as ongoing sites of exchange; forums for passionate expression that provide participants with opportunities to construct meaning as their participation attaches them to a specific social context. Participation allows them publicly to lay claim to their individuality through expressive and creative artistry. They may even expand their social and psychic territories through the creation of a unique self.

In Spain, the worth of 'manliness' (and of men) is comfortably guaranteed by gender. They are not psychically burdened by the dual roles of 'man' and 'human'. These words and identities are synonymous, confering an easily assumed, automatic social status in virtue of their biology which is then characterized through active (or passive) domination over all things female. In contrast, women are fundamentally burdened by society — relegated by her biology to the lowly status of 'female' in a misogynistic social order. Women are denied the luxury of an easy psychic niche. Even her status as 'human' is historically disputed. She can't claim status and identity as a man. Her 'female' status is problematic because it affirms a negative, positioning her firmly as the 'Other' and the 'Object'.

By dancing publicly on stage or before a social gathering of peers, male Flamenco dancers step into an arena that assumes the dominance of the male gaze. They are therefore on the defensive. Individually, his imperative is immediately to demonstrate his undeniable masculinity, thereby protecting his self-respect and social standing from the threat of the male gaze. He has something to lose. The male Flamenco dancer demonstrates his active agency in relation to the art. By dancing at all he risks being seen as a feminized object. Through his ability to dominate the movement, he refutes the objectifying effects of the male gaze.

The Spanish woman who steps into public view as a Flamenco dancer steps into the self-same arena, but for her this may not be so different than her general life experience in any public space. Female Flamenco dancers are immediately at home in the arena dominated by the values and assumptions of the "male gaze." She is familiar with the rules of the game in which she performs as object. In this arena it is socially acceptable for her to exist: she is

both allowed and expected to shine. The female Flamenco dancer's experience is a sense of familiarity -- of "belonging." In the dance, she has the empowering opportunity publicly to gain social status and self respect as she develops artistry worthy of respect. Like her male counterpart, she demonstrates her active agency through her ability to dominate the art form. Unlike her male counterpart, she has much to gain.

From the Flamenco performer's point of view, the active kinetic challenge of the dance/music form is more essential than the visual effect. The nature of the game is one of speed and tempo; of pulsations joined across sound through embodiment. The prize is hard-won personal authenticity achieved through the medium of physical risk-taking and emotional revelation. The performers are riding their music and dance tradition like river-runners rafting through white water with knowledge and expertise, nerve and artistry. The artists may be aware of the effect of their performance on their audience, but they are often more urgently and immediately aware of the physical and emotional effort of their performance; their moment-by-moment relationship to the other artists performing and the choices or mistakes made in their performances. The performers also have intimate and significant knowledge of the gap between their artistic intention and artistic accomplishment. The lived memory of past performances accompanies them into each new performance event.

Although I have expressed reservations and criticized Washabaugh's analysis, I believe his essays convey valuable information that is useful to the rest of the collection and to his readers. I appreciate his willingness gamely to investigate the many ambiguities of gender and social context in Flamenco performance. I enjoyed the intriguing ideas and questions his writing generates. His essays provide an effective introduction to Malefyt's essay.

Gendering the Authentic in Spanish Flamenco by Timothy deWaal Malefyt highlights some essential distinctions in the social scene and artistic flavor of Flamenco by examining the dual structural contexts of the art form. There is the 'popular' form enacted in the tablaos (Flamenco night clubs) and theaters of the larger cities emphasizing commodification for commercial value especially tourist dollars -- and 'traditional' Flamenco with roots deeply set in the values of community and family that is currently finding new strength in the local peñas (private Flamenco clubs) of smaller towns. Malefyt's essay presents the categories of 'public' vs. 'private', outlining the ideological importance of these contrasting and complementary realms in Spanish society. He explains their influence on Flamenco performance aesthetics and style.

Malefyt ties the categories 'public' and 'private' to Spanish gender norms, noting that "male forms of sociability in public realms are typically based on behavior that is competitive and exploitative, while females in private realms reveal behavior that is cooperative and constructive" (p. 54). He indicates that in "private realms" such as the local Flamenco peñas, the social be-

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havior of men follows feminine norms, thereby freeing men from their usual competitive behavior described as "defensive posturing among each other in hostile acts" (p. 54). That is, in the peñas, men may instead indulge in the friendlier domestic atmosphere associated with women and family and may bond within an intimate social community, creating and enjoying what he calls a "fictive kinship" (p. 59). In the peñas, the active embodiment of Flamenco is profoundly shared. "[W]ithin this ambiance everyone is included just from being present and attentive" (p. 60). Thus it is said by members that "true (el auténtico) Flamenco is transmitted, rather than being performed" (p. 60). Malefyt's discussion explores the gender ideology behind the common supposition among Andalusian aficionados and artists that popular Flamenco which caters to the tourist trade is inauthentic, while traditional Flamenco is the true authentic Flamenco. The author explains that "the female construct of social unity and cooperation is a powerful model for sociability and of group support that competitive male-oriented public representations lack" (p. 62).

# From Old World to New

Donald Castro introduces Tango with his essay, Carlos Gardel and the Argentine Tango: The Lyric of Social Irresponsibility and Male Inadequacy. He describes Gardel's personal life and the psychology behind his porteño (typical man of Buenos Aires) attributes revealing not only the man and artist, but intimate details of the political and social realities of Argentine history. Castro begins by saying that "The lyric of the Argentine Tango is the mirror of the Argentine soul. It serves as the painful expression of Argentine male loneliness, betrayal, and unrequited love" (p. 63), thus we seem to enter an artistic sphere even more androcentric than Flamenco.

Jeffrey Tobin also focuses exclusively on Tango as an expression of maleness in his essay Tango and the Scandal of Homosocial Desire (pp. 79-102). He offers a useful description of the two "primal scenes" that Broadway-style Tango shows customarily present to audiences as a choreographed history lesson on the roots of the Tango. The first scene involves a danced knife fight between two extravagantly dressed men competing for the favor of a "barelydressed" woman (p. 79). The second scene, depicting men dancing together, takes place on "a street corner in Buenos Aires" (p. 80). Their dancing manifests a more playful form of competition -- one whose challenges are made and met through complex dance steps. Tobin explains that the usual defense of men-only dancing (offered to refute claims that the practice of all male Tango dancing reveals homosexual behavior) is that the men are not dancing, they are practicing. He concludes that the "Tango dance continues to be marked by forbidden homosocial desire" (p. 84). Tobin's discussion of the many complex layers active in the sexual politics and fantasy life of the Tango-dance milieu provides fascinating reading, for it is full of detail, convincing arguments and insights into the continuing appeal of Tango's potential as a transgressive practice.

It is, however, only with Marta Savigliano's essay, From Wallflowers to Femmes Fatales: Tango and the Performance of Passionate Femininity (pp. 103-110), that we are able to reach fuller understanding of the Tango's sexual politics because here, the female Tango experience finally is explained. For me, Savigliano's short essay came as a relief after the logocentric theorizing and androcentric content of the essays that preceded it. She generously provides some compelling descriptions of the danced experience of the Tango, which left this reader with a welcome sense of the passion that motivates the Tango in general and specifically, the female Tango dancer. She describes the Tango "high" ("a paradoxical state of abandonment and full control, of bodily awareness and mental disengagement") which, like a drug, brings Tango dancers to the milonga clubs night after night (p. 104).

Savigliano colorfully describes the Tango cult as a "food chain" (p. 106). She explains it is not a 'community' because "in the milonga scene, everyone is there for themselves" (p. 104). After providing a brief tour that clearly outlines the pecking order (from the professional male dancers, the foreign female dancers, the older, experienced traditional male milongueros, on down to a variety of young and middle-aged amateurs), the author finally focuses on the "wallflowers." These are older, experienced milongueras whose place at the bottom of the food chain leaves them "sitting in groups of two to three, staring at the dance floor, waiting to be asked to dance" (p. 108). But we mustn't let appearances deceive: regardless of their dancing skills, essentially all women begin over and over again each night in the challenging role of a wallflower.

In order for the sought-after transformation from wallflower to femme fatale to take place, the milonguera must become an object of "tango dancing desire" (p. 109). Her allure is not merely one of physical beauty. Rather, she shows herself as "a potential vehicle for attaining the passionate Tango state" generating "desire on the part of those who watch" (p. 109). Savigliano explains that the same woman who as a wallflower is admired for her courage and vulnerability, may dance later that same evening as a femme fatale. To make this transition and become an object of collective Tango-dancing desire, she must possess not only dancing skills, but also "a highly competitive gift for intelligent manipulation" as she chooses to withhold or bestow her dancing talents (p. 109). Both her capacity to endure the waiting as a wallflower and her savvy discrimination on the dance floor bring her the reward of the Tango's danced passion.

#### Back to the Old World: Rebetika

Gail Holst-Warhaft discusses the "Zorba-factor" in Rebetika: the Double-Descended Deep Songs of Greece (pp. 111-126). According to this author, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Professionally established Argentine female dancers rarely appear on the *milonga* scene (p. 107).

film romantically evokes an experience lost to European men in which "men could express ecstasy, sure of their manhood" (p. 111). Like Tango, the Greek Rebetika emerges from the painful urban experience of a displaced and disempowered population — in this case, over a million refugees who left Turkey and inundated the towns and cities of Greece at the end of the Greco-Turkish war from 1919-1922.

So begins the forging of Rebetika in the musical and cultural dialogue between the oriental (Turkish) feminized laments of the Smyrna-style music and the Piraeus-style Rebetika that, like the Tango of Argentina, "established a new male ethos, not overtly political but proletarian and street-wise" (p. 119). Holst-Warhaft focuses her comments on the two dance rhythms most associated with the Zorba-factor: the zeibekiko, with its passionate intensity and solo male dancing and the hasapiko, which is known as a "dance of male camaraderie" (p.121). Her analysis of the political significance of the Rebetika reveals its function as a powerful force in the forging of modern Greek identity; an identity "with the hybrid singularity of a culture poised between east and west" (p.125). Greek identity is likewise poised between a romantic past and a harsh present, consistently hovering somewhere between reality and fiction. Overall, this fictive element intrigued this reader, while the details and analyses added weight to the author's arguments.

The dance rhythm about which Holst-Warhaft says least; the *tsifte-teli* (a Greek derivation of the Turkish belly-dance usually danced by women), is taken up as a central topic by Angela Shand in *The Tsifte-teli Sermon: Identity, Theology and Gender in Rebetika* (pp. 127-132). Shand's schema depicting the nature of the dual identity of modern Greeks, contrasting East, (i.e. Romeic, female, bodily, frivolous, sinful and private) with West (i.e. Hellenic, male, mental, serious, virtuous and public), clearly elucidates the complex conflicts subsumed under the phrase, "double-descended." Additionally, she provides a revealing discussion of the tenets of Greek Eastern Orthodox theology pertaining to the body that later clarifies the basis of most common objections to performances of the *tsifte-teli*. The objections are not based on a religious repudiation of the body *per se*, nor a rejection of the popular dance form because of its Turkish roots, but center on women and "the issues of gender and bodily display" (p. 131).

The themes of gender, body and sexuality offered in this collection of essays accumulate meaning and significance with each contribution, but for this reader, they do so most gratifyingly with the essays written by Savigliano and Shand, who furnish insights into the artistry and conflicts of female passion and performance. They dig deeply to supply views into lived experiences.

After so many essays fleshing out the social and political intricacies of the passion-full forms of Flamenco, Tango and Rebetika, Susan Cook's essay, Passionless Dancing and Passionate Reform: Respectability, Modernism and the Social Dancing of Irene and Vernon Castle (pp. 133-150), further clarifies the

sociocultural significance of passion by taking a close look at passion's antithesis. The Castles, whose stellar popularity as performers and teachers of social dancing spanned the years 1911-1918, acquired their fame through their sanitation and refinement of "hot" Tango and Ragtime dances into "cooler" socially acceptable dances. The result is social dancing that is performed not for the sake of a passionate release of emotion or sensuality, but performed hygienically and rationally for the sake of one's health and "honest enjoyment" (p. 143).

According to Cook, male social expectations during the Castles' era were in transition from an American concept of manliness associated with white male nobility, morality and self-control to a new masculinity associated with non-white male physicality, aggressiveness and uncontrolled sexuality. She illustrates the transition through the mediating figures of the Castles and the dance forms they promoted.

Scott Joplin's Ragtime music and the Tango's promise of passion were emblematic of "exotic" cultures, "forbidden" races — all the social taboos of vulgar, low-class sexual behaviors in which the Castles indulged just enough to satisfy the public's taste for risk-taking and modernity. They toned down the dances enough to be safely appropriated into upper and middle-class white domains. Cook includes a telling illustration from the Castles' student pamphlet entitled Castle House Suggestions for Correct Dancing, which offers "a veritable description of how to dance 'white'" (p. 142).

Because of its placement, this essay counters the collection's overall tone by asserting a point of view in which the reader is no longer simply absorbed in a study of the "Other" from a neutral vantage point. Very appropriately, it offers a view of the bigger picture as the passionlessness of white culture achieves equal scrutiny under the cultural scientist's microscope. However, in contrast to the collection's academic bias that seems to see all performance events as opportunities voyeuristically to indulge in "the exotic" which can be studied safely under the protective cover of scientific investigation, the essays that betray intimate, personal knowledge of the *practices* of the art forms provided a more enjoyable and convincing read.

# Conclusion

The Passion of Music and Dance culminates with Gerhard Steingress's essay, The Comparative History of Flamenco, Tango, and Rebetika (pp. 151-171), authoritatively recapitulating in broad social and historical terms most of the issues presented in the preceding essays. The author includes two useful analyses: (1) A point-by-point listing of the characteristic manifestations of Flamenco, Tango and Rebetika (pp. 160-162); (2) an explanatory model that attempts systematically to consider the social, cultural and ethnic factors affecting these three art forms (pp. 162-164). Steingress's discussion of modern popular music, subcultures and artistic appropriations, plus the phenomenal

social and political implications of transcultural identities inherent in today's world markets of ethnic music was absorbing.

I was, however, disappointed that his summary essay for the collection excludes mention of the Castles and African-American Ragtime that Cook's essay introduces into the discussion. It seems that the disturbing issue of hygenic passionlessness got swept back under the academic rug. If the goal of cultural study is deeper understanding of other cultures, surely an equally important result is reflexive knowledge of one's own cultural character. Upon reading the title of this book, for instance, I immediately wondered about the definition(s) of 'passion' and whether the natural emotions of one culture might qualify in another culture as passionate excess.

Finally, I wished that someone would have adequately acknowledged how much influence commercial theatrical traditions and practices have upon the development of popular arts. I also wished that more light had been shed upon the artists who play the game, take the risks, make the deals and touch the passions. Perhaps these concerns would require another book, but, in spite of an occasional tendency to fall back into modernist fascination with the "exotic," The Passion of Music and Dance enthralls and informs. It certainly makes a valuable contribution to cultural studies of the Flamenco, Tango and Rebetika.

## Contributor's Note:

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