

**SHARING DYLAN'S EUPHANTASIOTOS ROLE IN FRANCOIST SPAIN
IN THE CONTEXT OF COMMODIFIED CULTURE**

by

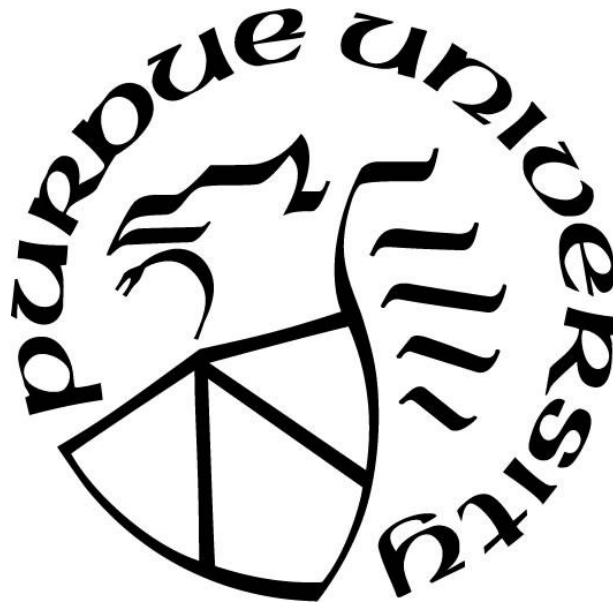
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Dedicated to my family, their sacrifices, guidance, and love. I will never forget those visits to the library as a kid with my dad, or working the field in Portugal with my mom, or the faithfulness of my little brother. Thank you, Alejandro.

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Above all of them, Aute, deceased in 2020, is the one closest to my heart since that time I shared some thoughts with him in University of Madrid back in 2015. I told him I was doing some research on Dylan and protest music for a college project. He looked at me jeeringly and asked “¿para qué?” (‘for what purpose?’). He did not ask me ‘why’ or ‘how’, but what was the purpose of my actions. I remembered his words in 2018 when I first contacted Dr. Daniel Morris. I wanted to know if we both aligned with certain values and our imperfect diagnosis of society, as with the rest of the committee members, who have been doing that for a long time, as Dr. Beate Allert and Dr. Alfred Lopez. Special kudos to Dr. Patricia Hart, who retired in 2021, and I consider her a mentor and a friend, an extraordinary professional and a better person. To all of you, I am very thankful. Therefore, I guess the best non-academic answer to Aute's question would be “para algo” (‘for something’); I think it is our need for action that motivates us on different academic or non-academic areas, but always with the hope that times will change, the wind will blow in a direction that will improve the lives of Others and will not be pawns in their games.

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ABSTRACT

The transition of Folk music in the USA from the margins to notoriety, had its roots in the ‘leftist’ ideology of their proponents, and a message of communal solidarity, based on the ‘we’. The arrival of Bob Dylan in the 60s to an already recognized folk movement propelled him to global stardom, which made it possible for his music to permeate Spanish houses and songwriters’ circles. Dylan focused on the ‘you’ as a finger-pointing technique that questions his listener’s alliances. He had a revolutionary character that influenced songwriters both in the USA and Spain, whether through his lyrics or his rebellious rejection of any kind of pressure group.

His lyrical content of vivid images placed before the eyes of the listeners (*enargeia*), captivated his audiences. Spanish songwriters, who at the same time received influence from France, or the social poets of the first half of the 20th Century, among others, found in Dylan a valuable source to widespread a non-conformist message of freedom. They translated and reinterpreted some of Dylan’s protest songs, and in the case of Catalonia or Galicia, used their native languages as a symbol of defiance against the Francoist Government.

Early Dylan and his counterparts in Spain became organic intellectuals as a bridge between the subalterns and the ruling bloc. They used epideictic discourses to put their audiences in questioning and decision-making positions. Their use of *prosopopeia* bestowed memory to those individuals who were wronged by the judiciary system in the USA and Spain; aiding in developing a counter-hegemonic discourse that placed them in the tradition of the *euphantasiotos*, who is as skilled in the *ars* of *enargeia* as in the *ars* of *actio*, as a poet and a performer.

INTRODUCTION

Bob Dylan (1941), an artist raised in Hibbing (Minnesota), became one of the most popular singers of all time. A teenage boy raised in insular Hibbing left his state to meet his hero in New York, the famous folk singer and working-class champion: Woody Guthrie. He stayed in New York and was a key factor in the Folk Movement during the 60s, launching a career that now spans six decades. Dylan's political lyrics in the mid-1960s explored personal freedom and existentialism, instead of adhering himself to collective expectancies and the limited topics of the folk movement (Taylor and Israelson 95); his departure from collective movements who could have limited his inventiveness as an artist liberated him, instead of being artistically corseted by a pressure group. The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame inducted Bob Dylan in 1988. He was also a recipient of a Polar Music Prize in 2000.

More recently, academics who understand Dylan's songwriting as literature applauded the decision of the Swedish Academy to concede the Nobel Prize of Literature to Dylan in 2016, becoming the first American since Toni Morrison in 1993 to obtain this prestigious award. While the rest of Nobel laureates, whether deceased or still active, reached their audience through print, Dylan spreads his work through music, a more invasive method that many times does not require the audience's active role, rather the receptor's passive stance. In fact, the two most popular Nobel Laureates in Literature are Bengali author/musician Rabindranath Tagore and Dylan himself (Kumar), which points out to the importance of the intersection between different mediums so to reach the masses.

His music is a global phenomenon that is especially amplified during the technological era and the massive distribution of artworks in online platforms such as Spotify and YouTube, or social media as Facebook and Twitter, among others. Although Dylan is an extremely prolific

musician, his figure is and will be linked to the 60s and the folk movement as the voice of a generation and a key transitional figure towards fusion of poetry and other genres.

The study of song lyrics in the field of Comparative Literature is an added line of work which encompasses the audience response from both an active and passive role. The ambitions of this dissertation intertwined critical theory/literary frameworks and historicism throughout the text, since the historical transition of songwriting as a mode of protest in the 60s and 70s had chronological, ideological, and political distinctions between Folk Movement/Dylan and USA/Spain.

In Chapters 1 & 2, the initial goal is to trace the historic transatlantic exchange among Spanish songwriters/poets and their American counterparts, so to underpin the ideological common grounds that aided to articulate their counterhegemonic discourses, using Gramsci's theory on hegemony and ruling blocs within a general process of cultural Americanization. Another objective is to recognize the ideological principles of the initially politically motivated folk movement and its transition to a conglomeration of stars at its peak of popularity in 1963 as part of a greater civil rights movement, with particular attention to the initial rise of Dylan as a product of the already established folk-movement and their search for an idol, and his decision to break free as an artist. In order to understand Dylan's choice as the voice of a generation in the USA, I also focus on Dylan's use of rhetoric in his finger-pointing and ambiguous songs in the context of a global commodification of the popular, which led to its role as an inspiration for some Spanish songwriters. Studying the usefulness of *prosopopeia* and *enargeia* in the development of the *euphantasiotos* figure as a persuading organic intellectual, Dylan's function as a bridge between the subalterns and the ruling bloc was a precondition for his international popularization as a rebel figure to emulate in 60s and 70s Francoist Spain.

In chapters 3 and 4, I examine 1. the thematic points of encounter between Dylan and the Spanish songwriters in Francoist Spain that helped understanding his popularization in Spain due to the culture industry but also due to the similarities between Dylan's topical choices and the post-civil war protest poets as Miguel Hernández or Gabriel Celaya, 2. the literal and stylistic imitation of his lyrics, and how Dylan's figure and lyrical content fit within the predominantly regionalist structure of the Spanish New Song thanks to his nativist ethos, which eventually leads to the concluding chapter.

In chapter 5, I synthesize the importance of Dylan as a pop figure through his influence on Joaquín Sabina and through academics on popular culture research the preconditions for the rise of a counterhegemonic movement within a profit-oriented culture industry, and how artists' stardom and their international projection might be beneficial to a counterhegemonic bloc if it aligns with the subalterns' interest.

During the year that Raymond Williams published his 1964 *Long Revolution*, folk music peaked in charts and markets. In his manuscript, Williams argued that capitalism has a dynamic power to absorb any form of civil and political resistance while he also pointed out to the need of ideological confrontation and non-conformity. He claimed there are emergent cultural elements which could develop out of the constant and dynamic relations between the dominant and residual cultures, carrying the potential to reshape the social order. However, the opposition to dominant values and political discourse is in risk of becoming reinterpreted, diluted, and projected. From a Marxist perspective, Williams understood culture as part of both *Base* and *Superstructure*. He contended that cultural production is both material and ideological.¹ The historical reconstruction of any artwork's genesis is the first step towards a full understanding of cultural materialism.

¹ Williams, Raymond. "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory." *New left review* 82 (1973): 3.

However, a historical reconstruction does not only place a piece of art in a specific moment in time, but also aims to understand how it could affect the present. It is a conversation between past-present and artist-audience. Culture is the dynamic medium through which society communicates their values and experiences and, therefore, is familiar and ordinary.² Thus, in my scrutiny of Bob Dylan's interaction with the Spanish folk movement, it is imperative that I discuss both the aesthetics/intellect behind his lyrics and his intentions during the creation/production/performance ("I knew that when I got into folk music, it was more of a serious type of thing. The songs are filled with more despair, more sadness, more triumph, more faith in the supernatural, much deeper feelings."³) of his political songs in a sociohistorical context that elevated folk music to a massively popular status. In order to study the nature of the protest movements in Spain and USA in relation to music and poetry in the 60s, Gramsci's *historical bloc* and Bourdieu's *cultural capital* concepts highlight the importance of popular culture on the upbringing of countercultural social movements. Bourdieu argued that individuals' actions are driven by self-interest and that culture is not just a mode of exchange of beliefs and traditions, but also a form of dominance (in line with the Marxist position) or, as in the case of the 60s folk movement, a form of resistance. Borrowing Gramsci's framework on subalternity, the subalterns' union around popular folk music and their emergence as a historical bloc in the field of cultural production during a transnational period of struggle proved to be an ideal complement to democratic movements.

² Morgan, W. John., and Peter Preston. *Raymond Williams: Politics, Education, Letters*. (New York: St. Martin's, 1993), 77.

³ Marqusee, Mike. *Chimes of freedom: the politics of Bob Dylan's art*. New York: New Press, 2003, 35.

Dylan's political anthems, such as "The Times They Are A-Changin'"⁴ or "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall,"⁵ which propelled the denounce of social injustices and wars, had an initial positive impact on the Folk Movement in the 60s, even though Dylan was not actually a partisan: "Bob Dylan, the Vietnam War, and civic unrest are all closely associated with the 1960s. However, Dylan had very little to say about these things while they happened" (Taylor and Israelson 73). Dylan's music could not escape ideology even from its conception point. According to Boucher and Browning (36), Dylan's political artwork might have endured a gradual loss in its signified radicality due to commercial success and the pass of time since the modern music industry and music records are under the economic rules of capitalism and its chain of production.

Nonetheless, during Dylan's peak in international popularity within the social protest realm (60s-70s), his lyrics played a major role in the Spanish "Nueva Canción," who aimed to overthrow Franco's dictatorship. His lyrics set a new standard that many songwriters aimed to reach: "...el efecto Dylan funcionó como un estímulo creativo que hizo nacer en muchos cantantes el deseo de acercarse a la magia de la poesía"⁶ (Viñas Piquer 728). In this examination of Dylan's influence on Spanish artists, I explore Dylan's *euphantasiotos* role—a performer who entices the audience, an effective orator that convinces the masses through his rhetoric—in a popular culture context, in times when there was a contrast between two protest strategies; while in the USA Dylan exemplified the transition from the collective 'we' to the finger-pointing and reflective 'you' through epideictic discourses, Spanish folkers focused on the 'we' as a mode of protest, making Dylan's imprint in Spanish songwriters the more extraordinary. Dylan did not pretend "to speak

⁴ Bob Dylan. "The Times They Are A-Changin'." *The Times They Are A-Changin'*, 1964.

⁵ Bob Dylan. "A Hard Rain's a-Gonna Fall." *The Freewheelin'*, 1963

⁶ The Dylan effect worked as a creative stimulus that gave birth in many singers the desire to emulate the magic of his poetry.

for everyone and his brother, but it does speak *to* them if they would just sit down and listen. The fact that this music so well portrays the temper of the generational change we have been discussing is, itself, an open invitation” (Denisoff *Solid Gold* 451). Nonetheless, Dylan *did* speak *for* individuals who did not have a political voice, particularly in the case of Black Americans, through *prosopopeia*, a rhetorical device that Paxson argued is key to reevaluating the underrepresentation of allegorical frameworks in literary studies, reconnecting the hiding meanings in a work of art (allegories) with the specific rhetorical act of giving a voice to and speaking in the name of another person or an inanimate object (52). Dylan’s reporting on the assassination of contemporary figures, such as Emmett Till or Medgar Evers, aligned him with the Civil Rights Movement, adding his line of work to the millions of voices that demanded a political change and hoped to become democratic subjects with voting rights and access higher social strata, instead of merely being a labor force.

Bob Dylan stated in an interview with Hilburn: “I always try to turn a song on its head. Otherwise, I figure I’m wasting the listener’s time” (Hilburn). So, Dylan’s creative ruptures in musical illusion provided resistance to passive listening. The listener accepted responsibility for the kind of listening required, it implied a commitment that resonated with shared values and social commitments that were timely in the early 1960s and continue to be relevant today. While music, unlike reading, is a more invading form of art as it does not require the listener to fully grasp its content—many listeners enjoy foreign music without understanding its lyrics—, one of the striking characteristics of folk music in the 60s, unlike other genres, was its focus on the lyrics first, as a vehicle of denouncing the injustices of the working-class conditions and, second, as a complement and advocate of the Civil Rights and Anti-War Movement. Thus, Dylan’s influence on Spanish

songwriters finds its justification on the ideological realm, but also in a succinct way of describing things that are said before the senses of the audience, or to use Quintilian's term, via *enargeia*.

The role of imagination in rhetoric (defined as the art of persuasion) within international folk movements increased songwriters' agency in the countercultural and revolutionary events that took place in the 20th Century. "Bacon insists that reasoned arguments are, in themselves, dreadfully boring, and that outside of mere reportage (as in the communication of scientific discovery), arguments are always in need of "lively representations" to move audiences to moral behavior" (Gunn 45). Social songwriters, since their line of work is on performativity, were in a prominent position to reproduce *enargeia* and become *euphantasiotos* who enticed their audiences to seek social change. Although not all topical songs talked about racial injustices, folk music's protagonist role in the Civil Rights Movement and the consequent Lyndon B. Johnson's Civil Rights Act proclamation in 1964, encouraged Spanish songwriters to follow their effective structure.

Spanish social poets such as Celaya or Blas de Otero argued for the need for artists to involve themselves politically, reasoning that poetry cannot be neutral under circumstances of oppression. The French Nouvelle Chanson and the fact that many artists went to Paris in their exiles, inspired the first Spanish *euphantasiotos* within the songwriting scene, Paco Ibáñez, to put a voice to those social poets who, deceased or alive, aimed to build a counterhegemonic discourse. Others like Raimon and Mikel Laboa, through the use of their native languages as a form of resistance, paved the way for the proliferation of the New Song in their regions before Dylan released his *Freewheelin'* album in 1963. Dylan's stardom status and commodification of the art, in a world of technological advances and massive reproducibility made it possible to reach Spanish

audiences and, in turn, encouraged songwriters to perform against Francoist ideology and write lyrics that placed events before the audiences succinctly.

The increasing Americanization process and the clandestine share of foreign records meant Dylan's arrival in Spain had a revolutionary aspect, particularly due to the lack of knowledge of the English language by censors. In the USA, there were some episodes of explicit censorship. In 1967, CBS would not allow Seeger to sing the last verse of "Waist Deep in the Big Muddy." Seeger was supposed to sing "And the big fool says to push on!" on *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, but CBS brass retracted their compromise after many right-wing groups like the John Birch Society put campaigned against it. In "Big Muddy," *the big fool* allegedly refers to President Lyndon Johnson. Seeger refused to appear on stage and the show was canceled, but a year later he was able to perform in it, as censors directed their attention to rock music (Latson). In Spain, the press law of 1966 relaxed censorship of the print media, but increased surveillance of rock and pop album covers and lyrics, reflecting the Franco regime's view that the new counterculture posed a threat to the morals of young people and the policies of the regime (Fouce 126), which aimed to establish collective consciousness based on the nationalist, religious and homogenizing Castilian language in the 'revival' of the Spanish Empire, which had declined since the Spanish Armada's disastrous campaign in their objective to conquer Great Britain.

Franco's death in 1975 and the consequent establishment of a democracy in 1978 diminished protest songwriters' presence in the charts; similarly, their American counterparts suffered the same fate in 1964 and onwards, after the ratification of the Civil Rights Act. Those events along with the massive commercialization of other musical genres, mainly rock, pointed out a renewed focus on the individual. From a collective point of view, the rise of identity politics relegated class consciousness to a secondary level, so folk music reinvented itself in order to reach

wider audiences in the form of music genres such as folk-rock and the 21st Century trendy indie-folk. However, some of the artists from that era became celebrated figures in their respective countries, reaching to younger audiences through their pathos, and as Ismael Serrano put it in his 1997 song “Papá, Cuéntame Otra vez,”⁷ memory is a necessary individual and collective task for the potential success of a counterhegemonic discourse:

Papá cuéntame otra vez todo lo que os divertisteis/
Estropeando la vejez a oxidados dictadores/
Y cómo cantaste "Al Vent" y ocupasteis la Sorbona
En aquel mayo francés en los días de vino y rosas.

⁷ Dad, tell me again how much fun you had
Spoiling old age to rusty dictators
And how you sang "Al Vent" and occupied the Sorbonne
In that French May in the days of wine and roses.

CHAPTER 1: FOLK MUSIC PRE-DYLAN IN USA AND SPAIN: THE IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSES

The Spanish Civil War and Wind as a symbol of hope

Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, among others, popularized American folk music at an international level in the 60s and 70s, but in terms of Transatlantic mutual influence on their protest movements, Spain had a long tradition with their American counterparts before Dylan was born. “De Colores,” based on a 1500s Spanish song might be the oldest Peninsular influence on the Civil Rights Movement, according to Lehrman’s *Chronological List of Civil Rights Song Titles and Creators* (4). James Oppenheim’s poem “Bread and Roses,” which Caroline Kohlsaat originally musicalized (Juravich 94), based on the 1912 women/immigrants strike in Lawrence, was popular among labor unions in Spain and all over Europe, particularly Russia. Oppenheim himself was a IWW supporter and active partisan, and his poem appeared in the influential *Little Red Songbook*, edited by the IWW. Strikers not only fought for better working conditions that would nourish them (‘bread’) but also claimed their right to a worthy life with leisure time as the ruling bourgeoisie (‘roses’):

Our lives shall not be sweated, from birth until life closes;
Hearts starve as well as bodies
.....
Give us bread and give us roses.
Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew.
Yes, it is bread we fight for—but we fight for roses, too. (Fariña and Oppenheim 94)

The poem appeared on the cover of *Sing Out!*, the most sold folk magazine, in 1952, but it was in the 1960s, “when social history was making a revival with a perspective ‘from below,’ and labor history was experiencing a rebirth, the “Bread and Roses,” story became part of a narrative

of inclusion of women and of minority racial and ethnic groups. It came to symbolize more than labor's struggles but the whole story of female and ethnic inclusion" (Ross 61). Mimi Fariña, Joan Baez's sister, later sang and popularized the poem in 1974, "Fariña's melody not only took the form of a march but also soared with a sense of purpose and defiance—capturing the spirit of the growing women's movement" (Juravich 95). Nonetheless, the 20th Century American Left's protest poetry was not a spread national trend, in contrast to the extended list of Spanish social writers.

Cary Nelson began his 2001 *Revolutionary Memory: Recovering the Poetry of the American Left* acknowledging that most of the 20th Century American protest poets were unknown: "The Poets' names may stimulate no memories" (1). Nelson argued that scholars have largely neglected that body of work due to its lack of popularity and apparent inefficacy to draw more people into collective action, instead of considering it an invaluable epistemological source, although there are ongoing efforts in the last two decades to establish a framework, as Dale Smith, Philip Metres, John Lowney's 2006 research on the topic and Warr's 2016 seminal work on African American protest poets. The few well-known protest poets like Muriel Rukeyser and Maya Angelou are associated with the Civil Rights Movement, but not with a specific literary group; although their poetry discussed different types of discrimination, they aimed to highlight the bigotry against them due to their race and/or gender as Jewish and African American women.

The Spanish Civil War attracted many international brigadiers who aimed to defeat fascism in Spain. Many of them came back and wrote or sang about it, which in turn influenced the American folk scene and Workers' Unions in the 30s and 40s. Republicans, on the break of Civil War, called for international help, volunteers who came from Europe and America to defeat the antidemocratic force that Franco and his followers represented. The International Brigades drew

the commitment of American poets like Edwin Rolfe and Langston Hughes. Their ‘Anti-Americanism’ rested in their rebuke of the prevalent racial segregation and economic inequalities. Rafael Alberti in 1937 dedicated his poem “A las Brigadas Internacionales” to those international brigadiers who composed the 5th Brigade and whose commitment was invaluable to the interests of the Loyalists. Alberti’s “La Tierra que os Entierra” referred to the selfless actions of those brigadiers who would die far from their homes and families while fighting for an ideal in anonymity, highlighting their altruistic sacrifice.

Venís desde muy lejos... Mas esta lejanía
¿qué es para vuestra sangre que canta sin fronteras?
La necesaria muerte os nombra cada día,
no importa en qué ciudades, campos o carreteras.
De este país, del otro, del grande, del pequeño,
del que apenas si al mapa da un color desvaído,
con las mismas raíces que tiene un mismo sueño,
sencillamente anónimos y hablando habéis venido.
No conocéis siquiera ni el color de los muros
que vuestro infranqueable compromiso amuralla.
La tierra que os entierra la defendéis seguros,
a tiros con la muerte vestida de batalla.
Quedad, que así lo quieren los árboles, los llanos,
las mínimas partículas de la luz que reanima
un solo sentimiento que el mar sacude: ¡Hermanos!
Madrid con vuestro nombre se agranda y se ilumina.⁸ (Alberti 247)

⁸ You come from far away ... But this distance
What is it for your blood that sings without borders?
The necessary death names you every day,
no matter in which cities, fields or roads.
From this country, from the other, from the big, from the small,
of which it hardly gives the map a faded color,
with the same roots as the same dream,
simply anonymous and speaking you have come.
You don't even know the color of the walls
that your insurmountable commitment walls.
Defend the land you bury safely,
shot with death dressed in battle.
Stay, desired by trees, plains,
the smallest particles of light that revives
a single feeling that the sea shakes: Brothers!
Madrid with your name gets bigger and brighter.

Alberti argued their brotherhood was beyond frontiers, establishing their common ideological anti-fascist principles, *with the same roots and the same dream*, regardless of the distance. “On the Jarama Front,” written in English, (“And one day then, when the hour has come/ That all specters are banished from the earth; then the world will be our Jarama Front/ As in the February days!”) was a popular song among British and North American brigadiers (De Muñoz ch. 4), which underscored the fraternity between both nations. German brigadier and poet, Erich Weinert, wrote his homage to the International Brigades in 1936, which Carlos Palacios and Espinosa put into music. The symbolic concept of ‘patria’ (fatherland) lost its national specificity during the Civil War. Freedom and democracy substituted the collective imaginary around the medieval-born imperialistic Spanish fatherland idea. Defending Spain was a patriotic action for those international brigadiers:

País lejano nos ha visto nacer
De odio, llena el alma hemos traído,
Mas la patria no la hemos aún perdido,
Nuestra patria está hoy ante Madrid.⁹ (De Muñoz ch. 4)

Prior to the Spanish Civil War, Federico García Lorca and his 1929 *Poet in New York*, played a role in the literary transatlantic diffusion of American culture and its values, firstly through his epistolary exchange with Spanish intellectuals, and secondly through the posthumous publishing of *Poet in New York* in 1940. Lorca criticized the American emphasis on monetary goals that led to the 1929 economic crash and the inherent alienation of individuals. Both Republicans and Nationalists shared the ‘Anti-American’ sentiment before and during the war, as they rejected the American intrusion in the Caribbean colonies. The Nationalists longed for the

⁹ Distant country has seen us born
Of hate, fills the soul we have brought,
But the homeland we have not yet lost,
Our country is today before Madrid

military and political dominance they once held, while Republicans analyzed USA's expansion in terms of cultural dominance. Rafael Alberti criticized US policies in the Caribbean and their market-oriented approach in 1935. Alberti's irony rebuked the oppression of Latin-American nations, the image of the US flag burning in oil was the poetic justice Alberti hoped for:

Más aún por América arde el pulso
de agónicas naciones que me gritan
con mi mismo lenguaje entre la niebla,
tramando tu mortal sacudimiento
Así un día tus trece horizontales
y tus cuarenta y ocho estrellas blancas
verán desvanecerse en una justa,
libertadora llama de petróleo.¹⁰ (Noyes 310)

Hughes, the Harlem poet and musician, whose friendship with Alberti, mutual admiration, and shared values, led to the transatlantic circulation of the Loyalists' poetry in the USA, "offered a long list of the literary and publishing achievements of the Alliance as a beacon of cultural hope in a time of chaos" (Scaramella 187). Moreover, Hughes's translations and condemnation of the Spanish conflict ensured the survival of some of those literary expressions that the Francoist Government aimed to destroy after the Civil War: "The projects at the Alliance of Antifascist Intellectuals used translation as a political strategy to ensure publicity for and preservation of the Republican fight abroad. The collaboration between, translation of, and anthologizing of international Republican writers created an antifascist literary legacy that survived the destruction of war" (Scaramella 183). Hughes, like Alberti, used literature as a vehicle that aimed to unite

¹⁰ 'Still more across America burns the pulse
Of nations in their agony shouting to me
In my own language through the fog,
Plotting your fatal shakeup.
Thus one day your thirteen horizontals
and your forty-eight white stars
will see themselves vanish in a righteous
and liberating flame — of oil

international struggles which in turn would lead to collective international support, as noted by Hughes during the 2nd International Congress: “I come from a land whose democracy from the very beginning has been tainted with race prejudice, born of slavery, and whose richness has been poured through the narrow channels of greed into the hands of the few. I come to the Second International Writers’ Congress representing my country, America, and the peoples of America — because I am both a Negro and poor” (Hughes 3). His intersectional work on class and race affected American society, and Mullen argued that his stay in Spain, experiencing its culture and struggles “reinforced and gave substance to this poet's concept of Négritude” (Mullen 265). As Albert Camus argued in his recollection of the Spanish Civil War, it was in Spain where “men learned that one can be right and yet be beaten, that force can vanquish spirit, that there are times when courage is not its own recompense” (Camus 665). Freedom and equality, regardless of the political system in place, were only possible out of the constant denunciation of discrimination and ‘beating’ the ruling bloc by any means necessary, as democracy itself was not a condition for freedom, nor freedom a product of democracy.

Another poet who participated in the brigades, Edwin Rolfe, nostalgically referred to the Spanish Civil War and its outcomes in his 1943 poem “In the Time of Hesitation.” Rolfe could only find death in the air, ‘dust’. The absence of wind as a privation of hope was accentuated by USA’s neutrality during the Spanish conflict and the advent of World War II. The winds of change were dissipated after the Nationalist won the war, but it was up to Rolfe and others to remember the fallen and, particularly, the imprisoned people, who represented vestiges of resistance from a time before ‘wind’ became ‘dust’:

What's in the air? Dust.
.....
And I, one among many, remember
other clouds upon other horizons,

the urgencies of other years and other deeds. (Rolfe 202)

Rolfe and Hughes met in Madrid in 1937. They exchanged ideas and struggles, and Hughes himself was a translator in the conversations between Alberti and Rolfe; in Rolfe's memories, he referred to Alberti as *Albertini*, and their comradeship was duly noted in it. Hughes dedicated a poem to Rolfe during his 37th Birthday: "To a Poet on his Birthday." Hughes alluded to the need of bridging the Civil War songs and share the Loyalists struggles with their motherland in order to elevate the spirit of those 'wretched of the earth', preceding activist and Civil Rights Movement leader John Lewis, who argued in the 60s that "A singing army is a winning army" (Denisoff Top 40 807). The red color was the dominant element in his poem, from the color of the blood to the "red winds that blow" and reach the audiences of the subalterns; 'los rojos' was the pejorative appellative by which Nationalists referred to Spanish Republicans, due to the support from the URSS (the Red Army) during the Spanish Civil War, but in the case of Hughes 'red' was both the color of suffering (blood), regeneration (flames), and freedom (winds):

And heart's blood's the color
Of the red winds that blow
Carrying our songs like birds
Through the skies
Urging the wretched of the earth
To arise— For the red red flames
Of new banners unfurled
Are the songs the poet hears
On Spain's Front of the world!
The red red songs
Of new banners unfurl
Leading the workers
At the front of the world! (Nelson and Hendricks 32)

Alberti and other poets from the so-called literature generations of '98, '14, '27, '36, which included the likes of Antonio Machado, Manuel Azaña, Lorca, Hernández, Blas de Otero, Gabriel Celaya, María Zambrano, etc. all lived the instability of the Republic that led to the Civil War.

They fought (or died) in the losing side, and many fled the country in exile to denounce Franco's autocracy, mainly to Paris. They did not break with the tenets of romanticism, but the Civil War impelled Spanish popular authors to change the scope from the 'I' to the 'we/us' in their verses. They were ideologically aligned and had ties with one another, denouncing the power dynamics, and developing social poetry that was influential after the Spanish War.

"Desesperadamente busco y busco/un algo, qué sé yo qué, misterioso/capaz de comprender esta agonía;"¹¹ those words from Blas de Otero's 1950 poem "Igual que Vosotros" showed the spirit of the Post-Civil War poets, an existentialism that described the search for an answer to all the injustices and violence they could perceive (Vélez de Villa 289). In Miguel Hernández's dedicatory to fellow writer Vicente Aleixandre, he argued that poets personified 'the wind', they were the ones in charge of directing change: "Los poetas somos viento del pueblo: nacemos para pasar soplando a través de sus poros y conducir sus ojos y sus sentimientos hacia las cumbres hermosas"¹² (Hernández 87). Moreover, in his "Vientos del Pueblo me Llevan," Hernández claimed that, as a poet, he represented the ideals of the Loyalists and had no choice but to share their deprivation through his literature, even if that would cost him his life:

Vientos del pueblo me llevan,
vientos del pueblo me arrastran,
me esparcen el corazón
y me aventan la garganta.¹³ (Hernández 84)

¹¹ 'Desperately I search and search/ for something, I don't know what it is, mysterious / capable of understanding this agony'

¹² We poets are the wind of the people: we are born to blow through their pores and lead their eyes and feelings to the beautiful peaks.

¹³ Winds from the people carry me,
people's winds drag me,
spread my heart
and they throw my throat

In Hernández's poem, "Recoged Esta Voz," he pointed out to the global union against fascism, and 'the wind' was an element of change that belonged to the younger generations of poets and Loyalists, while 'dust' symbolized death, destruction, and the futility in life, as in Rolfe's poetry:

Recoged este viento,
Naciones, hombres, mundos,
Que partes de las bocas de conmovido aliento
Y de los hospitales moribundo
.....

Un porvenir de polvo se avecina,
se avecina un suceso
en que no quedará ninguna cosa:
ni piedra sobre piedra ni hueso sobre hueso.
.....

Es una juventud: recoged este viento.
Su sangre es el cristal que no se empaña
Su sombrero el laurel y el pedernal su aliento
.....

El polvo no los puede y hacen del polvo fuego.¹⁴ (Hernández 109-110)

Executions were accentuated and hailed by Franco himself during the first decade of Franco in power, before the end of World War II and the Fall of the Axis powers. Death surrounded Miguel Hernández himself and his comrades. In his elegy to Lorca, "Elegía Primera," he underlined the 1937 sociopolitical situation. "Dust" symbolized Lorca's murder, the byproduct of

¹⁴ Pick up this wind,
Nations, men, worlds,
What parts of the mouths of moved breath
And dying hospitals
.....
A dusty future is approaching,
an event is approaching
in which nothing will remain:
neither stone upon stone nor bone upon bone.
.....
It's a youth: pick up this wind.
His blood is the crystal that does not tarnish
His hat the laurel and the flint his breath
.....
The dust can't and they turn the dust into fire

violence and cultural annihilation. Loyalists like him would become ‘dust’ if they did not top Francos’ troops:

Federico García
Hasta ayer se llamó: polvo se llama.
Ayer tuvo un espacio bajo el día
Que hoy el hoyo le da bajo la grama.¹⁵ (Hernández 90)

“The wind” in Hernández’s poems was not only a symbol of change. It represented both the social poets and the subalterns. The “wind” collected the Loyalists’ struggles, which allowed the poet to generate imagery to show the “wind” as a counterpart to “dust,” freedom versus death. In the eyes of Hernández there was no in-between. It was preferable to become ‘dust’ than to surrender. Hernández created some of his most vivid poems during his imprisonment, where he died in 1942:

Si me muero, que me muera
con la cabeza muy alta.
Muerto y veinte veces muerto,
la boca contra la grama,
tendré apretados los dientes
y decidida la barba.
Cantando espero a la muerte,
que hay ruiseñores que cantan
encima de los fusiles
y en medio de las batallas.¹⁶ (Hernández 84)

¹⁵ Federico García
Until yesterday it was called: dust is called.
Yesterday it had a space under the day
That today the hole is under the grass

¹⁶ If I die, let me die
with my head very high.
Dead and twenty times dead,
the mouth against the grass,
I will have my teeth clenched
and decided beard.
Singing I wait for death,
that there are nightingales that sing
on top of the rifles
and in the midst of battles

In José María Sanz Beltrán's song, "La Guerra Civil," he highlighted the death of poets in the conflict, and how the ones that survived could not find a voice. Not in vain, as Richards contrasted in his *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945*, Franco claimed that his victory would not be complete until he annihilated and humiliated a large number of Republicans (Richards 35). It meant total destruction of its cultural proponents, including poets who could voice their loathing for Franco's ideology and his reign of terror:

Y los hombres fueron a luchar
Con un par de armas
Nada más.
Cuántos poetas,
Cuántos murieron allí.
Luego fue difícil
El vivir.¹⁷ (De Muñoz ch. 4)

According to de Muñoz, verse and music were necessary, intrinsic to the song, whether it was (or became) by its language and style a popular one. Both Loyalists and Nationalists composed songs out of Spanish and international anthems, adhering their contents to the sociopolitical circumstances:

Los músicos, los poetas, las masas opuestas al alzamiento, recogieron las canciones de principios del siglo XIX, de los tiempos de Fernando VII y del general Riego, de los anarquistas de finales del mismo siglo y de los soviéticos levantados contra los zares, mientras que los fieles a la antigua tradición recurrieron sobre todo a las canciones carlistas y del imperio; todos ellos transformaron estas antiguas melodías y las adaptaron a la nueva circunstancia histórica y política.¹⁸ (ch. 4)

¹⁷ And the men went to fight
With a couple of guns
Nothing more.
How many poets?
How many died there?
Then it was hard
Living

¹⁸ The musicians, the poets, and the masses opposed to the uprising picked up songs from the early 19th century, from the time of Ferdinand VII and General Riego, from the anarchists at the end of the same century, and from the Soviets who rose up against the tsars, while those loyal to the ancient tradition resorted primarily to the songs of the

Most of the Spanish songs during the Civil War interpellated the listeners from a unionized perspective, their intention was to translate the individual ‘you’ to the collective ‘we’. Rhetorical questions were common but already answered by the artists in the poems/songs themselves, whether through their titles or in their lines. As an example of this type of popular sang poems, “Guerra Civil,” which was based on Hernández’s poem “La Guerra, Madre” to his own mother, and which blamed the war for the deaths of his loved ones, educators, or the farm workers: “¿Quién a mi tío ahogó? / ¿Quién mató a mi profesor? / ¿quién sepultó al labrador”¹⁹ (De Muñoz ch.4)?

The Spanish Civil War, the International Brigadiers, the heroic resistance against fascism, and its outcomes did underpin American Labor Unions and its ideological principles, which were significant components of the 40s and 50s Folk Revival. However, American folk in the 60s, like their Spanish counterparts, would find its core elements in their national historicism:

Despite the opinions of some overly romantic observers, the Spanish Civil War did not create the folk consciousness of the Communists. The Spanish Civil War did not begin the hootenanny or introduce folk music to American Stalinists. Songs from Spain, did, nevertheless, further solidify the ‘folk song’ in party circles. More important, the war in Spain legitimized the ‘anti-Fascist’ movement, making access to the public somewhat easier. During this time some singers were attracted into front groups revolving around the Loyalist cause. [...] The significance of the Spanish Civil War in the sphere of folk consciousness was that it made party policy palatable to some singers who would later play important roles in using folk song as a weapon. (Denisoff GDC 62-63)

In fact, Hughes dedicated an obituary to Lead Belly in his 1954 “Slavery and Lead Belly Are Gone, But The Old Songs Go Singing On” (11), where he alluded to the African rhythms and folk as part of their heritage. Later, during the period of global commodification of folk, Hughes also wrote the liner-notes for Joan Baez’ fifth album in 1964. Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, or Lead

Carlists and the empire; all of them transformed these old melodies and adapted them to the new historical and political circumstances.

¹⁹ Who drowned my uncle? / Who killed my teacher? / Who buried the farmer?

Belly did not fight in the Spanish Civil War. However, their proximity to antifascists groups and individuals (both Seeger and Baez were Langston Hughes' acquaintances), and their mutual support to the work of songwriters such as Joe Hill or *The Little Red Songbook*, drew Spain closer to the USA in the revival of the folk genre from an ideological rather than aesthetic perspective.

While during the first half of the 20th Century, Spain inspired the American poets and the folk movement, particularly through the events around the Civil War and its anti-fascist ideology, the 60s-70s and the increased Americanization process allowed a higher influx of the folk movement and Dylan himself in the work of Spanish songwriters.

Folk origins in the USA: From the collective “we” to the individual “you”

From the labor union/church-inspired “we” to Dylan’s self-reflective “you,” folk lyrics were a chronicle of the lives in the rural world and, later, in its popular commodifying period, also depicted the urban world. The economic conditions in the US made it possible for folkers’ intended message to resonate among those with similar political assumptions, reinterpreting popular labor songs in rallies and manufacturing. Their goal was to strengthen labor movements and convince others to join them:

In the United States, as in Europe, the roots of the protest song are found in the religious sphere. In time, the hymns used by the Methodist revivalists of the 1820’s were transformed into vehicles of secular political commentary by the Abolitionists, Knights of Labor, Populists, Grangers, and the Industrial Workers of the World [...] The almost exclusive use of political propaganda songs by groups deemed to be radical gave rise to the image of a protest song as being associated with the non-conformist movements. (Denisoff SSC 15)

The Folk Movement encompassed a broad ballad tradition, from love songs to the political 1940s songs such as “The Ballad of Harry Bridges,” “The Ballad of Bob Wood,” or “The Strange Death of John Doe.” The Lomax family, along with Harry Smith’s 1952 *Anthology of American*

Folk Music (Moist 123), had an important role in the diffusion of folk music. As ethnomusicologists, the Lomax traveled and compiled several traditional songs from the 20th Century that marked the folk precepts which songwriters, whether politically involved or not, had to follow. Folkers created pro-American themes in the mundane, as Whitman did before them. The research conducted by the Lomax family in the 30s for the Library of Congress was motivated by democratic nativism. As Buell contended (420), Whitman had lamented America's dependence on the Old World for its cultural resources. He discovered more poetry in the dialects of laborers, railroad workers, miners, drovers, and boatmen than in the works of all 'American' humorists combined. The Lomax did not only study and introduced folk to many academics, but they were also active participants in the folk scene. John Lomax was a pioneering musicologist and along with his son Alan Lomax collaborated with and promoted artists such as Pete Seeger, Lead Belly or Woody Guthrie in the 1930s and 1940s; they were popularizers, aiming to bring the folk-song to the masses (Cohen Alan Lomax 4).

Many folkers throughout the first half of the 20th Century adapted a unionist ideology that left an imprint on the folk revivalists. If Smith's *Anthology* was a revelation for Bob Dylan and other folkers in the 60s, the 1909 *Little Red Songbook* succeeded in fostering a working-class consciousness that was key during the first period of the folk revival. It was a small book that compiled 30 pages of industrial workers' lyrics, aiming to unite industrial workers through class consciousness, and was defined by Edwin Rolfe as "a definite accomplishment in a much-neglected field of workers' cultural activity. Since the days of Joe Hill... who wrote his words to fit the music of current popular tunes, no effort has been spent in the writing and composition of new workers' songs; and very little effort has been made, despite casual attempts now and then, to collect scattered pieces" (Denisoff GDC 41). It was a milestone for the IWW, which realized that

music had the power to mobilize mobs and reshape ideologies if the lyrics are pledged to their cause.

The likes of Seeger, Molly Jackson, and Lead Belly led the folk revival and advanced its understanding as a music form that aimed to make sense of the Great Depression, technological progress, and early globalization: “Nativism, coupled with Marxism and Leninism, was the credo of the folk renaissance... Magically, genuine folk singers became people’s troubadours and urban intellectual folk singers became people’s artists” (Denisoff GDC 74). The stories and lyrics became primary while the musical instruments that accompanied them – banjos, fiddles, harmonicas – assembled a synergy that, at least in my view, succeeded to voice the problems of the margins. People originally associated those instruments, particularly banjos and fiddles, with devil’s instruments (Halpert 39). It was the African slaves who introduced the banjo, an instrument today commonly associated with the predominantly white folk musicians, to American culture; slaves played the banjo to remember their African origins, and their evangelization encouraged them to write Christian-theme songs that also shaped the early 20th Century lyrics and reinforced ‘we’ as a primary constituent:

The verbal content becomes primary with the music playing a secondary role. Also, the song stresses the participation notion. The pronoun ‘we’ is frequently used to suggest group solidarity, as well as group participation, as the solution to some real or imagined social problem. This remedy most often was outside of the ‘common-sense world’ of the majority, thus placing the group using a protest song in conflict with some or all of the sectors of the legitimate institutions of the social structure. (Denisoff SSC 17)

The collective aspect was key even in songs that preferred the pronoun “you.” Joe Hill, a union organizer, martyr after his controversial conviction to death in 1915, and a prolific lyricist, asked their listeners to act and reflect on their own commitment in *Little Red Songbook*, favoring the pronoun “you” but, unlike Dylan, he urged individuals to be part of a collective:

If you like sluggers to beat off your head,

Then don't organize, all unions despise.
If you want nothing before you are dead.
Shake hands with your boss and look wise.
Come, all ye workers, from every land.
Come, join in the grand Industrial band;
Then we our share of this earth shall demand.
Come on! Do your share. Lend a hand. (Hill 94)

Dylan was familiar with Joe Hill. He wrote his opening couplet of his 1967's "I Dreamed I Saw St. Augustine" ("I dreamed I saw St. Augustine/ Alive as you or me") based on "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night," the song about the prominent activist that Earl Robinson composed out of Alfred Hayes' poem in 1936, and which Joan Baez popularized in Woodstock in 1969 (Cohen and Weiner 318-324):

And standing there as big as life
and smiling with his eyes.
Says Joe "What they can never kill
went on to organize,
went on to organize." (Baez "Joe Hill")

Dylan also mentioned Joe Hill in his *Chronicles*, where he alluded to his approach towards protest songwriting, the lack of introspection and self-righteousness that in his view transpired from the folk scene in the 60s: "Protest songs are difficult to write without making them come off as preachy and one-dimensional. You have to show people a side of themselves that they didn't know is there. The song 'Joe Hill' doesn't even come close [...] I didn't compose a song for Joe Hill. I thought about how I would do it but didn't do it" (7). Joe Hill was a popular character and a hero to many of the folk revivalists, a role that Guthrie personified post-World War II as a folk entrepreneur. Denisoff in his 1972 *Sing a Song of Social Significance* defined the concept "folk entrepreneur" as "an individual who composes and performs songs in the folk idiom in order to exploit a market outside of the original folk group" (16). He added two identifiable patterns in the folk movement: working-class intellectuals and cultural transplants.

Seeger, who came from the Harvard campus was part of the first group. His commitment to the short-lived Popular Front, which “continued the aesthetic values of socialist realism that had influenced left-wing folk music in the United States since it was adopted as the official policy of the Communist International in 1928” (Ingram 22), aimed to depict the struggles of the working-class and how power structures undermined their possibility of change. Seeger, along with the Almanac Singers (Woody Guthrie, Lee Hays, Josh White, etc.) toured the USA targeting working-class collectives with songs such as “Which Side are You On?” asking the audience to question their position within the economic structure but also requesting them to join the “we,” the labor unions:

Which side are you on?
Come all you good workers,
Good news to you I'll tell
Of how the good old union
Has come in here to dwell.

The Almanacs’ disregard for monetary incentives, since they wrote their songs together and copyrighted them as a group, placed the focus on the issues they exposed in their songs, raised the status of folk revival as a potential tool for change in the early 40s. Alan Lomax named folk singers ‘folkniks’, expressing those folk singers had to “experience the feelings that lie behind his art” (Dunlap 564); to be folk, you have to live folk. The working-class intellectuals rejected the urban mass culture in an attempt to equate themselves with the proletariat, changing their fashion choice and way of life: “This pattern was to repeat itself in the coffeehouses of the 1960s, where cosmopolitan collegiates would emulate the dress and mannerisms of ‘folk hero’ Woody Guthrie” (Denisoff GDC 134).²⁰

²⁰ Although Seeger was Guthrie’s contemporary, due to the latter’s premature death and Seeger’s long-life commitment to use Folk as a tool for social change, Seeger became the leader and mentor of future generations, including Arlo Guthrie (Woody’s son), Tracy Chapman, and Ani DiFranco.

The cultural transplant cohort, which included the likes of Molly Jackson or Lead Belly, are the ones who removed themselves from their folk cultures of origin and followed the ideological tenets of their new environment: “when Aunt Molly was run out of Kentucky in 1931 she went to New York and learned from more sophisticated people the universality of the truths she had discovered in her own experiences, and these became the themes of her best songs” (Greenway 1). Guthrie embodied both aspects. He came from the Oklahoman oil fields, but moved to California, where he began to write opinion columns and acquainted himself with the urban communist scene. Nonetheless, it was his move to New York that glorified his figure, Guthrie “was a rural migrant who directed his material to the class struggle. He was an intellectual of sorts who divorced himself from the world of books, except perhaps his own. He accepted, when convenient, the values of the Left and used folk music as a weapon in the Battle between the Rich Folks and the Workin’ Folks” (Denisoff GDC 137). The author of “This Land is your Land” (1944) and “Deportee” (1948), among many others, exemplified the path to follow for countryside individuals like teen Dylan, since Guthrie was a rural songwriter who advanced intellectually and used that intellect to support a cause.

Dylan understood the ultimate transcendentalist as the individual who does not follow any collective but specific causes. Woody Guthrie, therefore, became Dylan’s idol. Denisoff, in his *Great Day Coming* on the analysis of Guthrie’s figure, described him as a torn individual. His commitment to the working-class people, including immigrants and anti-war sympathizers, led to an increase in popularity. That recognition could have paved the way to expand his own career aspirations, but for some, as Rodniztky argued, “the legendary Guthrie will remain, if not the man to sing alike, the man to look and act like [...]; folk purists have embraced Guthrie as the one artist who did not prostitute his art for commercial gain” (*Minstrels of the Dawn* 60-61). Thus, Guthrie’s

importance in the Folk scene, as Joe Hill's, cannot be understated. Guthrie, along with the Beat Generation's nomad character, inspired Dylan to drop college in Minnesota and move to New York after reading in 1960 Guthrie's autobiography *Bound for Glory* (Riley 9). Dylan sought a road-trip career and, his "Song to Woody" became a declaration of his intentions, praising Guthrie for his life achievements and claiming that his ultimate goal was to travel "hard," which led him to be acquainted with the Beat writers in New York and, further in his career, to his *Never Ending Tour*, which is on-going since 1988:

Hey, Woody Guthrie, but I know that you know
All the things that I'm a-sayin' an' a-many times more
I'm a-singin' you this song, but I can't sing enough
'Cause there's not many men that done the things that you've done.
.....
I'm a-leavin' tomorrow, but I could leave today
Somewhere down the road someday
The very last thing that I'd want to do
Is to say I've been hittin' some hard travelin' too. (Dylan "Song to Woody")²¹

The introduction of the radio in every American home and the creation of folk magazines, particularly *Sing Out!* and *Broadside*, encouraged the proliferation of folk artists with committed ideological convictions. Originally, Protest songs were rare in *Sing Out!* Those that did appear reflected the 1940s and the topical songs of the British ban-the-bomb movement. In the correspondence columns of *Sing Out!* writers such as Pete Seeger and Malvina Reynolds pondered whether the United States could produce topical songs along similar lines (Cohen "Pete Seeger" 495). The hootenannies, folk songwriters' performative and communal aspects increasingly raised further the visibility and directrices of social and civil engagement. However, the historical transition of folk music from being a rural and marginal form of expression, to its spread in hootenannies and small intellectual circles, to ultimately becoming a commercial success, did not

²¹ All Dylan's lyrics can be found in Dylan, Bob. *The Lyrics: 1961-2012*. Simon and Schuster, 2014.

reach that status until listeners accepted its simple rhythms and non-ideological themes in the late 50s with The Weavers' "Goodbye Irene" or Kingston Trio's "Tom Dooley." It indicated that the emergent and counter-cultural elements had to adjust to succeed, and it was the saturation of the folk genre that popularized it:

The central interest of folklore—myth, narrative, and ritual in the first phase, modes of production in the second, social organization and the technics of communication in the third—arises, again, from the perception of relation, one in which the cultural dominant provides a framework of reference for the "folk" or residual form, around which, in turn, the emergent dominant form organizes itself conceptually as a kind of anthropological, historical, or moral touchstone. (Cantwell 372)

The Weavers' success was significant as they "established the economic truth that folk music, after proper polishing, was a salable commodity. Even more important, they reaffirmed the dreams and hopes of former Almanac and People's Songsters that folk music was *the* music of America" (Denisoff GDC 165). Above all, the Folksong was a pro-American grassroots movement that aimed to find the American manner of life, the development of the folk song in the United States found its broader ideological assumptions in the native transcendentalist ethos. Emerson contended that there could not be a healthy American literature unless there was an American Spirit, an American manner of life and writing (Emerson 36-66). Folk as a popular vehicle of social change in the early 60s, as Winograd and Simmons analyzed Folk evolved in the 20th Century, from the margins to a gradual transformation into a popular vehicle of social unrest. Simmons and Winograd explained the new socio-artistic movement in their 1966 *It's Happening*. The authors argued that it was difficult to define the antagonists in the 60s, but upcoming songwriters as Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, or Odetta, through their direct or indirect affiliation to the labor unions of the first half of the 20th Century—their songs, ideological stances, and popular proponents—and their contemporary anti-war/nuclear stance, identified them and placed the blame on decision-makers:

The new musicians are the poets and troubadours of what's happening, and their work, as it is disseminated, becomes itself an active social force which shapes and spreads the themes it is describing. As chroniclers, these artists therefore are acting also as innovators and propagandists. As propagandists they still cloak their thoughts behind frequently murky lyrics; words that are vague to censors or parents, but 'in' with the listeners... The music has become a chronicle of events and messages, with the latter approaching the esprit of past eras' revolutionary ballads. The words are different, and even though it's difficult to define the antagonists, the force of feeling and craving are all too clear. (157-158)

Greenwich Village, in New York, was a neighborhood with a reputation for its open-minded environment but with palpable racial tensions (Stowe 1387). The Folk Movement was a growing force in Greenwich Village in the 50s, "at the end of America's Red Decade he [Woody Guthrie] drifted into New York drawn by that strange centripetal force that brought together such disparate rebels such as Aunt Molly Jackson from the coal mines of Kentucky and Pete Seeger from the classrooms of Harvard. There they hammered folksongs into weapons of subversion" (Greenway 62). Gerde and Bitter End, where Dylan began his musical career, eventually became the Café Society of their time.

Café Society was the bar wherein 1939 Billie Holliday sang for the first time "the song ['Strange Fruit'] about racist lynching [that] stunned audiences and redefined popular music" (Lynskey). However, many of the people attending concerts at Café Society were intellectuals, mid-upper-class Black and white Americans, attracting the crowd they aimed to originally deride. Billie Holiday herself in her autobiography argued that sometimes her audiences were too dazed to appreciate the message she tried to convey, even a person asked her to sing "that sexy song about the people swinging in the trees" (Larkin 92). Café Society closed its doors in 1948 due to the rise of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) that preceded (and complemented) McCarthyism. It happened even though, as Seeger argued, "most union leaders could not see any connection between music and porkchops. As the cold war deepened in '47 and '48 the split in the labor movement deepened. 'Which side are you on' was known in

Greenwich Village but not in a single miner's union local" (Denisoff GDC 127). The Smith Act trials of Communist Party leaders (1949-1958) marked a turning point in the American fight against communist ideology. There was a constant pressure against communist ideals, or anything related to it. Many music performers and producers had to respond to the HUAC in 1955. Seeger himself did so in 1955, when he cited his right to freedom of speech and association, as most of them did after him, refusing to cooperate with them (Seeger 110). Nonetheless, there was a key connection between the residual and emergent forms of resistance; between Dylan and Café Society; between Dylan and Pete Seeger: John Hammond.²² He was a producer and talent scout from Columbia Records. His patronage was key to the proliferation of artists during the years preceding Dylan's arrival in the Folk scene. Hammond produced Holliday's and Seeger's albums prior to his encounter with Dylan in Gerde's Folk City in 1961.

In 1961, he arrived in New York just in time as a folk entrepreneur whose lyrical themes connected with a whole generation of Americans. Kenneth Rexroth, the father of beat poetry (Johnston 11), described the origins of Bob Dylan's success in 1965. He argued that Dylan had no political ambitions when he moved to New York, nor was he part of politically motivated collectives, which was one the causes of his appeal to a younger generation that rejected institutional and top-down directrices:

Bob Dylan's songs are a cry of anguished moral outrage against the mess the oldies persist in making out of a world in which all men could be guaranteed lives of peace and modest comfort if only the will existed. The social protest, pseudo-folk singers of the last generation were ultimately derived from Café Society Downtown, and they were only too obviously politically motivated. For this reason alone, few people listened to them for long, least of all the young, who have sharper ears than any critic for the cooked-up voice of protest. But nobody is manipulating Bob Dylan. This is a voice from the grass roots and the heartstrings of an ever increasingly alienated youth. (Rexroth)

²² For a complete biography of Hammond, refer to Priol's *The producer: John Hammond and the soul of American music*.

In 1975, Joan Baez in her well-known “Diamonds and Rust” expressed the meteoric rise of Dylan as part of an already established folk movement that exalted him. Baez indicated that Dylan’s characteristics as a nomad and rebel, someone who could not be coopted, uplift his appeal to the masses:

Well, you burst on the scene
Already a legend
The unwashed phenomenon
The original vagabond. (Baez “Diamonds and Rust”)

Dylan’s success was not just correlated to the sociohistorical context of his beginnings as an artist, signing and promoting Dylan’s work was a commercial and cultural success that revealed the need for a new generational voice from the margin and a composing style that mixed the reporting style and the abstract messages that encompassed the fights of the Civil Rights movement but also each individual’s stance on their own subjectivity in relation to the cultural hegemony and its institutions.

CHAPTER 2: BOB DYLAN AS THE VOICE OF SUBALTERNS THROUGH *PROSOPOPEIA*

2.1. FROM THOREAU TO WOODY GUTHRIE: TRANSCENDENTALISM AND THE OUTCASTS.

Bob Dylan was (and still is) a complex popular figure, a sponge that absorbed and reinterpreted American folk melodies until Suze Rotolo introduced him to some French poets. Dylan contended that his songs were influenced not so much by poetry on the page, but by poetry being recited by poets who recited with jazz bands. The poetry on the page that mattered was the French guys, Rimbaud and Francois Villon, to whom he turned after reading Ginsberg and others (Wilentz 66). In his poetry, Villon, an outcast himself, observed that ruling blocs made laws for the purpose of protecting themselves, since they had the material means to enforce and maintain that order. On the liner notes to Dylan's 1964 album, *The Times They Are a-Changin'*, Dylan claimed Villon as the main inspiration for his writing, he wrote the album "with the sounds of François Villon echoin' through my mad streets..." (Dylan). Rimbaud aimed to become a seer and claimed that there is more than one person within each subject, multiple selves: "I came across one of his letters called 'Je est un autre,' which translates into 'I is someone else.' When I read those words, the bells went off. It made perfect sense. I wished someone would have mentioned that to me earlier" (Dylan *Chronicles* 288). Thus, the displacement of the self was one of Dylan's techniques when he wrote his lyrics. He was able to identify himself with other individuals (inside and outside himself), allowing him to deepen the meaning of his work regarding the outcasts he chose to portray.

Even in his early work, Dylan's major focus was on the individual. Dylan's emphasis found its justification in the American literary tradition, the acceptance of Emersonian transcendentalism, and the importance of the self. The transcendentalists who influenced Walt Whitman and the Beat generation are considered to be responsible for some of Dylan's most significant inspirations (Dunlap 551; Klier 334). Whitman verses "Do I contradict myself? / Very well, then I contradict myself. / (I am large, I contain multitudes)" (69) resonated with Dylan. Dylan proved to be an adequate heir to Whitman as a bridge between the elitism displayed by transcendentalists and the telling of the lives of ordinary people.

Emerson's words reverberated within some American authors/songwriters, the search for the American Spirit was not only in nature but within each American, including his contemporary, Thoreau, whose disobedience to what he considered unjust laws, placed the individual and unitarian morality above institutional directrices. The American Spirit reflected similarly in Dylan and Thoreau; in their rebuke of the political society of their eras both condemned the marginalization of contemporary individuals whose humanist ideals made them a target of the status quo: "I do not believe in erecting statues to those who still live in our hearts, whose bones have not yet crumbled in the earth around us...I rejoice that I live in this age, that I am his contemporary" (Thoreau 2051). They focused in the present and the most recent past, not principally as a way to build a better future, but as a manifesto of the qualities and resistance some individuals displayed in relation to the collective difficulties of their times. They portrayed common and resilient American individuals who endured their struggles as outcasts.

Dylan sang about the lives of Americans, whose exemplary actions made them extraordinary. Dylan's heroes were outsiders whose main qualities were "(1) resistance to corrupt authority; (2) integrity of the self; and (3) simplicity" (Makay and Gonzalez 169). They were not

compatible with society, as in the case of abolitionist John Brown, to whom Thoreau himself wrote an appeal in 1860, *A Plea for Captain John Brown*. Brown became a significant figure in protest music: “The structure of the song is a traditional one, in that ‘John Brown’s Body’ has been used to protest every conceivable cause and injustice known to man. ‘The Battle Hymn of the Republic’ and ‘Solidarity Forever’ are both based on this abolitionist anthem” (Denisoff SSC 25). Thoreau understood John Brown as an American hero in a righteous in-land cause, the abolition of slavery. He wrote about him: “A man of rare common-sense and directness of speech, as of action; a transcendentalist above all, a man of ideas and principles, –that was what distinguished him” (Thoreau 2036). Dylan wrote his own version on John Brown’s figure in 1963. However, Dylan did not praise the imaginary John Brown of his song because he was a soldier who went to fight overseas in a foreign land, unlike the authentic John Brown. Dylan’s John Brown returned to America with pain and disappointment, feeling like *a pawn in their game*. His song indicated the growing rejection to foreign intervention of the 60s and its futility:

And I couldn’t help but think, through the thunder rolling and stink
That I was just a puppet in a play
And through the roar and smoke, this string is finally broke
And a cannonball blew my eyes away”
As he turned away to walk, his Ma was still in shock
At seein’ the metal brace that helped him stand
But as he turned to go, he called his mother close
And he dropped his medals down into her hand. (Dylan “John Brown”)

The soldier earned medals at the cost of his own health, his face was disfigured, and his own mother could not recognize him. Thus, Dylan’s “John Brown” told the soldier’s transition from being an innocent and proud fighter/son to his realization that fighting wars and complying without questioning was pointless, since they were fed with lies about the conflict: “But the thing that scared me most was when my enemy came close/ And I saw that his face looked just like mine”

(Dylan). Although Dylan wrote the song in 1962, during the American military intervention in Vietnam, it was a general critique of international mediation through violent means.

Thoreau assumed an identity (or role) where he existed beyond the conformist and contemporary paradigms of American social order. "I desire to speak somewhere without bounds... for I am convinced that I cannot exaggerate enough even to lay the foundation of a true expression" (Thoreau 315). Thoreau had a role in the Transcendentalist movement, but at the same time detached himself from it, as Dylan did in the Folk Movement. Neither Thoreau nor Dylan could entirely take part of any social movement, considering their individualistic points of view, although both were conscious of societal and individual injustices. Dylan had in high regard historical figures who kicked against oppression, since he assumed those personalities were true to their principles and that what made them great was their individualism against the *unfeeling majority*.²³ Woody Guthrie was part of that group, but so were many individuals who lacked basic Human Rights and fought back. Dylan told the stories of the outcasts who chose to endure that condition and, particularly, the stories of the ones who were rejected by society from birth, forced to the exclusion by the dominant hegemony. As Gamble explained in his "The Drifter's Escape" (16), the role of a social songwriter was to preserve a tradition by celebrating its heroes and outlaws and by advocating for their values to once again be recognized as American values based on the transcendentalist ethos, since Emerson himself had criticized the state of American culture and foretold the arrival of a genius who would transform the country.

The definition of outcasts, or what constitutes an outcast, can be interpreted in many ways. An outcasted person is like a foreigner, someone who belongs to the in-between. The proletariats were outcasts, although they were not all the outcasts. Outcasts could also be *personas non grata*,

²³ Makay, John J., and Alberto Gonzalez. "Dylan's biographical rhetoric and the myth of the outlaw-hero."

those undesirable people within a society, subalterns. Antonio Gramsci, in his *Prison Notebooks*, written from 1929 until 1935, explored the conditions of those subalterns within Integral State. Gramsci argued that civil society, as part of the public sphere, reflected the ideology of the hegemonic ruling bloc, which imposes those traditions and values embedded in ideology through mainly non-coercive methods; political society is in charge of maintaining hegemony through institutional control and repressive apparatuses:

He moves away from the view that power is concentrated in the state and the view that the goal of revolutionary struggle is to capture state power. [...] [Civil society] contains the cultural elements of conformity, in which a dominant group's values and ideology become the predominant values throughout society. Ultimately, in Gramsci's view, civil society is just as political as political society. (Green 5-7)

Thus, integral society can be subverted through the non-conformity of a counterhegemonic bloc integrated by a bloc of subalterns. Gramsci's understanding of who could be consider a subaltern is contingent on an historicist approach to integral society: "Gramsci never reduces subordination to a single relation, but rather conceives subalternity as an intersectionality of the variations of race, class, gender, culture, religion, nationalism, and colonialism functioning within an ensemble of socio-political and economic relations" (Green 400). Thus, the proliferation of subalterns who were consciously able to discern their own subalternity was a requirement to elaborate a counter-hegemonic discourse that could structure a historic bloc that challenged the dominant discourse. If Thoreau praised John Brown as an important element of a counterhegemonic discourse, the abolition movement, Dylan's initial subalterns' archetypes inscribed within the Southern question on racism.

Dylan wrote about certain minority figures during the years of the Civil Rights Movement, and, particularly, recent events in the State of Mississippi. In the American democratic regime, Black American population's historicism, under both Civil Rights and political

underrepresentation, meant the suppression of minorities under a judicial system that depoliticized victims of racial abuse. Dylan's stories on racial discrimination about Medgar Evers, Hattie Carroll, and Emmett Till, shared a common characteristic: the inability to subjectify and develop an equally political and civil identity within the dominant discourse, in their case due to a lack of Civil Rights, becoming. Alain Badiou in his *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil* questioned the nature of subjectivization; "can the gap, the opening, the void which precedes the gesture of subjectivization, still be called 'subject'" (Zizek 258)? As a chronicler, Dylan addressed his audience within a rhetorical framework that made them inquiry the dominant discourse and the subalterns' subjectivization as subjection or subjectivation, depending on their degrees of agency.

Gunn (42-45), in his analysis of the decline in rhetoric through the access of the imaginary in the USA, claimed that "the concept of the imaginary is part of the critique of humanism in the sense that it is juxtaposed against the notion of a discrete, autonomous, sovereign subject connoted by the imagination". For Gunn, The Althusserian school and its focus on ideological determinism correlated imagination with false consciousness; it is part of the unconscious and, as such, "notions of creativity, origin, and freedom are the kinds of delusions that keep the subaltern and the oppressed in their place." Thus, the success of a counterhegemonic bloc will be contingent on their capability to bestow their own specific purposes as the congruent ones within the collective imaginary.

Dylan drew from the concept of self-reliance expanded by Ralph Emerson, in which the first step to constitute themselves as subjects is to get away from societal control, "Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members" (Emerson 39). However, the liberation of the self is a complex and problematic task, if at all attainable, as the individual has been concealed, alienated, or imprisoned in and by mechanism of repression. For

some, it alienation happened since birth, which pointed out to the incongruity of the 20th Century dominant ideology, which placed the American Dream's meritocratic aspect at the core of the nation. As Laclau argued (173) in his *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory*, when a dominant class has gone too far in its absorption of contents of the ideological discourse of the dominated classes, runs the risk of the subordinated classes to generate their own dominant articulatory discourse, boosted by a leader. In his finger-pointing songs, Bob Dylan developed an epideictic discourse that exposed the dominant ideology and its institutions through the use of *prosopopeia*'s rhetoric.

BOB DYLAN'S NON-CONFORMITY AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. THE MISSISSIPPI HORROR AND PROSOPOPEIA IN HIS FINGER-POINTING SONGS

Paxson contended that academic publications on *prosopopeia* or other rhetoric tropes related to personification are uncommon: "The theorization of personification (or *prosopopeia*) and allegory still find spotty representation in the scholarly publication record. This is especially so for literary or cultural theory, and it is so for iconography and art history as well" (Paxson 1). However, the analysis of *prosopopeia* provides a different point of view on the content and success of Dylan's lyrics in his early years during the Civil Rights Movement. Dylan employed the rhetoric of *prosopopeia* through his performativity, *prosopopeia* defined as words or phrases "through which an absent or fictional person is presented as though speaking and/or acting. It entails a personification traceable to the Greek *prosopon*...as a figurative maneuver is less a means of engaging an opponent than a rhetorical connection with an audience" (Hartelius 314). In a democratic context, citizens, taking Aristotle's conceptualization of citizenship, were supposed to be sovereigns, agents of their own actions, "democratic logics doubly position citizens as both

sovereign subjects and biopolitical objects...born with regard to life, but existing essentially with regard to the good life” (Agamben 9). However, that was not the case for the subalterns that Dylan praised, those citizens performed as “objects,” instead of subjects.

Foley, in her analysis of *prosopopeic* rhetoric, argued that different protest cohorts shared this politicized rhetoric tropes in order to subjectivized them: In the wake of the US civil rights and second-wave feminist movements, calls to secure rights for a broad spectrum of non-speaking, living bodies have proliferated: for example, animal rights, environmental rights, fetal rights, and the rights of incapacitated patients (381-382). Moreover, speaking for the dead could be a way of, at least, retroactively, giving voice to those who lacked it on what the author termed “Prosopopeic Citizenship,” which is a rhetorical suture for the Democratic Aporia:

Democratic citizens, as both sovereign subjects and biopolitical objects, are structurally split. The citizen’s political split calls for a rhetorical splint: the capacity to speak projected by prosopopeia. In speaking, citizens perform and transform their political lives, becoming the autopoietic and autotelic principles of their own governance. (389)

The ability ‘to give a voice’ to subjected subalterns and persuade audiences ‘to know’ their stories was one of Dylan’s main characteristics at the beginning of his career. The rhetoric of *prosopopoeia*, made it possible for Dylan as an orator, not only to speak for the voiceless but to ask the audience to question the fatal events surrounding their deaths. Both Hartelius and Foley analyzed the possibility of using *prosopopeia* with the goal of subjectivizing the voiceless, and in Dylan’s finger-pointing songs, it became apparent that music was in a position to move the audiences through the fictional, albeit based on real events, representation of those individuals who lost their lives as a consequence of a ruling bloc that alienated them. Dylan loathed the judicial

institutions and asked his audience to ponder whether their verdicts on the murders of those individuals were just or not through an epideictic discourse.

Condit, in her research on the functions of epideictic discourse,²⁴ explored the nature of epideictic discourse offering three major analyses of the term, ranging from the Aristotelian classification to contemporary discourse. The epideictic classic distinction relied on a praise/blame scheme in oratory, where the subject or topic fell into one of those binary categories. Condit contended all speeches rely on a certain degree of praise and blame. The author mentioned the prevalent understanding of epideictic discourse as the ethical arguments that push for legislative/judicial engagement and preparedness for action. Condit criticized the hierarchical nature of it, arguing that not only well-established community and political leaders may engage with epideictic contexts but also artists from civil society who might offer a call for legislative and juridical accomplishments in tandem with more immediate action outside the political societal realm. Nonetheless, the potential definition of epideictic as “pure performance” is close to a kind of art for art’s sake perspective and thus rushes us toward another conjuncture. Even when applied to literature, art for art’s sake threatens to be an empty abstraction but applied to rhetoric, it suggests practical powerlessness (286). Thus, poetry-songs and poets-songwriters who aimed to create an epideictic discourse, cannot be neutral, which underscored Gabriel Celaya’s “Maldigo la poesía de quien no toma partido hasta mancharse.”²⁵ Whether epideictic discourse relies on judgment or on performativity as the core of its nature, it is the audience’s response to the speaker that truly informs its nature. In Condit’s words, “epideictic always seek what I would label a religious level

²⁴ Condit, Celeste Michelle. "The functions of epideictic: The Boston Massacre orations as exemplar."

²⁵ Celaya, Gabriel. "La poesía es un arma cargada de futuro": 'I curse the poetry of those who do not take sides until they are stained.'

of experience found only in a few epideictic speeches” (Condit 287). The epideictic discourse can be located by its tendency to serve three functional pairs—definition/understanding, display/entertainment, and shaping/sharing of community. The first term in each pair indicates the function the speech serves for the speaker. The second term indicates the corresponding function served by the audience.

Bob Dylan and other songwriters defined the problems, discrimination, and otherness the subalterns faced. They offered an explanation of the social world, while the audience empowered songwriters by granting them authority to define societal issues. Regarding an audience’s understanding, Condit argued, they will feel some comfort, as the “troubled event will be made less confusing and threatening” (288). However, within social movements it is the community involvement that primarily provides reassurance, even if the singer’s discourse stirs controversy or makes the audience question their own political and civil position; understanding that they are not alone and that a songwriter can put into words the way they feel is a necessary condition for the epideictic discourse to be successful.

Condit also referred to the share community element behind an epideictic discourse. Even if all speeches can contribute to community building in some way, epideictic plays a unique role in this regard. By definition, legislative and judicial rhetoric pits two opposing factions against one another. Even if such communication-based competition is conceivable within a common society, the event invariably emphasizes division rather than unity and cooperation. In deliberative and legislative discourse, community interests and individuals contend openly. Songwriters had the opportunity to eloquently present their cases; unique to humans, ‘eloquence’ is the mix of truth, beauty, and power in human speech. The epideictic experience affords orators the ability to be creative by relieving them of specific concerns and charging them to consider bigger perspectives.

This speech entertains the audience in the most humanitarian manner. They are permitted to infuse their everyday experiences with more pleasant connotations. In addition, the audience also evaluates the speaker's presentation, as the speaker may employ eloquence as a way of self-promotion. Thus, "a person who knows the truth, appreciates and wields beauty, and wields power has an excellent chance of becoming a desirable community leader" (Condit 289-291).

Gramsci, in his study of intellectuals, within his *Prison Notebooks* (3-14), differentiated between two categories of intellectuals: First, there are the "traditional" professional intellectuals, literary, scientific, etc., whose position in the interstices of society has a certain inter-class aura, but ultimately originates from past and present class relations and masks a commitment to various historical class formations. Second, there are "organic" intellectuals, who are the thinkers and organizers of a specific core socioeconomic class. These organic intellectuals are differentiated less by their occupation, which may be any employment typical of their class, and more by their role in shaping the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they belong organically. Organic Intellectuals are the bridge between the subalterns and hegemonic discourse. In contrast to other institutionalized intellectuals or researchers, they comprehend the struggles of subalterns in both the base and the superstructure and are active agents (partisans) of change. Bob Dylan's songs condemned the struggles of the subalterns, which then helped to organize both working-class groups and the bourgeoisie around the concept of Civil Rights and social change, forming part of a counterhegemonic bloc that demanded a transformation in the means of production and the ruling bloc's ideological stances.

Condit asserted that the most exhaustive or 'paradigmatic' epideictic is one that incorporates all three features (definition/understanding, display/entertainment, and shaping/sharing), and she referred to that characterization as the 'community's definition.' In

speeches describing the community and its difficulties, the speaker exhibits leadership and is judged depending on the entertainment provided to the audience. Lastly, Condit argued that the account of the speech is given to fulfill the ritualistic need for community sharing and not as preparation for some other activity; it is therefore performative (292). However, the speech's performance might lead to posterior actions. Through a performance, as the community is constructed, experienced, and acted, the audience gains an understanding of its common self. Such complete forms of epideictic may be rare, but once there is a completed community's speech, the address of the message content of epideictic might precede collective consciousness and engagement.

To ensure the effectiveness of this shared experience, the speaker must paint a vivid image of the shared definition, as opposed to merely presenting a logical argument; hence, epideictic addresses may have a more prominent aesthetic display than deliberative or forensic addresses. In Stavru's discussion on the Aristotelian speech model, the author argued that in constructing plots and developing them through the use of speech, the poet should visualize the scene as much as possible. Thus, by imagining the events as vividly as possible – as if he or she were present at their occurrence – he will discover what is appropriate and be least likely to overlook inconsistencies. The poet should also, convey the plot through gestures. For, if their natural ability is equal, the most convincing poets are those who are emotionally involved; the one who is distressed conveys distress most accurately, and the one who is angry conveys rage most accurately (149).

Dylan created such vivid pictures through the use of *enargeia*, which is the power of bringing the things that are said before the senses of the audience. Ruth Webb defined *enargeia* as “the vividness that makes absent things seem present by its appeal to the imagination... helping the orator to involve his audience (and himself) emotionally and imaginatively in the subject of

the speech and thus to promote their acceptance of the ideas he is putting forward.”²⁶ Webb’s definition of *enargeia* was in line with Boucher and Browning’s description of Dylan’s protest content, who contended that in Dylan’s lyrics it was not as important to establish “the meaning, the historical or literary context, but the power of the images to evoke and invoke emotions.”²⁷

Webb (96-97), in her analysis of Quintilian and Ps. Longinos’ definitions of *enargeia*, argued that Quintilian assumed a live performance environment in which the transmission of mental images and their accompanying emotions between a speaker and his audience is an essential component of rhetorical interaction; P.s Longinos used the trope ‘phantasia’ as an integral part of *enargeia*, “when, under the effects of inspiration and passion, you seem to see what you are speaking about and bring it before the eyes of your listeners.” Moreover, Webb (97) added that the impression created in the listener's mind by the orator’s words reveal the intimate relationship between mental images and the words that both result from and create them. Words and mental images are not the only phenomena to be fused in this manner, as both Quintilian and ps.-Longinos assumed that what the audience ‘sees’ is the same as what the orator ‘sees’, and that the listener or reader will share the mental image that the orator has created. In this manner, it is presumed that the speaker's visual image will be transmitted to the audience through the medium of language and generate a comparable image in their minds. Thus, the speaker and the listener create mental images and are metaphorical painters of these nonmaterial images, as Dylan did in his assessments of racial injustice in the Southern states.

Even though the State of Mississippi was a conservative region with high rates of racist discrimination, the death of Emmett Till in 1955 marked a turning point, a national scandal that

²⁶ Webb, Ruth. *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*. Routledge, 2016, p. 193.

²⁷ Boucher, David, and Gary K. Browning. *The Political Art of Bob Dylan*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 137.

legitimized and boosted the Civil Rights Movement, similar to the impulse of the 2020 Black Lives Matter social movement, in which the death of George Floyd triggered protests all over the nation. Fourteen-year-old Emmett was originally from Chicago. He went to the Southern State to visit his family, where two Ku Klux Klan members lynched him and deposited his body in a river, where he was found with his face disfigured and unrecognizable. Her mother decided to have a ceremony with an open casket so everyone could see what happened to his son: “the famous postmortem photograph that ran in black newspapers and magazines across the country catalyzed many for a career in civil rights. The imperiled and abject body would also serve as a harbinger of civil rights protest to come” (Houck 176); Emmett Till’s death became a catalyst for change that impregnated collectives and individuals who took revolutionary action, “94 days after the 14-year-old Chicago boy was tortured and dumped into the Tallahatchie River, Rosa Parks claimed to be thinking of Emmett Till as she awaited her arrest on a Montgomery city bus” (Houck 175). Dylan’s performances of “The Death of Emmett Till” in various radio stations and the CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) rally at City College of New York, where his girlfriend Suze Rotolo worked as a secretary, was his first approach towards protest songwriting. Dylan offered us facts, “which Cicero called *inlustratio* and *evidentia*, which seems not so much to say as to show [the actual event], and the affection will follow no less than if we were present at the actual events” (Stravinsky 151-152). The corrupted institutions were allies of the white supremacists who allegedly held no remorse after the killing of a black child. Their smiles contrasted Emmett’s face, which was disfigured:

‘Twas down in Mississippi not so long ago
When a young boy from Chicago town stepped through a Southern door
This boy’s dreadful tragedy I can still remember well
The color of his skin was black and his name was Emmett Till.
I saw the morning papers but I could not bear to see
The smiling brothers walkin’ down the courthouse stairs

For the jury found them innocent and the brothers they went free
While Emmett's body floats the foam of a Jim Crow southern sea. (Dylan "The Death of Emmett Till")

Dylan, in an interview in 1963, urged more people to remember Emmett's death and condemned those who would not feel outraged and do something about it, "if you can't speak out against such a crime, then you might as well be dead" (Dylan in Dunlap 560). Others would follow suit and aided to place Till's figure at the core of the Civil Rights Movement, as Joan Baez's version of the murder. Dylan's subalterns were not only mistreated and/or murdered, but their suffering did not convey a proportionate judicial sentence against their aggressors.

Warren discussed in *Sounds of Social Change* that the primary goal of an artist was to stir their emotions, serving the purpose of exerting a lasting influence on the attitudes of individual group members after they leave the group (73). Dylan replied to Emmett's death, involving himself in the assessment of the events, which as Webb contended in Quintilian's discussion about *enargeia*, was an essential condition to cause a reaction in the audience: "[*enargeia*] grows out of a broader discussion of emotion and is introduced as a means to an end. The use of visualization is first introduced as a means of ensuring that the speaker is appropriately involved in the version of events he is presenting. For, Quintilian claims, in order to move an audience, the speaker must himself be moved" (Webb 100). His involvement helped to cement the collective consciousness against the pro-segregation movement and the hope for more political action that would cease Black Americans' second-class citizens status.

In 1963's "Oxford Town," Dylan told the story of James Meredith, the first Black American who sought to attend college at Ole Miss University, in Oxford, Mississippi. Marqusee recollected the importance of Meredith's rejection in his *Chimes of Freedom* (67); the Governor, Ross Barnett, decided to block Meredith's entry, not as a consequence of insufficient academic

achievements, but due to his skin color. The Kennedys intervened, sending federal agents to protect Meredith against the white supremacists, who were encouraged by the media and the governor himself, to block Meredith's education seeking. Police in Oxford town were permissive to the white protestors, and Kennedy was forced to send 23,000 troops, three times Oxford's population:

He went down to Oxford Town
Guns and clubs followed him down
All because his face was brown
Better get away from Oxford Town (Dylan "Oxford Town")

The September 1962 riot then led to two deaths and several people were injured. Dylan urged the people to be away from Oxford and detach themselves from any racist place like it. That was not the right place for the subalterns due to Mississippi's segregation fight. His ironic "somebody better investigate soon" pointed out the lack of support from law enforcement in any race related crime:

Oxford Town in the afternoon
Everybody singing a sorrowful tune
Two men died beneath the Mississippi moon
Somebody better investigate soon. (Dylan)

The Ole Miss riot from September 1962 caused an uproar within the ruling bloc and a counterhegemonic plea led by Civil Rights leader Medgar Evers. Evers combated in World War II but realized (as Dylan's "John Brown") that, regardless of his heroic actions, he was still an outcast when he returned to the USA,²⁸ which underscored the need to constitute an American counterhegemonic bloc that would challenge the present segregationist system. Evers took part in the investigation of Emmett Till's death and was himself denied admission to Ole Miss in 1954 before becoming a Civil Rights leader. Evers' murder in June 1963 shook up the nation. Dylan wrote "Only a Pawn in their game" and performed it at a voter registration rally in July in

²⁸ A narrative Dylan will delve more into in his 1973 "The Ballad of Ira Hayes."

Greenwood, Mississippi, a month after Evers' death; the song was also sung during Martin Luther King's March in Washington in August 1963, highlighting his role as a chronicler:

Today, Medgar Evers was buried from the bullet he caught
They lowered him down as a king
But when the shadowy sun sets on the one
That fired the gun
He'll see by his grave
On the stone that remains
Carved next to his name
His epitaph plain
Only a pawn in their game. (Dylan "Only a Pawn in Their Game")

Instead of Evers himself, the emphasis of the song was on Evers' assassin, Byron De La Beckwith. However, Dylan did not mention his name during the song. It accentuates the fact that the killer could have been anyone who is part of the dominant class that is at the same time dominated by a hegemonic discourse within the superstructure. The pawns are the opening pieces that are usually sacrificed in chess, so Dylan blamed the State and Ideological Apparatuses of the State, using Althusser's terminology,²⁹ which systematically creates "pawns in their game."

In contrast to Evers' courage, Dylan stressed that the murderer did not have the courage to look at the victim's face: "The man who killed Medgar Evers was only a pawn in the hands of those who kill and take advantage of the poor in the South by inciting hatred of blacks among whites" (Margotin 96). Evers died as a leader, instead of a follower. Thus, Dylan regarded Evers as a "king" with a name because he defended a cause he believed in. Dylan urged people to act, stressing civil society's responsibility for their actions, whether perpetrators or victims.

Another well-known song about Evers' murder, Nina Simone's 1964 "Mississippi Goddamn," whose performance increased her popularity from the Greenwich Village scene to becoming a national phenomenon, combined Medgar Evers' assassination and other racist attacks

²⁹ "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)." *The anthropology of the state: A reader* 9.1 2006, pp. 86-98.

in the Southern States. Simone pointed out Black Americans' historical domestication and naivety as a result of their religious views:

They try to say it's a communist plot
All I want is equality
For my sister my brother my people and me
Yes you lied to me all these years
You told me to wash and clean my ears
And talk real fine just like a lady
And you'd stop calling me Sister Sadie
Oh but this whole country is full of lies
You're all gonna die and die like flies
I don't trust you anymore. (Simone)

Both Dylan and Simone saw Evers' assassination as a systemic problem; Dylan blamed the dominant ideology and the whites who decide to be pawns in the bigger game. Simone criticized the passive stance and 'whitening' of Black Americans. Simone directed her message to the Black American population and asked them to act by any means necessary, aligning herself with Malcolm X's approach toward racial equality in contrast to Martin Luther King's non-violent demonstrations.

Dylan also presented the story of Hattie Carroll's death. Carroll was a maid in the kitchen of William Zantzinger, a young heir of a tobacco plantation in Maryland. Zantzinger violently assaulted workers at Emerson Hotel, in Baltimore, where he killed black barmaid Hattie Carroll while drunk because she was too slow at serving him a glass of bourbon. The sentence was delivered the same day Martin Luther King delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech, a \$125 fine, and six months imprisonment in county jail. Dylan argued that "who wouldn't be offended by some guy beating an old woman to death and just getting a slap on the wrist?" (Hilburn). In less than six minutes, he delivered a scathing indictment of early 1960s America, condemning the leniency of judges toward white defendants (Margotin 103). Zantzinger killed Carroll for no apparent reason, and the most effective characteristic of Dylan's "The Lonesome Death of Hattie

Carroll” was that he never mentioned the race of either Hattie Carroll or Zantzinger’s (Gezari 491). The listener/reader took for granted the racial counter position between the two, as the house cleaner was described practically as a slave. The story of Hattie Carroll enlightened the real circumstances of Black Americans in the USA; they were not slaves anymore, but racial injustices were still present in America: “She was fifty-one years old and gave birth to ten children/ Who carried the dishes and took out the garbage/ And never sat once at the head of the table” (Dylan “The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll”). Zantzinger did not kill Carroll because she was an activist like Evers, but rather because he *could* (Taylor and Israelson 100). Thus, the greatest difference between Zantzinger and De la Beckwith was that Zantzinger’s conduct was unpardonable, while the latter was both a perpetrator and victim, driven by pure ignorance. The murder of Hattie Carroll, an outcast who had to live in subalternity, also represented the anonymous lives of other black women who were the help and maids of wealthy white people. Dylan slammed the judiciary system. He pointed out, once again, to the corruption of institutions. The description of the trial, suggesting what should have happened, but did not happen, defended the notion that justice treats the ones on top, the rich ones with power, differently than the ones at the bottom of the societal pyramid.

In the courtroom of honor, the judge pounded his gavel,
To show that all's equal and that the courts are on the level
And that the strings in the books ain't pulled and persuaded,
And that even the nobles get properly handled
Once that the cops have chased after and caught 'em,
And that the ladder of law has no top and no bottom. (Dylan)

As Gamble contended in his analysis of Dylan’s political approach (25), Dylan became increasingly pessimistic about political and civil society, even the folk movement itself. Dylan's innate anti-authoritarian streak and Emersonian roots made him a strong critic of advances in Modern America, but the growing dislocation caused by the assassination of President Kennedy,

the race riots, and, above all, the Vietnam War, changed his perspective from wanting a moral reform and the cleansing of his society to despairing that this society was even reformable, as expressed in the next decade in his 1975 “Hurricane”:

In the courtroom of honor, the judge pounded his gavel
To show that all's equal and that the courts are on the level
And that the strings in the books ain't pulled and persuaded
And that even the nobles get properly handled
And that the ladder of law has no top and no bottom. (Dylan “Hurricane”)

During the years Muhammad Ali, Joe Frazier, and George Foreman were fighting and becoming the heavyweight champions, Dylan chose to sing about Rubin Carter’s life and supported him. His “Hurricane” reinforced his distrust of judicial institutions and denounced Black Americans were not part of the integral State. Although Dylan wrote the song after the signature of the Civil Rights Act and his decision to break away from the folk movement in 1965, the inclusion of the white supremacy and the corruption of institutions denoted “Hurricane” as a protest song, whether Dylan portrayed himself as a protest singer or not. Nonetheless, the protest song, by its characteristics, looks backward in suggesting transformation (Williams 383). Carter was a boxer, a middleweight black champion. An outcast who, since childhood, had to survive in the streets fighting gangs. There was a triple murderer in Paterson, New Jersey, a racial community; Carter and a friend were trialed and convicted to prison after a questionable investigation. Dylan read Rubin Carter’s autobiography in 1975 and decided to interview with him in prison. He realized the apparatuses of the State (police, court) were made up of white people. They deprived Carter of the possibility of becoming a hero like Jack Johnson, an outcast who successfully beat “great white hopes” in the ring (Roberts 68). Dylan’s focus was on an alternative past, arguing the dominant hegemony deprived Carter of the opportunity to fulfill his goal to become a champion:

Here comes the story of the Hurricane
The man the authorities came to blame

For something that he never done
Put in a prison cell, but one time he could-a been
The champion of the world. (Dylan "Hurricane")

According to Williams, Dylan told the story of Carter in the role of a social commentator (379). The American Dream was repeatedly denied to Black Americans, who were filling the jails in the United States. Dylan argued that the true criminals were in the streets wearing suits and spending their money in fancy drinks: "Now all the criminals in their coats and their ties / Are free to drink martinis and watch the sun rise" (Dylan "Hurricane"). Nonetheless, the imprisonment of Carter arguably dealt as much with a racial political indictment as it did with the explicit constrain of an individual. Dylan also targeted anyone who, whether white or black, ostracized and blamed Carter:

To the white folks who watched he was a revolutionary bum
And to the black folks he was just a crazy nigga
No one doubted that he pulled the trigger
And though they could not produce the gun
The D.A. said he was the one who did the deed
And the all-white jury agreed.

The vivid language Dylan used in his recount of the Southern racial issues, made it possible to penetrate the listeners' minds through his account of facts. As Webb emphasized (98), *enargeia* comes from the deepest recesses of the speaker's mind and has a powerful effect on the listener. Therefore, the judge, or in this case, the audience, must not only feel as if he or she is hearing the facts of the case, but also as if he or she can see the events unfolding before his eyes. This exhibit is insufficient by itself. When an orator successfully combines both *phantasia* and factual arguments, he or she is essentially 'invincible'. Dylan's combination of facts and *phantasia* differed from his predecessors both in its form and its content. Repetition and catchy lyrics were part of the songs that shaped the 60s generation, as the Almanac Singers, who "described the structure of their songs as saying the truth as simply as you can and repeat it as many times as it

has to be repeated” (Denisoff *Folk Music American Left* 437). However, another composing style, boosted by the Beat Generation and the success of the French New Song, gained prominence in the 60s and 70s, the structures of those songs were “patterned after the lyric poem: long, meandering, and non-repetitive” (Denisoff *GDC* 186). Unlike their predecessors, some of the 60s revivalists displayed the lack of community and individualism typically associated with mass media, of which many of them were members; Phil Ochs and Bob Dylan were contemptuous of audience participation, and the structure of their songs precluded it, so their political appearances were not comparable to those of the Almanac Singers. Although Dylan and Phil Ochs were the two main representatives of that renewed lyrical and performative style within the folk scene, it was Dylan’s balance between the ‘old folk’ and the new that ended up gaining more traction on folk audiences and their search for a leader. Dylan’s rhetoric described and questioned events in poetic yet repetitive tropes that contrasted with Ochs’ rare use of repetitive lines. Ochs greatest moment coincided with his 1968 performance during The Democratic National Convention in Chicago and, particularly, the zealous event that accompanied him when he sang and exhibited recognizable chorus lines from his “I ain’t marching anymore,”³⁰ in which Ochs combined the use of repetitive lines with longwinded ones, which contrasted his less popular “Talking Vietnam,” in which Ochs posited an injustice without a repetitive chorus, and presented his anti-war stance in absolutes and more specificity than Dylan’s open to interpretation “Blowin’ in the Wind”:

Well training is the word we use
Nice word to have in case we lose
Training a million Vietnamese
To fight for the wrong government and the American way. (Ochs in Waters 45)

³⁰ It's always the old to lead us to the wars
Always the young to fall
Now look at what we've won with a saber and a gun
Tell me is it worth it all?

We could also highlight the story of James Meredith as an example of the difference between Ochs and Dylan's approaches. Dylan wrote the song as a response to a request from *Broadside* magazine, which asked songwriters to react to James Meredith's rejection to University of Mississippi's campus. Unlike Phil Ochs' submission, "Ballad of Oxford, Mississippi" ("I'll sing you a song about a southern town where the devil had his rule/ When Marshalls faced an angry mob to send one man to school/ His name was Jimmy Meredith"), Dylan's "Oxford Town," as previously mentioned, never alluded to Governor Barnett or James Meredith himself. In the interview with Studs Terkel in 1963, he claimed that "it deals with the Meredith case, but then again it doesn't... Music, my writing, is something special, not sacred..." (Margotin 68). The orator who can generate deep emotions and transport the audience through vivid images, as Stavru pointed out in his analysis of Longinus' rhetoric, will become an *euphantasiotos*:

Emotion is not in our own power. We rightly call *visiones* what the Greeks call *phantasiai*, and it is through those images of absent things are represented to the mind in such a way that we seem to see them with our eyes as if they were present, and whoever will be in control of them will have the greatest power over the affections. Some people say that he who can imagine in himself things, voices and deeds well and in accordance with truth is *euphantasiotos* [good in summoning up *phantasiai*]. (Stavru 151)

The term *phantasia* is commonly used to describe any type of thought that stimulates the production of speech; however, the term has also come to be used when, under the influence of enthusiasm and affection, a speaker believes he or she is seeing what they are speaking about and presenting it to the audience. In poetry, the objective is to astonish, whereas, in speech, the objective is to be vivid. This type of emotional visualization affects not only the process of conveying rhetorical and poetic content through words, but also the process of acquiring that content upon hearing the words. In both poetry and rhetoric, enthusiasm and pathos produce a visual effect, albeit with distinct outcomes. In poetry, emotional imagery produces awe; in rhetoric, vividness produces awe (Stavru 150-151). Therefore, Dylan's lyrics and proto-mass

euphantasiotos role, “who is as skilled in the *ars* of *enargeia* as in the *ars* of *actio* and can transport imaginative presence into actional presence” (Plett 33), is inscribed within a classical rhetorical theory that focused on tropes that enhance vivid imagination and allowed Dylan –and many other Spanish songwriters– to transmit the necessary *enargeia* that encouraged their followers to challenge dominant ideologies. Thus, Dylan’s peculiar ability to refer at the same time (through the use of *enargeia*) to specific events and ambiguous instances that forced the listener to take responsibility for his or her actions, set the bar for many songwriters in the USA and Spain.

“Blowin’ in the Wind” is perhaps the most widespread representation of Dylan’s *enargeia*, a culmination of images that bring dreamy-like illusory into the very presence of the audience; as Margotin discussed (50-53), “the title became an anthem of hope and peace and marked a huge leap in Dylan’s songwriting career. In listening to ‘Blowin’ in the Wind’, there is a profound spirituality—a philosophical spirituality, since with Dylan the power of spirit will always be more important than material or religious spirituality.” Dylan wrote the song in a coffee shop in Greenwich Village in 1962, where he “discusses the archetypal images of protest songs: equality, persecution, racism, violence, indifference, selfishness –universal themes that resonated in 1962 amid the Cold War and the struggle for the recognition, of civil rights.” “Blowin in the wind” is an abstract song open to interpretation, full of questions and no answers, denoted that physical and metaphysical movements leads to questions. There is a causality behind the lyrics that is up to the audience to decide, placing the agency on each member of the audience. Moreover, as Dettmar put it, “these startling and surreal images challenge listeners to see what he means, even if the meaning is constantly abstracted and kept at a distance:”³¹

How many roads must a man walk down
Before you call him a man?

³¹ Dettmar, Kevin JH, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Bob Dylan*. (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 127-128.

How many seas must a white dove sail
Before she sleeps in the sand?
Yes, and how many times must the cannonballs fly
Before they're forever banned? (Dylan "Blowin' in the Wind")

Bob Dylan stated that "it was not a protest song and added that he did not write protest material" (Taylor and Israelson 58). In an interview in 1962, Dylan rejected the possibility of a simple concrete answer to his question: "Too many of these hip people are telling me where the answer is but oh I won't believe that," Dylan continued in 1962. "I still say it's in the wind and just like a restless piece of paper it's got to come down some... But the only trouble is that no one picks up the answer when it comes down so not too many people get to see and know... and then it flies away."³² However, many Americans adopted it as their political anthem. Mass media and public opinion—including the increasingly popular Folk Movement—classified the song as a protest song, opposing Dylan's directives.

Some Dylan scholars argued that the rise of the song as a commercial success had more to do, due to the strengthening of the Civil Rights Movement, with the historical conditions in which it was released: "'Blowin in the wind' was an anthem of the 1960s and would have had a slim chance of success in any other era... the song belonged to a simpler time and would not have been as well received later" (Dettmar 59); although its historical conditions shaped its 'aura', to put it in Walter Benjamin's terms, its message transcends them. As Richard Thomas argued, "the song is still urgent in its questions, but it can't, couldn't ever, be attached to any one historical event or condition" (Thomas 28). It is in its performative action that we find the song's essence along with the communal adherence to its abstract and yet distinct anti-war meaning. Its *enargeia* compensated "for the disadvantage of the ear as opposed to the eye, which as the highest of the

³² Bob Dylan's comments in *Sing Out!* magazine, June 1962

senses has direct perceptual access to reality. The *enargeia* of the representation eliminates this deficit by projecting the absent optical visibility into a self-constructed visibility of the imagination” (Plett 196). The poet/songwriter is best equipped to create *enargeia* and transmit sensorial images is the performer, as he or is she is able to place him or herself in front of the audience and articulate those mental images beyond the written text. Although literature, whether fictional or not, aims to describe events on limitless subjects, in the rhetoric of social poetry, gifted songwriters hold a favorable position in order to convince larger cohorts than traditional poets who put their lyrical protests on a piece of paper.

Dylan first performed the song in Gerde’s café, a venue in Greenwich Village, the place where Joan Baez first saw Dylan, back in 1961.³³ It is also the venue where Robert Shelton, a well-known music critic, first heard Dylan playing in 1961 and wrote a glowing review of his performance in the *New York Times*, which led to Dylan signing a contract with Columbia Records. Both Cantwell and Denisoff, argued that the song’s greatest ‘ritualistic’ moment was the Newport Festival in 1963, where Dylan sang it along fellow folk singers like Pete Seeger and Joan Baez: “The festival ended appropriately; the Freedom Singers linked arms with Peter, Paul, and Mary, Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, and Pete Seeger, all swaying together and singing ‘Blowin in the Wind’ and ‘We Shall Overcome’ [...] The Civil Rights movement, in need of white northern allies, found some. Topical song writers found a ‘cause’” (Denisoff *GDC* 178). That communal representation of protest singing informed Spanish songwriters, who would understand the folk movement and Dylan’s song as successful counterhegemonic elements to emulate: “Blowin’ in the Wind” was a defining song for an entire generation of young Catalans. It is difficult to pinpoint the degree to

³³ For more information on Dylan’s first steps in New York, read Hajdu, David. *Positively 4th Street: The Lives and times of Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Mimi Baez Fariña, and Richard Fariña*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001.

which ‘the wind’ as a trope in Bob Dylan's song can subconsciously or consciously influence other authors around the world.

In reality, the wind as a trope is too universal to be attributed to a specific individual. The metaphor of the wind in the song of the North American author, its theme, and its humanist and existentialist protagonist all contribute to the meaning of “in the wind,” which interprets the wind as a factor of vital uncertainty (Pardo Ayuso 216-222). Some of the most successful songs of the Spanish folk movement had the “wind” or a related element at their lyrical core. “The Wind” is a natural free element itself, everchanging and never static. It connected the Spanish counterhegemonic bloc with Raimon’s 1959 “Al Vent” and Spanish social poets, like Miguel Hernández, whom Paco Ibáñez versioned and popularized in the 60s. “The wind” became a symbol of courage and against surrender. The use of the metaphor by Spanish songwriters, as Pardo Ayuso analyzed in his analysis of the Catalanian Nova Cançó,³⁴ may sometimes have responded to a purely ornamental or stylistic intention, in line with the poetic function of language, but in most cases, their function was didactic and instrumental, often a particularly useful resource, such as avoiding censorship. When the metaphor has a basic didactic function, it becomes a creative resource that enriches and reinforces the message. It makes the message more understandable while metaphors that are used in it are potentially part of the collective unconscious.

Among the various authors within the Spanish protest song scene, some are more likely than others to use metaphor as a resource. Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, and others were the sources from which some authors of the Nova Cançó found inspiration, either indirectly or through personal interaction, as was the case of Raimon and Xesco Boix. Raimon achieved to record his 1959 single in 1963 (as Dylan’s “Blowin’ in the Wind”) and became a generational anthem, a

³⁴ Pardo Ayuso, Antoni. *El discurs de resistència i de combat en la Nova Cançó. Anàlisi de les estratègies retòriques*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015.

rebellion against dictatorship: “‘Al Vent’ merely told of the freedom of the wind to move about freely, and at Raimon’s concerts, audiences often sang it for him, to outwit censorship” (Kutschke and Norton 126). According to González Lucini (vol.1 54), the song’s success relied on the universality of its lyrics (as Dylan’s), which Raimon wrote spontaneously (Dylan wrote “Blowin’ in the Wind” in under 10 minutes) and out of intimacy. Raimon became an *euphantasiotos* and precursor of the *Nova Cançó* movement, which was “an open and intercultural artistic manifestation” since it was written in Catalan but shared the feelings of the rest of the Spanish counterhegemonic discourse. Although Raimon wrote “Al Vent” in Catalan, its topical vivid images made it possible for foreigners to understand its meaning. It was the message that mattered. González Lucini himself recalled the first time he heard “Al Vent” in 1963; he could not understand the detailed lyrics, but it caused him a great impact and felt in communion with it:

Aquella primera audición me causó un gran impacto: la música y la voz de Raimon consiguieron remover mi sensibilidad; era cierto que no lograba entender al detalle lo que me decía, pero no me importaba: yo me sentía, no sé muy bien cómo, en total comunión con sus sentimientos. Después, me interesé por la traducción del texto de la canción, pero sólo después; antes, la voz de Raimon y su música ya habían logrado prenderme [...], me hizo sentirme enriquecido al escuchar mis propios latidos reflejados en otra voz y en una lengua diferente.³⁵ (Vol.1 55-56)

The song followed the repetitive structure of his American counterparts, like Seeger, with whom Raimon developed a friendship, and who wrote the liner notes of Raimon’s 1971 album *Raimon: Catalanian Protest Songs*: “Censors, in every corner of this world, tend to be shallow, literal-minded people. Raimon is a poet. There is no need to say more” (Seeger). Through Seeger, the Smithsonian disseminated Raimon’s music, since the album was entirely sung in Catalan but

³⁵ That first audition had a big impact on me: Raimon’s music and voice managed to stir my sensibility; It was true that I could not understand in detail what he was saying to me, but I did not care: I felt, I do not know very well how, in total communion with his feelings. Later, I became interested in translating the lyrics to the song, but only later; before, Raimon’s voice and his music had already caught my eye [...], it made me feel enriched to hear my own heartbeat reflected in another voice and in a different language.

contained the English translations for each song. Dylan's song could not be understood in Spain either, but it found a point of entry in their common use of 'the wind' as a trope and the unionizing success it had in the USA.

In Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* (245), the author argued that the dominant hegemony determines civil society and their acceptable cultural practices through non-coercive methods. The ruling bloc, Francoist ideology, decided what kind of practices were acceptable within civil society, including language and history, as part of the dominant ideological discourse. Gramsci argued that before any change occurs, first it is necessary to deconstruct the ideological conflicts. During times of economic and social struggle, there was an open window for the subalterns (working-class or those without any power or voice in society) to organize a resistance that aims to reverse the status quo. The Nova Cançó members were familiar with Gramsci's work, as Gámez Olalla discussed (263) in his *Al Vent, Crònica d'una nova cançó*, and Raimon mentioned repeatedly Gramsci's influence and even included his concept of subalternity in a song, his "Jo Vinc d'un Silence" (1977), which he composed after Franco's death in 1975. Raimon alluded directly to "*classes subalterns*," the fact that subalterns lacked a voice, were silent for a long time, controlled by the ruling blocs which constrained their emancipation.

Jo vinc d'un silence
Antic i molt llarg,
De gent que va alçant-se
Des del fons dels segles,
De gent que anomenen
Classes subalternes,
Jo vinc d'un silence
Antic i molt llarg.
.....
Jo vinc d'una lluita
Que és sorda i constant,
Jo vinc d'un silence
Que romprà la gent
Que ara vol ser lliure

I estima la vida,
Que exigeix les coses
Que li han negat.³⁶ (Raimon “Jo Vinc’ D’un Silence”)

The concept of subalternity is the subjugation of the self to both the economic means of production and the different ideological discourses that for centuries relinquish certain collectives and individuals to a position of subalternity. Thus, Francoism was an ideological stance that existed before Franco, since the name itself was a label based on a public figure who was the visible leader. However, that ideological stance became the ruling bloc and the official hegemonic discourse after the Civil War. So, Raimon’s defense of a revolt of the subalterns found its goal on the democratic vision of representation of a majority, in contrast to past Feudalist and autocratic approaches. The hope for freedom is what Spanish subalterns felt when they listened to Dylan’s “Blowin’ in the Wind” or Raimon’s “Al Vent.” The bellicose imagery behind the song (“How many cannons...”) reinforced the Anti-war movement that led to a peaceful transition to the elongated dream of democracy in which the broad Spanish civil and political society engaged in the 70s.

³⁶ I come from a silence
Old and very long,
Of people who rise up
Since the turn of the centuries,
From people we call
subaltern classes,
I come from a silence
Old and very long.
I come from a struggle
That is deaf and constant,
I come from a silence
That will break people
Who now wants to be free
And love life,
People demand things
That they have denied them.

If the answer was “blowin’ in the wind,” the arrival of new social songwriters in *euphantasiotos* roles and their transatlantic cooperation, aided to collectivize a subversive consciousness that could topple Franco and his followers through vivid images that overcame language barriers.

CHAPTER 3: FROM MACHADO TO THE NOVA CANÇÓ

“Lyrics, minus music, are poems or editorials whereas music minus words merely is a state of feeling. A Song ties these two ingredients into a new form” (Denisoff *Solid Gold* 422-423).

Poetry cannot be neutral

The end of World War II challenged the French and American 19th Century paradoxically ideological *l'art pour l'art*, in which the poem itself must be ideologically free, the sublime was to be found in the aesthetics of a poem. In Spain, a predominantly practicing Christian community, where children were educated in the principles of the Catholic Church, many poets faced existential questions after the war. The Nationalists, Franco's followers, focused on the metaphysical world (De Muñoz ch.4). Their most common topics were devotion, dead heroes, eternity, fatherland; lyrical content which differed from those of the Loyalists. The Loyalists from the Generation of '36 inherited Machado's concept of 'the two Spains.' They understood the political situation as the main culprit of their sorrow due to the ruling bloc's repression. Those poets showed in their verses and philosophy their own existentialism and the desolation of their fellow countrymen. Their intended audience were the *vencidos* and their international advocates. The poems written immediately post-Civil War had a defeated tone, trying to make sense of the atrocities that Francoists carried out and, more importantly, the conflict itself, which tore Spain apart.

Machado's 'Two Spains' pondered on the *vencedores* (winners) and the *vencidos* (defeated). The poet urged God to save the newborn children who are born under the deteriorating conditions of his nation. Joan Manuel Serrat dedicated his 1969 album to Machado, *Dedicado a*

Antonio Machado, Poeta, putting some of his verses into music and drawing attention to Machado's social and existential poems to a broader audience:

Ya hay un español que quiere
vivir y a vivir empieza,
entre una España que muere
y otra España que bosteza.
Españolito que vienes
al mundo te guarde Dios.
una de las dos Españas
ha de helarte el corazón.³⁷

Although many poems had a tone of despair and bitter surrender, dominated by existentialism, the initial shock of the war made path to the proliferation of poets who focused on vindicating the values of the Republic. Blas de Otero and his search for a deeper understanding on the relation of God and human beings in a post-bellicose context, ended up praising 'el hombre' for his resilience in his 1958 "Canto primero:"

Definitivamente, cantaré para el hombre.
Algún día –después–, alguna noche,
me oirán. Hoy van –vamos– sin rumbo,
sordos de sed, famélicos de oscuro.
Yo os traigo un alba, hermanos. Surto un agua,
eterna no, parada ante la casa.
Salid a ver. Venid. Bebed. Dejadme
que os unja de agua y luz, bajo la carne
De golpe, han muerto veintitrés millones
de cuerpos. Sobre Dios saltan de golpe
-sorda, sola trinchera de la muerte-
con el alma en la mano, entre los dientes,
el ansia. Sin saber por qué, mataban;
muerte son, sólo muerte. Entre alambradas

³⁷ There is already a Spaniard who wants to
living and living begins,
among a dying Spain
and another Spain that yawns.
Little Spanish you're coming
God save you from the world.
one of the two Spains
your heart must freeze

de infinito, sin sangre. Son hermanos
nuestros. Vengadlos, sin piedad, ¡vengadlos!³⁸

Blas de Otero encouraged others to avenge those who had fallen *mercilessly*, a difficult position for a devoted Christian. Out of his existential struggle, he wrote his 1955 *Pido la paz y la palabra*, a book that defended words and, therefore, poems, as instruments of change. His book coincided in time with Gabriel Celaya's *Cantos Íberos*. Celaya's poem "La poesía es un arma cargada de futuro" accentuated the defiant attributes of his poetry: "Hago más las faltas. Siento en mí a cuantos sufren/ y canto respirando. / Canto, y canto, y cantando más allá de mis penas/ personales, me ensancho."³⁹ He argued that his words belonged to the subalterns who were suffering, writing poems allowed Celaya to metaphorically widen himself ("me ensancho") and equate himself to the sorrow of those who are more affected by the Francoist discourse. Moreover, Gabriel Celaya, as Blas de Otero, claimed that words were the most necessary since they united the *vencidos* behind a commonality: they were all subalterns. Thus, poetry encouraged the subalterns to take actions as a collective since their sorrow transcended their own individual situations:

³⁸ I will definitely sing for the man.
Someday, someday, someday,
they will hear me. Today they go - we go - without direction,
deaf with thirst, hungry with darkness.
I bring you a dawn, brothers. I get water,
eternal no, stop in front of the house.
Go out and see. Come on. Drink. Leave me alone
that anoints you with water and light, under the flesh
Suddenly, twenty-three million died
of bodies. They suddenly jump on God
-deaf, only trench of death-
with the soul in his hand, he grits his teeth
the anxiety. Without knowing why, they killed;
they are death, only death. Between wires
of infinity, without blood. They are brothers
ours. Avenge them, mercilessly, avenge them!

³⁹I make mistakes. I feel in myself those who suffer / and I sing breathing. I sing, and I sing/ and singing beyond my personal sorrows, I widen

Son palabras que todos repetimos sintiendo como nuestras,
y vuelan.
Son más que lo mentado.
Son lo más necesario: lo que tiene nombre.
Son gritos en el cielo, y en la tierra, son actos.⁴⁰

The goal of *phantasia* in rhetoric is *enargeia*, while the goal of *phantasia* in poetry is astonishment (Webb 101). Likewise, contrarian to the art for art's sake perspective, Gabriel Celaya defended that poems value do not rely on their potential eternity and adulation. Poetry is a tool for change and cannot be an end in itself. It can both produce *enargeia* and astonishment. The notion of authorial eternity is a narcissistic stance toward poetry that put too much emphasis on poetry itself; Poetry must be one of many tools, albeit a powerful one, to achieve social change:

Cantemos como quien respira. Hablemos de lo que cada día nos ocupa. No hagamos poesía como quien se va al quinto cielo o como quien posa para la posteridad. La poesía no es (no puede ser) intemporal o, como suele decirse un poco alegremente, eterna. Hay que apostar al “ahora o nunca”. [...] “La poesía no es un fin en sí. La poesía es un instrumento, entre otros, para transformar el mundo. No busca una posteridad de admiradores. Busca un porvenir en el que, consumada, dejará de ser lo que hoy es.”⁴¹

The poem is more valuable than the poet since it cannot represent one writer but all writers that came before him or her. Poetry cannot be neutral as it is the responsibility of any author to express humanity beyond individual intricacies, so the focus should be on ordinary societal issues: “La Poesía no es neutral. Ningún hombre puede ser hoy neutral. Y un poeta es por de pronto un hombre.” [...] La poesía es “un modo de hablar”. Pero expresar no es dejar ahí, proyectada en un objeto fijo (poema o libro), la propia intimidad. No es convertir en “una

⁴⁰ These are words we all repeat feeling / like ours, and they fly. They are more than mentioned. / They are the most necessary: what has a name. / They are cries in heaven, and on earth, they are acts.

⁴¹ Let's sing like one who breathes. Let's talk about what concerns us every day. Let us not make poetry as one who goes to the fifth heaven or as one who poses for posterity. Poetry is not (cannot be) timeless or, as they say a little happily, eternal. You have to bet on “now or never.” [...] “Poetry is not an end in itself. Poetry is an instrument, among others, to transform the world. It does not seek a posterity of admirers. It seeks a future in which, consummated, it will cease to be what it is today.

interioridad, sino dirigirse a otro a través de la cosa-poema o la cosa-libro”⁴² (Celaya *Antología*). Thus, in Celaya’s perspective, the poet is merely a conveyor of words that do not belong to him or her. A vehicle. According to Meijering (71-72), poets have more freedom than orators because they can ‘place before the eyes’ scenes that are fantastic and impossible in the real world as well as scenes that are realistic. Orators must shape and control both the subject matter and its presentation, subordinating it to the specific requirements of the speech, whereas poets need only captivate the audience. The topos of rhetorical *enargeia* must resemble the truth. In this way, rhetorical visualization has the connotations of direct perception present in the root sense of the term *enargeia*: they are at least close to the world that is the object of this perception.

However, this proximity is only relative when compared to the fictional subjects of poetic *phantasia*. Celaya celebrated the contemporary poets who did not write for a minority, since the times had changed, and literacy rose among new working-class generations. Celaya argued that it was time to focus the lyrical content on new receptors, instead of the usual bourgeoisie. He claimed that poets must give a voice to those who do not have it, and also willingly defended those poets could represent their struggles in the arts. In his “Poesía Eres Tú,” he criticized the previous generations who wrote for the ‘immense minority’, rather than focusing their reaching efforts to a silenced majority:

Nuestros hermanos mayores escribían para "la inmensa minoría". Pero hoy estamos ante un nuevo tipo de receptores expectantes. y nada me parece tan importante en la lírica reciente como ese desentenderse de las minorías y, siempre de espaldas a la pequeña burguesía semi-culta, ese buscar contacto con unas desatendidas capas sociales que golpean urgentemente nuestra conciencia llamando a vida. Los poetas deben prestar voz a

⁴² Poetry is not neutral. No man can be neutral today. And a poet is suddenly a man. "[...] Poetry is" a way of speaking. "But to express is not to leave there, projected on a fixed object (poem or book), one's own intimacy. It is not to become "thing" an interiority, but to address another through the thing-poem or the thing-book.

esa sorda demanda. En la medida en que lo hagan “crearán” su público, y algo más que un público.⁴³ (Celaya)

Celaya and Blas de Otero’s goal to reach a wider audience did not have as much traction among the populi, since reading was an individual activity and required an active choice from the reader to interpret the writer’s message. Moreover, reading did not possess the strong communal aspect through which musicians and their audiences interacted and supported one another. Nonetheless, Spanish social poets did inspire many of the songwriters that proliferated in Spain in the 60s and 70s and, sometimes, directly collaborated in their performances, as was the case of Paco Ibáñez and Rafael Alberti.

From Paco Ibáñez to the Americanization of Spain

Paco Ibáñez, ‘the father of the Spanish New Song’, who lived in Paris during his exile in the 1950s and 1960s, developed acquaintances with songwriters such as Leo Ferré, Jacques Brel, and, particularly, George Brassens, with whom he had a father and son like relationship (Domingo 260-261). According to Tinker (141-152), the French ‘Nouvelle Chanson’ had an effective mobilizing power in France, encouraging the 1968 protests in Paris through their social artwork, during the times of Sartre’s encouraging of social art, which French sociologist Pierre Bordieu defined as “the concept of artistic production subject to realism and political commitment, and art as communication” (Foucault and del Val 126). This genre, associated with an idealized portrayal of “the people” as opposed to “the masses,” served explicit intellectual and frequently political purposes. Spanish intellectual elites (students and so-called progressives or “lefties”) considered French music to be not only fashionable and chic but also ideologically resonant. This was not

⁴³ Our older brothers wrote for “the vast minority.” But today we are facing a new kind of expectant receivers. and nothing seems so important to me in recent lyric poetry as that disregard for minorities, and always with its back to the petty semi-cultured bourgeoisie, that seeking contact with neglected social strata that urgently strike our conscience calling for life. Poets must give voice to that deaf demand. To the extent that they do, they will “create” their audience, and more than just an audience

surprising, considering that France remained the foreign model par excellence in the first half of the 20th Century. According to Marc (122) in her analysis of “Transcultural Objects in Spanish Popular Music during Late Francoism,” France was the importer of novel products; if ye-ye girls were models to emulate, then Jacques Brel, George Brassens, and Léo Ferré were agents of cultural and political change to replicate.

In 1956, Paco Ibáñez, following Brassens’ example, who musicalized and reinterpreted Spanish and French poets, chose to sing poems from social poets like Miguel Hernández’s “Andaluces de Jaén” and Celaya’s aforementioned “La Poesía es un Arma Cargada de Futuro,” for his album *La Poesía Española De Ahora Y De Siempre*, released in 1968. Celaya claimed that Ibáñez was the singer who every poet dreams would sing his or her poems, with a tone and style that improved the original manuscript. He argued that Ibáñez adopted poems which he endorsed and felt as his own from beginning to end: “Paco es el músico con el que sueñan los poetas...Incorpora en su música y su voz a los poetas clásicos y contemporáneos que siente como propios, y los hace ser en él mismo más de lo que eran en sus textos. Se identifica con ellos y da a cada uno el tono y el estilo que le corresponden, aunque imprime en todos el sello de su inconfundible personalidad”⁴⁴ (González Lucini vol.1 46). Ibáñez interpreted Hernández’s “Andaluces de Jaén,” which encouraged laborers to rebel against the landlords or anyone else who preyed on their sweat with little reward for the laborers themselves. Hernández argued that for centuries Spanish people have been working the land, but they were not entitled to own the fields, always subjected to the landlords’ greed:

⁴⁴ Paco is the musician that poets dream of... He incorporates in his music and his voice the classical and contemporary poets that he feels as his own, and makes them be in himself more than they were in his texts. He identifies with them and gives each one the tone and style that correspond to him, although he imprints on them all the stamp of his unmistakable personality.

Cuántos siglos de aceituna
Los pies y las manos presos
Sol a sol y luna a luna
Pesán sobre nuestros huesos

Andaluces de Jaén,
aceituneros altivos,
pregunta mi alma: ¿de quién,
de quién son estos olivos?

Jaén, levántate brava
sobre tus piedras lunares,
no vayas a ser esclava
con todos tus olivares.⁴⁵

In the USA, Dylan's "Maggie's Farm"—his own version of the Bentley Brother's "Penny's Farm"—, which he released in 1965, satirically condemned laborers' conditions. Unlike The Bentley Brothers original version, which did not have any explicit rebellious action, but a description of an injustice, Dylan's song (as Ibáñez's) was a cry against conformity. While Ibáñez asked the *aceituneros* to raise their heads and claim their lands, Dylan personalized his rejection of labor exploitation through irony. Dylan's linguistic choices, as in many of his lyrics in the 60s, resembled that of his audiences or the fictional character of his stories. As Koozin argued in his analysis of Dylan's irony: "In Dylan's songs, all truths are qualified, even as he seeks transhistorical truths by evoking myth [...] Irony mediates between the idealized world of the artist, manifest in the play of musical structures and the web of intertextual references he evokes,

⁴⁵ How many centuries of olives
Imprisoned feet and hands
Sun to sun and moon to moon
They weigh on our bones
Andalusians of Jaén,
arrogant olive trees,
my soul asks: whose,
Whose are these olive trees?
Jaén, get up brave
on your moonstones,
don't be a slave
with all your olive groves.

and the alienating experiences of life in the real world” (74). His irony complemented the mocking expressions that exploiters – in this case Maggie’s brother – used when they asked if they were enjoying their impoverished labor conditions:

I ain’t gonna work for Maggie’s brother no more
No, I ain’t gonna work for Maggie’s brother no more
Well, he hands you a nickel
He hands you a dime
He asks you with a grin
If you’re havin’ a good time
Then he fines you every time you slam the door
I ain’t gonna work for Maggie’s brother no more.

The American elongated democratic administration and the American Dream, in line with the European economic growth, allowed American imagery to gradually replace the French hegemonic position: “The growing economic stability of Europe and the changing role of art in the ‘age of mechanical reproduction’, driven by innovations like audio cassette players, television, CD players, video recorders, and computers, opened up Europe to American pop culture” (Stephan 3). While the USA ascertained their cultural dominance in Europe via political and economic strategies that benefited its transatlantic exportation, in Spain the American neocapitalist approach was key to shape the national socialist framework: “U.S. culture entered Spain by commercial more than political channels” (Noyes 307). However, it is not as simple as dividing commercial and political influences, since the display of a foreign culture was a political choice that obeyed to an Anti-Communist mandate that united both nations. The Americanization of Europe was an irreversible phenomenon, particularly following the end of World War II and the creation of the Marshall Plan, even though Spain was the only European country that did not take part in the Marshall Plan. The commodification of culture therefore had an initial prominence in the Americanization process in the post-Marshall years.

As Ayats and Salicru-Matas exposed in their study of the Nova Cançó (28-42), the main cultural exporter in Spain was the Hollywood film industry. They dominated the market in Spain pre-Civil War and Post-Civil War, even though the Anglo-Saxon cultural supremacy over the French did not materialize until the 60s. During the Spanish Republic (1931-1933), Hollywood movies were very popular (Marx Brothers, Charles Chaplin) in Spanish cinemas. During Franco's first nine years (until 1945) in power, American cinema was still the most imported but experimented a high degree of censorship. Franco decreased the censorship after the Fall of the Axis in 1945, but his government's stability depended on the Church more than before. The Catholic Church aimed to impose even more explicit censorship, confronting Franco's government. The release of Charles Vidor's *Gilda* in 1947, led to protest demonstrations against Franco, whose leniency towards the Hollywood industry responded to a political stratagem. Franco's strategic position as the most anti-communist force in Western Europe, led to a political approximation with the USA and an ideological separation with the Church in 1962, after the Second Vatican Council. In fact, Eisenhower became the first head of State to visit Spain since the end of the Civil War, in 1959.

The growing economy in the 60s allowed a majority of Spanish to emulate the American discourse and replaced French as the dominant cultural force. Spain experienced spectacular economic growth alongside social and cultural change and apparently more liberal politics. In Marc's work on this Spanish period, known as *desarrollista*, maintained that American music was one of the main drivers to reshape the cultural hegemony. According to Marc (116), the vast exposure to Western mass culture and consumer society did not begin in earnest until the 1960s: movies, music, fashion, ideologies, and high art were primarily imported from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and Latin America. At that time, traditional Spain assimilated

these mass media products in various and sometimes contradictory ways. In fact, their very presence contributed significantly to socio-cultural change, and historians emphasize that Anglo-American popular music, in the various ways it entered Spain during the 1960s, played a crucial role in the formation of a new Spanish society and culture. Hence, Spanish artists who imitated American individuals found a place in the music market—which is a necessary condition for the emergence of a musical countercultural force—and emulated the aesthetics and organizational framework of the American folk songwriters who became popular: “The model of protest song and song authorship that developed in Spain takes as its main point of reference American folk singer-songwriters like Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Bob Dylan or Joan Baez” (Ayats and Salicrú-Maltas 28). With less than five hours of broadcasting per day, Spanish television was a small medium limited to the capital city of Madrid. Not until the mid-1960s did television achieve a level of significance comparable to radio. Initially, television programs imitated the structure of radio content, and the new medium devoted the majority of its broadcasts to entertainment and government-controlled information (Viñuela 179). As Marc argued, there were three main ways in which foreign music arrived in Spanish territory and connected with the audiences:

1. The listening to the original records, not considered as a simple or passive consumption but as a form of cultural localization, by which target audiences perceive them according to their own culture and to the vision offered by the national media (mediation); 2. The translation/adaptation of songs, characterized by the importance given to both music and lyrics, behind which lie an aesthetic interest and a commercial one: translating or adapting in order to reproduce the original success; and 3. The appropriation of imported musical styles and/or genres at various levels and according to different musical, cultural, and commercial strategies, which are subsequently incorporated and naturalized in the target culture. (118)

Translation/adaptation of songs was a widespread practice in the 1960s, not only in Spain but in non-Anglophone countries in general, and it played a significant role in the development of Spanish popular music scenes. Translation and stylistic appropriation were inextricably linked, as

if the latter were the natural consequence of the former, both responding, in the majority of cases at least, to the same impulse of imitating foreign musical styles and genres.

Stylistic emulation is a transcultural phenomenon when traveling songs and musical styles occupy a specific place in the target culture; they establish new connections with the works already constituting the local framework, which is then transformed by the new arrivals. From this perspective, transcultural music, regardless of its form, can play a variety of roles, ranging from the confirmation or consolidation of already existing doxa when the host culture is confident in itself – as in the case of ‘the wind’ as a popular metaphor through social poets and Raimon, prior to Dylan – to the innovation and creation of new aesthetic or ideological models when the target system is young or incomplete, as was the case with Spanish popular music in the 1960s, where the incorporation of individual stardom, music as a vehicle to persuade the subalterns, and the commodification of the art were in their infancy.

We do not have reliable data on how many foreign records were sold or how they were actually distributed in Spain, but as Marc (117) discussed in her analysis of Salaverri’s 2005 book on Spanish hits from 1959 to 1968, half of the number one EPs were foreign. From 1960, new musical styles gradually made headway thanks to radio broadcast Caravana Musical, conducted by Ángel Álvarez, who brought records directly from the US because he was a pilot for the national airline Iberia. Furthermore, radio stations emulated the American model and its famous *American Top 40* with the creation of *Los 40 Principales*. Therefore, the structure of the music diffusion medium, the radio, aimed to follow the commercially successful American model. It was the younger generations that consumed those new sounds, since the the previous generation “ignored 70 percent of the songs ‘consumed’ by the Spanish youth between 1965-1970 because these songs were in English” (117). Thus, the fact that young people embraced foreign lyrics was itself a

symbol of resistance against a Francoist regime that found itself in the controversial position of defending Castilian as the official language and, at the same time, opening its border to American ideology and remain a legitimate government in the eyes of the democratic international opinion. The rare invitations to some foreign bands to give performances in Spain also played a major role in the interest of the youngsters to consume records from outside their frontiers. Foreign bands, as the Beatles, who came to perform in Spain, were discredited by Franco's regime, so Spanish youngsters noticed the regime's fear to what they believed to be subversive music and shared with each other their records.

Raimon, Catalonia and the Nova Can

The regionalisms in Spain, whether in the South or North of the territory, had many commonalities with the American Folk Movement and their search for their identity through music. They all understood that the impossibility of developing as free subjects was due to the Francoist dictatorship, regardless of their language choice or strategic use of their regional languages. Francoist Pilar Primo de Rivera in a speech in 1939 proclaimed the intention to have language unity in Spain, Castilian: "When the Catalans can sing the songs of Castile, when all Castilians know the sardana and can play the *txistu*, when Andalusian *cante* shows all its depth and philosophy, when the songs of Galicia get to be known in Levante, when 50,000 or 60,000 voices raise to sing the same song, then we will be able to say that we have achieved unity among all men and lands in Spain" (Casero-Garcia 88). That kind of discourse affected the Spanish regions that spoke another language, but also Southern Spain, where their Andalusian accent was associated with a sign of illiteracy.

In Catalonia, songwriters initially followed the lead of the French Nouvelle Chanson, but later also included their American counterparts once the Folk Movement had a great mobilizing

power: “Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, and Bob Dylan quickly had an influence on the creativity of young Catalans” (Ayats and Salicrú-Maltas 37). In fact, Noyes argued that their imprint is still present in the lives of the 60s generation, proving to be a lyrical inspiration and also a lasting unionizing power: “Pete Seeger, and later Bob Dylan, provided models for the Nova Cançó that emerged in the 1960s, and today any nostalgic dinner of old student militants ends with the singing of such authentic Catalan classics as “Puf, el Drac Magic” over the cognac:

Amigos para siempre
Means you’ll always be my friend
Amics per sempre
Means a love that cannot end
Friends for life
Not just a summer or a spring
Amigos para siempre...” (Noyes 321)

Raimon’s 1959 aforementioned “Al Vent” was the predecessor of the Nova Cançó, an ode to freedom and life: “transformaba el viento en una metáfora de la vida y de la Libertad”⁴⁶ (González Lucini vol.1 53). Unlike Els Setze Jutges, a band he collaborated with, Raimon did not come from the bourgeoisie of Barcelona, but from the Valencian working class, and his musical references were part francophone part American, since according to Pardo Ayuso, “no matter how much some wanted to see some influence of Jacques Brel, [Raimon’s influences] were not in the French Chanson but rather in international folk. His personal friendship with the American Pete Seeger was not accidental or anecdotal” (46). Due to the theme and the essence of the message, Raimon’s 1964 “Di un Temps, d’un País” was an inspiration from Dylan’s “The Times They Are A-Changin’,” recorded just a year before. Bob Dylan composed “The Times They are A-Changin’” in 1963; the song as Margotin argued (82-85), “not only targeted baby boomers but listeners of all ages, from every class of society, and let them hear that it was up to them to create a new world

⁴⁶ It transformed the wind into a metaphor for life and freedom.

on the ashes of the old [...] It did not deal with any specific topic. The song instead expressed a feeling, a shared hope that the sixties would transform society.” It is a song that is closely tied to the 60s and the desire for a social and political renewal, becoming one of the most popular protest songs. Its lyrics called for inevitable action, as Marqusee contended (77-87), “The Times They are A-Changin’” was motivated by the conviction that right will ultimately triumph over might and that the tide of social justice was inevitable. The song's lyricism derived less from its assertion of collective invincibility than from the tender assurance of its vast, yet elementary ambitions. Dylan claimed a counterhegemonic bloc was to impose their beliefs, which differed greatly from those of the previous generation. Marqusee additionally claimed the song “blends arrogance with innocence, an individualist ethical appeal (‘lend a hand’) with faith in collective action, ambitious radicalism with liberal naïveté. In doing so it expresses the consciousness of its moment precisely” (87). Thus, the song’s acceptance relied on its warning to all American individuals who were not in favor of the counterhegemonic bloc to either change sides or surrender, while for the counterhegemonic bloc, the song offered them hopes of immediate change, of a near victory. A 1990 *Rolling Stone* review of Dylan’s West Point concert opened with the line: “Bob Dylan, it has been said was the person most responsible for ending the Vietnam War” (Marqusee 77). Social movements appropriated the song as theirs regardless of the fact that at no time during the 1960s did Dylan make a public statement opposing the Vietnam War or released a song that directly opposed it. Nonetheless, as Taylor and Israelson argued (61): “if the song had been released in 1974, and fans had grown accustomed to hearing it accompanying images of Nixon’s resignation and ongoing violence in Southeast Asia, it would also seem remarkably of *that* time. It is an excellent song, but the mythos of the 1960s has institutionalized it.” “The Times They are A-

Changin’,” as with “Blowin’ in the wind,” is a timeless tune, as struggles and desire to change is a constant throughout history.

Raimon’s “D’ un Temps, D’un País” expressed the same notion of elapsed time and a regenerating future. Built upon a text that was discursively argumentative and ill-advised, the song was both demanding and optimistic because, despite everything, Raimon argued the renewal was imminent, “a time that is already a little bit ours, a country that we are already doing” (Pardo Ayuso 403-404). Although he weighed the possibility of hope, he did not rule out rebuking the resigned ones, whose lack of faith in the inevitable change could only delay it. He voiced his displeasure with injustice, as he was fully aware of the difficulties, but insisted that the past, regardless of how recent, should not enslave or condition them when it came to constructing a free nation and future:

D’un temps que serà el nostre
D’un país que mai no hem fet
Cante les esperances
I plore la poca fe.⁴⁷ (Raimon “D’ un Temps, D’un País”)

The time for perpetrators of violence was over, it was time for life and human dignity. As an *euphantasiotos*, Raimon created images that aided to expand and reinforce the counterhegemonic bloc. As Webb (165) argued, the use of a kind of evocative language through *energeia* can not only persuade but also enslave the audience. If not only individuals but collectives can be ‘enslaved’ too, then the social repercussions can be greater. In the USA, the communion among artists as a ‘we’, their common audiences, and the Civil Rights Movement, had its zeitgeist in 1963, on “the August 28th march on Washington, attended by nearly a million Americans, heard

⁴⁷ Of a time that will be ours
From a country we've never done
I sing the hopes
And cry the little faith

Joan Baez, Odetta, Bob Dylan, and Peter, Paul, and Mary lending their talents in support of equal voting rights. The civil rights struggle provided at least temporary common cause for nearly the entire folk music industry” (Denisoff GDC 176-177). That same year at the end of September, in Barcelona, the international music festival *Caneó Mediterránea*, for the first time in history, awarded a song in Catala with the first prize; Salomé and Raimon’s interpretation of “Se’n va a Anar” received positive reviews from both critics and audiences alike (Aragüez Rubio 85). Raimon and other members of the Nova Cançó changed the paradigm and their role in the 60s and 70s counterhegemonic discourse swayed to other regions of Spain, making it an intersectional artistic movement, in which poetry, music, language choices, and themes found their common grounds on the formation of a counterhegemonic bloc that aimed to topple the Francoist ruling bloc.

Another Catalanian band, Els Setze Jutges (1961-1967), achieved to produce popular songs in Catalan that responded to the social, cultural, and political situation in Catalonia in the 60s, a song that would give back to the Catalan people their own language and recuperate their identity (González Lucini vol.1 97; Cardús 164). Lluís Serrahima published its manifesto in 1959, in which he argued that Catalonians ought to sing in Catalán, produce their own framework and tell contemporary events that affected them, a subversive approach towards fighting linguistic and physical oppression. Pi de la Serra, another founding member, was instrumental in the Nova Cançó and his visualization on the role of the intersection between poetry and music resonated with those who align themselves with Celaya and Blas de Otero’s vision: “La poesia ha d’ésser com una pala lluenta y gastada de descarregar el carro de les mentides, / i l’ha de manejar el poeta”⁴⁸ (González Lucini vol.1 73). Pi de la Serra adapted Dylan’s “Don’t Think Twice, it’s Alright” (1963), which

⁴⁸ Poetry must be like a shiny and worn shovel to unload the car of lies, / and the poet must drive it.

became “Deixa-ho Córrer, Ja Esta Fet,” and had political connotations instead of love related lyrics (Dylan wrote the song while Rotolo was studying in Italy). While Dylan’s underlying message was to induce a sense of not spending too much time thinking any negative feelings and “to feel good” (“You just kinda wasted my precious time/ But don't think twice, it's all right”), De la Serra urged Spanish people to “wake up,” particularly the silent majority, who hide their troubles instead of showing their distress due to fear. Nonetheless, both songwriters possessed a sense of *carpe diem* and of moving on with their lives:

No et pensis pas que tot esta molt bé, no, seria massa planer;
no et pensis pas que tothom viu feliç no, seria massa senzill.
L'arbre que has plantat pot créixer tort o dret,
el consell que has donat pot ser llançat al vent;
L'home no pot ser a la mida que el volem,
deixa ho córrer, ja esta fet.
No et pensis pas que tothom esta bé, no, malgrat la cara que fa,
no et pensis pas que tothom esta bé, no, malgrat la vida que fa;
la gana fa que el pa no sigui dur, la por et farà plorar, pitjor per tu, la nit d'amor no
s'acabarà mai, però ara ens toca despertar.⁴⁹

Even though the American and Spanish counterhegemonic blocs were different from a political and sociohistorical perspective, Spanish songwriters shared Dylan’s ‘truths’, borrowing Alan Badiou’s term from his 1993 *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil*. Badiou understood ethical imperatives as situational, individual and collective reactions to the

⁴⁹ Don't think that everything is fine, no, it would be too flat;
Don't think that everyone lives happily no, it would be too simple.
The tree you planted can grow right or wrong,
the advice you have given can be thrown to the wind;
Man can't be the size we want him to be,
let it run, it's done.
Don't think that everyone is okay, no, despite his face,
don't think that everyone is well, no, in spite of the life they lead;
hunger makes the bread not hard, fear will make you cry, worse for you, the night of love will never end, but now
it's our turn to wake up.

established principles. The fidelity to the Anti-Fascist fight was a bidirectional point of entry for individuals to develop as subjects, in contrast to what Badiou termed ‘opinions’:

Opinions without an ounce of truth –or, indeed, of falsehood. Opinions is beneath the true and the false, precisely because its sole office is to be communicable. What arises by a truth process, in contrast, cannot be communicated [ne se communique pas]. Communication is suited only to opinions (and again we are unable to manage without them). In all that concerns truths there must be an *encounter* [...] To enter into the composition of a subject of truth can only be something that happens to you. (Badiou 51)

Dylan needed not to be familiar with the Spanish conflict nor talk about any topic related to Spain in order to share his ‘truths’ with them; he conveyed opinions in his songs but the underlining “truths” or messages rose from his own search of freedom and non-conformity, which resulted in an “*encounter*” with Spanish songwriters who adhered to Dylan’s lyrics, persona, or both. As Webb (102) discussed in her examination of Quintilian’s importance of adherence to what is “like truth,” “what typically occurs,” and “credible” when evoking an image to be conveyed via language, his attribution of power to the *euphantasiotos* orator is contingent on the images being authentic. If a story is to be believed, it must conform to the audience's expectations of what is likely or probable, as well as to their worldly experience. According to him, the issue of truth is divergent: many true things lack credibility, while false things may resemble the truth. In fact, for Quintilian's first mention of *enargeia*, he argued that in order to be convincing, a false story must be as vivid as possible. Thus, he clarifies that the similarity between a story and the truth is due to the orator's delivery rather than the underlying facts. Following both Badiou’s and Webb’s examinations of truth, if the songwriter is capable of producing *enargeia* that enables the listener to experience the action before their eyes, then the audiences’ reception of truths was as contingent on the topics that the songwriters presented as in their delivery. Becoming a popular singer or a star became a medium to get your message across different spheres, which propelled Joan Manuel Serrat as the most popular of Spanish *euphantasiotos*.

Serrat, who was a new member of Els Setze Jutges in his early 20s, popularized the group in 1965, transforming their elitism and reaching wider audiences in and outside Catalonia. Similar to Dylan, Serrat had humble origins. Maruja Torres (González Lucini vol.1 85) described Serrat's meteoric rise in the Spanish folk scene, arguing that Serrat was the boy who at the age of twenty had crossed the dividing line that was always — for someone born in the slums—invisibly drawn between the urban and the folk, and triumphed in singing dizzily. He surpassed others in success, because Serrat not only sang well, but he also sang what people wanted to hear, their little things, their everyday feelings. Moreover, Torres asserted that Serrat was a street poet, who sometimes made your hair stand on end with his dazzling metaphors. In Serrat's 1968 "Com Ho Fa el Vent," he "befriended" the rain as a regenerating power—as the American and Spanish protest poets before him—, and found the 'wind' as a liberating force, in contrast to the 'dust' of the Autumn leaves, which symbolized death: "Jo vaig néixer com neix la brisa a la vora del mar, amic del sol i de la pluja, vaig aprendre a volar / Com ho fa el vent. És així com jo vull viure. Com ho fa el vent, el vent que es mou i que és lliure entre la gent. / I vaig créixer buscant uns versos que va tapar la pols arrossegant les fulles seques mortes per la tardor"⁵⁰ (Serrat). Serrat's ability to create vivid images through metaphors, focused on the subalterns and the aftermath of the civil war, wondering if the Spanish counterhegemonic bloc will ever be like the wind, a free and unstoppable force.

According to González Lucini, what made Joan Manuel Serrat a famous singer and author was his ability to share his frustration and hope with tens of thousands of Spaniards. Its

⁵⁰ I was born as the sea breeze is born, friend of the sun and the rain, I learned to fly.

As the wind does.

This is how I want to live.

As the wind does, the wind that moves and is free among the people.

And I grew up looking for some verses that covered the dust by dragging the dead leaves dead in the Fall.

success was due to the fact that, despite being biologically and socially rooted in the popular, he was able to find words to express himself at the level of tens of so many people. His sentimentality and language were structured to show the sentimentality of the common man who lacked the ability to express itself. He was able to accomplish this because nothing out of the ordinary was foreign to him, with the exception of the possibility of expressing himself through words, music, and voice (vol.1 84-85). Serrat's metaphoric language, as Dylan's, questioned and, at the same time, simplified and expanded the concerns of their audiences. As Dylan, Serrat appealed to the logos, pathos, and particularly, the ethos, through his *enargeia* in an *euphantasiotos* role. As Webb researched on Quintilian's conception of the *euphantasiotos* (95-100), he or she must conjure his or her own vision in order to manifest *enargeia*. The *phantasiai* or visions are the means by which images of absent objects are presented to the mind in such a way that we appear to see them with our own eyes and be in their presence. Whoever masters them will have a significant impact on the emotions of others. Some people believe that a man who can imagine things, words, and actions accurately and in accordance with reality is "good at imagining." Therefore, for Quintilian, effective *enargeia* in oratory and poetry is the result of a controlled and deliberate process of visualization. Furthermore, Webb addressed how actors, or singers/poets, could leave the stage in tears due to their emotional investment in the plot. In terms of the influence of judicial oratory or declamation on the audience, the analogy with the actor is particularly applicable, as the music audience, like the public in the theater, is made to become witnesses of past or potential future events through the use of *enargeia*, making them feel as if the events were present before their eyes. Dylan and Serrat forced their audiences to question their own beliefs synthesizing complex topics through logos; their ethos grew from their humble origins during the times when working-class intellectuals "lived folk to be folk," and not

from any institutional title, which made them precisely more appealing to their corresponding protesting scene; their pathos came from their behavior on/off the stage, their lyrical content and the embedded responsibility for individuals to consider their own ideological position.

González Lucini defended Serrat stood out among other songwriters because he was an *animal escénico*, a performer who encompassed all the good qualities a songwriter should possess by the adding that his presence on a stage transported his audience to the events and poetic images he described both of the past and of a hopeful future. The author claimed that a popular singer-songwriter was a “miracle” that resulted from qualities of such rare coincidence as poetic talent, musicals, voice, and the quality of a ‘stage anima.’ Inside the Nova Cançó, there were good lyricists, even successful musicians, and voices between the good and the catchy, but there were few “stage animals;” few singers who in the performances towards the public managed to impose their presence on the stage, even apart from what they said or sang. Serrat had physical qualities and even knew how to take advantage of his shyness (vol.1 33-35, 85). Since the acceptance or even the formation of an artwork relies on the audience actual and expected responses, Serrat’s magnetic relationship with his audience allowed him to widely become an icon.

If Dylan’s excision from the Folk Movement was one of the causes that weakened the Folk Movement, Serrat’s decision to break ties with Els Setze Jutges and perform songs in the Spanish language in 1967 had a similar outcome. Serrat was consequently criticized by those who did not respect his individual artistic decision. However, unlike Dylan, Serrat conceded that he actually considered himself ideologically aligned with the Nova Cançó’s principles and its roadmap.

I, as part of a group or movement, only felt really connected from 1964 to 1968 when I was active in Els Setze Judges. The rest of the time I have functioned freely mostly because I have made decisions that weren’t always shared by others. For various reasons I have always chosen my own way. I resolved to leave the flock and make my own decisions. That doesn’t mean that I have had bad relationships with people. For instance, it was quite

difficult for me to make the decision to sing in Spanish. That decision put me in an awkward position. In the long run it was positive but at the time was hard to put up with. In Franco's Spain I continued to be a "red" Catalan separatist and among the separatists I was seen as a traitor for singing in Spanish. (Martinez and Fouce 202)

As López Cano (192) examined, due to Serrat's political activism, the official media in Spain consistently shunned him, while his records were best-sellers and his popularity grew in the Americas. Some of his lyrics were censored and altered in Spain, while they were published in their original form in Latin America. Dylan and Serrat's rhetoric and metaphors challenged hegemonic discourses, established new paradigms within the folk movements, and became "organic intellectuals," developing a self-consciousness which led them to become independent individuals. They evaded the subjugation of the self to a music genre (in the case of Dylan) or a language (as Serrat did) and, as such, became rebel figures that inspired contemporary and future songwriters around the world.

The globalized technological advancements and the lack of specificity in Dylan's "Masters of War" facilitated Dylan's presence overseas. The institutions were corrupted entities in Bob Dylan's lyrics. His understanding of the political world as alienating and repressive in his "Masters of War" (1963), as in his finger-pointing songs on the Southern Question, correlated with Spanish songwriters' circumstances. As Greil Marcus examined, in "Masters of War" particularly, Dylan displayed his ability to enliven the "unshaped anger and rage, terror and fear" (408) of a collective listenership and making it all appear real. "Masters of War" adopted the melody of "Nottamun Town", a medieval English folk song thought to reference the "Feast of Fools." Yet with Dylan's desire to see these warmongers die ("I hope that you die / And your death will come soon") comes an unnaturally fundamental outlook that betrayed the ultimate return to normality that awaited the conclusion of such feasts. Additionally, Marcus indicated that Dylan was perhaps overly zealous in his efforts to gain attention, or arguably mirroring the

contempt for life displayed by those determining the potential onset of a nuclear inspired obliteration; “Masters of War” was, as Marcus estimated, “a bad song...too sententious, too self-righteous – stilted” (Marcus 406-409). Nonetheless, it became a generational anthem since his use of metathesis stirred the listeners’ anger, transporting them to a hypothetical future where the warmongers die; Margotin (56) argued that, ironically, when the readers of *Broadside* read the lyrics and when the public at large discovered it, the repercussions were considerable. It was a vehement and determined condemnation of war. “Masters of War” was not an ode to pacifism — even if students quickly turned it into a hymn against American involvement in Vietnam — but rather an aggressive attack on warmongers, on those who have vested interests in seeing the world explode into conflict and, as the song so eloquently states, “hide behind desks:”

And I hope that you die
And your death will come soon
I'll follow your casket
By the pale afternoon
And I'll watch while you're lowered
Down to your deathbed
And I'll stand over your grave
'Til I'm sure that you're dead. (Dylan “Masters of War”)

Written right after the Cuban missile crisis during the Winter of 1962, it had an impact on the audience due to its harsh expressions and its direct accusation of the ones in power. In an interview with Nat Hentoff, Dylan himself argued that he could not stop himself from writing a song that wishes people die: “I don’t sing songs which hope people will die, but I couldn’t help it in this one. The song is a sort of striking out... a feeling of what can you do?” (Callesen). Surrounded by the constant menace behind the punishment for articulating a counterhegemonic discourse, Spanish songwriters “couldn’t help it” either.

Another component of Els Setze Jutges, María del Mar Bonet, composed the music for Lluís Serrahima’s poem “Que Volen Aquesta Gent?” in 1968. Both read together the news of a

college student who jumped out of the window and committed suicide when the Francoist police came to the apartment to detain him for protesting the Government. Bonet based her music on “La Presó de Lleida,” which Serrat versioned in 1967. “La Presó de Lleida” was a popular political song in Catalonia that criticized the abundance of political prisoners. Bonet herself pointed out to the fear that contrarians to the Government faced on a daily basis. The mother of the student could not understand why the fascist police came calling to her door:

De matinada han trucat,
Són al repla de l'escala;
La mare quan surt a obrir
Porta la bata posada
Que volen aquesta gent
Que truequen de matinada?
"El seu fill, que no és aquí?"
"N'és adormit a la cambra
Què li volen al meu fill?" (Bonet “Que Volen Aquesta Gent?”)

She noted her son was agitated at nights and did not talk much. The first and last stanzas began with the same verse: “De matinada han trucat.” The *alba* or *matinada* (dawn), a common theme among Spanish songwriters, had connotations of daily uncertainty; opposers felt the anxiety of not living to see the break of a new day, due to imprisonment or death after undergoing a prejudiced judiciary process.

El fill mig es desvetllava
La mare ben poc en sap
De totes les esperances
Del seu fill estudiant
Que ben compromès n'estava
Dies fa que parla poc
I cada nit s'agitava
Li venia un tremolor
Tement un truc a trenc d'alba
.....
De matinada han trucat
La llei una hora assenyala

Ara l'estudiant és mort
N'és mort d'un truc a trenc d'alba.⁵¹ (Bonet)

As Dylan did before her in his lyrics on the Southern question, Bonet's reporting style finger pointed the ones to blame, and in an intent to bestow subjectivity to the Other through the use of *prosopopeia*, rescued the memory of the young student who jumped out of a window so Francoist forces could not trap him and the many mothers who lived in distress or gathered daily outside jails to get information about their relatives. As Dylan chose in his "Oxford Town," Bonet did not name the victims by name, since the same destiny could be shared by anyone who is part of a counterhegemonic bloc. Both authors chose to tell the story of two students who could not realize their dreams, which could have enticed a younger audience who could reflect their dreams and aspirations in those of the victims.

A late member of the aforementioned Els Setze Jutges, Lluís Llach, became a prominent singer after he released his "L'estaca" in 1967, which he composed while in Paris due to the

⁵¹ In the morning they called,
They are at the bottom of the stairs;
The mother when she goes out to open
He is wearing a dressing gown
That these people want
What do they exchange in the morning?
"Your son, isn't he here?"
"He is asleep in the room
What do they want from my son? "
The middle son was waking up
Mother knows very little
Of all hopes
From his student son
How well committed he was
Days ago he spoke little
And every night he was agitated
He was shaking
Fearing a trick at dawn
[...]
In the morning they called
The law indicates an hour
Now the student is dead
He died at dawn

increased pressure from Francoist censors. At first, the censors did not understand the song's meaning and in June 1967 issued the permission to record it. Llach sang it for over a year and a half, and it was only in December 1968 that the censorship authorities forbade it, belatedly realizing its intended message. In fact, its main character, Siset, was a real political figure, Narcís Llansa; the grandfather of a childhood friend of Llach, who, until 1939, was a leader of Esquerra Republicana de Catalonia, a separatist party:

L'avi Siset em parlava
De bon matí al portal,
Mentres el sol esperàvem
I els carros vèiem passar.

Siset, que no veus l'estaca
A on estem tots lligats?
Si no podem desfer-nos-en
Mai no podrem caminar!⁵²

As Forti examined on the transatlantic diffusion of the song, for concerts following that date, time and again the audience loudly demanded the song; Llach played it and, since prohibition concerned only the lyrics, not the musical composition, the audience sang it back (Forti 144). This performance dynamic marked the future of the song. Its censorship aided in the popularization of the song, and, according to Ayats and Salicrú-Maltas, “became the main anthem of the struggle against the dictatorship, particularly because the refrain invites listeners to topple power and fight for freedom” (34). Llach’s metaphors and hopes for a dawn in which subalterns could live free and

⁵² The old Siset talked to me
on the porch during dawn
while we waited for the sun
and watched the carts passing by.

Siset, don't you see the stake
to which we are all tied?
If we cannot separate us from it,
then we can never walk!

without fear could only be achieved by overthrowing the *estaca* (stake), which represented Franco's Government. As Webb explained, "phantasia, whether in poetry or oratory, aims for emotive effect and to stir the listener" (99), so Llach's use of *phantasia* moved his audiences, who in turn became active partisans.

The title of another Llach's song, his 1977 "Campanades a Morts" ('Chimes of Death') coupled with Dylan's "Chimes of Freedom,"⁵³ a song of which Margotin argued that Dylan was "no longer the mere chronicler of American society in the early 1960s; he is already becoming the new American poet" (120). However, its content, a reaction to police brutality after they shot and killed strikers in 1976, replicated Dylan's "Masters of War," in which Llach not only wished the death of Francoist followers but also argued that they did not deserve to rest in peace:

Assassins de raons, de vides,
que mai no tingueu repòs en cap dels vostres dies
i que en la mort us persegueixin les nostres memòries.
Campanades a morts
fan un crit per la guerra
dels tres fills que han perdut
les tres campanes negres.⁵⁴

Another band that was part of the Catalan scene, Els 3 Tambors, composed their "Romanço del Fill de Vidua"⁵⁵ in 1966 using Dylan's 1965 "Tombstone Blues" music but different

⁵³ Tolling for the aching ones whose wounds cannot be nursed
For the countless confused, accused, misused, strung-out ones an' worse
An' for every hung-up person in the whole wide universe
An' we gazed upon the chimes of freedom flashing.

⁵⁴ Assassins of reason, of lives,
that you never rest on any of your days
and may our memories haunt you in death.
Bells to the dead
they shout for war
of the three children they have lost
the three black bells

⁵⁵ <https://blocs.mesvilaweb.cat/jotajotai/el-romanco-del-fill-de-vidua-1966-de-dylan-i-pere-quart/>.

lyrics, satirizing the conformity of the Catalan bourgeoisie. Dylan's lyrics showed the useless desire to acquire pointless knowledge, as in his line "The reincarnation of Paul Revere's horse," a horse no one knows its name since Paul Revere borrowed the horse to go to war, but nevertheless many people discuss its potential name. Els 3 Tambors' lyrics also indicated that the individuals looking on the job market forces acquire imposed knowledge, even though what they already know (Catalan language) could not be used due to Francoist censorship:

Tinc nevera, toca-discos i una tele amb dos canals,
una aranya gran de llàgrimes i sillons funcionals.
.....
Ballo el twist quan es presenta i temps fa que apreng l'anglès,
perquè avui amb el turisme, si no el saps fas el pagès.
.....
Però sóc catalanista
i a casa, amb la mamà,
quan no hi ha visita,
parlo sempre en català.⁵⁶

Later, two of the Els 3 Tambors members, Jordi and Albert Batiste, joined Grup de Folk (1967-1968) as an alternative to Els Setze Jutges, being Maria del Mar Bonet the only member who collaborated with both bands. They recorded with the label *Als 4 Vents*, an indication of their aims. *A los cuatro vientos* is an adverbial locution in both Spanish and Catalan that means "in all directions out loud." They found their references in American folk, mirrored authors such as Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, and identified with a style and lyrics that exuded nonconformism and rebellion, from songs of the fight for civil rights, anti-militarism, and civic compromise. As a

⁵⁶I have a fridge, turntable and a two-channel TV.
a large spider of tears and functional armchairs.
I dance the twist when it comes and I have been learning English for a long time,
because today with tourism, if you don't know, you are a farmer.
But I am a Catalanist
and at home with mom
when there is no visit,
I always speak Catalan.

result of that predisposition to learn foreign songs, facilitated by Xesco Boix's stay in North America, from where he returned loaded with records of American folksong, they began to adapt songs and create their own, trying to translate to the Catalan musical imaginary the spirit of American folk in its many manifestations. In Spener's revision of the American protest anthem "We Shall Not Be Moved" and its international outreach, the song became popular in Spain sang in Catalan by a young musician and activist named Xesco Boix, who had learned the song from the repertoire of Pete Seeger, whom Boix had met and idolized. Boix⁵⁷ attended the renowned Newport Folk Festival, where he met Seeger for the first time and witnessed him perform live, along with other American folk icons such as Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, and Phil Ochs (96-97). There were two main groups within the more than thirty members that the Grup de Folk brought together: one with Catalan roots, more oriented to the search and recovery of texts of the autochthonous tradition, whose main exponent was Jaume Arnella, and another more oriented to American folk, represented by Pau Riba and Jaume Sisa, among others. They often collaborated with each other both on stage and in the recording. Its great milestone was the Folk Festival which was held in May 1968 in the Parc de la Ciutadella in Barcelona, and which brought together nearly 10,000 people for 9 hours, with more than 200 songs, before they dispersed from and continued on different paths in the world of music, according to Pardo Ayuso (19). Rather than becoming an alternative, the Grup de Folk succeeded in further diversifying and revitalizing the range of the Nova Cançó. Pau Riba and Jaume Sisa, who thought that Dylan, the beat generation, and the hippies were a cultural revolution that aimed to not just end with Francoist ideology, but establish freedom based on the individual, closer to anarchism than socialism, aided to translate and adapt

⁵⁷ Xesco Boix's brother, Joan, also released in 1967 a record with Joan Casajoana called "Escolta-ho en el Vent", with a translations of Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind" or Peter, Paul and Mary's "Puff, the Magic Dragon."

Dylan's lyrics. Sisa maintained that the influences of Grup de Folk had considerable North American weight, instead of following guidance from the French Nouvelle Chanson: "Nuestras influencias eran más bien de otra índole, mucho de la música americana"⁵⁸ (Claudín 87-88). Els Setze Jutges rejected Riba, and he criticized their bourgeoisie character. He contended that the induction of Dylan to stardom had a revolutionary character. Outcasts could lead the way towards a cultural revolution that permeated and reshaped civil society: "Perteneixia a otra onda, de gentes que sabían que existían Dylan, los Rolling, los Beatles. Había ya una generación 'beat', aparecieron los 'hippies', se estaba cuajando una especie de revolución cultural mucho más cargada de sentido. Nuestra intención era que nuestra revolución se aviniera con aquella"⁵⁹ (Claudín 83-84). In 1968, *Hogar del Libro* released their music and the historic *Folk Songs*, a translation of international folk that contained a section dedicated exclusively to Dylan. Many of them began their music careers translating and interpreting songs from the American folk revival before they switched to rock & roll, imitating Bob Dylan's transition, and Dylan's abstract protest songs had a prominent role in their work. They sang literal translations of "When the Ship Comes in," "Blowin' in the Wind," and "The Times They are A-Changin'," among others; which in Catalan became, respectively, "El Dia que el Vaixell Vindrà" (Aquell dia ja ho veureu, / quan el vent es parará/ i la brisa deixarà de respirar), "Escolta-ho en el Vent" (Fins quan una roca podrà resistir/ abans que se l'endugui el mar./ Quant temps un poble haurà de patir/ per manca de llibertat), and "Els Temps Estan Canviant" (Veniú, ministres, diputats,/ escolteu-me de grat:/ deixeu lliures les porte). Grup de Folk's choice to include a translation of Dylan's less popular

⁵⁸ Our influences were more of a different kind, a lot of American music.

⁵⁹I belonged to another wave, of people who knew Dylan, the Rollings, the Beatles existed. There was already a 'beat' generation, the 'hippies' appeared, a kind of much more meaningful cultural revolution was taking shape. Our intention was to reconcile our revolution with theirs.

“When the Ship Comes in” was in accordance with the strategy of mixing introspective and ironic songs in their performances. Dylan’s song referred to the biblical fight between David and Goliath, and he argued that it was time to beat Goliath, which in the case of Spanish songwriters was a representation of the Francoist regime they aimed to overthrow:

De bon matí els enemics,
amb els ulls plens de son,
quan el vegin, creuran que somien;
per molt que ho vulguin negar
s'adonaran que ja hi és,
el dia que el vaixell vindrà.
Aixecaran les mans
demanant pietat,
però no hi haurà res a fer;
al fons del mar s'ofegaran
com va passar al Faraó,
el dia que el vaixell vindrà. (Grup de Folk “El Dia que el Vaixell Vindrà”)

Grup de Folk’s lasted less than a year due to their individualities and the aspirations of some of their members to try new music forms and projects, like Riba, who after the discovery of LSD and psychedelic drugs (as his reveered beat writers) produced punk, electronic, or psychedelic rock. However, the translation and performance of some of Dylan’s lyrics made him more accessible to Catalans and helped established Dylan in Catalonia as a popular protest singer.

The Catalan Nova Cançó was an heterogenous movement, both artistically and politically. According to Serrat (Martínez and Casanova 202), the New Song was founded by individuals with varying artistic abilities, but they shared some core same political beliefs: They were all Catalan-speaking democrats attempting to create Catalan-language music. The language was significant because it was the primary weapon in the conflict. For Francoism, Catalan was a secondary

language, which is why so much effort was poured into the task. However, Serrat (202) reminded everyone to remember that the New Song existed and resisted in its early years due to the overwhelming support of the populace. The public supported those with talent and those with less talent because, by doing so, they supported their own values. That same public benefited the records industry, buying records and allowing the development of Serrat as a star, in a similar fashion as the Americans did with Dylan.

In the 70s, Serrat continued singing the protest poets, as Ibáñez did before him, and also composing his own songs apart from the Nova Cançó, both in Castilian and Catalan. His 1971 album *Mediterráneo* was a big commercial success, a work in which Serrat's *enargeia* marked a transition to the *I* as the primary constituent, including more intimate material than in his previous songs, when he was still part of Els Setze Jutges. However, in his 1978 "Ciudadano," Serrat criticized that Franco's death did not result in any change in the conditions of the majority of the population, the influence of capitalism and Americanization 'placed the wind against them' in a dehumanizing world in which citizens became just numbers in the economic system:

Anónimos y desterrados
en el ruidoso tumulto callejero
con los vientos en contra va el ciudadano,
los bolsillos temblando y el alma en cueros.
Rotos y desarraigados,
hablando a gritos,
golpeando los adjetivos precipitadamente,
asfixiados en los humos y en las gestiones,
se cruzan y entrecruzan, sordos e indiferentes
a salvo en sus caparazones.⁶⁰ (Serrat "Ciudadano")

⁶⁰ Anonymous and banished
in the noisy street tumult
with the winds against the citizen goes,
trembling pockets and naked soul.
Broken and uprooted,
talking loudly,
hitting the adjectives hastily,
suffocated by the fumes and the efforts,
They cross and intersect, deaf and indifferent

Serrat's role as an organic intellectual and *euphantasiotos*, as Dylan's, rose first from a desire to communicate the concerns of the subalterns to his audiences and to give a voice to those individuals who struggled as part of the counterhegemonic bloc in the 60s; after his departure from Els Setze Jutges and Franco's death, his role as an *euphantasiotos* focused on Spanish citizens' Otherness, their invisibility as part of an economic system that constrained the individual. His rebellious figure, mastery of the metaphor as a chronicler of his times and his mystic relationship with his audiences made him the most popular songwriter from the Nova Cançó. His relationship with poetry was different from Dylan, though, closer to that of Ibáñez and Brassens, reinterpreting and helping (from his stardom status) to share the social poetry of Celaya, Hernández, Alberti, Machado, etc.

CHAPTER 4: FROM NORTH TO SOUTH, REGIONALISMS, AND DYLAN, THE EUPHANTASIOTOS NONCONFORMIST

In the Basque Country, as in the case of Catalonia, their language, Euskera, was forbidden and persecuted in the public sphere during Franco's times. In words of Luis de Galinsoga, *La Vanguardia's* director, Spain was lucky that Franco won the war, and the rest of the territory should have aligned with Franco's ideology, including 'castellano' as the only viable choice. In a 1939 article De Galisonga placed Franco as the idol to emulate in every aspect: "Porque la consigna es clara y no tiene efugios: si queremos ser dignos de esta redención y honrar a quien nos ha redimido, todos los españoles debemos hacer tres cosas: pensar como Franco, sentir como Franco y hablar como Franco, que hablando, naturalmente, en el idioma nacional, ha impuesto su Victoria"⁶¹ (Manent). The Francoists rejected and repressed any ideology other than that of the ruling bloc, so the articulation of a counterhegemonic discourse in different regions were contextually distinctive from one another but they all shared the democratic values that Serrat alluded to in his recount of the Catalanian New Song movement. While in other Spanish regions, the Francoist government relaxed their sociopolitical persecution chasing international acceptance, in the Basque Country it was intensified. The creation of the terrorist group ETA in 1958 as a response to the image washing of the National Movement, divided the Basque between those who maintained violence as a last resort toward independence, and those who decided not to partake in that endeavor through violent means. Songwriters were no exception to the Basque reality and, as in the case of the first half of the 20th Century American Folk Revival, the political ideology and lyrical content focused on the

⁶¹ Because the prerogative is clear and has no refuge: if we want to be worthy of this redemption and honor those who have redeemed us, all Spaniards must do three things: think like Franco, feel like Franco and talk like Franco, that speaking, of course, in the national language, he has imposed his victory.

“we,” closer to Seeger’s “Solidarity Forever” than to Dylan’s work. The emphasis on the working-class and Basque nationalist struggles played a major role in the Basque folk movement, in which socialism was the preferred philosophy and socioeconomic system. An example of that tendency was Gontzal Mendibil’s 1975 “Kapitalismoak,” in which he supported workers unions, cooperatives, and praised a Basque state socialism that could end with class strata.

Langile, nekazariak
euskaldun guztiak
ez dezagun gura herrian
klase diferentziak
egin dezagun biharko
Euskadi sozialista bat
egin dezagun biharko
Euskadi sozialista ba.⁶²

That unionizing approach lacked a similar robust apparatus as the IWW and the *Little Red Songbook* in the USA, since the national labor unions were decimated after the war. However, the search for the roots of the Euskera traditional songs, as the Lomax family in the USA, proved to be a decisive accomplishment. A prominent figure in the Basque folk scene was José Antonio Donostia, who was a musicologist and priest that laid the groundwork for future generations in his 1943 *De Música Vasca*. In that work, Father Donostia claimed that the Basque people were keen to sing everywhere and anywhere, whether of happiness or sorrow: “El vasco canta, y canta siempre. Canta en casa, en la iglesia, en la calle, en el campo; canta cuando está alegre y cuando

⁶²Workers, farmers
all Basques
let us not wish in the village
class differences
let's do it tomorrow
A socialist Basque Country
let's do it tomorrow
The socialist Basque Country

está triste.”⁶³ Jorge de Riezu and Ximun Haran, among others, also published their Basque song anthologies, *Cancionero Musical Vasco* and *Club du Disque Basque*, respectively, which inspired the most popular Basque protest singer, Mikel Laboa: “El libro del Padre Riezu Flor de canciones populares vascas y la recopilación de canciones populares realizada por Ximun Haran fueron sus primeras referencias fundamentales para conocer, admirar, recuperar y difundir las viejas canciones tradicionales”⁶⁴ (Gonzalez Lucini vol.1 253). Another influx of inspiration for Laboa was his time in Barcelona, where he assisted college. He met with some protagonists of the Nova Cançó in the 60s and admired the communion between the artists and the audience: “Conocí a Pi de la Serra y asistí como espectador a los primeros recitales de la Nova Cançó; recuerdo uno que vi en el Palacio de los deportes que fue multitudinario...eso de que saliera Raimon y comenzara todo el mundo a cantar Al Vent me dejó asombrado”⁶⁵ (González Lucini vol.1 258). Thus, upon his return to the Basque Country, he decided to create something similar that adhered to the sensibilities and traditions of his neighbors. His collaboration with Benito Lertxundi and Lourdes Iriondo, among many other artists, in the band Ez Dok Amairu (1966-1972), opened the possibility of forming a collective like Els Setze Jutges and helped to establish the *Euskal Kantagintza Berria* (‘Basque New Song’).

They combined their search for traditional songs with a political stance that adhered with their audiences wishes. The cultural interaction and partnership between subaltern groups was one

⁶³ The Basque sings, and always sings. He sings at home, in church, on the street, in the countryside; he sings when he is happy and when he is sad.

⁶⁴ Father Riezu Flor's book of Basque folk songs and the collection of folk songs by Ximun Haran were his first fundamental references to know, admire, recover and spread the old traditional songs.

⁶⁵ I met Pi de la Serra and attended the first recitals of the new song as a spectator; I remember one I saw at the Palacio de los Deportes that was crowded... that Raimon came out and everyone started singing Al Vent left me amazed.

of the tenets of the Basque New Song, thus the merge of the Basques and Catalanian artists allowed them to oppose the Francoist government more effectively, uniting their voices in more than one concert, being the 1967 performance at the Palau in Barcelona the first one ever in Euskera. The similarities in their struggles forged a solidarity that lasted for the reminding years of the 60s and 70s. The movement had its culmination point in 1970 through Ez Dok Amairu's *Baga, Biga, Higa*, a show that mixed different avant-guard arts that included poetry, dancing, song, and theater, with txalaparta melodies. However, the movement itself did not last long due to ideological differences among its members and the desire of some of them to profit from an industry that nation-wide was proliferating; Dylan in the USA and Serrat in Spain were the main representatives of idols who rose from broader collectives and achieved success and recognition as individual artists, which also played a role in the eventful separation of the Ez Dok Amairu's in 1972.

The most emblematic song from the movement was Laboa's 1969 "Txoria, txori" ("A Bird Which is a Bird," based on a poem by Jose Antón Artze), in which a bird symbolized the Basque people resisting oppression; without wings the bird could not enjoy the wind and live in freedom, on the contrary, the bird was in a cage: "Hegoak ebaki banizkio nerea izango zen ez zuen alde agingo/ Baina, honela es zen gehiago txoria izango/ eta nik txoria nuen maite"⁶⁶ (Ayats & Salicrú-Maltas 28). Laboa's imagery focused on the freedom to develop as subjects as the ultimate human right; the Basque nationalists claimed the poem/song was about the independence of the territory, how the Spanish Governments for years had constrained them to keep them by their side, as a bird in a cage. Nonetheless, its abstract *enargeia* could not be tied to any specific period, as Dylan's

⁶⁶ If I had clipped its wings/ it would have been mine/ it would not have escaped/ but it would have stopped being a bird/ and I loved it was a bird

“Blowin’ in the Wind,” but its authenticity relied on the general sense of freedom versus constrain generated in the listeners minds.⁶⁷

Lourdes Iriondo, “the Joan Baez of the Basque Country,” a female pioneer as one of the first women to record her work in Euskera, along with Benito Lertxundi, were the other two prominent members in Ez Dok Amairu before they all began their solo careers. While Iriondo gained popularity in the 60s and 70s thanks to her stage presence and poetic contributions, Lertxundi’s 1969 “Urak Dakarrena” showcased two of the integral topics within the Basque folk: the sea and the trees, especially the roots (“la raíz”), as symbols of heritage and resistance. Lertxundi argued their resilience will impose above those who aimed to constrain their freedom: “Y nosotros aquí, siempre nosotros aquí. / Como los árboles en la tierra, como los cantos al viento/ como la savia en la raíz, como el agua en el mar”⁶⁸ (González Lucini vol.1 272). Basque explorers and fishermen had a long-standing bond with the Atlantic, which across the centuries shaped the core of the Basque population: “Un mar intenso, bravo, que ha configurado la historia y cultura de este pueblo que ha hecho de la mar buena parte de su riqueza”⁶⁹(Llona 23). The root was also a constant theme, both literally and metaphorically, since the Irati Forest is part of the Basque landscape, a mythical appeal due to its pagan legends; the Basque people have a popular saying, *Izena duen guzia da* (“If it has a name, it exists”), which pointed out to the historical struggle that they had to endure against intents of syncretism, conferring Basques a unique tradition among Spanish songwriters.

⁶⁷ Joan Baez herself sang Laboa’s song in Euskera in a live concert in Bilbao in 1988.

⁶⁸ And we here, Always us here / Like the trees on the ground, Like the songs to the wind / Like the sap at the root, Like the water in the sea.

⁶⁹ An intense, wild sea that has shaped the history and culture of this town that has made the sea much of its wealth.

Even though the character of the Euskera New Song had its main focus on autochthonous elements and figures, Bob Dylan left an imprint in many of those songwriters and his success as an organic intellectual encouraged them to continue their efforts. Kike Ochoa, former lead singer of Golden Apple Quartet, discussed Dylan's influence in the Basque Country in the 60s and 70s. He claimed that Dylan influenced all songwriters from that generation one way or another, even though many could not understand his lyrics. Dylan's rebellious character and his wordplay broke the usual patterns and taught them how to use music as a vehicle for change:

Como nos ha pasado a todos los de aquella generación, siempre fue un referente, aunque la verdad casi nadie entendía qué cantaba porque el inglés apareció más tarde en nuestras vidas. Sin embargo, algo había en aquel tío que rompía los esquemas habituales y se convertía en un referente. Los que sí sabían inglés te traducían su mensaje y así se convirtió en bandera de cómo se puede utilizar la música como vehículo de un mensaje de aire fresco y ventanas abiertas.⁷⁰

As Ochoa argued, not many knew English as a second language, but it did not impede Dylan's arrival in the Basque Country, since the ones who knew the language dutifully translated his messages to those who could not understand them. In 1978, Txomin Artola, one of the main folk revivalists in Baskonia, who counted Dylan as a main inspiration towards songwriting⁷¹ (Unanua), translated and interpreted Walt Whitman's poems for his album *Belar Hostoak*, where the poet's tender and naturalistic words aligned with the singer acoustic atmosphere. Artola recorded the album after a period of self-reflection in which he claimed the "wind" as a lyrical muse. Yet the wind, in Artola's perspective, also became a negative element, a representation of

⁷⁰ As has happened to all of us from that generation, he was always a reference, although the truth is that hardly anyone understood what he was singing because English appeared later in our lives. However, there was something in that guy that broke the usual patterns and became a benchmark. Those who did know English translated their message for you, and thus it became a banner of how music can be used as a vehicle for a message of fresh air and open windows.

⁷¹ "Artola ha sido uno de los impulsores del resurgir de la música folk en el País Vasco, para ello tuvo dos grandes inspiradores: Bob Dylan y Simon & Garfunkel" (Unanua diariiovasco).

the folk movement, who Artola argued had an adverse effect in his creativity as an individual. Thus, Artola followed his own path outside any pressure group, as Dylan did before him: “I realized that the wind was very absorbing to me, and I hadn't created any new songs. I decided to take a break and let go of the wind. The wind went on its way, and I went on” (Aristi 135).

Perhaps the songs of the Basque folk did not reach as much popularity as their Castilian and Catalan counterparts due to the difficulty in understanding Euskera by the majority of the Spanish population. For instance, Urko's rendition of the last use of capital punishment in Spain, *Gure Lagunei*, an album dedicated to those events, was barely heard of outside of the Basque Country, although it was a brave and engaging work (González Lucini vol.1 316). Nonetheless, their imprint in the national counterhegemonic movement plus their cultural exchange with other songwriters were invaluable and highlighted John Lewis words: “a singing army is a winning army.”

Dylan elsewhere

Although Dylan's major influence was in Madrid and Catalonia, other regions of Spain also received the North American influx. In Aragón, Joaquín Carbonell composed his 1977 “Dejen Pasar,” emulating Dylan's “The Times They are A-Changin’,” in which he referred to the need for young people to take the lead in the democratic transition after Franco's death. Contrary to Dylan, Carbonell criticized the idea that the old should make way for the new; he maintained that old people were welcomed and even should hold privileges in that new era, as they have been waiting longer than others for democracy (“Dejen pasar/Antes los viejos que se han de sentar”⁷²). Thus,

⁷² Let pass / First the old men who have to sit down.

the youth should lead the way but first consider the well-being of those who had suffered for long Franco's dictatorship.

In La Rioja, Carmen y Jesus interpreted "La Respuesta Está en el Viento" and "Los Tiempos Están Cambiando" in the early 70s, literal translations from the original into Castilian. They decided to perform their music all over Europe through an elongated road trip, beat generation style, singing for the many in the exile: "A finales de los 60 ya éramos "Carmen y Jesús, el único dúo mixto de la provincia" (entonces, todavía de Logroño). Nos gustaban, y cantábamos, los temas de moda. Desde Adamo a los Beatles, pasando por el Dúo Dinámico. Hasta que nos dimos de bruces con Bob Dylan, por un lado, y Paco Ibáñez por el otro. Aquello varió la orientación de nuestras ideas musicales y vitales."⁷³ Their discovery of Dylan's music inspired them to follow the path of articulating a counterhegemonic discourse through music instead of singing for the mere pleasure of creating music, as they did before. Jesús also played a major role in the life of Joaquín Sabina (Carbonell 26), Dylan's fervent admirer and who participated in the Madrilian *Nueva Canción* movement, sharing apartment while he was in the exile in London:

De Brassens aprendí la minuciosa
manera de rimar lo nunca oído,
de Gardel el insomnio del olvido,
de Dylan la insolencia caprichosa.
De Lou Reed la amanita venenosa,
de Paco Ibáñez el jardín florido,
de Krahe la ecuación del bien nacido.⁷⁴ (Sabina "Mis Juglares")

⁷³At the end of the 60s we were already 'Carmen and Jesús, the only mixed duo in the province' (then, still from Logroño). We liked, and we sang, the fashionable themes. From Adamo to the Beatles, through the Dynamic Duo. Until we came face to face with Bob Dylan, on the one hand, and Paco Ibáñez on the other. That changed the orientation of our musical and vital ideas.
<https://wikirioja.com/arte/musica/grupos-riojanos/folk/carmen-jesus-e-inaki/>.

⁷⁴ From Brassens I learned the meticulous
way to rhyme the never heard,
From Gardel the insomnia of oblivion,
From Dylan the capricious insolence.
From Lou Reed the poisonous amanita,
From Paco Ibáñez the flowery garden,
from Krahe the equation of the well-born...

Sabina, as a popular *euphantasiotos* through the mastery of the metaphor in the 70s blamed Dylan for his role in developing an outsider character through his “capricious insolence.” As can be noted in chapter 5, his friendship with Jesús in an early point in his academic relationship with Dylan reinforced his admiration for the Minnesotan troubadour as a constant rebel.

In Galicia, emigration and language suppression were the dominating themes. Originally, talking and expressing oneself in Galician was seen as a sign of being under cultured, as it was mostly proletarians who employed it. However, in the late 60s and early 70s, a renewed generation of artists, largely university students, who took poet Celso Emilio Ferreiro as an inspiration, claimed their language as valid, and took pride in its use (González Lucini vol.2 161). Celso Emilio Ferreiro sang to the proletariat in his “Deitado Frente Ao Mar,” from his *Lingua Proletaria do Meu Pobo*, in which he defended that anyone who wanted to talk in Galician should do so without any specific reason if they enjoy doing so, alluding to the unionizing nature of using the language as a community and the need to tell their own history in their language:

Eu fáloa porque sí, porque me gusta
e quero estar cos meus, coa xente miña,
perto dos homes bos que sofren longo
unha historia contada noutra lingua.⁷⁵

Celso Emilio Ferreiro also argued for the need of elaborating songs that recollect Galician traditions and sensibilities: “un pobo non pode quedarse sen canción. E como se, de súpeto, se

⁷⁵ I speak it just because, because I like it
and I want to be with mine, with my people,
near the good men who suffer a lot
a story told in another language.

quedase sen alma” (González Lucini vol.2 162). His words encouraged the examination of those traditions, and in doing so the Galicia New Song modified elements they perceived as archaic in order to appeal to younger generations, so they chose to use the guitar, instead of the more traditional *gaita* (bagpipe). The Galician New Song had three principles: 1. They rejected folklore as a vehicle of musical expression; 2. They chose to interpret poems from Galician writers, as Rosalía de Castro, Celso Emilio Ferreiro, Álvaro Cunqueiro, etc.; 3. getting closer to social realism, telling the stories of the subalterns (168).

Another individual who encouraged the creation of a Galician New Song was Raimon, who played a role in the establishment and posterior collaboration with the Galician New Song since his performance in Santiago de Compostela in 1967, where he personified the success of the Catalan Nova Cançó. A year later, Voces Ceibes (1968-1974), a band that was formed after listening to Raimon’s performance, sang for the first time in front of 2000 people at the university campus, where the organizer of the event, Manuel Pombo, claimed that Galicians could not vote but at least had a voice thanks to that new cultural approach: “Nos hoxe aínda non temos voto, pero xa temos voz” (Villar). González Lucini noted that the members of Voces Ceibes and groups like Fuxan os Ventos were instrumental in the creation and dissemination of the new Galician song, particularly among university students. In the early 70s, some Galicians decided to get together and formed the band Folk 72, interpreting songs of Dylan and Baez (González Lucini vol.2 202). Their song “Fuxan os Ventos” was a success; in fact, they changed their band name to Fuxan os Ventos in 1972. In the song, only “the good wind” should be the pushing force that lets the “days of today” begin, while “bad winds from old times” represented the Old Spain:

Fuxan os ventos
dos agoreiros,
dos vinculeiros,
de tempos vellos;

¡Fora lembranzas,
tepedas noites
que esfaragullan
os tempos de hoxe!⁷⁶

Those groups were also responsible for giving the song a truly popular character (vol.2 204). Both bands reached the rural population directly, making them aware of their reality and problems, and awakening in them feelings of pride and satisfaction for their language, their music, their folklore, and, ultimately, for the value of their counter-hegemonic manifestations. Pete Seeger and other traditional revolutionary songs had a minor impression on the Galician folk scene, Xoan Rubia in 1969 translated and interpreted in Galician the protest anthems “We Shall not be Moved” (“Non Nos Van Mover”) and “We Shall Overcome” (“Venceremos nos”). Rubia himself composed in 1975 “O Señorito” and “Neno Progre” after Voces Ceibes rejected him. His lyrics were directed to the collegial bourgeoisie, whom Rubia criticized for their hypocritical position in their fight against Francoism:

Neno progre
Sin medo ningún a errar
Aventurome a pronosticar
que a tus actitude de loita
non é sinceira.⁷⁷ (Rubia “Neno Pogre”)

⁷⁶ Fleet the winds os ventos
Of doomsayers,
Of the connections,
Of old times;
¡Let go memories,
‘Tepedas’ nights
That crumble
The times of today!

⁷⁷ Progressive child
Without fear of making a mistake
I venture to predict
than your fighting attitudes
they are not sincere

Dylan did not have as much direct impact on the Galician New Song, although he did influence some of their representatives. Fernández Rego, in his biography of the Galician songwriter Andrés do Barro, claimed that Andrés was closer to Bob Dylan, Nick Drake, Tim Buckley, or Johnny Cash, than Maria Ostiz, Juan Pardo or Manolo Escobar.⁷⁸ Do Barro's lyrics expressed a common topic in the Galician New Song, *as saudades*, nostalgia and longing for someone (or something). Voces Ceibes were familiar with Dylan's work when they composed their lyrics. Vicente Araguas, one of the lead singers of Voces Ceibes, wrote the first book in Spanish about Bob Dylan's Nobel Prize Award in 2017, *El Mundo Poético de Bob Dylan: El Por qué de un Premio Nobel*, in which he argued that Dylan was awarded the prize for more than just the lyrics, but for being the chronicler of America, which he tried to emulate while he was part of the band Voces Ceibes.

Northern Spain's popular music had different themes, actors, and sociopolitical situations, which made hindered the possibility of creating a manifest with federal political directrices for the newcomers who aimed to participate in the articulation of a counterhegemonic discourse. The rise of organic intellectuals who could fulfill the role as *euphantasiotos* found their inspirations (on dissimilar levels) in the protest poets, the French Nouvelle Chanson, and the American Folk Movement. They persuaded their audiences and other artists to produce mental images that could make them and other individuals question their subjectivity in a repressive state, and found their support in an increasingly profitable music industry. Some of the songwriters who derived from collectives, as Serrat or Mikel Laboa, found their popularity and commercial success had a polarizing effect, as it happened with Dylan and Baez in the USA: on one hand, in the early stage

⁷⁸ Valiño, Natalia. "La familia elevó el aspecto emotivo de este libro." <https://www.diariodeferrol.com/texto-diario/mostrar/2482030/familia-elevo-aspecto-emotivo-libro>.

of their popularity, they brought visibility to the collectives and other associates during the 60s and 70s; on the other hand, their stardom status meant audiences became less interested in the original goal from those movements, a fandom aspect that would dominate the music industry onwards.

The use of their own language as a symbol of resistance formed musical regionalisms that built communities which collaborated with one another to strengthen their common goal: topping the Francoist ruling bloc. As part of that collaboration, a two-sided 1972 album edited in France, *Cerca de Mañana*, collected the songs from various regions of Spain. Side A included Andalusia and Galicia, while Side B included Basque Country, Asturias, Extremadura, and Catalonia. The notable exception was the popular Madrilian New Song “Canción del Pueblo” in the description of regions represented. However, some of the artists in the album, as Pablo Guerrero (Extremadura) or Adolfo Cedrán (Valencia) became popular after their participation in the Madrilian New Song. Moreover, two of the artists who also took part in the Madrilian New Song were born and raised in Madrid, Julia León and Elisa Serna. Thus, the choice to neglect Madrid in the description of the album responded to a political issue rather than a stylistic one. The distrust of Madrid’s region responded to its condition as the main headquarters of the ruling bloc (with the increased vigilance that it entailed), but also the different nationalist sensibilities that showed the division behind the counterhegemonic bloc, which also helps to understand its rapid disintegration once democratic elections took place in 1978 and their common enemy did not unite them anymore.

Madrid: The Francoist headquarters

In Madrid, songwriters had to face unique difficulties in comparison with other areas of Spain, as they did not count with the support of an intellectual bourgeoisie, did not have

homogeneous musical roots and/or traditions, and did not possess a language to reclaim. Additionally, they gathered and performed in the capital, where Francoist institutions had concentrated their power. Some of them, as Luis Pastor or Pablo Guerrero, came from smaller provinces and. As González Lucini contended, the clandestine arrival of an Italian essay published in 1962 on the Spanish popular songs, “Canti della nuova resistenza spagnola, 1939-1961,” as the *American Anthology* or *The Little Red Songbook*, proved to be a valuable source for Castilian singers. The research pointed out that the 1961 labor strikes and the rise of songwriters could potentially undermine the Francoist international image, and the fact that Franco’s government forbid the manuscript, was alluring to many revolutionaries who decided to follow the steps of their Catalan, Latino-American, and American counterparts: “la influencia ejercida en nuestro país por representantes del folk anglosajón como Bob Dylan, Joan Baez o Pete Seeger; cantantes que llegaron a convertirse en auténticos mitos, a los que se admiraba, y a los que solía acudirse como modelos y referencia”⁷⁹ (González Lucini 386). The American figures became models or points of reference for many songwriters, achieving an idol-like aura among Castilian songwriters. Torrego Egidio (204) claimed that the permeability of the Madrilian “Canción de autor” to Anglo-Saxon music was greater than has been believed: Elisa Serna, for example, tried to do blues in Spanish; Rosa León managed to use English to sing. Cachas translated Bob Dylan and sang poems by the Archpriest of Hita accompanied by a harmonica and a twelve-string guitar, in the purest style of North American folk. Hilario Camacho was called the Madrilian “Bob Dylan.” In addition, there was the influence of the radio program “Caravana Musical,” in which Ángel Álvarez broadcasted

⁷⁹ The influence exercised in our country by representatives of Anglo-Saxon folk such as Bob Dylan, Joan Baez or Pete Seeger; singers who became authentic myths, who were admired, and who used to be used as models and reference

North American and English music since 1960 (mainly individuals as Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, and Bob Dylan).

As Spener corroborated in an interview with Elisa Serna, she and several other members of *Canción del Pueblo* believed it was so important to have access to socially and politically conscious music from outside fascist Spain that they rented a secret space to store records and songbooks that had been smuggled into the country (Spener 100-101). The transatlantic diffusion of other genres, authors and sensibilities was a new symbol of resistance that appealed to the masses within a movement that reinterpreted old songs from the Civil War which were becoming more residual to the new generations.

Torrego Egido claimed that a 1963 Swedish compilation book called *Canciones de la Nueva Resistencia Española* contained lyrics from the earliest exponent of the *Canción del Pueblo*, Chicho Sánchez Ferlosio (204). Chicho was the son of a Francoist high-ranking officer—Sánchez Mazas, a minister under Franco—, separated himself from his family beliefs and composed in 1962 what is one of the most popular resistance songs, “Gallo Rojo, Gallo Negro.” In this political anthem, Chicho portrayed the Francoist troops as a black rooster and depicted Republicans as a red rooster. “*Rojos*” was the pejorative appellative by which Nationalists referred to Spanish Republicans, due to the support from the URSS (the Red Army) during the Spanish Civil War. Chicho claimed that the red rooster would never surrender but would fight until dead:

Se encontraron en la arena
los dos gallos frente a frente.
El gallo negro era grande
pero el rojo era valiente.

Se miraron cara a cara
y atacó el negro primero.
El gallo rojo es valiente
pero el negro es traicionero.

Gallo negro, gallo negro,
gallo negro, te lo advierto:
no se rinde un gallo rojo
mas que cuando está ya muerto.⁸⁰

Chicho portrayed the black rooster, the Nationalists, as the ones who disturbed the peace through treasonous and illegitimate actions. He motivated the articulation of an artistic counterhegemonic discourse in Madrid, which will then become *Canción del Pueblo*, a student-led movement that in 1966 met at University of Madrid, having Els Setze Jutges and the recently formed Ez Dok Amairu as their organizational guidance in the Spanish territory. Their 1967 foundational recital in Ramiro de Maeztu's High School, casted the likes of Adolfo Celdrán, Elisa Serna, Hilario Camacho, Cachas, Carmina Álvarez, or Aute, among others; the initial speech before their performances discussed the origins of the North American folksong, achieving to transversally reunite different class strata, in their majority college students. Their following performances and adherence of new members boosted the group's popularity.

After the group split up in 1968, many of the members began solo careers while some decided to join other bands or form new ones. That was the case of Cachas, who imitated Dylan's nasal singing voice, and after his move to Barcelona, where he reunited with Albert Batiste, Selene,

⁸⁰ Found in the sand
the two roosters face to face.
The black rooster was big
but red was brave.

They looked each other in the face
and attacked the black man first.
The red rooster is brave
but black is treacherous.

Black rooster, black rooster,
black rooster, I warn you:
a red rooster does not surrender
more than when he is already dead

and Jaume Sisa—a founder of the seceded Grup de Folk, formed Música Dispersa, a band which, following Dylan’s transition to rock, experimented new forms of psychedelic folk. Before moving to Barcelona, Cachas was also part of the briefly active collective La Trágala—along with Serna and Camacho—borrowing the group’s name from the satirical song against Fernando VII during the 1820 revolution; a Republican anthem that praised the first Spanish constitution in 1812 and the enlightenment (González Lucini vol.1 411). The band only released one album edited by the Catalan label *Als 4 Vents*, which contained four poems from Machado, Hernández and López Pacheco. They defended in their manifesto the problems of the Spanish New Song: the absence of a musical tradition that was not minoritarian and the songs which were decidedly focused on commercial gains. They were conscious about the conundrum behind the popularization of any poetic expression that was sincere and delved deep into daily problems Spaniards had to face, and the difficulty of reaching wider audiences without an industry backing them.⁸¹

The most prominent member of the band, Elisa Serna, began her career singing Machado and Hernández’s poems, and was active performing in every place she could, including churches. Thus, she was put on Franco’s blacklist and was detained several times for disturbing public peace, forcing her move to Paris in the exile, where she met other songwriters as Paco Ibáñez and Lluís Llach (Barba 3). After her exit from La Trágala, she wrote “La Mayoría Silenciosa” in 1974, a song title that resembled President Nixon’s 1969 speech,⁸² and also echoed Blas de Otero’s poem

⁸¹ Fragment of La Tragala’s manifesto: “Al intentar hacer una canción de calidad en nuestro país, es indudable que nos encontramos con numerosas dificultades. Podemos fijarnos en la falta de un expresión poética mínimamente sincera y al mismo tiempo profunda de los problemas de los hombres que plantea esta España nuestra de cada día. También en la ausencia de una tradición musical que no sea, o bien minoritaria, o bien decididamente dirigida a una comercialidad fácil y sin otras miras que la rápida peseta.”

⁸² So tonight, to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans, I ask for your support. I pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to end the war in a way that we could win the peace. I have initiated a plan of action which will enable me to keep that pledge. The more support I can have from the American people, the sooner that pledge can be redeemed. For the more divided we are at home, the less likely the enemy is to negotiate in Paris.

“A la Inmensa Mayoría.” Serna targeted an audience who remained in silence out of fear, and claimed that the majority of the Spanish population was against Franco’s Government:

El día
que la inmensa mayoría
rompa a hablar
la escasa minoría
es posible
que se vaya a asustar.
Y aquel silencio de sepultura
serán mil voces puestas en pie
voces urgentes, voces futuras
voces gritando hasta enronquecer.⁸³ (Serna)

Serna’s 1975 “Este Tiempo ha de Acabar” reflected on Dylan’s “The Times They are A-Changin’.” Both authors argued that society’s renewal was only a matter of time; the waters, representing the increasing counterhegemonic discourse, an unstoppable overflow that would replace the old ideologies and will bring a societal change, urging their audiences to align themselves with it:

Esta es la ley del reemplazo de lo viejo con lo nuevo
Este tiempo ha de acabar
Otro nuevo apuntará
En la entraña de lo viejo
Va creciendo otra verdad
.....
O se ensanchan las orillas
O desbordará el caudal
Brotará el río entre viejas rocas.⁸⁴ (Serna)

⁸³ The day
that the vast majority
start talking
the small minority
it is possible
they will be scared.

And instead of a grave silence
there will be a thousand voices standing up
urgent voices, future voices
voices screaming hoarsely.

⁸⁴ This is the law of replacing the old with the new.
This time has to end

And admit that the waters
Around you have grown
And accept it that soon
You'll be drenched to the bone
If your time to you is worth savin'
And you better start swimmin'
Or you'll sink like a stone. (Dylan "The Times They Are A-Changin'")

Serna also wrote a Castilian version of Bonet's "Que Volan Questa Gent?" that also inspired her to write—under the pseudonym María Borroca—her "Avisa a los Compañeros" (1975); a story about a communist, Pedro Patiño, who was assassinated by the police on the 15th of September 1970 during the laborers strike. Another member of La Trágala, Hilario Camacho, the Madrilian Dylan due to its poetic lyrics and use of *enargeia*, aided to liberate poetry from the constraints in which print embodied it. He succeeded in giving voice to the protest poets as Ibáñez did before him, and also composed two songs, "Ven Aquí" and "Imagen", from his 1973 album *A Pesar de Todo*, which reclaimed the solidarity and agency of the subalterns in the last years of the Francoist regime. Camacho's "Ven Aquí" focused on the shared pain that subalterns faced, arguing that all of them had similar feelings in their struggle, and therefore, if an individual was ever in need, he or she could rely on him. "Imagen" asked his audience to rebel against the hegemonic discourse through the use of "you" in his lyrics, maintaining that being free was a choice and the listener had the agency to either rebel individually or collectively against the status quo: "Serás libre, Pero solo cuando quieras tú/ Serás libre./ Tienes la llave de tu vida."⁸⁵

Another new one will point
In the depths of the old
Another truth is growing

Or the shores widen
Or will the flow overflow
The river gushes between old rocks

⁸⁵ You will be free, But only when you want / You will be free. / You have the key to your life.

Manolo Díaz, who was in Washington D.C. during Martin Luther King's famous speech "I Have a Dream," composed a song based on it in 1967 upon his return to Spain, prior to his involvement in the *Canción del Pueblo* collective. His "Ayer Tuve un Sueño" ('Yesterday I had a dream') referred to his experience in the revolutionary movements that were taken place in the USA, and the sense of freedom that emanated from it, in contrast to his homecoming, where he underwent the constraints from the Francoist government:

Soñé que todo era verdad
y respiré felicidad
Sentí calor al verme allí
y me asombré de lo que vi.
Soñé que había Libertad
y descubrí amabilidad
Pensé quedarme siempre allí,
y, al despertar, entristecí.⁸⁶

Díaz was familiar with the Beat Generation and Dylan's oeuvre and later wrote the song "La Juventud Tiene Razón" (1969), in which there are instances of both "The Times They are A-Changin'" and "Blowin' in the Wind;" youngsters were the hopes of the New Spain bringing 'winds of happiness' that would banish the sadness and fears brought by the Francoist ruling bloc. Díaz placed his hopes on the "juventud cantando al futuro" ('youth singing to the future') and the song as a liberating force:

Un rayo de luz ilumina el mundo
es la juventud cantando al futuro,
vientos de alegría que ahuyenten temores

⁸⁶ I dreamed that everything was true
and I breathed happiness
I felt hot to see myself there
and I was amazed at what I saw.
I dreamed there was freedom
and discovered kindness
I thought I'd always stay there
and, when I woke up, I was sad

barriendo tristezas, soplarán un día,
soplarán un día, soplarán un día...⁸⁷

Díaz's 1972 second album, *A Divided Family*, sang in English, was a tribute to the beat generation and Dylan himself, with songs like "Hitler" ("I've seen the best minds of my world/ destroyed by madness mad/ Destroyed"), which resembled Allen Ginsberg's poem "Howl" ("I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving hysterical naked"). In "Hitler," Díaz demonized the Fascist ideology which created dystopian events in different parts of the world, including Spain. In the composition of his album, Diaz was also directly influenced by Dylan's prose book, *Tarantula* (1966), in which the bard from Minnesota mocked many characters, including some leaders: "could Hitler have said it? De Gaulle? Pinocchio? Lincoln? Agnes Moorehead? Goldwater? Bluebeard? the pirate? Robert E. Lee? Eisenhower? Groucho Smith? Teddy Kennedy? General Franco?" (Dylan *Tarantula* 51). Díaz aimed to write an album about leaders so he could ridicule them, as he explained in a letter sent to his father: "Es un trabajo cachondo como la misma historia que protagonizaron los aquí cantados. [...] al son de De Gaulle, Stalin o Churchill, ni de dar saltos al compás de Kennedy, Mussolini o Mao"⁸⁸ (González Lucini vol.1 435). As an organic intellectual, Diaz's anti-establishment attitude and criticism of partisan politics placed him as an outsider within the New Song movement, acknowledging the need to articulate a dynamic counterhegemonic discourse that could face any kind of ideological constrain on the individual. He did not take part of *Canción del Pueblo* and focused in producing and

⁸⁷ A spark of light illuminates the world
It is the youth singing to the future
Winds of happiness banish fears
Sweeping sadness, will blow one day
Will blow one day, will blow one day...

⁸⁸ It is a funny work like the history the people I hereby sing about were involved in [...] to the rhythm of De Gaulle, Stalin, or Churchill, or not jumping to the beat of Kennedy, Musollini or Mao.

promoting other songwriters (as Pablo Guerrero's "A Cántaros") and bands in the 70s, being the collective Aguaviva the best representation of Díaz's intentions. Aguaviva was Díaz's initiative, a popular band that played in several countries in the 70s and was translated into many different languages, including English. Aguaviva did not have any fixed members, it was an open and eclectic collective in which artists could experiment with the reinterpretation of Spanish poets that Ibáñez and Serrat previously popularized.

Luis Eduardo Aute, a member of *Canción del Pueblo*, was one of the most popular songwriters in the protest scene. Aute was originally a painter who during an exhibition in America discovered Dylan's music, and shortly after decided to compose his own songs in the 60s: "momento que coincidió con su descubrimiento de Bob Dylan, y, en particular, con el de su canción "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall", que le inquietó y le suscitó la necesidad de empezar a escribir sus propias canciones"⁸⁹ (446). "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" was another song Dylan wrote that is linked to the Cold War and the Cuban Missile Crisis, although it was written before JFK delivered his speech to the Nation. Dave Van Ronk, who knew the song before Dylan sang it for the first time in a hootenanny organized by Pete Seeger at Carnegie Hall in 1962, argued that he could foreshadow its revolutionary impact and importance in the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements: "I heard him sing...and I could not even talk about it; I just had to leave the club and walk around for a while. It was unlike anything that had come before it, and it was clearly the beginning of a revolution" (Margotin 61). Its apocalyptic images announced an end to modern civilization, a critique to the lies in the News media and asked his audience to question the official messages, otherwise the ending for all humankind was near. In an interview with Studs Terkel in

⁸⁹ moment that coincided with his discovery of Bob Dylan, and, in particular, with that of his song "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall", which disturbed him and aroused the need to start writing his own songs.

1963 (Cott 7), Dylan claimed that “it is not atomic rain, but just a hard rain. It isn’t the fallout rain. I mean some sort of end that’s just gonna happen... In the last verse when I say, ‘Where the pellets of poison are flooding their waters’, that means all the lies that people get told in the radio and in their newspapers.” Allen Ginsberg upon hearing the song, proclaimed that he realized the new generation was ready to produce literature that was significant and question the established societal notions: “I heard ‘A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall’ ...and I wept because it seemed to me that the torch had been passed to another generation” (Margotin 62). Aute wrote in 1966 his “Rosas en el Mar,” which Eurovision winner, Massiel, popularized in 1967. The song made “references to the lack of freedom of Franco’s regime, the record attained considerable commercial success” (López Cano 192). His treatment of *enargeia* questioned the legitimacy of the ruling bloc through hyperboles that alluded directly to the audiences’ pathos since, as Webb (100) argued, even when the effect is not strictly ‘emotional,’ the physical understanding of the impact of *enargeia* means that a reader/listener who forms an image of any kind in his or her mind is still experiencing some form of pathos as he or she experiences the effect of the words. Aute’s verse, “it is easier to find roses in the sea” than living in freedom under Franco’s regime persuaded the listeners to examine the veracity of Aute’s hyperbole. As an *euphantasiotos*, Aute anticipated the audience’s realization of said hyperbole as an hyperbole from a stylistic point of view, but ideologically pointed out to a “truth” that many subalterns faced:

Voy pidiendo libertad y no quieren oír
 Es una necesidad para poder vivir
 La libertad, la libertad, derecho de la humanidad
 Es más fácil encontrar rosas en el mar.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ I’m asking for freedom and they don’t want to hear it
 It is a necessity to be able to live
 Freedom, liberty, the right of humanity
 It is easier to find roses in the sea

Aute's 1975 "Al Alba," which he wrote around the times when the last use of capital punishment took place in Spain on the 27th of September, became a revolutionary anthem. The song remains one of the most popular protest songs in Spain and was able to avoid censorship thanks to its metaphors and imagery. Dressed as a love song, it was a general critique of the death penalty, but those events were forever associated with the song after activist/singer Rosa León, performed and dedicated it to the five executed protesters. Its apocalyptic images, 'thousands of silent vultures', 'damn dance of the death' produced in his listeners uneasiness and continued the tradition of associating the dawn with death, as his Catalan counterparts:

Miles de buitres callados
Van extendiendo sus alas
No te destroza, amor mío
Esta silenciosa danza
Maldito baile de muertos
Pólvora de la mañana

Presiento que tras la noche
Vendrá la noche más larga
Quiero que no me abandones
Amor mío, al alba.⁹¹

Pablo Guerrero, a provincial representative of the New Song in Extremadura who moved to Madrid in order to study philosophy at college, was a champion of the rural world until he listened to the American folk, especially Bob Dylan, which marked his transition and further inclusion of the urban world in his insurgent lyrics in 1972. González Lucini portrayed Guerrero

⁹¹ Thousands of silent vultures
They are spreading their wings
It doesn't destroy you, my love
This silent dance
Damn dance of the dead
Morning gunpowder
I sense that after the night

The longest night will come
I don't want you to leave me
My love, at dawn

as an artist who was, above all, a great poet who sang, capturing the reality of the everyday life pledging his sensibilities to the cause (vol.1 477-478). Guerrero wrote in 1972 “A cántaros,” which resembled Dylan’s “A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall,” the rain representing a cleansing element that will wipe the past: “que es tiempo de vivir y de soñar y de creer/que tiene que llover/ a cántaros.”⁹² Guerrero noticed the agonizing status of the ruling bloc and argued they were living a period in which protesting was the natural option since there were ‘signals’ that marked the ending of the Francoist hegemony: “Pero tu y yo sabemos que hay/ Señales que anuncian/ Que la siesta se acaba.”⁹³

Cecilia, a Madrilian who lived in Philadelphia in 1958 and was well-travelled at a young age due to her father’s job as a diplomat, began her singing career interpreting Baez and Dylan’s songs (González Lucini vol.1 488). Most of her lyrics before her premature death in a car accident in 1976 discussed love and heartbreak and left her imprint in the protest scene due to her feminist approach –as Mari Trini did in her “Yo no soy esa,” censored in 1971–questioning traditional topics such as marriage, motherhood, or femininity. Her most popular song was her 1975 “Mi Querida España,” which was censored by the regime, and which reinforced the success of poetry in the creation of a counterhegemonic discourse: “Mi querida España, esta España mía, esta España nuestra/ De tu santa siesta, ahora te despiertan versos de poetas.”⁹⁴ Dylan influenced Cecilia’s 1973 “Un Millón de Sueños,” in which she initially asked open questions (“¿Cuántos nombres en la historia/ Son dueños de las glorias?/ ¿Cuántos hombres cuestan las victorias?”⁹⁵) analogously to

⁹² ‘It is time to live and dream and believe/ that it has to rain/ a hard rain’

⁹³ But you and I know that there are/ Signs that announce/ That the nap is over

⁹⁴ My dear Spain, this Spain of mine, this Spain of ours/ From your holy siesta, now verses of poets wake you up.

⁹⁵ How many names in history/ Own the glories? / How many men cost the victories?

Dylan's "Blowin' in the wind," yet Cecilia literally answered the questions ("Ahora vivo a costa / De un millón de muertos/ Un millón de tumbas, Un millón de espectros"⁹⁶) and put the emphasis on the deeds of the fallen Loyalists.

Luis Pastor, a transplant who decided to move to Madrid from Extremadura, as Pablo Guerrero, composed his "Están Cambiando los Tiempos" in 1977: "Han sido tiempos sombríos, y aún no son tiempos claros, pero soplan nuevos vientos; parece que respiramos."⁹⁷ Pastor was inspired by Dylan's "The Times They are A-Changin'" –the hope that Franco's death might lead to a renewed paradigm in Spanish territory–, and Celaya's poem "Cantemos Como Quien Respira," in which the poet debated that freedom arises from the love that develops from being able to subjectivize oneself without any constraints: "Porque eso es la libertad, porque es decir que somos quienes somos, porque eso es el amor: respirar o cantar. Porque ambas cosas son la misma: Poesía"⁹⁸ (Celaya "Cantemos").

Andalucía

In Southern Spain, Andalucía, the nature of the New Song exhibited autochthonous roots and mostly disregarded foreign influence, even if one of its main proponents, Carlos Cano, was compared with Bob Dylan due to his use of metaphorical images and anti-establishment character. In fact, Cano rejected any kind of identification with Bob Dylan, positioning the traditional above the foreign influences: "se declara más heredero de la copla que de Bob Dylan, del pasodoble que

⁹⁶ Now I live at the expense / Of a million dead / A million graves, / A million specters.

⁹⁷ Those were dark times, and still times are not clear, but new winds are blowing; it seems we are breathing.

⁹⁸ Because that is freedom, because that is to say that we are who we are, because that is love: to breathe or to sing. Because both things are the same: Poetry.

del rock. Y actúa en consecuencia”⁹⁹ (Bayón). Cano explained his reluctance to adhere to any specific ideology or idolize foreign figures, and placed the artist’s individuality above all in 1977: “Me integro y no me integro, no puedo integrarme, ¡no quiero!...Radio Pirenaica, La Pasionaria, Francisco Franco y olé, la Falange, ideología sentimental, ‘¡no quiero!, ¡no puedo!, ¡no me da la gana!’...dieciocho años, ‘¿qué pinto yo en la vida? Granada me encadena!, ¡me ahogo!... El niño se va: la emigración”¹⁰⁰ (González Lucini vol.2 53); likewise, another popular Southern songwriter, Antonio Mata, rejected any kind of coercion, identifying himself with the autochthonous flora and fauna in the countryside: “Yo no imploro otra cosa más que el poder ser libre como el grillo”...; “mi casa no tiene rejas” y “mi voz no tiene precio.”¹⁰¹

Antonio Mata’s radicalism and defense of individual liberty led him to confront his own colleagues from *Manifiesto Canción del Sur*, a 1968 artistic movement that aimed to imitate the success of its Catala counterparts, and he was subsequently ostracized in 1978, which marked the end of the movement. As González Lucini pointed out, his “passion for freedom, for the freedom of Southerners, and his own liberty against any kind of ideological, social, and moral conventionalisms, which could, or pretend to, put a limit to his unquenchable wishes of living” (41). Mata, who did not enjoy Cano’s national popularity despite both starting their careers together in *Manifiesto Canción del Sur*, was instrumental in the Southern region, where he reaffirmed his philosophy and artwork, even if he found himself ‘forever wandering the winds’, as

⁹⁹ He declares himself more of an heir of the ‘copla’ than Dylan’s ballads, closer to ‘pasodoble’ than rock. And he acted in consequence.

¹⁰⁰“I integrate and I don't integrate, I can't integrate, I don't want to! ... Radio Pirenaica, La Pasionaria, Francisco Franco y olé, the Falange, sentimental ideology, the desire! '... eighteen years,' what do I paint in life? Granada chains me !, I drown! ... The child leaves: emigration...”

¹⁰¹ I beg for nothing more than the power to be free like the cricket ”...; "My house has no bars" and my voice is priceless”

in his “Yo soy del Sur,” one of his most popular works: “Yo soy así, peregrino de mil vientos / y de un eterno vagar.”¹⁰²

Cano’s lyrics were bitter satires of the political sphere, which he perceived as oppressive, particularly towards the Southern Spanish region. His ironic language supported his pro-Andalusian attitude, a Spanish region that was affected by the countryside exodus to other big cities in Spain and elsewhere: “Cantor de la compasión y del sarcasmo –como lo definió Saramago –con el corazón vuelto hacia el Sur, donde los dolores son mayores y las esperanzas inmortales”¹⁰³ (40). In 1980, he composed the song “A una Bella Durmiente”, explaining his discontent with the Spanish democratic transition and the lack of memory on the Francoist crimes. He claimed that the ‘wind’, as an embodiment of change, has been contained, but he reassured his audience that it will be back and once again reshape civil society: “ya vendrá el viento, / traerá la vida y la memoria/ vencerá al silencio”¹⁰⁴ (56).

Carlos Cano, Antonio Mata, and poet Juan de Loxa were the main proponents of the *Manifiesto Canción del Sur*, which aimed to be the “soundtrack” of the Andalusian pro-democratic bloc, a politically motivated defense of the South that provided visibility to the region, but whose members had different perspectives on the degree of internationalization or nationalism of the South once Franco died in 1975 (Marin-Cobos 163). Nonetheless, their strict focus on Andalusian roots (the flamenco, countryside, the sea, etc.) and collaboration with other artists, such as their

¹⁰² I am like that, pilgrim of a thousand winds / and of an eternal wander.

¹⁰³ Carlos developed a splendid professional career in which, after overcoming all kinds of obstacles, he became one of our most brilliant and important popular singers of the twentieth century. “Singer of compassion and sarcasm - as Saramago defined it - with his heart turned to the South, where the pains are greater and the hopes immortal

¹⁰⁴ The wind will come/bringing with it life and memory/it will beat the silence.

concert with Lluís Llach in Paris in 1972, encouraged the regional and international articulation of the counterhegemonic bloc that led to Spanish democracy in 1978.

Another point of friction that affected Southern songwriters was the conundrum of going commercial, earning credit and profits as individuals instead of providing an equally collective share, a phenomenon which was a cause of concern for those who adhere themselves with the Almanac Singers and Irwin Silber's sociopolitical strategy in the USA; the commodification of the artistic protagonists of the counterhegemonic discourse, weaken the New Song movement and extolled some artists who profited from their initial participation in the movement.

CHAPTER 5: THE COMMODIFICATION OF CULTURE AND JOAQUÍN SABINA AS DYLAN'S MOST SUCCESSFUL HEIR

Dylan es tantos hombres que me pierdo.
Apenas aprendido, te despista:
el folksinger, el duro, el loco, el cuerdo;
el francotirador de la autopista.¹⁰⁵ (Sabina *Rolling Stone*)

Dylan as a case study on the two paradigms of Popular Culture

The Frankfurt School pointed out the commercial popular culture as empty, worthless. Adorno, like Kant before him, believed in the universal cultural standard of disinterestedness from a measuring point of view, acknowledging that high art provides a standard for aesthetic criticism (Adorno *Aesthetic Theory* 9-14). If Beauty in an artwork is the only pleasure that is not a product of desire, and disinterested beauty can only be found in high art forms, the artwork itself transcends time and space, but only the knowledgeable individuals can discern its beauty. As Melaney discussed on his revision of Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory* (41-45), in Adorno's appraisal of high culture products as more elaborated, Adorno rejected the idea of spontaneous art and its process of creation as a meaningful manifestation of beauty, which would undermine the imagery in songs we discussed such as "Al Vent" or "Blowin' in the Wind," which were written spontaneously.

Adorno and Horkheimer in their "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," defended that mass culture overruns the individuals' brains through mechanisms such as repetition and standardization, generating cultural mobs that are passive, while those mobs lack the agency and critical thinking necessary to revolt against the status quo. They also criticized the culture

¹⁰⁵ Dylan is so many men that I get lost.
Barely learned, he misleads you:
the folksinger, the tough, the crazy, the sane;
highway sniper.

industry for producing those meaningless artworks for the sole purpose of targeting pathos and for the benefit of the ones on top, whose main goal is to enlarge their bank accounts: “Movies and radio need no longer pretend to be art. The truth that they are just business is made into an ideology in order to justify the rubbish they deliberately produce. They call themselves industries; and when their directors’ incomes are published, any doubt about the social utility of the finished products is removed” (34). Part of Adorno and Horkheimer’s pessimist view on popular culture derives from their early 20th Century distinction of high/low culture. Their aesthetic subjectivity, demonization of popular culture as part of a lower culture, and critique of the mobs, come (paradoxically) from an elitist perspective. Adorno understood popular music as Pavlovian, static and unchanging, “antagonistic to the ideal of individuality in a free, liberal society” (Denisoff Solid Gold 426). Thus, originally, popular music listeners were passive subjects who distracted themselves through entertainment, particularly love music. Raymond Williams contested Adorno’s and, particularly, Leavis’ assumption that high art represents the beliefs of a whole nation. In his *Long Revolution*, Williams indicated that if high art expresses the culture of the gentleman, then popular culture must be an expression of the working class and cannot (should not) be omitted from a whole analysis of a nation’s cultural aspects.

Williams defended that culture is ordinary and belonged to the majority. Yet Hoggart was skeptical on the apparent cultural power of the working class. He argued in his *The Uses of Literacy* (283) that Williams was a culturalist who put too much faith on the independence of thought of the working-class. If the subalterns are part of society’s formation, then they are also cultural byproducts of the industries’ interests. Therefore, the genesis of an artwork relies on intersubjectivity and the relation to the economic modes of production, not solely on the individual. Thus, from that perspective the popularization of the folk movement along with the listeners’

acceptance of its repetitive sounds, as in the case of “Tom Dooley,” therefore, might have aided to develop a false consciousness. However, the popularization of the folk movement and individual artists who found their way to stardom status, revealed the importance that pressing social issues had on the average American in the 60s, particularly the new generations, and the nativist aspect of the movement: “The Beatles’ first American tour found Ivy League students picketing with placards reading ‘Stamp out Beatles,’ ‘Pass the Bug Repellent,’ and ‘Bach Not Beatles.’ Folksingers such as Joan Baez and Peter, Paul and Mary included rock parodies in their college concerts” (Denisoff Solid Gold 446). The popularization of political songs and the folk scene of the early 1960s contained within it a series of assumptions regarding the political and artistic flaws of commercially produced popular music. Indeed, the folk revival could be understood in the context of the most general critique of mass culture that was common during the 1950s—pop music was shallow, transient and commercially driven while folk music had depth, purity, and was produced authentically.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the choice of audiences to popularize folk as a vehicle for change might have responded to the struggles of the times rather than to the mob control that, according to Adorno, music industries employ in order to obtain capitalist gains.

Popular culture researcher John Fiske argued in his analysis of this modern phenomenon¹⁰⁷ that “the people” are the ones who create and transform popular culture, not the culture industry; “the people” are those who hold social allegiances (race, gender, class, region...) against oppositional cultural collectives (43). He contended that popular culture, unlike mass culture, develops from within it, not from an external agent. Moreover, popular culture arises in contraposition to a dominant culture, which does not imply that dominant social groups cannot

¹⁰⁶ Dettmar, Kevin JH, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Bob Dylan*. (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 105.

¹⁰⁷ Fiske, John. *Understanding Popular Culture*, 2010.

partake in pop culture, but only if they acknowledge their privileged situation, similarly to the structuring a counterhegemonic discourse in which intellectuals act as a bridge between subalterns and the ruling bloc. However, cultural Marxists who built on Adorno's theories, contended that arts are part of the ideological hegemony, and popular culture was no different. In an already commodified world, there is no so-called authentic folk culture against which to measure the "inauthenticity" of mass culture. Popular culture "plays by the rules" of the capitalist system, as it depends on educational and political conditions in which it exists. The diversity needs to be controlled by the means of production. Thus, the counterhegemonic popular culture's impact in society is entirely dependent on the socioeconomic context, and the dominant hegemony limits the scope of its action. For instance, by 1956, McCarthyism "drove the Communist party and its front groups increasingly into political isolation, and finally, in 1956, into a small political sect" (Denisoff SSC 58). Thus, the 60s folksingers did not focus on overthrowing the capitalist system, like the folkers before them did, but on tackling a number of issues and personal achievements, the latter a consequence of commercialization.

The folk music revival was originally an esoteric genre until Kingston Trio released their previously referred to "Tom Dooley" in 1958. "Tom Dooley" was the number one song in Billboard and sold millions of albums, which was the consequence of an increasing acceptance of non-partisan folk music:

In the postwar period the nonpolitical folk-styled song grew in public acceptance while the Communist movement was reduced to a political sect. The isolated folk entrepreneur, however, did not reject the song of persuasion even though some of his colleagues became successful by rejecting political folk consciousness. Those singers who did not were publicly labeled deviants and suffered a number of social sanctions (Denisoff GDC 139).

The popularization of the folk scene and individual artists/bands and its consequent economic incentives placed folk music in the popular domain— popular music defined as "the sum

total of those taste units, social groups and musical genres which coalesce along certain taste and preference similarities in a given space and time” (Denisoff Toward Definition 147)– was bound to commercialization after the introduction of revolutionary technology (radios, records, television) that helped to massively reproduce the musical products. Williams claimed that any kind of cultural artifact that defies ideological hegemony would experience an assimilation process by the dominant culture, as cultural hegemony is unstable, and therefore must adapt and absorb new forms of oppositional resistance.¹⁰⁸ If the market determines the artistic process and the audience’s response to the artwork. The introduction of folk song into the mainstream of American popular music presented its community with novel and previously unanticipated difficulties, as the celebrity status that some of the members might acquire and might obscure the original goals of the movement, as in the case of Dylan or Serrat. For instance, in the USA, Newport and countless other folk music festivals in 1963 and 1964 demonstrated that the star system was becoming an integral component of the folk music scene, the majority of visitors came to see a specific performer or band.

Robert Cantwell, in his 1996 revision of the folk revival, analyzed the role of mass culture as an institutional means of control. We can posit the existence of mass culture only by positioning ourselves outside of it; yet it is the very possibility of a “mass” culture into question, even as we recognize everywhere the immense effort by institutions to circulate their own products, images, and associated ideologies, in effect to dominate the terrain at which culture and the marketplace converge. Hence, it is not “mass culture” at issue, but cultural control.¹⁰⁹ Stuart Hall explored this

¹⁰⁸ Williams, Raymond. *Culture and society, 1780-1950*. Columbia University Press, 1983. Read for more information on the role of folk tradition and culture as a revolutionary force.

¹⁰⁹ Cantwell, Robert. *When we were good: The folk revival*. (Harvard University Press, 1996), 333.

phenomenon in his 1980 seminal essay, “Cultural Studies: The Two Paradigms.” Popular culture is contradictory; on one hand, it is part of the commodification of culture, following the capitalist gains of a profit-minded market; on the other hand, popular culture belongs to the people and their interests. He asserted that the incongruity of these two paradigms within the area of popular culture is the major impediment for its analysis. The relationship between folk music and political ideology was turbulent. In the early years of the Almanac Singers or Woody Guthrie, folk entrepreneurs sought refuge in their isolation while simultaneously condemning it. They hoped that folk songs would become the music of the people. And it did indeed. Folk music had become popular by the time Joan Baez, the most enduring and conscious star (along with Seeger), was featured on the cover of *Time* in 1962 (Baez *A Memoir* 60), a sign of success in the United States. The Zeitgeist of the folk revival was worlds apart from the Almanacs' and People's Songsters' utopian visions. Some protesters realize that “the mass media co-opt radicalism by diluting its content and dulling its fervor...Commercialism could just as easily destroy protest music by subverting the performer as by diluting content.”¹¹⁰ Thus can the popular commodified culture articulate a counterhegemonic discourse?

In his ascend as an international idol, Dylan's lyrics were not entirely emergent within folk culture, but complementary to other artists in the folk antiwar movement. The folk movement's audience adopted a political strategy, appointing Dylan as their prophet, with the hope that his figure would strengthen the union against the status quo, as the “celebrity status would become an important focus of new social movements striving for media platforms.”¹¹¹ Thus, Dylan's artwork transitioned from emergent/complementary to becoming the dominant culture within the folk

¹¹⁰ Rodnitzky, Jerome L. *Minstrels of the dawn: The folk-protest singer as a cultural hero*. Burnham Incorporated Pub, 1976, p. 35.

¹¹¹ Monteith, Sharon. *American Culture in the 1960s*. (Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 39.

movement. The influential *Sing Out!* editor, Irwin Silber, in 1964 warned folk sympathizers about the problems stardoms pose for the overall goals of their community. The global mass popularization of records in the 60s, predominantly rock and folk, boosted some of their representatives to stardom, which meant that the music genre and its original ideology began to fade. The fandom aspect is derived from the collective to the individual. Festival organizers had difficulties filling their events capacity unless Dylan, Baez, or Phil Ochs, were part of them.

Denisoff argued that stardom was not a countercultural force, but part of the dominant hegemony the folk movement aimed to derail: “One of the fundamental tenets of the proletariat renaissance was ‘thou shalt not go commercial.’ Guthrie, Seeger, and many others derided Tin Pan Alley and its products as unreal and obscurantist. [...] Going commercial or ‘selling out’ also had the ideological connotation of rejecting the ‘art is a weapon’ philosophy” (GDC 190). By delegating so much power in one individual, Bob Dylan’s music was slowly losing the revolutionary ritual behind it and becoming another form of leisure instead of a political tool. As mass media accepted and spread Dylan as a herald, the audience became a mob, in line with Adorno’s and Williams’s concerns on the dangers of mass culture: mass-communication and the lack of powerful means of multiple transmission relegates a manipulated majority to mob status.¹¹² Dylan realized that potential constrain to himself and his audience. Thus, his abandonment of such responsibility was not just an individualistic decision, but a collective one, a way of also protecting the antiestablishment aspect of the movement.

In 1968, Pete Seeger wrote the following lines in his “False from True”: “No song I can sing will make Governor Wallace change his mind. / No song I can sing will take the gun from a

¹¹² Williams, Raymond. *Culture and society, 1780-1950*. (Columbia University Press, 1983), 304.

hate-filled man...” The impotence of Seeger and those who once inspired large cohorts of people, was the realization that their music had become residual. However, Dylan continued receiving accolades and attention while the complexity of his lyrics drew him to become a popular high-culture idol, which appears to be contradictory, but also explained the appetite of the populace as well as academics in deciphering the intricacies of his lyrics and persona. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, in his examination of cultural capital, argued that the preconception of high vs low culture is itself problematic, as only the higher social status individuals have access to the dominant culture, deciding what constitutes legitimate vs illegitimate culture. Bourdieu, unlike Kant, argued that the pleasure of venerating the aesthetics of an artwork, the subjected feelings of pleasure in the admiration of culture, could not be disinterested. On the contrary, the dominant class have an interest in keeping “their” culture as superior and more deserving of resources. Through Bourdieu’s framework, Dylan’s music became a hybrid between high and low art, a mass product that the status quo aimed to appropriate.

Lyndon B. Johnson’s famous speech in March 1965 on voting rights and his use of the phrase “We Shall Overcome,” which was a traditional working-class chant,¹¹³ marked a turning point in the effectiveness of the folk discourse as a counterhegemonic force. The dominant hegemony made concessions to the social movements, but also appropriated the Folk and Civil Rights Movements’ tenets, which weaken their alternative’s prominence: “Thus 1965 marked the culmination, success, and end of the classic civil rights movement.”¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Stotts, Stuart, and Pete Seeger. *We shall overcome: A song that changed the world*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2010.

¹¹⁴ Roy, William G. *Reds, whites, and blues: Social movements, folk music, and race in the United States*. Vol. 45. (Princeton University Press, 2013), 184.

As Denisoff argued in his *Great Day Coming*, there was a constant search for idols who could transmit and popularize the folk movement: “The title ‘people’s artists’ would for nearly two decades predominate in the performance of folk music in the urban milieu and provide role expectations for the isolated folk entrepreneur” (76). Dylan’s fans saw him as “the spokesman of a generation” or “the reincarnation of Woody Guthrie.” Richard Thomas, on Dylan’s Nobel Prize lecture and the use of “you” and creation of vivid images, argued that in Dylan’s capacity to faze the Other, the audience is enslaved by Dylan’s captivating imagery: “We see only the surface of things. We can interpret what lies below any way we see fit. Crewmen walk around on deck listening for mermaids, and sharks and vultures follow the ship. Reading skulls and faces like you read a book. Here’s a face. I’ll put it in front of you. Read it if you can” (Thomas 315). His compositions on Southern racial victims prompted his popularity among the Civil Rights Movement, which complemented with his more ambiguous songs and his choice of questioning any individual’s stance on generational concerns such as war, political corruption, and agency through the use of metaphorical images. Moreover, even though we can trace his main political and artistic influences in the 60s, such as Suze Rotolo, Woody Guthrie, Rimbaud, among many others, his constant position on and off the stage was to defend individual freedom from a nativist perspective. Thus, Dylan was recognized as “a mercurial genius, the ultimate outsider, compared to Woody Guthrie in *Bound for Glory*, Jack Kerouac in *On the Road*, Marlon Brando in *The Wild One*, Holden Caulfield in *Catcher in the Rye* ... James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause*” (Elijah 3). Dylan had become, for many, the embodiment of a restlessness that permeated a substantial portion of his own generation in a short time.

Dylan’s early songs placed him in the Guthrie tradition, but he was definitely not Woody. Dylan lacked any strong ideological beliefs. In contrast to Woody, he was psychologically unsuited

for a position of leadership. His turbulent relationship with the media demonstrated that he was initially shy, reclusive, and uncomfortable with his success. Nevertheless, he did what was necessary to achieve stardom. In contrast to Woody Guthrie, Bob Dylan became a "star" who was subject to all the factors that influence the famous (Denisoff GDC 180-181). *Another Side of Bob Dylan* marked a turning point in Bob Dylan's career, "he was no longer interested in pointing a finger at the inconsistencies and injustice of a system without providing a solution [...] From this point on, what drove him was expressing what he felt down inside, pouring his impressions on paper, exorcising his frustrations" (Margotin 112). I would argue that Dylan was indeed already expressing what he felt down inside in his early material through his arduous defense of non-conformity and his desire for every individual to possess sociopolitical agency. However, it was time to discover himself outside any pressure groups: "Me, I don't want to write for people anymore. You know—be a spokesman. Like I once wrote about Emmett Till in the first person, pretending I was him. From now on, I want to write from inside me..." (Cott 112). If "The Times They are A-Changin'" put the emphasis on the younger generations as the ones with answers to the problems, in the lines "Ah, but I was so much older then/ I am younger than that now" from Dylan's "My Back Pages," Dylan criticized youngsters who follow directrices instead of questioning the world around them. While being young is usually associated with a questioning character, Dylan argued that, if that was the case, then *he was older* in the previous albums.

Ingram compared Dylan's and Pete Seeger's music as Dionysian and Apollonian. Seeger, whose music appealed to the rationale, in contraposition to Dylan's new style, which enticed the "ballsy" rock: "Dylan's new music and performance style signified rebellious individualism, the pursuit of pleasure, and the division of society into the hip and the square, the young and the old." (Ingram 31). Bob Dylan stated on multiple occasions that his primary obligation was to himself,

and that protest songs were merely a means to an end, a means to launch his career. This is a far cry from the collective ethos of the proletariat renaissance, in which performers "sang everywhere for all kinds of causes" (Denisoff GDC 174) to alter the social structure. He argued that ultimately, he is responsible of his own morals and actions, rejecting the possibility of universal righteousness as in his "Poem V," from 1964 album *Another Side of Dylan*:

I know no answers an no truth
For absolutely no soul alive
I will listen to no one
Who tells me morals
There are no morals
And I dream a lot. (Dylan)

Dylan defied any kind of artistic confinement and political alignment through his independent creativity, since creativity is each individual's use of the imagination, even though artists' influences and social contexts play major roles in the genesis of an artwork. If we consider creativity as the core of imagination and an autonomous "capacity of individuals to collectively make the world," as Gunn argued (44), imagination is not only a powerful ideological tool, but also a required notion to understanding and shaping the world. If ideology "dictates" creativity, it might do so as a reaction to the dominant ideology, and as part of a countercultural movement, which appeared to be Dylan's case in the early 60s. However, as David Ingram defended "Dylan's rejection of the protest song in this period may be seen as part of a growing body of dissent within folk music circles about the political efficacy of proletarian realism" (29). It was not that Dylan had abandoned *a* cause, but he abandoned *the* cause, as Dylan himself explained in an interview with Nat Hentoff in 1963: "Not pointless to dedicate yourself to peace and racial equality, but rather, it's pointless to dedicate yourself to the cause: that's really pointless. That's very unknowing. To say "cause of peace" is just like saying "hunk of butter." I mean, how can you listen to anybody who wants you to believe he's dedicated to the hunk and not to the butter?" (Cott

112). For many, Dylan embodied the deception of the older folk generation, and prominent folk singers and critiques labeled him as a sell-out:

While little consensus could be found about the total implication of Newport '64, there was little disagreement among the sages in New York that the folk revival had become too commercial and, in the process, has lost many of its 'inherent values.' In short, its mentors had lost control of the 'folk music movement,' as it was incorrectly labeled. The culprit of the piece, not surprisingly, was Bob Dylan. The emperor for many of his sponsors, had lost its clothes. (Denisoff GDC 182)

When Dylan accepted the Tom Paine award in December 1963, he consciously described the pyramidal structure of the capitalist system, claiming that "there's no black and white, left and right to me anymore; there's only up and down and down is very close to the ground. And I'm trying to go up without thinking about anything trivial such as politic."¹¹⁵ In a short period of time (1960-1963), his breakup with Suze Rotolo, the disappointment with the folk movement and the political institutions, changed his political involvement and the content of his lyrics. Joan Baez (*A Memoir* 95) in her autobiography allowed Dylan to define himself by asking what differentiated the two of them. He said the answer was really simple, while Baez thought she could change things, he knew no one could.

Critics and older fans continued to stir the ashes of Bob's pseudo-proletarian past while awaiting his return to his roots and leadership of the next great protest song revival. A non-academic and artistic reaction to Dylan's departure from the Folk scene and their socio-political struggles was Baez's "To Bobby" (1972), which contributed in establishing Dylan's savior image that was indispensable to his status as a cultural icon (Rodnitzky 115). Baez intended to put pressure on Dylan seven years after he released his *Another Side of Dylan*, offering apocalyptic

¹¹⁵ In Drier's "The Political Bob Dylan" (4).

images and questioning his early departure from a movement that still had opportunities to reach more sympathizers:

You left us marching on the road and said how heavy was the load
The years were young, the struggle barely had its start
Do you hear the voices in the night, Bobby?
They're crying for you
See the children in the morning light, Bobby
They're dying. (Baez "To Bobby")

Dylan did not go back to the folk scene, and the Nobel Prize Award is the result of such a decision. Otherwise, his influence would have been directly linked to the success of the folk genre, which, at the same time, due to the adherence of some artists to certain political beliefs, also depended on a dynamic counterhegemonic discourse. Moreover, from a commercial perspective, labels did not find communal folk as profitable anymore: "By 1975, only John Lennon's "Give peace a chance" followed the traditional protest songs format, ["Give Peace a Chance"] is the only current political song based structurally on the more traditional format of protest song, being repetitive, easy to sing, and stressing the word 'we'" (Denisoff SSC 23). Therefore, the most important difference between the 30s and post-60s folk scenes was the diffusion medium. Although live performances had an imprint in the Civil Rights movement and the initial popularization of Dylan's work, it was the transatlantic recording industry that propelled their music to new commercial success.

The striking aspect of the folk song revival after Newport '63 was the rejection of folk consciousness for a place in the popular music industry. This repudiation was both aesthetic and political. While folk consciousness was a form of esoteric communication, the evolution of folk-rock was a return to familiarity theme. The socially conscious folkniks were products of the mass media. [...] They did not reject, as did the 'working-class intellectual' of the 1940s, the offerings of mass media as obscurantists ploys. Nor did they necessarily desire the creation of a 'people's music.' For them folk music was *already* part of popular music and subject to the structural nuances of the industry. (Denisoff GDC 185)

If 1965 marked the culmination of success and end of the 60s Civil Rights movement, 1976 indicated Bob Dylan's official induction into the political and civil society as the "Voice of a generation" and his music no longer could be marginal but became a part of the high culture the folk movement first targeted: "During his presidential campaign in 1976, Carter quoted lines from "Blowin' in the Wind," and during his acceptance speech to be the Democratic Party's nominee that summer, Carter invoked "It's Alright, Ma (I'm Only Bleeding)": "We have an America that, in Bob Dylan's phrase, is busy being born, not busy dying" (Browne).

The folk movement and Bob Dylan's path to stardom in the 60s could provide a partial answer to all the formulated questions and different opinions on the nature of high art/popular culture, and the potential use of popular culture to articulate a counterhegemonic discourse; we find that 1. the culture industry is ideologically agnostic and rapidly adaptable to obtain profits, regardless of the content of the topics discussed. 2. audiences' choice to popularize a counterhegemonic music genre responds to sociopolitical needs and its success depends on its compatibility to a greater counterhegemonic discourse, which in the USA was the Civil Rights and Anti-war struggles, while in Spain it was the repression of the Francoist dictatorship.

Rejecting the possibility of universal truths and morals appealed to Spanish songwriter Joaquín Sabina (1949), who eagerly adhered to Dylan's message. He was an outlier in the New Song scene, since his interaction with the New Song in the 60s and early 70s was in the form of poetry, before his first performances in London in 1975; his first singles were released in Spain in 1979, after Franco's death and the declaration of the Spanish constitution. Nonetheless, Sabina was (and still is) the most popular songwriter of those from the Spanish New Song scene, along with Joan Manuel Serrat (with whom he collaborated several times) and was also a declared Dylan's devotee.

As fellow songwriter Joaquín Carbonell explored in his biography of Sabina,¹¹⁶ he was the son of a Francoist police officer in Jerez (Andalusia), who joined the Communist Party in his youth, from where a clandestine activity began near the cells linked to culture. He placed a bomb at the door of a bank in Granada, which led him to escape Spain (Carbonell 49), which is why Sabina did not partake in the New Song actively in the 70s. Nonetheless, he contributed with a poem to the first number of the short-lived (three issues) magazine *Poesía 70*, censored by Franco's regime due to its obscene contents. Poet and journalist Juan de Loxa, one of the main *Manifesto Canción del Sur*'s ideologists, launched the magazine in 1969 and its first edition (2nd issue) also contained poetry from Luis Eduardo Aute (who also contributed drawings to it) and Carlos Cano. Sabina's poem "Todas las Tardes de Domingo Muere una Flor Amarilla en los Tejados" compared the fallen leaves in Fall with the lives of those whose dreams faded away due to their meaningless existence:

Y a las ocho
se acostarán, por fin, en aquel mismo
cuartucho de pensión, la misma cama
de la colcha amarilla donde dejan
en desorden los últimos esfuerzos
de la tarde, que muere, del domingo,
que da paso a la noche
que amenaza
como otra muerte inmóvil, más maciza,
cuando las hojas mustias del invierno
hayan ido cayendo cenicientas,
sucias, gastadas, amarillas, viejas
hasta llenar de frío las papeleras
donde agonizan todos los recuerdos.¹¹⁷ (Sabina 12)

¹¹⁶ Carbonell, Joaquín. *Pongamos que hablo de Joaquín: Una mirada personal sobre Joaquín Sabina*. B de Books, 2014.

¹¹⁷ And at eight
they will lie down, finally, in that same
pension room, the same bed
of the yellow bedspread where they leave
last efforts in disarray

The forced exile in 1970 projected in Sabina the uncertainty subalterns had to face due to the lack of agency he suffered until his return in 1977, which reinforced his Dylanesque belief in artistic and personal freedom. In his unreleased 1975 song “La Guerra no ha Terminado,” which already contained the influence of Bob Dylan. His line “Others kill with guns / I kill with a guitar” was a direct reference to Woody Guthrie, who put a label in his guitar saying: “This machine kills fascists.” Sabina loosely narrated an event that happened to him while he was performing in a bar; a fascist asked him to sing “Cara al Sol,” which was Spain’s national anthem during Franco’s times. After Sabina mocked him, the fascist individual threatened him with a gun. However, Sabina responded that he did not know the lyrics of the song and began to sing the Republican anthem, “La Internacional,” which instantly killed the fascist while he was doing the fascist salute:

Otros matan con pistola
con guitarra mato yo
Las fieras si no se amansan
se mueren de indignación
El Valle de los Caídos
tiene una nueva inscripción
"Aqui reposa un fascista,
lo ha matado una canción."¹¹⁸ (Sabina “La Guerra No Ha Terminado”)

of the afternoon, that dies, of Sunday,
that gives way to the night
that threatens
like another motionless death, more massive,
when the withered leaves of winter
disdained have been falling,
dirty, worn, yellow, old
until the bins are filled with cold
where all the memories die.

¹¹⁸ Others kill with a gun
with guitar I kill
The beasts if they don't tame
they die of indignation
The Valley of the Fallen
has a new registration
"Here rests a fascist,
a song has killed him"

Javier Krahe, Sabina's close collaborator and part of the Mandrágora scene, a bar in the Madrilian Latina, which had a similar innovative environment to that of Gerde in New York, argued that Sabina's success was due to his life-long desire to become the Spanish Bob Dylan: "Sabina a los dieciséis pensaba: Quiero ser como Bob Dylan. Y eso lleva a sitios distintos"¹¹⁹ (Carbonell 76). Joaquín Sabina, similarly to Dylan's "My Back Pages," wrote his "Tan Joven y Tan Viejo" ('So old and so young') in 1996, a song that showed his artistic and life path, as they go hand in hand. His autofiction, as in Dylan's, questioned the external as much as the internal. Sabina examined the paradigms between the old and the new, the wise and the innocent. He ended the last line with the title of his song followed by the Dylanesque verse, "Like a rolling stone":

Lo primero que quise fue marcharme bien lejos;
En el álbum de cromos de la resignación
Pegábamos los niños que odiaban los espejos
Guantes de Rita Hayworth, calles de Nueva York
Así que, de momento, nada de adiós muchachos,
Me duermo en los entierros de mi generación;
Cada noche me invento, todavía me emborracho;
Tan joven y tan viejo, like a rolling stone.¹²⁰ (Sabina "Tan Joven y Tan Viejo")

Sabina studied Dylan in depth, so it is likely he used that line as Dylan did in the original in 1965. Dylan was inspired by the proverb "a rolling stone gathers no moss," which means that a person pays a price for being always on the move, having no roots. Both expressed in their lyrics the loneliness of the nomad: "How does it feel, ah how does it feel? / To be on your own,

¹¹⁹ When Sabina was 16 thought: "I want to be like Bob Dylan". And that takes you to different places.

¹²⁰ The first thing I wanted was to go far away;
In the sticker album of resignation
We hit the kids who hated mirrors
Rita Hayworth gloves, streets of New York

So, for now, no goodbye guys,
I fall asleep at the funerals of my generation;
Every night I invent, I still get drunk;
So young and so old, like a rolling stone.

with no direction home/ Like a complete unknown, like a rolling stone” (Dylan “Like a Rolling Stone”).

As a result of constantly for decades imitating Dylan’s contradictory statements and refusal of being labeled or defined as a herald, Sabina released “Lo Niego Todo” in 2018. Sabina rejected his status as a “protest poet, becoming a squatter, or being the Spanish Dylan.” Moreover, Sabina negated everything, even “The Truth.” Therefore, in line with Badiou’s discussion on the nature of truth, both Sabina and Dylan claimed that anything outside the scope of what they directly experienced, are opinions, and even our own experiences can deceive us. Truth is an individual constant process of facing contradictions and excluding previous information which under no circumstance can be communal. Thus, for both the futile and demanding search of Truth is beyond any commercial or social pressure:

Ni ángel con alas negras
Ni profeta del vicio
Ni héroe en las barricadas
Ni ocupa, ni esquirol
Ni rey de los suburbios
Ni flor del precipicio
Ni cantante de orquesta
Ni el Dylan español

.....

Lo niego todo
Aquellos polvos y estos lodos
Lo niego todo
Incluso la verdad.¹²¹ (Sabina “Lo Niego Todo”)

¹²¹ Nor angel with black wings
Nor prophet of vice
No hero on the barricades
Neither squatter nor scab
Nor king of the suburbs
Nor flower of the precipice
Nor orchestra singer
Not the Spanish Dylan
.....
I deny everything

Sabina himself recognized that he decided to be a singer after listening to Bob Dylan, as Aute and many others before him, including Leonard Cohen. Sabina defended Dylan's voice as one of his characteristic attributes that made him unique. His life-long admiration of Dylan and academic study of his lyrics supported his claim, Dylan was and is the ultimate singer, and, above all, the greatest lyricist:

Respondo de rodillas y quitándome el sombrero: Bob Dylan es para mí el más grande. Contaba Leonard Cohen cómo jamás había pensado en cantar hasta que estando en una isla del Mediterráneo escuchó por primera vez a Dylan en una emisora de radio. Escuchar aquella voz arrastrada hizo que Cohen se atreviera a cantar. Para mí, fue lo mismo. Su música me ha acompañado a diario durante muchos años. Admiro por completo su música y sus letras.¹²²

The editorial of Bob Dylan in Spain communicated Sabina that he should never record a song he composed in 1981 titled "El Hombre Puso Nombre a los Animales," a version of Dylan's 1979 "Man Gave Names to All the Animals." The editorial argued its release "would finish Sabina's career as an artist," due to its religious theme (God's creation of Earth) being sensitive for Dylan, declaring Sabina's version as an insult to certain religious views (Carbonell 98). Dylan explored the Genesis, while in contrast, Sabina employed obscene language and ended his song with "marihuana pa' fumar."¹²³

A las ladillas les puso ladillas
por lo que pican cuando las pillas
Y al ornitorrinco le llamó ornitorrinco
porque no encontró un nombre más raro

Those powders and these muds
I deny everything
Even the truth.

¹²² I answer on my knees and taking off my hat: Bob Dylan is for me the greatest. Leonard Cohen told how he had never thought of singing until, being on a Mediterranean island, he heard Dylan for the first time on a radio station. Hearing that slurred voice made Cohen dare to sing. For me, it was the same. His music has accompanied me daily for many years. I totally admire his music and his lyrics.

¹²³ Marihuana to smoke.

Y al que se adapta a cada situación
le puso camaleón.¹²⁴

He never released the song, and he continued his long-term admiration for Dylan. Sabina contended that Dylan “spoke to him” from the beginning, even when he could not understand his English lyrics. Dylan captivated the many Spanish songwriters who aimed to play with words and create vivid images through rhythmical and poetic rhetoric that overcame language barriers. Sabina’s 2008 poem in *Interviú* “Dicen que Dylan” was a homage to Dylan. Sabina classified Dylan as a minstrel, whose character aided him to evolve intellectually and with purpose. Sabina explained that Dylan’s 1966 “Just Like a Woman” eased a breakup he had, a heartbreak which Sabina alluded to with the verse “Claro que sé quién me ha robado el mes de abril,” a cross-reference to his own 1988 “¿Quién me ha Robado el Mes de Abril?” when Sabina originally questioned the reasons behind his sorrow. In the last stanza, his verse “Genio y figura, Kansas City es Chamberí,” Sabina pointed to the similarities between Kansas City and Chamberí, a Madrilian neighborhood. The places are nothing alike, but what matters to Sabina is the focus on the ordinary, as any neighborhood have its own stories that might inspire a songwriter:

Sin él mi vida hubiera sido más idiota,
dicen que Dylan anda suelto por aquí.
Rasca el piano y la guitarra a su manera,
sopla una armónica, canta con la nariz,
just like a woman me tiró por la escalera.
Los de la Expo lo han sacado en rogativas,
claro que sé quién me ha robado el mes de abril,
no hay mejor musa que un amor a la deriva.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ To the crabs he put crabs,
because they itch when you catch them
And he called the platypus platypus
because he couldn't find a weirder name
And the one that adapts to each situation
he called him a chameleon.

¹²⁵ Without him my life would have been more idiotic,
They say Dylan's on the loose around here.
He scratches the piano and guitar his way,

Sabina for many years argued that Dylan should be awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature. In fact, he claimed that the award came overly late and that it elevated popular songwriting to high culture, opposing the directrices of the Frankfurt School regarding the aesthetics of a popular artwork:

El Premio Nóbel a Bob Dylan es una noticia feliz. Primero, porque le da a uno la razón, llevo diciendo por lo menos veinte años que Bob Dylan es el mejor poeta de América y de la lengua inglesa actual y también el que más ha influido en varias generaciones. Así que en cierto modo me atrevería a decir que el galardón llega tarde. La dicha es, por suerte, buena, el gesto de la Academia Sueca hace que todos los que nos dedicamos a dignificar las palabras en el pop nos sintamos premiados con él. En segundo lugar, porque creo que manda un mensaje evidente a aquellos que se han dedicado a reducir durante décadas el oficio de la canción popular a las cosas tontas de chico conoce a chica o las historias banales del sábado noche. Desde ayer, nuestro mundo ha quedado elevado a la categoría de alta cultura, y eso está bien.¹²⁶ (Sabina)

Sabina concluded in his position on Dylan being awarded the Nobel Prize that he became a Dylan academic and fan, and collected as many books on Dylan as he could. After he consciously listened to all his records, Sabina decided that the poet inside himself should become a songwriter, appreciating the way Dylan manipulated words and phonetics. Moreover, he defended the candidacy of Spanish songwriters to win the prestigious literary award, Cervantes, and argued that his candidate to win would be his friend and collaborator, Joan Manuel Serrat:

blows a harmonica, sings with his nose,
Just like a woman threw me down the stairs.
Those of the Expo have taken it out in prayers,
Of course, I know who has stolen me the month of April,
there is no better muse than a drifting love.

¹²⁶ Bob Dylan's Nobel Prize is happy news. First, because he proves one right, I have been saying for at least twenty years that Bob Dylan is the best poet in America and in the current English language and also the one who has most influenced several generations. So in a way I would dare to say that the award is late. Happiness is, luckily, good, the gesture of the Swedish Academy makes all of us who dedicate ourselves to dignifying words in pop feel rewarded with it. Second, because I think it sends a clear message to those who have spent decades reducing the craft of popular song to silly boy-meets-girl stuff or banal Saturday night stories. Since yesterday, our world has been elevated to the category of high culture, and that's fine.

La primera vez que escuché a Bob Dylan fue a los 18 años, cuando una novia inglesa me lo puso en mi casa de Granada. No entendí una palabra de lo que decía, pero tuve claro que me estaba hablando a mí. Su manera personal de jugar con la fonética, de escupir las palabras, de frasearlas, consiguió que aquel poeta que yo entonces quería ser decidiese convertirse en músico. Sobra decir que Dylan me cambió la vida [...] Y si me preguntan si un músico en español podría ganar el Cervantes, la respuesta es: sí. Y tengo un candidato: Joan Manuel Serrat, que es el maestro de todos nosotros.¹²⁷

The global commodification of Dylan's music and his induction to stardom made it possible to draw near Kansas and Chamberí, New York and La Rioja, Newport and Barcelona. Both Spanish and American songwriters embraced popularity, as it boosted the diffusion of their music. In fact, it could be argued, that if it were not due to Dylan, Baez, or Seeger's stardom status, the Spanish folk movement might not have had its significant role in the Post-Civil War protest scene. Their stardom, although detrimental to the interests of the original folk scene, was also part of the cultural Americanization process in Spain and, as such, was beneficial to the individual/collective interests of Spanish songwriters and became part of their counterhegemonic discourse. Dylan's departure from the folk scene during the peak of his 60's popularity also inspired some Spanish songwriters who participated in the articulation of a counterhegemonic discourse, since the pressure generated by a counterhegemonic bloc to contribute to it under specific regulations could produce similar constraining effects on the artist as those of the culture industry.

¹²⁷ The first time I heard Bob Dylan was when I was 18 years old, when an English girlfriend played him in my house in Granada. I didn't understand a word of what he was saying, but I knew he was talking to me. His personal way of playing with phonetics, of spitting out words, of phrasing them, made the poet I then wanted to be decided to become a musician. Needless to say, Bob Dylan changed my life [...] And if they ask me if a Spanish musician could earn the Cervantes Literary Award, the answer is yes. And I have a candidate: Joan Manuel Serrat, who is the master for all of us.

CONCLUSION

The Spanish New Song and the American Folk Movement had a major role in the ideological and political conflicts of their times. While folk in the USA helped to consciously involve millions of Americans in the culmination of the Civil Rights Act, Spanish songwriters challenged Francoist ideology, whether it was through the rebellious act of singing in a different language, the use of vivid metaphors, or/and exploited the unionizing power of music and poetry. Poets like Langston Hughes, Edwin Rolfe, and Rafael Alberti, among others, established ideological ties, the Spanish Civil war and the involvement of International Brigadiers politically motivated the labor unions in the USA, which marked a reference point for those artists within the Folk Revival scene, like Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger.

The outcomes of the war and Fall of the Axis powers led to Franco gradually opening the borders to American economic, intellectual, and cultural influence, so as not to jeopardize international opinion on the regime. The advent of the age of mass mechanical reproduction made it possible to connect foreign singers with autochthonous listeners and artists, particularly during the period of Americanization in Western Europe that followed a period of extreme isolation pre-World War II.

The popularization of newcomers as Dylan in the Folk Scene in the USA found its justification in the profitability of their art, but also in the search of idols who could also function as organic intellectuals. In Spain, popularization of newcomers New Song movement was more heterogeneous than their American counterparts: the popularization of newcomers responded in certain areas to the regionalists need to find their own idols who sang in their language; thanks to the imitation of the American culture industry model, if the purpose of a protest song was to get

the audience to dig it, then propagating political sentiment in the mainstream charts would be one strategy to do so (Kutschke and Norton 50). Some Spanish regions challenged the Francoist ruling bloc using their native language, like in the cases of Galicia, Catalonia, and Basque Country. Listening to American music in general became a symbol of protest against intents of homogenization, while listening to American protest music opened many organizational and lyrical possibilities to authors that realized their counter-hegemonic discourse could reach wide audiences and be both profitable and persuasive. That proliferation of new artists saw both national and, particularly, multinational labels, signed and produced nine monthly records by 1977. Ironically, that same aversion to homogenization did not stop the Americanization process, and by imitating the commercial and marketing mechanisms of the USA, Spain was part of the global distribution chain. As Serrat himself put it in an interview with Martínez and Sales Casanova (198-199), the music industry apparently homogenized the taste of the listeners, and the Americans were the first to take advantage from the globalization of the music market:

There was a time during the 1960s before the explosion of the Anglo-American music business, before the stars and market manipulation when music really circulated. It was the Americans and the English who realized that music was a business and an important one at that. They started to create rankings and took care to distribute music well all over the world, giving it an extraordinary cultural penetration. And they continue to do it. [...] Nowadays, curiously, the hits are the same in the USA and in India. On such and such day the same song is number 1 in Bombay, Stockholm, or Nairobi and you say: “For God’s sake! What’s going on here?”

There were many singers at that time in the USA who did not reach the degree of influence that Dylan possessed, in part because Dylan found the balance between the old and the new, the

abstract and the concrete, the finger-pointing and the universal lyrics. Moreover, Dylan's focus on the "you" appealed to the listener and forced him or her to question what was being presented in front of them. He was an effective orator, the lyrical content he introduced to his audiences created vivid images that transported his listeners. His songs about racist injustices and the role of political and civil society showed Gramsci's consideration of the Integral State as a dynamic force that encompasses both passive subjects and partisans within the private and public sphere. Dylan's use of *prosopopeia* in order to give a voice to those who cannot represent themselves, whether as outcasts or deceased individuals, inspired many in the US and abroad. His national contemporaries could reflect on the subalterns that Dylan chose to portray, like Emmett Till or Hattie Carroll. In Spain, the epideictic discourse usually pointed out to the Francoist police and the judiciary system as the ones to blame, like in the cases of Pedro Patiño and the death penalty.

Dylan's *enargeia* through metaphoric-like visions in "Blowin' in the Wind" or "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall," among other songs, encouraged songwriters from different parts of Spain to create vivid images that "enslaved" their listeners, as Raimon's "L'Estaca" or Mikel Laboa's "Txoria, Txori." The wind was a poetic element repeated by post-war writers and songwriters prior to Dylan's stardom, so "Blowin' in the Wind"'s resonance among Spanish audiences is due to both its commercial success and its thematical correspondences. "The Times They Are A- Changin'" and "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" also found their acceptance and adoption among Spanish songwriters and audiences through the *phantasia* of an abstract regenerating power that is purifying and inevitable, as in Serna's "Este Tiempo ha de Acabar" or Guerrero's "A Cántaros," where the imagery behind "an overflow" pictures a transposition of ruling and counterhegemonic blocs.

The advent of democratic elections in 1978 undermined the folk movement as an instrument of political change. Luis Pastor summarized the lives of Spanish songwriters' post-democratic elections in his 2011 poem: “¿Qué fue de los Cantautores?” Pastor explains the transition of those artists, who voluntarily or forcedly, abandoned the New Song directrices. Once the democratic elections took part in Spain, people did not listen to them anymore. The record companies moved to different genres that could prove to be more profitable, and those who insisted on producing the same music as they did in the recent past became “obsolete,” from a corporatized perspective: “Toreando en plaza ajena todo cambió de repente los políticos al frente de comparsa al trovador: Se cambiaron las verdades: ‘tanto vendes tanto vales.’ Y llegó la transición: la democracia es la pera. Cantautor a tus trincheras con coronas de laureles y distintivos de honor, pero no des más la lata que tu verso no arrebató y tu tiempo ya pasó.”¹²⁸ Some singers entered political institutions and most individuals who reached stardom status, like Serrat or Lluís Llach were still profitable for big record companies. Thus, in a short five-year span (1977-1982) the number of records decreased from 108 to 26 (González Lucini vol.1 145).

The Beatles' and their 1968 “Revolution” already transpired the ideological shift and success of the HUAC in American civil society, as anything associated with the communist ideology would be marginalized by both the industrial records and the general audience: “If you go carrying pictures of Chairman Mao, / You ain't going to make it with anyone anyhow.” Pastor concluded his poem with a warning for those in power, contending that perhaps their number is reduced but they are all ready “en sus trincheras hacienda de la poesía nuestro pan de cada día”¹²⁹

¹²⁸ The truths were changed: 'You sell so much, so much you are worth.' And the transition came: Democracy is the pear. Singer-songwriter to your trenches with crowns of laurels and badges of honor, but don't bother anymore because your verse doesn't take away and your time has passed.

¹²⁹ Songwriters in their trenches making of poetry our daily bread.

(Pastor), so they will reach an audience once again if the ruling bloc and the subalterns reach a “war.” “¿Qué fue de los cantautores? De los muchos que empezamos, de los pocos que quedamos, de los que aún resistimos, de los que no claudicamos: aquí seguimos. Cada uno en sus trincheras haciendo de la poesía nuestro pan de cada día. Siete vidas tiene el gato aunque no cace ratones. Hay cantautor para rato. Cantautor a tus canciones. Zapatero a tus zapatos.”¹³⁰

Although the music industry and audiences alike turn their back on the New Song and the Folk Movements, the fact that Dylan and other songwriters had a stardom status, helped popularized the protest song in the USA and elsewhere. In the 60s and 70s, Spanish songwriters found in Dylan a character that was worth emulating, for some artistically and for others behaviorally. His lyrics opened the imagination of those who aimed to “tumbar la estaca” (overthrow the stake), to put it in Llach’s words. There were many who directly translated and interpreted his lyrics and others who were inspired by Dylan’s mastery of the metaphor and thus decided to compose and perform their songs in public. As Basque reporter Klaudio Landa recalled, Dylan is one of the greats of music and listening to Dylan’s songs takes him back to the past, to his childhood, since he used to listen to records at home with his family and songs like “Blowin’ in the Wind” or “Mr. Tambourine Man” were part of their daily lives. Thus, listening and singing Dylan acquired a familiar and communal component, related to communal memories and hope during difficult times for Spanish people.¹³¹

¹³⁰ "What happened to the singers? Of the many who started, of the few who remain, of those who still resist, of those who do not give up: here we stand. Each one in their trenches making of poetry our daily bread. The cat has seven lives even if it doesn't catch mice. There is a singer-songwriter for a while. Singer-songwriter to your songs. Shoemaker to your shoes.

¹³¹ Landa, *Diariovasco*.

Renowned songwriters, for example Sabina and Aute, had success in their careers, naming Dylan as a constant mirror to act alike, as Dylan did with Guthrie when he was young. Their search for beauty and truth in the mundane echoed those intents of Whitman, Thoreau or Celaya. The globalization of music and poetry conveys an exchange of national traditions, values, and struggles that adhere to foreign collectives. In Spain, Dylan will perdure as an artist who was able to bridge high and popular culture, the winds of Mississippi with those of Barcelona, the traditional and the modern, the 'you' and the 'I' in its multitudes; and, above all: poetry and music.

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