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Performing Human-Animal Relations in Spain

An anthropological study of bullfighting from horseback in Andalusia

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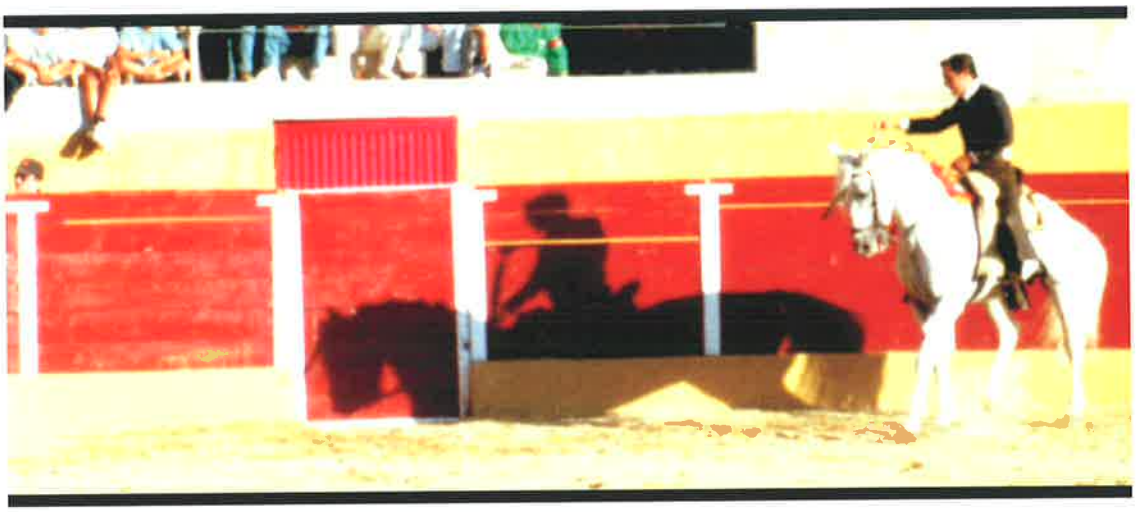


Plate 1: *Rejoneador* David Vázquez and his horse throw the shadow of a centaur.

Photo: Author

Y yo creo que donde tienes dos animales al mismo tiempo y a la misma vez, yo creo que es un arte. Lo primero que tienes que dominar... no dominar, hacerlo como una cosa que sea parte tuya que es del caballo, porque yo cuando me monto en el caballo pues me siento como un centauro; yo no más con los gestos y los movimientos sé que me va a responder el caballo y con la sensibilidad mía transmito al caballo. Es dominar una fiera. Y tú llegas a coger y dominar la fiera que es el toro. Y llevarlo al terreno que tú quieres, dominarlo y después torearlo y sentir el placer de torearlo la fiera esa y después matarla y esto, pues, esto es muy bonito. Así hay que hacerlo para poderlo sentir y explicar.

And I think that having two animals to deal with at the same time, makes it an art. The first thing you've got to achieve is control… not strictly to control but doing it as if it were a part of you that comes from the horse, because when I ride the horse I feel like a centaur; my feelings are transmitted to the horse and I know that my gestures and movements will make it respond. It is to control the wild animal; you have to catch and take hold of the wild animal that is the bull. It is to take it to the place you want, to control it and then bullfight it, feeling the pleasure of bullfighting that wild animal and killing it, well, this is very beautiful. You've got to do it to be able to feel and explain it.

Chano Zambrano, *Rejoneador*

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Performing Human-Animal Relations in Spain

An anthropological study of bullfighting from horseback in Andalusia

Abstract

A fundamental concern of human-animal studies is the human-animal boundary. The rider-horse relationship challenges this boundary through a degree of intercorporeality that is symbolised by the centaur. The centaur is transformative and generative; it is part-horse, part-human but more than horse-plus-human. This dissertation employs the centaur metaphor together with embodied theories of human-animal relations to explore the intercorporeality of humans and animals, and the permeability of the human-animal boundary. Using actor-network theory, it also considers the technological mediation of human-animal networks such as the centaurian relationship.

The case study for this dissertation is *rejoneo* (bullfighting from horseback) in Andalusia (Southern Spain). It is based on fifteen months of ethnographic fieldwork in Andalusia from 2000 to 2001. *Rejoneo* has been under-researched compared to *toreo* (bullfighting from foot, also known generically as the *corrida*). I consider its social development using the idea of invented traditions and suggest that its're-invention' in the early twentieth century is related to broader socio-economic developments. This challenges the assumption that *rejoneo* is an anachronistic and elitist activity. I argue that *rejoneo* is not a performance by the upper-class but is more accurately a performance of the upper-class.

Rejoneo presents a complex triadic human-animal interaction of human-horse-bull and the network *rejoneador*-horse-*rejon*-bull. Contrary to existing dualistic arguments based on the *corrida* (the bullfight) from foot that assert an Andalusian segregation of humans from animals, I argue that *rejoneo* is a performance of boundary transcendence. As this argument is based on the human-horse-bull trichotomy, I assert that dichotomous interpretations are insufficient in understanding the multiplicity of human-animal relations and gender

representations in *rejoneo*. This dissertation illustrates boundary crossing at the level of individual humans and animals, through the wider relationships, contexts and networks in which they exist, to their structured interactions in the *plaza* and the themes they perform.

I argue that *rejoneo* is a performance of human-animal relations; it performs the ways in which the human-animal boundary can be embodied and transcended and presents multiple ways of being human, animal, male and female. Thus, this dissertation challenges existing ethnographic research into human-animal relations in Andalusia, and contributes to an embodied and technologically mediated approach towards human-animal relations.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for photocopying and loan.



13 July 2007
Kirrilly Thompson
University of Adelaide

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Preface

The *rejoneador* sits at the head of the table. He barely meets my gaze. There's a voice recorder between us. I read out questions from the sheets of paper before me whilst he reads on to the next question. His answers are short and concise. He's done this before. He loves horses and he loves bulls. They are the centre of his life: business and pleasure. He's not sure which of the two he loves the most, but it's probably the bull, or it could be the horse... He breeds the horses. He trains them and he rides them. He feels the pulse through their sides as he rides out onto the harsh Andalusian terrain to watch over the cows and their calves. He raises these bulls, watching over their mothers. Only the special horses, the ones who show the most expression and character, are selected for the attention and training required to help him kill the bull. To these horses he owes his life and he cries the tears they cannot when they are in pain. He uses them to create art, to connect with people in the crowd.

He uses these horses to bait the bull. He dangles them in front of its horns. He lets it come closer and closer until its horns catch in the hairs of its tail. The whites of the horses' eyes show as the horns bump at its rump, their tips disappearing in the cleft of its buttocks. The more expressive the horse, the greater the performance. The bull enters near-naked. Twenty minutes later gaily decorated harpoons dangle from its back and bounce up and down as it pants, trying to force air through blood soaked lungs, its sides glistening with blood. He lines the bull up for a charge – the force of its charge pushes the barbs and harpoons deep under its skin. Not all attempts are successful. After all, he can't make it look too easy.

The horse performs displays of equestrian ballet as an intermission between acts; a trot for a tango, a pirouette for a waltz. The pom-poms sewn into its mane and the swinging of the leather mosquero embody the horse's rhythm. Its hooves give that rhythm a soft, sandy voice. *Sangre y arena*: blood and sand. "*Eh, eh toro, eh*!" The *rejoneador* looks the bull in the eye and challenges it, dares it to engage. On the most festive of occasions the *rejoneador* will stick short barbs designed to look like floppy red roses to complete the bull's decoration. Their exact placement

will leave no viewer in doubt of the skill of the rider, the *bravura* of the mount, their silent and perfect communication and the nobility of the bull.

This is in the *rejoneador's* blood. It's in the blood of the horse bred and trained to breathe life into a dance of death with a bull that has been selectively bred for centuries for its valiant 'dual to the death' demeanour in the bullring. The *rejoneador* can't imagine being anything else or anything more natural than killing the bull. It is so natural that he can't even remember the first time he did so. He searches for the words to describe it. It's the most beautiful feeling in the world. It's an art. Only he can do it.

The anthropologist sits on the *rejoneador's* left hand side. "No, my boyfriend's not the jealous type". This relieves the *rejoneador* and he signs her fan card "*besos*" (with kisses). She asks him what it's like to kill a bull, to push a blade through its body. She asks him to choose his favourite animal. She too loves horses. Bulls? She doesn't know much about bulls but aren't they just like big cows, and aren't cows lovely? Such doey, intelligent eyes. An Australian suburbanite need not harbor a fear of bulls. She loves all animals really. She can't bear the images sent in the mail by the RSPCA. She pays her yearly membership to ease the guilt of humanity's crimes against those who can't protect themselves. At that first *corrida* in Granada, her jaw dropped for the *picador's* horse. Laid out on the ground, waving its legs dumbly, its blindfold making it too disoriented to get upright, or to care. The men beating it with sticks, trying to save its intestines from the horns turning towards it from the middle of the plaza. She didn't like seeing the horse being beaten, but she stayed to watch six bulls die.

She wrote notes furiously until she ran out of paper to write on. People behind her laughed and passed her receipts and scrap paper from their purses so she could fulfill her appetite to never forget what she was seeing. Each bull charging around the *plaza*, ripping shards of wood off of the barrier as women screamed nearby and later being dragged out of the *plaza* by a team of docile bullocks, its head bouncing up and down as its horns caught on the sand, a trail of blood smearing behind it. *6Toros6*: Six dead bulls; six dances of death.

She loved watching the *rejoneadores*; the bullfighters from horseback who performed all three phases of the *corrida* from the back of a horse who should never be confused with the ungainly and disliked *picador*. The *rejoneadores* gave dignity back to the horse that the *picador* had taken. Man, horse, bull; each beautiful in its own right, coming together for the scripted performance. Six bulls would die on each occasion, but what energy they created. She loved it, but she doesn't have the words to describe why. This dissertation is an attempt to describe how.

Chapter One

By Means of Introduction: *Rejoneadores*, *picadores* and *centauros*

El caballo tiene que ser, cuando sale a la plaza, un mismo cerebro que piense por los dos; las mismas ideas, los dos... Como uno de los dos dudemos ya fallamos todos.

The horse has to come out to the ring with the same state of mind, thinking for the two of us; both with the same ideas. If one of us doubts, we both fail.
(DV, *rejoneador*)

Introduction

This is a dissertation about *rejoneo* - bullfighting from horseback in Andalusia. The approach that I take is primarily anthropological, based on ethnographic research with the people that participate in *rejoneo* and its related activities such as bull-breeding and horse performances. However, I am particularly interested in the ways in which *rejoneo* articulates human-animal relations. Therefore, this dissertation is as interested in the animal actors and subjects of *rejoneo* as the human actors and subjects and how they relate to one another. I focus on the ways in which they relate through their bodies and consider the significance of the riding relationship that characterises human-horse relations. I borrow from actor-network theory (described in Chapter Eight) to consider human-animal networks in *rejoneo* such as rider-horse, rider-horse-*rejon*-bull and so forth and use Shapiro's (1990) *kinesthetic empathy* to explore the ways in which human and horse bodies inter-relate. My preference for the term rider-horse instead of the more common horse-rider is discussed below.

I argue that the riding relationship privileges embodied communication. Riding an animal requires a mutual attuning and a mutual embodiment. Rider and animal generate a human-animal hybrid that questions the human-animal boundary and human-animal continuity. I use the centaur image to symbolise the particular kind of hybrid that is engendered in the rider-horse relationship. The centaur is part horse and part human, but more than horse and more than human. It is a fantasy hybrid; a seamless, organic human-animal being. The centaur in the bullring, on the other hand, exists in various degrees; some rider-horse networks are more

centaurian than others. In this dissertation I explore the factors that affect the degree of centaurian relationship between horse and rider, as well as their relationship with the bull (see in particular Chapter Eight).

These relationships are more than human-animal assemblages; they are mediated by and through technology. I therefore integrate technology such as saddlery, clothing and lances into my exploration of the rider-technology-horse-technology-bull network. This approach resists dualistic interpretations which deny the existence of blending, middle-grounds and transformations. However, *rejoneo* is inherently non-dualistic; it is in effect a *pas de trois*. It involves a human relation with two different kinds of animals: the horse and the bull. Thus, the sentient network upon which *rejoneo* is based is the human-horse-bull network. I argue that each individual in the *rejoneo* network comprises another network of self-not self and technology, such that the human is always part of the network human-animal-technology, the horse is always horse-human-technology and so on.

By comparing the human-bull relationship with the human-horse relationship in *rejoneo*, I take an approach that does not reduce human-animal relations to binary dualisms and which emphasises the heterogeneity of human-animal relations. This dissertation is therefore about more than *rejoneo*; it is about fundamental questions of 'humanity' and 'animality' and moments which surpass this dualism. I argue that *rejoneo* is a performance of the human-animal boundary, and more specifically a performance of its artificiality. This is in contrast to existing analyses of bullfighting from foot (discussed in Chapter Four), which present the *corrida* as a text on human supremacy over and domination of the animal realm.

This dissertation is not an exhaustive account of all *rejoneadores* and related practices, attitudes and beliefs across Spain, or Andalusia. It is, however, an honest account of my experience in particular places, at a particular time and with particular people and *rejoneadores*. I have attempted where possible to cross-reference and contextualise my experiences, and those experiences that were described to me, to differentiate between the general and the exceptional.

Before I describe the human-animal relations in *rejoneo*, there are a number of foundational concepts that need to be introduced in this chapter. First, I provide a basic definition of *rejoneo*. Considering a widespread confusion in popular thought between *rejoneo* and the mounted figure of the footed *corrida*, I also provide a clarification of the *picador* and the *rejoneador*. This clarification is important, especially considering the stark functional and aesthetic contrasts. This clarification continues in Chapter Four in relation to academic thought. Having defined what *rejoneo* is (and what it is not), I give some background to the dominant metaphor for the dissertation; the centaur. I note parallels between *tauromaquia* (the study of bullfighting) and a defining story in the centaur's mythological history: the centauromachy. This discussion of the centaur illustrates that not only is the centaur a suitable image for the human-horse riding relation, it is also a suitable image within the context of bullfighting. I then discuss the distinguishing features of the human-horse relation to provide an understanding of the significance of the riding relationship and intercorporeality that is fundamental to the dissertation. Finally, I provide an overview of the structure of this dissertation by summarising the contributions that will be made by each chapter. Before I define *rejoneo*, I wish to discuss translation and terminology used in this dissertation.

A note on translation

In this dissertation, my priority is to use Spanish terminology when referring to Spanish concepts. As noted by Benjamin:

> Fidelity in the translation of individual words can almost never fully reproduce the meaning they have in the original. For sense in its poetic significance is not limited to meaning, but derives from the connotations conveyed by the word chosen to express it. We say of words that they have emotional connotations. A literal rendering of the syntax completely demolishes the theory of reproduction of meaning and is a direct threat to comprehensibility.
>
> (Benjamin 1991: 78)

Benjamin's discussion of the difficulty of adequately translating words and their meaning from one language to another is particularly relevant when describing activities where there may be no cross-cultural counterpart. In these cases, efforts at translation can be misleading, such as occurs with the English term 'bullfight'

which does not reflect the aesthetics of *el* toreo, or the artful interplay of *torero* (footed bullfighter) and *toro* (bull) (as discussed by Marvin 1994: 203-210).

In fact, a 'fight' in Spanish would be expressed as a '*pelea*', '*lucha*', or '*lidia*', the latter two of which also refer to a struggle. Of these terms, '*lidia' is* commonly used in reference to the *corrida.* Indeed, there is no equivalent term for *el toreo, los toros* or *la corrida* (the bullfight) in English. I therefore favour the term '*corrida*' as advocated by Marvin (1994), where it fits adequately within an English sentence.

The verb form of '*torear*' which means literally 'to bull' and is typically translated as 'bullfighting' is more difficult to translate into English without referred to the word 'fight'. Therefore, there are moments where I feel that the English terminology is most suitable and conveys more accurately the point that I wish to make. In Chapter Five I often revert to the use of 'bullfight' as a generic term, as I discuss the development of the *corrida* and *rejoneo* through various historical transformations. *Rejoneo,* for example, refers more strictly to the modern formalised version of lancing from horseback, which is often related to early *corridas caballerescas* (knightly or courtly *corridas*). Therefore, Chapter situates these terms historically and ethnographically and in doing so highlights the complexity of the concept of the *corrida.*

Thus, although I favour Spanish terms for Spanish activities, I alternate English and Spanish terminology in this dissertation where I feel that the English is more appropriate in conveying meaning to an English speaking audience. For example, I prefer the term *rejoneo,* but at times use the phrase 'bullfighting from horseback' where I wish to emphasise a comparison with 'bullfighting from foot'. Therefore, the reader should be aware of the inadequacy of the English term 'bullfight' to account for a Spanish activity which is not perceived emically by supporters of the *corrida* as a 'fight', but as an aesthetic and artistic interaction between a human and a bull. Spanish terms are italicised and listed in a glossary of terms in Appendix One.

Furthermore, I favour the term 'bullfight from horseback' instead of 'mounted bullfight' because it makes direct reference to the two nonhuman protagonists of

rejoneo and redresses a neglect of the role of the horse in bullfighting literature. Unfortunately this entails a reference to the word 'fight', but is a necessary sacrifice in the context of an anthrozoological exploration where my primary aim is to highlight the significance of animals. With reference to place names, I have used the English terms 'Spain', 'Seville' and 'Andalusia' instead of *España*, *Andalucía* and *Sevilla* as they are terms with which I expect the reader to be most familiar. The same applies to my choice of the word 'Spanish' instead of referring to the Castilian language as *Castellano*. All place names which do not figure predominantly in English are referred to by their indigenous spelling.

Most quotations in this dissertation are presented in English, but were carried out in Spanish. Translations from Spanish to English are mine, with the exception of the formal taped interviews with *rejoneadores* which I have reviewed and edited as necessary. As noted in the acknowledgments to this dissertation, a select number of interviews were transcribed and translated professionally. The process of professional translation and transcription was reserved for a handful of lengthy formal interviews with *rejoneadores*. These were the only interviews that were tape recorded. They were taped so that instead of writing notes at the time, I could focus on the interview process and maximize the limited time I had with some individuals. This form of data management was the exception during my fieldwork where the norm was informal and impromptu conversations which were noted in detail after the event, in a mixture of Spanish and English. Having the voice recordings of formal interviews professionally transcribed and translated was an important time-saving strategy considering the micro-cassette audio recordings were not of high quality and required professional sound equipment and an attuned ear for their transcription.

The translator was selected for his familiarity with rural and *corrida* terminology and was briefed regarding the non-translation of terms essential to the *corrida* and *rejoneo.* All transcripts were requested in a 'working file' format which simultanesouly showed the transcribed Spanish at left and the correspdonding English translation at right. I have reviewed these files and made alterations where I thought they were required, to reflect the nuances of the context and subject at the time of the interview. This was especially with regard to equestrian and

corrida-related themes, local terminology and slang, together with names of people, places and animals. The original Spanish is included with all direct quotations for the reader's interpretation. Finally, to acknowledge the sentience and agency of animals I refer to them with the term 'who' instead of 'which' (see Gupta 2006).

What is *rejoneo*?

At its simplest, *rejoneo* is the activity of bullfighting from horseback. It is practiced in Mexico, Portugal, France, Mexico, Colombia and even California (based on the Portuguese 'bloodless' version). Following from the generic term '*corrida*' to refer to the bullfight in general, the *rejoneo* event is also referred to as a *corrida de rejones*, distinguishing it from its footed counterpart, the *corrida de toros*. The rider is known as the *rejoneador* and females are referred to by the feminine version as *rejoneadoras*. Six bulls appear in each *corrida*. Two *rejoneadores* can face three bulls each, three *rejoneadores* can face two bulls each or four *rejoneadores* can face one bull each and their third *por colleras* as a pair. The *rejoneadores* fight in turn, in order of seniority according to the advancement of their career (Pink 1997b: 17). This may be defined through the date of the *rejoneador's alternativa* (the ceremony of becoming recognized as a professional)[1] or according to his public debut. Hence, where three *rejoneador*es each face three bulls, the most senior *rejoneador* faces bulls one and four.

Lots are drawn on the morning of the *corrida* to decide who will fight which bull(s). This is called the *sorteo*. Each *rejoneador* designates a representative or a *peón de confianza* (trusted assistant) to assess the bulls primarily according to their sise, although colour and horn shape also come under consideration. The representatives then pair what they perceive to be the weakest and strongest bulls, so that each *rejoneador* will face a similar mix of bulls. The lots are written on pieces of paper, folded and the *peones de confianza* draw the lots, again according to the seniority of their *rejoneador*. The *sorteo* is required to take place

[1] A *rejoneador* is permitted to take the *alternativa* after facing at least 20 *novillos* (bulls between two and four years of age). After the *alternativa,* the *rejoneador* can face *toros* (bulls between four and not exceeding six years of age), but is not prohibited from facing *novillos* (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 7.1).

in the presence of the president of the *corrida* or, in his absence, a government official (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 59.1). The *sorteos* that I witnessed took place in the presence of the *guardia civil* who were required to check that the papers of the bulls matched the bulls inside the truck and the validity of the licenses of the *rejoneadores*, *toreros* and their *cuadrillas* (assistants). Lots for the *sorteo* were drawn from one of the civil guard's hats.[2] The *rejoneador* was present for the assessment of the bulls and the *sorteo*, but did not take part.

Rejoneadores combine their skills as horse-riders with those of a *torero* to manoeuvre their horse to spear the bull with an array of barbs of decreasing length, called *rejones* and *banderillas*. Each *corrida* starts with the *paseíllo* – a procession of performers.[3] Then begins the first of three *tercios* (acts, phases or stages).[4] Each phase is characterised by a shorter *rejon* and a specific type of horse which has been selected and purpose-trained for that phase. As the *corrida* progresses, the horses are required to come closer to the bull, to be more agile and more 'valiant'. Before the *corrida* begins the *rejoneadores* salute the president and then give an equestrian display (see Plates 2 and 3 below). This performance is based on various *haute école*[5] movements and sometimes less classical *circo* (circus) tricks such as sitting on the haunches or bowing. Partly because of these reasons, *rejoneo* is seen as an *espectáculo*, whereas the *corrida* from foot is not. The third *tercio* ends with the death of the bull and is in fact known as the *tercio de muerte* (*tercio* of death). A bull may be 'pardoned' if it is deemed to have performed so well that it should be returned to stud instead of being killed.

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[2] In Marvin's (1994) experience at *sorteos* for *corridas de toros*, the hat belonged to the bull breeder's representative, who would typically be wearing the *traje corto,* or 'country suit' which includes a wide brimmed hat. An additional difference is noted in that Marvin does not mention the involvement of the *Guardia Civil.*

[3] *Paseíllo* is the diminutive of *el paseo* – a walk or a stroll, from the verb *pasear.*

[4] For a detailed description of a *corrida* from foot, see Marvin (1994: chapter one).

[5] *Haute école* is a French term for high school training, commonly used in an equestrian context.

This rare event is called an *indulto*.[6] After all of the bulls have been faced, those *rejoneadores* who performed well are carried out of the plaza on the shoulders of men (*a hombros*). Even though the process of the *corrida* is strictly regulated, 'given the variation in the temperament of bulls, crowds, and bullfighters, no two events will be the same' (Arratia 1988: 283).



Plate 2: Three *rejoneadores* remove their hats to salute the president of the *corrida*. From left to right they are: Luis Domecq Domecq Domecq, Fermín Bohórquez Escribano and Antonio Domecq Domecq.

Photo: Author



Plate 3: Four *rejoneadores* perform a carousel as part of their equestrian display prior to the entry of the first bull at the *corrida de rejones* at the 2001 *Feria del Caballo de Jerez de la Frontera*.

Photo: Author

[6] The only time I saw a bull returned to the corrals alive was during a *corrida de toros* at the *Feria del Caballo* in *Jerez de la Frontera* during a bullfight by the local *torero* Juan José Padilla. The crowd was so impressed with its bravery that they petitioned the president to pardon it, so that it could be used for breeding. The bull was decorated with *banderillas* as per usual and then Padilla feigned the kill with an 'invisible' *estoque*. Some oxen were released into the *plaza* to herd the bull and facilitate its removal. Padilla was then awarded trophies from an earlier carcass, in *lieu* of this particular bull. This was a special occasion, as Padilla was performing in his home town days after leaving his hospital bed (against medical advice) after being gored in the neck by a Miura bull.

There are *corridas* in which both *toreros* (bullfighters from foot) and *rejoneadores* (bullfighters from horseback) take part, known as *corridas mixtas* (mixed *corridas*). They can take the form of one *rejoneador* and two *toreros* or two *rejoneadores* and one *torero*. The *rejoneador* precedes the *torero* in order of presentation. If there is one *rejoneador*, he will fight bulls one and four; if there are two *rejoneadores*, they will fight bulls one and four, two and five respectively. In any *corrida* in which *rejoneadores* participate, they give an equestrian performance (*espectáculo ecuestre)* before the first bull enters the arena.

These are the basic standards for the *corridas*, but there are always exceptions. One example comes from a *corrida mixta* where eight bulls were killed by four *rejoneadores*, two *toreros* and a local *espontáneo*,[7] together with the assistance of *picadores*. This *corrida* was held in a portable bullring on the outskirts of Almonte, Huelva. A driver received applause when his tractor got bogged in mud whilst dampening the *plaza* between the sixth and seventh bull. He mimicked a *rejoneo* movement by driving *sin manos* (without hands). This *corrida* featured two famous retired *rejoneadores* Javier Buendía (who has retired twice) and Fermín *Bohórquez* Escribano. Bulls one and five were fought by individual *rejoneadores* for the first *tercio*, and then joined by Fermín Bohórquez Escribano for the second and third *tercios*. Bulls two and six were each fought by one *rejoneador* and bulls three, four and seven were fought by a *torero*. The eighth bull of this *corrida mixta* was fought by a veritable tag-team of all the performers in the following order: the *espontáneo*, a *picador*, eight assistants with *capotes* (capes), two *rejoneadores* with *banderillas por collera*, a *banderillero*, a *rejoneador*, another *banderillero*, a *torero* with the *muleta de rodillas*, the *espontáneo* and then it was finally killed by the *matador* on the fourth attempt with the *estoque* (the *matador's* sword) – a veritable fireworks ending to an unusually epic *corrida*. This is an example of an extremely unorthodox *corrida*.

[7] An *espontáneo* is someone who 'spontaneously' leaps over the *barrera* to make some impromptu passes with the bull. Contrary to their title, I was told that they have usually made prior arrangements to do so with the *torero*. At this *corrida*, the *espontáneo* was well known to the public, who chanted his name, whilst he used his *estoque* like a conductor's stick to get the band going during the *tercio de muerte* of the eighth bull. As *espontáneos* are usually thrown out and fined, the leniency shown to the *espontáneo* in this ethnographic example could be accounted for by the *corrida* being held in a third category portable *plaza*.

Rejoneo accounts for a significantly lower percentage of *corridas* than *corridas a pie* (bullfights from foot). 1,010 *corridas* were held in Andalusia in 2001 (during the period of fieldwork on which this dissertation is based). Of these, 4.25% were *corridas de rejones* (*toros* and *novillos*)[8] and 37% were *corridas de toros* (including *toros*, with *picadores* and without *picadores*). *Corridas mixtas* constituted 10.4% of all *corridas* (Consejería de Gobernación 2001: online). There are also fewer registered *rejoneadores* than *toreros* (Ministerio del Interior 2006). However, contemporary *rejoneo* is significantly 'younger' than the *corrida de toros*. As discussed in Chapter Five, it has only been established and since the 1930s, whilst the *corrida de toros* took shape from the eighteenth century. That it is less frequent has lower attendance and fewer registered protagonists than the *corrida* from foot in no way suggests that it less worthy of anthropological attention.

The bullfighting season begins in April, peaks in August and ends in October. *Corridas de rejones* take place within a programme of *corridas* usually held in conjunction with a town or city's *feria* (fair) celebrations (see the following chapter for a description of *feria*). These may occur more than once in one season. Programmes are advertised in national bullfighting magazines and on flyers and *carteles* (posters/schedules) distributed through towns. Each programme of *corridas* typically lasts around one week but may be shorter or longer. A *corrida de rejones* does not usually occur more than once during that programme, and is typically scheduled mid way through the programme or later. This could be in the form of a *corrida de rejones* or a *corrida mixta*.

In Seville's *Feria de Abril* (April fair), it is traditional for the *corrida de rejones* to take place on Sunday morning. However, most *corridas de rejones* are scheduled at the same time as footed *corridas*, usually from 5:00pm to 7:00pm to coincide with the coolest part of the day and so that dusk falls towards the end of the *corrida*. Less frequently, a *corrida nocturna* will be held at around 10:00pm. A *corrida* of any kind lasts at least two hours, with approximately twenty minutes for

[8] A *toro* is a bull four years and not exceeding six years. A *novillada con picadores* (*novillada* with picadors) is a *corrida* which requires *novillo* bulls from three to four years of age whilst other *novilladas* require *novillo* bulls of two to three years of age (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 45.1). Bulls used in the *corrida de rejones* can be of any age required for *corridas de toros* or *novilladas* (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 45.2).

each of the six bulls. The *corrida de rejones* may last five or ten minutes longer on account of the *espectáculo ecuestre* prior to the entry of the first bull.

There are three categories and types of bullrings in which *corridas* can officially take place. The first category consists of bullrings erected in the capital of a province, or in which at least fifteen *corridas* are held each year, ten of which must be *corridas de toros*; that is, *corridas* from foot using mature bulls. Those permanent bullrings which do not meet this criteria are second category bullrings, and those that are non-permanent or portable are category three bullrings (Abarquero Durango 1984: 106-107). In 2001, 6% of all *corridas* were held in first category bullrings, 12.9% were held in second category bullrings and 81.1% were held in category three bullrings (Consejería de Gobernación 2001: online). Thus, *corridas* are most infrequent in capital cities.

Clarification of *picador* and *rejoneador*

Most accounts of the horse in the Spanish *corrida* confuse the *picador* and the *rejoneador* and their mounts, the *caballo de picar* and the *caballo torero*. This is a significant oversight considering that these two equestrian figures of the *corrida* have different aims, aesthetics, class associations and human-animal relations, as do their horses. For example, the *picador's* horse is positioned to take the brunt of the bull's charge. The *rejoneador's* horse, on the other hand, should never be hit by the bull. As the *picador* has come to symbolise the equestrian figure of the *corrida*, I clarify below the differences between the *picador* and the *rejoneador*.

The *picadore*s are mounted fighters with long lances called *pica*s. The *pica* has a sharp and retractable point on the end, known as a *puya*. The *picador* wears a short jacket in the same highly embellished and light catching style as the *toreros*, but he has a light coloured wide brimmed hat and matching pants. He wears armour on his right leg for protection as the bull is encouraged to charge the horse's right hand side, whence the *picador* thrusts the *pica* into the bull's *morillo* (where its neck joins its back) to weaken its neck muscles.

The idea is not to kill, but to weaken the bull in the first *tercio* of a footed *corrida.* The primary aim of the *picador* is to weaken or sever the muscles that the bull needs to hold its head high and to draw enough blood to *quitar la fuerza* (weaken the strength) of the bull. This is in preparation for the end of the final *tercio*, when the *torero* will need to insert an *estoque* over the bull's head and in between its shoulder blades. The *picador* is required in *corridas de toros*, which involve bulls of four years and not exceeding six years of age, as well as *novilladas con picadores. Novilladas* feature *novillos* (younger bulls) of two to four years of age. *Novilladas con picadores* (*novilladas* with picadores) involve bulls of three to four years of age, whilst *novilladas sin picadores* (*novilladas* without picadores) involve bulls of two to three years of age (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 45.1). The larger size and weight of the older bulls necessitates the *picador* and his ability to cause the bull to lower its head carriage and expend an amount of strength in the first *tercio.*

The secondary aim of the *picador* is to test the bull's character through its apparent willingness to repeatedly charge the *picador's* horse, even once it has associated doing so with the pain of the *picador's* lance. This provides additional information about the bull to the *matador* who makes some passes with the large *capote* cape before the entrance of the *picador.* It is an opportunity to see if the bull favours a horn, to identify its *querencia* (a place in the *plaza* where the bull feels most comfortable, to which it returns and in which it is most dangerous to approach) and to notice any other tendencies which will be useful knowledge when the *matador* kills the bull in the final *tercio.* There is a minimum of one *puyazo*, with the exception of first category *plazas* where the minimum number of *puyazos* in the *primer tercio* is two (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 72.6). The *matador* can ask for fewer picks but the number of *puyazos* (picks) is technically decided by the president, although a *picador* from Jerez told me that it is the *torero* who decides.

The *tercio de varas* is typically perceived by the audience as brutal, debilitating to the bull's strength and confidence, and often performed badly (for example, the *puya* being reinserted in the same wound or simply in the wrong place, inflicting unintentional damage to the bull's organs and vertebrae). The *picador* is generally

disliked by the crowd (Arratia 1988: 288) and often receives loud booing. Douglass (1984: 245) and Loch (1986: 132) claim that the *picador* is despised by the public due to the advantage he lends to the *torero*, by tiring the bull. The crowd underestimates the need for the *pica* and often shouts "*basta*" (enough) after the first *pica* has been used. The more the *picador* pikes the bull, the more people yell "*déjalo*" (leave it).[9]

Cartoon depictions of the *picador* often represent him satirically as a pot bellied man on a similarly stocky and unfit horse. 'There is often a humorous contrast drawn between the usually lithe, graceful body of the *matador* and the somewhat more rotund figures of the *picadores*' (Marvin 1986: 127, fn 7). An excellent example of this is the poster announcing the 1999 season in the *Real Maestranza de Sevilla* (see Figure 1, below).[10] Indeed, this poster is one of the general public's favourites (pers. comm. Maria Bernaldez, email to the author 15 December, 2004). This is the image of the *picador* that has been described as *antiestético* (anti-aesthetic) (Barga Bensusan 2000: 143).

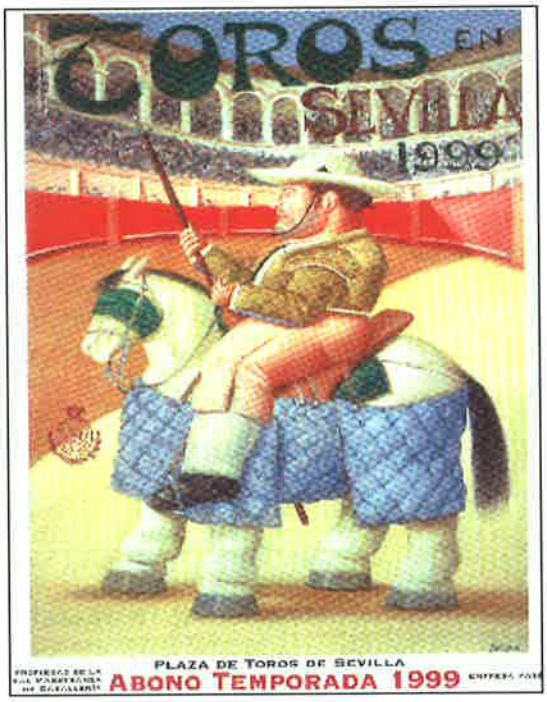


Figure 1: Image of *picador* and *caballo de picar* advertising *corridas* in Seville in 1999.
Source: http://andalunet.com/Feria_de_Abril99/toros99_1.jpg (accessed 26 February 2007)

[9] Barga Bensusan (2000) suggests replacing the *tercio de varas* in the footed *corrida* with a *tercio de rejones*, to improve the first *tercio* both ethically and aesthetically.

[10] Designed by the artist Fernando Botero, a Columbian living and working in Italy.

Protective padding for the horse, called a *peto,* became mandatory in the late 1920s.[11] Before this date it was not uncommon for disembowelled horses to be seen galloping around the *plaza* and by the end of a *corrida* there would be around six horse cadavers strewn about the *plaza*. The bulls usually ran at the horse's sides and underneath their girths, goring them and lifting them with their horns, tossing them high into the air or knocking them off their feet. Even since the introduction of the *peto* many people outside of the bullfighting countries or unfamiliar with the *corrida* still rely on Hemingway's (1994 [orig 1932]) descriptions of the *picador* drawn from the pre-peto era and less effective prototypes. This has resulted in some misconceptions of the role of the horse in the *corrida* and human-animal relations in Spain, as well as fuelling anti-bullfighting sentiment. In *Death in the Afternoon* Hemingway describes the occasions where horses galloped through their own intestines as 'almost comic', on account that the horses looked like 'awkward birds':

> This may be shocking, but it is true. Therefore the worse the horses are, provided they are high enough off the ground and solid enough so that the *picador* can perform his mission with the spiked pole, or *vara*, the more they are a comic element...They are so unlike horses; in some way they are like birds, any of the awkward birds such as the adjutants or the wide-billed storks, and when, lifted by the thrust of the bull's neck and shoulder muscles their legs hang, big hoofs dangling, neck drooping, the worn-out body lifted on the horn, they are not comic: but I swear they are not tragic. The tragedy is all centred in the bull and in the man. The tragic climax of the horse's career has occurred off stage at an earlier time; when he was bought by the horse contractor for use in the bull ring.
>
> (Hemingway 1994 [orig 1932]: 5-6)

Hemingway's likening of the *caballos de picar* as birds contrasts the practice of the more privileged mounts of *rejoneadores* (and the bulls themselves) being named after birds (Domecq y Diez, cited de Cossío 2000, vol 2: 119; elaborated by Marvin 1994: 97), albeit birds unlikely to be described as awkward such as falcons, sparrows and seagulls (the naming practices of horses and bulls are discussed in further detail in Chapter Seven).

Hemingway recounts stories of veterinarians stuffing horses with sawdust and sewing them back together to take on more bulls in the same afternoon, but (1994 [orig 1932]: 81) laments the introduction of the *peto*. He claims that the *peto* is a

[11] Mitchell (1991: 90) places this date at 1929, whilst Shubert (1999: 41) dates it to 1926.

risk to the *picador* because the bull's horns can catch in it and make it easier to toss the horse, upon which the *picador* finds himself grounded or pinned by the horse. Moreover, Hemingway suggests that it would be better for the horses to be killed by the bull so that they don't suffer repeated use and that their death would give the bull more self-confidence. The fate of the *picador's* horse has been greatly relieved since Hemingway's experiences. Sometimes they are knocked off their feet. Blindfolded and restricted by the weight of the *peto*, the horses are whipped with sticks by their handlers (*monosabios*) to make them rise again to their feet (for their own safety as well as that of the *picador*) (see Plate 4, below). Nevertheless, unlike their predecessors, the *picador's* mount of today leaves the bullring alive and is well cared for (although most horse and animal-lovers would not perceive its role in the *corrida* as illustrative of its 'care').



Plate 4: Series of three photographs showing 1) a *picador* jabbing the bull, 2) a fallen *caballo de picar* and 3) the *monosabios* dragging the horse to get it back on its feet.

Photo: Author

For these reasons, the *picador's* horse is no longer a geriatric bag of bones on its way to the abattoir, but it is still required to absorb the full impact of a 500kg charging bull. Therefore, the *caballo de picar* must weigh between 500 and 650kg (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 60.3). It is forbidden by the National Rules of the *corrida* to use the indigenous Spanish breed of horse (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 60.2). The mount of the *picador* is usually a 'cold' blooded, heavy-boned type such as the French draught breeds the Percheron or the Breton. *Picador's* horses are well maintained by an owner and are rented to bullring managers for *picadors* to use in *corridas*. The horses are not highly trained as they are only required to walk forwards, stand and turn. Their role necessitates no more than this and the *peto* restricts their movement in any case. *Picadores* themselves rarely own or train the same horses that they ride and as a result there is no close relation and little *compenetración* (mutual influence) between rider and horse as there is between the *rejoneador* and his horse. In Chapter Eight, I

discuss the ways in which the *rejoneador-caballo de rejones* network resembles the centaur, whilst the *picador-caballo de picar* does not.

Occasions where the *picador's* horse was knocked to the ground were always met with ridiculing laughter from people in the crowd. However, I would argue, against Hemingway, that the laughter is meant for the *picador* rather than the horse, especially as the same reaction does not occur when a *rejoneador* and his horse are knocked to the ground. In general, laughter can be heard at any moment when the bull is seen to have the upper hand or if a role reversal has taken place. I saw one particularly good example of this in a *corrida* where a bull jumped out of the *plaza* and into the *callejón* (the causeway between the plaza and the stands) and as a result, everyone in the *callejón* jumped into the *plaza*. The bull started galloping around the *callejón*, destroying capes and *banderillas* in its path. A slightly overweight *cuchillero* (dagger handler) became stuck on the barrier whilst trying to jump into the *plaza*. His colleagues had to pull him in. This was met with much laughter and was relived in conversation for some days later. I was also the source of much laughter after I also leapt into the plaza away from the bull.

Graphic accounts of tortured horses such as those made by Hemmingway are outdated and do not accurately represent the contemporary *corrida*. This dissertation distinguishes *rejoneo* from *toreo* and the *picador* that takes part in that form of footed *corrida*. The *rejoneador* and the *picador* represent two different kinds of human-animal and human-horse relationship. I argue that the *rejoneador-caballo torero* relationship can be symbolised by the centaur.

The centaur metaphor

The recurrent symbol of this dissertation is the centaur. The centaur is a theriomorph; part horse, part human. Victor Turner (1974: 253) uses the centaur as a 'classical prototype' of liminal duality. However, liminality in Turner's sense refers to an ambiguous and dangerous limbo between two *human* states and is therefore essentially anthropocentric. In this dissertation I use the centaur to symbolise intercorporeal and intimate relationships between humans and animals, namely the human-horse relationship. The reasons behind the application of the

centaur as a metaphor for human-horse interactions in general are explored fully in Chapter Two in relation to human-animal hybrids, and then contextualised more specifically in Chapter Nine in relation to *rejoneo.* My use of the centaur as a symbol of human-horse hybrids applies to this dissertation ethnographically, as *rejoneadores* are often described as '*centauros*'. As the reader may not be familiar with the centaur, I provide a brief description here. The centaur symbol is relevant to this dissertation not only because it symbolises a human-horse hybrid, but because of a historical association with penetrative interactions with bulls (lancing, spearing) and therefore human-animal boundary crossing.

The centaur is a mythological figure typically associated with the Greek Classical period but has also been linked to earlier Indian and Babylonian culture with its earliest evidence attributed to the Kassites (Lawrence 1994: 57-58). It is a creature with the torso and head of a man upon the body of a horse. It has, therefore, four legs and two arms. I deliberately use the term 'man' here because classical centaurs were typically male and 'possessed dangerously exaggerated masculinity' (Lawrence 1994: 63).[12] Similarly, in this dissertation I use the male pronoun to refer to *rejoneadores* as they are predominately male and the word '*rejoneador*' is itself specific to the male gender. Where I discuss female bullfighters from horseback, I do so with female pronouns and the feminine form *rejoneadora*. In Chapter Nine, I make the distinction obvious by using the phrase 'female *rejoneadoras*'.

According to Graves, (1986: 162) the centaurs were probably 'a primitive population of cowmen, living in Thessaly, who, like American cowboys, rounded up their cattle on horseback. Their behaviour was rude and barbarous, whence the savagery which was always attributed to centaurs - gross creatures, cruel, and given to lechery and drunkenness'.[13] One suggestion made regarding the etymology of the word 'centaur' is that it means 'those who round up bulls' (Graves

[12] However, female centaurs abound in popular culture, especially within science fiction and fantasy cartooning. The imagery is often highly sexualised, suggesting a kind of bestiality.

[13] There was one centaur, of different parentage to 'the centaurs' (see Graves 1986; Lawrence 1994; Scobie 1978) who was distinguished for his wisdom, civility and kindness. This is Chiron (Cheiron) to whom many mortals and gods were sent 'for instruction in music, riding, hunting and war, and especially in healing' (Lawrence 1994: 59), hence the centaur symbol has been appropriated by many veterinary associations (Lawrence 1994: 60).

1986: 162). Thus, the term centaur not only relates to the human-horse relationship as a general symbol of human-horse inter(intra)embodiment, but also to the particular act of managing bulls from horseback. Other suggestions have been made regarding the etymology of the word 'centaur', which ar evocative of the *corrida*:

> The derivation of the name centaur is not clear. The usual Classical etymology is from *centauro*i, "those who spear bulls"... Other suggestions for its origin range from the Greek word meaning hunt or pursue, to the word for goad or spear, phallus, or hindquarters...and from the word for "poke" to "the breezes"... Another view holds that centaur is related to the Greek kentron, a spur.
>
> (Lawrence 1994: 60)

Thus, the term 'centaur', does not appear to take its meaning from a horse-related word, although the spur is a horse-related object. However, the term centaur does appear to relate to bulls and the instruments that could be used to spear (penetrate) them (see Figure 2, below). In Chapters Two, Eight and Nine, I discuss the network of *rejoneador* (rider)-horse-spear-bull as intercorporeal and interpenetrative. The Spanish term for this is *compenetración*, which literally means 'inter-penetration' and describes a relationship based on mutual understanding and influence. Hence, the relation between the etymology of spears and the centaur are pertinent to this study of *rejoneo*. Moreover, Chapter Nine discusses the importance of 'hindquarters' to the aesthetics of *rejoneo*.

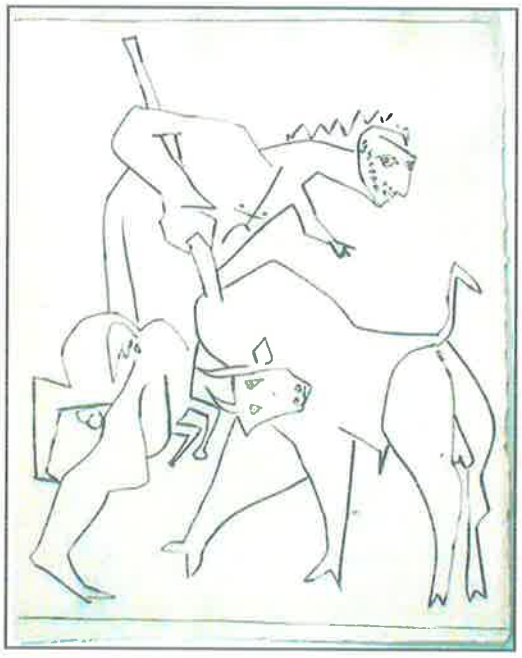


Figure 2: 'The Centaur-Picador' by Pablo Picasso (1948).

Source: http://www.spaightwoodgalleries.com/Pages/Picasso_Myths.html (accessed 26 February 2007)

The centaur also symbolises the fundamental theme of this dissertation and of human-animal studies: the nature of the human-animal boundary:

> The appeal of the centaur as an enduring archetype in the human imagination is not surprising, for the concept is rich in symbolic meaning. The creature is a striking representative of oppositions, stimulating the mind to contemplate and weigh contrasting qualities and values – both individual and societal. Not only is the benevolent Chiron [the most famous of the classical centaurs] sharply distinct from the rest of his kind, but the figure of the centaur itself displays many different dichotomies. These include animal/human, wild/tame, savagery/civilization, sensuality/spirituality, physical power/intellect, passion/reason, freedom/constraint, natural law/human law, violence/gentleness and foolishness/wisdom – all encompassed by the age-old nature/culture duality...the human-horse beings exemplify the testing of boundaries – as between man and beast, male and female, and culture and nature.
>
> (Lawrence 1994: 61-62)

Lawrence (1994: 62) suggests that '[f]or the Greeks, centaurs existed at the threshold of difference – representing speculation about sexual, cultural and species-related boundaries'. In this dissertation I argue that for many Andalusians, the centaurian human-horse relationship in *rejoneo* embodies and transcends these dualistic boundaries, as demonstrated in Chapters Seven through Nine.

Even though the centaur is embedded within classical mythology and antiquity, Lawrence notes its relevance to the current milieu, especially with regard to the environmental movement:

> In the present day, when horses are primarily cherished companions in sport and leisure rather than servants in work and war, and are valued for their aesthetic traits as well as for muscular power, the centaur concept is more meaningful than ever. At a time when people yearn for reestablishment of intimacy with nature, and a strong feeling of identification with animals has become prevalent, the merging of a person and a horse seems to hold none of the degradation it once connoted.
>
> (Lawrence 1994: 66)

A similar discourse linking horses to environmental awareness, appreciation and action can be seen from within the philosophy of *dressage* training. With an emphasis on inter-species understanding and communication, Belasik writes:

> More than ever in the coming century, human beings will need to become a cohesive part of Nature. When riding is used as an art form, as a meditation, it is one of the greatest and most revolutionary relationships between species. From this friendship, we humans are offered a unique view of the natural world under the guidance of our horses. Today, humans design experiments to teach animals to

> talk like humans. In equitation, the best riders have put down their own native language to try to learn the horse's - and they have. To someone on the outside of these conversations, this long experiment might seem odd. Once you have made friend with horses, and have lived with them in this world without words, you begin to see words as less important than actions. Riding will bring you into a world of action, of real living. It wil show you how life is interconnected.
>
> (Belasik 2001: 8-9)

Thus, the centaur is primarily symbolic of an interconnection between horse and human, but it also intersects with ideas of interconnected-ness between humans, animals, things and the environment. The centaur is a device that describes the kind of intimate and intercorporeal relationships between humans and horses in *rejoneo* that forms the basis of my thesis that human-animal relationships in Andalusia articulate boundary crossing. As demonstrated in Chapter Four, this argument contrasts the literature on the *corrida* and human-animal relations in Andalusia.

Minotaurian relationships

In addition to a centaurian relationship between horse and rider, I recognise that a minotaurian relationship could be theorised between the *torero* and the bull in particular, and the *rejoneador*/horse and the bull in general. Indeed, some researchers have noted parallels in bull-breeding practices and Andalusian human marriage patterns (Mitchell 1991: 88) and the selection processes of bulls and *toreros* (Mitchell 1991: 91) that would suggest close human-bull relations. In Chapter Five I note authors that have interpreted the bull as a male symbol or the bull as analogous to the male in male-female relations (for example, Douglass 1984). I doubt, however, that a minotaurian relationship would precisely parallel the centaurian relationship in the sense that I privilege the human-horse intercorporeality of the riding relationship.[14] Therefore, I focus on the human-horse relationship in this dissertation. Moreover, as I describe in the following chapter, it is this relationship with which I have considerable personal experience and interest. I also gained more participant-observer/observer-participant experience

[14] To my knowledge, there is no culture of bull-riding in Spain and some informants expressed pity for bulls in rodeo cultures who were treated disrespectfully by being ridden.

of the *rejoneador*-horse relationship during fieldwork, than I did of the *rejoneador*-bull relationship.

Centauromachy

The practice of bullfighting across Spain and Latin America, the study of bullfighting and the body of bullfighting literature is formally referred to as tauromachy in English or *tauromaquia* in Spanish. Here, the prefix *tauro* refers to the bull and the suffix *machy* comes from the Ancient Greek *makhe* meaning 'to fight' or 'battle'. I propose an equivalent – centauromachy, or *centauromaquia* – to refer specifically to bullfighting from horseback. The term centaur in centauromachy acknowledges that both horse and bull are the animal protagonists. My usage of 'centauromachy' in relation to the bullfight from horseback has some interesting human-animal parallels with an event in classical mythology which is known as 'the centauromachy'.

The centauromachy is an incident where the centaurs were invited to the wedding feast of Pirithous (the king of their cousins, the Lapiths) and Hippodameia. They didn't handle their wine well and, instigated by Eurytion, attempted to carry off and rape the bride, her female relatives and young boys. The centauromachy is commonly interpreted as a confrontation between civilization and barbarism. Hippodameia's name translates as 'tamer of horses' and the symbolism of her attempted rape can be interpreted as the centaurs asserting their wild and uncivilised aspects. The centaurs were defeated by Theseus, famous for capturing the Marathonian bull and killing the Minotaur. One version of the defeat of the centaurs suggests that Theseus cut off Eurytion's ears and nose. There is a tentaive link to be made here with the *corrida*, where the bull's ears (and tail) are trophies presented to the *torero* or *rejoneador* dependent on the quality of his performance. These are often dedicated to a friend in the audience (see Plate 5, below). At a broad level, however, I propose that the term centauromachy distinguishes bullfighting from horseback from bullfighting from foot, whilst constructing it as a counterpart of footed bullfighting, rather than a subsidiary form of bullfighting.



Plate 5: Fermín Bohórquez throws the bull's tail that he has been awarded to a man in the stands.

Photo: Author

Rider-horse network

Hediger describes the human-car relationship as a 'centaur-like fusion' (cited Sebeok 1988: 70). Theories of human-car relationships offer a means to discuss the horse-rider relationship.[15] Following Dant's (2004) proposal of the term 'driver-car' to refer to the assemblage of driver and car, I use the term 'rider-horse' to evoke a sense of the unified being of rider and horse. 'Rider-horse' also draws attention to the taken-for-grantedness of the role of the horse in the common term 'horse rider'. As an anthropocentric phrase, 'horse rider' obscures the role that the horse plays in constructing the human as a 'horse-rider'. 'Rider-horse', on the other hand, draws attention to the transformation of the horse by the rider and the rider by the horse. In this dissertation I use the term 'rider-horse' to refer to rider and horse as an intercorporeal being, and I use the hyphenated term 'horse-rider' when referring specifically to the rider, but emphasising the role of the horse in the

[15] Michael (2004) discusses the human-car relationship in relation to animals through an analysis of roadkill in America.

construction of a human as a horse-rider. Similarly, I prefer to use 'nonhuman' instead of 'non-human' to empahsise that nonhuman is used to specify a singular entity existing in its own right, rather than a hybrid of non and human, judged against the 'human'.

Dant (2004: 73) distinguishes the driver-car relationship from the rider-horse relationship because he claims that driving a car 'is an experience that becomes entwined' and therefore ordinary and taken for granted, whilst horse-riding is an activity based around pleasure. I critique this view on two accounts. Firstly, riding horses can be both pleasurable, entwined and ordinary (some of my most enjoyable riding experiences have been those where I have transcended mindful thought and ridden without thought). This could be particularly the case for professional equestrians who ride all day, every day but enjoy their work. Secondly, driving a car can be both entwined and pleasurable, perhaps especially for those who have restricted access to a car. Therefore, pleasure is not necessarily bound to the extraordinary and it therefore transcends Dant's distinction between driving a car and riding a horse.

Dant (2004: 62) prefers to call the driver-car unit an assemblage, rather than using the term 'hybrid' (at least as it is used within actor-network theory) as it is an impermanent union.[16] However, if we are to take into account Game's (2001: 1) suggestion that 'we are always already part horse, and horses, part human' then there are levels of hybridity that exist across and beyond moments of physical union, such as that between horse and rider. The social dimensions of the driver-car assemblage also relate to the rider-horse relationship. '[I]t is designed, made, adapted, learnt, maintained, policed, changes over time and varies with cultural context' (Dant 2004: 67). These dimensions equally relate to the human-horse in terms of riding style, discipline and horse requirements. Moreover, as demonstrated in Chapter Five in relation to *rejoneo*, these dimensions of the human-horse relationship have changed over time and vary culturally (see, for example Clutton-Brock 1992; Muksian 1995; Olsen 1996; Raber & Tucker 2005).

[16] Neither does Dant feel that the term 'cyborg' is appropriate (at least as it is used by Haraway), to describe human-object networks because the term has a specific meaning within the science of artificial body parts (Dant 1999: 191-194).

Sheller (2004) explores the emotional and phenomenological aspects of the driver-car relationship.[17] Movement is critical because it is a way not just a way of being in the world but of interacting with the world. In relation to 'car societies', Sheller notes:

> ... the car is deeply entrenched in the ways in which we inhabit the physical world. It not only appeals to an apparently 'instinctual' aesthetic and kinaesthetic sense, but it transforms the way we sense the world and the capacities of human bodies to interact with that world through the visual, aural, olfactory, interoceptive and proprioceptive senses.[18] We not only feel the car; but we feel through the car and with the car.
>
> (Sheller 2004: 228)

In terms of human-horse relations and the centaur hybrid, and adapting Sheller's quotation above, we not only feel the horse but we feel through the horse and with the horse. Moreover, the horse not only feels us, but feels through us and with us. The horse affords motion, through which rider and horse become intertwined:

> Psychologically, [the horse] becomes an extension of our own running bodies. Sitting on its back we fuse with it in our minds to become one single, galloping, invincible being - the great centaur of ancient mythology.
>
> (Morris 2000: 8)

However, there is a fundamental difference between the mobility of a car and the mobility of a horse:

> Horses extend their human riders into the world without enclosing them, something machines seldom do. Through this process people become a part of the equine animal's forward thrust, reconfirming the human status as part of nature.
>
> (Lawrence 1985: 195)

The relevance of the car-human relationship to the rider-horse relationship lies in the object status of the car and the role of technology in the human network. Human-horse relations are mediated by the rider's 'natural aids' of voice, leg, seat, body, weight and so forth but they are also mediated through objects and technologies such as 'bits, bridles, saddles, boots, stirrups, spurs – all the objects

[17] Both Dant and Sheller orient their conclusions towards the global reliance on fossil-fuelled cars and the need to reduce their impact on global warming whilst at the same time recognising that humans are emotionally involved with their vehicles in ways that are not acknowledged by the rhetoric of environmental sustainability.

[18] Interoceptive senses relate to sensory stimuli originating within the body and proprioceptive senses relate to an awareness of movement and the position of body parts.

that bring us to life in *riding*' (Game 2001: 11). Many of these mediating technologies are animal products. These are the objects that mediate the centaur, as described in Chapter Eight.

What makes the human-horse relation unique?

The human-horse relationship is one human-animal relationship in *rejoneo* amongst the human-bull and horse-bull relationships and the technology that mediates them. However, due to my interest in the embodied and physical nature of human-animal relationships, I emphasise the human-horse relation and the riding relationship. I describe here the uniqueness of the human-horse relation and how it relates to a focus on intercorporeality in this dissertation. At a generic level, the human-horse relation differs from other human-animal relations in some important ways. As discussed in Chapter Seven, the horse is both wild and tame and never permanently established in one or the other state (Lawrence 1982), each generation requiring some degree of 'domestication'. Horses can be companion animals but do not share the domestic space of humans as do dogs, cats, birds, fish and other 'companion animals'.[19] The horse is considered 'livestock', but it is not commonly eaten or used for produce such as leather or milk.[20] People often describe a deep bond with their horse but due to the clash between spatial and financial limitations and competitive or personal ambition, not to mention human growth, individual human-horse relationships do not always span the lifetime of the horse (van Dierendonck & Goodwin 2005: 73). In other words, horses are more likely to be replaced than retained as a companion for a new animal acquisition. Moreover, there are few animals as large as horses with whom humans share such close physical and emotional relations. Brandt suggests that:

[19] For research into human-animal relationships where the animals are less likely to enter the human space of the home as are pets and companion animals, such as livestock and large animals see Hemsworth and Coleman (1998), Marvin (1994) and Wilkie (2005).

[20] See Morris (2000) for a brief overview of religious prohibitions on the eating of horse-meat (hypophagy). For a discussion of an American self-enforced prohibition of eating horse meat see Sahlins (1976: 170-178). For a critique of his argument that this prohibition is entirely 'qualitative' in nature and irrelevant of 'biological, ecological, or economic advantage' (Sahlins 1976: 171), see Ross (1995).

> The most obvious difference [between human-horse interactions and human-dog or human-cat interactions] is the large size of horses in comparison to their human partners. This brings an element of danger into the interaction that rarely is present with dogs and cats and makes crucial the establishment of an effective communication system.
>
> (Brandt 2004: 300)

Brandt also notes the 'high level of body-to-body contact between humans and horses when engaged in interaction' (2004: 300) and that '[c]ommunication between horse and rider truly is a body-to-body process' (2004: 307). I develop the importance of touch in the centaurian relationship in Chapter Eight, but it is also worth noting that communication between horse and rider also occurs through body language when the horse and human may not be 'in-touch'. As observed by Lawrence (1994: 66, emphasis added): 'No human-animal relationship is more intimate, both mentally and physically, than that between mount and rider, for the two share an interspecies unity of understanding and *kinetic communication* that is unparalleled'. I would clarify that there is another level of body-to-body contact that distinguishes human-horse interactions from many other human-animal interaction and that is the riding relationship.

The riding relationship distinguishes only a handful of human-animal interactions such as those with donkeys, mules, camels and elephants and I would argue is the most taken for granted aspect of human-horse relations. As Brandt (2004: 301) notes 'humans do not ride their dogs or cats and so do not ask them to do complicated physical and mental tasks while astride their backs'. This is not only a relationship based on convenience and transport; it has been constructed as sport, art and performance. In the case of competitive *dressage*, it straddles sport *and* art (Thompson 1999).

The riding relationship is based on physical contact between a human body and an animal body (usually mediated through technology such as saddle, bridle or bareback pad which is often constructed from animal skin). Namely, this is the inter-connection of a human body and a horse body in a way that is profoundly different to a human patting an animal, holding an animal or having an animal 'sit' on them. In the riding relationship horse and rider share a trajectory through space and time with a common goal, albeit usually decided by the rider. Thus, the

riding relationship presents the possibility of transcendence of self and (an)other to generate a hybrid being.

However, putting a rider atop a horse does not in and of itself constitute this hybrid being. Hybrid human-horse relationships are generated through the interaction of rider and horse, and are only possible through a harmonisation of human and animal. However, the riding relationship also involves the potential for dis-harmony, most apparent when horse and rider move through time and space along their separate trajectories! In horse-riding, harmony is an impermanent state; it changes within seconds, moments, days, weeks and so on. It also changes across particular combinations of horses and riders and according to the growth and development of horse and rider (which affects balance and coordination). Therefore, the riding relationship is embodied and based in the harmonisation of human and animal bodies. The Spanish term *compenetración* is used to describe the mutual influence of horse and rider, and *torero* and bull. It is a literal interpenetration of human and animal bodies. Throughout this dissertation I describe rider-horse harmony as *compenetración*.

The repercussions of the riding relationship are intimately intercorporeal and transformative. The body-to-body communication and feedback that underpins the riding relationship differs for example, from petting a cat. The rider-horse is transformed (or at the very least transformable) into a centaur. This is due to the rider-horse sharing a trajectory through time and space. Smith (2004: 5) suggests that the impact of animals as metaphors relates to '*the ontological thrill* of the animal: that is, the sense of a sudden intensification – quickening or thickening – of Being'. She (2004: 5) notes that 'comparable sensations attend' the riding of animals. I would agree that riding presents the rider with the 'ontological thrill of the animal' (and hope that the horse experiences being ridden as the ontological thrill of the human, although some riders are less 'thrilling' than others to carry), but I posit that the riding relationship is more than 'comparable' in this case; it is an example *par excellence*. In other words, horse-riding offers the rider the ontological thrill of being-horse and of horse-being. Incidentally, Smith also cites the killing of animals as comparable to the 'ontological thrill of the animal'. This

relates to the *rejoneador* who feels not only the thrill of 'being horse' but also of killing the bull. As the *rejoneador* Chano Zambrano explained to me:

> *...sentir el placer de torearlo la fiera esa y después matarla y esto, pues, esto es muy bonito. Así hay que hacerlo para poderlo sentir y explicar.*
>
> ...feeling the pleasure of bullfighting [*torear*] that wild animal[21] and then killing it, well, this is very beautiful. You've got to do it to be able to feel and explain it.
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

Thus, for this *rejoneador*, killing the bull is an intense, emotional thrill.

The human-horse relationship is also distinguished from most human-animal relationships due to the level of risk involved. Horses are potentially dangerous animals and riding is a risky activity. The repercussion of this is that most riders and handlers are conscious of interacting with horses in a 'safe' way. Thus, interactions with horses involve, more or less consciously, an awareness of human mortality. Owners, handlers and riders are also aware of their horse's mortality, as they endeavour to minimise harm to their horses through management practices. In Chapter Three I discuss the role of mortality in Acampora's (1995) concept of *symphysis* in human-animal relations, where I also return to the theme of ontological thrill introduced above.

The riding relationship is based on a particular power relationship between the rider and the ridden. As Wipper (2000: 57) notes, '[r]egardless of how much the partnership idea is extolled, there is no doubt as to who its senior member is. Horses should instantly and willingly obey the rider's signals, answering every single request'. In many instances, the horse's total obedience to the rider is ironically the foundation for the horse-rider relationship being construed as a partnership; for according to Foucault (1991) it is through resistance that power relations become most visible, manifest in the body. There are, of course,

[21] The term '*fiera*' is translated here as wild animal. It can be used in a zoological sense to refer to a wild animal or beast and also means 'fierce', a state of 'fury' or 'rage'. The *rejoneador* thus refers to the bull as an animal which is wild in the sense of not-tame, but is also wild in character. This is further elaborated in Chapter Seven in relation to the construction of the bull and the term *bravo* which is typically translated as 'wild' as an opposition to tame, but not, as I argue, to describe an unpredictable and uncontrollable character.

significant variations in how riders perceive their relationship with their horse and how that relationship might be understood by an observer.

> This is accompanied by a spectrum of attitudes regarding these interactions ranging from co-operation to dominance/submission ... Even within equestrian disciplines that may appear as superficially similar as Classical *Dressage* and Competition *Dressage*, the attitude to the horse and the means of accomplishing results may be diametrically opposed.
>
> (van Dierendonck & Goodwin 2005: 71)

Hence, regardless of the extent to which the rider exerts or is thought to exert control, dominance, coercion or leadership over the horse, or aims to develop a 'partnership', it is the rider who is ultimately the instigator of the riding relationship, its perpetuator and the one who invests certain ambitions into the riding relationship which they explicitly seek to achieve.[22] Patton (2003) discusses the ethics of the hierarchical dimension of the riding relationship and suggests that the discourses surrounding 'gentle' training methods disguise the coercion involved. In fact, the ways in which riders construct their interactions with horses and justify the demands they place on them would be a fascinating area of further research in human-horse interactions. In summary, the human-horse relationship is distinguished through the riding relationship. This entails a level of intercorporeality (symbolised by the centaur discussed earlier), an awareness of mortality and is based upon a fundamental power relationship.

Chapter summaries

This dissertation is based on information that I collected through anthropological and ethnographic research methods. These are described in the following chapter, together with a description of my fieldsite and the reasons behind its selection. I also discuss the ways in which I view myself as a research tool, how this is implicated in the research process and how *kinesthetic empathy* (Shapiro 1990) informs my method, process and research product. This is primarily an anthrozoological dissertation. That is, it is a study of human-animal relations and specifically the human-animal relations of *rejoneo*.

[22] Lawrence (1994: 63) notes the significance of the fact 'that centaurs habitually consumed raw meat', arguing that it 'demonstrates the bestiality of the human appetite in dominating the equine'.

In Chapter Three I give an overview of human-animal relations. I discuss its fundamental concern with the human-animal boundary and explore the research into human-animal performances. This involves a review of animals as performers and also the performance of animal-ness. Thus I consider the application of Butler's (1993) performativity to human-animal relations, which involves a focus on the body. I consider approaches that have been used to explore the body-to-body and embodied nature of human-animal and human-horse relations. These derive from phenomenological theories of intercorporeality, human-animal embodiment and actor-network theory based on human-technology-animal networks. They inform my own approach whereby I consider the human-horse relationship through the image of the centaur. I use *kinesthetic empathy* (Shapiro 1990) as an approach to the intercorporeality that underpins the centaurian relationship and discuss some of the ethical considerations of hybrid human-animal interactions using *symphysis* (Acampora 1995). This chapter situates the human-horse relationship within human-animal relations, performance and performativity.

Having established the intercorporeality of the centaur image in which this dissertation is grounded and the primacy of the human-horse relationship, in Chapter Four I review existing analyses of the Spanish *corrida*. These are predominantly based on the bullfight from foot and have been explored through binary dualisms of nature-culture, male-female and human-animal. I argue that these have arisen from the man-bull dyad in the bullfight from foot (the role of the *picador* in the first *tercio* has been largely neglected and the *picador's* horse has been seen as representative of a homogenous species-category of 'horse').

Rejoneo has been overlooked in interpretations of human-animal relations in Andalusia as well as within tauromachy broadly. The reasons given for this neglect are precisely the reasons why I argue that an analysis of *rejoneo* is worthwhile; that in relation to the bullfight from foot, it is perceived as feminine, less serious and upper-class. My use of *rejoneo* as a case study for anthrozoological analysis rejects dualistic interpretations because it is based on a complex triadic relation of sentient human-horse-bull, not to mention the role played by inanimate technologies such as *rejones, banderillas* and so forth.

The socio-historical development of *rejoneo* contextualises the construction of contemporary *rejoneo*. In Chapter Five I outline the significant moments in the history of *rejoneo* and the role they play in its social construction. The golden era of *rejoneo* in the seventeenth century, its abandonment in the eighteenth century and a revival in the twentieth century are tied to broader socio-political factors. The abandonment of *rejoneo* from 1700 also coincides with the development of the 'modern' *corrida* (the bullfight from foot). This resulted in the co-existence of two equestrian figures: the *picador* and the *rejoneador*. These key moments are inter-related but do not necessarily represent a linear 'rise, fall and revival' timeline. The (re)appearance of *rejoneo* in the 1920s is simultaneously a birth of the new and a revival of the old. I use the concept of 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm 1995a) to discuss this 'selective revival' and describe *rejoneo* as a 're-invented tradition'. I consider the re-invention of *rejoneo* within a socio-cultural and economic *milieu* of upper–class growth, changes to the nature of the upper-class, civil unrest, class conflict and the strengthening of the economy. This chapter provides a socio-historical context not only for the analysis of *rejoneo*, but uses *rejoneo* to discuss important socio-economic developments in Spanish and Andalusian history.

Chapter Six introduces the reader to the human participants in *rejoneo*. I provide backgrounds to a number of *rejoneadores* with whom I carried out participant-observation and interviews. Using descriptors of Andalusian upper-class developed by Gilmore (1980) and Pitt-Rivers (1971 [orig 1954]), I explore the relationship between features of *señorito* class and the *rejoneadores* that I met during fieldwork. I demonstrate that not all *rejoneadores* share *señorito* characteristics. This questions the stereotype noted in Chapter Four of *rejoneadores* as representatives of the landed gentry. The question then remains regarding how class relates to *rejoneo* and *rejoneadores*. Using perspectives developed around spectacle and public events (namely Handelman 1998), I suggest that *rejoneo* is a performance *of* the upper-class and rural aesthetics, but is not necessarily a performance *by* the upper-class. Even though this chapter focuses on the humans involved in *rejoneo*, particular human-animal interactions such as animal ownership and breeding are shown to be important markers of Andalusian class identity (especially in relation to horses and bulls). In particular I

argue that the horse is a form of objectified and embodied cultural capital, according to Bourdieu's (1986) terminology. Thus, I illustrate the ways in which human-animal relations and class are co-constitutive.

After providing an understanding of the humans involved in *rejoneo*, in Chapter Seven I discuss the animal protagonists of *rejoneo*: the bull and the horse. To be specific, this is an introduction to *toros bravos*[23] (the bulls of the bullfight) and *caballos toreros* (bullfighting horses). As my aim is to expand the dualistic interpretations of human-animal relations in Andalusia based on man-bull relations where the bull (and cow) is taken to stand-in for the concept 'animal', I consider their various roles and symbolism as well as the overlaps between 'horse' and 'bull' which challenge their physical and conceptual boundaries. I use Lawrence's (1982) wild-tame continuum to discuss the construction of horses and bulls, before suggesting that the *caballo torero* embodies and transcends the continuum. By reviewing the ways in which horses and bulls are constructed as valient or noble, I acknowledge human elements in these animals, as well as the basis for animal elements across human boundaries. I also introduce the idea of *compenetración* (interpenetration) between humans and animals in the *corrida*, which contextualises the centaur symbol in relation to the *rejoneador* and the *caballo torero*. Thus, Chapter Seven establishes that a degree of human-horse-bull boundary crossing exists *a priori* to their encounter in the *corrida de rejones*.

In Chapter Eight I outline actor-network theory and suggest that its focus on human-nonhuman networks emphasises the ways in which human-animal relations are mediated by technology. I use this as an approach to take into account not only the ways in which human and animal bodies mutually influence and embody one another in *rejoneo*, but also the ways in which technologies are involved in these relationships throughout the duration of the *corrida de rejones*. I argue that *rejoneo* is structured around an intensification of the boundary blurring that exists *a priori* to the event. I illustrate this by looking at the human-technology-animal network at each of the three *tercios* (stages) of the *corrida de rejones*. As each stage is distinguished by a particular kind of *rejón* or *banderilla*, I describe

[23] *Bos taurus Ibericus*, a subspecies of the auroch is the Iberian fighting bull used in the Spanish *corrida*.

the ways in which these technologies impact on the human-animal relationships and mediate human-animal boundaries through *compenetración* and literal interpenetration. Having discussed the intimate network of human-technology-horse, I compare the *picador* and the *rejoneador* to demonstrate that the centaurian relation is not a *fait accomplis* of the riding relationship. The particular network of the *picador-pica-caballo de picar* does not illustrate the centaurian relation that underpins the *rejoneador-rejon-caballo torero* network. This comparison refines the metaphor of the centaur in relation to human-horse relations and highlights the importance of intercorporeality through the sense of touch. Chapter Eight establishes that *rejoneo* is structured around an intensified human-animal boundary crossing, and incorporates technological intercorporeality.

In Chapter Nine I return to two fundamental and intimately linked dualisms through which the *corrida* has been analysed: human/animal and male-female. My aim is to transcend these dualisms by identifying the alternative humanities, animalities, masculinities and femininities that *rejoneo* suggests. This chapter emphasises the need to consider the *corrida* not as a one-off event epitomised by the death of the bull but as a performance within a broader context of practices, rehearsals and performances many times throughout the lives of the participants except the bull (unless it is *indultado* and notwithstanding the possibility of death to horse or rider). Moreover, I argue that the kill is one brief moment in the *corrida* and that the *corrida* presents multiple human-animal interactions besides the killer-killed relation. Therefore, instead of interpreting the kill as the ultimate articulation of human supremacy over animality and the animal realm, I argue that the kill represents an alternative and intimate human-animal relation. Thus, *rejoneo* is a commentary on intercorporeality and human-animal boundary crossing. Boundaries must exist for crossing or transgression to take place. Therefore, in this chapter I balance my argument that *rejoneo* articulates the fluidity of the human-animal boundary with a recognition of human and animal individuality. I also comment on the unavoidability of the human, subjective point of view and the need to recognise otherness alongside human-animal hybridity. Thus, I argue that *rejoneo* presents multiple humanities and animalities.

In the second half of Chapter Nine, I consider the male/female dualism. In the literature on the *corrida*, much significance has been given to the *torero*'s testicles as his seat of masculinity. I problematise the critique of *rejoneo* as 'feminine' and demonstrate that even though the *rejoneador's* testicles are not stylistically emphasised and are not used to entice the bull, his masculinity is not compromised. Thus, *rejoneo* articulates a version of masculinity which does not equate with visible sex and suggest that this separability accounts for women being more accepted as *rejoneadoras* than *toreras*. Thus, *rejoneo* presents multiple masculinities and femininities which are not necessarily bound to sex, which arise from interactions with animals and which are performed. Overall, Chapter Nine transcends the existing dualistic interpretations of the *corrida* by empahsising the multiple versions of being male, female, human and animal presented by *rejoneo*. It also acknowledges the relevance of Butler's (1993) performativity to humanity/animality in addition to masculinity/femininity.

The analyses of *rejoneo* in this dissertation contribute to the existing literature on the *corrida* as well as human-animal relations in Spain. The ethnographic material drawn upon in this dissertation also contributes to broader philosophical debates about human-animal relations, especially human-animal hybrids, intercorporeality, polychotomous human-animal relations and human-animal performances. As performance implies a mutual penetration of performer and audience, the performance of human-animal relations (which are themselves interpenetrative) is far-reaching and pervasive. I discuss these contributions in Chapter Ten, and suggest areas of further research identified by this dissertation. I conclude that *rejoneo* is a performance based on human-animal intercorporeality and boundary-crossing. It performs multiple and alternate ways of being human, animal, male and female.

Chapter Two

Researching *Rejoneo*

Anthropology demands the open-mindedness with which one must look and listen, record in astonishment and wonder that which one would not have been able to guess.
Margaret Mead

Introduction

The broad aim of this dissertation is to anthropologically explore *rejoneo* and thereby redress a lacuna in the anthropological literature of Spain and the Spanish *corrida*. I also use *rejoneo* as a case-study, or ethnographic illustration, of the themes of human-animal relations and performance in which I am personally interested. To understand *rejoneo* anthropologically, I needed to understand its participant-creators, the broader socio-cultural contexts in which they lived, the ways in which they understood their life-worlds and the language they used to do so. I wanted to understand from the 'inside-out' that which must first be encountered from the 'outside-in'. In order to accomplish this perspectival balancing act, I employed the method of participant-observation. In this chapter I discuss participant observation and the insider-outsider dynamic upon which it is based. I suggest that Shapiro's (1990) method of *kinesthetic empathy* parallels participant observation by providing a shared base of embodied understanding between anthropologist and Other (be that human or animal Other). I also describe my motivations for basing myself in *Jerez de la Frontera* in Andalusia and the ways in which my personal interests inform this dissertation.

Participant-observation/Observant-participation

In August of 2001 I found myself standing on the yellow, blood stained sand of a *plaza de toros* (the purpose built arena for the *corrida*). Looking up I could see and hear the crowd screaming. The rickety wooden planks of the portable bullring in which they were seated were rocking and lurching. I was trembling with adrenaline. The problem was not that I was in the bullring with the bull. On the contrary, we had exchanged places.

I vaulted myself over the *barrera* and into the plaza immediately after the bull had jumped out and into the *callejón*. As noted in the previous chapter, an overweight *torero* had tried to join me but appeared to be stuck with his belly teetering on top of the wooden barrier. One of his colleagues was tugging at his short arms, trying to pull him over. Even the bull was quicker to scale the wooden fence. I enjoyed this experience immensely (and secretly hoped that it would happen again) but at the same time wondered what on earth I was doing there. I had literally gone from being an outsider to being an insider. After peace had been restored, the bull had been returned to the ring and I had returned to the *callejón*, people in the crowd called my attention to ask if I was the *rejoneador's* girlfriend, to disbelieve that I wasn't, to insist that I was and finally, to ask me to get his autograph for them.

This incident illustrates the sliding spectrum of insider-outsider that the researcher traverses during fieldwork. I was an 'outsider' to *corrida* culture, but I was participating to learn more about it. I was inside the exclusive area of the *callejón*, but I did not participate in a *corrida* as a *torero, rejoneador* or a recognized member of his support-team. On this occasion, however, I found myself inside the bullring, in the middle of a *corrida*. Thus, fieldwork involves various degrees of inside-outside, participant and observer. Moreover, this was my own little 'raid' incident, *a la* Clifford Geertz (1972: 1-4). During the incident something had happened to change the way other people saw me. Even though I had not demonstrated my loyalty to them or shared their 'cause' as was the case with Geertz's raid, my leap into the ring had constructed me as associated with the *rejoneador*.

Participant-observation is the basic methodology behind this dissertation and is the method most commonly associated with the ethnographic approach. Participant-observation requires the researcher to be a participant-observer, and also an observer-participant. It is about gaining an 'insider's' understanding whilst maintaining an analytic eye to value the taken-for-grantedness of everyday life. Participant-observation therefore requires balance between the role of participant and observer (observer and participant). It requires 'an objective, academic voice to equalise the subjective feelings of being a part of what one is studying' (Sands 1999: 25).

Note-taking is often the primary means through which the anthropologist or ethnographer balances objectivity and subjectivity in their experience. This is because the act of writing requires attention to detail and engagement with the information that is being recorded. Whilst participation-observation, object-subject, insider-outsider are presented as binary dualisms, they more accurately represent positions on spectrums upon which the anthropologist constantly adapts, shifts and juggles. I took notes throughout my research; sometimes at the same time as the experience I was noting, other times afterwards, but always transparently.

Besides note-taking, participant-observation is supplemented by a range of other mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative). For example, this dissertation is also based upon structured and semi-structured interviews, archival research, visits to places of interest, language-learning, internet research and the keeping of an ethnographic journal as well as the collection of and participation in photography and audio-visual material. Aside from taking part in everyday activities in Andalusia, I attended dozens of *corridas* (see Plate 6, below), rode horses in bullrings (see Plate 7, below) and took part in local equestrian activities (see Plate 8, below).



Plate 6: The author with the *rejoneadores* Antonio and Luis Domecq Domecq after the *corrida de rejones* at the 2001 *Feria del Caballo*, in front of their horse truck.

Photo: Ilia Houridis



Plate 7: The author in a private *plaza* in Huelva, experiencing how young horses are given the confidence to interact with bulls, through training sessions with cows.

Photo: Ilia Houridis



Plate 8: The author (in red cap) taking part in the return leg of the *Saca de las Yeguas*, herding mares from Almonte back to the marshlands of *El Rocio*.

Photo: Ayuntamiento de Almonte

Throughout participant-observation I recorded tentative themes and patterns as they emerged. This guided revisions of the research design and subsequent research decisions. Upon my return from the field I systematically analysed this data. I used a combination of exploratory analysis to identify recurring themes as well as ambiguities that emerged from my data, together with targeted analysis looking for predetermined themes such as the construction of horses and bulls and material relating to human-animal interactions. Fieldnotes and interview transcripts were coded using the NVivo qualitative data analysis program.[24]

Participation is based on the notion that an 'outsider' can come to learn what it means to exist in a 'foreign' culture or subculture from an 'insider's' point of view. However, I don't know what it feels like to wake up knowing that I will face three bulls from horseback or watch an animal lying at my feet which died by my hand. I can never know what it felt like to be Luis Domecq, Fermín Bohórquez, David Vázquez or Chano Zambrano. Even if I did, how could I know the extent to which that sense-of-being was unique to me or shared amongst the others who call themselves *rejoneadores*, horse-riders, Andalusians or men? As Midgley (1984: 130) suggests '[t]he barrier does not fall between us and the dog. It falls between you and me'.

Kinesthetic empathy as a research method

Shapiro's (1990) method of *kinesthetic empathy* is based on the idea that humans and animals are fundamentally linked to one another in two significant ways: 1) they both exist 'out there' in the same world and, 2) they both experience this world through bodies. The combination of environment and body suggests a kind of outer and inner shared embodiment. The repercussion of this argument is that humans and animals (as the Other) can communicate with and understand one another using their shared bodily experience. These interactions exist within social and historical contexts that Shapiro argues must be considered within the notion of *kinesthetic empathy*. *Kinesthetic empathy* proposes that the animal Other

[24] NVivo version 6 (QSR International).

is knowable and I argue that it can also be used to suggest that the human Other is also knowable.

I suggest that Shapiro's *kinesthetic empathy* can be used to gain access to an 'other's' experience of the world. This idea of the experience of one's own body as an insight into other human bodies can also be seen in Bourdieu's (1977) concept of body hexis, which focuses on postural articulations of the body:

> In Bourdieu's view, *body hexis* is tied directly to the body's 'motor function' 'in the form of a pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic, being bound up with a whole system of objects' (1977: 87). *Body hexis* can also be formulated as habit patterns that are specific to the body. As Krais (1993: 161) explains, these habitual body postures, movements, and expressive orientations serve to guide sensual perceptions of one's own body and the bodies of others.
>
> (Throop & Murphy 2002: 4)

I argue that Bourdieu's 'bodies of others' can refer to animal Others. Whilst *kinesthetic empathy* is proposed as a method to gain access to an animal experience of the world, I suggest that it can also be used as a phenomenological approach to participant-observation. That is, I share two basic states of being with *rejoneadores*; being in the world and being embodied in that world (being a *rejoneador* in the world is more specific than the notion of *kinesthetic empathy* is expected to account for). Moreover, I share a sense of being a horse-rider (see below). The anthropologist's aim is to empathise with human Others and to contextualise this empathy in light of socio-historical constructions, comparisons and theory. Although Shapiro's use of empathy is primarily body-bound and different anthropologists will attribute more or less significance to the body, there is a general aim amongst anthropologists to arrive at an indigenous understanding of the experience of another (an-Other) human being. This aim is simultaneously the methodological philosophy underpinning participant-observation; anthropologists experience the life of others to understand the life of others.

Shapiro discusses the way in which he reflects on (that is, comes to understand) the play interactions that he has with his dog Sabaka. His mental reflection is inseparable from the way in which his body reflects on these interactions. He (1985: 186) writes '[i]n reflecting, I can evoke some of the actual moves and postural intimations of moves and give an account of them. I also can evoke and

then reflect on the way that I recognise those moves, his and mine, in the moment of the play'. Likewise, whilst writing this dissertation I have sat at my keyboard and put my reins into one hand, reached behind me to thrust a *banderilla* into the wither of a bull, lifted my chin arrogantly, called "eh, toro, eh" to the bull, ridden with a *garrocha* over my shoulder and poised both hands above me in the pose of a *banderillero*, ready to spear my computer screen.

I have then translated the embodied feeling of these actions into the words, images and metaphors contained in, but not constrained by, this dissertation. Some of these movements I practiced myself in the field, such as riding with the reins in one hand, the postures required of the free hand and how they vary according to the pace of the horse and the instrument being carried. I have 'muscle memory' of doing these things.[25] Other movements I have not practiced myself, such as sliding a blade through a bull's lungs, but my body has learned them and internalised them by watching, hearing, smelling and imagining other bodies carry out these tasks. Therefore, *kinesthetic empathy* is central to this dissertation. It informs my method, my approach, my analysis and it intersects the actual process of writing that has produced this dissertation.

To carry out participant-observation I needed to reconcile the need to understand a culture and cultural activity from the point of view of the insider (or the 'native' as was the aim of anthropology in its early years) with the accompanying knowledge that this is philosophically unachievable. I decided that the closest I could come to an insiders' view of *rejoneo*, of the horse and bull world in Spain and of being Andalusian was to engage in social and cultural relationships with the people that create all of these aspects of being. I wanted to watch them, speak to them and by using my own body as a point of reference to learn something about what it might be like to live in Andalusia and have an understanding of *rejoneo.* I had to put myself 'out of place' in an attempt to come to know an unknown sense of place.

[25] Washabaugh (1996: 8) also discusses muscles as capable of perception and memory. See also 'body memory', proposed by Throop and Murphy (2002: 4) to describe Bourdieu's (1977) body hexis.

Spain

Before I discuss Andalusia and the ways in which that region of Spain offered me an *entrée* into *rejoneo* and human-horse-bull relations, I wish to provide a brief overview of Spain. Outside of Russia, Spain is the second largest country in Europe after France. It includes two small exclaves in North Africa bordering Morocco (Ceuta and Melilla). The British territory Gibraltar is located in the Southern tip of Spain. The Strait of Gibraltar and Morocco form Spain's Southern border whilst its Northern border meets Andorra and France at the Pyrenees mountain range (see Figure 3, below). According to 2006 census data, Spain has a population of 44,708,964 people and is one of Europe's least densely populated countries. Although the majority of Spaniards are Roman Catholic, Spain has the lowest birth rate in the world (1.2%).

A number of cultures have influenced Spain's early history including Celts, Iberians, Celtiberians, classical Greeks, Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Visigoths, Franks, Berbers, Muslims, Jews and Catholics. Spain's history is marked by Roman and Germanic invasion, through to Muslim rule, the co-existence of cultures and religion to the Spanish inquisition, reconquest, Napoleonic rule, the Spanish-American war and civil unrest, culminating with Franco's dictatorship which ended with his death in 1975 (see Appendix Two). Spain has since been a democratic country with a parliamentary monarchy.

Spain, together with Portugal along its Western border, comprises the Iberian Peninsula. In addition to the two exclaves noted above, Spain is divided into 17 autonomous communities and 50 provinces (see Figure 4, below). There are three nationalities recognised in addition to Spanish. These are the Catalans, Basques and Galicians in Northern Spain who speak their own languages (Catalá, Euskadi/Euskara and Galego respectively). In addition, there are a number of other official and unofficial languages associated with Spain such as Asturian, Aragonese and Aranese (all in Northern Spain) and Valencian (spoken along the Eastern coast).



Figure 3: Topographical map of Spain

Source: http://www.map-of-spain.co.uk/large-map-of-spain.htm (accessed 26 February 2007)



Figure 4: Regional map of Spain

Source: http://www.map-of-spain.co.uk/ (Accessed 26 February 2007)

Spain's geography is as diverse as its climate. The North-Western corner of Spain, above Portugal is likened to the West of Ireland, whilst further east along the coast has been compared to Switzerland (Hooper 1995: 5). It receives around 80 inches of rain whilst the dry meseta (tablelands) of central Spain, which are 400 to 1,000m above sea level, receive less than 10 inches. Almería in the South-East might receive no rainfall at all (Carr, R 2000: 3). This has given rise to a landscape that makes Almería a popular site for shooting Western movies. Spain is one of the most mountainous regions in Europe, which has resulted in geographical isolation and transport difficulties. There are two significant mountain ranges across Spain: the Pyrenees in the North and the Sierra Nevada in the South, with altitudes of 5,775 and 3,404m respectively. The Southern spread of Spain is known as Andalusia.

Andalusia

Andalusia spans the Southern region of Spain, from the Portuguese border in the West, to the coast in the East. Its southern tip reaches towards Morocco and separates the Atlantic Ocean from the Mediterranean Sea, and it comprises the following provinces (in Spanish): Huelva, Sevilla, Cádiz, Córdoba, Málaga, Jaén, Granada and Almería (see Figures 5 and 6, below). The capital city of each province shares the name of the province. The Guadalquivir River flows west to east across Andalusia and Western Andalusia is characterised by the fertile Guadalquivir basin area. It varies from 40 degree summers in Seville to snow-capped winters in Granada. As noted in Chapters Five and Six, parts of Andalusia are characterised by latifundism, agriculture and seasonal employment. It has been historically associated with extreme poverty and civil unrest. I lived in Andalusia for a period of 15 months, arriving in September 2000 and leaving in December 2001. I was based in *Jerez de la Frontera* and also lived in Granada for the first five months to gain language skills and arrange visa requirements. In addition, I spent the month of August 2001 living in *El Rocio* in Huelva Province to attend the events it hosted as part of an extended Horse Exposition[26] and passed one week in February in Tíjola in Almería Province travelling with an equine veterinarian.

[26] The *Aldea Internacional del Caballo* (AICAB).



Figure 5: Topographical map of Andalusia

Source: http://www.map-of-spain.co.uk/large-map-of-andalucia.htm (Accessed 26 February 2007)



Figure 6: Regional map of Andalusia

Source: http://www.map-of-spain.co.uk/andalucia_maps.htm (Accessed 26 February 2007)

Andalusia has strong ties to *rejoneo*. As explained by a *rejoneador*:

> *La cuna del caballo y el toro está aquí en Andalucía. Sobre todo en la zona esta de Jerez, Sevilla, Córdoba, esta es la cuna del toreo y del caballo. Siempre como esta es la cuna del toreo, del toro bravo y del caballo, pues es normal los rejoneadores pues han surgido de aquí y casi todos los toreros de a pie, los primeros toreros de a pie han sido de aquí y ya después se han repartido por toda España. Han salido toreros buenos en Madrid, en toda España. Pero que la cuna ha sido siempre, pues, como quien dice Andalucía que más toros bravos han habido, más caballos, más gente andando con el toro bravo y el caballo y claro y después los rejoneadores... siempre el rejoneador de aquí ha tenido una cosa, un arte, una sabiduría que por ejemplo ha apartado al rejoneador de arriba al rejoneador de Castilla-La Mancha y eso. El rejoneador aquí ha sido más ortodoxo, más puro, con otro concepto del toreo a caballo que no es lo de por allá arriba. Lo de por allá arriba por ejemplo ha buscado más la espectacularidad; eso es el espectáculo. El de aquí no, el de aquí torea bien, él lidia a caballo.*
>
> The cradle of both the horse and the bull is here in Andalucía, especially in this area of *Jerez*, Seville and Córdoba. Since this is the cradle of bullfighting, the *toro bravo*[27] and the horse, it is natural that *rejoneadores*, and almost all the *toreros*, the first ones, have originated here and have spread all over Spain. Madrid and the rest of Spain have produced good bullfighters. The cradle, however, you could say has always been Andalucía, where most of the *toros bravos*, horses, people related to the *toro bravo* and the horse and later on the *rejoneadores* have been produced...The *rejoneador* from around here has always shown an art and wisdom that, for example, has set him apart from those from and around Castilla-La Mancha in the North; the *rejoneador* from here has been more orthodox, pure, with a different concept of *toreo* from horseback that is not matched up North. Bullfighting up there, for example, has become more of a spectacular. Not here, here they face bulls well, here they 'bullfight' [*torea*] from horseback as if they were on foot.[28]
>
> *(CZ, rejoneador)*

Andalusia offers an established, but relatively modern history of *rejoneo* (as explained in Chapter Five). I travelled extensively throughout Andalusia and Northern Spain on the trail of *corridas*, *rejoneadores*, bull and horse breeders and horse-related events. The fact that Andalusia had already been the subject of anthropological research into the *corrida* (Douglass 1997; Marvin 1994; Mitchell 1991; Pink 1997b) enabled me to draw from a comparative literature and provided particular ethnographic information on the human-bull relation in relation to the *corrida de toros*.

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[27] The *toro bravo* is the type of bull bred specifically for the *corrida*. The term is described in more detail in Chapter Seven.

[28] This *rejoneador* uses the term *lidia a caballo* (literally, to 'struggle' from horseback) to contrast with *rejoneo* as someone who uses *rejones*. The difference relates to the prestige given to someone who faces bulls from horseback as if he were facing it from the ground. This entails the closeness, 'purity' of technique and prestige associated with the *corrida de toros*. This distinction is also discussed in Chapter Five.

The practice of human-horse performances structured as *espectáculos ecuestres* (equestrian spectaculars), 'dances with horses' or 'dancing horses' is commonplace across Andalusia. Attending these human-horse interactions whilst living in Andalusia gave me the opportunity to contextualise *rejoneo* within a broader genre of human-horse performances. Rather than being bounded geographically, or being based on the assumption that the people within that space are similarly bounded, this dissertation is based on multi-sited ethnography. This is primarily because my research topic was about people and animals and I therefore followed them as they moved across and through geographical space. Therefore, I had multiple fieldsites: the horse field, the *corrida* field, the Spanish field, the Andalusian field and a field base.

Jerez de la Frontera

Even though this research was multi-sited, I required a location in which to base myself. As previously mentioned, this location was *Jerez de la Frontera*. *Jerez*, as it is usually referred to, is located in Cádiz Province, directly above Morocco and stretching westwards from the Strait of Gibraltar to the mouth of the Rio Guadalquivir (see Figure 7, below). The English word 'sherry' is purported to derive from the word '*Jerez*', which in turn is said to derive from the Arabic term for sherry 'Xeres', or is the modern version of the town's Moorish name, Sherish (González Gordon 1972 (orig 1948): 3). The suffix *de la Frontera* derives from *Jerez's* role as one of the Christian-held territories or 'frontiers' during the reconquest. *Jerez* is the fifth largest city in Andalusia accounting for an area of 1,186 square kilometers, 37 kilometres from Cádiz capital and 85 kilometres from Seville. Around 185,000 people lived in *Jerez* during my period of fieldwork in 2001. In 2006, the population had grown to 206,247.[29]

[29] In 2005, 23.46% of the population was below 20 years of age, whilst 12.47% were over 65 years of age. For the same year, foreigners comprised 10.35% of the population, the majority of whom were Moroccan (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística de España*).

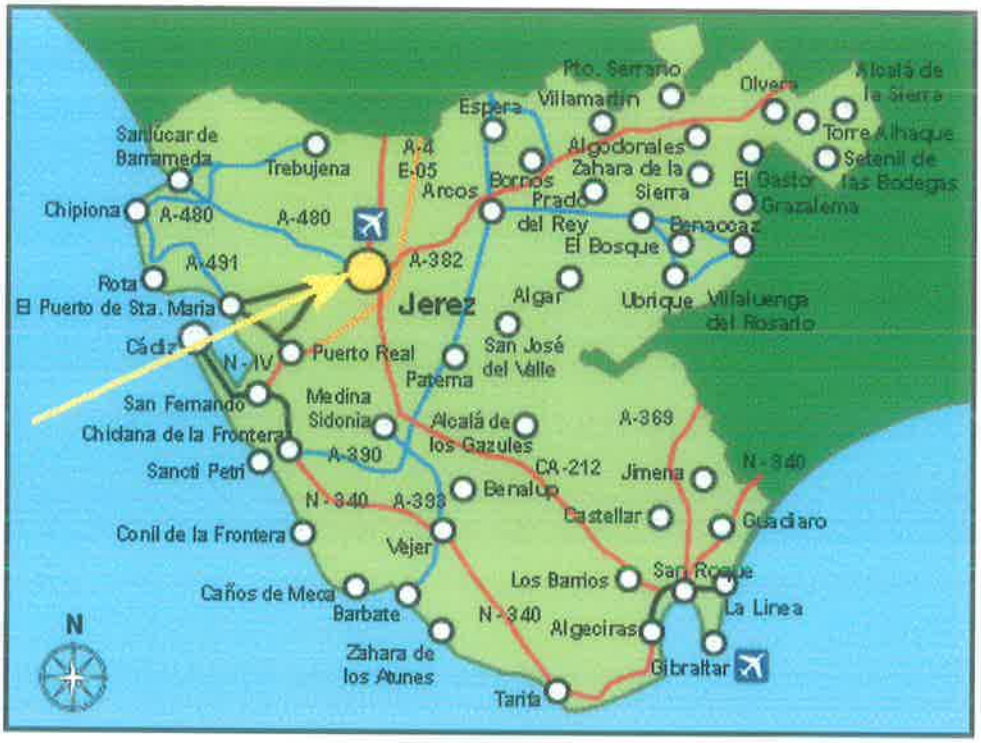


Figure 7: Map of Cadiz showing location of *Jerez de la Frontera*

Source: http://www.caramba.info/cadiz/jerezdelafrontera.htm (accessed 26 February 2007)

Human-horse relations are the feature human-animal interactions of this dissertation. I based myself in *Jerez de la Frontera* because it is considered to be the horse capital of Andalusia. As Cassidy (2002: 19) notes in relation to the English racing town of Newmarket, '[h]orses are present in almost every conceivable form wherever one looks in the town itself, in sculptures, shop names, paintings and in the flesh'. The same can be said of *Jerez*.[30] Horses are literally and figuratively omnipresent throughout *Jerez*' city-scape. One of Andalusia's

[30] There is a horse-themed bar called *La Cuadra* (The Stable). The walls of *La Cuadra* are painted in the same shade of 'vatican' yellow synonymous with Andalusian buildings, stables and bullrings. They are adorned with signifiers of farm life such as wooden pitch-forks and scythes, together with horse-bits. These are arranged neatly around tiled paintings of horses in barn scenes. The back wall is decorated with a series of coloured sketches of horse's heads, which are notably Spanish in profile. Near the *Real Escuela Andaluza de Arte Ecuestre*, is a 'cafeteria-pub' named *Evento* - after the horse which represented Spain in the 1996 Olympics and who stands at public stud at *Jerez*' military stud. The 'pub-cafeteria' *El Caballo Blanco* (The White Horse) is located on the same street. In between the centre of *Jerez* and its fair grounds, on the Avenida Alcalde Álvaro Domecq is situated the *Plaza del Caballo* (the Horse Square). Since 1970, the focus of this *plaza* is a statue of two bronze horses. The horses are raised approximately 4m on a grassed mound. They are Spanish in type. One is male and the other finer horse is female. They are styled 'at liberty' without riders or saddlery and the male rears up on his hind legs. Some of the businesses located on this *plaza* have incorporated the word '*caballo*' into their names, such as the *Cafetería El caballo*. Thus, the town of *Jerez* draws from the horse in similar ways, but with a different aesthetic, to the racing town of Newmarket.

military-owned and operated horse studs is located in the centre of *Jerez* and the state-owned *Yeguada de la Cartuja - Hierro del Bocado* stud which is said to produce the most pure lines of Spanish horses (known as Carthusian horses or *Cartujanos*)[31] is located in the outskirts of *Jerez*; it is one of ten horse studs in *Jerez*. There are at least eleven riding centres in *Jerez*, including one municipal school, two saddleries and three specialist equestrian tailors. In 2001, equestrian tourism in *Jerez* was estimated to generate 150,000,000 pesetas each year (Fernández 2001: 13).[32] Indeed, *Jerez* was chosen as the location for the World Equestrian Games in 2002. *Jerez's* reputation as a horse capital is largely due the Royal Andalusian School of Equestrian Art in the city-centre and its annual *Feria del Caballo* which is named after the horse.

Feria del Caballo de Jerez de la Frontera

'*Feria* is, perhaps, the major secular event in the annual calendar of most Andalusian towns' (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 95). Each city or town in Andalusia holds its own *feria* once a year, usually in close or exact association with the day of the local patron saint (as noted by Pitt-Rivers 1971 [orig 1954]: 8). Held mostly during spring and summer, *feria* can last from one day to an entire week. Although *ferias* are now analogous to funfairs and the term *feria* can be used for a *feria del libro* (book fair) or *feria del* vino (a wine fair), the town or city fairs have early associations with Andalusian *ferias de ganado* (livestock fairs) (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 95). The *ferias de ganado* were common place by the sixteenth century and their primary motive was the buying and selling of livestock (Castaño 2001: 38). Around the beginning of the twentieth century, sherry houses and bars from the city centre began to install *casetas* (little houses) in the fairground and *feria* became more of a social event than a livestock market. The lanes in the fairground were decorated with different coloured light globes and lanterns and streets were arranged to order the *casetas* and allow horse drawn coaches and riders to pass through the entirety of the park.

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[31] Their name derives from the Carthusian order which is popularly credited with establishing this strain of horse from at least the fifteenth century, although the 'purity' of the lineage has recently been challenged (Altamirano 2005a; 2005b) . This idea of purity of blood and ties to religion and seclusion has been long associated with the location of the monastery.

[32] At the time of writing, this is the equivalent of 1.5 million Australian dollars, 606 thousand Great Britain Pounds and 1.2 million United States dollars.

The *Feria del Caballo de Jerez de la Frontera* is one of the oldest *feria*s in the province of Cádiz.[33] It typically lasts seven days and is held a week after Seville's *feria*. Most councils have a municipal *feria* ground set aside especially for *feria*. *Jerez*' feria is held in the 52,000 metres square area of the *Parque González Hontoria*. In 2005, there were 250 *casetas* and, unlike Seville, they are all public. In the morning *feria* is relatively quiet. In the afternoon, from 1:00pm until 7:30pm, horses and their riders parade up and down the *feria* streets and are served wine whilst mounted (see Plate 9, below). Women wear *traje flamenca* or *traje gitana* (*flamenco* or gypsy dresses) whilst some men (and all riders) wear the *traje corto* otherwise known as *traje del campo* (the 'short suit' or 'country suit'). The *traje corto* consists of a wide-brimmed hat, a short collarless jacket usually accompanied by a vest, a crisp white shirt, high-waited mid-calf length pants which match the jacket and have white cuffs, boots and leather *zahones* (apron style full-length chaps) which attach high at the waist by plaited leather strings. The significance of the *traje corto* to an Andalusian country aesthetic is discussed in Chapter Five.

At *feria* eating, singing and dancing continue throughout the afternoon and the night. *Sevillanas* (described in Chapter Four) are the most popular dances and songs at *feria* but the *bulería* is also favoured in *Jerez* (see Plate 10, below). Newspapers report on all the minor details leading up to *feria*, such as the number of *casetas* for that year, the number of light globes and the quality of the fireworks display for the grand opening. Each year a new *feria* poster is commissioned which inevitably features a horse (see Figure 8, below). The unveiling of the poster for that year makes front page news.

[33] The *Feria de Jerez* dates back to the time of King Alfonso X 'The Wise'. The other *feria* in Cádiz province sharing the same period of 'birth' is that of *Alcalá de los Gazules*. When Alfonso re-conquered the city of *Jerez* (then Xerez) in 1247, he gave authorisation for the city to hold two *ferias* each year. The first was held in May whilst the second was held to celebrate the *vendimia* (grape harvest) (Castaño 2001).

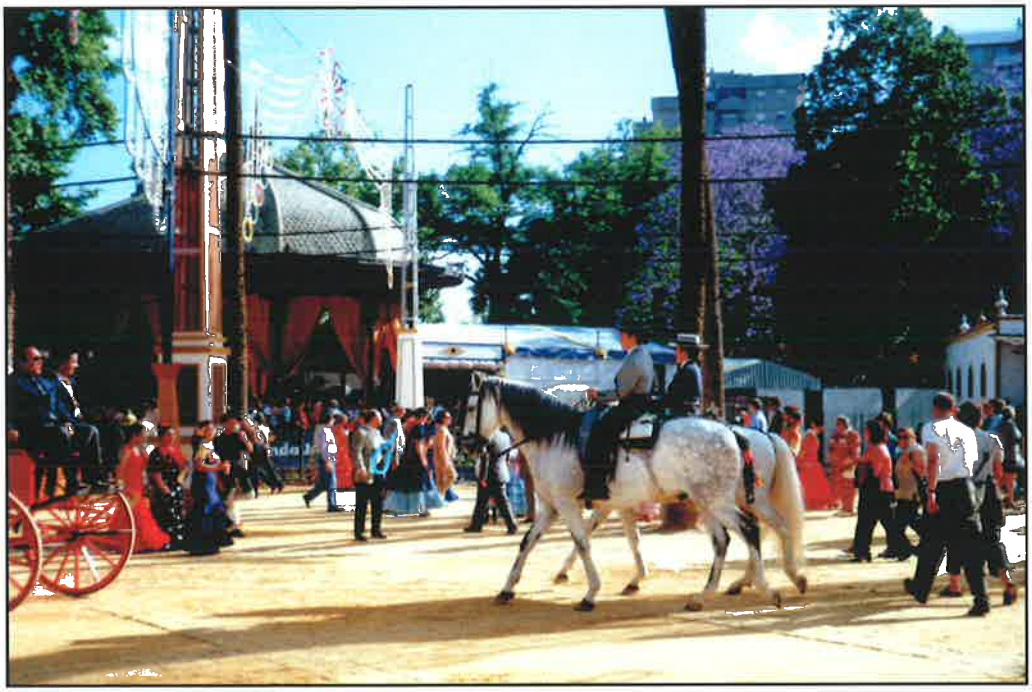


Plate 9: Two riders at the 2001 *Feria del Caballo de Jerez de la Frontera.*

Photo: Author



Plate 10: Two women dance *sevillanas* together at the 2001 *Feria del Caballo,* wearing *traje gitana.*

Photo: Author



Figure 8: Poster for the 2001 *Feria del Caballo de Jerez*

Source: http://www.anton-menker.de/fotos-03.html (accessed 26 February 2007)

As its name suggests, the *Feria del Caballo de Jerez* offers a variety of horse related competitions such as *doma vaquera* (Spanish Cowboy style *dressage*), *acoso y derribo* (the knocking down of bulls with poles), *raid* (endurance riding), *enganches* (carriage driving), morphological horse breed competitions (Spanish, English and Arabian horses) and the presentation of the *caballo de oro* (golden horse) trophy in recognition of excellence to the horse industry. The morphological competitions are held together with a trade fair of saddlery and leather goods and an equestrian exposition. Other horse related activities were non-competitive and performative in nature. They included an equestrian spectacular held at the *Institución Ferial de Cádiz* (IFECA) exhibition hall, a series of special nocturnal gala performances by *Jerez*' own *Real Escuela Andaluza del Arte Ecuestre* (Royal School of Equestrian Art) and carriage exhibitions. The *Feria del Caballo* incorporates a programme of *corridas*, featuring one *corrida de rejones*. The *corridas* are held in *Jerez*' permanent bullring located a short walk from the fairgrounds, in the direction of the city-centre. *Aficionados* await news of which *toreros and rejoneadores* have been booked to kill bulls in a week's worth of *corridas* and hope that it will be a local. The *corrida de rejones* at the *Feria del Caballo* is considered particularly special as *Jerez* is synonymous with *rejoneo*

and this *corrida* typically involves the famous *rejoneadores* of *Jerez*. Thus, being based in *Jerez* gave me convenient access to Andalusian human-horse interactions, representations, mediations and performances in which to contextualise this exploration of *rejoneo*.

Jerez was the ideal field site for an exploration of *rejoneo*. It is home to a number of *rejoneo* dynasties, some of whom also breed bulls for the ring. Many of the professional *rejoneadores* of the period of my fieldwork are mostly descendents of the protagonists of the revival of *rejoneo* in the early twentieth century (as described in Chapter Five). These families are also involved in bull breeding and it is not unusual for a *rejoneador* to kill a bull that he raised. The families and their extensive land titles are based in the municipality of *Jerez*. On most days I would phone *rejoneadores* to arrange visits and interviews. These were often arranged as the opportunity arose. Therefore, it was important that I was within easy distance from these key participants in my research to be able to carry out interviews with little notice. This was another advantage afforded by basing myself in *Jerez*.

While based in *Jerez*, I regularly visited Huelva province on the other side of the Rio Guadalquivir where I had made contact with a young *rejoneador* and some *yegüerizos* (owners of the semi-wild horses that roam the marshlands in *El Rocio*). Hence, this dissertation is largely based on research carried out in two provinces on either side of the lower Rio Guadalquivir region. Both provinces have strong ties to the *corrida*. For example, 25 bull-breeding ranches are located in Huelva Province, whilst 36 bull-breeding ranches are located in Cádiz (Unión de Criadores de Toros de Lidia 2006). Thus, this dissertation contributes to existing ethnographies of the Andalusian plains (for example, Gilmore 1980) and mountains (Corbin & Corbin 1984; 1987; Pitt-Rivers 1971 [orig 1954]).

Reflexivity

As noted above in my proposal of *kinesthetic empathy* as an ethnographic research method, I see my role in the research process as a primary research tool. The fundamental tool of research underpinning the methodological approaches and data collection techniques discussed above is I, and all that the term 'I'

encompasses. I created and defined the research project, I took responsibility for decisions about where, when and how, I collected the data, I was attuned to certain things around me, I processed the data and I produced this dissertation. In other words there are aspects of Spanish culture, human-animal relations and anthropology as a discipline that I didn't consider when I created and defined this research project, there were alternative 'wheres', 'whens' and 'hows' that I didn't decide on, there were things towards which I held no interest, there were other ways of processing this data and of producing this dissertation. Willis (1975 24) supports the image I hold of myself as a research tool by stating that the process of interaction between the anthropologist's society and other societies is 'mediated through the personality of the anthropologist himself, as a thinking and feeling being'. This view is shared by this anthropologist, *herself*.

In other words, the anthropologist may be a human tool for research but each anthropologist is a unique tool with his or her own personality and character and who undergoes personal development throughout the research process. The effect of this in any research methodology, but particularly in the social sciences, is clear where 'who we are often determines the questions we ask and of whom we ask them' (Caplan 1987: 20), as well as how people respond to us. This challenges the notion of an unbiased and neutral observer and the assumption that this can be achieved (see Gilmore 1991, for example). More importantly, it requires the researcher to consider the ways in which he or she affects the entire research process and the strengths that he or she has to offer. For example, the strengths of this research project are my skills as a horse-rider and an interest in *rejoneo* as these are things I shared in common with *rejoneadores*. These considerations form part of a reflexive approach to this research.

Ruby defines this reflexivity, as it is used in anthropology:

> In sum, to be reflexive is to structure a product in such a way that the audience assumes that the producer, process, and product are a coherent whole. Not only is an audience made aware of these relationships, but they are made to realise the necessity of that knowledge. To be more formal, I would argue that being reflexive means that the producer deliberately, intentionally reveals to his audience the underlying epistemological assumptions which caused him to formulate a set of questions in a particular way, to seek answers to those questions in a particular way, and finally to present his findings in a particular way.
>
> (Ruby 1980: 157)

With this in mind, I would like to discuss the ways in which my own equestrian interests and skills affected the research choices I made, the areas on which I focused, the ways in which I approached them and the kinds of information that held my analytic attention. I suggest that my personal interests and skills were especially relevant as a means of gaining entry to 'the field' and acceptance.

For as long as I can remember, the horse has always attracted me (in the sense that the Spanish reflexive verb *gustar* suggests that rather than liking something, that thing actively engages one's attention). For me, this is an emotional as well as physical attraction. In other words, it is not sufficient for me to admire horses and be pleased by their aesthetics. I need to be in physical contact with them and it is primarily through horse-riding that I feel the greatest satisfaction and a kind of fulfillment. I have been fortunate to own my own horses for the past fifteen years. I feel most like 'myself' when I ride well (when the ride *feels* good) and this continues long after I have dismounted. This works both ways. Working at making riding feel good, by doing it well, I feel good about myself. If I can't 'get along with' the horse that I'm riding, I have trouble getting along with myself. Developing my riding skills and the ways in which I relate to horses is simultaneously self-development. In other words, my self-image is bound to my riding-image. In this research project, I have transposed my personal philosophy of human-horse riding relationships to participant-observation with *rejoneadores*. By exploring how 'other' people ride, I can gain an understanding of how they see and feel about themselves, together with how they would *like* to see and feel about themselves.

I specialise in the discipline of *dressage*. *Dressage* itself is a heightened example of some of the conflicting philosophies and binaries that surround the act of riding horses. It is premised on the idea of a harmonious partnership, brought about by the horse's submission to the rider. It seeks to improve the 'natural beauty' of horses through human intervention. It comprises a rigid pre-determined array of movements that are carried out in a regulated and pre-scripted fashion at designated markers. At the same time, it is a creative and generative endeavour based on an inter-species and inter-individual relationship. It is based on what Foucault (1991) identified as 'techniques of discipline', but the 'docile bodies' that

these techniques produce in *dressage* are generative and artistic bodies.[34] As this dissertation demonstrates, I find the transgression of apparent incongruities such as these, and the human-animal divide, fascinating moments of relation, relationship and interaction. Overall, I am interested in the transformative power of these moments of potential tension. The centaur concept is one such transformation of the human-horse interaction. Therefore, my interests and experience in *dressage* riding and training fulfill and maintain an interest in taken for granted *paradox*es in interrelationships.

My interests in *dressage* also shape this research project in another embodied sense, which explains my interest in the relation between human and horse bodies. The aim of *dressage* is to develop the horse's body, by straightening it, making it as symmetrical as possible and shifting the horse's centre of balance towards its hindquarters. This entails lifting the forehand and encouraging the horse's hocks to come further underneath its body, resulting in it rounding its back and 'sitting-up' more. The so-called Baroque horse breeds such as the indigenous Spanish horse are considered to be predisposed to this weight shifting due to their conformation. But *dressage* is a progressive, subjective and qualitative process. Unlike show jumping, for example, where a pole either stays or falls and it doesn't matter how you get from one side of the jump to the other, *dressage* emphasises both what is achieved and how it is achieved. It is subject to intense aesthetic critique and judgment. *Dressage* riders embody this judgment and construct it as 'self awareness', which is more accurately 'body awareness'. They share a particular body hexis, as defined earlier, and simultaneously strive for an ideal body hexis. Likewise, *rejoneadores* share and cultivate an ideal *rejoneo* body hexis.

Essentially, the ideal positioning of horse and rider relates to economy and fluidity of movement. The rider must encourage a very large and heavy animal to perform particular movements in a particular way, with the least (visible) effort. This requires a fine-tuning of body language. The rider needs to develop an acute awareness of the position of their body in time and space and the influence that

[34] For other applications of Foucault's (1991) theories of discipline to *dressage*, see Hearne (1987: 123), Raber (1999) and Thompson (1999).

their body has to an equine body that is also moving in time and space. Linked to this awareness, is the need to control their body and separate body parts. The achievement of this is described as an 'independent seat', which ironically facilitates the creation of a centaurian relationship where horse and rider *appear* to be interdependent. Simultaneously, the rider receives information from the horse's body through their own body which forms an organic system of inter-species, intercorporeal communication. This forms an ongoing process of action, reaction, sense, response and adjustment that is subject to a whole host of other environmental factors such as the lay of the ground, wind, distracting noises and so forth. Put simply, I am fascinated by the effect that my body has on my horse's body and the effect that her body has on mine. This fascination does not originate in surprise, for it makes sense that human and animal bodies affect one another, but originates in the potential that this suggests for mutual influence, understanding and communication. Thus, when analysing the relationships between humans, horses and bulls, I have been particularly attuned to their body hexis and mutual embodiment. Whilst this approach originates from my personal awareness and interests, it is informed by *kinesthetic empathy.*

My equestrian skills also gave me credit with participants who wouldn't normally associate *doma vaquera* (cowboy riding) with women. The equestrian contexts in which I conducted fieldwork in Spain were those most commonly associated with the management of the *toros bravos.* In Spain, and Andalusia in particular, *toro bravo* management is male dominated. People were often surprised to learn that horse-riding in general in Australia is female-dominated and I was told that 'the world of horses is a world for men'.[35] As a horse-rider I had something in common with the men who participated in these activities that traversed gender. This made it easier for me to converse with men as we could discuss equestrian topics and swap cross-cultural anecdotes about horse-riding in Australia.[36] My prior

[35] This comment is most applicable to equestrian activities with rural ties. Female participation is prevalent in other 'modern' and more universal equestrian sports such as *dressage*, showjumping, eventing and endurance.

[36] The Australian stock saddle is fairly well known to Spanish cowboys, as is the film about Australian stockmen *The Man from Snowy River (Miller 1982)*, distributed in Spain with the title *El Rio Indominable.*

equestrian knowledge and skills also provided me with access to invaluable research experiences where I could ride horses with research participants.

For example, I rode in a *rejoneador's* private *plaza* astride a novice horse that was being accustomed to the bull's presence (see Plate Seven earlier in this chapter). The *rejoneador* gave me strict instructions to not ride directly towards the bull, as the horse needed to gradually gain the confidence to do so and therefore should not be 'over faced' too early in its training. This taught me the importance attributed to the *rejoneo* style of *cara a cara* (fighting face to face), and the ease with which a horse may lose the confidence to do so. It also gave me the opportunity to experience the body hexis of a *rejoneador* in terms of how the body is postured in relation to the horse and the *rejones*. The moments when I felt I had achieved the *rejoneo* body hexis were defined through *kinesthetic empathy*; when I felt like I moved like a *rejoneadora*, I felt like a *rejoneadora*. Riding horses thus provided me with an entrée to what was often a male-dominated equestrian sub-culture. I had some 'insider' knowledge in relation to other horse-riders in Spain, but at the same time did not share the knowledge of *rejoneadores* or *vaqueros*. This reminded me to not take Andalusian human-horse practices for granted.

This dissertation as a research product

The product of my period of participant-observation and ethnographic fieldwork in Andalusia is the media with which you are engaged in a social relationship right now. I have produced this ethnography as a means for communicating my understanding of *rejoneo*, *rejoneadores* and their mutually defining contexts. This ethnography is just as revealing of my own socio-cultural existence as a doctoral candidate who needs to ritualistically engage in various relations with colleagues, supervisors and examiners to offer tangible proof of my ability to live through a lengthy period of fieldwork, collect ethnographic information and process it meaningfully and with significance as defined by to the wider socio-cultural contexts in which I exist. As such, this ethnography is a snapshot in time and space of myself as a doctoral candidate and fledgling researcher. Likewise, this ethnography is a snapshot of the time and space, which I experienced in my relations with the participant-creators of *rejoneo*. I have produced the kind of tangible object which, for all its inherent shortcomings in conveying the lived

experience and full *sense*uality of the *corrida*, motivated me to do research for myself. Nevertheless, I present the reader of this dissertation with a truthful representation of *rejoneo*, which is not necessarily the truth of *rejoneo*. It is, however, a truthful account of a period of time experienced in Andalusia, made meaningful by the author-anthropologist/participant-observer/observer-participant, according to her embodied sense of being in the world. As I used *kinesthetic empathy* to understand that world, I also used it to produce this dissertation. Therefore, this dissertation is an embodied object. It is am embodiment of Andalusia, *rejoneo*, *rejoneadores*, *caballos toreros*, *toros bravos*, and the anthropologist (to name but a few).

Summary

In this chapter I have introduced the reader to the research decisions that were made to collect the data on which this dissertation is based. I chose participant-observation as an over-arching anthropological method, informed by *kinesthetic empathy* as an embodied approach. I carried out research in *Jerez de la Frontera* due to its links with *rejoneo* and the various equestrian sub-cultures prevalent throughout Andalusia, Southern Spain. Seeing myself as a primary research tool, I have explained my personal motivations towards researching *rejoneo* and the ways in which my prior equestrian skills and knowledge allowed me an entrée into some typically male-dominated equestrian activities. This dissertation is a product of the combination method, researcher and author. It exists within a broader human-animal-technology network and therefore transgresses the human-animal boundary in and of itself (the idea of actor-network theory is discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight). In the following two chapters, I situate this research project within the research carried out by other researchers and produced by other human-animal-technology networks. In Chapter Three I contextualise my research on the human-animal relationship within the field of human-animal studies and in Chapter Four I locate the particular human-horse-bull relationship within the literature on the *corrida*.

Chapter Three

Human-Animal Relations / Human-Animal Performances

> Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun.
> (Geertz 1973: 5)

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, I give a background to human-animal studies. I outline its historical milieu, underpinnings and competing philosophies. I note its multi-disciplinary nature and the fact that it has no singular method or methodology but is fundamentally concerned with the human-animal boundary. I look in particular at symbolic and metaphoric analyses of human-animal relations, which requires a brief but critical discussion of the symbolic and interpretive approach. In the second section of this chapter I explore human-animal performances as a subfield of human-animal studies intersected by the anthropology of performance. However, human-animal performances also refer to the performance of animal-being and the performance of human-being. I therefore consider the ways in which Butler's (1993) performativity has been applied to human-animal relations. This requires a focus on the role of the body in human-animal relations. I discuss the ways in which the human-horse relationship has been analysed in relation to human and horse bodies and how this relates to the centaur. In relation to human-animal intercorporeality in *rejoneo*, I explore the application of *kinesthetic empathy* (Shapiro 1990) in association with the ethical considerations suggested by the notion of *symphysis* (Acampora 2006). This chapter situates the centaur relation within a body of literature on human-animal relations, performance, performativity and intercorporeality.

Human-animal relations

Research into interactions between humans and animals occurs under various names such as 'human-animal studies', 'human-animal relations', 'human-animal interactions', the 'human-animal bond' and 'anthrozoology'. In this dissertation I favor the term 'human-animal relations' to refer to the subject and 'human-animal studies' to refer to the body of research, although these terms are permeable.

The subject area of human-animal relations studies is instances or contexts of relations between humans and animals in their broadest sense.

There is no single approach, method or methodology (Wilson 1994) to human-animal studies as it is an interdisciplinary field. Human-animal relations research is being carried out within psychology (Joy 2005), sociology, anthropology, zoology, biology, veterinary sciences, primatology, environmental studies, cultural studies, history (Ritvo 2002) and geography (Philo & Wilbert 2000) for example. In fact, disciplines such as zoology and veterinary science have begun to show more interest in the relations that animals have with humans, whilst the humanistic disciplines such as geography (most notably Philo & Wilbert 2000) and social anthropology (Mullin 2002; Mullin 1999; Noske 1989; 1993; Shanklin 1985) are showing increasing interest in the relations that humans have with animals. These disciplines bring their own approaches, methods, methodologies and theorists to their research practices, but frequently draw from other disciplines or work collaboratively with researchers in other disciplines (see, for example Kalof & Fitzgerald 2007). The breadth and depth of approaches, methods, methodologies and theories in human-animal relations reflects the varied ways in which animals figure in human society.

Why has the animal been neglected?

Cartesian dualism has been held accountable for much of the neglect of animals in social and scientific research (Willis 1990a; 1990b). *Cogito ergo sum* (I think therefore I am) reduced humans to spiritual mind and everything else to material matter. 'Spirit and mind were as alien from the world of nature as the natural world was devoid of consciousness' (Willis 1990b: 247). Within this framework animals were no more than empty machines or 'automata' and humans were the ghost in their machines. Humans were disembodied and had no connection to the world external to the mind. Thus, according to Descartes, there was no relation between human and animal or human and world, let alone between human and body.

As a result, 'sociology routinely has portrayed nonhuman animals as mindless, emotionless, self-less, reacting rather than acting, apprehending rather than comprehending, and existing only in the immediately situation' (Sanders 2003:

406). Constructed in this way, as mere 'automata', the Cartesian discourse assumed that animals could not use symbols to communicate and therefore lacked one of the most important and defining elements attributed to *Homo sapiens:* language (Wescott 1969). This view was championed by George Herbert Mead (1934) who argued that 'language is the mechanism by which the mind is socially constructed' (Brandt 2004: 301). Criticisms of Mead have been at the forefront of symbolic interactionist approaches to human-animal relations (see, for example Alger & Alger 1997; Brandt 2004; Konecki 2005; Wipper 2000). Explorations of non-verbal communication between human and animals and amongst animals more generally have also challenged the privileging of spoken language (Bussolini online; Despret 2004; Eugene Myers Jr. 1996; Hearne 1987; Noske 2005; Sanders 2003; Sanders & Arluke 1993; Shapiro 1990).

Both the natural and humanistic sciences have been charged with an ignorance of the effects that animals have on humans and human lives and the subjective experiences of the animals themselves (Noske 1993). What do they think? How do they feel? How do they interpret their worlds? As these are the same questions anthropologists ask about humans, the question thus becomes: can ethnographic approaches and techniques be applied to studies of animals? The same questions regarding researcher bias and influence, obtrusiveness, acceptance and so forth can be applied to human-to-human research as to human-to-animal research. Perhaps one of these issues – the influence of the observer – is less problematic in human to animal research than human to human research as the researcher is 'unlikely to be seen as a potentially troublesome spy, or a source of useful information, or a possible instrument for furthering political interests (though this is not always the case, as Jane Goodall found during her studies of chimpanzees)' (Milton 2003).

On the other hand, questions surround the notion of inter-species participant-observation. Of course, these kinds of issues also point to philosophical debates about the possibility of 'knowing' an animal and empathizing with an animal. These same issues have been asked of anthropology's aims and objectives regarding human mutual understanding and empathy (for example, Schutz & Luckmann 1973). Can one human really know what its like to be another human

and empathise with another human? The philosophy of animal-being (Acampora 1995; Bussolini online; Despret 2004; Nagel 1974; Shapiro 1989; 1990; 1995; Shapiro 1997; Vandenberghe 2003) and mind (Crist 1999; Grandin 2005; Hediger 1965; 1968) is thus one of the subfields of human-animal studies. Other questions arise regarding whether a study of human-animal relations is really possible. These questions drive human-animal relations as a multi-disciplinary and cross-disciplinary area of research. However, as Mullin (1999) prophesises '[s]ome research directly engages moral and political concerns about animals, but it is likely that sociocultural research on human-animal relationships will continue to be as much, if not more, about humans'. I discuss the unavoidability of human subjectivity in human-animal relations in Chapter Nine.

Why are people interested in human-animal relations?

Human-animal relations is 'an area of renewed interest, with a new sense of urgency' (Mullin 1999: 201).[37] It has developed alongside the feminist and environmental movements and an intensifying incorporation of technology into human lives. Feminists have explored the link between the domination of women, nature and animals and their treatment as inferior to men and culture (Adams 1994; Adams & Donovan 1995; Birke 1994; Birke 2002; Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004; Gaard 2001; Ortner 1974). However, this identification of common discrimination between women and animals has not necessarily resulted in a partnership between feminism and human-animal relations:

> [A]cademic feminism tends to ignore animals while studies of human/animal relationships tend to play down gender. If nonhuman animals are outside modern feminist theory, it is partly because of the way that women and animals are linked as "others".
>
> (Birke 2002: 430)
>
> ...
>
> Clearly, cultural meanings of animals and gender are complex and powerful. But both fields of inquiry could benefit from greater dialogue. Human-animal studies could make more use of ideas of gender as a construct, as something performed (Butler 1990) rather than something we intrinsically are.
>
> (Birke 2002: 431)

[37] There are now two journals dedicated to human-animal relations: Anthrozoös (established 1987) and Society and Animals (established 1993). The first review of human-animal relations, focussing on domestic animals, was published in 1985 (Shanklin), followed by another a decade later (Mullin 1999) which revealed a broad array of multidisciplinary analyses and approaches to human-animal relationships.

In Chapter Nine I reconcile the human-animal and male-female dualisms in *rejoneo* by acknowledging the ways in which humanity, animality, masculinity and femininity are performed in relation to one another.

In relation to the environmental movement whereby people see themselves as intimately connected to the world around them, Willis suggests that 'Western culture ... is now in a phase that might almost be called neototemistic' (1990a: 6). In this phase, humanity's relationship to nature, the environment and animals is the subject of feverish interest. As Franklin (1999: 1) notes: 'the field of human-animal relations is fast becoming one of the hot areas of debate in the social sciences and is beginning to occupy the centre stage once held by 'the environment''. At the same time, there is increasing interest in the relationship between humans and technology (Haraway 1991; Michael 2004; Murdoch 2001; Sheehan & Sosna 1991). Following Martin (1995: 269), Mullin suggests that the rise in human-animal relations relates to a wider re-conceptualisation of fundamental boundaries. This is the 'considerable amount of boundary crossing going on in the contemporary world, not just between humans and animals but involving all sorts of other categories as well, including humans and machines, society and nature' (1999: 202). Throughout this dissertation, I demonstrate the considerable amount of boundary crossing going on in contemporary *rejoneo*, between humans, horses and bulls and incorporating technology such as *rejones*.

Thus, the field of human-animal relations can be seen as part of a wider move away from human-centred approaches where the human being (body and mind) is analysed in isolation from the nonhuman. The 'purification' (Latour 1993) of the human from 'everything else' has been questioned: 'Like the study of women, which has provided corrective and sometimes alternative views of how societies operate at many levels, the study of animal-human interaction now offers a stimulating and specific view of how humans operate at many levels' (Shanklin 1985: 377). Thus, humans, gender, environment, nonhuman animal and inanimate object are inter-related.

Human-animal relations & Anthropology

Anthropology is, by definition, the study of humans and inter-human relationships.[38] That is, humans within their social and cultural contexts. As noted by Acampora:

> Greco-Germanic philosophy from Aristotle to Hegel and Marx has evolved a tradition of philosophical anthropology on the premise of studying the human animal's species-being strictly; the transhumanizing task before us now is to go beyond that tradition's homo-exclusive bounds into the ontology both of generic animality and of nonhuman speciations.
>
> (Acampora 1995: 28)

The privileging of 'culture' within social anthropology and a long standing regard that 'culture' distinguishes humans from other animals (Birke 1991: 443) is one of the reasons for a perceived 'anthropocentrism' in anthropology. Birke & Michael (1997: 4) suggest that 'anthropology has ignored all else but human-human relationships' because of an historical trend in modernity towards 'purification' of the human realm, a concept they borrow from Latour (1993). 'The effect of such anthropocentric ideology is just as distorting as androcentric ideology has been to gaining an understanding of women and their experience' (Sanders & Arluke 1993: 379). These comments suggest that anthropology has only considered human experience of other humans, in isolation from the animals with whom they share the world. By recognizing that women once offered the same academic neglect as animals in academia, and that this neglect 'distorted' anthropological understandings of humanity, suggests that human-animal relations are invaluable to an inclusive discipline.

However, Mullin suggests that '[t]he topic of humans' relationships with animals has a venerable history in anthropology' (1999: 201), such as Mary Douglas' (1957; 1966; 1990) work on the pangolin and animal prohibitions in the Old Testament (1966) and research into the significance of cattle in Nilotic society

[38] It is commonly asserted that the term 'anthropology' is a mixture of the Greek term '*anthropos*' meaning man and the suffix '*ology*' meaning 'the study of'. However, a curious fact surrounding the etymology of the current terms for human and animal in the English language is that the word 'animal' derives from 'anima', referring to spirit and life, whilst the root word for human refers to soil (Shapiro 2002: 335). Moreover, during a conversation with a Greek Orthodox Priest in Adelaide, I was informed that the word 'anthropos' means more than 'man'; it means 'he who worships'. This adds a spiritual dimension to the definition of human and illustrates a religious view that humans are distinguished from animals because they have a soul.

(Coote 1992; Evans-Pritchard 1978 [orig 1940]; Lienhardt 1961). Moreover, totemistic societies and debates around totemism characterised anthropology in the early twentieth century (Boas 1916; Durkheim 1915; Lévi-Strauss 1966; 1973; Radcliffe Brown 1968 (1929); Roheim 1925). In fact, Willis (1990a: 5) claims that 'totemism obstinately refuses to 'lie down''.

Much of the human-animal relations research within anthropology concentrates on the roles that animals play in the economical, practical, sustaining, structuralist, metaphoric, semantic and symbolic lives of humans. Animals in these frameworks are facilitators of human action, the subjects of human action and creative inspiration for human action and meaning making. Shapiro (2002: 332) suggests that only research which treats animals 'as beings with their own experience and interests' can fall under the rubric of human-animal relations. Nevertheless, these are revealing areas of anthropological study in the context of the aims of the research to gain an insight into human socio-cultural behaviour. At the very least, a classical totemic or structuralist study where animals are objectified 'exclusively as cultural artifacts, symbols, models or commodities in a largely human-centered world' (Shapiro 2002: 332) suggests a powerful influence of animals upon human culture, regardless of the level of agency attributed to the individual animals themselves.

Birke & Michael (1997: 7) also lament the predominance of research within the field of human-animal studies which focuses on the benefits of animals to humans, whilst 'very few speak of the relationship between the two'. This anthropocentric bias is understandable given the frequent location of anthropology within the humanities and its constructed opposition against the natural sciences. However, the natural sciences have been accused of committing the inverse bias in studying animals without recognizing the influence that animals have over humans, the role that researchers may play in scientific experiments with animals (Muksian 1995; Noske 2005) and the experience of the animals themselves. Thus anthropology is in the position to reconcile theriocentrism and anthropocentrism by focusing on the relations between humans and animals. In this dissertation I focus on human-horse-bull relationships and their intercorporeality.

Why should anthropologists study human-animal relations?

In a review of the literature on domesticated animals, Shanklin notes:

> In the anthropological literature, much has been reported on how animals are used, how they function in various societies, and how their many meanings are derived, and recently anthropologists have provided new insights into old questions about human-animal interaction. I believe that the investigation of human and animal interaction may well be one of the most fruitful endeavors of anthropology.
>
> (Shanklin 1985: 379-380)

But *why* study human-animal relations? I have identified three reasons why the study of human-animal interactions is fruitful for anthropology.

Firstly, humans *are* animals. The degree to which this is true is the subject of debate but at the very least it is an inescapable biological classification (Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004: 173; Smith 2004; Willis 1990a: 19). The wide-spread use within the literature of the term 'nonhuman animal', despite other suggestions such as 'anymal' (Kemmerer 2004; 2006), evokes the *paradox* that humans are, yet are not, animals. I return to this boundary in relation to *rejoneo* in Chapter Nine. The fact that the term 'human' remains in the term 'nonhuman animal' or the less frequent 'nonhuman other' suggests an inherent hegemony of humans; 'non-animal human' does not conjure an equal relation. If humans are a little bit animal, does it not follow that animals could be a little bit human?

> Animals are uniquely positioned relative to humans in that they are both like us but not us. Trees and rocks are not like us and not us, but animals are very clearly similar to humans and, taken together as an animal community, have the capacity to represent the differentiations, characters and dispositions of any given society.
>
> (Franklin 1999: 9)

In fact, some animals are more clearly similar to humans than others (such as primates). The 'oppositional complementarity' of 'human' and 'animal', to use a term favoured by Willis (1990a), suggests that human self-identity is inseparable from animals (see, for example Rose 2000). The ways in which we define ourselves as human/animal, not-human/not-animal or human-animal hybrid reveal as much about whom (and how) we think we are as whom (and how) we think we are not. The study of human-animal relations is 'an enormously productive and fertile field for further sociological exploration of these differences' (Sanders &

Arluke 1993: 385). Hence, human-animal relations offer anthropology an opportunity to learn about how humans see themselves and others.

Secondly, humans share their world with animals; humans and animals are part of 'nature' (Willis 1990b: 249). This is unavoidable, whether or not animals are present in human spaces. '[W]e create knowledge in relation to a plethora of other life forms, not only humans' (Birke 2002: 432). Animals feature in our stories, myths, and thoughts, and are used in scientific research and medicine. We stroke them, abuse them, breed them, castrate them, care for them and eat them. 'In failing to recognise the fact that we live in an interactional community composed of both human and nonhuman members, we have ignored an area of social life that is commonplace, emotionally rich, and of significant analytic interest' (Sanders 2003: 421). Therefore, to ignore the role of animals is to present a much skewed image of human life:

Finally, the ways in which we do define our human and animal selves varies betwixt and between cultures:

> For any one culture the 'animal world' is never seen as an indivisible category, but as an historically constituted and morally loaded field of meanings that derive from the human habit of extending/imposing social logics, complexities and conflicts onto the natural world, and particularly onto animals other than ourselves.
> (Franklin 1999: 2)

As a discipline entrenched in cultural comparison, questions of human and animal definition and the cultural construction and social maintenance or challenge of those categories should be immediately fertile for anthropological exploration.

Human-animal continuity and its boundary

The human-animal boundary and human-animal continuity is a major thread of human-animal studies (Fuentes 2006; Ingold 1988; Lawrence 1995; Noske 1997; 2004; Ritvo 1995; Shepard 1996; Smith 2004). I would argue that attention to animal rights is fundamentally related to human-animal continuity and the question

of human rights being applicable to animals.[39] The taxonomic classification within the category of animal itself has long been a source of anthropological inquiry (Douglas 1966; Foucault 1970: xv; Lévi-Strauss 1966; Ritvo 1997; Smith 1991), as has totemic systems where animals are appropriated as totems for human groups (Borneman 1988; Durkheim 1915; Willis 1990a). Of course, occasions where the human-animal border is thought to have been subverted (or 'perverted'), such as bestiality (Beetz & Podberscek 2005; Collins 1991; Dekkers 1994; Doniger 2004; Fudge 2000; Landry 2001; Morriss 1997; Murrin 1998), be it sexual relations with animals or animal-love, reveal social concerns with the human-animal boundary. This extends to the monstrous therianthropes or hybrids that such interactions may produce, or which may come into existence by other means (Birke & Michael 1997; Gilmore 2002; Parsons 2004; Ritvo 1995; Sperber 1996; Swan 1999).

Birke & Michael suggest two benefits of the hybrid concept that relate to human-animal studies. Firstly, 'the notion of a hybrid implies boundary-crossing and mixing – if not literally, then certainly at a conceptual level' and secondly, '[h]ybrids open up a space ... to think about relationality' (1997: 13). As noted in Chapter One, the centaur hybrid characterises this dissertation. 'There are an infinite number of possible monster forms, but the centaur is one that really works; our bodies know the centaur, we can live the mixing of the centaur' (Game 2001: 3). Scientific hybrids resulting from developments in xenotransplantation have also led to debates around human-animal continuity/discontinuity, together with moral and ethical implications (Birke & Michael 1998; Britton 2002; Cassidy 2001).

Meaning, metaphor and symbolism

Shanklin (1985) divides human-animal relationship studies into two basic groups according to function and meaning, and suggests the need for research across

[39] Animal rights, welfare and ethics is a well established area of debate within human-animal studies (Appleby 1999; Arluke & Sanders 1996; Dalla Bernardina 2000; Dolins 1999; Dunayer 2001; Everett 2001; Hursthouse 2000; Joy 2005; Orlans *et al.* 1998). It covers issues of animal experimentation, animal exploitation and animal cruelty. Some key themes within this field highlight the ambiguity of animals. Animal experimentation for scientific or cosmetic research, for example, is premised on the assumption of human-animal continuity and the applicability of findings based on animal research to humans. This has been challenged by the approval of some drugs that were tested on animals but later proven harmful to humans, such as thalidomide. At the same time, research that would be considered unethical to be carried out on humans has been, and continues to be, carried out on animals.

these groupings: 'Too few anthropologists have sought to bridge the gap between the study of animals as sustenance and animals as symbols or between the functional and the symbolic value of domesticated animals' (1985: 379). Research belonging to the latter group has a firm base within anthropology where the symbolism and metaphors of human-animal relationships have been of most interest (Baker 1993; Belk 1996; Brandes 1983; Leach 1964; Lévi-Strauss 1966).[40]

In terms of symbolic approaches to human-animal relations, Geertz's (1972) work on the Balinese cockfight is clearly relevant to this dissertation for three main reasons. The most obvious reason relates to the 'deep psychological identification' that a handler shares with his cock (Geertz 1972: 5). Likewise in *rejoneo*, *rejoneadores* identify with their horses. Both Balinese men in relation to their cocks and *rejoneadores* in relation to their horses 'spend an enormous amount of time with their favorites, grooming them, feeding them, discussing them, trying them out against one another, or just gazing at them with a mixture of rapt admiration and dreamy self-absorption' (Geertz 1972: 6).[41] In fact, due to the rider being in physical contact with the horse and sharing its movement through space through the riding relation, I argue that the *rejoneador* shares a more physically intimate intercorporeality with the horse than the cock-handler does with his cock. I expand on the significance of the riding relation below.

Geertz's work on the cockfight is also pertinent to the human-animal relations angle of this dissertation because both cockfighting and *rejoneo* represent a human manipulating the life-world (space, place etc) of one animal, and aligning themselves with that animal, in opposition to another. In cockfighting this is species against species; human against human, cock against cock and cock-human against cock-human. In *rejoneo*, there is an inter-species interaction and

[40] Other approaches to the symbolic meaning of human-animal relationships can be grouped within linguistics (Malkiel 1956), art (Baker 2000; Cohen 2004), literature (Palmeri 2006), poetry (Malamud 1998a), myth, folklore and tales (Cousins 1990; Doniger 2004; Paschalis 1994; Taggart 1982), animal representations (Ingold 1988; Rothfels 2002) and symbolism (Bronner 2005; Rowland 1973; Willis 1990c). Ideas of anthropomorphism typically intersect these approaches and this is a recognisable area of research in and of itself (Crist 1999; Kennedy 1992; Mitchell, Miles & Thompson 1997; Rees 2001; Serpell 2003).

[41] The reference to 'trying them out against one another' does not exactly transpose to *rejoneador*-horse relationships in *rejoneo*. There is a similarity in that horses are compared to one another, and tried out against bulls.

inter-species conflict; horse against bull against horse, human against bull against human and rider-horse against bull against rider-horse. In moments where there is no harmony in the rider-horse relationship there can also be rider-horse conflict. This illustration of the complex layers of human-animal interaction between and amongst the three different kinds of 'animals' demonstrates the ways in which *rejoneo* challenges the human-animal boundary.

Finally, cockfighting and *rejoneo* are both human-animal activities which culminate in the death of an animal. In this way they compare with hunting, shooting, angling and so forth, but the risk to the human, indeed to the rider-horse, is omnipresent. As described in Chapter Eight, this tension underpins *rejoneo*.

Geertz argues that the cockfight,

> ...provides a metasocial commentary upon the whole matter of assorting human beings into fixed hierarchical ranks and then organizing the major part of collective existence around that assortment. Its function, if you want to call it that, is interpretive: it is a Balinese reading of Balinese experience; a story they tell themselves about themselves.[42]
>
> (Geertz 1972: 26)

Geertz thus (1972: 6-7) treats the Balinese cockfight as a revealing text about Balinese culture, even where he perceives a reverse relation between human and animal to that of the 'everyday'. His presentation of the Balinese cockfight as a grand meta-narrative for Balinese society has been criticised on account that it is one of many available and competing narratives (Guggenheim 1994: 167). The interpretive approach of this dissertation does not seek to 'reveal' an omnipotent theme surrounding the human-animal boundary in Spanish or Andalusian thought and society. Instead, this dissertation provides a perspective on the human-animal boundary which contributes to existing, and differing, perspectives. Moreover, it highlights multiple ways of being human and animal, masculine and feminine, as discussed in Chapter Nine. Thus, the interpretive angle of this dissertation is not reductive, but generative. I therefore take an approach akin to that prefaced by Marvin in his interpretation of English foxhunting:

[42] For other interpretations of the cockfight see Darden and Worden (1996), Hawley (1993), Marvin (1984), Pasqualino (1996) and Dundes' (1994) edited casebook.

> The aim here is not to decode or recode it but rather to pay attention to the flows, surface events and processes that engage the passions, thoughts and actions of those who participate; to explore the performative construction and aesthetic bases of an event centred on the natural skills of two sets of animals which are converted in the imaginations and emotions of human participants, into an expressive performance.
>
> (Marvin 2000: 108-109)

The means by which I explore the human-animal relations of *rejoneo* in this dissertation are therefore symbolic but explorative. In Chapter Seven, for example, I look at the symbolism of the horse and the bull and overall I argue that *rejoneo* symbolises and expresses a permeable human-animal boundary. Doniger (2004: 726) asserts the relevance of symbolic analyses of animals by stating that 'contra the prevailing (largely structuralist) argument that anything can symbolise anything, that context alone determines meaning, animals have multiple but not infinite qualities; and particular animals tend to convey particular meanings'. In this vein she touches on 'the concept of motivation of meaning [in semantic theory], which encompasses various ways in which a meaning may be assigned to a symbol because of certain objective properties of that symbol, rather than by arbitrary association' (Ortner 1974: 76, fn 5). With regard to the context in which a symbol exists, Leach argues that:

> [S]ymbols occur in sets and that the meaning of particular symbols is to be found in the contrast with other symbols rather than in the symbol of such. But there is the further point that individual symbols have layers of meaning which depend upon what is being contrasted with what.
>
> (Leach 1976: 59)

In this dissertation I consider symbolism individually and contextually. That is, I explore the symbolic aspects of horses alongside bulls, and in the *rejoneo* context that they share. In addition, I consider a specific kind of bull and specific kinds of horses whilst acknowledging individual variations.

In keeping with Doniger and Marvin, it is not my intention to reduce the complex phenomena that is *rejoneo* to a collection of symbols, each with a singular interpretation. Rather, and in contrast to the pre-existing symbolic interpretations of the *corrida* as exemplified by Pitt-Rivers (1984; 1993) in relation to gender, I use a symbolic/interpretive analysis to explore the polysemy of human-horse-bull relations in *rejoneo*: 'Connotations of animal images and symbols are fully appreciated only if the animals of the images, *specifically selected for symbolic*

elaboration, are examined within their socio-cultural context' (Davies & Marvin 1987: 544). Therefore, in the following chapter I situate the human-horse-bull interactions of *rejoneo* within a wider context of human-horse-bull interactions in Southern Spain. In Chapter Five, I examine *rejoneo* in light of its socio-historical context (something MacClancy (1996: 70) encourages with specific reference to the *corrida*) and in Chapter Seven I examine the symbolism of the horse and the bull within the context of *rejoneo*.

Human-animal performances

The anthropology of performance is a well established anthropological field. It ranges from Goffman's (1959) *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, looking at daily performances and the analytical use of 'frames' of performance (1975), through Turner's (1982; 1988) theories of social drama and ritual. Schechner also looks at ritual (1993; Schechner & Schuman 1976), theatre (1973; 1985; Schechner & Appel 1990) and performance (1988 [orig 1977]; 1990), with a focus on rehearsals (1982), as noted in MacAloon's work (1984a; 1984b; 1984) which explores the genre of spectacle. This work has focussed on humans within human performances, although Turner uses animals as a point of reference for defining the human as capable of reflexive performance:

> If man is a sapient animal, a toolmaking animal, a self-making animal, a symbol-using animal, he is, no less, a performing animal, *Homo performans*, not in the sense, perhaps that a circus animal may be a performing animal, but in the sense that a man is a self-performing animal--his performances are, in a way, *reflexive*, in performing he reveals himself to himself.
>
> (Turner 1988: 81)

Of particular interest to this dissertation is the literature on animals and performance. This is a broad area covering animals in 'traditional' dance, ritual and performances, (Pradier 2000; Zarrilli 2000), animals as performers on stage (Castellucci 2000; Chaudhuri 2003; Chaudhuri & Enelow 2006; Dobson 2000; Ridout 2004; Rosenthal 2000; Scott 2004) and screen (Swan 1999), to activities theorised as performance (Marvin 2000; 2003) and human-animal performances in competition (Thompson 1999).

Perspectives on animals and performance centre on the extent to which an animal can be said or seen to perform. Answering this question requires a reflexive exploration of what it means to say that a human is performing. This inevitably leads to statements around what humans and animals are and are not capable of, such as pretence, intention, acting themselves (reflecting their own 'reality') or acting a role. For example, Schechner (1982: 47) suggests that '[t]he difference between animal ritual and human ritual is that animals are always performing what they are, while humans almost always perform what they are not'. Could it be that a consideration of human-animal performances leads some to argue that 'I perform, therefore I am (human)'?

Bouissac argues that a circus animal 'performs' in the sense that it,

> ... negotiates social situations by relying on the repertory of ritualised behaviour that characterises its species ... The trainer can elicit at will some segments of behaviour and frame them in a situation of his/her choice, but the animals' behaviour is never performed out of its own socio-biological context, which transcends the trainer's understanding of the animal's performance.
>
> (Bouissac 1981: 24)

Bouissac's exploration of the notion of an animal 'performing' draws from some biological essentialisations of animal behaviour ('its own socio-biological context') which could be similarly proposed in relation to human behaviour. He also refers to a set of species-specific behaviours to which an animal has access. Again, this could apply to a human, or to neither human nor animal specifically. In other words, human and animal may both have access to behaviour beyond a socio-biological context and beyond a supposed 'repertory of ritualised behaviour'. Nonetheless, Bouissac raises the important point that the extent to which an animal is performing needs to be explored from at least three perspectives: the human (in his example the trainer), the animal and the audience. Moreover, these perspectives need to be considered in combination. As Birke (2002: 431) argues, 'animals living with us also perform, while we too act out our roles in relation to them. Indeed, there are (human-imposed) cultural prescriptions for the performance of the role "companion animal" – not just any old behaviour will do'. Whilst this dissertation is not an investigation into whether or not horses and bulls are reflexive of their performance in the *corrida*, it does consider *rejoneo* as a performance of human-ness, animal-ness and the human-animal boundary.

Ham & Senior explore an area of human-animal relations that they term 'animal acts', defined as 'amusing spectacles with animal and human protagonists, a form of popular entertainment with a long history in the West, from the bull acrobats of Crete to the Roman circus, the Renaissance carnival, and the turn-of-the-century variety show' (1997: 1). A context for human-animal relations which has been self-consciously developed around the notion of sight and spectacle is zoo culture (Kiley-Worthington 1997; Malamud 1998b; Marvin & Mullan 1999). In the current milieu, it appears that zoos are more likely to be constructed through a discourse of education, whilst circus constructs animal acts explicitly through notions of performance, spectacle and entertainment. Circus research (Carmeli 2003; Kiley-Worthington 1997; Nelson 2001; Stokes 2004; Weil 1999), especially that which focuses on the role of the animals (Bouissac 1976; 1981), is likely to be seen as most representative of a field of 'human-animal performances'.

However, there also exists a body of human-animal relations research based on violence towards animals or animal cruelty (although violence usually refers to human-human conflict whilst pain inflicted upon animals is more often referred to as cruelty) and the killing of animals (The Animal Studies Group 2006). These span cockfighting (Darden & Worden 1996; Dundes 1994; Geertz 1972; Hawley 1993; Marvin 1984; Pasqualino 1996), dogfighting (Evans, Gauthier & Forsyth 1998), the *corrida* (Douglass 1991; Douglass 1992; Douglass 1997; Marvin 1986; 1994; Mitchell 1991; Mitchell 1986; Pink 1996; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 2003; Pitt-Rivers 1984; 1993), rodeo (Lawrence 1982; 1990; Stoeltje 1989), fox-hunting (Marvin 2000; Marvin 2001; Marvin 2002; Marvin 2003; Marvin 2005) and hunting in general (Cartmill 1993; Dahles 1992; Franklin & White 2001: 105-125; Kemmerer 2004; Kwon 1998). Although these are not always explicitly analyses as performances, or using performance theory, they do represent areas of human-animal performances. To some extent, this literature on human to animal violence has come to replace anthropological investigation into animal sacrifice (such as Hallowell 1926; Kitagawa 1961; Lévi-Strauss 1966).

Marvin illustrates the cultural relativism and aesthetic dimensions of terms such as violence in the Spanish *corrida* by focusing on its construction as an art and

detailing the aesthetic ideals of the human-bull confrontation. 'There is no aesthetic of violence ... Andalusians do not enjoy witnessing an animal suffering' (Marvin 1986: 129). The idea of a charging bull is essential to a non-violent aesthetic in the *corrida*, because the bull should appear to be engaged in the confrontation. This distinguishes the *corrida* from hunting, for example. In this dissertation I take a position of moral relativism. I must emphasise that in no way am I suggesting that bulls, horses and any other animal for that matter does not feel pain. Rather, my position is one that seeks to understand the human-animal relations of *rejoneo* free from moral judgments which would obscure my ability to gain an 'insider's view', undermine the need to carrying out participant-observation and lead to an ethnocentric, even egocentric account which would do no more than support my own predetermined assumptions. Therefore, in order for this dissertation to be a valuable exercise in anthropological research, it is necessarily based in moral relativism.

Horse in performance

As noted in Chapter One, the horse is the primary animal in this dissertation. Whilst much attention has been given to the horse in the plastic arts (Baskett 1980; Benson 1970; Castejon y Martinez *de* Arizala 1955; Harrison 2000; Kentucky Horse Park 2000: 49; Landry 2004; Liedtke 1989), the horse in performing arts and performance is less developed. It is mostly based on circus performances and spectacles (Bouissac 1976; Nelson 2001; Scott 2004; Weil 1999), but also extends to *dressage* performance and training (Tucker 2005; van Orden 2005). The human-horse performance is based on a relationship between horse and rider or horse and artist. Research is still lacking in areas of human-animal performances, especially in relation to human-horse performances with *haute couture* and *belles artes* aesthetics deliberately constructed against circus aesthetics. Performances of this type are common across Europe with a particular focus on human-horse performances where the horse is seen as art and artist, dance and dancer. *Théâtre Equestre Zingaro* in France, for example, combines horse performance (with and without riders) with dancing, kyudo (Japanese archery), fencing, singing and plastic arts. This theatre has been analysed in terms of alterity and ethics of performance (Williams, D. 2000b) as well as the tension between high and low art (Weil 1999). 'Dancing horse' performances are

also common across Spain and dancing Spanish horse acts are recreated in other countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States. There is also a need for research into instances of humans performing for animals or animals inspiring performances from humans. As Birke (2002: 432) suggests, 'animals learn to perform a role emerging from their relationships with people'.

Turning attention to human-animal performances reveals the fundamental preoccupations of human-animal studies with the human-animal boundary, human-ness and animal-ness. As noted by Ham & Senior:

> The project of Western philosophy has always been to find what is exclusively human in the animal: man is the rational, speaking, bipedal, tool-making, history-processing, incest-prohibited, fire-discovering animal. The project of the animal act, on the other hand, is to *con-figure* the human with the animal, to write zoomorphically and anthropomorphically, to define zones of animality in the human and zones of humanity in the animal. In its essence the animal act is a flight from the humanistic definition of man, a descent through the body *out* of the subject/object world of metaphysics, a quest for another kind of language which merges with the sounds and gestures of animals, a pre-philosophical, pre-humanistic language from "the dawn of thinking" which lets nature speak for itself.
> (Ham & Senior 1997: 2)

This dissertation helps to redress the lack of specific research into human-animal performances and the relations between humans and animals within a performance context. So far, I have described human-animal performances in the sense of performances involving humans and animals. 'We also might ask about performance within human-animal relationships' (Birke 2002: 431). I will not consider a *double-entendre* of the term human-animal performances; the performance of human and animal being. That is, human-animal performativity. As discussed below, this also involves performativity of the hybrid.

Animals & performativity

In this dissertation, I am influenced by a handful of theorists who offer discursive ways of writing and thinking about the relationship between horse and rider. I will now outline their theories in relation to their usefulness for considering the centaurian relationship and describing the bases for *compenetración* between rider and horse. I begin with a discussion of animal performances by Birke, Bryld & Lykke (2004) as it makes direct reference to the idea of human-animal 'hybrids',

which relate to my concept of the centaur and the anthropotheriomorphic 'centaurian' relation which is embedded within it. Birke, Bryld & Lykke draw from Butler's (1990; 1993; 1999) notion of performativity, basically the idea that gender and sexuality are things that we *do*, not what we *are*. They argue that performativity can be applied to an understanding of animals and animality, as well as to human-animal hybrids. In this way, they see 'non-human otherness as a *doing* or *becoming*, produced and reproduced in specific contexts of human/non-human interaction' (2004: 169). In other words, 'we animal the animals' (2004: 176). They term this 'animaling' and suggest that, like Butler's 'queering', it 'can also shift perspective from animal essences to a study of the material-semiotic performativity of human/animal relationships' (2004: 169-170).[43]

Whilst Butler emphasises that the 'founding moments of performativity' are discourse (as described by Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004: 169), Barad (2003) offers a version of performativity which negates language by focusing on 'matter' itself. 'In this move, she refuses separation of observed object and observer, to emphasise instead *phenomena* ... this development of performativity permits inclusion of the material, including animals' (Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004: 170). Barad (2003: 815) uses the term 'intra-act' instead of 'inter-act' to further 'stress that the actors in a performative relationship should not be seen as distinct entities, acting upon each other from 'outside', but as intertwined agencies which mutually construct each other' (Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004: 178, fn 1). This intra-action describes the centaurian relationship in horse-riding.

Using Barad's reconceptualisation of performativity based in matter, Birke, Bryld & Lykke (2004: 170) suggest that, 'the notion of performativity can equally be applied to thinking about the intimate choreography of human/animal interrelationships'. This is an approach based on the perspective described above whereby animals should be seen as active *participants* in their own worlds and within their interactions and relationships with humans. 'It also means understanding how both human and animal are engaged in mutual decision-making, to create a kind

[43] However, Birke, Bryld & Lykke (2004: 170) note that 'animaling' and 'queering' are not direct analogies of one another, because 'non-human animals are not participants in the very human act of linguistically constructing boundaries'.

of choreography, a co-creation of behaviour' (Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004: 174). The repeated use of the term choreography recalls the performance aspects of human-animal relations as well as the performativity of human and animal.

Birke, Bryld & Lykke focus in particular on human-animal hybrids: 'If we shift the focus from groups of individuals, to relationships, we can focus on the human/animal as a kind of hybrid, that exists in the spaces between the two, and which – as a kind of hybrid – can maintain boundaries with other similar hybrids' (Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004: 170). They use the example of the laboratory rat as 'something of a hybrid, constituted jointly by the animal, the people and various associated technologies (standard cages; devices for weighing or killing; food stuffs and so on ...)' (Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004: 173). Their acknowledgment of the human-animal-technology network relates to actor-network-theory which locates human actors within and inseparable from, technological and institutional frameworks.

Similarly, Birke & Michael (1997) draw from actor-network theory and in particular the work of Bruno Latour, to consider a pervasive form of hybridity. 'We are always comprising hybrids, temporary or less temporary associations with a vast array of nonhumans' (Birke & Michael 1997: 6). Whilst an emphasis on the inter-embodiment of human-animal and human-horse interactions blurs the human-animal boundary, another nonhuman boundary is typically being crossed during rider-horse interactions; the animate and inanimate (technology) boundary. Birke & Michael (1997) explore human-technology-animal networks, using the example of the human-leash-dog network and the human-bridle-horse network:

> Here, the 'hybrid' we might describe consists of human-bridle-horse. Communication between the two living entities takes place partly through the medium of the bridle or halter, and partly kinaesthetically – through movement and its sensing ... there is a continuous subtle play of conversation.
>
> (Birke & Michael 1997: 11)

Thus, the image of the mythical centaur being enacted by rider-horses and used as a metaphor by riders, authors and theorists, is more than part-horse-plus-part-human. It is horse and human mediated through a technological relationship and

changed through that relationship.[44] In doing so, horse and human become much more than human-plus-horse (Birke & Michael 1997: 14). 'Among other things, hybrids are conjoint entities: they are not simply one entity sitting alongside another' (Birke & Michael 1997: 16).

The human-technology-actor networks in *rejoneo* are complex. For example, at a level of sentient being and inanimate object or technology, there is the network *rejoneador*-bridle-horse-*rejon*-bull. At the level of sentient beings there is the network rider-horse-bull. At yet a more intimate level is the construction of a *caballo torero*. Depending on where the emphasis is placed, *caballo torero* translates as 'bullfighting horse' and 'horse bullfighter'. Thus, the *caballo torero* is at first seen as a single unit of a network, but is constructed through its relation to another animal unit (in this example, the bull). The network can also be seen in the phrase *caballo torero* with a more nuanced emphasis on 'a horse that bulls' or a horse that acts like a bull in the same way that *torero* means bullfighter (human) but can be broken down from the verb *torear* to 'he who bulls' or someone who acts like a bull.[45] I expand on the significance of this terminology and explore the networks of *rejoneo* in Chapter Eight.

Game (2001) explores horse-riding as a moment of hybridity with 'an emphasis on co-creation, a kind of mutual becoming' (as described by Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004: 174). This mutual becoming occurs over time and is seen by Birke, Bryld & Lykke as another parallel with Butler's notion of performativity whereby, 'performativity is repetitions consolidated over time' (2004: 175). The authors suggest that long-term relationships with companion animals illustrate this aspect

[44] In the broad array of approaches subsumed under the title 'natural horsemanship', and including proponents of 'classical *dressage*', riders seek to demonstrate that they have a greater and better level of communication with their horse by riding without bridles, saddles, reins and so forth and discuss these 'gadgets' with disdain. However, according to actor-network theory, they are unable to totally disentangle themselves from 'technologies' ranging from books and videos to clinics, transport and equine treatment. Birke & Michael (1997: 16) even suggest that eco-systems could be seen as technical artefacts. The ways in which this range of technology is bracketed differently from riding and training aids reveals the ways in which these riders and handlers construct a version of 'nature', not to mention the fact that they construct the act of a human sitting astride a horse's back as natural.

[45] In the same way that a fisherman is someone who goes fishing. Although the noun is understood to mean someone who is fishing, the terms could literally suggest someone who is 'being' like a fish, through the hybrid fisher-man..

of performativity. I would add that this relates to rehearsal, practice and training. The idea of training is particularly relevant to horse riding and has special implications for the equestrian discipline *dressage*, named from the French word for training. Moreover, horse training blurs the human-animal divide: 'One way or another, training always involves a mixing of human and horse society' (Game 2001: 4).

Game discusses the horse-rider relationship in relation to the centaur metaphor (which (2001: 3) she describes as an 'archetype') and discusses riding as an act of 'embodying the centaur'. She describes the phenomenological aspects of horse riding and gives a personal example of using her own body to evoke within her horse KP the memory of what it is to canter, after the horse lost this ability through a mysterious paralysis. Game (2001: 6) writes: 'To help her to remember to canter, my body had to take up this movement'. By enacting the movements of canter with(in) her own human body, she brought about cantering within the animal body of her horse. In other words, she 'cantered' (a movement not usually attributed to humans although children often im*person*ate it), and she cantered astride her horse to evoke the same movement from the horse.

The process by which Game encouraged KP's body to canter by cantering with her own body can be understood through 'isopraxis'.[46] Despret introduces the 'isopraxis phenomenon' in relation to the human/rider-horse/ridden relationship:

> Unintentional movement of the rider occurs ... when the rider thinks about the movements the horse should perform. The horse feels them and, simultaneously *reproduces* them. A careful analysis of these unintentional movements made by the human body has shown that these movements, in fact, are exactly the same as the ones the horse performs. The human's right hand imitates (and anticipates) what the horse's right front leg will do, the bottom of the back of the rider makes a jerk which is exactly the movement the horse will do to begin to canter, and so on. In other words...talented riders behave and move like horses. They have learned to act in a horse-like fashion, which may explain how horses may be so well

[46] 'Isopraxis' was coined by neuroanatomist Paul MacLean to describe 'a non-learned neurobehavior in which members of a species act in a like manner' (Soukhanov 1993: 135). The term 'isopraxism' is attributed to the anthropologist David Givens (2005) in relation to human-to-human behaviour mimicking and human body language. The concept of isopraxis is based on observations of lizards mimicking each other's behaviour. Praxis is therefore often referred to as a reptilian form of behaviour in the 'oldest', 'reptilian' part of the human brain. Aside to the material that forms the basis of this dissertation, this is another example of human-animal boundary crossing, as the behaviours of lizards have been appropriated into the psyche of humans.

> attuned to their humans, and how mere thought from one may simultaneously induce the other to move. Human bodies have been transformed by and into a horse's body. Who influences and who is influenced, in this story, are questions that can no longer receive a clear answer. Both, human and horse, are cause and effect of each other's movements. Both induce and are induced, affect and are affected. Both embody each other's mind.
>
> (Despret 2004: 115)

Despret's notes regarding the imitation of horses by riders, as a part of the 'isopraxis phenomenon' explains the way that Game assisted KP to re-learn how to canter by imitating cantering with her own body. KP couldn't see Game canter but felt her canter; thus this was essentially an embodied form of communication.

In terms of Despret's exploration of isopraxis in relation to horse riding, I suggest that riders move analogously to horses rather than 'exactly' like horses. For example, the rider's hip may move analogously to the horse's leg as can be the case with the first stride in a trot to canter transition (as the horse brings their hind leg underneath their body, the rider moves their hip of the same side forwards). Furthermore, I assert that riders (should) move the way they *want* their horses to move (that is, the *ideal* contextualised by the equestrian discipline in question). I agree that talented riders do move like horses but that this is not an innate capacity of riders and some riders are taught how to move 'like a horse'. For some riders, being told that they should move the way they want their horse to move (such as telling a rider to assume straightness whilst sitting on a crooked horse, rather than countering the crookedness by 'steering' against it) can be bewildering. In other words, it would be more accurate, in my opinion, to claim that humans have an innate potential to move like a horse which may or may not be realised depending on the nature of their riding relationship with their horse. The reader should be aware that there are many articulations of the horse-rider relationship and that riders, as well as horses often need to be taught how to become centaurs.

Birke, Bryld & Lykke summarise Game's argument thus:

> This is a materialization, such that both horse and human bodies are changed; riders seem to carry within their bodies subtle knowledge of how horses react – as do horses of human riders. Nervous impulses and muscle twitches have become transformed, new material-semiotic practices created. In so doing, a hybrid is created – a hybrid which itself can have its own performativities and relationships to other social and cultural institutions.

> In such cases of non-humans so closely associated with us, the inter-relating of human and non-human is profoundly intimate. Not only may the behaviour of each be finely turned, but there are almost certainly what Haraway (2003) has called 'potent transfections' – literal transfer of DNA between the two. Together, dog-and-human (say) or horse-and-rider constitute a different entity, which is deeply enmeshed in complex social and technological networks and their practices... The arbitrary allocation into social/cultural (human) and biological (non-human) makes little sense in the light of such transfections.
>
> (Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004: 175)

With relation to the idea of a transfer of genetic material, Despret (2004: 122) suggests that mutual human-animal transformation can be called an 'anthropo-zoo-genetic practice'. Whilst the literal transfer of DNA between humans and animals would be debatable, the figurative transfer of 'human-ness' and 'animal-ness' across humans and animals is an important consideration in human-animal relations based on *compenetración*, such as the intimate rider-horse relation in *rejoneo.* Game suggests a latent pre-potency for human-animal transfections and anthropo-zoo-genesis. She proposes:

> ...that we are always already part horse, and horses, part human; there is no such thing as pure horse or pure human. The human body is not simply human. Through interconnectedness, through our participation in the life of the world, humans are always forever mixed, and thus too have what could be described as a capacity for horseness.
>
> (Game 2001: 1)

Thus, Game points to an internal balance of human and animal self within both horse and human that is activated through rider-horse and human-animal interactions. 'In making animals familiar, we humans find the animal in us. And the more horse we become, the stranger horses come to seem in their familiarity' (2001: 11).

Game sees rhythm as a unifying element in the human-horse relation and the image of the centaur: '[I]n living the image of the centaur, we entrain with it. And people and horses entrain together with horse-human rhythms' (Game 2001: 3). By 'entraining', Game refers to a mutual tuning-in between horse and rider. She goes on to discuss rhythm as a means for horse and rider coming 'to inhabit riding, as a musician inhabits a piece of music, or a writer a text' (2001: 8) Rhythm, and its influence on breathing and shared breath, is a facilitator and perpetuator of what I have above referred to as harmony (between horse and rider). Likewise, within performance studies, '[f]low has been used to describe the transformative

state that excellent performers achieve during the course of a performance' (Beeman 1993: 375). The meditative, mutually attentive state of inter/intra-embodiment that can be achieved between horse and rider transforms them into the centaur and manifests through *compenetración*.

Human-animal hybrids, be they 'real' such as rider-horse or mythical such as the centaur, inspire a focus on the relationship between humans and animals rather than the boundary between them. They also accord agency, active participation and co-creation to nonhuman animals. As such, analyses of hybrids involve attention to the issues that are at the forefront of the field of human-animal relations. As noted by Birke, Bryld & Lykke (2004: 177), 'a consideration of human/non-human dyads (rather than on humans or non-humans) might provide a fresh focus, from which to evaluate how borders might be transgressed, and how conjoined agency might operate'. By using the concept of performativity, such considerations are freed from the 'illusory objectivity [of] scientific studies of animals and of human/animal relationships' (Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004: 177). This dissertation adds another layer of complexity to this suggestion by dealing with a triadic human-animal relationship of human, horse and bull which is also intersected and mediated by technology.

Kinesthetic empathy

Considering the performative aspects of human-animal relationship draws attention to the ways in which the interactions between humans and animals produces and defines human and animal. As a result, the terms 'animal' and 'human' become verbs. As noted above, we animal humans, but as I explore in Chapters Seven and Eight, we also human animals and animals human us. Moreover, animaling and humanising are not mutually exclusive, as suggested by hybrid human-animal interactions which also involve technology such as dogleads, bridles and so forth. As Barad (2003) argues that performativity is based in matter and Birke, Bryld & Lykke (2004) suggest that the performativity of hybrids is also based in matter, Shapiro (1990; 1995; 1997) offers a method for exploring embodied human-animal relations in bodies and phenomenological experience. This is the method of *kinesthetic empathy* which I described in the previous chapter.

Following his research into phenomenological methods for understanding human experience (1985), Shapiro proposes *kinesthetic empathy* as an approach for understanding the experience of nonhuman animals. He uses the term empathy, 'to refer to a moment in which I, if only focally, forget myself and directly sense what you are experiencing' (1990: 191). Thus empathy is not something 'located' primarily in the body of the person who is empathizing. 'More generally, then, there is the sense in empathy that this is the experience of the other' (Shapiro 1990: 191). Game (2001: 7) notes a similar relationship between sympathy and experience of the other when she sees 'true sympathy' not as 'identification' but as a 'fearless capacity for otherness and difference'.[47]

As noted in Chapter One, *kinesthetic empathy* is based on two fundamental aspects in common shared by humans and nonhuman animals: that we both live in the world and we both experience the world through our bodies. In this chapter I use *kinesthetic empathy* to explore the ways in which humans and animals, in particular horses, relate intercorporeally through the riding relationship. Explaining Shapiro's (1990) concept of *kinesthetic empathy* (described below) as it applies to horse riding Brandt notes:

> When horse and rider are moving together, the rider must use his/her own body to make the horse's body the focal point, as literally both accompany the other in a shared embodied experience. Without this empathic basis, horse and rider would be disjointed and in conflict, unable to have a shared experience of other.
>
> (Brandt 2004: 312)

This recognition of the body as a shared platform for human-ness and animal-ness requires moving beyond the Cartesian idea of being encased within our bodies to recognise that 'we are out there in the world through our bodies' (Shapiro 1990: 192). Even though animals are typically distinguished from nonhuman animals through their inability to use language, both animals and nonhuman animals 'live in and have access to a prelinguistic bodily region and, in fact, arguably must do so to experience meaning' (Shapiro 1990: 192). Shapiro (1990: 192) argues that not only can humans share an experience of an animal body and bodily experience, but that the animal body is 'more directly inhabitable' than the human body

[47] Birke (2002: 432) suggests that '[c]alls for more empathy in studying animals are part of a groundswell of changing attitudes toward reductionist science and the impoverished view of the lives of animals that it encourages'.

because animals are 'more visible' and 'less deceitful' (as noted above, Schechner also suggests that animals are less deceitful as they are incapable of performing anything but themselves). This recognition underpins *kinesthetic empathy*. It also provides an answer to a question posed by Willis in relation to human meaning being placed in and derived from animal symbols. He asks 'why animals, as opposed, for instance, to inanimate objects of the earth or sky, should be the bearers of this supreme symbolic function" (Willis 1975: 9). A shared phenomenology of human and animal bodies could provide the answer. However, Willis' question overlooks the fact that humans *are* animals and by seeing symbols in animals, humans see symbols in themselves.

Kinesthetic empathy is facilitated by a shared understanding located in and affected by the physical human and animal body. However, the body is not enough; it does not exist in a socio-historical vacuum. *Kinesthetic empathy*

> [C]enters on an interpretative investigative posture ... However, that empathic move into the world of the animal, the animal as subject in the original sense of that term, is supplemented by consideration of the social and historical contexts that shape the animal (and the investigator's experience of the animal).
>
> (Shapiro 1990: 185)

Therefore, to understand the experience of a bodily other (including a nonhuman animal bodily other) Shapiro (1990: 193) argues, 'that the investigator reflectively evaluate the product of his or her *kinesthetic empathy*' in relation to social construction and history. These considerations are inter-related but distinguishable.

Social construction refers to the both 'popular and the scientific social constructions' (Shapiro 1990: 193) of the animal, drawing from literature and culture. For example, in Chapter Seven I present the ways in which the horse and the bull are understood not only through biology and animal behaviour discourses, but also through their various constructions as Spanish, Andalusian, *bravo, valiente* and *noble*. These constructions move from the general level of species to the socio-culturally specific type; from equid and bovid to *caballo torero* and *toro bravo*.

In addition to social construction the kinesthetic empathetic experience of a nonhuman animal takes place in a moment that exists within a historical context. The way that the investigator empathises with an animal is determined to some extent by the investigator's prior knowledge and prior experience of the nonhuman animal. Even when unaware of an animal's past, there is a tendency to presuppose one, based on the social construction of the animal.[48] In short, 'it is not possible somehow to leave the historical dimension behind while empathising' (Shapiro 1990: 194).

There are two basic repercussions for considering the historical aspects to *kinesthetic empathy*. The first is that it draws attention to the nonhuman animal as an individual, with a unique history.[49] The second is that it '... undercuts an emphasis on the status of any study's findings as universal' (Shapiro 1990: 194). In *rejoneo*, this applies to the individual history of the horse or bull (the talents it has shown in the past, its level of training, the success or otherwise of its forebears, its prior experience or otherwise of humans and so forth) to the history of the discipline in which the animal is engaged. The history of *rejoneo*, for example, frames the aims, objectives, expectations, aesthetics and aesthetic judgments of those who are involved in its present moment. Therefore, in Chapter Five, I discuss the social development of *rejoneo*.

Shapiro presents *kinesthetic empathy* (entailing social construction and history) as a combination of methods through which the (social) scientific investigator can gain an empathetic and phenomenological experience of the nonhuman animal other in order to '... understand the complex, intimate, and wonderful choreographies of that world' (1990: 194). In Chapter Two I described *kinesthetic empathy* as a research method which complements participant-observation. In addition, there is a parallel between the way in which Shapiro describes the process as undertaken by the investigator and the process that a *rejoneador* might

[48] This presupposal of particular histories is revealing of the ways in which humans perceive animals and their relations to them. An example here is the tendency for people who acquire horses that are 'head shy' to believe that the horse was mistreated by humans in this past, rather than consider that it may have not have had any handling around its head or that it simply does not like being handled around its head. The construction of a horse as previously ill treated may enable the handler to empathise with the horse more than an alternative construction.

[49] Bankoff (2004) would suggest that animals are co-creators of their own history.

use to work in partnership with a horse, for the purposes of performing successfully and safely in the mounted *corrida*. In the following summary of the *kinesthetic empathy* approach to animal understanding, I have exchanged Shapiro's selection of the word 'investigator' for '*rejoneador*' and his use of 'animal' for 'bull and horse' to show the easy fluidity with which the idea of *kinesthetic empathy* can be transposed to *rejoneo*:

> The method has three moves. The primary posture is one of *kinesthetic empathy* through which the [*rejoneador*] attempts directly to sense or empathise with the motor intention or attitude or project of the [bull and horse] ... The empathetic move is informed in two ways that constitute the mixed methodology. First, the [*rejoneador*] reads relevant texts in both popular and scientific literature to assay pertinent social constructions of the [bull and the horse]. The reading must assess the social construction in terms of both the [*rejoneador's*] preconceptions and its likely impact on the actual experiences of the [bull and the horse]. Second, the [*rejoneador*] must become a historian of the individual [bull(s) and horse(s)] under study. In effect, he or she develops a biographical account. This also informs the attempts at *kinesthetic empathy*.
>
> (Shapiro 1990: 185, modified)

Kinesthetic empathy is therefore a method and process evidenced in participant-observation, human-animal relations, human-horse relations, and between *rejoneador* and *caballo torero*.

In *rejoneo*, the *rejoneador* has a particular relationship to the horse that exists in very few human-animal relations; he rides the horse. This means that he 'merges' physically with a nonhuman animal being. This is carried out within close proximity to a third animal, the bull. Even though the horse-rider and bull are not always physically and phenomenologically connected, I argue that they are connected through mutual focus, and their boundary crossing as described in Chapter Eight. By mutual focus I am referring to the rider-horse and bull being mutually engaged in attention on one another. This attention to the 'other', as Shapiro notes in relation to his usage of the term 'empathy' requires the 'forgotten body' (1985: 192).

The horse cannot be self-conscious and self-occupied whilst manoeuvring the length of its body across the bull's horns. The rider cannot be self-conscious and self occupied whilst reaching between the bull's horns to place a *banderilla*. The bull cannot be self-conscious and self occupied whilst bumping the horse's rump

with his horns. Horse, rider and bull must forget their own bodies and project their awareness to another body outside of their own if they are to pass, bump, kill and survive for the duration of the *corrida*, not withstanding their lifetimes. This is the 'forgetting' of the body, but it is not an abandoning of the body as rider and horse communicate to one another through their bodies. In other words, horse, human and bull are aware of their bodies but have embodied them in relation to space, time and other bodies to an extent that their movements are unsconsious.

This summarises the centaurian relationship where the rider is not aware or conscious of either his body or the horse. Rather, both bodies merge to generate a 'new body' that is simultaneous hybrid and unique. Thus, Shapiro's notion of *kinesthetic empathy*, encompassing social construction and history, offers a means of exploring the horse-rider-bull relationship in *rejoneo*, as much as it explains the method that *rejoneadores* themselves employ (more or less consciously) in their relationships with horses and bulls. More generally, *kinesthetic empathy* is a way to understand the very physical and embodied nature of being astride an animal such as a horse. It also explains the shared phenomenological basis surrounding the interconnectedness, entraining and inhabitation that Game (2001) refers to in her exploration of 'embodying the centaur'.

In relation to becoming the horse Other and sympathizing and empathizing with it, Wipper (2000: 54) raises the interesting point that, '[d]espite endowing horses with minds, intelligence, and thinking, eventers ... view the minds and thinking of horses and people as strikingly different and believe that failure to recognise this difference leads people to misunderstand horses'. This is a reminder that an understanding of nonhuman animals by humans does not necessarily require 'same-ness', and that an understanding of human-animal difference is required alongside an appreciation for human-animal sameness. I discuss this in relation to *rejoneo* in Chapter Nine.

Wipper also warns:

> The admonition "to take the role of the other" is fraught with problems, as it is a process that is open to errors of judgment. No observer, regardless of how hard he or she tries, can enter into another person's mental experiences, let alone

> those of a horse. Still, the best horse people attempt to do this and, in trying, achieve a better understanding of horses' perspectives and behaviors than those who make no such effort.
>
> (Wipper 2000: 53)

Wipper suggests that there is no convincing way to 'prove' that one human being can know for sure that they understand and experience the world in the same way as another human being, let alone an animal. However, *kinesthetic empathy* focuses on the body and its being in the world rather than on the mutuality of human and animal mind. As 'communication between humans and horses is an embodied experience' (Brandt 2004: 301), *kinesthetic empathy* offers a way to explain and explore that embodied level of communication between and betwixt humans and horses. By releasing a focus on the ambiguity of a shared 'mindfulness' that Wipper raises, Brandt also focuses on the body by noting that:

> [H]umans can understand the meaning of bodily gestures in horses, and horses can understand the meaning of bodily gestures in humans. Together, they co-create a system of language – a language of their own – through the medium of the body.
>
> (Brandt 2004: 313)

Incidentally, Wipper does not comment on her usage of 'horse people', which Birke & Michael (1997: 12) note is a 'curiously hybrid phrase'.

Horse and human may perceive the world differently (Wipper 2000: 67), but '[f]or both species, the body is a tool through which they can communicate a wide range of emotions and desires' (Brandt 2004: 304). Human and horse share the same senses, even if their sensory experiences may differ. They therefore have bodies-in-common. In fact, Brandt's (2004; 2005) research with women and horses suggests that riders become more aware of their own body language and develop a greater awareness and nuanced usage of their body through their interactions with horses. One of her participants describes this skill as 'body discipline' (2004: 311). Therefore, the body is a basic feature of human-horse communication. The intercorporeality of rider-horse produces a human-animal hybrid symbolised by the centaur. The basis for a shared bodily basis within this intercorporeality is accounted for, and facilitated by, *kinesthetic empathy.*

Symphysis

Kinesthetic empathy suggests the bodily basis for *compenetración* between the humans and animals of the *corrida de rejones*. However, it does not explicitly account for the moral dimensions of human-animal relations based on harm, or the killer-killed relationship that distinguishes the *corrida*. As with Shapiro's notion of *kinesthetic empathy*, Acampora places primacy on the body in human-animal relations. Acampora (1995: 26) writes that 'the live body is the primary locus of existential commonality between human animals and other organisms' However, he adds a moral-ethical element to the basis of *kinesthetic empathy* by arguing that 'the appreciation of commonality undergirding differentiation enables the growth of moral relationships'. Acampora (1995) suggests the concept of *symphysis* to describe the body-in-common that humans and animals share, together with the moral dimensions of this phenomenological relationship. He contends:

> [T]hat (especially the transpacific) moral life is primarily rooted - as a matter of phenomenological fact - in corporal *symphysis* rather than in mental maneuvers in the direction of sympathy. As I use it, "*symphysis*" is meant to designate the felt sense of sharing with somebody else, a live nexus as experienced in a somatic setting of direct or systemic (inter)relationship. I believe that speaking of *symphysis* is the best way to *describe* the (proto-ethical) feeling that assures us of another animal being's moral considerability.
>
> (Acampora 1995: 27; see also 2006)

It should be noted that recognising a mutually embodied sense of ethical sensitivity or compassion (which is likely not present in all members of the human species) does not necessarily lead to 'good things' for animals. In fact, 'in some instances being sensitive to carnal vulnerability can help more effectively exploit [animals]' (Shapiro 1995: 32). Within human-horse relations, this brings to mind the 'natural horsemanship' movement (an umbrella term for a range of approaches), which bases human-horse interactions on an ethological understanding of the horse's survival instincts, its social nature and in particular a need for 'herd' leadership. I do not wish to critique natural horsemanship or indeed make moral judgments about the potential for exploitation in any human-horse interaction, let alone the 'centaurian' relationship. However, it is worth pointing out that whilst the centaurian relationship may be emotionally fulfilling and practically rewarding for humans, it may not be the same for horses.

My intention in this dissertation is to show the interconnectedness of humans and animals, or perhaps more specifically, to demonstrate that the categories of human and animal are not mutually exclusive in Andalusia. As introduced in Chapter One, I do this through the metaphor of the centaur and the concept of *compenetración*. The centaur and the centaurian rider-horse relationship should be a positive conceptual development in recognizing the inter-connectedness and mutual-influence of human and horse bodies, suggesting human-animal continuity through intercorporeality. That this is carried out in a performance or spectacle genre of public event would suggest that this 'feel-good' relationship is intended to be demonstrated, shared amongst and promoted to others. However, as Shapiro (1995: 32) queries, '[w]hilst no doubt doing it well involves reciprocal bodily sensitivity, is it ethical to ride a horse? Can an ethic based on the body provide horses the way back from the horse show and race track to their original home on the range?'[50] Birke & Michael provide an answer by suggesting that:

> [W]e must try to develop a relational framework, and to develop an ethical stance from that. It is not necessarily in the best interest of companion animals (at least) to talk of their individual 'rights to roam free' (where?). Nor is it necessarily to deny them some intrinsic freedom to follow their instincts – a belief which maintains the notion that nonhuman animals are 'in nature' in ways that we are not.
>
> (Birke & Michael 1997: 15)

As explained earlier in this chapter with regard to moral relativism, this dissertation is not centered around the animal rights issues that relate to the *corrida*, or human-animal hybrids where Birke & Michael (1997: 16) note that inflicting harm to a part of the hybrid harms the whole. Therefore, the ethical implications of *symphysis* are not the primary reason for my introducing the concept here. The relevance of *symphysis* lies in a key factor of Acampora's argument for the proto-ethics of 'symphysical ethos': death. Where Shapiro focuses on the ways in which humans and animals have a common understanding of their bodies and a capacity to use body-language, Acampora considers the repercussions of the mortality of human and animal bodies. In so doing, he argues against philosophers like Heidegger who would claim that animals do not die like humans, but simply 'perish' (Acampora 1995: 26): 'Basically, the pattern suggested is that confrontation with death and dying produces a sense of life's transience,

[50] For a more detailed discussion of the ethics of horse-riding and training, see Patton (2003).

contingency, dependence; this feeling, in turn, breeds an affection of solidarity with those beings that share the condition of mortality' (Acampora 1995: 26).

Shapiro (1995: 32) ponders the value of Acampora's *symphysis* by asking 'can the sense of bodily vulnerability provide a basis for arguing the value of a particular way of being?' I argue that the significance of Acampora's reference to death and dying as a backdrop to *symphysis* cannot be overlooked in reference to *rejoneo*. Indeed, *rejoneo* exists in relation to a culture synonymous with pain, suffering, sacrifice and death. *Flamenco* song and dance has been analysed as the performance of pain (Washabaugh 1996), and the preferred iconography of Spain's Roman Catholicism focuses on the crucifixion of Christ (God's sacrifice) and Mary's sadness (her sacrifice). In relation to the risk to the horses of the Spanish *corrida* is Lawrence's (1985: 180) belief that, 'since the Christian era there has been a symbolic association with the horse, who routinely has nails driven into its feet, with Christ, whose feet were nailed to the Cross' Incidentally, 'the *corrida* was the only public event that those in mourning could attend' (Corbin 1999: 20, fn 13). I argue that the mortal risk to the *rejoneador*, his horse and the bull heightens their *compenetración* in the *corrida de rejones* and that a human-animal relationship based on death can represent a level of human-animal intimacy. *Rejoneo* is structured around the death of a bull through a process that could incur death to human or horse or both. One *rejoneador* believed that his horses were aware of their own mortality in the ring:

> *Claro, el caballo intuye que ese animal tiene esas astas, los cuernos, y que cuando le dé lo mata; el caballo lo intuye. Si el caballo no tuviera intuición no podría torear... por que nosotros ya una vez con una causa a ser maestros lo que nos limitamos es a hacerlo en el sitio y después el se va, porque sabe que si lo coge lo mata; ¿me entiendes? Si el caballo no tuviera intuición no se podría rejonear. Pero tiene intuición. El caballo sabe que si eso cuando se lo arranca, por eso corre y por eso se defiende.*
>
> It is clear that the horse knows by intuition that that animal [the bull] has horns and that if it gets caught by those horns, it will be killed. If the horse didn't have intuition it wouldn't be able to fight... As teachers, what we have to do is position the horse, then it gets going, because it knows that if it gets caught the bull kills it, do you understand me? It wouldn't be possible to *rejonear* if the horse didn't have intuition. But it has; that is why it moves off, runs and defends itself.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

One pressing question which arises from a consideration of *symphysis* in relation to *rejoneo* is whether *rejoneadores* feel greater *symphysis* with horses than they do with bulls. This could be one way of explaining the human-horse-bull relationship whereby the human interacts with and inter-embodies the horse in order to interact with the bull to ultimately kill it. However, an alternate reading of this relationship through *symphysis* could posit that the *rejoneador* feels greater *symphysis* with the bull because the potential for death is more acute for this animal than the horse, and thus the mortality of the bull is more obvious than the mortality of the horse (although as explained in Chapter Eight the horse's mortality builds the tension of a *rejoneo* performance). In the moment that the *rejoneador* kills the bull, he (as centaur) and bull are joined through the *rejón*, and the *rejón* to them. They become a network of human-horse-sword-bull and an assemblage of killed-killer, dying/dead-living. Pain and death are shared. Thus, *symphysis* raises many questions the human-horse-bull relationship in *rejoneo* and the human-animal boundary with a context of killing and death structured as a performance.

Smith's (2004: 5) suggestion of 'the ontological thrill of the animal' described above also aids an understanding of the similarity between *rejoneador*-horse and *rejoneador*-bull relationships, even though one is based on death. As I suggested above, the *rejoneador* experiences the ontological thrill of riding the horse, and killing the bull and in carrying out both of these functions he crosses species boundaries to become horse and bull. Thus, *symphysis* relates to the intercorporeality of human-animal relations in *rejoneo*, not so much because of its explicit statement that an ethical responsibility emerges from the realization of bodies-in-common, but because it suggests that the killing of the bull could relate to a human recognition of mortality. Thus, in the *corrida* at least, *symphysis* doesn't always inspire a responsibility to save life, but it can explain the taking of life. In other words, death and harm, and therefore symphysical ethos, are culturally contextualised. As demonstrated in the following chapter, the bull is killed in the *corrida* because it is so loved. It is considered to be killed in the *plaza* with the honour that escapes the abattoir execution. This is discussed thoroughly in Chapter Nine.

Summary

Both the field of human-animal studies and this dissertation are concerned primarily with the nature of the human-animal boundary and in particular with the moments in which that boundary is transgressed. The literature on human and animal performances is also characterised by questions of what defines humans from animals, by considering the ways in which animals can be said to perform. I termed this area of investigation human-animal performances but noted the *double entendre* to the term by discussing human-animal performativity. This relates to the performativity of humans and animals as well as the performativity of hybrids. I considered the ways in which other authors have considered the human-horse hybrid in terms of its intercorporeality and the role played by various technologies. Continuing a discussion of *kinesthetic empathy* which began in the previous chapter, I applied this method to an appreciation of the body-in-common between humans and animals which facilitates the human-horse hybrid. I considered the ways in which *kinesthetic empathy* facilitates the centaur and contextualises it socially and historically.

Although I explained a need for moral relativism in relation to an anthropological stance to *rejoneo*, I introduced *symphysis* as a proto-ethic for human-animal relations. Contrary to Acampora's intention for *symphysis* to suggest a human responsibility for animal ethics, I demonstrated that *symphysis* accounts for the death of the bull, but only through an understanding of the social construction of death, dying and pride in an Andalusian pro-*corrida* context. Thus, this chapter situates this study of *rejoneo* firmly within the concerns of the field of human-animal relations and establishes a focus on human and animal bodies. *Rejoneo* is marked by the relations between human, horse and bull bodies. In the following chapter I consider the ways in which these bodies have been presented in the literature. I argue that the existing literature is dominated by the dualistic human-bull relationship with scant or confused attention to the human-horse relationship in the *corrida* and note the repercussions of this to dualistic interpretations based on binary oppositions.

Chapter Four

Beyond Binaries: *Corrida* literature and *Rejoneo*

> The analysis of events ... which involve competition between animals, between humans and animals or performances with animals reveals much about how people view relations between the natural and cultural worlds, between wild and tame or domesticated, the similarities and differences between humans and animals and between different categories of human beings.
>
> (Marvin 1984: 60)

Introduction

The *corrida* has been at the centre of much sociological and anthropological research. This chapter situates this dissertation within literature surrounding the *corrida*. It is divided into two sections. Firstly, I introduce a model of Andalusian cosmology based on the binary oppositions of human/animal, nature/culture and male/female (Corbin & Corbin 1987). I demonstrate that these are the same binaries that have been used to interpret the Andalusian *corrida* and use my own ethnographic material to critique these interpretations. As the previous chapter destabilised the human-animal boundary, I critique the binary opposition of male/female used as a dominant approach to symbolic interpretations of the *corrida* by introducing Pink's (1997b) non-binary approach. This forms a model for this dissertation's approach to human-animal relations and representations of gender, especially in Chapter Nine. I suggest that the inherently dualistic nature of the human-animal relation in the footed *corrida*, which is reduced to a man-bull interaction, has contributed to dualistic interpretations of the Spanish *corrida*.

In comparison, the human-animal relationship of *rejoneo* is based on a *pas de trois* of human-horse-bull. This makes *rejoneo* a revealing site for anthrozoological analysis where three beings interact. Far from this being a generic human-animal relationship, this is an interaction of particular bio-cultural types, as well as individuals.[51] The *toro bravo* is a particular type of *taurus*, the *rejoneador* a

[51] By bio-cultural I do not wish to suggest that *rejoneadores*, for example, are biologically different to other human-beings, but I would suggest that their bodies, and bodily experience, has been shaped and influenced in particular ways by the activities in which they engage. Similarly, not all brave bulls and horses make it to the plaza.

particular type of *homo sapien* and the *caballo torero* (defined in the previous chapter) a particular type of *equus*. Thus, in the second section of this chapter, I look at the ways in which *rejoneo* has figured in the research on the *corrida* and demonstrate the ways in which it has been misinterpreted due to confusion with the *picador*. In doing so, I resolve a confusion within the academic literature which was noted in Chapter One in relation to popular misconceptions. I also give an overview of the main features of *rejoneo* that account for its academic neglect but which I argue provide valuable anthropological insights that contribute innovative gender and class perspectives to the literature on the *corrida*. In conclusion, I suggest that an anthropological analysis of *rejoneo*, which is based on a triadic human-animal relation reconfigures pre-existing dualistic interpretations of human-animal relations in the Spanish *corrida*.

Regarding my critical engagement with the literature, I wish to note that I use ethnographic data provided by authors such as Marvin and Corbin and Corbin in particular, yet at times critique their theoretical inferences. Their research was carried out during a different milieu, amongst a different population, in different places and, most importantly, in relation to a different form of *corrida*. For example, Pitt-Rivers (1971 [orig 1954]) conducted research in Grazalema (a major anarchist centre) in the early 1950s during Fascist Spain whilst Corbin and Corbin (1984; 1987) lived in Ronda for at least five years of 20, since 1966. Their research began during Franco's dictatorship and extends into democratic Spain, thus spanning dramatic socio-cultural and political changes. Marvin's (1994) research in Seville was instigated during democratic Spain, and mine approximately a decade later at the start of a new millennium.

Not only has Spanish society undergone significant changes whilst anthropologists have been conducting and producing research, so too has the *corrida*. The *corrida* is not a static phenomena but one that is continually evolving through innovation and alongside socio-cultural change (as described in Chapter Five). For example, the Franquist legislation prohibiting women from participating in the *corrida* was only lifted in 1974 (MacClancy 1996: 73)[52] and the *rejoneadores* at the time of

[52] Although 'some women *did* try to bullfight during' the Franquist regime (MacClancy 1996: 81).

prior research into the *corrida* were often the grandfathers and fathers of those who were performing at the time of my research. My intention in using and extending the literature before me is to consider the ways in which it can account for *rejoneo.* Where it does not, I offer a reconsideration which accounts for my experience of *rejoneo* and the views of those who participated in my research. Therefore, where I critique those who conducted research before me, I do so not in terms of questioning their accuracy or interpretation, but in terms of their ability to account for related ethnographic data.

A hierarchical model of human-animal relations in Andalusia

Corbin & Corbin (1987) present a model to explore and explain the relative positioning of humans and animals in Andalusian culture. Their model is based on data collected from Ronda, which like *Jerez*, is situated in the province of Cádiz.[53] Corbin & Corbin's cosmological model has influenced research into human-animal relations in Spain (for example, Davies & Marvin 1987; Marvin 1994). The model illustrates the relationships between nonhumans, humans and God. Nonhumans are positioned at the base of the hierarchy, being 'essentially material' in nature, while God the Father and the Holy Ghost is positioned at the peak of the hierarchy, as 'essentially spiritual' (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 15). Humans, composed of both matter and spirit, confer an intermediary position between the two surrounding realms of existence. 'One area of what can be termed an Andalusian cosmology is the relation between man and animal' (Davies & Marvin 1987: 544). In this dissertation I am concerned primarily with the relations between humans and animals. As a result, my discussion of Corbin & Corbin's model focuses on the relations between humans and the animals positioned below them. I introduce this model in detail before suggesting its weaknesses and limitations, especially with regard to human-horse relations in Andalusia.

The authors claim that occupants of the sub-human realm are essentially of material substance without spiritual nature: namely things, plants and animals. They are inferior to humankind because they are seen to possess little or no *vida*. *Vida* is the Spanish term for life or liveliness which Corbin & Corbin (1987: 15)

[53] For a more complicated cosmology based on Northern, coastal Spain, see Cátedra (1988).

define as 'the ability to continue in existence, to act, to control'. Hence, material things, such as rocks, have no *vida*. They do not wilfully move or reproduce and are accordingly located in the most inferior position in the cosmology. They are positioned below plants, which exhibit *vida* by reproducing but are not seen as being able to move about freely. Plants respond to stimuli in a biologically predetermined manner and so do not demonstrate any individualising behaviour from their plant brethren, such as constraining, controlling or shaping their biological urges.[54] Although being presented as superior in thought to plants and things, animals are subhuman; they 'have less life than human beings because they are less intelligent, less able to control, to exercise will, to determine themselves' (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 15). Animals reproduce like plants but they exhibit more *vida* than plants and things because they move about freely and at will.

Corbin & Corbin present an Andalusian preoccupation with defining human identity through a deliberate distancing from animal influences. 'The central tenet of Andalusian thought is that humans are superior to animals, plants and things but inferior to God' (1987: 6). But the position of humans in their cosmological model is not a *fait accomplis*. 'Humans struggle to strengthen the boundary separating them from lesser entities, to avoid descent to animal, vegetative or mineral existence' (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 6). This presents a version of Andalusian society where there is no sense of human-animal continuity and where Andalusian human-animal relations are characterised through human-animal difference (the contradiction posed by humans as 'intermediary' is discussed below):

> Spaniards normally regard animals as subhuman. They often represent enemies as animals but are much less inclined to do so with allies. The difference between animals cannot easily be paralleled with differences between humans. There is little of the totemic about Spanish thought.
>
> (Corbin 1999: 3)

Thus, Corbin & Corbin argue that individuals in Andalusia avoid human-animal relationships, for to enter into these would compromise their own sense of human-

[54] I assume that Corbin & Corbin make this observation with regard to the species specificity of plants as within the generic term 'plant' there is a variety of responses to biological stimuli that may result in some plants being seen as less 'material' than others.

ness. Their explanation of an Andalusian aversion to animality amongst humans is reminiscent of Geertz's (1972: 7) description of the same amongst the Balinese.

> [A]nimals are closer to human beings than are plants and things, and the line drawn between animals and human beings is drawn with force, for animality is particularly the quality that humanity seeks to transcend. Animals are not anthropomorphised. Animals are dumb; human beings speak. Animal terms are never used as endearments; they are always abusive. 'Beast', 'animal', 'brute', are powerful insults. The affection so freely lavished on children is not extended to animals.
>
> (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 18)

My fieldwork challenges Corbin & Corbin's model in several ways, especially in respect of the stringency with which they argue that the human-animal border is policed. One aspect of the permeability of this border is that anthropomorphisation can be seen in Andalusian culture.[55] This is especially prominent within the *corrida*, as noted by Douglass (1997: 19). This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven with reference to the terms '*bravo*' and '*noble*' being applied to horses and bulls, together with other anthropomorphic attributes. Although I agree that animal terms are not used typically used as endearments, my fieldwork suggests that neither did they represent the only base for insults. Terms for insults also drew from aspects of humanness such as *mucha cara*, *mala leche*, *mala follar*, *hijo de puta*, *coño* or *gilipolla* (respectively, a lot of face [literally 'cheeky'], bad milk, bad fuck, son of a whore, cunt, dickhead). Moreover, the use of animal terms as abuse is not specific to the Andalusian context, as shown by Brandes (1983) and Leach (1964).

I argue that the case for animal metaphors as dominant insults is not as rigid as presented by Corbin & Corbin's model. Further challenge to their assertion that the animal and human realms are separated comes from the countless occasions when people expressed their love for the bull, especially by *toreros* and *rejoneadores*. When asked which animal they liked the most, many of my informants couldn't choose between the bull and the horse and both animals, albeit in different ways, were treated affectionately. Horses and bulls were named, cared for, tended to, honoured and remembered. Some horses were cried over

[55] For an overview of the concept of Anthropomorphism and how it both crosses and reaffirms the human-animal divide, see Skipper (1999: Chapter four, 'The Great Heresy' 38-46).

upon injury (Burgos 2001a) or mourned at their death (Benjumeda 01 April 2006; Burgos [n.d.]): '[S]o many have sung of their love for an old horse, or of his death, imagining a tailor-made heaven for him' (Llamas Perdigó 1997: 34). The Almonteño poet Antonio Báñez was inspired to compose his poignant '*El Yegüerizo*' after seeing a man crying with rage because his horses were dying. In the poem, he also describes a mare as 'crying' whilst she tries to find dry ground for her foal (see Appendix Three).[56] Fifield (1978: 12) describes how: 'the *matador* Victoriano Valencia had once told me - that, about to kill a bull in Toledo, he saw tears fall from its eyes as it stood helpless' These examples together demonstrate an emotional connection between humans and animals in Andalusia and a projection of human emotions onto animals which suggests that animals in Andalusia are anthropomorphised.

Following Corbin & Corbin (1987), Marvin (1994: 133) also suggests that people in Andalusia have little contact with animals and anthropomorphisation never takes place, adding that pet keeping is not popular. However, my most vivid memory of living in Granada is dodging the dog faeces scattered around the streets. This came from the population of stray dogs and cats seen (and heard) roaming the streets, but it also clearly came from the dogs owned by people living in apartments who would accompany their pets onto the streets for toileting. Walking along streets at night, I would pass many frustrated pet owners waiting for their dogs to 'do their business'. My neighbours in *Jerez de la Frontera* kept a large dog who filled their small balcony and scared the landlady. He was regularly taken to the roof-top for washing and brushing. The dog's owner dreamed of saving enough money to buy a house with a garden so that the dog would have room to run. He also made a formal complaint to a council when he saw that donkeys being used to give rides along Sanlúcar beach were being unfairly beaten by their handlers. When I tried to re-home a stray kitten in the same city, the man from whom I bought the daily paper told me that his wife already had too many cats at

[56] Lawrence (1994: 64) notes that in medieval bestiaries the horse was noted for its ability to shed tears for its master. Perhaps the most famous tale of the sight of a troubled horse bringing a human to tears is Nietzsche's mental breakdown after seeing a horse being whipped by a cab driver in Turin in 1889. 'Nietzsche's final break with human society thus occurred at the moment he wrapped himself around an animal face' (Williams, D. 2000b: 36), although this usage of the word 'break' is based on the mutual exclusion of human and animal realms. In Chapter Seven, I describe a horrific incident which brings *rejoneadores* to tears over their burned horses.

home to take on another one. My experiences suggest that Andalusians have more contact with animals and that pet keeping is more popular than suggested by Marvin and Corbin & Corbin.

I argue that the strongest argument against Marvin's (1994: 133) claim that anthropomorphisation never takes place in Andalusia comes from the *corrida* itself. The *corrida* is based in the idea that the bull has been bred to fight, enjoys fighting and would prefer to die with honour in the ring at the hand of a fitting opponent than anonymously in an abattoir by the hand of a butcher. Anthropomorphism is at the heart of pro-*corrida* arguments which claim that the bull does not suffer (as well as anti-*corrida* sentiment which depicts the bull as feeling betrayed by the humans that had cared for it). The following quotation from a *rejoneador* summarises those arguments from a number of anthropomorphic angles; likening the bull's experience to that of a boxer, and considering that the bull would prefer to live in the countryside and die defending itself in a *corrida* with public acclaim than be killed by a butcher in an abbatoir:

> *El toro bravo no sufre, si no, no atacaría. Es como un combate de boxeo: llega un momento en que tu estás luchando y no te enteras ni de los golpes. En el momento que el toro se daba cuenta pues se ha muerto... nadie sabe como los matan en el matadero. Un toro bravo vive durante cinco años de su vida en el campo, libre, después tiene posibilidad la hembra de vivir muchos años; gracias a su condición el toro bravo si es bueno puede ser semental, puede incluso que le perdonen la vida en una plaza de toros, cada vez se dan más casos; y después, pues un toro que encima después de cinco años maravillosos muere delante de veinte mil personas que lo aclaman. Y encima, muchísima gente de esos que hablan y critican, darían lo que fuera por salir en una portada de un periódico importante y salen un toro; en cambio el animalito hace como 8 meses que le pegan un puntillazo, lo meten en un corral y después le pegan un puntillazo que muchas veces lo fallan y medio muere desangrado con seis meses. No tiene comparación. El toro bravo se defiende él y hay algo ¿no? Y sino criarlo, que encima es algo apasionante. Y si no, siquiera el mundo del torero se habría extinguido ya porque para la carne no es buena, no da mucha producción de carne, no hubiera sido nunca rentable. Estaría en algún parque natural... pero no existiría.*
>
> The *toro bravo* does not suffer; if it did, it wouldn't attack. It's like a boxing match: there comes a moment when you are fighting and don't even notice the punches. By the time the bull notices, well, it's dead... Nobody knows how they are killed in the abattoir. A *toro bravo* spends five years of its life free in the field and the females have can live for many years. If the *toro bravo* is good enough it may have its life spared to become a stud bull, or even be pardoned in the bullring, as has often been the case lately. On top of that, after five marvellous years it dies in front of twenty thousand people who give it acclaim. Further to that, many critics and commentators would give everything to appear on the cover of a leading newspaper like the bull does; on the other hand, that little animal [at an abbatoir] is

> chucked into a yard and stabbed at only eight months of age, often the wrong way, and bleeds to death; even at only six months of age. There's no comparison. The *toro bravo* defends itself and that's something, isn't it? But to have bred it is exhilarating. If it wasn't for this the world of bullfighting, the *toro bravo* would be extinct because its meat is not good; it doesn't produce much meat and would never be profitable for this. The bull would be kept in some natural park... but it wouldn't exist.
>
> (FB, *rejoneador* and bull breeder)

I suggest that another way in which animals are anthropomorphised and appropriated by humans is through metaphor.[57] In *Jerez de la Frontera*, Pasqualino (1996) analyses cock and hen metaphors amongst the gypsy community. During fieldwork, a friend told me '*no me torees*' (literally 'don't bullfight me' or 'treat me like a bull' and figuratively 'don't mess with me' or 'don't stuff me around'), a lucky person was described to me as having '*potra*' (having a filly, a young female horse) and when someone explained to me that they were living in two different places, they described the experience as being '*a caballo*' (on horse back, the idea being that they had one leg 'here' and the other leg 'there, on the other side').[58] The inclusion of animal references in Andalusian metaphors and popular phrases suggests that the animal realm has played an intimate cognitive role or reference point for human expression and identity, a function of animal metaphors recognised by Fernandez (1971: 46). In fact, Fernandez (1974: 121) describes animals as 'primordial *points de repère*' for human identity and suggests the possibility that they are 'thus objects of affinity and participation'. He suggests that the repercussion of this is a kind of reverse anthropomorphisation (zoomorphisation perhaps) by asking not 'how animals take human shape, but how humans take animal shape and enact nature' (1974: 121). In Chapter Seven I argue that an ebb and flow of anthropomorphism and zoomorphism occurs between horse and rider, and to a lesser extent, horse, rider and bull, in *rejoneo*.

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[57] Blok (1981) suggests that rams and goats have provided metaphors across the Mediterranean region, Fernandez (1971) notes the importance of cow metaphors in the Asturias in Northern Spain, whilst Taggart (1982) elucidates the role of bears in metaphor in the northern Spanish city of Cáceres. Within an Andalusian context, Brandes (1980) identifies animal metaphors in folklore associated with masculinity.

[58] See de Cossío (2000, vol 4: 70-71) for further taurine phrases and Esteban (1995) for further equine phrases.

Corbin & Corbin claim that:

> In Andalusian thought human beings are both material and spiritual, subhuman entities are essentially material, and superhuman beings are essentially spiritual. People share material substance with animals, plants and things and are subject to similar material limitations. People also share spirituality with God and are therefore able to transcend material limitations and achieve immortality. This duality of matter and spirit determines the intermediate position of human beings, superior to non-spiritual matter and inferior to immaterial spirit.
>
> (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 15)

Thus, they suggest that duality and maintaining an intermediary balance is a central feature of being Andalusian. 'Humanity is both material and spiritual, mortal and immortal, subject to both natural forces and God's will' (1987: 17-18). Could it not follow that animal/human is also a fundamental dualism which premises humanity? After all, the intermediary position of humans in the cosmology proposed by Corbin & Corbin suggests that being 'human' also requires being material and spiritual. As noted in the previous chapter, and emphasised in Chapter Eight, the category of 'human' does not exist in a pure and isolated state (neither does the category 'animal'). Rather, it blends with other levels of being, of which animals figure significantly.

The ambiguity of the human-animal boundary is suggested by Ortega y Gasset, the 'first Spanish thinker who began ... a true intellectual confrontation with the topic of bullfighting' (Cambria 1991: 211). Ortega y Gasset 'comes to no final resolution of [the] question of ethical treatment of animals by human beings for the former represent a special situation: they are (living) "things" but at the same time are somewhat like humans, without being human' (Cambria 1991: 212). Whereas Corbin & Corbin would suggest that it is precisely this ambiguity which spurs Andalusians to forcefully 'draw a line' between human and animal, I argue that *rejoneo* illustrates the ways in which the human-animal boundary is transcended. In the example of *rejoneo* and the human-horse-bull relations that underpin it, animals and humans co-construct each other's realms. Even though it is likely that in this ethnographic example humans can exercise more agency over the line-crossing than the animals (who after all appear in the context of the *corrida* by human design), there is no denying the inter-communication and mutual-influence between human and animal. These relations suggest alternative ways of being human which incorporate animals.

I also propose that this fluidity of human-animal relations questions the centrality of 'control' in Corbin & Corbin's model. Highlighting the intermediary role of humans in Corbin & Corbin's model suggests that rather than strictly being based on a separation of the human and animal worlds, Andalusian society assimilates animal elements with a human state of being. I argue that this is not solely a form of appropriation, as noted by Corbin & Corbin in reference to 'natural' items becoming cultural objects through human intervention, but that animality is an inherent and 'natural' aspect of humanity.

Corbin & Corbin (1987: 18) recognise the dilemma involved in separating oneself from the animal realm: 'The assertion of human agency over animal life in itself marks animality'. Unfortunately, the authors do not explore the repercussions of this, except to contextualise human agency over animal life as inappropriate if that control is carried out with an excess akin to cruelty (their observations relate to the aesthetics of the *corrida* described in the previous chapter in relation to ethics):

> People no more worry about inflicting pain on animals than they would worry about causing suffering to grasses and rocks. People avoid inflicting needless pain, for to do so would in itself be brutish, but do not hesitate to punish, brand, castrate, or kill an animal as a means to human ends.
>
> (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 18, emphasis added)

> In terms of this culture there is a strong demarcation between humans and animals, and the entirely appropriate relationship of the subordination of animal will to human will is indicated by the fact that people are able to control and make use of animals for their own ends.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 131)

Therefore, the *corrida*, together with other activities where Andalusians control animals (see, for example Marvin 1984; Pasqualino 1996), is fraught with an inherent contradiction: the act of killing an animal is seen as animalistic, but the *torero* or *rejoneador* must kill the bull to define himself as human (and masculine). This contradiction suggests a degree of artifice in the boundary between human and animal.

Corbin & Corbin claim that this kind of contradiction is potentially threatening to the Andalusian social order and they suggest that the *corrida*, rather than highlighting ambiguities, resolves them:

> The bullfight ... is riddled with ambiguity and inversion, it engages attention precisely by working through these. The bulls fought are quintessentially wild, yet they are bred by men; the bullfighters epitomise masculinity, yet they demonstrate it not in relation with females but in seeking to effeminise other males and avoid effeminization by them; they are '*matadores*', killers, yet they create life by killing and by themselves being killed.[59]
>
> (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 113)

I argue that an analysis of the triadic human-animal relations in *rejoneo* suggests that these ambiguities do not require resolving, simply because they are not mutually exclusive binary-oppositions to begin with. As Chapter Nine demonstrates, binaries such as human-animal, male-female and masculine-feminine in *rejoneo* are co-constituent and inter-permeable. That is, *rejoneo* illustrates the ways in which humans have 'animal' elements, and animals have 'human' elements. It also questions rigid constructions of 'male-ness' and 'female-ness', by providing alternative and multiple versions of being human, animal, male and female (see Chapter Nine).

Corbin & Corbin note there are conditions in which control can be surrendered. These relate to the spatio-geographical dualism of rural/urban:

> Sometimes people enjoy surrendering control, and the country is an appropriate and culturally safe place to do so. Many wealthy townsmen keep a house in the country where they can relax normal restraints, dress more casually, eat more simply, hold more informal parties.
>
> (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 22)

Corbin & Corbin contrast this relaxation of controls around being fully civilised and human in rural space with urban space:

> [H]uman urban space is highly artificial and controlled. Urbanity is a matter of density of dwellings not of size of settlement; both the 'ciudad' (city) and 'pueblo' (village) are urban.
>
> (Corbin & Corbin: 22)

This view is shared by Marvin:

> In Andalusian terms, urban space is human space; it is created by humans and is an environment of order, controlled and sustained by human will. In contrast the

[59] The phrase 'they create life by killing' is interesting in relation to the discussion of *symphysis* in the previous chapter where I noted that death is not innately constructed as a negative human-animal interaction, especially in the Spanish *corrida*.

> *campo* (the countryside) is perceived as subhuman space, the realm of plants and animals and subject to the control of the forces of nature.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 130)

Marvin uses the distinction between urban/rural and human/sub-human to support his argument that the *corrida* illustrates 'what it means to be a human male in this culture' (1994: 128). This is because 'the *corrida* takes place in urban space, where it is expected that people should exercise control' (ibid: 131).

I suggest that *rejoneo* illustrates the ambiguity of the urban/rural dualism for two reasons. Firstly, as shown in Chapter One, the majority of *corridas* take place in portable bullrings which are often erected on the outskirts of towns. As Corbin & Corbin (1987: 22) note that 'the transition from built-up area to countryside [is] abrupt', the bullring positioned on the outskirts of a *pueblo* finds itself challenging the line between urban and rural. In Almonte, for example, the portable bullring is erected just outside of the city, where paved streets turn to dirt roads. It is located in the same *recinto ganadero* (stock area) which houses a series of pens designed to hold the semi-wild horses driven there from the nearby marshlands of *El Rocio* during the annual *feria*.[60] It is a transient space characterised by animals undergoing an impermanent wild-tame-wild transition. The *recinto ganadero* where *corridas* are held in Almonte is not urban space. Secondly, as I argue in the following chapter, *rejoneo* is the performance of rurality in urban space. This is especially evident in the appropriation of a rural, cowboy aesthetic appropriated to *rejoneo* of the early twentieth century. This is explored more fully in Chapter Five where I demonstrate that, as a particular form of *corrida* with differing aesthetics and human-animal dynamics than the more widely studied footed version, *rejoneo* contributes a new perspective to research on the *corrida.*

Corbin & Corbin's Model applied to the *corrida*

When the themes of duality and human cosmological intermediacy espoused by Corbin & Corbin's cosmological model are applied to the *corrida* by other

[60] This annual 'round-up' is known as *la Saca de las Yeguas* (the taking out of the mares). In the *recinto ganadero*, the horses are branded, wormed, have their feet trimmed, are sold and judged in morphological competitions. They are returned to the marshes in an activity known as *el Regreso* (the return) via Almonte's main streets until next year (see Plate 8 early in Chapter Two).

researchers, they rest upon the assumption that a hierarchy between human and animal, culture and nature, is manifest in the kill (Douglass 1997: 80). As Marvin asserts:

> Nowhere is this subordination and 'culturizing' of nature, in Andalusian terms, more dramatically demonstrated than in the *corrida*. It is an urban event intimately linked with the country, which brings together, in the centre of human habitation, an uncontrolled wild bull, an item from the realm of nature, and a man who represents the epitome of culture in that, more than any ordinary man, he is able to exercise control over his 'natural' fear (the fear felt by the human animal). An essential prerequisite if he is to control the wild animal.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 131)

Thus, from this perspective, the *corrida* is constituted through a discourse of control, power, supremacy and domination intended to reinforce the ideological distinction between humankind and animals.[61] The notion of control is central to research into the *corrida*. It exists at two levels, radiating outwards from self-control to environmental control and animals. In other words, the cultural appropriation of nature has been argued to be central to Andalusian society, as suggested in Corbin & Corbin's cosmological model, but Ortner (1974: 72) suggests that this preoccupation typifies 'virtually every culture'. Of most relevance to the literature surrounding the *corrida* is the idea that humans must control themselves and other natural symbols such as animals.

Corbin & Corbin's cosmological model clearly rests upon the notion of control, particularly over the beings seen as lower than human in order to define humanity. Thus, the primary target of this control is ontological; it may be directed towards animals but its intended benefit is to humans. Marvin describes the prevalence of concerns of control to Andalusians, which he and Corbin & Corbin also term as *will*. The following quotation illustrates the entanglement of other dualisms such as nature/culture, uncivilised/civilised and rural/urban:

> This notion of human control and where, how and when it is exercised is a fundamental concern in this culture. To be fully civilised is to be in control of one's self, in control of one's life and in control of one's environment. This control is a function of will which people put into operation to overcome, on the personal level,

[61] If a Geertzian reading of the *corrida* was to be used in conjunction with the human-animal approach, where cultural activities are stories that a culture tells itself, about itself (Geertz 1972: 26), then the *corrida* could reveal "we are not animals". Some may claim that the *corrida* is animalistic behaviour, but this is negotiated through the code of conduct provided by *mesura*.

> their own human animal nature and, more generally, the world around them. Control is thus the domain of culture; lack of it signals the domain of nature. To be fully civilised is to be fully removed from nature. To be civilised is demonstrated by living in the urban realm with fellow human beings, by emphasizing that which is distinctly human (as opposed to animal) in terms of behaviour ... and by the successful demonstration of human will and control.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 130)

The primacy of control within Andalusian culture broadly has provided a pervasive analytic theme for an iconic Andalusian activity: the *corrida*. Corbin (1999: 12) applies his binary model directly to the *corrida* by claiming that, '[t]he pre-modern theme of *los toros*, then, is human mastery over nature: the very wildness of the bull is bred by humans; human enterprise brings the animal from the distant countryside to full public view in a *plaza* in the centre of the city, to be mastered and killed'.

The dualistic model is easily identified in Douglass' account of human-bull relations in the *corrida*:

> Most importantly, hierarchy is emphasised in the relationship between the *torero* and the bull, which is what the public comes to see. The *corrida* is not a contest, and the public protests vociferously if the *torero* does not control the bull. The oft-repeated key phrase for the bullfight is "*parar, templar, mandar*" (to stop, to modify, to command). Finally, the bull is killed and the hierarchy between man and beast is made even more manifest.
>
> (Douglass 1997: 80)

Thus, the *corrida* comes to be interpreted as the consistent test and reaffirmation of human intellectual triumph over nature's brute strength. I critique the significance given to the final kill in Chapter Nine where I point out that the final kill is one of many final kills in the career of a *rejoneador*, or any *torero*.

Douglass argues that the *corrida* is not a contest. Together with other authors (Hetter 1954), those who are involved in the *corrida* themselves (Sanchez, quoted Smith 1992; Bourseiller, quoted Stratte-McClure 1991) construct it as art and this is well supported by its intense aesthetic considerations.[62] Here, control once again takes centre-stage. Control is seen as a defining feature not only of the

[62] A number of arguments have been made over how to perceive the *corrida*, from ritual (Arratia 1988; Desmonde 1952; Molinie 1994; Pink 1996; Pitt-Rivers 1993), to sport (Hummel 1985; Zurcher & Meadow 1967), through sacrifice (Douglass 1997; Pitt-Rivers 1993), folk craft (Mitchell 1986), spectacle (Paniagua 1994) and combining features of many categories (Arratia 1988; Heinich 1993; Leiris & Ann Smock (translator) 1993 [orig 1937]; Marvin 1986; 1994; Pink 1998).

dynamics of human-animal relationships and cultural themes, but also as the foundation of the aesthetics of the *corrida*: 'In the *corrida* the contrived meeting between the bull and the man is a confrontation between nature and culture, which is worked out in a controlled environment in a stylised and regulated way' (Marvin 1994: 135). Likewise, Douglass (1997: 79) claims that '[c]ontrol must be achieved in a dignified way'. These are examples of control over the external environment and other beings. Control in the *corrida* also exists at a personal, internal level in the sense of self-control.

Arratia illustrates the interconnectedness of the human/animal dualism, self-control and aesthetics in the *corrida* in her statement that:

> ...the notion of control is vital in our understanding of the bullfight. The value symbolised in this particular feature is *mesura*, that is, self-control, grace, and demeanour, an honourable conduct that implies the predominance of a rational intelligence and cultured spirit over brute, natural force and instinct.
>
> (Arratia 1988: 288)

The notion of control and human-animal relations becomes further entangled with gender in the literature. This is because the ways in which humans, more specifically men, relate to animals, specifically bulls, in the Spanish *corrida* have been interpreted as representations of and commentaries on masculinity (and femininity by its absence, or its neglect). As a result, masculinity is about competition. This is obvious in Douglass' viewpoint that:

> ...the relationship of *torero*/bull is similar to that of "male/"female" in the Spanish honour code and that the ultimate message of the bullfight is about dominance and control. Marvin's ... thesis is also about control, self-control, and what it is to be "male" and "human" in Andalusia.
>
> (Douglass 1997: 10)

A similar combination of cultural themes with aesthetics in a performance context is instigated in Washabaugh's (1996) interpretation of *flamenco*. Washabaugh (1996: 3) describes a parallel between the *flamenco Sevillana* dance and the *corrida*: 'the woman, with arms curved over her head as if to imitate the horns of a bull, challenges the composure and self-discipline of the cultured man with her

wild and dangerous naturalness'.[63] In the *Sevillana*, women are interpreted as 'hot and "natural" in contrast to cool "cultural" men' (Washabaugh 1996: 3). Corbin & Corbin draw an explicit parallel between the *corrida* and the *Sevillana*, drawing attention to the sexual titillation involved in the danger of animal nature and at the same time espousing their focus on control:

> The demonstration of sexuality is particularly apparent in the performance of the '*sevillana*'. The movements of the dance play out the threat and containment of animal sex. The analogy with the bullfight is explicitly drawn. The man is supposed to pass the woman by him with the movements of the bullfighter; the girl, her arms curved above her head like horns, is the animal. But the two never touch; contact is maintained only with the eyes. The sensuality of the dance is entirely contained by prescribed and controlled movement, is cultural performance not animal behaviour. In the unlikely event that the dancing leads to seduction, molestation or rape, all parties concerned would lose, but most especially the male would be considered a brute, an animal, incapable of the self control which is the hall mark of a proper man.
>
> (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 107, emphasis added)

Similar themes are noticed by Marvin:

> In flamenco this animal element threatens to rise to the surface and engulf and dominate both the men and women involved in it, but the sensuality and the provocativeness are contained by the movements and structure of the dance, and thus the dancer remains in control.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 84)

Thus, the tension between human and animal expressed through a performance in which control and surrender form a major aesthetic can be seen in other forms of movement associated typically with Andalusia. *Mesura* is relative to both fields of performance. Marvin's comments suggest the role of structure as a prophylactic against succumbing to animality.

Both the *Sevillana* and the *corrida* are structured around stages where the actors become progressively closer to one another (the significance of this to human-animal relations in *rejoneo* is discussed in Chapter Eight). The *Sevillana* dance has four sections each comprising three movements, whilst the *corrida* typically involves six bulls, each faced throug three *tercios.* There are other overlaps between these two stereotypically Spanish activities. For example, during 2001 I

[63] The *Sevillana* is a type of *flamenco* dance specific to Andalusia. Manuel (1988: 126) discusses its lyrical content. However, the *Sevillana* is commonly understood as Spanish folk dance, not as *flamenco.*

attended an experimental *corrida flamenco* (*flamenco corrida*) in Matalascañas, Huelva which incorporated live *flamenco* song with a nocturnal *corrida*. However, I argue that the notion of control is over-emphasised in analyses of *flamenco*, as well as the *corrida*, and results in an image of an Andalusian fear of nature, animals and loss of control. Instead, I argue that Andalusian society, or at least *rejoneo*, provides multiple ways of being human and animal which incorporate a blurring or relaxing of the human-animal boundary. In other words, the idea of control does not necessarily translate as a fundamental division along human and animal lines.

Both Washabaugh and Corbin & Corbin claim that in the *sevillana* it is the male who is required to exert self-control. However, any female who has studied *flamenco* dance would appreciate the necessity of self-control and self-discipline. It is also noteworthy that Washabaugh's and Corbin & Corbin's interpretation of the *sevillana* places the female partner in the place of the bull, analogous to the symbolic interpretations discussed below, such as Pitt-Rivers (1984; 1993) and Douglass (1984; 1986). As Pitt-Rivers' and Douglass' interpretations of dualistic gender symbolism are challenged by the bull being interpreted as a masculine symbol, Washabaugh's interpretation of *flamenco* is challenged by the fact that women often dance *sevillanas* with other women. Some Andalusians to whom I presented Washabaugh's symbolic, gendered analysis of the *Sevillana* where the man is akin to a *torero* and the woman a *toro bravo*, thought it absurd. However, indulging briefly in Washabaugh's theory that the woman's hand movements are symbolic of bull's horns does provide a glimpse into a context where the human-animal boundary blurs. It is precisely this kind of blurring that I contend occurs in *rejoneo*, as noted in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine.

I suggest that the idea of control which arises in many anthropological interpretations of the *corrida* is a restricted notion of control, based on homogeneity, rigidity and separatism. Control is not only about separation but boundary-crossing, mixing, blurring and returning. A *rejoneador* controls not only his human-ness but also his animal-ness. This does not necessarily suggest that he avoids animal-ness. The centaurian rider-horse relationship in *rejoneo* is central to this argument, due to the physical alliance of the rider and the horse

against the bull. Considering the *corrida* within a context of practice, training and repetition challenges interpretations of the *corrida* as a human triumph over animal nature, such as suggested by Corbin & Corbin (1987) and Marvin (1994). If the *corrida* is about controlling human and animal natures and the triumph of human/culture over animal/nature, why does it need to be so often repeated? This suggests that human and animal are not separated and that 'animal' is not defeated in the *corrida*. Rather, the *corrida* is a performance of human-animal continuities that also exist outside the bullring. It illustrates the alternate and multiple ways of being human, animal, male and female.

Gender analyses of the *corrida*

As the *corrida* has been interpreted through the binary oppositions of nature-culture and human-animal, these dualistic approaches have also been used to discuss representations of gender. As noted above, the ways in which men relate to bulls in the *corrida* have been analysed as a commentary on Andalusian masculinity. These are biologically reductionist, reducing masculinity to testicles and penises. They are also inherently dualistic, being seen to simultaneously account for femininity as the opposite to masculinity. Similarly, the bull has been constructed as symbolically opposite to men. This produces a complicated matrix where men and masculinity are diametrically opposed to their gendered other (women and femininity), as well as their animal other (bulls and animality).

For example, through an analysis of vocabulary common to the *corrida* and sexual contexts, Douglass argues that the *corrida* is a metaphor for the Andalusian social order, especially male-female relations: 'It is through the treatment of the bull and the transference of language usually reserved for the *toro bravo* and the bullfight to women and the erotic relations between the sexes that the parallels between the bull and the female can be seen' (Douglass 1984: 243). Douglass thus perceives the bull as a female symbol, at least analogously female with women in Andalusian gender relations. In doing so, she goes against the more widespread view of the bull in the *corrida* as a male symbol and the *corrida* as a commentary on masculinity (Davies & Marvin 1987; Marvin 1986; 1994; Saumade & Delaplace 2000; Shubert 1999). Pitt-Rivers' (1984; 1993) often referenced interpretation of

gender symbolism in the *corrida* constructs the bull as progressing from a male symbol to a female symbol, with the ultimate message of the *corrida* as a commentary on masculinity. I will now elaborate on these metaphoric gender analyses of the *corrida*, as they dominate the literature of the *corrida* and symbolic interpretation.

The bull as woman

Douglass takes a structuralist approach by drawing on terminological and metaphorical parallels between the *corrida* and sexual relations identified by Tierno Galván (1961) to 'argue that ideologically, at least, the bull is female, an animal structurally equivalent to a woman' (1984: 243). Shubert (1999: 4), MacClancy (1996: 71), and Cornwall (1997: 17) also acknowledge the theory that the bull is a metaphor for women in male-female relations.[64] This position has been criticised by Cambria (1991: 222-223), Mitchell (1986: 400), Marshall (1985) and Pink (1997b: 48-49) for an over-reliance on language and selective usage of ethnography. For example, Mitchell writes:

> Most of the taurine metaphors to be found in Spanish folklore are connected to courting behaviours, and most of these limit themselves to a projection of male and female behaviours onto *toreros* and *toros*, irrespectively. In other words, both men and women have pictured themselves as the bullfighter and the opposite sex as the bull. The tendency, in fact, if one can be identified, would seem to be toward the "feminization" of the *matador*.
>
> (Mitchell 1991: 155)

In addition, Mitchell notes that:

> ... for every metaphor that pictures the woman as a wild creature that must be dominated and penetrated with a long instrument, there is another that pictures the man as a gullible patsy whose blind charges are easily governed by women.
>
> (Mitchell 1991: 158)

In her defence, Douglass clarifies: '[t]he bull is not female. Rather, in the relationship with the *torero*, it has the same structural position as woman in the Honour Code relationship between the sexes' (1984: 254). However, regardless of whether Douglass claims that the bull is female or that the bull takes a female

[64] For a thorough discussion of the usage of animal metaphor by various cultures, see Fernandez (1971).

role, she still draws from, and therefore perpetuates, a gender binary. In doing so, she prevents polysemic interpretations of the *corrida*.

Aside from the linguistic and discursive similarities, Douglass cites the technological development of televised *corridas* as contributing to the sexualisation of the *corrida*: 'The *torero*'s blade goes in and out and in and out, for all to see; a kind of televised copulation' (Douglass 1984: 254). However, Douglass has been criticised on this point too, by Pink who argues that the kill is an essential moment in the evaluation of the *torero* and that 'in this sense the televised kill constitutes not a sexual metaphor but a fragment of a media event' (1997b: 49). My fieldwork experience also supports Pink's comment that telecasts rarely focussed on a repetitive 'in and out' of the *torero*'s blade. The fact that the Spanish *corrida* is characterised by males holding phallic objects which they use to penetrate the bull during which they are judged by other males as to their penetrative skills is most likely to take the blame for phallic interpretations of the *corrida* (see, for example Stavans 1995: 51). Indeed, Pitt-Rivers, together with more contemporary writers such as Cornwall (1997: 16) and Marvin (1994: 134), state that the *corrida* is a symbol of masculinity and virility (Shubert 1999: 92).

The *corrida* and sex

Attention has been given to the sexual-psychology of the *corrida* and psychoanalytic interpretations, mostly based around Freud's concept of the Oedipal drama and notions of patricide (see, for example Desmonde 1952; Grotjahn 1959; Hunt 1955; Ingham 1964; Kothari 1962; Paniagua 1992; Pollock 1974) or of the expression of repressed anger towards male authority (Conrad 1957). 'Among the layered semiotics of the bull-fight, the sexual connotations are the most intriguing' (Cornwell 1997: 17).[65] There is also a body of literature which mixes sexuality and the *corrida* with reference to art criticism and aesthetics. Here, *Pica*sso's Guernica and the Minotauromachy series take centre stage (Chipp 1973-1974; Ries 1972; Wischnitzer 1985). The Minotauromachy series is a body of work from 1933 with a distinctly Dionysian flavour showing minotaurs – or at least men wearing the masks of bulls (as was most characteristic in *Pica*sso's

[65] For a detailed and critical overview of these interpretations, see Mitchell (1991).

work circa 1934) – ravishing women. Describing the philosopher Bataille's treatment of the 'violent structure of eroticism', Mitchell (1991: 165) writes '[s]exuality and death are two high points of the same fiesta – Nature's orgy of creation and annihilation'. Ironically, Mitchell refuses to see the *corrida* as being about sex, although he concedes that it may be about maleness. He prefers to look at the *corrida* as a window onto broader history, politics and society in Spain.

Honour-shame

Pitt-Rivers 'initiated' the honour-shame model (as argued by Pink 1997b: 33) to summarise Andalusian understandings of masculinity-femininity whereby the honour of men is at stake when women are 'unchaste'. In other words, the sexual comportment of women defines the honour of the men who are related to her: fathers, brothers, husbands and so forth. 'Women cannot be held responsible for their honour; but it is the definition and role of men to guard and contain feminine honour' (Douglass 1984: 248). Women have shame innately; it can be lost but not gained. 'Males, in contrast to females, can *gain* honour' from other males (Douglass 1984: 249). This model renders men as slaves to biologically and physiologically based (that is, testicular) sexual appetites and women and femininity as secondary to masculinity.[66] The honour-shame model influences other anthropologists who use it as a central tenet of Andalusian thought, and Mediterranean culture (see, for example, Brandes 1987; Gilmore 1987b; 1987c). Some draw more heavily from the concept of honour (see, for example Blok 1981; Goddard 1987), than shame, leaving the relative status of women under-researched in comparison (as noted by Gilmore 1987b: 91). Gilmore however (1987b: 100) prefers the term 'honesty' in place of Pitt-Rivers' honour. The influence of the honour-shame model to Pitt-Rivers' interpretation of the *corrida* is clear, especially with regard to the idea of men competing against other men for access to women, leading to the masculinisation of the winner and the emasculation of the loser.

Pitt-Rivers (1984) sees the *corrida* primarily as a ritual and interprets it as a symbolic gender exchange between the *torero* who begins as a feminine symbol

[66] For a full discussion of gender in the honour-shame model, see Gilmore (1987c).

and the bull which is symbolically masculine. By the end of the *corrida*, a transference has occurred whereby the *torero* has taken on the masculine qualities of the bull, rendering it feminine. He sees the gaping wound between the bull's shoulder blades at the end of a *corrida* as a wounded vagina, the final sword thrust he interprets as symbolic rape, and the bloodiness of it all as evidence that the *torero* breaks a menstrual taboo. Douglass (1984: 254) adds a finishing touch to Pitt-River's sexual interpretation of the final kill by likening the final death spasm of the bull to an orgasm (also noted by Pollock 1974). The idea of the final sword leaving in its wake a masculine *torero* and a feminine bull is evidenced in a psychoanalytic analysis by Ingham (1964) with emphasis on the homosexuality of the *torero* at the moment in which both *torero* and bull pass to and from masculine symbolic states.

Pitt-Rivers draws from a model of gender where 'masculinity' and 'femininity' are defined through penetration. Masculinity is thus attributed to the *penetrator* or the figure who represents the threat of *penetration* (the bull at the start of the *corrida*) and femininity is attributed to the penetrated (the bull at the end of the *corrida*). However, the bull is also a male symbol that is penetrated to its death by another male. Pitt-Rivers (1993) avoids dealing with the homosexual implications of this because his model of gender is based on binary oppositions.[67] Although Pitt-Rivers' gender-reversal symbolic interpretation has been taken on board by some analysts of the *corrida* (for example Molinie 1994), it has been challenged by others (Cambria 1991: 220-221; MacClancy 1996: 220-221) who note that amongst other shortcomings, the bull can be seen to have feminine characteristics at the beginning of the *corrida* (Ingham 1964). Therefore, the bull is polysemous, as is the *torero* or *rejoneador*. This symbolic reductionism does little towards a pluralistic understanding of the human-animal relations in the *corrida* and how they intersect with gender.

[67] Corbin (1999: 12-13) does discuss this homosexual symbolism, which I critique in Chapter Nine.

An alternative approach to binary gender analysis

Pink summarises the trend to apply sexual interpretations to the *corrida* and the tautological conclusions that result:

> Numerous (anthropological and popular) interpretations of the bullfight bear witness to the idea that the performance can become a symbolic representation of human sexuality, but that it is only understood on these terms when sexual meanings are invested in it. The bullfight itself does not essentially symbolise copulation any more than copulation stands for the bullfight.
>
> (Pink 1997b: 49)

Pink conducted fieldwork in Córdoba in the early 1990s to research women's bullfighting.[68] Her focus on *toreras* (women bullfighters) and discourses of gender represents an important redress to a lack of research into femininity in Spain (a gap noted by Valiente 2002: 779). Pink's aim was not to elicit a sexual interpretation of the *corrida* which reduced it to a definitive version of masculinity and femininity but 'to consider the bullfight in a context of multiple masculinities and femininities ... to account for a variety of subject positions' (1997b: 54). She sees *toreras* as an example of the various and contrasting ways in which gender, identity, modernity and tradition are constructed and contested in Andalusia. In doing so, she argues against the honour-shame model applied to the wider Mediterranean area by anthropologists in general and to Andalusia in particular by Gilmore and Pitt-Rivers.

Pink draws from a well established body of critique of the honour-shame model (see, for example Herzfeld 1980). She criticises the rigidity of such models by pointing out the fluidity of gender relations and the significance of context, and subject-positions in the construction of notions such as chastity, morality, prestige, success and reputation (1997b: 40-41). Her research into women's bullfighting suggested that, '[t]he interface between sexual (or other) behaviour, reputation and subjectivity will produce a variety of different assessments of the status of the same woman'. For example, against the biological determinism of masculinity through testicles, Pink (1997b: 52) describes how Christina Sanchez (the successful woman bullfighter at the time) claims to have the 'balls' needed for bullfighting, using the same phrase that is used to refer to the masculinity of male

[68] For an account of her preference for the term 'women's bullfighting' over 'female bullfighting', see Pink (1997b: 205-206).

bullfighters (*tener cojones*). Thus, instead of relying on a singular, all-encompassing model of gender relations, Pink (1997b: 43) uses her 'understanding of the contemporary popularity of women bullfighters' to reject 'anthropological models of one Andalusian gender system that maintains social order by allocating reputation and prestige in relation to masculine honour and feminine shame'. She also illustrates the ways in which women's bullfighting challenges biological reductionist models of gender.

Marvin (1986: 135) proposes that 'there are different cultural definitions of being human, being male, and being civilised'. Elaborating on Marvin's point, Pink (1997b: 49) continues: 'Moreover, multiple definitions of being human, male and civilised exist within as well as between cultures'. In the case of an 'Andalusian' culture, I wish to clarify that within a culture there are multiple versions of being human, male and civilised. Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine illustrate this multiplicity in relation to the performances of human, animal and hybrid in *rejoneo*.

As discussed in this chapter, studies of human-animal relations in Spain (notably Corbin & Corbin 1987; Marvin 1994) have been characterised through a dichotomous model that has been transposed over Andalusian culture. The *corrida* has been seen as a symbolic ritual which reaffirms the segregation of human and animal realms and represents the primacy of culture over nature. For example,

> [T]he bullfight] can be best understood if it is interpreted as an event which both encapsulates and succinctly and dramatically summarises the important structural oppositions of nature and culture which underlie the idea of what it means to be civilised or truly human as expressed in terms of Andalusian thought.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 128)

These kinds of dualistic interpretations perpetuate a theoretical division between nature and culture where 'never the twain shall meet'. They also gloss over the fact that 'the categories of "nature and "culture" are of course conceptual categories – one can find no boundary out in the actual world between the two states or realms of being' (Ortner 1974: 72). Moreover, '[t]he culture/nature distinction is itself a product of culture, culture being minimally defined as the transcendence, by means of systems of thought and technology, of the natural givens of existence' (Ortner 1974: 84). In fact, Cassidy (2002: 9) declares that

'[t]he idea that nature is everywhere and always the same thing and that it always stands in opposition to culture has been dismissed by anthropology'.[69]

Dualistic approaches have been criticised because 'it is all too easy to invoke some kind of addition (nurture adds onto the nature base), or a simple interaction (A can affect B, which can affect A)' (Birke & Michael 1997: 14). The dichotomies human/animal, culture/nature, male/female preclude the existence of boundary crossing where a spectrum of relationships reveals a multiplicity of permutations of nature and culture, and the mutuality of dualisms. Strathern refers to the interplay of relationships between the polar-extremes of dualistic thought as a 'matrix'. She states that 'no single meaning can in fact be given to nature or culture in Western thought, there is no consistent dichotomy only a *matrix of contrasts*' (cited Cassidy 2002: 9, emphasis added; see also MacCormack & Strathern 1980). By considering the inter-relationship between nature and culture, male and female, human and animal, a realm of under-researched relationships between humans, animals and even technology opens up to anthropological analyses where terms such as 'human' and 'animal' can be used as mutually inclusive and not necessarily as binary-oppositions. This allows for innovative research into human-animal relationships in Andalusia and beyond.

In the same way that Pink discusses gender without relying on binary oppositions, this dissertation rejects the human-animal binary. This is achieved by exploring intercorporeal human-animal relations in *rejoneo* where the dualism of human-bull is challenged by a triadic relation involving the horse. Davies & Marvin (1987: 544) note that the horse 'is one domesticated animal that is strongly individuated as it [is] not herded but rather subjected to a complex domestication process by means of which a very close, ongoing relationship is established between itself and man'. In Andalusia 'there is ... one animal which is most important in this culture, and with which humans have a more complex relationship, and that is the horse' (Marvin 1994: 133). This suggests that human-horse-bull relationships in Andalusian culture are not accounted for by one generic theory of human-animal

[69] For a detailed account of the mutual inclusivity of nature and culture see Franklin (2002) and for an exploration of the social construction of nature see Eder (1996). For Western perspectives on nature see Horigan (1988) and for non-Western comparatives see Selin (2003).

relations. The co-presence of horse and bull are obvious reminders of the heterogeneity obscured by the term 'animal' and that human-animal relations are similarly heterogeneous, contextualised by species, individual, culture and milieu. An individual *rejoneador* merges kinesthetically with an individual horse, in an artistic confrontation with an individual bull. The trichotomous 'power of three' dodges binary dualisms, obfuscates the direction and nature of relations and questions the human-animal boundary. Whilst interpretations of the footed *corrida* have been based on binary dualisms, I argue that *rejoneo* blurs these distinctions.

What about *rejoneo*?

Research into the *corrida* has been based on the footed *corrida* as symbolic of 'bullfighting'. As such, authors rarely discuss their focus on the footed version of the *corrida*. As a result, their analyses and conclusions are often generalised to the *corrida* as a generic form of bullfighting. However, Douglass (1997: 22) identifies sixteen categories of *corrida*, of which five are considered 'national formats' where 'each fiesta's rules are defined and regulated from Madrid through the Ministry of the Interior' (Douglass 1997: 22).[70] Of these five, a basic division can be made between footed and mounted. The mounted form is, of course, known as *el rejoneo* or the *corrida* a *caballo*, as described in Chapter One.

Two authors suggest areas of research into the *corrida* which they see as unaddressed. Mitchell (1986: 411) suggests five areas of research that he sees as valuable contributions to the field[71] and Arévalo (1984: 56-59) lists ten areas of

[70] Douglass places the *toreo cómico*, the comic *corrida* usually involving dwarves and never held in conjunction with the *corrida de toros*, in an 'intermediate format'. However, as the rules of the *toreo cómico* are also defined and regulated through the Ministry of the Interior, I believe this form of *corrida* would be best classified as a 'national format'. Hence, there are six national formats of *corridas*.

[71] These are: 1) Rituals and superstitions of *matadores* together with the 'mimetico-charismatic chemistry between matadors and their *peñas';* 2) A comparison of comic and serious bullfights and their *aficionados*; 3) 'The matador as a hero of mass culture in Spain and Latin America'; 4) influence of 'folk aesthetics and forms of *arte flamenco*' on bullfighting; and 5) women and bullfighting culture (Mitchell 1986: 411).

research which would complete Ortega y Gasset's unfinished works.[72] Neither suggests any research into the mounted form of the *corrida*. However, Arévalo identifies the need for research into 'a type of political and social regeneration, with the common people taking over the bullfight from the nobility'. Here he refers to the idea of the footed *corrida* replacing the mounted version in the eighteenth century. However, as I argue in Chapter Five, *rejoneo* was not superceded by the footed *corrida*. I therefore suggest a reformulation of Arevalo's research area to 'a type of social and cultural transformation, with the landed gentry combining with the common version of bullfighting' and explore this in the proceeding chapter.

Arévalo identifies three other areas of research left unattended by Ortega y Gasset which are addressed in this dissertation. These are 'bravery as a cultural invention', 'the transition of the bullfight from a land-and-cattle rural festival to an urban spectacle' and 'parallelisms between the bullfight fiesta and the Spanish society' (translated by Cambria 1991: 213). In Chapters Five and Six I develop the idea of *rejoneo* as an urban performance of the rural and in Chapter Seven I discuss the social-construction of the characteristics of the *toro bravo*. I contextualise this dissertation by drawing parallels between my analysis of *rejoneo* and wider socio-cultural issues in Andalusian and Spanish society.

Confusion in the literature

In Chapter One I clarified the differences between the *rejoneador* and the *picador* in popular thought, influenced by Hemingway. This confusion also exists within academic literature. Discussions of mounted figures in the *corrida* often conflate the *tercio de varas* with the *corrida de rejones* (with the exception of Corbin 1999: 11-12; and Marvin 1994: 41) and thereby confuse the *corrida* from foot with the *corrida* from horseback, as I discuss below (Arratia 1988; Douglass 1984). As

[72] As translated by Cambria (1991: 213-214), '[t]hey are: the Spanish people who look upon their collective existence as essentially ludic, a representation; theatrical and narrative elements in the *corrida*, especially during the Englihtenment; a type of political and social regeneration, with the common people taking over the bullfight from the nobility; the social character of the group of matador's helpers, his cuadrilla; bullfight fans beginning to catalogue the regional contributions to the art of bullfighting; the role of genetics in the breeding of fighting bulls, and bravery as a cultural invention; the people adopting the bullfighter as their principal imaginary hero; a sacred aura being conferred upon bullfighting with the invention of the suit of lights; parallelisms between the bullfight fiesta and Spanish society; and the transition of the bullfight from a land-and-cattle rural festival to an urban spectacle'.

noted in Chapter One, although these forms of *corrida* share a similar structure, they differ along lines of history, class and human-horse-bull relations. In Chapter Eight I explore their human-animal-technology networks and compare them against the centaurian relationship to clarify the centaur as a particular refinement of the human-horse relation. Moreover, the *rejoneador* performs throughout the entirety of the *corrida de rejones* whilst the *picador* makes a fleeting appearance in only the first third of the *corrida de toros*.

Arratia provides an example of the conflation of the *picador* and the *rejoneador*:

> The mounted lancer evokes the chivalrous aspects with which the bullfight was endowed when appropriated by the nobility, the period when bullfights gained their prominence as a valued spectacle. These actors are greatly disliked by the public and are generally booed, which results in the calling of the next stage, usually after only one pick on the hump.
>
> (Arratia 1988: 288)

It appears that Arratia here is referring to the *picador*, whose role developed around the time that mounted lancing lost favour with the nobility. As discussed in the following chapter, this was not a role-for-role replacement, because the *picador*, together with the footed *torero*, represented the working-classes who were paid for their work in the bullring. As noted in Chapter One, the *picador* plays a brief but integral part in the footed *corrida* as without his efforts to sever the bull's neck muscles, it would be too dangerous for the footed *torero* to face the bull, and too difficult to place the *banderillas* or *estoque*. It is true that the *picador* is often booed, but generally only when he has picked the bull more times than the crowd feels is needed or if he picks the bull more than once in the same wound. *Rejoneadores*, on the other hand, represent a 'modern', Andalusian version of mounted *corrida* and are rarely, if ever, booed; at worst they are treated with silence and no petition for trophies (ears and tail of the bull). Moreover, the audience is in attendance specifically to see this mounted version of *corrida* where the *rejoneador* is the primary figure.

Douglass also confuses the role of the *picador* with the *rejoneador*, by disregarding the *rejoneador* in her discussion of mounted figures in the *corrida* (1984: 245-6) and in her description of the *picador* as 'the representative of the mounted aristocracy' (1986: 371), which goes unchallenged by Marshall (1985:

542). She presents a version of bullfighting history where the courtly, noble rider disappeared and was replaced by the *picador.* Due to the low status of the *picador vis-à-vis* the footed *torero*, Douglass (1984: 245) posits a role inversion from chivalric, upper-class noble on horseback to the 'ridiculed and despised figure' of the *picador* . Her suggestion of a role inversion, which she sees as implicit in her argument that 'the *torero*, although a professional who works for money, represents the achieved status of the "free" individual in capitalist relations' (Douglass 1986: 371), is flawed through her misunderstanding of the *picador* as a symbol of the despised aristocracy when in fact the *picador* developed from the lower classes. The conclusion of this train of thought misguidedly celebrates the footed bullfight as a triumph 'of plebeian over aristocrat' (MacClancy 1996: 72).

Recognising the co-existence of the *corrida* from foot with the *corrida* from horseback acknowledges the coexistence of classes. It is the *rejoneador* who typically represents the aristocracy (or at least the upper-classes), and it is the *picador* who is typically despised. Together with Mitchell (1991), and not until her later work (1997), Douglass (1984) is oblivious to the re-emergence and co-presence of the figure of the *rejoneador* alongside the *picador* and the rising popularity of *rejoneo* since the early twentieth century. Moreover, she (1984: 246) subscribes to the 'Hemmingwayesque' depiction of the *picador's* horses as 'old plugs ready for the glue factory' (see Chapter One). As already mentioned, the role and perception of the *rejoneador* does not parallel the *picador.* The historical construction of the *rejoneador* and the co-existence of two major mounted figures in the contemporary *corrida* is the subject of the following chapter.

Why has *rejoneo* been neglected?

Since a flurry of treatises on the art of lancing bulls from horseback in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries,[73] a comparatively small number of books have been

[73] Sixteenth century texts include Argote de Molina (1582), de Aguilar (1960 [orig 1572]) and Ramírez de Haro (1961 [orig C16]). Seventeenth century texts include de Bañuelos de la Cerda (1877 [orig 1605]), de Cardenas y Angulo (1833 [orig 1651]), de Tapia y Salcedo(1651), de Trexo (1639) and Mesía de la Cerda(1887 (orig 1653)). Eighteenth century texts include Marcel Tamariz (1771). These are discussed by Cañizo Gómez (1948), Sanz Egaña (1951) and de Cossío (2000, vol 2: 50-57).

written by Spaniards about the *rejoneo* of the twentieth century. These fall into the following categories: descriptive (Aguado 2000: 85-103; Gutiérrez 1958; Jiménez Benítez 1994), instructive (Lopez Izquierdo 1994; Moreno Pidal 2004), biographical (García Pérez 1927; Laguna Menor 2000), autobiographical (Cintron 1968; Domecq y Díez 1999), anecdotal (Nieto Manjon 2001) and behavioural (Abarquero Durango 1984). Outside of Spain, brief mention has been made of Spanish *rejoneo* and is mostly restricted to equestrian literature (Belasik 2001: 65; Bennett 1998: 103-106; Hartley Edwards 1987: 89; Sommer D'Andrade 1991) and the Portuguese *corrida* (Gavião Gonzaga 2004: 186-188; Loch 1986).

Within academia, *rejoneo* is typically mentioned in the historical development of the footed *corrida* mostly as an archaic, elitist skin that has been triumphantly shed (for example, Arratia 1988: 188; Douglass 1984: 245-246; Mitchell 1991: 48-56). *Rejoneo* also commonly arises in discussions of women and bullfighting with reference to Conchita Cintron, the famous Peruvian *rejoneadora*, who is seen as tokenistic of female success in a male dominated world (MacClancy 1996: 73; Marvin 1994: 165; Pink 1997b).[74] However, some authors at least mention *rejoneo* and acknowledge its co-existence with the footed *corrida* in the twentieth century (Douglass 1997: 36). Douglass (1997: 36-37, 178) and Marvin (1994) give descriptions of the *rejoneo* event. The most thorough and accurate account has been given by Marvin, who makes particular note of the power relationship between *rejoneadores* and the president of the *corrida* (1994: 42-43). Three dominant representations of *rejoneo* appear in the limited anthropological literature which accounts for its neglect: *rejoneo* as feminine, *rejoneo* as upper-class and *rejoneo* as less-serious than the footed *corrida*. I will discuss each in turn and demonstrate that these are precisely the features that make *rejoneo* anthropologically interesting.

In a caption to a photo of the French *rejoneadora* Maria Sara, Pink writes:

> Maria Sara maintains a place amongst the top *rejoneadores*. However, as a horseback bullfighter her status is rather different to that of women who perform on

[74] Cintron fought in the 1940s and 1950s, during the Francoist prohibition of women bullfighters. She circumvented the prohibition by fighting the bull but not killing it. According to her autobiography (1968) this was a cause for great anguish and frustration.

> foot: the *rejone*o is considered by many to be a more feminine activity and thus to be suitable for women to perform in as well as being more to the taste of women spectators.
>
> (Pink 1997b: 138)

Given that the focus of Pink's (1997b) research is women's bullfighting, together with her acknowledgment that *rejoneo* is a 'feminine activity' more acceptable for women to engage in than footed bullfighting, it is surprising that she does not investigate female involvement in *rejoneo*.

Douglass also suggests that *rejoneo* is peripheral to the footed *corrida* through its association with women:

> Although mature bulls are used, the public does not consider this spectacle as "serious" as *la corrida*. In fact, in some ways *rejoneo* is considered a bit effeminate, and men say it is a spectacle for women. The press also refers to it that way.[75]
>
> (Douglass 1997: 36-37)

Douglass' use of the term 'spectacle' is important as this term is hardly, if ever, applied to the footed *corrida* and is used to construct *rejoneo* as less serious. Marvin describes how his friends who held season tickets to bullrings would often not use their ticket for the *corrida de rejones* or would give it away. Their behaviour suggests that those who consider themselves true *aficionados* do so in contrast to *rejoneo*:

> In many ways it [the mounted *corrida*] was regarded as a highly suitable event for women to watch, and season tickets were often loaned out by *aficionados* to female members of their families for this event. In the *plaza* I was struck by the vastly increased number of women attending compared with the number who attend regular *corridas de toros*.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 45)

I suggest that the notion of *rejoneo* as a 'feminine' event requires further investigation, especially in relation to the ways in which this construction relates to human-animal interactions. It seems that *rejoneo* has been constructed as feminine primarily due to the higher ratio of women (and children) to men in the audience, and secondarily due to the higher acceptability of female performers. However, in terms of masculinity and suggestions of a kind of homo-eroticism of

[75] In Chapter Nine I quote a *rejoneador* who accuses journalists of contributing to the image of *rejoneo* as feminine and unpopular.

male to male relations in the broader Mediterranean context (Gilmore 1987c: 10), it is interesting that the event considered to be more masculine is the one where men are more interested in male performances and where male *aficionados* told MacClancy (1996: 76) that a woman bullfighter would not be as aesthetically pleasing to watch. This dissertation explores the fluidity of gender in *rejoneo* and builds upon existing non-binary analyses of gender in the footed *corrida*, such as Pink's (1997b). I return to these gender considerations in Chapter Nine.

Rejoneo is constructed as an upper-class activity, primarily due to its association with mounted lancing by the nobility prior to the footed *corrida*, participation by members of the Andalusian landed gentry and cost involved in maintaining a team of trained horses. Douglass notes:

> Although this spectacle is relatively new, having reappeared in Spain in the 1920s after a century's absence, fans see it as a continuation of the aristocratic tradition of fighting bulls on horseback. The riders, in contrast to *toreros*, are often members of the aristocracy, or are at least landed gentry.
>
> (Douglass 1997: 36)

This class distinction is also noted by Marvin (1994: 44, 107). My fieldwork with a young *rejoneador*, from a working class background and struggling without a history of family involvement in *rejoneo* suggests that although many 'aristocrats' are involved in *rejoneo*, they do not hold exclusive rights to it. As described in the following chapter, with economic changes in Spain, more people own horses who come from families without horses or land in their background than ever before. *Rejoneo* is no longer strictly aristocratic.

Rejoneo is often said to be seen as less serious as the footed *corrida*. This has said to be due to less perceived risk as well as the elitist connotations:

> The general public cannot form an intimate relationship with members of this class, they have never become idealised figures and *rejone*o has remained of secondary importance to the style of *toreo* on foot.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 110)

This may be true, but *rejoneo* is of central and defining importance to *rejoneadores*, their families, friends, horse-breeders and *rejoneo aficionados*. To these people, *rejoneo* is not peripheral; it is central. Thus, this dissertation

explores *rejoneo*, not only from the perspective of the 'insider's view' as an Andalusian, but from the perspective of the 'insider' as a *rejoneo* devotee.

According to Douglass:

> The difference for Spaniards between *rejon*eo and *corrida* is the measure of "risk" involved. First, the horse rider does not expose himself to death or serious injury, as does the *torero* on the ground. Second, in *rejoneo* the tips of the bull's horns are usually blunted or covered, thus again reducing the risk and "seriousness" of the spectacle.
>
> (Douglass 1997: 37)

It is true that the horns of bulls used in the *corrida de rejones* are blunted, for the protection of the horses, but this has not prevented horses from being killed by gorings. Whilst one *rejoneador* estimated that he might be at less risk of a goring, he added that he is at risk of being wounded by the horse, as well as the bull. Other *rejoneadoes* to whom I presented this case of 'less risk' also pointed out that should their horse be knocked over they may become entrapped underneath its weight or in their saddlery and be unable to escape it or the bull. This is noted by Corbin & Corbin who argue that it is precisely the risk of death that matters:

> The means and the attached risks in the two forms of bullfight differ. The '*rejoneador*' uses his established mastery of one beast to master the other. Should he fail, his horse may be gored and he may be thrown to the ground, trampled. He risks serious injury from a fall but is seldom caught on the horns of the bull.
>
> (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 111)

There is a considerable level of difficulty involved for the *rejoneador* who needs to manoeuvre both himself and half a tonne of horse around a *toro bravo* in a restricted area. For example, during the 2001 *rejoneo* season (including *corridas de rejones* fought in France and Portugal), four riders and five horses were wounded whilst two horses died (Barbaro 2001). Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Seven, the *rejoneador* often faces the bull from the ground. Hence, he is required to be proficient in fighting the bull from both horseback and foot. It is not my intention to judge which form of *corrida* is most dangerous, but to acknowledge that *rejoneo* is often seen as less risky than the *corrida from foot* and to challenge arguments that have trivialised *rejoneo* according to this perceived level of comparatively reduced risk.

Even though *rejoneo* or women may not have been the focus of existing research, it would seem that other researchers have assumed their informants' views that *rejoneo* is feminine, elitist and less risky or serious than the footed *corrida*, making it peripheral and inferior to the footed *corrida*, and therefore less worthy of anthropological interest. In the same way that MacClancy (1996: 79, following Lever) suggests that Pitt-Rivers' ethnographies reflect the perspective of the middle-aged men of social influence with which he most associated, the neglect of *rejoneo* by anthropologists of the *corrida* is most likely due to their fieldwork being carried out with fans of the footed *corrida*. Had they associated more with fans of *rejoneo*, they may have heard a different perspective. This dissertation is centred on the inter/intracorporeal human-animal relations of *rejoneo*, and not primarily in the role of the audience but it nonetheless redresses the trivialisation of *rejoneo* in the literature.

Summary

The literature on the Spanish *corrida* is based on the dualistic human-bull relationship that characterises the *corrida* from foot. This has resulted in binary interpretations which reduce the *corrida* to hierarchical articulations of nature-culture, wild-tame and female-male. As a form of *corrida* based on a trichotomous relation, these dualisms are problematised by *rejoneo*. The relationships between the *rejoneador* and the horse, and the *rejoneador* and the bull articulate different kinds of human-animal relations than the relation between the *torero* and the bull or the *picador* and the horse. Thus, attention to *rejoneo* broadens the anthropological understanding not only of the *corrida* and suggests a greater diversity of human-animal inter-relations than previously acknowledged. My comparison of the *corrida* from foot with the *corrida* from horseback continues in the following chapter. I present the mounted *corrida* and the footed *corrida* as co-existing forms of the *corrida* with individual but intertwined historical developments. This contrasts the perspectives noted in this chapter of the footed *corrida* as a replacement of the mounted, courtly *corrida*.

Chapter Five

A Social History of *Rejoneo*: The re-invention of tradition

Bullfighting is far more sensitive to changing social circumstances than is generally realised outside Spain.

(Hooper 1995: 364)

Introduction

During an interview with a *rejoneador*, I asked about *rejoneo's* popularity within tauromachy. He replied that "*rejoneo's* following is increasing and it is becoming more widely known; *it is the newest but also the oldest*" (FB, emphasis added).[76] To explain this ambiguous statement about contemporary *rejoneo* in this chapter, I draw from Hobsbawm's (1995a) notion of 'invented tradition'. This allows for a non-linear description of the social history of *rejoneo*. As this dissertation takes an anthrozoological approach, this chapter acknowledges that human-animal relations are historically contextual.[77] It situates the human-animal relations of *rejoneo* within a historical context and redresses the neglect of *rejoneo* in historical accounts of the *corrida*. I introduce the key moments in *rejoneo's* history and the ways in which developments at those times relate to social developments. I begin this social history of *rejoneo* in the seventeenth century when lancing from horseback by *nobles* peaked in popularity. I then explain the conditions under which it was all but abandoned, such as a change of monarch, the effect of riding style and the upper-class losing its monopoly over the *corrida*. Alongside these changes the 'modern bullfight' from foot emerged, associated with the lower classes (Marvin 1994: 107) and bulls began to be selectively bred for the *corrida*. I introduce Mitchell's (1991) argument that the elites used this opportunity to covertly control the *corrida* through the ownership of large estates used for bull-breeding. I note the significance of this to the dominant theme of this dissertation,

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[76] "*Cada vez hay muchísima más afición al rejoneo y cada vez es más conocido; es más nuevo pero es más antiguo*".

[77] The changing nature of human-animal relationships through history is a well established field within human-animal relations (Caras 1997; Creager & Jordan 2002; Flores 2000; Fudge 2003; Hines 2003; Ingold 1994; Ritvo 2002; 2004). The ethnographic focus of much of this research explores the moral contradictions towards animals during the Victorian age in Great Britain (Ritvo 1987; 1997; Turner 1980). Franklin (1999; Franklin & White 2001) has recently focussed on the expression of human-animal relationships in modernity, a period which Birke & Michael claim is characterised by a 'deep anxiety to police the boundaries of human culture' (1997: 12).

the human-animal boundary, before considering its effects on a transformation of the aesthetics of bullfighting from horseback which led to the construction of a Southern identity with associations not only to the landed gentry but also their employees.

The relation between *rejoneo* and Andalusian identity can be explained through Hobsbawm's (1995b) theory of invented sporting traditions. As Hobsbawm emphasises the relationship between the invention of tradition and broader social transformations, I locate *rejoneo* within transformations to Andalusian class and civil relations. These are shown to be particularly relevant to *Jerez*. It is during a period of intense social and economic change that *rejoneo* is revived and is gaining popularity. By considering *rejoneo's* selective attachment to moments in the history of the *corrdida*, I account for the description of *rejoneo* as '*the newest but also the oldest'*. Taking the foundations of this comment into account, I propose that *rejoneo* is a re-invented tradition. Having established the ways in which *rejoneo* can be understood as a re-invented tradition within a broad socio-historical context, I conclude with some comments about *rejoneo* since the twentieth century, together with some descriptive statistics, to offer some socio-economic explanations for its rise in popularity. This chapter thus locates contemporary *rejoneo* within the social development of the *corrida*. A chart of key dates mentioned in this chapter, and throughout the dissertation, is included in Appendix Two.

Siglo de rejoneo

The seventeenth century, during the reign of Felipe IV, is known as the *siglo de rejoneo* (century of *rejoneo*). This is the century when lancing bulls from horseback was commonly practiced, and is usually referred to as the *corrida caballeresca* (the knightly or chivalric *corrida*), rather than *rejoneo*.[78] Indeed, the Spanish word *caballero* for knight also refers both to horse-rider and gentleman, two essential chivalrous qualities. Literally, *caballero* means 'one who horses', which represents a metaphorical crossing of the human-horse boundary. Mitchell

[78] This form of bullfighting has recently been the focus of in-depth historical study (*Campos* Cañizares 2005).

(1991: 53) describes the aesthetics of the *corrida caballeresca* as follows: 'The gentleman on horseback dashed by, planted the lance between the bull's shoulderblades, and skilfully manoeuvred his horse out of harm's way afterwards'. This description essentially applies to modern *rejoneo*, but with some particular innovations noted below.

Bulls were lanced from horseback for military training as well as entertainment at royal celebrations.[79] 'In these early days bullfighting on horseback was only for gentlemen' (Blake 1991: 48). It was an elitist activity with distinct class distinctions, practiced by nobility and royalty; a sport of kings in which kings actively participated. As de la Puente dramatically describes '[s]ince time immemorial, mounted knights have lanced bulls in Spain, thus regaling the plebeyan spectators with the image of their *unattainable* nobility' (1997: 112). These riders were accompanied by up to one hundred 'elegant liveried servants ... to flaunt their wealth and power' (Mitchell 1991: 49), of which a handful assisted their master from the ground.[80] 'Both the lord and his footmen had their respective audiences: the former was out to impress the king, his fellow bluebloods, sometimes a paramour; the latter were cheered on by their own kind, the teeming ranks of plebeians who filled the *plaza*' (Mitchell 1991: 49). However, the elites with which the *corrida caballeresca* was associated were losing public credibility:

> Historians tell us that the same aristocrats who flaunted their power and wealth at public spectacles were roundly incompetent in the sphere of public service. Hapsburg Spain was already bankrupt, economically and morally. The spectacular Baroque rituals of the seignorial class took place against a backdrop of injustice, corruption, racial and religious intolerance, anachronistic concepts of honor, mendicity, commercial restrictions, and the resultant multiplication of

[79] The earliest accepted record of this comes form the Poem of the Cid (*Poema del Cid*) where the hero is said to have 'fought a bull at the marriage of the king's daughter around 1040' (Shubert 1999: 7). A century later the practice still formed part of nuptial celebrations when in 1124 'at the wedding of Don Velasco Muñoz and Doña Sancha Díaz, both Christian and Moorish nobility alternated in lancing bulls from horseback'. When Juan II was betrothed to Maria of Aragon in 1418 and later at their marriage in 1420, 'there were jousts and tournaments and bullfights' (Barber & Barker 1989: 97). Indeed, it was for this reason that Felipe III built the Plaza Mayor in Madrid, which Felipe IV later made a cultural centre for bullfighting from horseback and other social events. Spanish royalty who engaged in the lancing of bulls from horseback practice include Kings Carlos I (1517-1556), Felipe III (1598-1621) and Felipe IV (1621-1665) (Abarquero Durango 1984: 86; Nieto Manjon 2001: 18). The courts of Juan I and II (1406-1454); Enrique II (1369-1379) and IV (1454-1474) of Castile drafted rules for fighting bulls from horseback (Abarquero Durango 1984: 86).

[80] Lingis (2000) links the personal adornment and display of knights with animal mating displays as both are intended to lure female favour.

> socioeconomic crises of all kinds. The sixteenth-century monarchs were even worse than the *nobles* – the weak Felipe III, the lazy Felipe IV, and the imbecile Carlos II, alias Carlos the Bewitched. In truth, the entire country seemed to be labouring under a curse. Spain, affirms J. H. Elliott, was the victim of its own greatness; its governing class lacked the strength of character to shake off the inertia of defeat and abandon its fantasies of imperial glory. With Carlos the Bewitched unable to sire an heir, the Hapsburg dynasty died with him at the end of the seventeenth century.
>
> (Mitchell 1991: 48)

As forewarned by the (horse appropriate) adage 'pride comes before a fall', the peak of the *corrida caballeresca* in the 17th century was followed by a steep decline in popularity and practice lasting two centuries. Below, I discuss some of the reasons for this decline, the ways in which bullfighting from horseback continued to develop away from the *plaza* and the resurrection of a transformed bullfight from horseback in the early twentieth century. This entails a socio-political contextualisation of *rejoneo* with reference to the upper classes, nobility and land ownership.

Rejoneo on the decline

The decline in the practice of the *corridas caballerescas* is usually attributed to the end of Hapsburg reign. As noted above by Mitchell, Carlos II died in 1700 without leaving an heir to the Spanish throne. Rule passed to the Duke of Anjou, a grandson of Louis IV, who became Felipe V of Spain, thus beginning Bourbon rule. Felipe V is popularly held accountable for the abandonment of the *corridas caballerescas* because he disliked them, or at least showed little interest (Douglass 1984: 245; Shubert 1999: 7). Marvin suggests that Felipe V:

> [F]ound the celebrations which involved the killing of bulls distasteful and those members of the aristocracy who wished to keep favour at court withdrew from the *plaza* ... whereas the previous dynasty had taken an interest in the *fiesta* and defended it, at times even against papal criticism ... the new king refused to take any interest in it and did not attend such events. For example, to mark his visit to Seville in 1729 a *fiesta taurina* was organised, but the king absented himself.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 58-59)

There are three main reasons why fighting bulls from horseback fell from favour. These relate to fashion, riding style and class changes.[81] As a 'trend setter' in

[81] Not noted in bullfighting literature (to my knowledge) is that '(o)n 30 June 1559, Henri II of France took part in a tournament at Paris to celebrate his daughter's wedding to Philip of Spain' (Barber &

fashionable activities, royalty influenced the elites, gentry and *nobles*. That a popular activity could be abandoned so easily suggests the powerful relation between *rejoneo* and class influence.

The lull in the *corrida caballeresca* also relates to riding styles. The longer lance had been replaced by the shorter *rejon* to compliment the finer and more agile breeds of horses, such as the Barb, Arab and native Spanish. The style of riding most suited to placing the *rejon*, the types of horses and the nature of lancing bulls in a *plaza* is *la jineta*. This style positions the rider's legs well underneath their body, enabling the rider to maintain balance whilst carrying out spins, stops and turns at speed. Philip V's preferred riding style made the practice of *rejoneo* virtually impossible, let alone too risky. As Marvin describes,

> Philip favoured the *la brida* style, which was reintroduced from Italy; the aristocracy followed suit; and this further influenced the decline in *rejoneo*, which could not be performed with this style of riding horses as they were unsuitable because of their size and weight.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 59)

La brida was the riding position associated with the medieval knight and developed in relation to the long lance. It is characterised by the rider's legs being stuck straight out along the horse's shoulder, to brace against lancing charges made in straight lines. It would have been a feat of super-human balance and coordination for a rider to remain mounted on an agile light-framed horse that could stop, start and turn swiftly whilst riding *a la brida* (Nieto Manjon 2001: 19). In Chapter Eight I compare the effect of this position on the horse-rider relationship in a comparison of the *picador* and *rejoneador* human-animal-object networks.

Another reason behind the downfall of the *corrida caballeresca* is class related. The upper class was losing their monopoly over the *plaza* and the practice of mounted lancing may have been slowly declining before Felipe V took the throne: 'Although exact and detailed information is lacking, it seems certain that from the end of the sixteenth century or early years of the seventeenth onwards important changes occurred in the *fiestas taurinas* associated with the nobility, which were to

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Barker 1989: 135; Dent 1974: 134). He was killed (Martin 2001; Ruehl 2005). This could have been a contributing factor to Felipe V's dislike for the *corrida caballeresca*.

transform the nature of the events' (Marvin 1994: 57). Namely, paid footed bullfighters from the general public appropriated the *plaza*. This is often referred to as the *invasión del plebeyismo* (invasion of commoners) or *la invasion del ruedo por el pueblo* (invasion of the ring by the people) (for example, Abarquero Durango 1984: 87). This class 'invasion' reportedly lowered the quality of performance (Marvin 1994: 58). Hence, Felipe V may have accelerated the downfall of bullfighting from horseback, rather than instigating it. In either case he is popularly held accountable.

However, there is some ambiguity surrounding this neat historical association between one king and the cessation of an institution. After Don Diego Torres de Villaroel of Salamanca drafted the rules of *rejoneo* in 1726 (Abarquero Durango 1984: 87), Felipe V officially prohibited *corridas* by a 1754 decree (1994: 59), yet Abarquero Durango (1984: 119) cites 1775 as the year that *rejoneo* was 'abolished', although he does admit that it began to disappear from the *plaza* from 1770 onwards. Despite the discrepancies in the actual date, these authors situate the end of the *siglo de rejoneo* in the second half of the 18th century. The strength of such decrees and prohibitions may be irrelevant considering that Pope Pius V had banned bullfighting in 1565 with little effect on its practice. However, from these bans it can be deduced that *rejoneo* appears to have been practiced for an additional half century after Felipe V came to the throne and did not cease overnight. In fact, it did not cease entirely at all thanks to its role in aristocratic celebrations.

These ambiguities suggest that bullfighting from foot and bullfighting from horseback were not mutually exclusive. Both Shubert (1999: 9) and Mitchell (1991: 48-56) argue that bullfighting on foot was in existence long before the eighteenth century simultaneously with bullfighting from horseback. There is no reason to suggest that they could not have been practiced at the same time especially taking into consideration the strong regional differences throughout Spain. Shubert (1999: ibid) writes: 'Not only did "plebeians or "lackeys" have a role in the aristocratic bullfight, but in Northern Spain professionals who fought on foot existed by the seventeenth century'. Therefore, conceptually, it is important to remember that, '(r)ather than an offshoot of the aristocratic spectacle, the modern

bullfight was the product of two long-standing, parallel developments with different geographical centers' (1999: ibid). This co-existence challenges the popular idea I noted in the previous chapter of a triumph by the lower classes, represented by footed bullfighters over the upper-class, represented by mounted lancers.

Shubert's observation of bullfighting differences from northern to southern Spain suggest that the footed form of bullfighting is more particular to Northern Spain whilst bullfighting from horseback is more particular to Andalusia, Southern Spain. Indeed, Andalusia produces more bulls and horses than Northern Spain[82] and *rejoneo* is equated with an Andalusian identity. As will be shown below with the case of Antonio Cañero, an Andalusian equestrian aesthetic is central to the transformation of *rejoneo*.

Modern bullfighting

Whilst *rejoneo* took a 'back seat' in the *corrida*, the eighteenth century is synonymous with the birth of the 'modern bullfight'.[83] The modern bullfight is characterised by its organisation into three distinct *tercios*. This form of bullfighting is thought to have been developed by the assistants to the *caballero*s:

> If the animal was not killed from horseback the rider could dismount to kill the bull with a sword ... the assistants would help by cutting the animal's legs with a media luna (a large half-moon shaped sword), knives or hand lances in order to immobilise the animal for the kill.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 56)

The footed assistants did not cease their involvement with the bullfight when it was abandoned by the *caballeros en plaza*: 'In spite of (or because of) several royal bans, the bullfight became popular and evolved into its modern form: when aristocrats on horseback abandoned the sport, footmen working with short sword and cape took centre stage' (Williams, M. 2000: 146). These footmen were skilled at luring the bull away from a rider in danger and one popular theory behind the development of the modern bullfighter's cape is that it originated from the footed

[82] Even though the *rejoneadores* with whom I spoke all agreed that they take part in more *corridas* outside of Andalusia than within.

[83] It was also the era in which the *toro bravo* is considered to have reached its full genetic potential for bravery and aggression (Abarquero Durango 1984: 90, 97, 107).

assistants shaking their jackets to distract the bull. Nevertheless, Andalusians were accustomed to facing bulls from foot in the contexts of local 'bull games' and local traditions (Mitchell 1991-51). As recognised by Shubert (1999: 9), '[t]he modern bullfight emerged from the confluence of elite and popular cultures. Its precise beginnings are unclear, but it developed very quickly in the first half of the eighteenth century'. This further challenges the idea that the footed bullfight superseded the bullfight from horseback.

Varilarguero

The development of the 'modern bullfight' in the eighteenth century resulted in a class distinction between the bullfight from horseback and the bullfight from foot; the former being seen as a symbol of the ruling class, with the latter seen as a practice of the lower classes. However, the modern bullfight still necessitated a mounted figure in the first *tercio*, for similar reasons that the *picador* is required today (as described in Chapters One and Four). The precursor to the contemporary *picador* was known as the *varilarguero*, who (unlike the contemporary *picador*) led the formal procession at the beginning of the *corrida*: 'These new recruits arrived on horseback, but instead of *rejones* they wielded a much longer spear known as a *garrocha* or *vara larga* – a tool much like the one they employed in herding bulls in the fields' (Shubert 1999: 54). The *varilarguero* resembled the heavily armoured, lance-wielding knights astride likewise heavy-boned mounts of the medieval period. 'Instead of galloping past the bull like the aristocrats, the so-called *varilargueros* reined in their mounts, held their ground, and drove the tips of their spears into the bull's withers as he charged' (Mitchell 1991: 53). Hence, the role and skills of the *varilarguero* more closely resemble the *picador* than the *rejoneador*.

Unlike the *caballeros* prior to the eighteenth century, the *varilarguero* was not a member of aristocracy. Indeed, he performed for money. 'Some were modest landowners, some were impoverished gentlemen, and in the south they were often the most senior ranch hands of the cattle ranches of the flatlands of southwestern Andalusia' (Marvin, 1994:60). The class status and symbolism of the *varilarguero*

is ambiguous, as is visible in Mitchell's description of the iconic *varilarguero* José Daza:[84]

> A no-nonsense man of the country, Daza had no sympathy for the trappings of a failed aristocracy. At the same time, however, he lashed out against the scum and the dregs of society who behaved like animals in the *plaza*, thumbed their noses at the authorities, and threatened to turn every *corrida* into anarchy. Daza exemplified the ideological "twilight zone" that the *varilargueros* occupied, halfway between the old and the new. Some scholars contend that despite their humble extraction the *varilargueros* were still too attached to the obsolete mentality of the aristocrats to comprehend the plebeian revolution that was transforming the urban *corrida de toros*; they unconsciously wished to bask in the reflected glory of the elite, even though they could never hope to bridge the great social gulf that separated them from that elite.
>
> (Mitchell 1991: 53)

Shubert (1999: 54) describes the *varilarguero* as the 'star figure of the bullfight' for much of the eighteenth century, but by the mid eighteenth century the status of the *varilarguero* was similar to today's *picador*: subsidiary to the footed *torero*. As discussed in Chapter Four, the status of the footed fighter as main figure in the modern bullfight is often seen as evidence of a working class revolution. However, Mitchell (1991: 48) suggests that this was actually a 'reconquest' of an activity that began 'on foot', *a priori* to the *corrida caballeresca*. The *varilarguero* is mentioned to demonstrate that the *picador* was not the literal replacement for the mounted lancer and that the bullfight is a constantly evolving activity with transitional figures and ambiguous class connections.

A strategic country retreat

Mounted lancers of the seventeenth century may have been 'down', but they were not 'out'. Mitchell describes the ways in which elites retained control over the bullfight through ownership of land:

> [T]he same scholars who castigate the Spanish nobility for their lack of moral prestige or civic responsibility in the eighteenth century are quick to acknowledge that the *nobles* retained every bit of their legal and economic preponderance. They continued to possess the vast quantities of land upon which all their other privileges were based. According to a census taken in 1797 – at the very end of the "revolutionary" inception of the modern *corrida* – the Spanish nobility owned 15 cities, 267 towns, 400 game preserves, 430 *despoblados*, or uninhabited regions,

[84] Daza wrote a treatise (1959, orig 1778) which was posthumously published. For further information on *varilargueros* from Cadiz province, see Boto Arnau (2002).

> 612 farms, 671 villages, and 2, 286 hamlets. The three percent of Spaniards who occupied the top of the social pyramid possessed something like 97 percent of the Iberian Peninsula. There was, therefore, no "collapse" of the aristocracy in eighteenth-century Spain, certainly not in the all-important economic terrain.
>
> (Mitchell 1991: 85)

Mitchell continues by noting that, 'ownership of huge estates went hand in hand with ownership of vast herds of livestock, especially of the species *bos taurus* that roamed over the vast plains of the southern and western areas of the country' (1991: 85). Thus, the nobility owned the means of bullfight production.

Mitchell questions the disappearance of *rejoneo* from the *plaza* from the eighteenth century by highlighting the importance of ownership of land and animal stock to class distinctions and power in Spain (ownership of large amounts of land by the few is a common feature of civil uprising throughout Spanish history). Following Romero de Solís (1983), Mitchell (1991: 86) suggests that 'in abandoning the urban *corridas* to the plebeians, the aristocratic class was really carrying out a kind of strategic retreat' facilitated by land ownership. He explains that:

> [T]hose sectors of the nobility whose status and power were based on their control of the rural land mass (and the rural masses on the land) would remain partial to equestrian and taurine traditions, bide their time, and eventually secure for themselves a crucial role in the newly plebeianised *corrida de toros.* Though no longer the protagonists of the bullfight, the agrarian-based nobility would reassert themselves in three ways: (1) by constructing and managing the new public buildings knows as bullrings; (2) by using their influence to promote and protect the first great bullfighters; and, above all, (3) by breeding the kind of bull that the new bullfighters and their fans required for spectacles.
>
> (Mitchell 1991: 86)

Mitchell's last point is particularly important to the idea of the human-animal boundary at the heart of this dissertation. Firstly, this is because bull ownership played a distinctive role in class and status. By controlling the bloodlines of the *toro bravo*, Mitchell argues that the aristocracy 'recovered some of their lost prestige, at least in the eyes of the people, by providing exemplary purebred beasts for the *fiesta nacional*', especially as at that time 'the brand of the bulls to be fought occupied a more important place on bullfighting posters than the names of the fighters themselves' (1991: 89). This suggests that the aristocracy

participated by animal proxy which is evidence of class related human-animal boundary crossing.

Secondly, this challenges the human-animal boundary because the *nobles* left their anthropomorphic mark on the bull. 'The celebrated *toro bravo* of Spain can be seen as the end result of the projection of a feudal ideology onto a wild animal species. At the root of this ideology lay the idea of consanguinity', combined with strategic marriages which ensured that land was retained by the privileged (Mitchell 1991: 87). This illustrates a genealogical blurring of the human-animal boundary, as the ideology of a closed and class based system of human reproduction was applied to the selective breeding of *toros bravos*. The landed gentry 'perpetuated the blood of the bravest through consanguineous mating. In other words, the same selection techniques that had produced noble people served to produce noble bulls' (Mitchell 1991: 88).[85] This is an illustration of Haraway's (2003) concept of 'potent transfections' of DNA or Despret's (2004: 122) 'anthropo-zoo-genetic practice' in human-animal relations, described in Chapter Three. I return to these ideas of intermarriage, class and landownership in the following chapter in relation to the social construction of the humans involved in *rejoneo*. In Chapter Seven I discuss the social construction of the animals that take part in *rejoneo*, where the idea of nobility applies to humans and animals, but takes on different meanings when applied to horses and bulls.

Lancing from horseback may not have been performed in the *plaza* but its skills were maintained on bull ranches. The breeding, management and maintenance of bulls was facilitated through *vaqueros* (cowboys, a linguistic zoomorphisation from the word *vaca* for cow).[86] De Cossío (2000, vol 2: 60, 62) describes *rejoneo* as taking 'refuge' in the country, especially in Salamanca and the *marismas*

[85] Mitchell (1991: 88), following Gil Calvo, suggests 'that what Spanish aristocrats did for bulls has an exact parallel in what British aristocrats did with their stallions, that is, developing a purebred species through artificial methods of selection based on their own class ideology'. In fact, whilst the hundreds of brave bull ranches currently in operation in Spain are based on five foundation bloodlines (Mitchell 1991: 89), 'every modern thoroughbred can trace its ancestry back to one of the three founding sires' (Cassidy 2003: 15).

[86] In Chapter Eight, I discuss the zoomorphic significance of the *torero* taking his name from the word *toro* for bull.

(marshlands) of the lower Guadalquivir area spanning the Cádiz, Seville and Huelva provinces. 'Cattle raised in Seville and Cadiz provinces were longhorned and unruly, and the only way they could be managed was from horseback' (Hyland 1998: 193).[87] Because of this management of bulls in the countryside, a culture of manoeuvring horses around bulls was retained and referred to as *doma vaquera* (cowboy riding). Skills similar to those required of the *rejoneador* are needed by the *vaquero*. Both need to get close to the bull without endangering the horse and to control the bull's movements through space. As one *rejoneador* explained:

> *El rejoneo se basa en el campo, en lo que era la vaquera de apartar los toros de apartar las vacas y que tienes que huir con el caballo. El toro arranca y tu corres. Si para el toro tu paras, y se empieza otra vez, otra vez arranca el toro y tu corres otra vez y poquito a poco se empezaron a hacer las plazas.*
>
> *Rejoneo* has its roots in the land, the *vaquera* aspect of sorting out bulls and cows and which involves avoiding them with the horse. The bull charges and you run; if the bull stops, you stop and then you start again, agan the bull charges and you run again, and this practice was gradually adopted in the *plazas*.
>
> (DV, *rejoneador*)

Another *rejoneador* shared his view:

> *El rejoneo surge del trabajo del toro bravo en el campo. Cuando el toro se arrancaba pues el hombre tenía que defenderse o buscarse los recursos a caballo, para poder ganarle la pelea al toro en el medio del campo, para poder encerrar al toro, para poder llevar el toro hasta la finca, o si un toro se escapaba tenían que ir a buscarlo a caballo; el toro se defendía y empezaba a embestir y ellos tenían que ir a caballo, porque... la faena del campo se hace a caballo y no había otra manera... Y de ahí surge el rejoneo porque el toro se defendía en el medio del campo y el hombre a caballo, el hombre a caballo pues tenía que coger y llevar el toro hasta la finca, embistiendo y así lo tenía que llevar hacia la finca. Por ahí surge el rejoneo pues ya el toro se arrancaba, el hombre se defendía a caballo, le daba vuelta, aquí a la izquierda, a la derecha, empezaba a pelearse con el toro a caballo, hasta que lo llevaba el hombre, el hombre y el caballo llevaban al toro donde ellos querían.*
>
> *Rejoneo* arises from working with the *toro bravo* in the field. When the bull moved the man had to defend himself or find skills whilst riding the horse to be able to win the fight [*pelea*] with bull out there in the country, to pen the bull or take it to the estate. If the bull escaped, they had to go out on horseback and find it; the bull defended itself, began to charge and they had to be horseback because the work in the field was carried out on horseback and there wasn't any other way...

[87] Bulls are kept as free from physical human interference as possible and are maintained on massive ranches. Horses are required to cover long distances and hard terrain to check on them. The horse is essential in *encierros* (penning bulls), *acoso y derribo* (knocking over bulls; often to stun young bulls, to allow the rider to check them or administer medical aid) and *tentaderos* (where young bulls or cows are tested for bravery). Furthermore, before animal transport, horses were required to safely herd fighting bulls from ranches through towns, to the bullpens of the *plaza*.

> *Rejoneo* originated right there because the bull defended itself out there in the field and the man on horseback had to catch it and take it to the homestead while it kept on charging. That's where *rejoneo* began as the bull charged, the man defended himself on horseback going around it, to the left, to the right, he began to fight [pelear] with the bull while on his horse until he and his horse could take the bull it wherever they wanted.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

Thus, in managing bulls from horseback in the ranches of Andalusia, a distinct aesthetic of riding developed referred to as *campero Andaluz* or *estilo campero* (Andalusian country style). The *montura vaquera* (cowboy saddlery), *mosquero* (flyveil type brow band made of leather or ornate horse hair), *garrocha* (instrument), *jaca* (a working horse with short tail, mane and forelock which is usually castrated), *movimientos* (movements: quick turns and stops, little trot work) and *traje corto* together create an aesthetic of the Andalusian cowboy; a man from the country whose work is bound intimately with the *toro bravo* and the Andalusian countryside. This is the aesthetic that was brought into the bullring when *rejoneo* reappeared in the 1920s, which contrasts with the aesthetics of the *corrida caballeresca* and questions whether *rejoneo* returned to the *plaza* or was re-born there. It also contrasts starkly with *toureio equestre* (the bullfight from horseback in neighbouring Portugal) (see Plate 11, below and Appendix Four for a description of *toureio equestre*). Neither Mitchell (1991) nor Shubert (1999) consider the historical significance of *rejoneo's* reappearance in the *plaza*s at the beginning of the twentieth century and how it affects Mitchell's idea of a 'strategic retreat' (1991: 86); could it be a strategic comeback, for example? I suggest that *rejoneo* is a re-invention of tradition, drawing from Hobsbawm's (1995a) definition of invented traditions.

Siglo de oro del rejoneo

Antonio Cañero Baena is considered to be the father of modern *rejoneo* (Abarquero Durango 1984: 97). He was born in Córdoba and followed in his father's footsteps to become a Lieutenant Colonel in the Spanish military and a

professor of equitation.[88] He rode in the *estilo campero* and had been performing as a bullfighter from foot from 1912 to 1917 (Jiménez Benítez 1994: 90). According to Abarquero Durango (1984: 106-107), Cañero was offended by the *picador's* use of the horse as a '*soporte ortopedico'* (orthopaedic support). In 1923 he started fighting bulls from horseback, 'to rehabilitate the bullfight where the horse features in all three phases' (Abarquero Durango 1984: 93). Whether this was indeed a rehabilitation or an application of the defining feature of modern footed bullfighting requires consideration. He fought professionally until 1936, when civil war broke out and he was required to fight in the national army.[89] Cañero's revival of *rejoneo* marks what is known as the *siglo de oro* or the golden age of *rejoneo.*

When Cañero started facing bulls from horseback, he did so with the identity of a *vaquero Andaluz* (Andalusian cowboy) by wearing the *traje del campo* (country suit described in Chapter Two) and using the *montura vaquera* (cowboy saddlery) (see Plate 12, below). This marked a serious aesthetic shift in horse, rider and saddlery.

> The cowboy saddle and the short suit, the boots and the chaps advised that this was more about the exploits of the pastures than of courtly exercises. The *garrochas* that he held to drove bulls had the style of the estate more than the refinement of the *picadero.*[90]
>
> (de Cossío 2000, vol 2: 60)

[88] For a more thorough biographical overview than this dissertation allows, see García Pérez (1927) and Laguna Menor (2000).

[89] (http://www.el*rejoneo*.com online-a). Alternatively, Abarquero Durango (1984: 93) claims that he retired from fighting bulls on medical advice.

[90] A *picadero* is a horse training arena or horse training yard, usually enclosed or covered.



Plate 11: At left, David Vázquez represents the Andalusian aesthetic of bullfighting from horseback which constructs a distinct identity in comparison to the Portuguese Frederica style illustrated here by the Portuguese Caveleiro Ricardo Teixeira Duarte.

Photo: Author



Plate 12: *Vaqueros* wearing the *traje del campo* and using the *montura vaquera*: a distinctly Andalusian aesthetic. Note the *garrochas* they are carrying.

Photo: Author

Cañero's presence in the *plaza* was felt as a fresh breath of country air (literally a resuscitation). No longer did bullfighting from horseback symbolise a courtly spectacle. He rode his horses violently and rapidly. The bulls during his time were considered larger and more 'wild' than those of today and did not have their horns 'tipped' (as noted in the previous chapter). He became famous for jumping a mare called *Tordilla* (the whitish one)[91] over bulls as they lay down to die (Abarquero Durango 1984: 79, 121), 'which proved nothing, technically, but had its effect' in producing a vogue' in *rejoneo* (Fifield 1978: 107).[92]

Cañero invoked an incarnation of *rejoneo* that was quintessentially Andalusian. He translated a particular rural equestrian 'aesthetic' into what is essentially urban space, but which as I argued in the previous chapter is ambiguous urban/rural space. In doing so, he developed a style of fighting that was distinctly *toreo a caballo Andaluz* (bullfighting from horseback Andalusian style). I contend that this was, and remains, a performance of the country, rather than a performance in the country.[93]

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[91] *Tordilla,* from the word *torda* to describe a horse grey (white) in colour, most likely refers to a mixture of darker hairs with the grey base, forming a 'whitish' colour similar to a dapple grey or roan, although these have their own specific terms in Spanish equine terminology (*'rodado'* and *'roano'*, respectively).

[92] The *rejoneador* David Vázquez described an incident to me where he also jumped over a bull:

El año pasado me salté de un toro yo, con un caballo. Le había clavado una banderilla, el toro se paró... y me salté el toro; sólo saltarlo. Pero es una cosa que es difícil, que hay que calcular muy bien, a la gente le gustó mucho pero yo creo que era más bien de circo. No era una cosa que a mí me llegara adentro. Yo cuando me salté el toro bajé del caballo y a mí aquello no me supo a nada. Bueno me salto un toro y aquí estoy. Ahora si el caballo hubiera saltado y a mí me hubiera gustado, pues... Y así va a evolucionar.

"Last year I jumped over a bull with a horse. I had placed a *banderilla*, the bull stopped... and I jumped over it; just jumped. But it is something difficult, it has to be well calculated; the people liked it alot, but I think it was circus-like. It wasn't something of great significance to me. After I jumped over the bull I got off the horse and it didn't mean anything to me. Well, I jump a bull and here I am. Now, if the horse had jumped and I liked it... That's how *rejoneo* will evolve".

[93] Compare this with Marvin's analysis of English foxhunting as a 'rural performative event' (2000: 108).

Rejoneo as re-invented tradition

De Cossío[94] describes *rejoneo's* reappearance in a way that reveals its ambiguous status: 'bullfighting from horseback *returned* with the same characteristics with which it had developed in the great surroundings of the marshes, where it was *born*' (2000, vol 2: 62, emphasis added). He implies that bullfighting from horseback was *born* in the marshlands of the lower Guadalquivir region, but that its appearance in the *plaza* was a *return*, thus suggesting a reincarnation of *rejoneo* with a combination of selective historical elements. I argue that this is directed by a combination of aesthetic nostalgia and historical amnesia. Hobsbawm's theory of the invention of tradition explains my argument:

> 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.
>
> (Hobsbawm 1995a: 1)

The notion of invented tradition accounts for the construction of essentially recent activities as traditional through the creation of continuity with a historical past. These ties, or the past itself, may not exist *per se*. For example, Trevor-Roper (1995) argues that Scottish traditional dress is an invented tradition designed to enhance Scottish identity. Other authors have used invented tradition to explain the creation of the meaning of an activity as traditional, rather than the activity itself. For example, Cannadine (1985) discusses the use of carriages by the British monarchy to illustrate the ways in which carriage use did not change over time, but public perception changed to view carriage use as a royal tradition.

Historical ties are constructed between twentieth century *rejoneo*, the seventeenth century *corridas caballerescas*, the eighteenth century *varilarguero*, (approximately) the nineteenth century *picador* and Andalusian *vaquero*s since the seventeenth century. As critics of Hobsbawm have noted (Morgan 2001, especially chapter five), whilst elements of historical continuity and the meanings of traditions can be contrived, these exist alongside enduring features that can suggest historical continuity. Likewise, I am not suggesting that *rejoneo's* ties to

[94] De Cossío (2000, vol 2: 62) refers to the bullfight from horseback in the original quotation as '*el toreo a caballo*'.

other activities are entirely fictitious, but that some elements have been more emphasised or ignored than others in efforts to create an activity with modern meaning yet historical connections. It has modern innovations to attract an audience, together with an entrenched tradition to establish its legitimacy.

Rejoneo can be understood as an invented tradition in terms of its ambiguous associations with the traditions described in this chapter. I prefer to describe *rejoneo* as a re-invented tradition, because it contains elements of related historical activities with 'new' meanings and also to acknowledge *rejoneo's* rise-fall-rise historical model. That is, *rejoneo* is not exactly a practice created in the recent past which claims to be a continuation of an activity practiced since time immemorial; it is a practice that claims to be a new version of something that used to be practiced. In this sense, it is similar to the global Olympic movement that claims ties to the Greek Olympics.[95] Hobsbawm's concept of invented tradition was developed specifically to understand invented traditions in a modern era. Even though modern *rejoneo* is an example of this, I argue that the term re-invented tradition emphasises the fact that *rejoneo* has undergone (and is still undergoing) various inventions throughout a composite history. In other words, *rejoneo* has been historically influenced but it is not the most recent end-point on a linear line of historical development.

Rejoneo is presented simultaneously as different from the *corrida caballeresca* but connected to it. Hobsbawm's claim that invented traditions 'normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past' suggests that what the invented tradition identifies as suitable reveals its desired image (1995a: 1). This could explain the construction of *rejoneo* as rooted in the *corrida caballeresca* with connotations of prestige together with the privileged status of being the original form of bullfighting whilst ignoring elitist connotations, together with its construction as a particularly Andalusian working class activity, thus making it more accessible to a broad public.

[95] For an overview of this historical tie (although not overtly related to invented traditions), see MacAloon (1984b).

Moreover, the invention of the tradition of *rejoneo* accompanies an invention of the tradition of bull management practices form horseback. These are presented as a stopgap in the historical timeline of bullfighting from horseback, even though bulls were lanced from horseback as military exercise during the middle ages (Lopez Izquierdo 1994: 129). This gives the impression that lancing appeared, disappeared and reappeared, but the *plaza* was never without a mounted figure. Even though the *varilarguero* and the *picador* represent different encounters with bulls from horseback, they could be (and have been) constructed as stages in the development of *rejoneo*. However, part of the invention of tradition is a selective system of referencing to the past. In this case, the elegant image of the bullfighter from horseback is kept separate from the plebeian image of the *picador* and the ambivalent *varilarguero*. Cañero's working class Andalusian aesthetic aided the public's acceptance of *rejoneo*. As noted by Hobsbawm (1995b: 263), 'conscious invention succeeded mainly in proportion to its success in broadcasting on a wavelength to which the public was ready to tune in'. For example:

> The *sombrero de ala ancha*, or wide-brimmed hat, is an article both of festive and also working-dress. It bears a particular association with ganado (livestock) and is always worn with the short jacket and tight trousers of cattle herdsmen. But bullfighters wear it in this way for charity fights out of season. It is worn as working-dress by shepherds whom its brim protects both from sun and rain ... it is worn by many farmers also, though agricultural labourers tend to wear berets or soft hats instead. The landowner also wears if if he goes into the country, particularly if he goes on horseback. Yet it is worn - without a tie for it must never be worn with a tie - on festive occasions by poor people as part of their smart dress, and it is also worn by the sophisticated at fairs and bullfights. (To wear it at the bullfight is the mark of the enthusiast.) The professional and administrative classes do not wear it, for it implies an association with ganado which in them would appear pretentious'.
>
> (Pitt-Rivers 1971 [orig 1954]: 69)

The sombrero is accessible to more than one class in the same way that I argue *rejoneo* is accessible to more than the Andalusian elite. That one individual is credited with the rebirth of *rejoneo* strengthens my argument that *rejoneo* can be understood as an invented tradition. Hobsbawm (1995a: 4) asserts that the process of inventing tradition is 'most clearly exemplified where a 'tradition' is deliberately invented and constructed by a single initiator' (On this account, Felipe V could be seen as the 'uninventor' of the *corrida caballeresca* tradition). The construction of Cañero as the 'father' of *rejoneo* makes it possible to trace the re-

invention of *rejoneo* within a specific social milieu. Hobsbawm expects that the 'invention' of tradition occurs,

> more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable, or when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated: in short, when there are sufficiently large and rapid changes on the demand or the supply side. Such changes have been particularly significant in the past 200 years, and it is therefore reasonable to expect these instant formalizations of new traditions to cluster during this period.
>
> (Hobsbawm 1995a: 4-5)

For example, the 'thirty or forty years before the first world war' was a particularly active period for the invention of traditions across Europe (Hobsbawm 1995b: 263). This period relates to changes in political and social structures, especially in the period immediately preceding the First World War where distinctions between the middle and upper classes were blurred. 'Quite new, or old but dramatically transformed, social groups, environments and social contexts called for new devices to ensure or express social cohesion and identity and to structure social relations' (Hobsbawm 1995b: 263). This suggests that the re-invention of *rejoneo* could serve as a vehicle through which the landed gentry can express social cohesion through a pervasive Andalusian aesthetic that transcends class. I argue below however, that *rejoneo* is a performance of class and a class aesthetic rather than a performance by the upper-class.

Invented sport traditions

According to Hobsbawm (1995b: 298), sport is 'one of the most significant' practices relating to the invention of tradition around the turn of the twentieth century. MacAloon (1984b: 262) also notes the significance of the late 1920s and early 1930s to organised sport in relation to his analysis of the Olympic Games. He notes that 'largely due to the success of the Olympics themselves, a mass efflorescence of organised sport, first in Euro-American cultures, then worldwide, drew upon the Games of the twenties and thirties ideological, political, and commercial interests of every sort'. Amongst the many developments in sport that MacAloon lists, most relate more so to global sports movements than *rejoneo*, but

'the transformation of athletes into celebrities' relates to *rejoneadores* as well as the Spanish *corrida* in general.

Although the *corrida* is never constructed emically as sport, theories of sport apply to *rejoneo* as a physical activity and offer useful analytic approaches. For example, Hobsbawm (1995b: 298-299) identifies three features of the invention of sporting traditions that apply to *rejoneo*: Firstly, 'a decisive transformation in the spread of old, the invention of new, and the institutionalization of most sports on a national or even international level'. Secondly, 'this institutionalization provided both a public show-case for sport ...and a mechanism for extending activities hitherto confined to the aristocracy and the rich bourgeoisie able to assimilate its life-styles to a widening range of the 'middle classes'. Thirdly, the invention of sports at the turn of the twentieth century 'provided a mechanism for bringing together persons of an equivalent social status otherwise lacking organic social or economic links, and perhaps above all for providing a new role for bourgeois *women*' (italics in original).

As demonstrated above, the social history of *rejoneo* has passed through periods of various class associations; from aristocratic practice to the landed gentry and is becoming accessible to the ambitious middle-classes. At the same time, the nature of the elite and nobility underwent significant transformations around the turn of the twentieth century. The re-invention of *rejoneo* simultaneously identifies the upper-class, gives the upper-class a shared identity, allows a public performance of *doma vaquera* skills and simultaneously provides a means for class acquisition. *Rejoneo* may still be dominated by the landed gentry of the South, but it is not impenetrable to members of the middle classes. With regard to Hobsbawm's third observation of the invention of sporting traditions providing a role for women, it is worth noting that *rejoneo* is the less culturally problematic form of *corrida* for women to pursue. This is discussed at greater length in Chapter Nine.

I have already discussed some rapid transformations to bullfighting from horseback leading up to the twentieth century, such as a throne change, riding style preferences, the instability of the ruling classes, involvement of the working

classes and the selective breeding of bulls. These are the social conditions surrounding the abandonment of the *corridas caballerescas* and the instigation of the modern bullfight (which is also a likely invented tradition). Similarly, *rejoneo's* reincarnation occurred during a period of intense socio-political change around the turn of the twentieth century. I now turn to a discussion of the social developments that relate to the re-invention of *rejoneo*. These are, a growth in nobility, the landed gentry being subsumed into nobility, class-conflict, anarchism and civil unrest. I also illustrate the relevance of these social transformations to my specific fieldsite *Jerez* and within Andalusia more generally.

Socio-historical context of revival of *rejoneo*

The re-invention of *rejoneo* occurred towards the end of a period of growth in nobility: 'The real expansion of the nobility came during the restoration (1875-1931) when 200 titles, including 20 Dukes and 30 grandees, were created and 300 were rehabilitated ... By 1930 there were some 1,900 titled people in the country' (Shubert 1990: 65). This expansion occurred alongside transformation in the nature of nobility. 'There was a convergence between the old and new nobilities' (Shubert 1990: 66). Thus, the nobility and the landed gentry co-comprised the Andalusian elite. This represented a class transformation of the social conditions which supported the *corrida caballeresca*.

Throughout these developments, land ownership remained central to class status:

> The nobility remained an important part of the landowning elite in liberal Spain but it alone did not make up that elite. The *nobles* were joined by a new group of large landowners who emerged from the disentailment process and which by the early part of the twentieth century had surpassed them and come to form a distinctive agrarian elite. Even in the south, the bastion of both the nobility and the large estate, people without title came to own the bulk of the land and through marriage strategies control large areas.
>
> (Shubert 1990: 69)

Latifundism, 'the ownership and exploitation of agricultural property in large units' (Pitt-Rivers 1971 [orig 1954]: 181) was particularly prevalent in Andalusia and, according to Kaplan, had a particular strong-hold in Cádiz Province:

> By the middle of the nineteenth century, 58 percent of its total land area was in holdings greater than 625 acres; in some districts, as much as 96 percent of the

> land was in large estates. The trend toward increased consolidation of land seems to have continued throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
> (Kaplan 1975: 49)

The trend towards the acquisition of land and large estates in Cádiz is also noted by Shubert:

> In Cádiz, the centre of the sherry trade, the bourgeoisie which moved into land ownership was more substantial. As foreign demand for sherry increased after the 1840s the merchants who controlled the trade, and who like the Domecqs, Duffs and Byass were often foreigners themselves, sought to control all stages of the production process and began to acquire the small peasant vineyards in which the grapes they used were grown. They also bought other lands and put them into cultivation, so that the area dedicated to grapes grew by 30 per cent between 1851 and 1870. These families of the Anglo-Andalusian elite which emerged in Cadiz were also active in finance, mining and railroads.
> (Shubert 1990: 76)

Shubert here highlights the significance of viticulture in the construction and perpetuation of class and the role that the wine industry played in attracting foreign investment to the Province. As one point in the sherry triangle, *Jerez* played (and continues to play) a major role in the production of wine.

There is another layer to the rapid transformation of class which contextualises the re-invention of *rejoneo*: class conflict. 'Spain's recent history is a turbulent pageant of rural revolutionism, anarchism, and class violence, indicating very serious underlying fissions and conflicts' (Gilmore 1980: 9). Class and land ownership are inseparable themes here. 'Andalusia's history centers on the conflict over land between a majority of landless peasants and a minority of powerful landlords, which was one of the main causes of the Spanish civil war' (Djurfeldt 1993: 159). Gilmore (1980: 9) also notes that the 'war itself took root in the discontent of the countryside'. 'Between 1902 and 1923 there were a record thirty-five governments, making any consistent effort of reform an impossibility' (Carr, Raymond 2000: 235). Civil disruption was rife: 'After 1917, inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution, a wave of strikes and land occupations swept over Andalusia, driving *señoritos* to the safety of the towns' (Carr, Raymond 2000: 231; see also Tito 1980).

Historically, *Jerez de la Frontera* has been particularly associated with land-based class-conflict in Andalusia. 'By the middle of the nineteenth century, two-thirds of

the arable and pastoral land in *Jerez* was owned by fewer than 200 people who had an average holding of about 250 hectares' (Kaplan 1975: 49). The gap between the rich and the poor was stark. 'The majority of its residents, since time immemorial, had been desperately poor, landless day labourers, the group generally thought to have been the social base of Andalusian anarchism' (Kaplan 1975: 49).

> In *Jerez de la Frontera*, the largest and richest city in Cadiz Province, Andalusia, incendiarism, insurrection, and strikes were endemic throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century. The city famous for sherry became practically synonymous with anarchism, and the anarchists there were primarily skilled workers and petty producers who were directly or indirectly dependent upon sherry production and sale, and highly organised agricultural day labourers who exerted wage pressure and carried on strikes after mid-century.
>
> (Kaplan 1975: 47)

These conditions resulted in class tensions and resentment towards the landed gentry, to which *rejoneo* is strongly associated. The themes of social injustice in *Jerez* became the subject for Vicente Blasco Ibáñez' novel *La Bodega* (1919).[96] In Chapter Six I describe the popular theory that this novel refers to the Domecq family of contemporary *rejoneadores*, named above by Shubert as a member of the Anglo-Andalusian elite.

Rejoneo was re-invented during a period of rapid transformation in Andalusian society. Latifundism was a cause of civil unrest and resentment towards the landed gentry, which was becoming a form of Andalusian nobility. In addition, civil war was on the horizon, but it did not squelch *rejoneo's* revival. Corbin notes a possible connection between *rejoneadores*, or more specifically the perception of *rejoneadores*, and the Spanish civil war through an association between 'class and militarism' (1999: 17).

> The aristocratic and military origins of *rejoneo* are consonant with the dominance of the Spanish officer corps by families of wealth and aristocratic connections. Many of the right-wing officers who organised and led the military conspiracy against the Republic were of this class, though, it should be said, not Franco himself.
>
> (Corbin 1999: 17)

[96] Blasco Ibáñez is a Valencian political author. For an analysis of the themes of class conflict and social injustice in *La Bodega*, see (Pennington 2005).

Rejoneo continued through General Franco's dictatorship and was booming by the time of Spain's democracy. The possibility that *rejoneo* presented a means of symbolic power for the transformed elite arises here. For example, Hobsbawm (1995b: 306) notes that the invention of sport traditions around the turn of the twentieth century maintained 'class lines' in three ways: 'by maintaining aristocratic or middle-class control of the governing institutions, by social exclusiveness or, more commonly, by the scarcity of the necessary capital equipment'. As noted in this chapter, Mitchell (1991: 85) suggests that the aristocracy controlled the modern *corrida* through their role in bull-breeding. In the following chapter, I discuss the 'exclusivity' of *rejoneo* through horse-related expenses as well as the lack of formal training opportunities for *rejoneadores* who don't have a family history of involvement. However, whether this symbolic power was in addition to actual power or a replacement of dwindling power within the elite classes requires further investigation beyond the scope and aims of this dissertation.

It is difficult to reconcile the revival of interest in an activity with past historical ties to royalty, elites and ruling classes and near historical ties to the landed gentry with the aesthetics of the working class. To elaborate, the *rejoneadores* are dressed in the *traje corto* associated with the dress worn by the stock owners' senior employees or *mayorales* who watch over the herds of fighting bulls. Their presentation is suggested to be inalienable to the working classes of rural Andalusia, but they engage in an activity beyond the economic means of the majority of the population. How can a public who values egalitarianism (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 8; see also Tax Freeman 1987) and resents latifundism, enjoy watching (indeed, pay to watch) the landed gentry apparently reassert their privileged status through a performance in the *plaza*? Once again, the invention of tradition offers a framework for understanding the co-existence of elitism and community: 'Social mobility, the facts of class conflict and the prevalent ideology made traditions combining community and marked inequality in formal hierarchies (as in armies) difficult to apply universally' (Hobsbawm 1995a: 9). However:

> On the other hand, insofar as invented traditions reintroduced, as it were, status in a world of contract, superior and inferior into a world of legal equal, they could not do so directly. They could be smuggled in by formal symbolic assent to a social organization which was *de* facto unequal ... More commonly they might foster the corporate sense of superiority of élites – particularly when these had to be recruited from those who did not already possess it by birth or ascription – rather

> than by inculcating a sense of obedience in inferiors. Some were encouraged to feel more equal than others. This might be done by assimilating elites to a pre-bourgeois form ... Alternatively, perhaps, the *esprit de corps*, self-confidence and leadership of élites could be developed by more esoteric 'traditions' marking the cohesiveness of a senior official mandarinate.
>
> (Hobsbawm 1995a: 10)

Hobsbawm thus offers a means for considering the interrelationship of class and community through the 'invention' of tradition alongside the 'invention' of class. The latter can be seen in the proliferation of titles around the same time that *rejoneo* was revived. This raises questions around whether or not the Andalusian aesthetics of *rejoneo's* re-invention disguised its elitist connotations, thus making it acceptable to the public, or if *rejoneo* is a means for individuals to acquire (more) class, or for a class to gain more members. These questions also apply to the *rejoneo* audience and *aficionados*, which is likely to comprise a spectrum of class affiliation. In the following chapter, I consider a range of personal histories of *rejoneadores* to suggest that *rejoneo* is a *performance* of Andalusian class, rather than a performance by the upper-class.

After the Spanish civil war, *rejoneo* was refined by the *Jerezano* Álvaro Domecq y Díez. As a pilot in the army, he is also connected to the military. Domecq y Díez started his career at the suggestion of a priest, to raise money for charity. He was mayor of *Jerez* from 1952 until 1957, when he created the highly respected bull breeding ranch *Torrestrella*. His son was a famous *rejoneador* and three of his grandsons are active *rejoneadores*, as discussed more fully in the following chapter. Domecq y Díez invented the *quiebro* move (a fake-right-go-left) and added more classical *dressage* and *haute école* movements to the *corrida de rejones.*

'Álvaro Domecq y Díez converted *rejoneo* into an authentic bullfighting ballet, imitating the *suertes* [passes] of footed bullfighting wherever possible' (Domecq Romero, Müller & Frick 1991: n.p.). The important point here is that he used his horse as a *torero* uses a cape. He also shared with footed *toreros* the tripartite mantra that governs their interaction with the bull: *parar, templar, mandar* (stop the bull, regulate its movements and command it). There are philosophical debates over the order of these three elements, but they can be described as follows (from the *torero* to the bull): "stop there, come here and then wait over there for me to

give you another rejon" (as Abarquero Durango 1984: 98 describes 'Don Alvaro'). It is along these lines that *rejoneo aficionados* distinguish between the verb *rejonear* as the basic act of using a *rejon* and the more prestigious *torear a caballo* or *toreo ecuestre* (specifically 'bullfighting from horseback' where the term for bullfighting '*torear*' is specific to the footed version). For example:

> *El toreo a caballo está basado en el toreo a pie. Por lo menos siempre se ha querido hacer igual, el toreo a caballo basarlo al toreo a pie. El toreo de frente es pararse, centrar al toro, pararte y centrar al toro y una vez que estés parado, y el toro centrado y fijo en ti, entonces irse de frente. No es sólo ponerse de frente, hay que ir de frente hacia el toro y cuando llegas a la distancia que el toro te pida, de que se te va a venir, entonces darle un muletazo pero siempre dándole la cara y los pechos del caballo al toro.*
>
> Bullfighting [*el toreo*] from horseback is based on bullfighting [*el toreo*] from foot. That has always been the objective, to base bullfighting from horseback on the bullfight from foot. Facing the bull *de frente* (front-on) is to stop, centre the bull and once it's fixed in this position, and the bull centred and fixed on you, you go straight towards it. It is not just about positioning yourself in front, you have to move forwards towards the bull; when you reach the distance signaled by the bull as the start of its charge, then you give it a pass with the *muleta* [using the horse as a cape], but always face-to-face and with the horse's chest in front of the bull.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

It is interesting to note that *rejoneo* looks to the philosophy of the bullfight from foot for legitimacy within tauromachy. This is an invention of *rejoneo* drawing from a more well accepted and respected tradition. These philosophical and aesthetic constructions of two different styles of bullfighting from horseback are important to note. They represent the difference between a mounted *torero* and a *rejoneador*. The former is a *torero* who interacts with the bull as if he were on foot, but from horseback. The latter has a weaker link to bullfighting from foot and the *torero* and is seen as a distinct activity from *el toreo*. The distinct uses of terminology highlight the nuanced ways in which *rejoneadores* and others refer to the different approaches to bullfighting from horseback. However, the phrasing of *rejoneo* more literally as bullfighting from horseback (*toreo a caballo or toreo ecuestre*) requires the usage of terms deriving from the verb *torear*, which is most associated with the footed bullfight. Therefore, to avoid confusion and to honour *rejoneo* as a distinct and not subsidiary form of *corrida*, I will continue to use *rejoneo* (not *toreo a caballo*) to refer to the act of bullfighting from horseback and *rejoneador* (not *torero a caballo*) to distinguish the bullfighter from horseback from the bullfighter from foot (*torero*).

It is no accident that Domecq y Díez' style of bullfighting is likened to ballet. He is renowned for his elegance and effortlessness as a rider and is credited with generating the artistic elements of *rejoneo.* Within two generations of revivalists, Domecq y Díez had transformed the 'rough and ready' riding style of Cañero into a graceful 'ballet'. The aesthetics of *rejoneo* continued to be refined throughout the *siglo de oro.*[97] 'What is interesting about the *época de oro* is the psychological and behavioural identification between horse and rider' (Abarquero Durango (1984:111). From this period onwards, horse and rider begin to be frequently referred to as 'centaurs' (Nieto Manjon 2001: 18). I return to the idea of horse and rider merging physically and intuitively in the metaphor of the centaur in *rejoneo* in Chapters Seven through Nine.

At the same time that *rejoneo* was being re-invented, changes occurred to the social demographics of the event with gendered repercussions:

> [P]rior to the 1930s the [footed] event was certainly not considered suitable for women to watch. It was a more basic and savage spectacle with larger, less manageable bulls which had to be treated roughly in order to dominate them, and because *picadores*' horses did not have padding, dozens of horses were killed in the arena. Since then there has been a gradual refinement of the event with more emphasis being laid on its aesthetics and beauty rather than the basic struggle of man and beast.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 154-155)

This quotation is relevant for two reasons. Firstly, it situates the re-invention of *rejoneo* within a broader trend within tauromachy for women to be involved as members of the audience. As noted in the previous chapter, *rejoneo* has been seen as more 'feminine' than the bullfight from foot due to the greater presence of women in its audience (I explore the meaning of this in Chapter Nine). Secondly, Marvin describes the aesthetic trends of the *corrida* during the 1930s. As noted

[97] In 1945 Domecq y Díez was joined by Angel Peralta Pineda, whose father was a farmer of the marismas in the lower Guadalquivir region, Puebla del Rio, Seville. Peralta also made many revolutionary changes to *rejoneo* that are still in place today. He softened Cañero's brutish style by modifying the saddle, shortening the length of curb on the horse's bit, reversing the direction of the spurs and reducing the points on the rowels of the spurs. Peralta developed many of the instruments in use in *rejoneo* today: the *banderillas cortas* (short *banderillas*), the *rosa* (small *banderilla*/spike fashioned to look like a rose) and the *rejon de muerte* (*rejon* of death). Stylistically, he developed the *corbeta* (a way of placing the *rosa*), riding *sin bridas* (without reins, also known as *sin manos* (without hands)) and the *banderillas a dos manos* (placing two *banderillas* at once) (Abarquero Durango 1984: 107). These are discussed in Chapter Eight. Together with his brother Rafael, Peralta also developed the form of riding *por colleras* (in pairs) to kill one bull (http://www.el*rejoneo*.com). He also improved medical services to riders and acted as a surgeon to his own horses (Abarquero Durango 1984: 107).

above with regard to Álvaro Domecq y Díez, the 'artistic' and performative elements are essential to *rejoneo*. The previous chapter noted the perception of *rejoneo* as a spectacle and therefore less 'serious' than the footed *corrida*. This construction has been accredited to the equestrian performance which precedes the first *tercio* of the *corrida de rejones*, which I argue heightens the aesthetic elements of the event. Therefore, in addition to the socio-political context, *rejoneo* was re-invented during a period of significant trends in tauromachy towards greater diversity in the audience and an emphasis on the aesthetics of the human-horse-bull encounter.

Rejoneo became habitual in *corridas* during the 1930s, as part of a mixed programme of footed and mounted *corrids*. It is considered to have been established in *corrida* programmes by the 1970s. Around this time the journalist Tico Medina coined the phrase *los quatro jinetes de la apoteosis* (the four horsemen of the apocalypse) to describe the four most famous *rejoneadores* of the time: Álvaro Domecq Romero (son of Álvaro Domecq y Díez), José Samuel Pereira Lupi (a Portuguese fighter) and the brothers Rafael and Angel Peralta Pineda.[98] These four riders started the habit of the most senior performing first, each rider taking one bull and the last bull being fought in pairs. There is currently a preference towards three *rejoneadores* per *corrida*, each fighting two bulls. As noted in Chapter One, *rejoneo* has not yet matched the status of the footed *corrida*. It is given less attention by authors, academics, newspapers, magazines, television coverage and even anthropologists. Straddling two realms *(a caballo)* yet not claimed fully by either, *rejoneo* articles are scattered amongst both taurine and equestrian magazine.

In the period spanning 2000 to 2005, the percentage of *corridas* from foot (*corridas de toros, novilladas con picadores* and *novilladas sin picadores*) averaged 33.24 percent annually of all varieties of Spanish *corridas*. The percentage of *corridas* from horseback (*rejoneo con toros* and *rejoneo con novillos*) averaged 4.77

[98] The notoriety of these riders during the seventies was seconded by: Manuel Vidrié (a student of Domecq y Díez), Fermín Bohórquez Escribano (grandson of Álvaro Domecq y Díez), Gregorio Moreno Pidal, Antonio Ignacio Vargas, Curro Bedoya, Luís Valdenebro, Antonio Correa, Ginés Cartagena, Javier Buendía, Javier Mayoral and Pedro Cárdenas, amongst others.

percent annually. *Rejoneadores* are more likely to appear alongside footed *toreros* than in an exclusive *corrida de rejones*. *Corridas mixtas*, in which *rejoneadores* and *toreros* perform in the same program, but face separate bulls, averaged 10.48 percent.[99] There is no clear trend emerging from this brief time frame for *corridas mixtas* but their frequency peaked at 13 percent in 2005. However, the percentage of *corridas* from foot has been decreasing since 2001 whilst the percentage of *corridas* from horseback has increased (including two equal percentages in 2002 and 2003).[100] In fact, de Cossío (2000, vol 2: 110) claims that *rejoneo* is experiencing a boom. This is possibly within the broader context of the rising popularity of the *corrida* on the whole, something Hooper attributes to the construction of national identity:

> One theory is that the popularity of bullfighting in recent years is attributable to precisely those forces which it had been thought would bring about its disappearance – that it is a reaction to the breakneck pace of modernization, an unconscious attempt to cling to symbols of identity at a time when the country's leaders are urging the Spanish into an increasingly homogenous Europe.
>
> (Hooper 1995: 359)

Similarly, Hobsbawm (1995b: 300) notes that invented sporting traditions provided 'a medium for national identification and factitious community'. This is particularly relevant to *rejoneo* which is constructed as an expression of Andalusian identity. The most appreciated aspect of Cañero's revival of bullfighting from horseback in 1923 is that he used the clothing, riding style and accoutrements easily identifiable as belonging to Andalusia, Southern Spain.

Another suggestion for the rise in popularity of *rejoneo* is that footed bullfighting has not changed since the late eighteenth century and as a result the public is becoming bored with it (Lopez Izquierdo 1994: 135-137). However, there is little evidence to suggest that bullfighting from foot is at risk and *rejoneo* is popular with a different public in any case. Therefore *rejoneo's* popularity needs to be understood on its own merits and within a particular socio-economic context.

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[99] The remaining percentages comprise the following groupings distinguished by the Spanish Ministry of the Interior (Ministerio del Interior 2005: online) *festejos populares* (popular festivals), *becerradas* (involving bulls less than one year old), *toreo cómico* (comic *corridas*), *festivales* (festivals), *espectáculos mixtos* (mixed spectaculars) and *festejos populares* (local bull traditions).

[100] Statistics from the Spanish Ministry of the Interior (Ministerio del Interior 2005: online).

A *doma vaquera* judge and competitor told me that *doma vaquera* competitions were first held in 1972, because of financial changes:

> *El caballo antes de 1972 no era practicado por tanta gente como ahora. Entonces con el boom económico de España la gente empieza a comprar caballos. Cada vez hay más gente con caballos, entonces cada vez hay más jinetes profesionales, cada vez hay más picaderos y más escuelas. Y entonces ya empieza ahí... hasta hoy, cada día es mejor.*
>
> Horse activities were not undertaken by so many people before 1972 as they are now. The Spanish economic boom allowed people to start buying horses. The amount of people who own horses steadily increased and as a consequence there are more professional riders, training centres and riding schools. And so it goes... each day is better than the previous one.
>
> (*Doma vaquera* judge)

Various reasons suggested for *rejoneo's* popularity relate to these broader socio-economic developments which made horse ownership more affordable than ever to the lower classes and those who had no family history of horse ownership, let alone bull-breeding or *rejoneo*:

> *Rejoneo* used to be a sub world, a small family business. That is until, Andy Cartagena unleashed a boom with his youth and ability, shaking up the veterans and commanding the attention of the critics! He filled *plaza*s that had never been filled since the '70s. At last, the press had to take notice and give *rejoneo* adequate media coverage. [101]
>
> (de Cossío 2000, vol 2: 110)

Rejoneo is a costly activity, but is becoming more accessible to the middle classes as their economic situation improves (de Cossío 2000, vol 2: 110). As Gilmore (1996: 56) notes: 'extremes of wealth and poverty are today diminishing with Spain's post-Franco economic boom'. *Rejoneo* thus appears within the realm of possibility for some members of the crowd. It could therefore be attracting more interest from individuals who feel that they could realistically aspire to be *rejoneadores* or have a personal appreciation of the horsepersonship involved. In effect, this means that individuals can potentially 'buy-in' to the re-invented tradition of *rejoneo*, and access the status that Hobsbawm (1995a: 9-10) argues are reintroduced by invented traditions.

[101] Andy Cartagena (Andrés Céspedes Gonzáles) made his public debut in 1996 in Nîmes, France at the age of sixteen. He is one of many *rejoneadores* since then that have become famous, commanded media attention and raised the profile of *rejoneo*.

At the same time that *rejoneo* is becoming more financially accessible to performers, it is more cost-effective for event organisers. At the end of the 1980s, organisers found that staging a *corrida de rejones* had a greater return than bullfighting from foot because the bulls are often cheaper and *rejoneadores* and their *cuadrillas* are paid less (de Cossío 2000, vol 2: 110). Moreover, *rejoneo* often takes place in 'category three' or portable bullrings. Therefore, top riders appear in small villages (de Cossío 2000, vol 2: 110) as well as the major cities. This showcases a high standard of practice to a broad audience. Therefore, *rejoneo*, a form of *corrida* trivialised by popular and academic literature as less popular than footed bullfighting, is rising in popularity. The context for this revival is largely economic and has led to changes in the class associations of *rejoneo*.

Summary

In this chapter I have provided a social history of *rejoneo* and argued for a perspective to *rejoneo* as invented tradition. I have linked the significant historical developments in *rejoneo* to wider social influences such as the monarchy, riding style, class changes, civil unrest and economic development. Some of these changes have particular relevance to *Jerez*, such as latifundism and civil disruption. In doing so I have highlighted the socio-cultural elements that *rejoneo* seeks to (re)present and how these relate to a sense of Andalusian identity. As described in Chapter Four, *rejoneo* is commonly seen as an elitist activity but this chapter questions the extent to which this is an accurate description of all *rejoneadores*. Many *rejoneadores* are members of the so-called landed gentry but *rejoneo* can also be seen as a version of mounted bull management by those employed by the landed gentry, except that in this version the encounter is deliberately risky and the bull is intended to die. The exact nature of the relationship between *rejoneo* and class is therefore less rigid than presented in the literature. *Rejoneo* is certainly not representative of the lowest classes, but not all of its protagonists come from privileged backgrounds. In the following chapter I introduce some *rejoneadores* from my fieldwork and argue that the relationship between class and *rejoneo* is best understood as a performance of class. This lays the foundation for a broader argument about *rejoneo* being the performance of human-animal boundaries.

Chapter Six

Rejoneadores and the Performance of *Señoritismo*

Eso no es un bailecito. De torero un traje, muy bien peinado, muy guapo, me maquillo, me preparo, me gasto un dineral un buen coche, yo llego allí al mejor hotel. Pero eso es una cosa, un mundo, y otro mundo es cuando sale el toro. Cuando sale el toro ya no hay hotel, ya no hay maquillaje; sino ya es tu valor, tu personalidad, tu forma de ser.

This is not a little dance. As a *torero* I wear a suit, do my hair well, good looking, I make myself up, I prepare myself, I spend a lot of money to buy a good car and stay in the best hotel. But that is one thing, one world; another world is when the bull comes out. When the bull comes out, there is no longer a hotel or make-up; there is only your courage, your personality, your way of being.

(DV, *rejoneador*)

Introduction

In Chapter Four I noted that *rejoneo* had been trivialised in the literature on account of its elitist connotations and this historical association of *rejoneo* with the Andalusian nobility was the subject of the previous chapter. In particular, I argued that the re-invention of *rejoneo* in the twentieth century is a re-invented tradition which claims continuity with courtly *corridas caballerescas* leading up to the eighteenth century but uses a modern Andalusian *vaquero* aesthetic associated with landed ranch owners and their stockmen. As this dissertation is fundamentally about human-animal relations, this chapter introduces the reader to the human participants of *rejoneo*. I provide backgrounds to the *rejoneadores* that feature throughout this chapter and the dissertation more generally. I explore the relationship between these *rejoneadores* and features of the señoritos (the Andalusian upper-class) using descriptions of the Andalusian upper-class developed by Gilmore (1980) and Pitt-Rivers (1971 [orig 1954]) to demonstrate that whilst some *rejoneadores* meet the qualitative requirements of *señoritos*, not all *rejoneadores* meet these requirements. This challenges the claims noted in Chapter Four that *rejoneadores* are members of the landed gentry. Even though this chapter focuses on the humans involved in *rejoneo*, namely the *rejoneadores*, animals (namely horses) are shown to be markers of a class identity. The question then remains regarding how class relates to the *rejoneo* performance. Using perspectives developed around spectacle and public events (Handelman 1998), I suggest that *rejoneo* is a performance *of* the upper-class and rural aesthetics, but is not necessarily a performance *by* the upper-class. This chapter is based on in-

depth, open-ended interviews with four *rejoneadores* supplemented by participant-observation as they trained and performed. I also describe a conspiracy theory around the censorship of anti-*señorito* material to illustrate the political influence of the *señorito* class.

Class in Andalusian Ethnographies

Pitt-Rivers' (1971 [orig 1954]) ethnographic account of Alcalá in the mountainous Sierra Region presents a two-tiered class system. Gilmore's (1980) ethnography of *Fuenmayor*, in the geographic centre of the Andalusian Plain, almost exactly in between the major cities Seville and Cordoba (1980: 12) documents a society based on three distinct classes. Although anthropologists present various models of Spanish class systems, all share the common theme of 'a tiny group of educated and powerful elite families' at the top of the social hierarchy (Gilmore 1980: 6). These are called *los señoritos* in *Fuenmayor*[102] and may also be collectively known as the *clase alta* or *clase elevada* (Gilmore 1980: 53). In Alcalá they are known as *los ricos* (the rich) or *los que mandan en el pueblo* (those who rule, give orders) (Pitt-Rivers, 1971:68). In this dissertation I draw primarily from Gilmore's model of class featuring the landless *jornaleros* who sell their labour to make a living, the *mayetes* with sufficient land to avoid selling their labour and the latifundist *señoritos* who do not engage in manual labour and provide peace-meal employment to the populous *mayetes*. As noted in the previous chapter, class and land ownership are intertwined. This chapter demonstrates the negative perceptions of labour in Andalusia and the significance of land ownership as means of avoiding labour. I focus on the *señoritos* in this chapter to consider the academic and historical constructions of *rejoneo* as a pastime of the upper-class, as illustrated in Chapters Four and Five respectively. However, I define the *jornalero* and *mayete* classes below to distinguish the *señoritos*.

[102] The *señoritos* are less formally referred to as *la gente gorda* (fat people, translated by Gilmore as 'fat cats'), *litrones* (show offs), *señoritingos* (a double diminutive meaning 'little, tiny master'), *burgueses* (bourgeois) and *capitalistas* (Gilmore 1980: 65).

Jornaleros

The *jornaleros* take their name from the term *jornal*, meaning daily wage. They must sell their labour to earn enough money to support their family. As the main means of work is agrarian, it is subject to seasonal fluctuations, such as the olive harvests. They also gain work during the Easter period carrying heavy religious floats through town.[103] At other times, Gilmore records *jornaleros* travelling to France and Germany in search of work. The demeaning dependence experienced by *jornaleros* can be explained through Corbin & Corbin's (1987) notion of *vida*. As described in Chapter Four, *vida* is the ability to exercise one's will (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 18) and it is used in Corbin & Corbin's cosmological model to define humanity. The *jornaleros*' landlessness impinges upon their freedom to exercise will and thereby constructs them as less human, when viewed through the concept of *vida*. *Vida*, as constitutive of the cosmological category of 'human' according to Corbin & Corbin (1987) is similar to labour being constitutive of class categories, as argued by Gilmore (1980). Both express the importance of independence. *Jornaleros* are a class lower than the *mayetes*. The *mayetes* have more land, and thus more autonomy than the *jornaleros*.

Mayetes

The *mayetes* own sufficient land to produce enough income to avoid selling their labour, although they often work side-by-side with the *jornaleros* (Gilmore 1980: 116). The *mayetes* enjoy the status of being autonomous, something that Gilmore (1980: 53) sees as an operating principle in *Fuenmayoreño* thought. The *mayetes* do not need to take up employment to care for their family and they do not engage in travel and emigration in search of seasonal work. In this regard, they do not suffer the tainted itinerant life associated with the 'despised gypsies' (Gilmore, 1980:37) and required of the *jornaleros*.[104] I have described the *jornaleros* and *mayetes* to provide a sense of Andalusian class as a whole and the significance

[103] In my own fieldwork in *Jerez de la Frontera*, those who carried the religious floats were volunteers who vied for the privilege of carrying an icon; the work was unpaid.

[104] The same association between itinerancy and disapproval is made by Corbin & Corbin (1987:21): 'Gypsies are seen as the human analogue of wild animals; they are people who wander the countryside, live off wild food, beg, steal'.

attributed to autonomy from labour. In the rest of this chapter I focus on the *señorito* class.

Señoritos

The *señoritos* are the minority at the apex of Andalusian class systems. They own more than enough land to avoid selling their labour and hire *jornaleros* and less often *mayetes* on a seasonal piece-meal basis. The *señoritos* comprise the Andalusian landed gentry. Before I explore the distinguishing features of *señoritismo*, I discuss the meaning of the term and how it relates to elitist constructions.

The word *señorito* comes from *señor*, meaning 'sir' or 'mister'. 'As such it comes to be the nickname of "el Señorito", the largest resident land-owner, the son of a former cacique' (Pitt-Rivers 1971 [orig 1954]: 74-75).[105] It is the diminutive form of señor, meaning 'little sir' as in the English equivalent 'master', for young gentleman. The derogatory connotations to these terms derive from the fact that it is how servants would refer to the children of their masters and can be interchanged with 'employer'. 'Using it carries an implication of subservience. It can mean the most important person in a place, the boss, provided he has the necessary status' (Pitt-Rivers 1971 [orig 1954]: 74). It can also mean 'play boy' with all the ´leisured´ associations that this term carries. '[W]hen used to describe a grown man, it has pejorative connotations, implying laziness and decadence" (Gilmore 1980: 65), but it can also be used with affection or to flatter by suggesting youthfulness (Pitt-Rivers 1971 [orig 1954]: 74). The resentment embodied in the term *señorito* relates to the status attributed to land ownership and manual labour in Andalusia, which is discussed in greater depth below. In my experience, the term *señorito* was only used in reference to the upper class, not in their direct address and 'no one admits to being a *señorito*" (Gilmore 1980: 63).

During my own fieldwork throughout Andalusia, I encountered the term '*señorito*' frequently in reference to the province of Cádiz. It was used by those who did not

[105] A *cacique* is a 'local political boss' or landowner (Pitt-Rivers 1971 [orig 1954]: 224).

consider themselves to be applicable to its usage. When I told a friend from Granada (a male dope-smoking, guitar playing student in his early twenties) that I was going to relocate to *Jerez*, he screwed his face up in disgust and exclaimed "oh no, not the *señoritos* of *Jerez*"! When I asked him to explain, he used the term *pijo*, which translates as 'yuppie', carrying the same upper-class connotations as the term *señorito*. Discussions surrounding *señoritos* or the practice of *señoritismo*, often tie them geographically to *Jerez*. For example, Fuentes (2002) argues that the legacy of *señoritismo* lives on in *Jerez* through its multinational companies, ´society´, landowners, classes, 'its grand farmhouses like shrines' and other trappings of aristocratic bearing in Andalusia.

Land and labour

Land ownership and degree of participation in manual-labour are important factors in the determination of one's class position in Gilmore's model for *Fuenmayor*. In fact, he calls these two factors 'ranking elements' (1980: 52) in the determination of individual social position. According to Gilmore, land ownership is at the heart of class structure. 'Land – la tierra – was always the basis for social status, for the rich earth of the plain has remained the only secure source of wealth in this eternally agrarian society' (Gilmore 1980: 13). In *Fuenmayor*, 'land is wealth, and wealth land, since money is conceived as deriving only from land' (Gilmore 1980: 52). The *señoritos* are seen as privileged not only because they are one of the few who own the majority of land (Gilmore, 1980:105), or because land is synonymous with wealth, but owning land negates the need to labour the land. *Rejoneo* is one such leisured activity. As discussed later in this chapter, although *rejoneadores* are paid, they do not make a living from performing. The wealthier ones earn money from livestock or agriculture whilst others earn money from related activities such as horse training. David Vázquez, for example, was training a number of horses for an Italian circus at the time of fieldwork (see Plate 13, below).



Plate 13: Some *rejoneadores* make money by training other people's horses. Here David Vázquez is training a horse to lay down on command.

Photo: Author

Intrinsic to the way of life presented by the case of *Fuenmayor* is the concept of labour. Labour is defined by *Fuenmayoreños* as that hard work which produces sweat. It is 'a hateful burden to be avoided at all costs' (Gilmore, 1980:55). The ownership of more than 200 *fanegas* (or 100 hectares)[106] of land produces enough profit to enable a landowner to employ permanent staff to work on the land for him. There is no economic need for the *señorito* to partake in any form of hard or trivial labour, thanks to domestic staff. This leaves the *señoritos* free to engage in leisurely activities, 'viewed with longing as the highest goal to which man can aspire' (Gilmore, 1980:56).

I suggest that the importance attributed to autonomy in Gilmore's (1980) model of class and the notion of *vida* in Corbin & Corbin's (1987) model of humanity explains the different class associations made with respect to the *picador* and the *rejoneador*, in terms selling one's labour and being able to buy another's labour. The *rejoneador* employs a team of assistants to support him in his role as the primary figure of the *corrida de rejones*. The *picador*, on the other hand, is a member of the team employed by the *torero*, the primary figure of the *corrida de toros*. Both the *rejoneador* and the *picador* (not to mention their horses and the

[106] One *fanega* = 0.5 of a hectare = 1.4 acres (Gilmore 1980: 19).

bull) perform difficult tasks, but aesthetically, the *rejoneador* aspires to fulfil the difficult task of placing the *banderillas* and so on with ease and minimal effort. The *picador's* work, however, is aesthetically labour intensive to all involved: *picador*, *picador's* horse and the bull. In the following chapter I use similar notions to offer an explanation for the different social-constructions of the *picador's* horse and the *rejoneador's* horse.

Los Rejoneadores

Land ownership and avoidance of manual labour are important features of the *señorito* class, as suggested in the previous chapters' discussion of latifundism. However, there are a number of other distinguishing features noted by Gilmore and Pitt-Rivers that play a role in the social-construction of elitism and the landed gentry. I will now explore the relevance of these features to *rejoneadores*, based on data collected during participant-observation and interviews. *Jerez* has produced a number of influential and successful *rejoneo* dynasties in the families Domecq and Bohórquez. The most famous in this regard was Álvaro Domecq y Díez. He is the patriarch of three generations of horse and bull breeders and *rejoneadores*. His son Álvaro Domecq Romero fought from 1959 to 1985 and his grandsons Antonio and Luis Domecq Domecq are also *rejoneadores*, usually appearing together on the same programme fighting *por colleras*. Their cousin, Fermín Bohórquez Domecq is a successful *rejoneador* and the son of Fermín Bohórquez Escribano, who was also a *rejoneador*. Both families have ties to the icons of *Jerez*: Sherry, Bulls and Horses. Their strongest ties are to the breeding of bulls and horses and the practice of *rejoneo*. Luis and Antonio Domecq Domecq and Fermín Bohórquez Domecq have occupied the upper echelons of the *rejoneo* ladder (the *escalafón*) for many years. These *rejoneadores* come from families commonly viewed as *señoritos*, for reasons discussed in detail below. I carried out formal open-ended interviews with Luis Domecq (LD) and Fermín Bohórquez (FB) and watched these cousins perform at various *corridas*, alongside Antonio Domecq Domecq.

I also carried out semi-formal interviews with Sebastián (Chano) Zambrano (CZ), another *rejoneador* living in *Jerez*. At my time of fieldwork, Sebastián was looking

for an agent to manage his performances. His sister Emilia (Emy) is a retired *rejoneadora*. The *rejoneador* with whom I had most contact during fieldwork was David Vázquez (DV), who was born in Seville Province and was living in Huelva Province on the other side of the Guadalquivir River from *Jerez*. David is a young *rejoneador*, around the same age as me (I was 24 at the time of fieldwork). Unlike the other *rejoneadores* that feature in this chapter, he does not have the advantage of a family background in *rejoneo*. I spent time watching David perform and train and travelled with him, his assistants and his horses to a number of *corridas* throughout Andalusia and further North. I will now discuss the ways in which these *rejoneadores* share the distinguishing features of *señoritismo* identified by Gilmore and Pitt-Rivers. I begin by noting the features which relate most strongly, if not solely, to the Domecq and Bohórquez families to illustrate that these families represent the *señorito* class, before I introduce features of *señoritismo* which other *rejoneadores* do not share, to suggest that *rejoneo* and *señoritismo* do not share as strong a relationship as suggested by the literature. My intention is to explore the relationships between class and *rejoneo* elements. It is not to 'test' *rejoneo* as a class system as there are various ideas of what constitutes the *señorito* class intersected by various ranking categories and criteria (for an overview see, Lipuma & Meltzoff 1989). I begin by discussing the *señorito* features which can be identified amongst the Domecq and Bohórquez *rejoneo* families, but do not apply *per se* to the other *rejoneadores* that feature in this dissertation. Those features that I discuss first are uncommon surnames and exclusive titles, close relations, political and social influence, and land ownership.

Distinguishing features of *señoritismo*

Uncommon Surnames and exclusive titles

The *señoritos* in *Fuenmayor* descend from people in similar positions in the sixteenth century and Gilmore notes that they have uncommon surnames. This distinguishes them from the other classes. That the *señoritos* 'have a name' and have 'ancestry' gives them 'a quality which they alone are said to posses and which other, nonelite people are said to lack entirely' (Gilmore 1980: 58). Likewise, Domecq is an uncommon Spanish surname. Indeed, it has French origins. The Domecq family tree can be traced to Bearn in the lower Pyrenees of

France. In *patois*, the name Domecq means 'sir', a noteworthy coincidence considering that as noted already, *señor* means 'sir'. However, the *señoritos* are referred to by a more exclusive title than sir.

> The title of Don is used, we may say, to express recognition of this difference (difference between a member of the *pueblo* and a member of the educated community). But this difference has nothing to do with blood, it is a question of a degree of refinement acquired through up-bringing and education, which involves him in a different world and makes him a different kind of person.
>
> (Pitt-Rivers 1971 [orig 1954]: 73)

> Formerly, the *señoritos* superior social position was expressed by the use of the honorific title, don ... in both conversation and documentation ... According to the elite, "don" indicates a man of standing and dignity. Perhaps more important, it implies *cultura*; its use shows respect for personal accomplishments. The poor however, offered a different opinion: they view the title "don" as a direct product of money (*dinero*) rather than of personal qualities.
>
> (Gilmore 1980: 66)

Hence, money is sometimes spoken of as '*don din*' (sir money) and there are many sayings which similarly equate money with status, such as '*Don dinero, poderoso caballero*' (sir money is a powerful gentleman/horse-rider), or '*tanto tienes, tanto vales*' (you are worth as much as you own) (Gilmore 1980: 66, 67). Even if the possession of money does not entitle one automatically to be referred to as a Don, the possession of money makes it easier to acquire the refinement, upbringing, education and *cultura* that Pitt-Rives and Gilmore describe. Although Pitt-Rivers states that '[t]he title is also used in all official contexts, in legal documents and on envelopes or on the town hall notice-board, for any adult person' (Pitt-Rivers 1971 [orig 1954]: 73), its usage in unofficial contexts is noteworthy. The patriarch of the *Jerez rejoneador* dynasty, Álvaro Domecq y Díez is known synonymously and widely as Don Álvaro. This reinforces the popular perception of him as a *señorito*.

Close relations

With reference to Don Álvaro's family, Gilmore notes that the *señorito* class is the most cohesive of Andalusian classes. It is based on an endogamous ideology tied to a class consciousness of superiority, separateness, uniqueness, exclusivity, culture and a need to protect themselves from contamination (Gilmore 1980: 75). Accordingly:

> All of them [*señoritos* in *Fuenmayor*] are interrelated through kinship, either consanguineally or by marriage. Consequently, the present generation of rich are almost all first or second cousins, and cousin-marriage is a way of life with them. "Mas primo, mas me arrimo", they explain, quoting a proverb, "the closer the cousin the greater the attraction".
>
> (Gilmore 1980: 74)

Pitt-Rivers (1971 [orig 1954]: 79) describes a similar situation in Alcalá where a 'certain amount of marriage takes place between the farmers' families with the motive of maintaining property, but they show little sign of developing a corporate consciousness'. *Jerez de la Frontera* owes much of its wealth to the sherry trade,[107] and it is responsible for the infusion of English 'blood' through intermarriage between 'sherry families'. One commentator notes 'I don't think such royal intermarriage exists anywhere else, except among royal royalty' (Fifield 1978: 127) and that as a result, 'some Domecqs come to be more Domecq than others' (Fifield 1978: 72). Luis and Antonio's surname Domecq Domecq suggests Domecq ancestry on both their maternal and paternal side. The pattern of interrelation can also be seen amongst *rejoneadores*. As already noted, Luis and Antonio are brothers, their uncle and grandfather were famous *rejoneadores* and so is their cousin, Fermín Bohórquez Domecq.

Political influence

Gilmore explains 'the phrase 'los que mandan' for those who rule' by observing that the *señoritos* monopolise governmental functions, as they did 100 years ago (1980: 60). He describes how council seats are often held by shopkeepers and the more authoritative positions and mayoralty are held by *señoritos* (Gilmore 1980: 121). In this regard, as in being a Don and fathering a *rejoneo* dynasty, Álvaro Domecq y Díez features again. He was the mayor of *Jerez* from 31 January 1952 to 25 of October 1957 and president of the council of Cádiz from 1957-1967, during Franco's dictatorship. Gilmore (1980: 76) notes that the upper class *señoritos* of the 1970s expressed their class consciousness 'in strongly right-wing

[107] There are 13 *bodegas* in *Jerez*, of which all but three are within walking distance of the city centre. In fact, a walk in most directions beyond the main *plazas* requires passing massive warehouses brandishing the names of famous sherries, wines and port. Names such as Bodega Garvey, Sandeman and Williams y Humbert are a reminder of ties with England through investment in the sherry trade.

attitudes and unqualified support for the former Franco regime'. Álvaro Domecq y Díez' participation in governmental functions suggests that he is associated with the *señorito* class, as described by Gilmore.

Gilmore suggests that the *señorito* class is defined by 'three absolute criteria: ancestry (social background); education; and access to political power' (Gilmore 1980: 52). I will deal here with political power, as it relates strongest to the Domecq family. The influence of the *señoritos* in *Jerez* is well illustrated by a conspiracy theory surrounding the novel and subsequent film, *La Bodega*. In February 1905, the famous Valencian author Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (1867-1928) published his novel *La Bodega*.[108] Blasco Ibáñez, a member of the republican party, was well known for his progressive and anticlerical opinions (Jiménez García 1998b). In fact, he served almost two years of hard labour for his political opinions in 1896. *La Bodega* takes its name from the sherry houses known as *bodegas* upon which much *señorito* wealth was, and is, based in *Jerez*. The novel is considered to be the result of two visits to *Jerez* and surrounding areas in 1902 and 1904 (Jiménez García 1998a: 15).[109]

La Bodega is set mostly in Andalusian sherry vineyards owned by the Dupont family (a suspiciously French sounding surname). It recounts how Luis, the cousin of the landowner, treats the working classes badly and violates ´their´ women. The workers react to their repression by rioting, which is repressed by the *guardia civil* who, according to Gilmore (1980:104), are seen as defenders of the upper classes and acting out their orders regardless of provincial laws. Apparently, the novel was received with 'indignation' by 'the family who recognised themselves in the main characters: the Duponts' (Jiménez García 1998b). According to Jiménez García (1998b), stocks of the novel mysteriously vanished from bookstores before they could be made available for sale. The inference is that the indignant family who see themselves in the Duponts is the Domecq family. Whether or not the story is true or false, its creation suggests a suspicious attitude towards *señoritos*.

[108] *La Bodega* was first published in English as *The Fruit of the Vine* (1919).

[109] Blasco Ibáñez´s signature is on one of the sherry barrels at the *bodega* of Gonzáles Byass in *Jerez*.

The novel was produced as a film with the same title in 1930 (directed by Perojo), the year that Primo de Rivera abandoned power, and during Cañero's re-invention of *rejoneo*. Its national screening took place on 28 February 1930 in Seville, although it was not well received by the Andalusian public (Jiménez García 1998b: 15). The film depicts the 'social misery and discontent in Spain at the beginning of the 20th Century when remnants of feudalism still existed' (Culturalia online). *La Bodega* screened in Cádiz capital on the 28th December of the same year and it is commonly held that the *bodega* owners prevented it from screening in *Jerez*.[110] However, Jimenez García (1998a) suggests that this is more a case of cultural amnesia, because the film did screen in *Jerez* on Sunday, 22nd November, 1931 under the republican flag in the Slavic cinema, but it remained on the movie list for only one day. Following a notice in the press, the cinema closed its doors the following day, officially for improvements. It reopened the following Sunday, showing an 'insignificant comedy'. Jiménez García (1998a: 15) suggests that the film was removed more because of its association with the novel, rather than because of the poor quality of the film itself which was criticised for its 'defective synchronization of inserted musical numbers into the melodrama to which the social novel of Blasco Ibáñez had been reduced'. The conspiracy theories surrounding both the book and film versions of *La Bodega* are examples of the political influence of the *señoritos*, or at least of public understandings of this power. This example of political influence relates directly to the Domecq *rejoneo* family and their perceived political influence.

Social influence

In tandem with the political influence of the Domecq family mentioned above, the Domecq name has a persisting social influence throughout *Jerez*. The Domecq name has been involved in the development of *Jerez* through contributions to the sherry industry, bull breeding, horse breeding, *rejoneo* and the inception of the *Real Escuela Andaluza de Arte Ecuestre* where a bust of Álvaro Domecq Romero is located in the gardens. One of the ways of entering *Jerez* is via the Avenida

[110] At least not until the *Jerez Cine Club Popular* organised a special projection in 1994 of a version of *La Bodega* restored by the Filmoteca Española.

Alcalde Álvaro Domecq (Avenue of Mayor Álvaro Domecq) which links the *feria* grounds with the city, and on which some of the most expensive hotels are situated. In particular, the word Domecq is integrated into the experience of being in and around the city of *Jerez*. The name Domecq is scrawled across the city like aristocratically legitimated graffiti. It appears in thick black font against the white walls of large warehouses within the city. These signal Las *Bodegas* Pedro Domecq – the sherry houses which used to belong to the Domecq family.[111] The word 'Domecq' also appears in various locations around the city through the advertising of Pedro Domecq brandies and sherries, especially with regard to the dry La Ina Sherry and Fundador Brandy. As *Jerez* translates literally as sherry, to drink sherry is to consume *Jerez*, and *Jerez* is produced by the Domecq name. Being in *Jerez* involves constant exposure to the word Domecq. Both the name Domecq and the city *Jerez* are associated with *señoritismo*.

Land Ownership

I have already noted the importance of land ownership to constructions of the landed gentry (see Chapter Five) and the *señorito* class (see above). The importance of land ownership relates to a negative perception of labour; land ownership negates the need to labour and to sell one's labour. As it was during *rejoneo's* re-invention, Andalusia is 'characterised by large agrarian clusters - the agro-towns - with populations from 3,000 to 30,000' (Gilmore 1980: 8). Within these agro-towns are patterns of latifundism, where the majority of the land is in the hands of the few and worked by the 'huge agrarian proletariat' of *jornaleros* described earlier in this chapter who represent 'a third of Spaniards engaged in agriculture' (Gilmore 1980: 10). As reported by Fuentes (2002), half of the land in

[111] Dating back to 1730, these are the oldest sherry houses in *Jerez*. The *bodegas* Pedro Domecq remained in the family until 1987 when Ramon Mora-Figueroa became the majority shareholder. DYC Whiskey was incorporated into the group in 1991 and Bodega Terry in 1992 (http://www.elalmanaque.com/turismo/*bodegas*/domeq/historia.htm, accessed 10 April, 2005). In March 1994 the British multinational Allied Lyons, who were also shareholders in the Pedro Domecq Company, merged with the company in its entirety, including the Mexican and Latin subsidiaries. The merger produced Allied Domecq, which still owns the wineries in *Jerez*, together with the Fernando *de* Terry wineries and John Harvey's which are both located in El Puerto de Santa Maria (which forms part of the sherry triangle with *Jerez*). Today, there are Domecqs involved in Allied Domecq as employees (pers. comm. Jancine Davies, Corporate Communications, Allied Domecq, Spain. Email received 09 February, 2005) but the name continues to carry a great amount of authority through its visibility in *Jerez* and historical involvement in the development of *Jerez* as a centre of sherry production.

Andalusia is in the hands of 2% of landowners and lower Andalusia is characterised by the persistence of the latifundios, which he defines as properties of more than 50 hectares (or more than 100 *fanegas*). In particular:

> Western Andalusia, especially the Guadalquivir valley, becomes relevant. The number of family farms is small, and the area has a polarised agrarian structure characterised by big landed property and a large number of landless agricultural labourers, an apparent exception to the predominant pattern in Europe.
> (Djurfeldt 1993: 160)

Situated in Western Andalusia in the lower Guadalquivir, *Jerez* is a bastion of latifundism. Gilmore (1980: 53-54) found that each of the three classes that he identified in *Fuenmayor* could be classified according to the amount of land owned, measured in *fanegas*. Classes are defined as such: those who own below eight *fanegas* (4 hectares) of land are the *jornaleros*, between eight and 200 *fanegas* (4-100 hectares) are the *mayetes* and those with more than 200 *fanegas* (100 hectares) are the *señoritos*.[112]

Both the Domecq and Bohórquez families own *fincas* (large estates), on which they raise bulls and horses and have built grand country estates with private bullrings and exclusive reception venues. The Bohórquez family owns three *fincas* in Cádiz province: *Fuente Rey* (in *Jerez de la Frontera*), *La Fraja* (in Alcalá de los Gazules) and *Casa Blanca* (in *Arcos de la Frontera*).[113] Álvaro Domecq y Díez is the representative of the *Torrestrella*[114] stud, which has two *fincas* in Cádiz; *Los Alburejos* (in *Medina Sidonia*) which comprises 800 hectares (or 1600 *fanegas*) and *Camila* (in *Chiclana de la Frontera*) which comprises 1200 hectares[115] (or 2400 *fanegas*). Each property is more than sufficient to be considered a *latifundio*: Totalling 2000 hectares (the equivalent of 4000 *fanegas*),

---

[112] 'Many of these people are the lineal descendents of the *labradores*, the political oligarchs of the predisentailment periods. Their socioeconomic position today is identical to what it was a century and a half ago' (Gilmore 1980: 53).

[113] The stock brand 'D. Fermín Bohórquez' dates from 1951 from bull breeding lines established in 1940.

[114] *Torrestrella* is part of the Álvaro Domecq group. Álvaro Domecq y Díez bought the stud in 1954 and in 1957 it became part of Torrestrella, a travel agency belonging to the Álvaro *Domecq Group*.

[115] Pers. comm. Reyes Domecq (email received Feb 14, 2005). *Los Alburejos*' is Álvaro Domecq's family country estate.

the *Los Alburejos* and *Camila* are 20 times larger than the minimum amount of land required to define one as a *señorito* according to Gilmore (1980: 53-54) and 40 times larger than the minimum requirements of a latifundia according to Fuentes (2002) (based on Gilmore's (1980: 19) ratio of one *fanega* to each half a hectare). Thus, the Domecq and Bohórquez families' landholdings reaffirm their recognised *señorito* status.

How endemic are *señorito* features amongst *rejoneadores*?

The distinguishing features of class that I have discussed so far relate to the Domecq family and notable *rejoneadores* within the Domecq and Bohórquez families. The pattern of unusual surnames applies to the Domecq family, the Domecq and Bohórquez families are closely related and inter-related, and they also represent inter-related *rejoneo* lineages. The Domecq family has been associated with political and social influence through Álvaro Domecq y Díez' position as mayor of *Jerez,* and president of Cádiz. I have also demonstrated that the Domecq landholdings more than qualify them to the class category of *señorito* according to Gilmore's (1980: 53-54) calculations. The importance of the Domecq and Bohórquez *rejoneadores* within the *rejoneo* world and their associations with the *señorito* class have, I posit, contributed to the image of *rejoneo* as an elitist activity of significance to a very small and privileged social minority. The latter is immediately contradicted by the number of *aficionados* that fill *plaza*s during *corridas de rejoneo*, even if they number less than *aficionados* of the *corridas de toros*.

However, the features that I have identified above do not readily apply to all *rejoneadores*. David Vázquez and Sebastián Zambrano have common surnames, are not referred to as Don, are not closely related and do not own large enough tracts of land to consider them to be members of the landed gentry. I argue that neither do these other *rejoneadores* effect political or social influence to the extent noted by Gilmore in relation to government functions. More generically though, all *rejoneadores* can be seen to have political influence over the president of the bullfight that *toreros* do not. Marvin (1994: 42-43) describes the ways in which the hierarchical power relation between the president and the *rejoneador* is

challenged. These relate to the commencement and duration of acts, which are presided over by the president of the *corrida* (an official appointed to this position and often someone holding local office). Marvin observed that the president typically followed the *rejoneador's* cues to signal the change of *tercio* and that the duration of the espectáculo ecuestre occurred beyond his control. This political influence contributes to the construction of *rejoneo* as an upper-class activity and 'very much underlines the segnorial or lordly quality of the event' (Marvin 1994: 42).

Nicknaming

It is worth noting at this stage in relation to the practices of naming across the *señoritos* that nicknaming is a common practice of the poor (Gilmore 1980: 67; Shubert 1999: 66). As support for a perception of *rejoneadores* as members of the upper class, Marvin (1994: 44) cites the practice of *toreros* commonly appearing with nicknames and never with the title of Don, and the practice of *rejoneadores* who appear with their full names – never their 'nicknames or familiar name' and usually accompanied by the title of Don, depending on their age. However, Álvaro Domecq Romero, Álvaro Domecq y Díez' son, is known as Alvarito ('little Álvaro'). The two are often distinguished in conversation as Álvaro *padre* (Álvaro the father) and Álvaro *hijo* (Álvaro the son), as are the Portuguese *rejoneadores* Jaoa Moura padre y hijo. Álvaro Domecq Romero is only sometimes referred to as Don.

In general, *rejoneadores* are promoted according to their full name and this was the case for Antonio Domecq Romero in formal *rejoneo* promotion, but this is not the rule. Some *rejoneadores* use traditional patterns of informal naming such as Paco Ojeda instead of Francisco Manuel Ojeda González, or Curro Bedoya instead of Francisco Bedoya Hueso (Paco and Curro are the common diminutives of Francisco). Others such as Chano Zambrano, for example, use stage names such as El Chano – a practice usually attributed to footed fighters only. Other female *rejoneadoras* have fought with diminutives as their nicknames, such as Carmen Terceiro as Carmuchi, and Begoña Iglesias as Begoñita (an interesting pattern in terms of gender construction). The male *rejoneador* José García Carranza fought with a nickname unrelated to usual informal naming, El Algabeño

and Pierrette Le Bourdiec was known as '*La Princessa de París*' (Nieto Manjon 2001). The variation in naming practices of *rejoneadores* and the fact that they do not follow *señorito* naming practices suggests that if *rejoneo* is a representation of the upper-class, it is a representation of selective members of that class. I will now consider other features of the *señorito* class that also characterise *rejoneo*, and apply to all the *rejoneadores* that I interviewed. These are appearance, geographical mobility and an inheritance of an appreciation for the horse.

Appearance

Gilmore notes that '[t]he height index is particularly salient in Spain, where shortness is often associated with lowly peasant status; classic images of a towering Don Quixote alongside the squat Sancho Panza illustrate this attitude perfectly' (Gilmore 1996: 57). He describes the bodies of *señoritos* as tall, slim, sleek and generally 'fino'. 'Wealthier citizens tend to be physically taller, probably because of a richer diet of meat and milk; physical stature, especially for a man, is equated to high-class status in Andalusia, as is an "elegant" elongated morphology' (Gilmore 1996: 57). The *señorito* walks with 'a sort of a swagger which suggests unbounded self-confidence' (Gilmore 1980: 72). In terms of grooming, they are clean shaven or have a well trimmed moustache, their hair is clipped and plastered, hands clean and soft, as is skin. They have white and even teeth and drink English Whiskey or Sherry when in bars. Gilmore describes *señorito* dress as high riding boots for winter, expensive shoes in summer, English tweeds to go to Seville, expensive trousers for daily use, a fine cotton lacoste-style shirt if they are young or a 'blousey "Cuban Shirt"' if they are older (Gilmore 1980: 72). He also notes that they always wear sunglasses regardless of the time of day or night or if they are indoors or outdoors. Overall, he says they are immaculate and fastidious (Gilmore 1980: 72).

With the exception of height, the moustache, the high riding boots, and the sunglasses, Gilmore describes the style of men that typified *Jerezanos*. It is of note that the people of *Jerez* were known as *los pijos* because most people there dressed in a *señorito* way. Men styled their hair with brylcreem and ducktails and rarely wore jeans or t-shirts, although this became more relaxed further from the city. In rural *El Rocio*, for example, jeans were worn, together with tweed caps,

but men still wore shirts as opposed to t-shirts, and their grooming is as Gilmore describes in *Fuenmayor* (see 14, below).

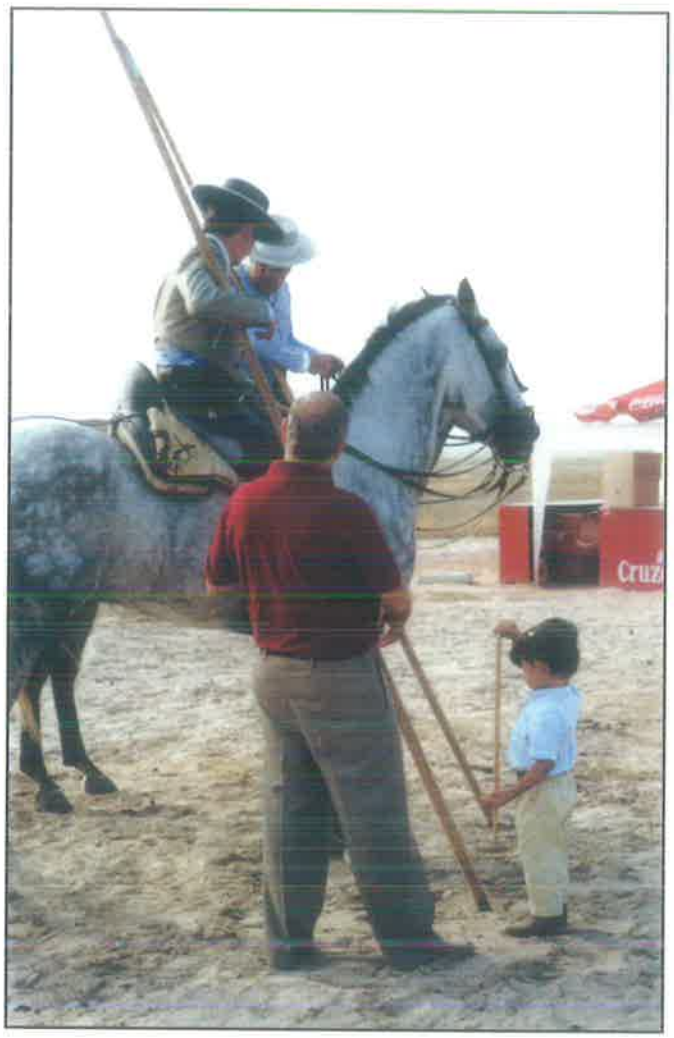


Plate 14: Clothing of men in *El Rocio*.

Photo: Author

Gilmore's description of the *señoritos* of *Fuenmayor* also describes the *rejoneadores* that participated in my fieldwork. They were of slim build, clean shaven and neatly attired (see Plate 15, below). Thus, *rejoneadores* have a similar body-type to the Newmarket racing trainer's body type as noted by Cassidy (2002: 23): 'The ideal trainer is tall, elegant, straight-backed, self-assured and charismatic'. There is also a similarity in clothing, as both trainers and *rejoneadores* wear 'items of high quality but of conservative styles' (Cassidy 2002: 28). *Rejoneadores* are distinguishable from their assistants through their appearance. Their horse handlers and knife handlers (*mozo de espadas*) typically wear jeans, caps and t-shirts and their clothes are soiled from working closely with

the horses and cleaning tasks (see Plate 16, below). The footed assistants to the *rejoneador*, who are trained *toreros*, are cleaner and tidier than the *rejoneador* and may wear similar clothes to him when not in their *trajes de luces*, but they do not walk with the dignified authority of the *rejoneador* and are typically shorter than him (see Plate 17, below).

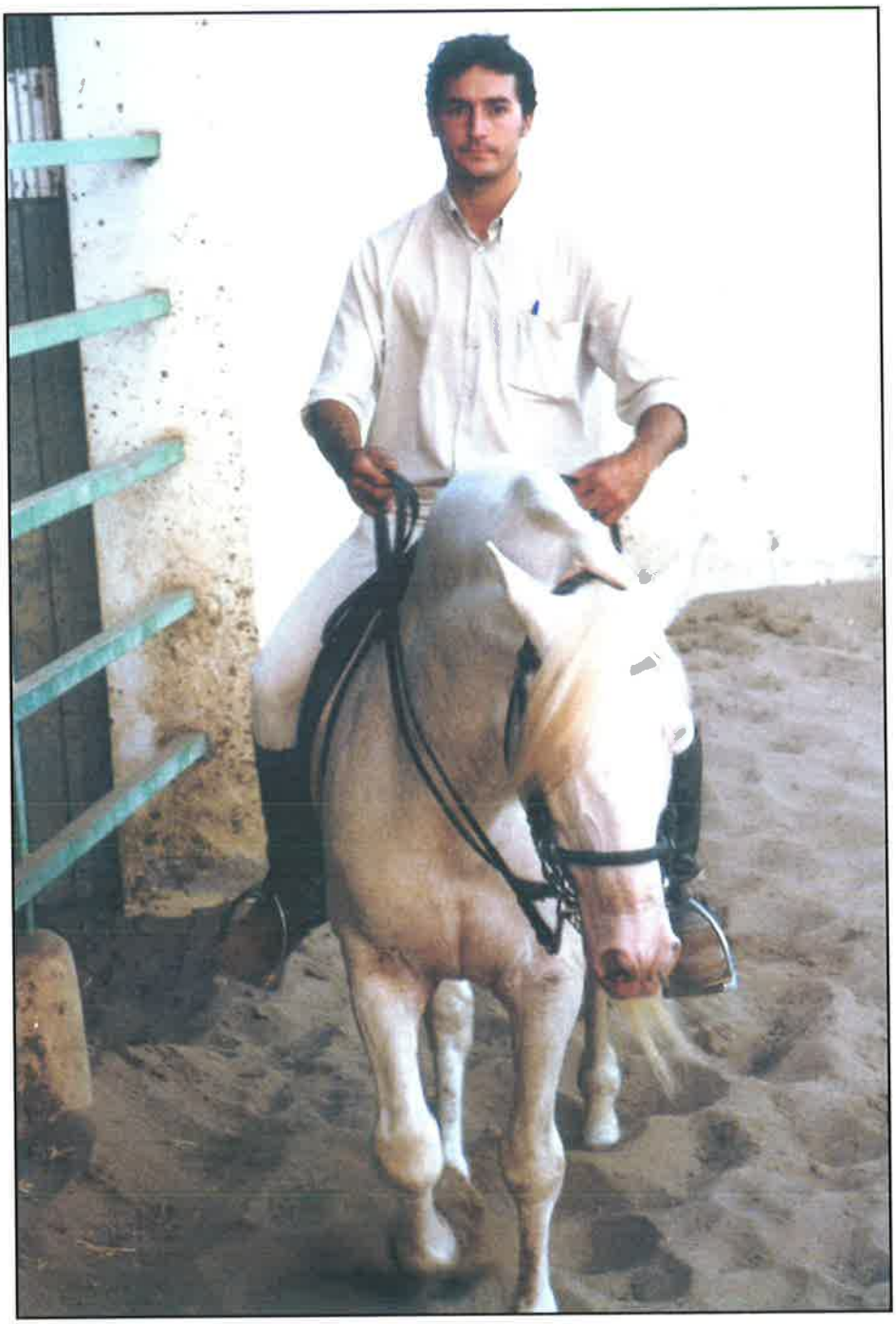


Plate 15: *Rejoneador* David Vázquez in his 'everyday' attire, training in his *picadero*

Photo: Author



Plate 16: The *mozo de espadas* after he has prepared the horses for a *corrida*. Note the leather *mosqueros* (flyveils) and the ribbons decorating the horses' manes.

Photo: Author



Plate 17: The *rejoneador's* assistants wait for the *corrida* to begin, for which they will wear jackets. The horse-truck driver can be seen in the background (the reverse image of this photo showing their buttocks is illustrated in Plate 44 in Chapter Nine).

Photo: Author

As revealed by the opening quotation to this chapter, *rejoneadores* are aware of their appearance, the ways in which they perform with their bodies and the role that their bodies play in transmitting art to the audience. As noted by the same *rejoneador*:

> *Me preocupaba tanto lo que es la figura. El llegar y decir (silbido de aprobación) bueno...Aunque todavía nadie te ve, de a caballo, pero sólo verte tus andares, tu forma de mirar. Si me preocupo bastante... Lo que la barriga no lo puedes intentar bien vestido, sino es una cosa que lo intentaré... Después no hago deporte porque no me da tiempo porque cuando he tenido hasta las 10 de la noche y no me voy a poner a correr. Lo único que puedo hacer es ducharme y descansar. Pero creo que si tuviera tiempo sí lo haría, seguro.*
>
> I paid so much attention to appearance. To get there and have people say (whistling sound of approval). Even when no one can see you yet, but being on horseback, by just looking at your way of moving, the way you look [at the public]. Yes, I worry about that a lot. Dressing well, however, can't hide the tummy, but that's something I'll try. After all, I don't play sport because I haven't got enough time, because I'm not going to start running when I've been out till 10pm. All I can do is to have a shower and rest. But, I believe I would do it if I had the time, for sure.
>
> (DV, *rejoneador*)

Another *rejoneador* that I met was concerned by the weight he had put on during the 'off season'. He had started eating less and riding his bicycle (with greyhounds in tow) in an effort to make his jacket fit as well as it had done last season. In this regard, *rejoneadores* share a similar concern with their weight and diet that, according to Cassidy (2002: 23), characterises jockeys in Newmarket. However, the repercussions of this awareness of body shape is not as extreme amongst *rejoneadores* whose aim is more to not look overweight, than to be as light as possible. The *rejoneador's* sleek but strong body distinguishes him from the podgy, effortful *picador* as described in Chapter One.

As horse-riders, *rejoneadores* are also aware of the ways in which their bodies influence their horse and they share a desire to ride artistically and elegantly. As *rejoneador* Fermín Bohórquez explains:

> *Un jinete ideal para rejonear tiene que tener lo mismo que tienen todos los jinetes para cualquier disciplina. Yo creo que la coordinación perfecta de manos y piernas, las dos ayudas que son las piernas y las manos y sobre todo pues que dé mucha ligereza y que dé mucha tranquilidad al caballo, o sea que el caballo esté siempre pendiente de él... y nunca descontraído y sobre todo que haya sensibilidad y naturalidad en todos los movimientos.*

> An ideal rider for *rejoneo* has to have the same attributes as the riders of any other field. I believe it is the perfect coordination of hands and legs; both hands and legs help and above all they should keep the horse light and calm, so that the horse is always focussed on the rider and never out of control. It is important to show sensitivity and naturalness in all the movements.
>
> (FB, *rejoneador*)

The *rejoneadores* that I saw in person were usually taller than, or amongst the tallest members of, their *cuadra* and other associates. This was, however, less pronounced amongst members of their generation. In any case, a relatively short *rejoneador* would be the exception rather than the rule. Their height could be understood as a form of 'individual habitus' (Wainwright, Williams & Turner 2006).[116] In this regard, they are again comparable with the Newmarket trainer (Cassidy 2002: 27). When *rejoneadores* dismount to kill the bull or to watch it die after a successful *rejon de muerte* from horseback, their height becomes obvious and they walk with a particular 'swagger', due to their boots and chaps, which suggests that they are more comfortable on the backs of horses than on the ground. Thus, the *rejoneador's* habitus (Bourdieu 1977) is produced through and reliant on, the riding-relationship. In other words, on horseback, the *rejoneador* is a "fish in water" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, cited Wainwright, Williams & Turner 2006). The height of *rejoneadores* is exaggerated when they are on horseback. As observed by a number of anthropologists of Spain (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 136; Murphy 1994: 52-53) 'part of the appeal of the horse in Andalusia is that it literally as well as figuratively raises the rider above the mountless pedestrian' (Gilmore 1996: 57). However, riding a horse *per se* is not a dominant factor in constructing a rider as upper-class, as illustrated by the *picador* who is mounted but not seen as a representative of the upper or *señorito* class. The differences in class representation between *picador* and *rejoneador* relate to a number of factors in the riding relationship such as riding style, horse style, the level of 'education' of the horse and, I would further argue, the extent to which a horse and rider share a centaurian relationship (as illustrated in Chapter Eight).

[116] Bourdieu (1990b: 53) defines habitus as emerging from the 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures'. Habitus is particular to individuals as well as groups. It is more than 'simply a state of mind, it is also a bodily state of being' (Wainwright, Williams & Turner 2006: 537). Wainwright, Williams and Turner (2006) suggest three types of interrelated habitus: individual, institutional and choreographic habitus. Individual habitus relates to individual elements of one's body such as a body type, height and predisposition for certain bodily capabilities such as speed, flexibility and so on.

Thus, there is a particular *rejoneador* habitus or 'institutional habitus' (Wainwright, Williams & Turner 2006) that *rejoneadores* embody, which distinguishes them visually and kinaesthetically as *rejoneadores*, and which they continually strive to develop and maintain. It is represented in their body types and the ways in which they kinaesthetically inhabit those bodies. Moreover, the *rejoneador's* body is one that can communicate with and through a horse's body in a particular relation to a bull's body. As noted in Chapter One, any human-horse relationship is based on an element of danger. This is no more manifest than in *rejoneo*. David Vázquez discussed his *rejoneo* related injuries with me:

> *Hay muchas piernas rotas del asta del toro. Que el toro te dá y te parte las piernas. La pierna derecha sobretodo. Yo tengo la pierna derecha hecha añicos. A mi me pasa que yo les doy la rodilla hasta el tobillo y lo tengo hundido todo hundido de llegar a partir el hueso. Hubo un tiempo que me puse hasta espinillera de futbolista. Pero bueno, después yo decía... si me tiene que dar que me dé. No, pero si tengo la pierna derecha la tengo... Nosotros, ahí es donde llevamos todo el riesgo, la pierna derecha. Nos la puede partir, puede partir el tobillo, nos puede pegar una cornada en el muslo nos puede dar una cornada en la pierna como yo tengo.*
>
> *Y después, bueno, el porrazo más fuerte que tuve toreando fue una vez cuando caballo y jinete caímos los dos al callejón. Y ya mejor que tu sabes lo estrecho que es entonces cuando el caballo que a lo alto el no puede mirarse para levantarse y el termina bregando, y bregar y bregar, y me hundió el pecho. Y después al levantarse me pisó el brazo, me pisó la pierna, y aparte de eso él llevaba una cornada fuerte y yo estaba totalmente lleno de sangre. Entonces claro cuando a mi me vieron en el suelo se creían que yo estaba muerto. Yo estaba tranquilo pero no me quería mirar porque yo creía que algún corte tenía. Y ya después llegó la ambulancia y empezaron a quitarme ropa y yo me miro, y digo... no tengo nada... Ropa otra vez para acá. Me puse la ropa y otra vez salí a torear.*

> Many legs are broken by the bull's horn. The bull hits you and your legs get broken, the right leg in particular. My right leg has been shattered to smithereens. What happens is I expose the area between my knee and ankle, which has smashed to the point of breaking the bone. There was a time when I had to wear a footballer's shin pad for protection. But well, I thought if it's going to happen, then it's going to happen. If I've got my right leg, I've got my right leg. The right leg is the area where we face all the risk. We can get a broken ankle or we can be gored in the thigh or leg, as has happened to me.
>
> Then, well, the heaviest fall I've had when bullfighting [toreando] was once when both of us, horse and rider, fell into the *callejón*. You know very well how narrow that is, so when the horse on top of me couldn't see how to get itself up, it ended up struggling and struggling and pressed down on my chest. Then, when it got up it trod on my arm, trod on my leg and apart from that it had been gored badly by the bull and I was totally covered in blood. So naturally, when they saw me on the ground they thought I was dead. I was calm but I didn't want to look at myself because I thought I'd been cut. Then the ambulance arrived and they started

> taking off my clothes, and I looked at myself and I say "there's nothing wrong with me". Another set of clothes came, I put them on and off I went to bullfight [torear] again.
>
> (DV, *rejoneador*)

As a dangerous activity based on the death of a bull and the mortal risk to rider-horse, *symphysis* pervades the human-animal relation in *rejoneo*. Human, horse and bull are engaged in a dangerous activity but act to minimise personal injury – either by avoiding harm or challenging it. The audience's reactions of fear, shock or appreciation arise from a *symphysical ethos* and *kinesthetic empathy*.

Geographically mobile

As noted in Chapter Four, Corbin & Corbin present a cosmological model that defines humanity at the centre of a hierarchy with animality 'below' and the spiritual 'above'. The model is used to explain the dualisms that the authors propose are central to Andalusian 'humanness' (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 17). One of those dualisms surrounds urban-rural space. 'Subhuman space is rural; human space is urban; superhuman space is celestial' (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 20). As a result,

> [p]eople who live in the country risk being subhuman. Country dwellers are thought to be rude and uncultured and to live too close to plants and animals. The countryman cannot be fully human, fully civilised, fully removed from nature'.
>
> (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 20)

The negative construction of the country and nature is argued to arise from perceived lack of control. For example,

> [s]ometimes people enjoy surrendering control, and the country is an appropriate and culturally safe place to do so. Many wealthy townsmen keep a house in the country where they can relax normal restraints, dress more casually, eat more simply, hold more informal parties ... Most townspeople, however, seldom venture into the country without good reason and 'a day in the country' has few pleasurable or recreational overtones.[117]
>
> (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 22)

The practice of owning a country property common amongst 'wealthy townsmen' challenges Corbin & Corbin's presentation of a neat dualism between urban and

[117] Corbin & Corbin (1987: 30, fn 5) note that the country is more readily becoming a pleasurable leisure activity and friends in *Jerez* often took me on trips to the countryside to walk through 'nature'.

rural. Gilmore notes that in addition to a house in the city, *señoritos* also own a *cortijo* in the country, a cluster of farm buildings which they visit during holidays and summer (Gilmore 1980: 68). One *rejoneador* was particularly hard to 'pin down' for an interview as he travelled intensely between his *cortijo*, his home in *Jerez* and a flat in Madrid. Another *rejoneador* lived within the centre of a small town and kept his horses on its outskirts. As noted in Chapter Four, any space outside the direct vicinity of the city is considered to be 'the country'. For example, I was once surprised to be invited on a horse ride through *el campo* only to ride in a sandy arena in a commercial truck lot alongside the main highway entrance to the city centre. Another *rejoneador* lived in an agricultural area on the same allotment as his horses, their stables and their training yards.

The residency of *rejoneadores* that I met during fieldwork suggests a freedom of movement between rural and urban space. As some of those *rejoneadores* do not claim affiliation to the *señorito* class, this does not challenge Gilmore's observations of that class (indeed that is not the purpose of this chapter) but it does challenge the assumption that *rejoneadores* represent the upper-class. It also challenges Corbin & Corbin's presentation of Andalusian construction of the country as sub-human and 'out of human control'. I asked a *rejoneador* to imagine what he would be if he wasn't a *rejoneador*. He answered:

> *Me imagino que hubiese tenido algo relacionado con el campo. Con la agricultura o con la ganadería que me gusta mucho. Le ayudo aquí a mi familia...*
>
> I imagine that I would have done something related to the land; Agriculture or stockbreeding, which I like very much. I help my family here [in the cortijo]...
> (LD, *rejoneador*)

I asked another *rejoneador* if he preferred the country to the city and his reply was "Without a doubt. It doesn't compare" (FB).[118] This *rejoneador's* love of the land suggests a more complicated relationship between the values attributed to rural and urban space in Andalusia. This is especially interesting in light of class constructions, as the relationship between wealthy landowners and land compared with gypsies and land reveals different constructions of rural space. Overall, the

[118] "*Indudablemente. No lo comparo*".

ownership of a country property suggests that *rejoneadores* are geographically mobile and move freely through boundaries between urban and rural. Moreover, I found no evidence that *rejoneadores* were perceived to risk being subhuman. Once again, this is because the construction of a single person as human or sub-human would depend on a range of interrelated factors, rather than geographical residence alone.

Inheritance

Gilmore notes that inheritance is central to *señorito* class affiliation:[119]

> Townsmen state that *señorito* status must be transmitted lineally from generation to generation without acquiring the taint of labor. This means that for a man to possess ancestry, his parents and his grandparents must also have possessed it, since it cannot have been achieved by personal effort involving work.
>
> (Gilmore 1980: 53)

I argue that being a *rejoneador* is a parallel form of inheritance to *señorito* status as described above. I have already noted that the Domecq and Bohórquez *rejoneo* dynasty represents three generations of *rejoneadores* in *Jerez*, interwoven across two family lines and that Chano Zambrano's sister Emilia is a former *rejoneadora*. Cassidy (2002: 31) describes a similar situation in Newmarket in relation to 'a number of interconnected families who could be named by most people involved in the racing industry'. *Rejoneadores* often related their own participation in *rejoneo* to a history of *rejoneo* participation in their genealogical background, with a particular influence from their fathers:

> *Yo nací en lo alto de un caballo. Mi padre era muy aficionado; era terriblemente aficionado y mi madre era hija, nieta de criadores de caballos y de grandes aficionados a los caballos Y sus tíos eran y sus primos y tíos eran criadores de caballos, rejoneadores y también practicaban otras modalidades hípicas. Todo mi entorno ha sido el caballo y el toro bravo... Pues llegué a ser rejoneador entre otras cosas pues mi padre era rejoneador y a mí me ha gustado muchísimo el caballo y el toro y era una cosa que sale desde pequeño.*
>
> I was virtually born on top of a horse. My father was a passionate horse enthusiast and my mother was the daughter and granddaughter of horse breeders and great horse enthusiasts. Her uncles and cousins were horse breeders, *rejoneadores* and they practised other equestrian pursuits as well. My whole environment has been that of the horse and the *toro bravo*. I became a *rejoneador* because, among other

[119] Gilmore also states that the same process applies to wealth.

things my father was a *rejoneador* and I've liked the horse and the bull very much and it was something that began when I was little.

(FB, *rejoneador*)

Mi historia es que mi familia siempre ha estado ligada al mundo del toro y el caballo y entonces desde pequeño por aquí han pasado siempre toreros, rejoneadores y muchos ganaderos mucha gente de toros y al final, pues, sin darme cuenta me di cuenta de que estaba metido en el toreo... no te das cuenta y de repente estás anunciado en muchas corridas y ya tengo el rejoneo como mi profesión.

My story is that my family have always been tied to the world of bulls and horses. Since I was little, many *toreros*, *rejoneadores*, stock breeders and people involved with bulls have passed through this property. In the end, I found myself involved in bullfighting without realizing it... You don't even notice and suddenly you're announced to participate in many bullfights and now *rejoneo* is my profession.

(LD, *rejoneador*)

Yo creo que ha sido mi vocación de siempre. Yo soy rejoneador porque lo traigo de cuna. Mi hermana fue rejoneadora y desde pequeñito es lo que viví, el mundo del toro y del caballo, y de ahí me... pues, me salió la afición de rejonear.

I believe it's always been my vocation. I am a *rejoneador* because I got it from the cradle. My sister was a *rejoneadora* and I have lived the world of the bull and the horse since I was little. It's from there that I got a liking for *rejoneo*.

(CZ, *rejoneador*)

Whilst David Vázquez does not have a family history of participation in *rejoneo*, he does have a family history of horse ownership:

Está ligada un poco desde chico... Mi padre siempre ha sido aficionado al mundo del caballo, pero nunca profesionalmente. Siempre como un gran aficionado todo lo que ha aprendido él ha sido a base de libros, a base de ver muchos videos y yo pues cuido un poquito lo que sería la escuela de él. Yo he ido un poco a intentar perfeccionar con la evolución del tiempo, las técnicas nuevas, los hierros nuevos, monturas nuevas y ahí pues desde chico fui integrándome siempre he sido un gran aficionado y yo creo que es una cosa que hay que llevarla en la sangre, una cosa que hay que vivirla, que sentirla... aparte de mi padre que ha sido un buen aficionado nunca he tenido nadie que me... un profesional que me guiara siempre pues, entre aficionados mi padre me llevaba a algunas corridas cuando chico y me llevaba a ver muchos concursos... Es una cosa que siempre me la he preguntado por qué llegué a dar ese paso. Mucha culpa tuvo mi padre que el decía tu tienes que ser rejoneador porque tienes buenas cualidades, que yo te he visto, que tu puedes llegar... y de repente un día conociendo un amigo del empresario me anunció en un sitio.

It's linked to my childhood... My father has always been involved as an amateur in the horse world, but never as a professional. Always as a great fan, all he has learnt, all he knows is from books and watching many videos and I practice a bit of what would be his school. I have attempted to improve as time goes on, including new techniques, new accessories, new saddles and since I was little I became involved as a fan. I believe this is something you must carry in your blood, something you have to live, and something you have to feel... Apart from my

> father, who has been a good amateur I've never had... a professional who would guide me, I've always been among amateurs; my father used to take me to some *corridas* when I was little and to many competitions ... I've always asked myself why I took that step [to become a *rejoneador*]. Much of it is my father's fault. He said: "You've got to be a *rejoneador* because you have the ability, I've seen you, and you can get there"... He knew a friend of an agent and suddenly one day I was announced as a *rejoneador*.
>
> (DV, *rejoneador*)

Obviously, all *rejoneadores* own horses. Gilmore notes the symbolic significance of horse ownership to the construction of the *señorito* class and the relevance of this to land ownership:

> [O}wnership of riding horses is symptomatic of wealth and social position in *Fuenmayor.* The status symbolism of the horse is based partly upon the traditional association in Spain, as in other countries with a feudal tradition, of "horseman" and "gentleman", both of which are expressed by the same word, *caballero.* Another reason for the symbolic power of horses, however, is the fact that at present there is considerable expense involved in keeping these "luxurious" animals. Naturally such useless outlays of cash add prestige to their owners. For example, one must own a stable and one must hire a groom to care for the animals. One must also have sufficient property to exercise them properly, so here again, the ownership of horses is predicated on the ownership of land.
>
> (Gilmore 1980: 70-72)

Ownership of the horse is, and has historically been, a significant form of cultural capital (as defined by Bourdieu 1986) in the Andalusian context. Moreover, this cultural capital varies according to the types of horses:

> It is said that the horse made man a rider, but the truth is that only a very few of countless others were made in this way, by means of the horse and the ennobling possession of same which was not within the range of just any mortal. The Spanish people were the pawns, commoners, infantrymen, squires for centuries of wars, to such an extent that they rode either asses or mules and if they got any higher than this, then no higher than Sancho on Rucio. This is for the same reason that Don Quixote, the alienated wandering knight to be de-mythified, rode on a nag, on a poor, worthless beast of burden, an animal wearied by its load, the well-loved Rocinante of all Spaniards, less worthy of decorum due to an elevated knightly mount.
>
> (de la Puente 1997: 113)

A trained *caballo torero*, for example, is more prestigious cultural capital than a *caballo de picar.* I asked a breeder of the *Pura Raza Española* horse (Pure Spanish Race, often known outside of Spain as the Andalusian horse) what motivated him to be a horse breeder. His reply was simple: "For luxury". He recognised the indulgent symbolism that the *Pura Raza Española* conveys and he took pleasure in reproducing that luxury. The luxury-factor of horse ownership is

epitomised in *rejoneo*. The *caballo torero*, whilst capable of being described as objectified cultural capital, is simultaneously endowed with embodied cultural capital due to the habitus for which it was selected and which has been cultivated through training (Bourdieu 1986). The training and experience given these horses is painstaking and time consuming. A minimum of four years is a basic guide to train horses to carry out classical *dressage* movements at a high level. More time can be added to this for exposure to bulls and the experience of travelling and performing in a public *plaza*.[120] *Rejoneadores* own and breed horses selectively for *rejoneo*. They require a capable team of horses, including reserves, backed by a continual stream of future equine stars at various levels of training. *Rejoneadores* are obliged to present as many horses as bulls that they are going to fight, plus one as a reserve (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 88.2). In reality, three or four horses will be used in one *corrida* and one or two reserves taken in case of an injury. One *rejoneador* commented that he required 12 to 14 horses in his stables at any one time (FB). Thus, there is no doubt that *rejoneo* is an activity that requires financial investment without much return. In this sense it is associated with the privileged class. However, David Vázquez is an example of the 'new generation' of *rejoneadores* that are emerging under post-Franco economic reform. He has no family background in *rejoneo* but he is participating in an activity typically associated with the elite. As noted in the previous chapter, horse ownership is costly but is becoming accessible to a broader range of aspirants.

In early November, 2005 *rejoneador* Borja Baena announced his retirement from a career spanning two decades. His reason was that he wasn't making enough money to support his participation. Money is something that can prevent participation in *rejoneo* but *rejoneadores* do not participate in *rejoneo* to make money, as suggested by a *rejoneador* who defined wealth not through money, but through participation in *rejoneo*:

[120] One strategy is to use the unexperienced horses as the *caballo de salida* (see Chapter Eight) in numerous *corridas* until it becomes accustomed to the atmosphere of the *plaza*.

Es lo que yo muchas veces digo que yo he nacido rico porque hoy en día en la vida hacer lo que uno le gusta es nacer rico... Mi sueño... yo creo que está completado en la vida, hacer lo que estoy haciendo, soy el tío más dichoso y más querido del mundo... Hacer lo que hago; ese es mi sueño. Ya yo en mi profesión nunca meto el dinero. Porque nosotros somos personas muy bohemias, muy artistas, que en el rejoneo el que diga que se pone rico es mentira; el rejoneo te da para poder comer y para poder tirar para adelante; nada más. ¿Por qué? Porque tiene una serie de gastos grandísima y no es igual como un torero de a pie. Pero es que somos personas muy dichosas porque hacemos lo que nos gusta y somos muy felices. Ya dentro de este mundo pues hay algunos que tienen más habilidad para ganar dinero que otros y pero vamos, que ponerse rico en el rejoneo y comprar fincas como los toreros de a pie, eso es muy difícil... El torero a caballo está mucho menos pagado que el torero a pie. Pero debería ser al revés porque figúrate los gastos que tiene un rejoneador y los gastos que tiene un torero; un rejoneador tiene el doble de gastos que un torero y sin embargo estamos peores pagados que el torero a pie... Un rejoneador que esté de los diez primeros pues viene a ganar según la plaza, la categoría de la plaza; pero por ejemplo un rejoneador de los diez primeros en un Madrid viene a ganar dos millones, tres millones de pesetas y de ahí para abajo... Un torero en la misma plaza puede ganar cinco millones de pesetas, diez, once como José Tomás, como El Juli... Y después no tienen gasto ninguno; terminan la temporada, cuelgan los trajes y dicen: "Hasta el año que viene!" Y tu le tienes que dar de comer a una cuadra de caballos, mantener un personal, mantener durante todo el invierno, camión, transporte, todo.

I often say I was born a rich man, because to do what one likes nowadays is like being born rich... My life dream... has been achieved by doing what I do; I'm the happiest and most loved guy in the world. My dream is to do what I do. I never involve money in my profession because we are bohemian and artist people and whoever says that *rejoneo* will make you rich is telling a lie; *rejoneo* will give you enough to feed yourself and keep on going, nothing else. Why? Because of the enormous amount of expenses related to it, which is not the same for the *torero*. However, we are very privileged and happy people because we do what we like. There are some in this world who have more ability to make money than others but come on, in *rejoneo* to become rich and buy estates like the *toreros* do is very difficult... The bullfighter from horseback is paid much less than the *torero* on foot. But it should be the opposite because the expenses of a *rejoneador* are twice as high as those of a *torero* but we are still paid less than them. What a *rejoneador* in the top ten earns depends on the category of the bullring; in Madrid, for example, a *rejoneador* in the top ten earns two to three million pesetas and from that level down. A *torero* in the same place, can earn five, ten or eleven million as, for example, José Tomás o El Juli do. And they don't have any expenses; when the season is finished they hang up their outfits and say: "See you next year!" And we have to feed our stable of horses, keep our personnel, and maintain the truck and transport expenses through the whole winter, everything.

(CZ, *rejoneador*)

I have already noted the popular perception of the *rejoneador* as a representative of the upper class *señoritos* and the footed *torero* as a representative of the working classes. But there is an irony in the perception of *rejoneadores* being wealthy. Participation in *rejoneo* requires financial and equine capital, but it is a sure way to deplete that capital. Nevertheless, the connotations of class and

expense that surround *rejoneo* relate primarily to horse-ownership and in this sense, the horse and class status in *rejoneo* are intimately intertwined such that the horse comprises class. In terms of the human-animal boundary, this suggests that an animal (the horse) is central to configuring human class-related identity.

Lipuma & Meltzoff argue that:

> [T]he class statuses are the product of the way in which a community objectifies patterns of correspondence between economic, social and cultural capital. Certain forms of economic capital (such as owning a large estate and the ability to buy labor-power) go hand in hand with certain forms of social capital (such as higher education) and cultural capital (like a marked type of house in an upper-class barrio). So, for example, working-class Andalusians classify those who meet these criteria as *señoritos*. From this perspective, an individual act ... represents the composite of the relationship between that person's class identity and his accumulated capital ... as realised within the specific logic of a given field.
>
> (Lipuma & Meltzoff 1989: 323)

Lipuma & Meltzoff therefore suggest that engagement in one inter-related class aspect assumes a broader relation to the other related class aspects. For example, *rejoneadores* all have cultural capital in the horse, social capital in their identity and prestige as *rejoneadores* and the association of *rejoneo* with the privileged classes. The costs involved in horse ownership and being a professional *rejoneador* suggest that *rejoneadores* have access to economic capital, but this may not be realised. *Rejoneadores* participate in an activity which may have traditionally represented the *señoritos*, but not all *rejoneadores* are *señoritos* according to all of the criteria. However, being a *rejoneador* is an *entrée* into a broader class-related system, or at least a performance of it. *Rejoneadores* thus can be seen to access elements of the *señorito* class, without claiming to belong to that class.

In this chapter I have explored the distinguishing features that anthropologists of Spain have identified as characteristic of the upper-most *señorito* class. The purpose of this overview has been to investigate the popular construction of *rejoneo* as an upper-class elitist activity. Using information collected through fieldwork with *rejoneadores*, I have shown that some features of *señorito* identification also facilitate *rejoneador* identification. These are appearance, geographical mobility, inheritance of identity and horse-ownership. These are common features across all of the *rejoneadores* that I interviewed. However, I

found that there were some features of the *señorito* class which only applied to the *rejoneadores* that were already commonly perceived as *señoritos*. The features they shared with the *señorito* class were naming and titling practices, close relations, political and social influence and land ownership. One feature that challenged the perception of all of the *rejoneadores* – *señorito* or not – was nicknaming, something typically attributed to the poorer classes. This suggests that whilst many *rejoneadores* are related to the *señorito* classes, not all *rejoneadores* represent the *señorito* classes. Moreover, the enduring factor that perpetuates the perception of *rejoneadores* as members of the privileged classes is the horse as a means of cultural capital. Therefore, the rider-horse relationship in *rejoneo* characterises the class identity of the *rejoneador* and *rejoneo* broadly.

The question remains about what *rejoneo* is, if not an elitist, upper-class activity? I propose that *rejoneo* is a performance of a particular elitist aesthetic. As I suggested in the previous chapter, it is a human-animal performance of a rural activity with local aesthetics. So, in what ways does *rejoneo* transmit this aesthetic? In the remainder of this chapter, I briefly introduce Handelman's (1998) typology of public events to account for the ambiguous nature of *rejoneo* as a performance of the upper-class, but not necessarily by the upper-class even though performers are essentially performing themselves.

Rejoneo as spectacle & public event

As Hobsbawm's discussion of invented sporting traditions relates to the social history of *rejoneo*, so too does his discussion of performance, pageantry, theatre, public ceremonies and spectacle as 'public symbolic discourse' (1995b: 304). Handelman (1998) suggests that public events are valuable sites of anthropological inquiry as they provide a rich social discourse. He argues that, 'for the ethnographer, public events are privileged points of penetration into other social and cultural universes [because] it is in various public occasions that cultural codes - usually diffused, attenuated, and submerged in the mundane order of things - lie closest to the behavioral surface' (1998: 9).

Handelman's (1998) typology of public events suggests the matrix of ways in which the 'world', 'reality' and 'public events' inter-relate. He describes 'events

that model the lived-in world' (1998: 23), 'events that present the lived-in world' (1998: 41) and 'events that re-present the lived-in world' (1998: 49). In a very basic sense, events that *model* reflect parts of society, events that *present* reflect society as it is. 'Statements, mirror-images, reflections – these are hallmarks of events-that-present. The pivots of such occasions often are the very visibility of symbols throughout' (1998: 41). This is pure reflection, without reflexion or 'interrogation'. Events that *re-present*, on the other hand, offer possibilities for what society could be like:

> If events-that-model make change happen within themselves, that directly effects social realities, and if events-that-present are axiomatic icons of versions of such realities, then events that re-present do work of comparison and contrast in relation to social realities. This kind of event re-presents lived-in worlds by offering propositions and counter-propositions, within itself, about the nature of these realities. Whether through the juxtaposition and conflict of contraries, through the neutralization of accepted distinctions, or through their inversion, the more hidden or controversial implications of the propositional character of the world are exposed.
>
> (Handelman 1998: 49)

This typology is a reminder of the polysemic and multi-textual nature of *rejoneo* as a public event; *rejoneo* can (be seen to) symbolise multiple meanings and tell more than one story about more than itself. Moreover, there is no definitive relationship between reality and the *rejoneo* event, or the 'real' nature of a reality that *rejoneo* could be seen to model, present or re-present. As such, I argue that *rejoneo* fulfils all three typological descriptions in reference to simultaneous, competing and multiple realities.

In as much as *rejoneo* is perceived to represent the tiny minority of elite Andalusian landowners, it is an event that models the 'lived-in-world' (Handelman 1998: 27). An example of this is Don Álvaro Domecq y Díez performing as a known *señorito* and Luis and Antonio Domecq performing as his grandsons. *Rejoneadores* are not 'actors' *per se*; they perform themselves (although they do work to cultivate different aesthetic elements in their performances). In this sense, *rejoneo* is an event that presents the lived-in-world and reflects upon it (Handelman 1998: 41). For example, David Vázquez from a working-class background performs the David Vázquez-horse-bull relationship. However, *rejoneo* also re-presents the lived-in-world and offers possibilities (Handelman 1998: 49). From this perspective, El Chano challenges the nature of *rejoneo* as

elitist when he performs. He performs himself, as a less privileged *rejoneador*, but he simultaneously performs what he wishes to be, the best *rejoneador* (as do all *rejoneadores*). Handelman's typology thus suggests the multiple realities of *rejoneo*. With particular relation to class, these typologies suggest that *rejoneo* is, and is not, an elitist, upper-class activity representative of the *señoritos*. Rather, it is a performance of the upper-class.

It is significant that *rejoneadores* perform themselves, or at least a version of themselves. 'In spectacle, performers present themselves as representatives of a larger group or a larger reality' (Beeman 1993: 379). In *rejoneo*, the *rejoneadores* perform themselves and as shown above, they are perceived as members of a larger group of elites. Hence, they perform a version of reality in this regard, as not all *rejoneadores* are members of the *señorito* class. As noted by Marvin in relation to the clothing of *rejoneadores*:

> The important aspect of the costume is that it is equestrian wear and it is based on that which is worn by the landowner and his senior employees when they work from horseback... All of which suggests that the *rejoneador* should not be a mere public performer got up in a costume, but should be someone who has real links with, or rather a real existence in, the country.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 44)

Once again, this suggests that *rejoneo* is a performance of a version of country reality. The *traje corto* is not always worn by ranch-hands when working in the country. A specialist tailor told me that ranch hands only wear their full *traje corto* if they know someone is coming to see them, suggesting that even though this clothing is related to actual, rural use, it has a performative element. They may wear the hat and chaps but wear jeans and a shirt in place of the jacket and pants. Likewise, *rejoneadores* did not wear the *traje corto* whilst training their horses. Thus, they wore their full *traje corto* only during *corridas* or when riding at *ferias* and during other formal, mounted appearances. The *rejoneadores* that feature in this chapter wear a 'faithful' version of the 'traditional' *traje corto*. In addition, David Vázquez ties a scarf around his waist, for sentimental reasons. However, *rejoneadores* such as Andy Cartagena combine aspects of the *traje corto*, such as the boots and full leather chaps, with elaborately embroidered jackets, vests and hats more reminiscent of horse performances than ranch work. It is a reality that the *traje corto* reflects an 'authentic' country aesthetic, and that *rejoneo* represents

this reality, but the reality behind the costume being worn during more mundane occasions is questionable. Thus, even though *rejoneadores* wear a costume that is not exclusive to the *plaza* (in contrast to the *torero's traje de luces*) their clothing is part of the *rejoneo* performance.

Moreover, even the most traditionally dressed *rejoneadores* dress their horses for the *corrida*s in some way. This can range from an expensive mosquero made from coloured horse hair instead of leather, to pompoms sewn at intervals along the horse's braided mane, to brightly coloured ribbons being threaded through it (as shown in Plate 16, earlier in this chapter). Taking Cassidy's (2002: 26) point mentioned above that through the merging of rider and horse, they each wear what the other is wearing, then the *rejoneador* does present himself in a way based on a country aesthetic but with a context specific embellishment to add to his performance. This emphasises my argument that *rejoneo* is a performance of a version of Andalusian *señoritismo*.

Handelman (1997: 390) treats the public event genre of spectacle with suspicion. He writes, '[g]iven the showy openness of their presence, spectacles must always be suspected of disguise. One should ask what it is that they mask'. MacAloon, on the other hand, suggests that spectacles are revealing:

> Spectacle, at least Olympic spectacle, is full of events that make us notice and heed moral and social boundaries that have become blurred and banal in daily life. Our existence is fraught with illusions.
>
> (MacAloon, J. 1984b: 273)

From these two approaches to spectacle, *rejoneo* could be seen to either obscure the human-animal boundary in broader Andalusian society or to clarify it. Handelman appears to suggest that the 'illusion' is the spectacle, whilst MacAloon sees daily life as the 'illusion'. I prefer to focus on the multiplicity of versions of the human-animal boundary which *rejoneo* articulates as a public event and spectacle. These multiple ways of being, alternative ways of being and matrices of contrasts and similarities do not need to be proven real or illusory, but acknowledged for their performativity. In the following chapters, I discuss the multiple and alternate ways of being animal, human and human-animal hybrid in *rejoneo*.

Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced the human characters of *rejoneo*; the *rejoneadores*. I have outlined the distinguishing features of the *señorito* class that apply to all of the *rejoneadores* that I interviewed, and those that apply only to those *rejoneadores* that are commonly associated with the *señorito* class. The horse as symbol of luxury and expense is an enduring subject in the construction of *rejoneo* as an elitist activity. I have shown that not all *rejoneadores* are affiliated with the *señorito* class but that some of the most influential *rejoneadores* are and have been. In order to explain the ambiguity of *rejoneo* as an 'elitist' activity not necessarily participated in by elites, I introduced Handelman's typology of public events which suggest three types of events. As an activity in which *rejoneadores* take part in an activity attributed to one social class, perform 'themselves' yet simultaneously perform what they wish to be, *rejoneo* blurs the boundary between the real, the unreal and the imagined. In the following chapter, I introduce the reader to the animals that perform alongside and together with the *rejoneadores*. Using Lawrence's (1982) wild-tame continuum, I consider the ways in which the bull and the horse are considered symbolically and suggest that the horse in *rejoneo* transcends this continuum. I also suggest examples of human-horse-bull boundary crossing and intercorporeality.

Chapter Seven

Caballos Toreros and Toros Bravos

> Animals as a whole are laden with meanings for us, though particular animals have particular meanings for particular cultures, some animals also have particular meanings for all of us.
>
> (Doniger 2004: 726-7)

Introduction

In the previous chapter I introduced the humans involved most directly in *rejoneo*: the *rejoneadores*. In this chapter, I introduce the animals that take part in the triadic human-animal relation in *rejoneo*: the horse and the bull. This chapter is framed by Lawrence's (1982) research into a human-animal interaction marked by a similar triad: cowboy-horse-cattle/bull. Lawrence identifies different types of horses along a continuum of wild to tame in American rodeo. In doing so, she relaxes the binary opposition of wild/tame by acknowledging the polysemy of the horse. Drawing from this continuum, I describe the Andalusian construction of the bull as wild and the *rejoneador's* horse (*caballo torero*) as tame. However, where Lawrence identifies a progressive series of horse types along a continuum, I see the continuum in one type of horse. By 'type', I refer to the role of the horse, such as '*picador's* horse', '*rejoneador's* horse', '*dressage* horse' and so forth, regardless of morphological characteristics or bloodlines. In the rear and the action of baring their teeth, I identify 'hyper wild' as well as 'hyper tame' behaviour in the *caballo torero.* I argue that this behaviour illustrates ways in which the *caballo torero* embodies Lawrence's continuum. I suggest that the construction of horses as '*noble*' and '*bravo*' is based on the transgression of wild/tame, whilst in the bull these same constructions are symbolic of the wild.

Having argued that the *caballo torero* is polysemic, I suggest that a more revealing angle of exploration into animal symbolism in the *corrida* is offered through Strathern's (1980) 'matrix of contrasts' and offer examples of the way in which the boundaries between horse and bull are blurred, including naming practices and traditions of horse presentation. Whilst I base this chapter in a discrete focus on animals, for the sake of description, I acknowledge that humans and animals are mutually constitutive. Therefore, in the final sections of this chapter I reintroduce

humans to the triadic human-animal relation underpinning *rejoneo*. I return to the idea of the centaur introduced in Chapter One and identify its construction in *rejoneo*, in relation to *compenetración*. I illustrate my argument that the mutual identification between rider and horse exists beyond their physical connectivity by suggesting that a chemical attack on some *caballos toreros* that occurred in 2001 was an act of violence against the bodies of *rejoneadores*. I conclude that there is a fundamental crossing of the human-animal boundary between human, horse and bull that exists *a priori* to their encounter in the *corrida de rejones*.

The power of three

As noted in Chapters One, Three and Four, this dissertation is based on a triadic human-animal relation, unlike most research in human-animal studies which is based on dyadic human-animal relationships. The triadic relation in *rejoneo* adds dimensions to the human-animal relationship which highlight the ambiguity and intermediacy of the human-animal boundary. In other words, it is inappropriate to explain a triadic relationship through reductive binary oppositions. This complexity is acknowledged by *rejoneadores*. As explained to me:

> *El rejoneo es muy difícil; hay que tener mucha vocación y mucho conocimiento del toro bravo y también mucho conocimiento del caballo. Por eso es tan difícil pues tienes que ir bregando con dos animales a la vez, y además crear el arte.*
>
> *Rejone*o is very difficult; it requires a strong vocation and knowledge about the *toro bravo* as well as the horse. That's why it's so difficult, because you have to struggle with two animals at the same time as well as producing artistry.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

Another *rejoneador* said:

> *Sí, es verdad que hay dos animales que tienes que poner de acuerdo, pero ya te digo que para mí es más fácil porque lo hago mucho más que el torero de a pie. Y por eso tienes que montar los caballos todos los días, conocerlos bien para saber al toro que sale que caballo le viene bien, y cuando le viene bien, y si en ese momento porque los caballos son como las personas, y como los toreros, pasan momentos buenos y malos y saber que está en un momento bueno para triunfar.*
>
> It is true that there are two animals you have to coordinate but as I told you, this is the easier way for me because I do much more practice than *el torero de a pie* [the footed *torero*]. That's why you've got to ride the horses every day and know them well, to be able to choose the right one according to the chosen bull and know when it is the right one, at the right moment, because a horse is like a person, and like the *toreros*, in that it goes through good and bad moments. You must ensure it is in a good moment, to triumph.
>
> (LD, *rejoneador*)

In her ethnography of American rodeo, Lawrence (1982) explores the dynamics of the same triadic relation upon which this dissertation is based: human, horse and bull.[121] However, the aesthetics of rodeo riding and bull-riding differ markedly from the *corrida*. Although rodeo is *an* art, there is a heightened aesthetic sense that *rejoneo is* art. Lawrence concludes that rodeo articulates a taming of wild animals analogous to the conquering of the Western Frontier. Marvin (1994: 105) draws from the same wild-tame dichotomy in his argument that in the *corrida* from foot, 'the *toro bravo* beginning as a wild animal is symbolically transformed and converted into a tame or domestic animal' In this dissertation, I argue that *rejoneo* articulates, amongst other human-animal relations, the ways in which taming animals is simultaneously an 'animaling' of humans. Thus, the taming of animals, although being seen as a one-way process, is actually a process of two-way human-animal boundary crossing. Before I discuss this human-animal co-constitution and *compenetración* in detail, I describe the symbolism of the animals at the heart of this dissertation: bull and the horse.

Symbolism of the bull

Lawrence (1990: 196-197) argues that in rodeo the bull is a symbol of the wild:

> The bull symbolises an actively aggressive enemy – the antithesis of the partner/friend that is part of the equine image. Not believed capable of being tamed or trained to any appreciable degree, the bull's unalterable wildness keeps it close to raw nature, as opposed to culture. In distinction to the horse, man cannot exert control over the bull and bring it into his own sphere, transforming it from wild to tame. The bull, though technically domesticated, remains outside the human real, lacking the delicacy of spirit which would make it susceptible to the influence of culture. The bull does not become "humanised" to a significant degree, and remains a brute, an opponent.

In the Spanish *corrida*, the bull is also commonly interpreted as a symbol of the wild, as noted in Chapter Four. The *toro bravo* is the largest and most aggressive animal in the Iberian Peninsula (Shubert 1999: 36-37). Although it is selectively bred and managed by humans, the bull is constructed as wild, hence human

[121] Other human-horse-bull/cattle interactions include 'the gauchos of South America, the llaneros of Colombia and Venezuela, the charros of Mexico, the cowboys of the Far West [and] the puschta Hungarians' (Llamas Perdigó 1997: 51).

interaction prior to the *corrida* is minimised. It is also generally understood as a masculine symbol. 'The bull is the quintessential wild animal and the quintessential male animal' (Marvin 1994: 134). Therefore, in their ethnographic contexts, both rodeo bulls and *toros bravos* are interpreted anthropologically as wild, masculine symbols.[122] In rodeo the bull's wildness is maintained so that it can perform on multiple occasions. In the *corrida* on the other hand, the bull is transformed through from a wild to a tame (and ultimately dead) animal. The symbolism of the horse is generally considered more ambiguous than that of the bull.

Symbolism of the horse

No matter how domesticated the species *equus caballus* becomes, it is always viewed as a wild animal that has been tamed, but could easily go 'feral'. Horses are notorious for returning to their wild or feral state very quickly upon retraction of human contact and those which 'revert' are often thought to be even more wild than those horses which were never domesticated (Lawrence 1990: 224). As such, the horse is symbolic of both categories of wild and tame, nature and culture (Doniger 2004: 713; Lawrence 1982: 132; 1990).[123] Precisely because horses' natures change according to their level of interaction with humans, their position on the wild-tame/nature-culture continuum is in constant flux; hence the symbol 'horse' stands for everything extreme as well as in between. The horse is commonly understood as a polysemic symbol in a variety of ethnographic contexts (Davies & Marvin 1987: 546). For example:

> In relation to racing society, the racehorse is an ambivalent creature. Not animal, not person, not subject, not entirely artificial and not entirely natural. The obtaining relationship between horses and racing society, in which racehorse are sometimes part of 'nature' to be improved, sometimes part of a 'nature' that includes humans, is comfortable.
>
> (Cassidy 2002: 9)

[122] However, there is some ambiguity surrounding the bull as a male symbol which suggests that the bull is more polysemous, or has more polysemic potential, than popularly attributed. As discussed in Chapter Four, Pitt-Rivers (1984; 1993) interprets the bull as a male symbol which is processed throughout the *corrida* to a female symbol. In addition, Davies & Marvin (1987: 547) acknowledge that the bull's horns construct it 'primarily as a masculine solar animal (horns = sun's rays)', but that the horns also represent 'feminine, lunar elements (horns = new moon)'.

[123] In Chinese cosmology the horse is believed to maintain a balance of the oppositional and complementary energies of yin and yang (McCormick & McCormick 1997: 21).

Lawrence's (1982; 1985; 1990; 1994) ethnographic research into the polysemy of the horse is critical to this dissertation's exploration of the symbolism of the horse and human-horse relationships in *rejoneo:*

> I think that of all animals the horse is uniquely suited to represent and demonstrate through constant recapitulation, the conquest of the wild – the extension of culture into nature. For the horse embodies and is able to demonstrate, the polarities of wild/tame, and within one species it encompasses the varying degrees between them.
>
> (Lawrence 1982: 132)

Lawrence articulates the relation between individual horses and the species by arguing:

> ... that the horse, with its many forms running from wild to tame, serves as a symbolic bridge between nature and culture. Since the species partakes of both realms, an individual horse has within it the potentialities for many of the stages in domestication which the species may exemplify.
>
> (Lawrence 1982: 132-133)

Lawrence provides a framework for understanding the symbolic attributes of the horse by considering the relative positions of different types of horses along a continuum of wild and tame. She illustrates the continuum by describing different types of horses from the different kinds of rodeo events. This ranges from feral mustangs who are close to the wild pole, through broncs to saddle horses, *dressage* horses and trick-trained horses, closest to the tame pole. She focuses on positioning the different types of rodeo horses along the continuum depending on the degree of human control and dominance, whilst acknowledging the potential within each type of horse to be re-positioned at any time, any number of times.

Training is the process through which control and dominance is asserted over horses by humans.[124] In their initial stages of training, horses are taught to bear saddlery and rider and associate the 'aids' provided by a rider with particular requests (Davies & Marvin 1987: 544). In English, this is described as 'breaking a horse'. However, according to Marvin, '[u]nbroken horses are not referred to as *bravo* and are not thought of as wild animals in the sense that bulls are' and adds that untrained horses are simply understood as yet to be controlled (Marvin 1994:

[124] For an analytic discussion of the horse training process see Patton (2003).

133). In other words, Marvin suggests that the horse is a either a symbol of the tame or the potential for the tame. However, Corbin & Corbin (1987: 18) suggest that '[h]orses are first '*desbravado*' (de-wilded) and then '*domado*' (mastered)'.

Caballos toreros perform acts of the highest levels of *dressage* training such as *piaffe* and *passage*, sometimes together with 'tricks' such as putting its hooves along the inner railings of the *plaza* or sitting on its rump as the bull enters the *plaza* or charges it.[125] As I argue below in relation to the horse performing the rear during *rejoneo*, these are examples of hyper-cultural behaviour. At the same time, I argue that the horse performs hyper-natural behaviour such as baring its teeth and pinning its ears back at the bull. Corbin argues that in the context of the *corrida*, the horse is an intermediate symbol between wild nature (represented by the bull) and tame culture (represented by the man):

> The main opposition [in the *corrida*] ... is between man and bull, and in this context the horse actually mediates the other two. It is animal like the bull and domesticated like the man. As a participant in the *corrida* it is an animal instrument of human will used to control an untrained animal. In terms of danger it is also between man and bull. In both forms of the *corrida*, the horse is more likely to be gored than its rider.
>
> (Corbin 1999: 12)

I prefer to describe the role of the *caballo torero* not as a mediator *between* rider and bull which keeps them separate, but as a bridge *across* human and animal boundaries. I use the metaphor of a bridge deliberately as a bridge not only joins two previously irreconcilable elements, but overlaps those elements. Indeed, this overlap is a strengthening feature of the bridge. This is a nuanced difference in approach to Corbin's presentation of the horse as a mediator, but one which acknowledges not only that the horse is part animal and part domesticated, but that the horse and bull are part human and the human part animal. Indeed, the rider is already part animal prior to an interaction with the bull. Moreover, Chapter Eight demonstrates the critical role of technology as a mediator between human-animal relations in *rejoneo*.

[125] 'Purists' do not engage in these 'tricks' and refer to them as *circo* (circus).

As noted above, the bull in the *corrida* has been seen as a masculine symbol: 'It is always emphasised that the *corrida* must involve the meeting of two males; the idea of using cows for the event would be inconceivable' (Marvin 1994: 100). The masculinity of the bull is tied to its biological sex. As Marvin explains:

> The bull in the bullfight is never castrated; it is a symbol of masculinity and virility. Thus, the bull represents a challenge from a 'difficult, dangerous and powerful male.
>
> (Marvin 1986: 126)

The gender of the horse, on the other hand, is less restricted. Some suggestion was made to me prior to fieldwork that *rejoneadores* only rode entires (uncastrated males) and that the rear was then performed to show the horse's testicles to the bull (in addition to its underbelly). However, this was not the case. I saw a mixture of entires, geldings (*jacas*) and mares being used by *rejoneadores*.

When I asked a *rejoneador* about the sex of horses selected, trained and used in *rejoneo*, he replied that the skill of the horse was of much more importance. He did state that mares were less desired because they urinated more frequently than male horses, which detracted from the spectacle (DV).[126] However, he was particularly proud of and most affectionate with the only mare in his *cuadra* (team, literally a 'stable'). Another *rejoneador* explained:

> *Nosotros podemos tener más caballos porque, no es porque sean mejores sino es porque como probamos más machos, pues lo normal es que haya más machos; pero yo ahora por ejemplo tengo una yegua que estoy empezando a torear con ella.*
>
> We may have a larger amount of males not because they are better, but because we trial more males, then it is normal that there are more males [selected]; but, as an example, I have a mare right now and I'm beginning to bullfight with her.
>
> (LD, *rejoneador*)

Two of the most famous *caballos toreros* in *rejoneo* are mares. One already mentioned is *Tordilla*, ridden by Antonio Cañero during the revival of *rejoneo* in the 1920s and the other is *Espléndida*, ridden by Álvaro Domecq y Díez (Abarquero

[126] I could not substantiate this claim through discussions with veterinarians in South Australia. There seems to be no significant sex differences with regard to urination by horses. One reason for preferring mares, though, could relate to the ability of mares to urinate whilst galloping when geldings need to stop.

Durango 1984: 99-100). *Espléndida* is known not only for her skill as a *caballo torero*, or for Domecq y Díez' great affection for her, but for an occasion in Palma de Mallorca when she is said to have put herself between her fallen rider and the bull to protect him (Lopez Izquierdo 1994: 48; Nieto Manjon 2001: 127). Thus, using either a male or female horse in *rejoneo* does not affect the aesthetics of the fight in the way that fighting a cow would be antithetic and antiaesthetic. This reinforces the dominant view of the horse as polysemic and a fluid symbol. I propose that its fluidity 'rubs off' on those who are intimately associated with it, such as *rejoneadores*. In other words, not only are the horse's own symbolic boundaries undefined, but it 'undoes' the boundaries of others. In contrast to interpretations of the horse as an intermediate symbol, this view acknowledges the mutuality of humans and horses.

I suggest that mares are less individuated than male horses. Their sex is a more dominantly recognised than their name, for example. Even when there is more than one mare present, she will be referred to as *la yegua* (the mare). Mares were singled out by simply pointing to the one that was indicated. One afternoon I was noting the names of all of the horses in a *rejoneador's* stables. The head stable hand was also the *mozo de espada*s (sword handler) at *corridas*. He cared for the horses at home and on the road. He knew the names of more than twelve male horses, some of whom were only there for a brief period of training. When it came to the mare, he couldn't recall her name because "we call her the mare". If a mare is unsettled, she is likely to disciplined/soothed with the call "*yeeegua*", and a male horse or a mixed group with "*hooola*". Even though neither call individuates the horse by name, only the call to the mare is gender specific.

The mare's name was not forgotten because she was incidental to the stables or to the 'team' of horses; on the contrary, she was the super-star of the *cuadra*. Naming of animals is argued to individuate them, to recognise their 'personal' character and to bring them closer to the realm of culture than nature (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 204-208). Females are often argued to be seen as closer to nature than males (Birke 1991: 445; Ortner 1974). These two factors combined suggest why the yegua was known only as la yegua. As a female of her species, the mare was positioned further from the culture end of the nature/culture, wild/tame.

Mercedes González Cort describes the same situation when she was head rider in the *Real Escuela Andaluza de Arte Ecuestre* but was always called 'the girl' (Vavra 1981: 100).

This can be accounted for by Ortner's (1974) argument for a universal construction of female humans as closer to nature than male humans, or at least, 'seen as achieving less transcendence of nature than man' (Ortner 1974: 84). Applying this to horses, one can argue that as the horse embodies wild and tame generically, female horses are placed closer to the wild end of that spectrum than male horses. Following Levi-Strauss, Marvin (1994: 97) notes that the act of naming 'implies incorporation into the human, cultural world'. It follows that the naming of horses domesticates them, and the tendency to refer to mares by their gender rather than their name suggests that they are considered less domestic(atable) than male horses. Located 'in between' mares and entires on the wild to tame, nature to culture continuum are the geldings, or *jacas*.

Most workhorses (*jacas*) are gelded because working is their sole function, and reproduction is not. 'Castration is the removal of sexual potency and potential, and results in an animal which is *manso* (meek, tame). Such an animal is passive; it has lost its will and is easily controlled' (Marvin 1994: 132). Because of this, one author suggests that the *jaca* is seen as the most suitable mount for a woman (Loch 1986 148), although my fieldwork does not support this attitude. However, the castration of the *jaca* does not make it any less useful. 'The de-sexing of animals is thought to make them bigger, stronger and more docile than they would be naturally' (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 18). The biological reductionist approach can be seen in the Andalusian construction of castration resulting in a lack of aggression, as critiqued in Chapter Nine.

Jacas, mares and entires are all used in *rejoneo*. This suggests that the gender of the horse is variable, whilst the gender of the bull is absolutely non-negotiable. The horses thus appear on equal terms in *rejoneo*. This is interesting considering the more universal aspect of modern horse sports where male and female riders compete on equal terms, the equivocator being the horse. '[H]orses, oblivious to sexist stereotypes simply go best for whomever trains and rides them best ...

Today men and women compete on an equal basis in all horse disciplines' (Wipper 2000: 49).[127] Whilst there are more male *rejoneadores* than female *rejoneadoras*, tauromachy has been more receptive to female bullfighters from horseback than female bullfighters from foot. I argue that the riding relationship is a major contributor to the increased acceptance of *rejoneadoras* than *toreras*. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine.

There is another aspect in which the horse is understood as a more polysemic animal in *rejoneo* than the bull and this is according to breeding, 'blood' and 'race'. The bull used in the *corrida* must be the *toro bravo*. Indeed, the breed is believed to be distinct from others through its selective breeding for the *corrida*. As I describe in the next chapter in more detail, the bull is considered to exhibit different characteristics in each *tercio*, and a different horse is used to complement it. Because of this, a *rejoneador* rides a minimum of three horses in each *corrida*. A fourth horse may be ridden in the *paseíllo*, whilst occasionally a *rejoneador* will use the same horse for two *tercios*. There is not one fixed breed, height or colour of horse that must be used in each *tercio*; handsome is as handsome does. However, there are overall qualities which a *rejoneador* looks for to select a horse to train for *rejoneo* such *as corazón* (heart), aggression, expression, beauty, movement, and so forth:

> *Que caballo perfecto para torear no. Lo que tiene es unos ideales... lo primero que el caballo tenga corazón y no tenga miedo. Lo segundo que tenga fuerza y mucha elasticidad en los movimientos, porque hoy en día se están pisando unos terrenos muy importantes y hay que tener caballos que tengan mucha elasticidad, mucha goma; para que cuando lo metes tú en este terreno que el caballo que salga con elasticidad y con cadencia. Y lo tercero es que tenga mucha fuerza el caballo, porque también a pesar de tener elasticidad y esta plasticidad que hace falta también, tiene que tener fuerza para que en un momento dado, el caballo cuando si el toro se le viene un poco más fuerte o menos fuerte, el caballo tenga siempre ese poder, esta potencia para quitarse también de la carga del toro. Esas son las tres reglas que creo yo que hacen falta para tener un caballo no perfecto, pero sí para poder hacer rejoneo.*
>
> There isn't any perfect horse for bullfighting. What it's got, is some ideal features... first of all is that it has heart and a lack of fear; second is strength and great elasticity in its movements, because nowadays *rejoneo* is covering important ground and you have to have horses with great elasticity, akin to rubber; so that

[127] There are some minor exceptions here worth mentioning such as gender specific rodeo events (Lawrence 1982: 37, 201-206) and some sub-events or classes within disciplines such as 'gentleman's hack' or 'ladies hack' classes in saddle-horse events.

> when you put the horse in a risky position, you want it to come out showing elasticity and cadence [in its movement]. Third, it must be very strong, because in addition to the eleasticity and plasticity that the horse needs, it needs to be strong enough so that at any given moment, if the bull comes up to the horse with more or less strength, it always has the capacity to evade the bull's charge. Those are the three rules I believe to be necessary not to get a perfect horse, but one that is capable for *rejoneo*.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

These qualities are defined through a general sense of what kinds of horses people will come to watch and also by the qualities desired by the individual *rejoneador*, according to his preferences and 'style' of riding, such as *valiente* or *artista*:

> *Eso se ve como por ejemplo vamos dando un paseo por la calle, y ves una persona andando por la calle y tu dices: "Esa persona es artista" ¿Por qué? Porque tiene un algo, tiene un algo que desprende y que transmite; pues el caballo es lo mismo. Por ejemplo tuve un caballo que andaba retozando, retozando fuerte en el campo. Tú ves que tiene algo, que transmite, te dice algo y te transmite pues ese caballo es artista. Ese caballo después se doma, se perfecciona los movimientos y se cultiva y se llega a ser un gran caballo. Dentro de ese gran caballo va esa cosa, esa luz que lo ves que es artista que transmite, que de por si sólo ya transmite. Pues ese es el caballo que a mí me gusta. Es artista.*
>
> Imagine for example when you are walking along the street and see a person and think: "That person is an artist" Why? Because that person has something, something that radiates and transmits; it's the same with the horse. For example, I had a horse that went about frolicking, happily playing in the field. You can see that such a horse has something, something that transmits; it says something and transmits to you because that horse is an artist. That horse is then trained, its movements enriched, it is nurtured and becomes a great horse. There is something that lights up within that great horse that allows you to see that it is an artist that transmits, that already transmits. That's the horse I like. It's an artist.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

The horses are assessed according to their natural talents and aptitudes for certain movements and some of these are indeed associated with particular breeds of horses. Domecq y Díez (1999: 237) advocates the selection of *caballos toreros* 'that are offspring of bullfighting stallions and of mares that were mothers of bullfighting stallions'. He uses the four offspring of the legendary *Opus* as an example. As the bullfighting stallions are not generally killed in the *corrida*, they can be used for breeding purposes (unlike the bulls). One *rejoneador* told me that he prefers to select bullfighting horses not only from dams (mothers of horses) that

have produced other great bullfighting horses, but from dams that have been proven bullfighting horses:

> *Se va buscando la selección dentro de yeguas muy buenas que han toreado, echándole sementales que han toreado que tienen una serie de factores muy buenos para el rejoneo.*
>
> You have to look for a selection among very good mares that have fought bulls [*toreado*], mating them with stallions that have fought bullfs and posess a number of good factors for *rejoneo*.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

Because of this, both maternal and paternal lines of influence are seen as important to the 'creation' of a suitable bullfighting horse. Because bulls are killed in the *corrida* (with the exception of the *indulto*, as described in Chapter One), their lineage is traced through cows. The 'success' of cows for producing bulls suitable for the *plaza* is judged by the performance of their sons.

The Portuguese Lusitano horse is highly regarded for *rejoneo* due to its uninterrupted purpose breeding for the bullring; Portugal continued to fight bulls from horseback throughout *rejoneo's* two century absence in Spain (see Appendix Four). The Veiga and Andrade bloodlines are particularly well sought-after. Cross bred horses are popular choices for *rejoneo* mounts, mixing Spanish (PRE), Arabian, Peruvian, Portuguese, English, Mexican, Aztec and Columbian bloodlines, to name a few. A popular cross is the *tres sangres* (three bloods) (Jiménez Benítez 1994: 102), also referred to as the *hispanoangloárabe* combining Spanish, Arabian and English blood. The resulting horse is thought to inherit nobility from its Spanish sire (defined below), speed from the English blood in the mare and the endurance and agility of her Arabian lineage.

This most commonly results from the crossing of a *Pura Raza Española* stallion to an Anglo-Arabian mare, thus maintaining 'purity' in the male line and 50% indigenous blood. At the same time that *rejoneadores* are mixing Spanish and Arabian bloodlines, the breeders of the Spanish horse are determinedly removing all trace of Arabian influence from their stock, such as the concave profile and ears that point inwards. In terms of the mixing of English and Spanish blood there is parallel with the *señorito* class where, as noted in Chapter Five, the height of *señoritos* is attributed to an infusion of English blood. The *Pura Raza Española* is

distinguished from the English thoroughbred as a *pura raza* (pure race), opposed to *pura sangre* (pure blood). However, both breeds are popularly held to originate in the crossing of breeds, thus challenging the notion of 'purity' in any case. Likewise, the people of Andalusia have various origins due to the historical melting-pot of cultures that settled in Iberia and passed through it between Africa and higher France. Thus, 'pure' bloodlines are only thus in relative terms. However, that the preferred stallion is Spanish suggests a privileging of 'indigenous' bloodlines. In any case, the horses used in *rejoneo* are of unspecified, unrestricted breeding. In relation to the symbolism of the bull as one specified breed, this suggests that the horse is 'racially' polysemous. Thus, the *caballo torero* is an ambiguous, polysemic symbol with a blurry 'essence', which contributes to a broader argument in this dissertation about the human-horse relation being particularly suited to notions of boundary blurring.

To summarise, Lawrence's (1982) wild-tame continuum - which was developed around the horses of rodeo acts - can be applied to the horse and bull of the *corrida de rejones*. Using this continuum, the bull can be seen as symbolic of the wild and masculinity, in accordance with the dominant *corrida* interpretations outlined in Chapter Four. The horse is universally and individually perceived as a polysemic symbol situated between wild and tame and always symbolic of the potential of transformation to another state on the continuum. That a change from tame to wild is usually termed 'reverting' does however, suggest a strong pull from the wild end of the continuum, although Marvin suggests that in Andalusia, even untamed horses are not seen as wild. Once again I refer to Strathern's approach of focusing not on the tensions between a dichotomy of wild-tame, but in exploring the 'matrix of contrasts' between socially constructed dichotomies. In fact, due to the horse's polysemous nature, it would be inappropriate to consider the horse's symbolism in any other way than through a co-existing multiplicity of meanings. In the following section, I do just this. Having applied Lawrence's continuum of wild-tame to the horse in *rejoneo*, I reconfigure the notion of this continuum by suggesting that the *caballo torero* cannot be positioned on the continuum, because it embodies the continuum. I use an example of what I term hyper-tame behaviour alongside an example of hyper-wild behaviour to illustrate my point.

Transcendence: The rear & ear-pinning

As an example of the hyper-tame behaviour of the horse in *rejoneo*, I have chosen to explore the rear. Rearing is of course, part of a horse's 'natural' repertoire of behaviour. Most riders live in fear of it and do their damnedest not to provoke it,[128] but many equestrian trainers and performers practice the rear as a part of the horse's advanced training. The rear is performed in *rejoneo* and in structured horse performances. In the presence of a bull, the horse is often encouraged to rear as this shows its underbelly to the bull, something that is said to entice its charge. It was always received with encouragement and applause from the audience. The rear is visually powerful; the horse doubles its stature and presence (see Plate 18, below). It communicates danger and difficulty to the public. There is a possibility that the horse may fall sideways or backwards. The strain of carrying its weight on its hind legs causes the horse to quiver and its veins to show, often accompanied by rolling eyes and an open mouth (avoided by 'artists' as this facial posturing is interpreted as tension and resistance in the horse). What may be most significant about the rear is the anthropomorphising quality of the horse being bi-pedal.



Plate 18: Andy Cartagena and his horse perform the rear to entice the bull to charge.

Source: http://www1.laverdad.es/interactivo/imagenes_galerias/feriataurina04/imagenes/190904-1.jpg (accessed 28 February 2007)

[128] Ironically, the riders' fear of the rear often provokes it by grabbing hold of the reins and redirecting the horse's forwards urge into an upwards outburst of energy.

As noted by Doniger (2004: 715): 'That our feet are indeed the sign of our human condition is confirmed by our basic way (derived from Aristotle) of classifying the animal orders: bipeds, quadrupeds, and six-legged insects'. Doniger (2004: 716) suggest that being 'on foot' is intrinsic to the barrier between human and animal and uses the example of Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1946) where the pigs become indistinguishable from humans. 'To walk upright is the final betrayal, the final denial of the real barrier; the final lie'. I argue that the rear is an example of hyper-tame behaviour in the *caballo torero*. It is one of a number of such behaviours which include making the horse sit on its rump, lie down, or bow. That these are performed in the presence of the bull suggests not only a taming of the horse's body but also its instincts. However, this taming can be simultaneously interpreted as a hyper-exaggeration of the horse's natural capabilities.

At the same time as performing these hyper-cultural acts, I argue that the horse is praised for performing hyper-natural acts such as pinning its ears back at the bull or biting it. The horse is a herbivore. The survival of its species is based on the cover afforded by living in large groups and the flight response. It takes a great deal of horsepersonship (horse-person-ship), or brute force, to turn a horse away from a threat and ask it to relinquish its natural flight instincts by riding towards the threat, as occurs in *rejoneo*. Basically, this goes against its 'natural instincts'. The horse is 'not usually aggressive to other species', although it is to its own species (Hyland 1994: xi). Horses assert their place in the social hierarchy through body language ranging from threateningly lifting a hind leg or pinning their ears flat to actually kicking, striking or biting. Thus, a horse which pins its ears communicates anger, aggression and dominance (Morris 2000: 18).

When I asked a *rejoneador* how he knows that a horse will be suitable for *rejoneo* he lunged aggressively at one of his own horses. It turned its head and neck challengingly towards him and pinned its ears back in retaliation. He ceased his charge and said "that's how I know" (DV).[129]

[129] Such an 'assertive' horse in any other context outside of the *corrida* would be severely and negatively judged, especially in the Pura Raza Española, the national breed. In fact, part of the official breed description of a *Pura Raza Española* is that it neither bites nor kicks and I have been told of breeders euthanasing horses for showing aggression towards humans.

Other *rejoneadores* described similar situations:

> *Hay caballos que se expresan cada uno de una manera; unos son más toreros que otros y les gusta hacer eso y otros no les gusta. Al que no le gusta pues se tiene retirar, vamos, quitarlo de torear y al que le gusta pues sigue para adelante y se pone a torear. A ese caballo pues le afecta bien porque hay caballos que son toreros de por sí, les gusta torear, les gusta lo que hacen y se sienten artistas, se sienten toreros; se crece y le gusta y le tira las orejas atrás porque lo quieren morder al toro. Les gusta. Esto al caballo le afecta bien. Este tipo de caballos; hay caballos que no van al toro ni muertos.*
>
> There are horses that express themselves individually in different ways; some are better *toreros* than others and enjoy doing it, but others don't. The one that doesn't like it has to be retired, well, taken out of bullfighting and those that like it continue to be used. That horse is really suited to *rejoneo* because there are horses that are *toreros* by themselves, they like to bullfight, they like what they do and they feel like artists, like *toreros;* they grow in confidence and they like it and they pin their ears back because they want to bite the bull. They like it. This suits this type of horse well; there are horses that wouldn't face the bull if they were dead.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

> *Es que este caballo es muy miedoso; muerde para atacar, no para otra cosa. El ve que el toro le quiere atacar a él, pues, él quiere atacar al toro... Muy pocos, pero esos son los buenos.*
>
> It's that the horse is very fearful [when it bites the bull]; it bites to attack and for no other reason. The horse sees that the bull wants to attack it, so it wants to attack the bull. Very few [horses have this attitude], but those are the good ones.
>
> (LD, *rejoneador*)

Such horses were often described to me as *guiñoso*, from the verb *guiñar*, which means 'to wink', suggesting that the idea of ear-pinning in *rejoneo* horses is about a more overall facial expression (see Plate 19, below and Plate 47 in Chapter 10). This quality is highly favoured in *caballos toreros* for its transmission of emotion to the crowd and is thought to show that the horse is willingly engaged in its confrontation with the bull (Jiménez Benítez 1994: 102). In terms of body language, Morris notes that from the front, a horse with its ears pinned appears earless. He (2000: 18) argues that a contributing reason behind humans being able to control horses relates to the fact that humans must appear to horses to always have their ears pinned and therefore be in a dominant postural position.



Plate 19: Horse pinning its ears back at the bull. Note the common expression of aggresion on the faces of both *rejoneador* and *caballo torero.* See also Figure 10 in Chapter 10.

Source: **www.exoticoetalonpre.com/photos.htm (accessed 28 February 2007)**

The *caballo torero* is not praised for showing aggression in the form of biting or kicking towards humans (except in the context described above of 'testing' the suitability of a horse for *rejoneo*). Neither is the *caballo torero* encouraged to kick out at a bull. In the developmental stages of her famous career in the late 1930s to 1940s, Conchita Cintron had a horse that would suddenly stop and kick out at bulls. On one occasion it killed a cow during training, hence its name *Matavacas* (cow killer). A great amount of training (ie. 'taming') went to curing the horse of the habit, after which Cintron (1968: 150-151) believes it became a 'prodigious horse'. I am unaware of any movements performed in the *corrida de rejones* which involve the horse kicking. This could relate to a kind of bio-aesthetic and bio-semantic. Kicking is a particular representation of aggression because, as opposed to striking with the fore-legs, kicking with the hind legs is understood more as defensive behaviour rather than challenging behaviour (Morris 2000: 38). In relation to the aesthetics of the *corrida*, the horse should face the bull *cara a cara*.

As with the *corrida* from foot, the back is only turned to the bull at the end of a series of passes. These aesthetic considerations are expanded in Chapter Nine.

I propose that the fact alone that *caballos toreros* run towards bulls during *rejoneo* suggests a cultivation of hyper-natural behaviour that would typically only be seen between horses. The ear-pinning quality particular to the *caballo torero* strengthens this argument. I acknowledge that the rear could be interpreted as a tame behaviour and that ear-pinning could be interpreted as wild behaviour, but this only strengthens the idea of the horse as polysemic and transcendent of symbolic analyses. This discussion of rearing and ear-pinning demonstrates the extremes of wild and tame behaviour required of the *caballo torero* as well as their complexity, as some behaviour such as ear-pinning is only acceptable towards the bull.[130]

Nobleza

I argue that the horse's ability to transgress, transcend and embody the full spectrum from extreme wild to tame in *rejoneo* can be summarised through one characteristic: *nobleza* (nobility). Horses in Andalusia are regularly referred to as 'noble'. The horse is, after all, supposed to be 'man's *noblest* conquest' (Lawrence 1985: 160). There is an inherent contradiction posed by the construction of horses as noble; that it can be trained and dominated without losing a seeming sense of pride:

> It is the combination of its proud bearing with its slavish service to man that makes it so irresistible. If it were useful but ungainly, like a pig, or a cow, we would be grateful for its services but would not, perhaps, compose poems to it or wax lyrical about its great spirit. No, the secret of equine appeal is that it slaves for us while still looking noble. It is our humble servant even though it has the demeanour of an animal aristocrat. The mixture is magical. If such a dignified beast is subordinate to our will, then we must indeed be masters of the world.
>
> (Morris 2000: 7)

Morris (2000: 7) discusses the perceived 'nobility' of the horse universally. Lawrence identifies it particularly, in relation to the social construction of the white mustang of the prairies (1985: 60) and the mounted police horse in the Eastern

[130] Biting also arises as a topic in relation to rodeo, within the human-animal relationship. Lawrence (1982: 34) describes a black cowboy called Bill Picket who, inspired by bulldogs who would bite the lips of bulls to subdue them, started biting bulls himself.

United States (Lawrence 1985: 124). Her research concurs with a universal construction of nobility towards horses. '[T]he one characteristic most closely associated with horses is nobility ...The "noble-horse" is an archetypal concept, and the equine animal often has the capacity to confer that quality upon its human associates' (Lawrence 1994: 66; see also Skipper 1999: 255). Lawrence's proposal that the horse confers nobility to its human associates ties the social construction of *rejoneo* as an upper-class activity and *rejoneadores* as country *nobles* to the role that horses play in the construction of the upper-class in Andalusia, as detailed in Chapter Six.

The anthropomorphisation of the horse as noble exists just as legitimately, if not rampantly, in Spanish culture. The predictability of a horse being described to me as *muy noble* (very noble) became almost farcical during my research and this was most common in reference to the *Pura Raza Española* horse. In fact, one *Pura Raza Española* stud takes its name from this quality, the *Yeguada Nobleza del Guadiana* (nobility of the Guadiana River Stud).[131] The *Pura Raza Española* is physically powerful due to a conformation which predisposes it to carry weight on its hindquarters, but it is also visually powerful because of its high set and often cresty neck and an elevated stride with a distinct knee and hock action. Yet it is also noted for its calm, tractable nature. This contradiction is summed up in the word 'noble'. Llamas Perdigó describes the character of the *Pura Raza Española* thus:

> The breed can boast exceptional courage ... Our horse's nobility is proverbial, and you can be pretty sure that a Spanish horse will never kick. He is extraordinarily intelligent, and will come to terms with anyone. This is the horse who, if pushed to the limit, can get the better of the best of riders, yet will carry a child without danger. I could recount countless examples of his determination, his will to win, his refusal to give in, preferring to die than be brought to his knees. And yet his temperament, his class, leaves nothing to be desired: the dominance of mind over matter, which gives and instant reaction to whatever may be demanded of him.
> (Llamas Perdigó 1997: 83)

The relationship between Llamas Perdigó's description of the *Pura Raza Española* and the qualities required of the *caballo torero* is clear, but Skipper (1999: 257) relates *nobleza* directly to the *caballo torero*. 'If part of the essence of nobility is,

[131] This stud is located in Badajoz, bordering Portugal. The Guadiana river forms part of that border.

besides generosity, a combination of pride, courage and loyalty, then some of the most outstanding examples of this nobility may be found in the *corridas* of Spain and Portugal'. It seems that there is an inherent ambiguity within the construction of the horse, and the *caballo de rejoneo* in particular, as noble. The horses in this context are tamed, submissive and obedient but not to the detriment of their character and spirit, regardless of how much control is enacted upon them (or are they admired for their ability to 'save face' by maintaining a visible exterior that belies their actual state of domination?) I suggest that the term nobility when applied to horses suggests that the horse embodies wild and tame, in an articulation specific to its purpose.

There is an ethical dimension to *nobleza* related to the horse's ability to be dominated but not appear to be dominated. This suggests that the horse can be tamed, trained, ridden and dominated without much reflexivity or guilt on the part of the human engaged in its training and dominion. Perhaps the same applies to the bull in the *corrida* who is perceived to nobly stave, yet embrace death. In this respect, a tentative link could be made to gypsy, or *flamenco* culture marked by pride in the face of adversity, although this requires more attention to *flamenco* culture than this dissertation permits.

As the *caballo torero* needs to be noble, so too does the *toro bravo*. Its *nobleza*, or the quality of its nobility, is judged during the *corrida*. The *nobleza* of a bull equates with a kind of chivalrous honesty in the sense that the bull does not seek to deliberately kill the *torero* or *rejoneador*. '[T]he bull should not be looking for an opportunity to gore the *torero*, for the implication drawn from such behaviour is that the animal is deliberately trying to kill the man' (Marvin 1994: 103). This is an anthropomorphisation of nobility as it is constructed amongst men who should not wish to kill their fellow men (Marvin 1986: 129; 1994: 103). The desired lack of abstraction in bulls posits them closer to the realm of nature, in the same way that Ortner (1974: 75) suggests that women are associated with nature because they produce only perishable things (i.e. children), but that men are associated with culture because man asserts 'his creativity externally, "artificially," through the medium of technology and symbols' and is therefore aligned with cognitive action, rather than natural reproduction. Marvin notes that for a bull to be said to have

nobleza, it should *not* be seen to exercise 'decision and judgment' as these are 'qualities which should only apply to men' (1994: 103). On the contrary, it 'should attack without hesitation, without thinking' (Marvin 1994: 103-104). Therefore, the term *nobleza* differs when applied to horses and bulls. When describing horses it suggests a level of intelligence but when applied to bulls suggests a purity of instinctual thought without intellect.

The horse needs '[g]reat mental agility to resolve the most compromising situations in the smallest space and little time as possible' (Abarquero Durango 1984: 78). *Rejoneadores* often discuss horses that have 'taken over' and gotten them out of tricky situations. The illustration above of Domecq y Díez' mare *Espléndida* placing herself between her fallen rider and the bull is an example of this. In fact, the horse in the *corrida de rejones* needs to be able to balance the ability to think through a situation for itself with the ability to act instinctively and without thought. By doing the former, it is exhibiting the qualities of 'decision and judgement' that are associated with the male, human, cultural *torero* and by doing the latter it is exercising the qualities of *nobleza* as defined amongst the male, animal, natural bull. Once again, the *caballo torero* transcends the binary opposition of nature/culture and wild/tame. An analysis of the quality of *nobleza* in the horses suggests that *nobleza* is defined in relation to the animal it is describing. *Nobleza* in bulls is different to *nobleza* in horses. Thus, by exploring the triadic human-animal relation in *rejoneo*, this dissertation contributes to a broader understanding of the anthropomorphisation of animals in tauromachy and Andalusian culture.

I argue that extreme behaviours such as rearing on command and ear-pinning suggest that the *caballo torero* has transcended the wild-tame continuum as described by Lawrence. This confirms the widely held view of the horse as a polysemic symbol and distinguishes the *caballo torero* of the *corrida de rejones* as an ultimate symbol of 'the horse' and its polysemic qualities. In the remainder of this chapter, I leave aside the framework of Lawrence's wild-tame continuum and demonstrate the ways in which the human-horse-bull boundaries are transcended and reconfigured. I begin with a description of *bravura* (bravery) as applied to horses and bulls and consider the anthropomorphism of animals and the

zoomorphism of *rejoneadores* through the naming practices of horses and bulls. I then describe instances of what I term toromorphisation of the horse in Andalusia, before returning to the human-horse boundary and its transcendence by the centaur symbol within *rejoneo*. None of the instances of border-crossing described in this chapter are discrete; they all exist within broader contexts of human-animal transgression. I illustrate this by returning to the artificiality of the bull as a wild construct. I thus suggest that the blurring of the human-horse-bull boundary exists *a priori* to the *corrida de rejones*.

Bravura

Nobleza in the bull is linked to its construction as a *toro bravo* in that the bull should be willing to confront death honestly; without trickery or malicious intention towards the bullfighter. In fact, Moreno Pidal (2004: 299) defines *'bravo'* in relation to the *toro bravo* as 'a good bull that charges with *nobleza'*. Both the horses and the bulls in *rejoneo* should face death with nobility and valour, although *bravura* is most strongly associated with descriptions of bulls rather than horses. In Andalusia, a '*toro bravo*' is the one that will repeatedly charge at anything in its path, even when the odds are stacked against it, when it has had enough opportunity to associate charging with pain or when it lacks the physical strength, as noted by Marvin (1994: 102).[132] It will never give up. Bulls have but one opportunity to give a performance of their qualities as a *toro bravo* publicly in the ring. Corbin states that a bull can contribute to a quick death in the ring,

> [B]y being *bravo*, the root meaning of which is "wild" not "brave" and which in this context means also "willing and quick to attack", and by being *noble*, which here means that it charges immediately, straight and true, that, in direct contrast to the man, it does not observe, evaluate, and adjust. An exceptionally *bravo* and *noble* bull will be applauded and awarded a triumphal circuit and exit from the arena. But by then it is dead.
>
> (Corbin 1999: 10)

As noted at the beginning of this dissertation, the bull in the bullfight is referred to as the *toro bravo*. The cows are referred to similarly as *vacas bravas*. This refers to the type of bull selectively bred for and used in the *corrida*. At this level, to be a

[132] For other definitions, see de Cossío (2000, vol 3: 100-107).

toro bravo or *vaca brava* is a *fait accomplis.* The term encompasses a trajectory from selective breeding to selective performance. *Bravo* can be used to describe an animal that is fierce or ferocious, or a human that is boasful or ill-tempered (Collins Spanish Dictionary 2001: 145), thus suggesting an exceptionally confident demenaor. Marvin and Corbin translate the term '*bravo*' (and '*brava*') as 'wild'. This translation works in the sense of wild as 'not-tame' and it must be stressed that this is not in the sense of 'wild' as unpredictable, erratic or 'crazy' in behaviour. However, the term typically used to describe wild or 'not-tame' animals in general is usually *salvaje* or *asilvestrado*, as 'wild'. The semi-wild horses of the marshlands in Almonte, Huelva, for example are formally referred to as *asilvestrados* (Murphy & González Faraco 2001). *Salvaje* refers more to the quality of the animals, whilst *asilvestrado* refers to where they live such as in the woods or in the wild.

Neither is *bravo* technically translatable as 'brave', as the term for this would usually be '*valiente*' (valiant). In fact, the term *bravura* representing the quality of bravery is closer to what the term 'brave' entails in English. In comparison, an animal that is not-wild is usually described as '*domado*' (trained), *manso* (meek) or *dócil* (docile). However, well-trained horses in general and *caballos toreros* in particular, are described more elegantly as *noble*. This is based on their depth of training whilst down-playing a level of subdued 'tame-ness'. In other words, *noble* is a positive construction of a taming process that might be otherwise interpreted as domination.

Thus, *bravo* does not strictly translate as either wild or brave. Therefore, I feel that there is no adequate English word which translates *bravo* from the Spanish. As such, I refer to the *toro bravo* using the indigenous term. This has the added advantage of avoiding the kinds of dualisms that terms such as 'wild' or 'brave' involve. The reader should be aware that the term *toro bravo* has two functions. Firstly, it describes the biological type of bull such that a bull is a *toro bravo* regardless of its behaviour or character or whether or not its *bravura* is evaluated in the context of the *corrida*, and secondly, that the *toro bravo* has a particular 'fighting' character which entails valour and bravery such that it will repeatedly charge and defend itself to the very end within the specific context of the *corrida*:

> *Yo he visto muchísimos toros buenos y toro perfecto es el que pronto te mete la cara, que galopa, que tiene mucha fijeza, que tiene temple, que es muy noble, todo eso es un toro bueno. Que repite, que es bravo... La muerte de un toro bravo es una cosa preciosa. Porque sale avanzando y no se quiere echar por lo bravo que es ¿no? El toro que es manso, automáticamente con un pinchacito de nada se echa ¿no? porque no quiere pelear. Pero el que es bravo, pues, quiere mantener la pelea hasta el final y esto es bonito.*
>
> I've seen many good bulls and a perfect bull is the one that quickly puts his face down, gallops, has good concentration, has courage, is very noble. All of that makes a good bull. That it keeps on coming back, that it is *bravo*... The death of a *toro bravo* is something prescious. Because it comes out moving forwards and doesn't want to lie down because it is *bravo*. A tame [*manso*] bull automatically lies down at the first little prick; because it doesn't want to fight [*pelear*]. But the bull that is *bravo* wants to keep the fight [*pelea*] till the end and this is lovely.
>
> (LD, *rejoneador*)

The comments above regarding the ideal qualities of a *toro bravo*, could well apply to those required of the *rejoneadores* and it is at this stage that I reintroduce humans to this animal-centred chapter, and note the blurring of the human-bull boundary. Lawrence notes a zoomorphisation of men through their relations with bulls in rodeo:

> Although the bull does not enter the human sphere, it seems that in a strange and illusory way man enters the bull's sphere. For bull riders foster an image of themselves as strong, dumb, crude, and wild, tough, and brutish as the animals they ride – a breed apart. Men strongly associate themselves with the exaggerated masculinity of the bull, and consider bull riding strictly a male domain. Their masculine exclusivity within its context separates them from women, and from anything considered feminine, and exalts the male force as exemplified in both animal and man.
>
> (Lawrence 1982: 197)

These kinds of identifications between men and bulls suggests that even if the bull symbolises wild nature and man disciplined culture, this binary does not totally prohibit a blurring of the human-animal boundary. It is through bulls that rodeo riders, *toreros* and *rejoneadores* create and make meaningful their self-identities. This is not a unidirectional process, for humans invest animals with the meaning that they apply to themselves, suggesting that in *rejoneo* humans and animals are mutually constitutive.

Similarly, through the riding relationship, the rider takes on characteristics of the horse:

> [The] rider tends to feel the power of a horse as their own. The strength and swiftness which he harnesses with his mastery of his horse a man adds to his own self-image. There seems to be a process of identification by the horseman, and this is part of what takes him years to own the strongest, ride the wildest, and race the fastest.
>
> (Lawrence 1982: 134)

I would add that the horse also becomes endowed with human characteristics through the rider-horse relationship. For example, Abarquero-Durango (1984: 79) describes Álvaro Domecq y Romero's horse *Opus 72* as exhibiting the same arrogance as his rider. This mutual-transferal of ability and character in human-animal relations has been noted in the visual arts:

> In painting and sculpture, the horse most commonly appears in the active service of men, women, or children - whether as attribute, conveyance or entertainment. A degree of anthropomorphism is often employed or implied, the demeanour of the horse telling us something more about its human associate. An agitated, excited horse, its eyes flecked with white, may convey similar emotion in the rider, who may be seen either to empathise with these fears or to conquer them.
>
> (Harrison 2000: 8-9)

In paintings of riders, it is common for either horse or rider to face the viewer, and the expression of that figure conveys the emotion of the other. In the *corrida de rejones*, the rider typically lowers his head at an angle just covering his eyes from public view and shielding them from the Andalusian sun with the brim of his hat. His face is sombre and calm – a style referred to as *campero* (country style). The expression of movement and its associated aesthetic meaning is articulated in the body of the horse, for example, through it pinning its ears. It is usually only when he calls to the bull to get its attention, or when celebrating the accomplishment of a fine *suerte* (a pass or series or passes with the cape) that the *rejoneador* will express his emotion to the public by shouting, throwing his right arm back and lifting his chin to show his eyes and make eye contact with other humans. I argue that the aesthetics of 'looking' in *rejoneo* suggest a flicking backwards and forwards between the rider in the rider-horse relationship as the dominant 'eye' and the horse in the rider-horse relationship as the dominant 'eye', as well as moments where both share the same view, vision and focus. This mutuality of the sense of sight is a part of their *compenetración*.

According to Álvaro Domecq y Díez, 'the fame of *rejoneadores* is united with the names of their horses' (cited Abarquero Durango 1984: 95). I argue that this

happens quite literally. The idea of the horse as a transmitter of human emotion and embodiment of human attributes is reflected in the naming patterns of *caballos toreros* and with notary titles, nouns and adjectives that are human-centred. This practice extends to the naming of *Pura Raza Española* horses and part-breeds. Examples of *caballos toreros* named after titles include *Zar* (Tzar, ridden by Andy Cartagena), *Sultán* (Sultan, ridden by Javier Buendía Ramírez), *Conde* (Count, ridden by Raúl Martín Burgos), *Príncipe* (Prince, ridden by Angel Peralta) and *Marqués* (Marquis, ridden by Iván Magro Martín). Examples of *caballos toreros* named after nouns include *Héroe* (Hero, ridden by Sergio Galán), *Lidiador* (fighter, struggler, ridden by Iván Magro Martín), *Brujo* (wizard, magician, ridden by Andy Cartagena), *Capricho* (Capriccio, ridden by Martín González Porras), *Deleite* (pleasure/joy) and *Duende* (magical essence, both ridden by Luis Domecq Domecq) and *Líder* (leader, ridden by José Miguel Callejón).

Of most relevance to this argument that horses contribute to (describe) the characters of their riders is the trend towards naming horses after adjectives. Examples of this kind of naming include *Furia* (Fury) and *Olympica* (Olympic, both mares ridden by Iván Magro Martín), *Importante* (Important, ridden by Jaoa Moura), *Bravo* (Rugged, Fierce, Feroscious or Wild, ridden by José Miguel Callejón), *Fabuloso* (Fabulous) and *Hechicero* (Bewitching, Enchanting, both ridden by Leonardo Hernández), *Inspirado* (Inspired, ridden by Raúl Martín Burgos), *Airoso* (Graceful) and *Imperial* (both ridden by Antonio Domecq Domecq), *Ingenioso* (Ingenious, ridden by Angel Peralta), *Amoroso* (Lovely, ridden by Antonio Ignacio Vargas), *Presumido* (Vain) and *Espléndida* (Splendid, both ridden by Álvaro Domecq y Díez), and *Bonito* (Beautiful, ridden by French *rejoneadora* Maria Sara). I argue that this practice of naming with adjectives in particular constructs the horse as an adjective for their rider. In relation to the ways in which race horses are 'dressed' in Newmarket, Cassidy (2002: 26) notes that 'riding a horse fuses the two bodies so that it is difficult to establish where one ends and the other begins, both are wearing whatever either is wearing'. In a similar way, a *rejoneador* becomes a valiant, important, fighter when mounted on horses of the same name.

In addition to giving their rider speed, agility, height and power, the *caballos nobles* add qualities defined in human terms such as beauty and valour. The naming of *caballos toreros* is no doubt spurned by a quality inherent in the horse; an unattractive horse wouldn't be called Bonito, for example. However, the naming of horses is also a naming of the rider and the identification of a quality in a horse is a cultivation of that quality in the rider (see for example the quotation above from *rejoneador* CZ who sees himself as an artist and looks for an artistic horse). In other words, the horse is an embodied and embodying adjective. This suggests a blurring of the horse-human boundary. Although horses (and bulls) are not given names that would be seen as suitable names for humans in Andalusian culture, I argue that their naming after human characteristics challenges Marvin's (1994: 133) claims, noted in Chapter Four, that animals in Andalusia are not anthropomorphised.

Horses and bulls are almost always given one word, simple names. There is no stud prefix and no double-barrelled or truncated names as seen in pedigree dog and cow breeders or the naming of racehorses in Australia and England, for example (for a structural analysis of racehorse naming see Lévi-Strauss 1966). Domecq y Díez (cited de Cossío 2000, vol 2: 119) identifies eight categories of naming bulls covering occupations, birds or animals, plants or trees, region or province of birth, according to a physical characteristic or colour, character, referring to a significant event or anecdote from the bull's life, and names which are vaguely related to *el campo* (for further elaboration see Marvin 1994: 97). Marvin (1994: 97) suggests a ninth category of 'names which appear to be descriptive, though it is difficult to see how they would apply to the characteristics of actual bulls'. He gives the examples of Liar, Idealist and Lightfingered. These are characteristics which may not directly apply to bulls but certainly apply to humans, again suggesting a degree of anthropomorphism in the naming of bulls. Marvin's ninth category covers the three types of naming I described above in relation to *caballos toreros*: human titles, nouns and adjectives. Notwithstanding, the practice of naming of any kind is a humanizing practice.

In addition to those types of human-centred horse-naming, horses are also named according to the eight categories identified by Domecq y Díez (see above). The

practice of naming horses after other animals deserves special attention, taking into account the meanings attached to those animals in Andalusian culture. Birds are particularly intriguing as names for horses, given their ability for flight and the popular description of riding as feeling like flying. However, that attention is beyond the scope of this dissertation; suffice to say that the naming of horses after other animals suggests an inter-animal species border-crossing, whilst maintaining (even emphasising) the horse's individual character.

Horse-bull boundary crossing

I have identified three areas of horse-bull boundary crossing which centre on the identification or cultivation of taurine elements in horses. The most obvious example of this, which has direct relevance to the *corrida*, resides in a photo in a chronicle of the *Semana del caballo*, held in *Jerez de la Frontera* in 1954 (Real Jockey Club de Jerez 1955: 242). It shows a man and a horse in a *plaza de toros*. The man holds out a cape, whilst an unbridled and unsaddled (in other words 'natural') horse charges at it (see Plate 20, below). The caption reads '[a]ctuacion del *caballo*-toro "Martinete"'. Martinete had apparently been trained to charge at a cape to mimic a *toro bravo*. This resulted in his construction as a *caballo-toro* (literally a horse-bull). I was unable to find any other reference to Martinete during fieldwork and it seems that this instance of toromorphisation of the horse is one-sided; I have no evidence of bulls being trained to perform as horses, or being trained at all, and the bull is not ridden in Andalusia (as noted by Lawrence early in this chapter in relation to rodeo bulls).

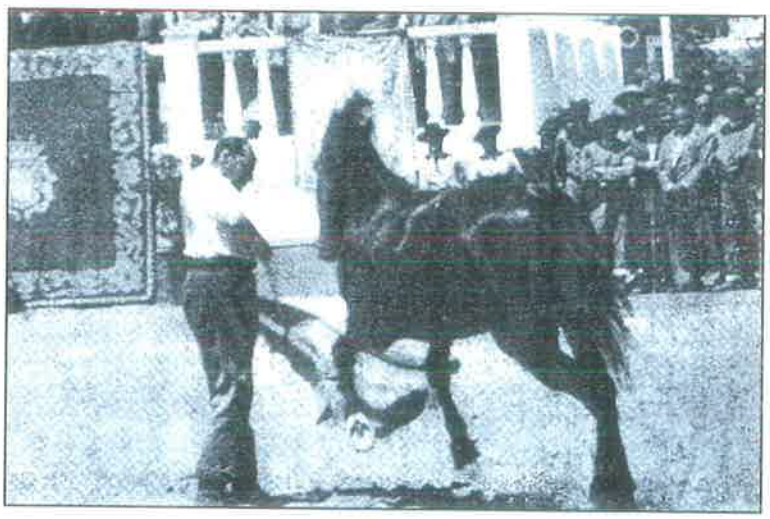


Plate 20: The 'caballo-toro' Martinete charging at a cape during the 1954 *Semana del Caballo, Jerez de la Frontera.*

Photo: Credited to 'Lara' (Real Jockey Club de Jerez 1955: 242).

In addition to the horse-bull boundary in Andalusia being crossed behaviourally, it is also crossed morphologically. For example, the Carthusian breed of Spanish horses is distinguished for sometimes having small cartilaginous protuberances under the forelock or at the base of the ears which are likened to incipient horns (Janini Janini 1919; Jiménez Benítez 1994: 63-64).[133] In fact, these horns are seen as evidence that the horse's bloodlines are particularly pure. When Fifield is given a tour of the Terry stud in Cadiz (the horses are stabled within the *Bodega* Terry complex in *el* Puerto *de* Santa Maria), he is told to touch the hair under the ears of a foal to find out what defines the Carthusian horse; 'And sure enough there were little curved horns about half the length of my forefinger, one on each side just above the ear' (1978: 133).[134] Llamas Perdigó (1997: 107) recalls a case of one such 'horn' being around 10cm in length and more like a pig's tail than a bull's horn. No direct association is made between the horns and the horse's relation to the bull, or its suitability or otherwise for *rejoneo*. However, the horns on these horses suggest a morphological boundary crossing between the horse and the bull. Furthermore, as the Carthusian horses have been selectively bred and managed by a monastic order in *Jerez*, they strengthen the association between *Jerez*, horses and bulls.

There is also a relationship between the traditions of horse presentation and the appearance of bulls. Andalusian customs of horse presentation revolve around the cutting of manes and tails which becomes indicative of age and sex (Denham Walter 1998). Foals that have not been weaned are rarely handled except to have their mane and tail shaved, as the hair is thought to grow back stronger. Mares continue to be presented like this, with only their forelocks in-tact. In conscientious studs, mares have their tail hair closely shaved around the sides of the dock[135]

[133] I am aware of one other rare breed of horse which also shows the cartilaginous horns. This is the Moyle horse in the USA, developed around the mid 20th century in Utah using mustang stock. They also have livers and spleens at twice the normal equine size (Hendricks 1996: 296).

[134] In addition to this, the author is also told that the Carthusian horse is distinguished by having five lumbar vertebrae – one less than other breeds of horses (except the Arabian horse which also has five lumbar vertebrae), an outflicking movement of the forelegs, warts around its anus and a 'concave S-muzzle' (Fifield 1978: 132-133).

[135] The dock of the horse is the continuation of its spine which can be used to raise the tail when excited, or during elimination of waste.

and the length of the tail hair cut at various lengths to reflect their age, which assists with identification from a distance.[136]

Jacas are presented in a similar way to mares in that they have their manes shaved and their tails docked. That is, the tips of their tail bones are cut about 18cm from the root. This stops the hair of the tail growing much further than the end of the bone and saves time spent trimming the length of the tail by hand. This practice is often substituted by tying the *jaca*'s tail hair into a knot at the base of the dock.

The tail is cut for four reasons (Abarquero Durango 1984: 116):

1. Aesthetic: to keep the tail clean and to prevent it becoming entangled in long grasses or weeds, because losing hairs would have made a wispy looking tail.
2. Safety: a flowing tail may provoke the charge of a cow defending her young in the country
3. Efficiency: If the tail is not docked or cut short, it needs to be tied up in a knot, something which took time away from the *vaquero*, and
4. Identification: the cut tail distinguishes the *jaca* from the show or parade horse used by gentlemen on their weekend strolls about the town.

From two years of age, entires cease to have their manes or tails shaved (Llamas Perdigó 1997: 264). Their manes and tails are left 'full' and natural. This may relate to the idea presented in bestiaries claiming that a horse loses its virility when its mane and tail are cut (Rowland 1973: 104). The full manes and tails of stallions means that they require extra attention with cleaning and combing. This attention is usually given by male handlers and stable hands. Line-ups of *Pura Raza Española* horses waiting to be judged at morphological competitions are characterised by male handlers stroking and positioning the forelocks of their

[136] These practices may relate to an early belief that hogging mare's manes affected their oestrus (Dent 1974: 84) or cooled mares in heat (Dent 1974: 88). They could also relate to a belief that it would trick an ass into covering the mare, especially as carriage use was so widespread and drawn out in Spain and the mule its preferred power (see Dent 1974: 37; and Gomez Mendoza 1983).

horses. The stallion's full mane and tail thus bestows masculinity and privilege to the rider by association.

These 'traditions' of presentation according to sex and age of horses is most strictly observed in studs where the *Pura Raza Española* is bred. However, throughout my experience in Andalucía, most geldings and mares of any breed never had a full mane, but many had their tails shaved or docked. It is sometimes thought more difficult to fight a bull with a *jaca*, as it has no tail with which to *engañar* (trick, or entice) the bull (Abarquero Durango 1984: 116), although others disagree (Domecq y Díez 1999: 232).

The *jaca*'s short tail distinguishes it from stallions, whilst its shaved mane aligns it with mares. This reinforces the idea posed above that geldings are positioned in between mares and entires on the wild-tame continuum, according to gender. The full mane and tail of a stallion mark it as distinct from a bull, which has little to no mane and tail hair. On the other hand, the mane and tail of a mare presented according to Andalusian tradition actually mimics that of the bull. The hair around the dock of the mare's tail is shaved, leaving the hair growing from the end of the dock. The mare is thus presented in a way that aligns her with another animal that represents the wild. In keeping with Strathern's 'matrix of contrasts' between nature/culture and wild/tame, the mare's association with the wild is here a product of human-intervention, whilst the stallions' association with culture is a product of human non-intervention and human cultivation of 'natural' aspects. As identified above in relation to mares often being referred to by their gender rather than their name, this is further evidence that the mare is a more ambiguous and therefore more 'blurry' construct than the male horse. This suggests a matrix of gendered contrasts in the human-horse-bull relationship.

I argue that the combination of Martinete's performance as a bull, the cartilaginous horns of the Carthusian horses and the traditions of horse presentation suggest a conceptual and physical boundary blurring between horse and bull. Although these are changes identified in or effected in the horse, they suggest that the concept of bull is similarly malleable and penetrable. Overlapping these three instances of toromorphisation of the horse is the fundamental construction of the

rejoneador's horse as a *caballo torero*, which as noted in Chapter Three, constructs the horse as a horse-bull hybrid.



Plate 21: Young *torero* training with an assistant who mimics the bull using its horns.

Photo: Author



Plate 22: David Vázquez trains in his *picadero.* His assistant mimics the bull using a riding whip as its horns.

Photo: Author

There are also instances of human-bull hybridity (aside from the *torero* using the bull for the construction of his self-image, the naming of bulls and so on). When *rejoneadores* are training, they often have an assistant who pretends to be a bull. The assistant typically holds some bulls' horns (see Plate 21, above) or pushes a wheel-barrow like structure with horns attached to it called a *carretón*. *Rejoneador David Vázquez* demonstrated this training technique to me using a riding-whip instead of horns (see Plate 22, above). In each case, the assistant needs to move as if he were a bull and in doing so, embody the *toro bravo*. This is an act of 'impersonation' (or animation) 'in its true context: an actor *impersonating* a character gives that character life and meaning, effectively bringing it into *being*' (Skipper 1999: 221). Although this dissertation is primarily concerned with the human-horse, centaurian relationship, it is worth noting that the use of the *carretón* when training *rejoneadores* (or *toreros* for that matter) is a minotaurian moment during which the human uses the horns to embody the bull.

Horse-rider boundary crossing: *El centauro*

In Chapter Three I described the term *compenetración* as a means for understanding the centaurian relationship between horse and rider. Marvin notes that it is used to describe the relation between the *torero* and the bull:

> Those with whom I spoke about the relationship between the *torero* and the bull emphasised their closeness. They spoke of the two being *compenetrado*, a term which means to be fused or interpenetrated, but also, figuratively, to undergo mutual influence or to share another's feelings. The idea of *compenetrado* in the context of the *corrida* refers, at one level, to the closeness of the body of the man with that of the bull and the attendant risk, which generates emotion. But it also refers to the emotional response of the man who has built up such an understanding of the animal and who is in such tight control of the situation that it appears that the two of them are working together, with the bull a willing partner, helping the man to develop his performance.[137]
>
> (Marvin 1994: 159)

Marvin's description of the *compenetración* between *toro* and *torero* could be described as a minotaurian relationship, as supposed in Chapter One. This would be a symbol of human-bull relations alongside the centaur as a symbol of human-

[137] Tentatively, I propose that there is a historical link between the *torero* and the *coleta* which relates to compenetración. The *coleta* is a small pigtail that was seen as a caste marker for *toreros*. I suggest that the link relates to the idea of a *torero* having a tail. Thus, the *rejoneador* who is not associated with the *coleta*, does not need it as he has a tail through his centaurian relationship with the horse. However, this requires further exploration.

horse relations. Marvin (1994: 160) acknowledges that the *rejoneador* is described as being *compenetrado* with the horse, according to the same description of *compenetración* between *torero* and bull. In fact, the *rejoneador* has greater physical closeness to the horse than the *torero* has to the bull, and has built more of an understanding of the horse over time.

Horse and rider *compenetración* is revered in Andalusian culture and romanticised in songs and poems (for example Abarquero Durango 1984: 103-106; Davies & Marvin 1987; García Pérez 1927; Llamas Perdigó 1997; Martín Cornello 1988; Pineda Novo 1988; Ramos-Paúl y Dávila 1999). Cobo (1999: 48) suggests that the 'idea' of the centaur is even more convincing when the horse involved is Spanish, 'in which case the rider is united with an animal similar to himself: noble, docile, elastic, arrogant, powerful, suave, intelligent, fast and harmoniously beautiful'. The *compenetración* between horse and rider in *rejoneo* is often symbolised in the image of *el centauro* (the centaur) (see, for example Abarquero Durango 1984: 97; Loch 1986: 134, 140; Lopez Izquierdo 1994: 132; Nieto Manjon 2001: 19; Pineda Novo 1988; Santos Moreno 2001). Thus, the centaur symbol that I argue distinguishes the riding relationship generally has been identified and named as such in the context of *rejoneo*.

The indivisibility of human and horse in the centaur image is reproduced in the bullring where the communication between horse and rider appears to be telepathic:

> The *compenetración* between the *rejoneador* and his horse needs to be such that the rider thinks and the horse acts without even doubting for a moment. If the horse is perfectly trained, the *rejoneador* acts without thinking, so that he has his full concentration in the bull.[138]

Rejoneador Chano Zambrano spoke about *compenetración* as a means of entering another, more harmonious world. His comments reinforce the transformative nature of the riding relationship, the centaurian relationship and the hybrid human-animal relationship; all of which are based on *compenetración*:

[138] http://www.elrejoneo.com (online-b).

> *El caballo es muy fiel a su jinete, a quien lo monta; y en ese caballo se coge una compenetración muy grande y te hace vivir un mundo que te aleja de los demás defectos del mundo. Yo por ejemplo cuando me subo encima de un caballo, pues se me olvidan todos los problemas de la vida; se me olvidan las trampas, las letras que tengo, los problemas, todo. Ya me meto en mi mundo, me monto en el caballo, me meto en mi mundo y se me olvida todo.*
>
> The horse is very faithful to his rider, to the person who rides it and the *compenetración* produced is so great that it makes you enter a level that is removed from all the ills of the world. For example, I forget all the problems of my life when I ride; all the traps, debts and troubles, everything. When I ride a horse I enter my own world and forget everything.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

Another *rejoneador* (DV) used the term '*compenetración*' to explain the ways in which he connected with some friends but couldn't with others: "*nos compenetramos*" (we interconnect with each other). He struggled to find a word that described his inability to connect with another human-being and relied on the idea of an absence of *compenetración*. The same idea of *compenetración* that this *rejoneador* sought with human colleagues was what he sought with his equine ones.

Through their *compenetración*, *rejoneador* and *caballo torero* can perform a balance of control and freedom, animality and humanity and so forth. Sombre *rejoneadores* can mount nervous and excitable horses, valiant and loud *rejoneadores* can mount the most refined and disciplined horses and this balance shifts at every second. The relationship between rider-horse is simultaneously transference, sublimation, appropriation and mutually constitutive. This takes place freely through the *compenetración* between human and horse bodies symbolised by the centaur. The intercorporeality of rider and horse is based on their shared sense of bodies in the world: their *kinaesthetic empathy*. That this occurs in the presence of the bull evokes a *symphysical ethos* where rider and horse are acutely aware of their own mortality. In order to maintain their living status, horse and rider must be aware of each other's mortality and ensure the living status of one another, as their fate is likely shared.

With the horse as an extension of his own body, the *rejoneador* can outrun a bull, gallop towards it, reach between its horns even with its head held high or jump over it as Cañero's famous mare *Tordilla* would do. Overall, the *rejoneador* can

use the horse to demonstrate his transcendence of both human and animal bodies, 'for implicit in the rider-horse relationship is the fact that the rider has already mastered the horse, and his dominance over the animal may be seen as setting the stage for further conquest' (Lawrence 1982: 134). I argue that his further conquest is achieved by transcending his own body though rider-horse *compenetración*. In fact, this *compenetración*, illustrated in the centaur suggests that in dominating the horse, the rider dominates himself. In the *Patio de Espléndida* at the Domecq property *Los Alburejos*, a refrain has been painted onto tiles affixed to the wall which reads 'man cannot master the horse if he can't master himself'. Thus, the notion of control, when applied to a centaurian or similar hybrid relationship applies to the all parts of the hybrid. It is therefore impossible for one part of the hybrid to control the other without involving a level of self-control.

To illustrate the extent of the inter-embodiment of the *rejoneador*-horse through *compenetración* and symbolised by the centaur, I recall an event which rocked the *rejoneo* world during my fieldwork. On 2nd June 2001, Luis and Antonio Domecq stopped at a roadhouse on their way home from a *corrida*, leaving their horse-truck parked outside. Whilst they ate their dinner, two Molotov cocktails were thrown into the truck (Gabinete de Prensa de la Dirección General de la Guardia Civil 2001). The unofficial story is that in a case of mistaken identity, José Antonio Callejón, the father of up and coming *rejoneador* José Miguel Callejón had hired two Columbians to throw the cocktails into the back of *rejoneador* Sergio Galan's horse truck, which was parked next to the Domecq truck. Twelve horses were inside. Five died instantly, one was euthanased shortly thereafter and five more have been rendered unsuitable for *rejoneo* performance due to physical or aesthetic defects (many had their nostrils and ears burned off). Only one, *Marqués*, returned to the *plaza*.

The attack was personally devastating, and incurred serious damage to the careers of the *rejoneadores*; Luis and Antonio Domecq cancelled forty *rejoneo* contracts each (Gayo & Rendueles 2001: 17) and are still recovering their team of horses. Burgos (2001b) recalls how the brothers spoke of their horses as if they were speaking of themselves, and cared for their horses as if they were caring for themselves. I argue that due to the *compenetración* between *rejoneador* and

caballo torero, the attack against the bodies of these horses was simultaneously an attack upon the bodies of the *rejoneadores*. As discussed in Chapter Three in relation to Haraway's (2003) 'potent transfections' of DNA, the legacy of the riding relationship is such that even when dismounted, the rider remains part horse and the horse remains part human. Proof of this is the 'bodily memory' (a phrase used by Merleau-Ponty 1958,) that riders retain for riding or placing a *rejon*, and the bodily memory that horses retain for being ridden, or facing a bull. This is the habitual embodiment that leads to the relationship between horse and rider being described above as 'telepathic'. The attack on the Domecq *caballos toreros* was an attack on Luis and Antonio themselves, to recall Birke & Michael's (1997: 16) comments noted in Chapter Three regarding the ethical implications of hybrids.

Human-horse-bull boundary crossing

Whilst the aim of this chapter has been to show the intra embodiment of wild to tame within the horse, and the inter-embodiment of human, horse and bull, this has been carried out under a certain taken-for-grantedness. As discussed in chapter four in relation to the nature/culture dichotomy, the continuum wild to tame 'is a construct of culture rather than a fact of nature' (Ortner 1974: 87). To paraphrase from Ortner (1974: 87), horses and bulls are not 'in reality' any closer to wild or tame, but there are certainly reasons why they appear in these ways. As Marvin notes in relation to bulls:

> There is a fundamental ambiguity about the *toro bravo* which should not be ignored. It is not simply an animal captured from the wild, it has been created by humans; human will and control have been exercised to create this 'wild' animal; it has been shaped for human purposes. People have selectively bred the animals for this quality of 'wildness' and thus have actually created something which is regarded as natural, given by nature; the *toro bravo* is culturally rather than naturally wild.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 90)

The definition of domestication suggested by Wilkinson and advocated by Noske (1989: 3) relies on changes imposed to an animal's subsistence cycle. The subsistence cycles of horses and bulls in Andalusia are regulated by humans. Bulls and horses are kept in spaces managed by humans, eat food managed by humans and are selectively bred, branded and named by humans. Moreover, they are pitted against one another in the context of *rejoneo*. The lives of horses and

bulls used in the *corrida de rejones* are unequivocally subject to human intervention. That is, a level of human-horse-bull boundary crossing pre-exists the particular examples that I have given throughout this chapter. This is a taken for granted level of human-animal boundary crossing. The fact that humans and animals exist in a world full of 'other' humans and animals is as commonly overlooked as the fact that humans are animals. As noted by Birke & Michael (1997: 5): 'isn't the existence of 'society' itself crossing the boundary [between human and animal], depending as it does on much more than merely human-human relationships?' Therefore, in this chapter I have revealed the taken for grantedness of the inseparability of humans and animals and the creation of the human-animal boundary, by using the human-animal relations in *rejoneo* as an example.

Summary

I began this chapter by introducing the reader to the two animals that constitute *rejoneo*. To reduce the inflexibility of dualisms such as nature/culture and wild/tame, I applied Lawrence's continuum. In it, the horse does not have to be either wild or tame; it can be more close to one pole or another, and its positions can change at any time. Using this continuum I demonstrated that the *toro bravo* is commonly positioned near the wild pole, but that the horse's position is more ambiguous. Whilst Lawrence uses the continuum to 'rank' different types of horses according to the level of human control and dominance, I propose that the *caballo torero* transcends the continuum by embodying its full range of extremes, and in-betweens. This is an extension of Lawrence's continuum and an application of it to a human-animal interaction based similarly on humans, horse and bulls, but with a different relationship between the horse and the continuum. I discussed *nobleza* as the quality that summarises the transcendence of the continuum.

After introducing the bull as a wild symbol and the horse as polysemic, I reunited the horse and the bull with the human figure of this dissertation: the *rejoneador*. Using the example of *bravura* and how the qualities of the *toro bravo* are constructed, I described the ways in which *rejoneadores* use the bull and the horse to construct a self-image. I gave an overview of the popular naming

practices of *caballos toreros* to exemplify the usage of the horse to construct a self-image, something that also entailed anthropomorphising the horse. In this chapter I looked at various layers of human-animal boundary crossing, such as the horse being toromorphised and the mutual morphising of rider-horse in *rejoneo* though *compenetración*. However, these specific acts of boundary crossing exist within a world which is fundamentally blurry: 'What we should perhaps be insisting on, indeed, is a notion of a hybrid society, consisting of humans along with nonhumans' (Birke & Michael 1997: 12). Thus, *a priori* to their meeting in the *corrida de rejones*, human, horse and bull are mutually incorporated. In the following chapter, I examine the ways in which human-horse-bull boundaries are blurred even further in the *corrida de rejones* and suggest that *rejoneo* is structured around this blurring.

Chapter Eight

Technological Mediation and Centauromachy

Me decías que hay dos animales y un hombre ¿no? Entonces cuál era el toro... Pero el rejoneo para que haya un rejoneo y lo acepte tiene que haber un binomio casi perfecto entre el caballo y el rejoneador, la persona. Que ellos son los que luchan contra el toro. Y cuando eso se consigue es cuando se crea arte, se crea un espectáculo bonito... Lo perfecto es cuando hay totalmente como un binomio perfecto y se entienden tanto uno como el otro. El caballo sabe que tú lo llevas al peligro y sabe que tú lo vas a sacar del peligro. Cuando hay ese entendimiento y tú también sabes que el caballo tú lo vas a llevar al peligro y sabes que el también te va... cuando hay ese entendimiento entre los dos es cuando el rejoneo es bonito.

You said to me that there are two animals and one man, didn't you? Then, which one was the bull? In *rejoneo* there has to be an almost perfect pairing between the horse and the *rejoneador*, the person. They are the ones fighting [*luchan*] the bull. When this is achieved, art is created, producing a beautiful spectacle... Perfection, is achieved when both form a total pair and understand themselves as they do each other. The horse knows you expose it to the danger and knows that you will take it out of it. When there is this level of understanding and you also know that the horse takes you to danger and then takes you out of it... when there is this understanding between the two, r*ejoneo* is beautiful.

(FB, *rejoneador*)

Introduction

Having established in the previous chapter that the human, horse and bull boundaries are blurred *a priori* to the *corrida de rejones*, in this chapter I demonstrate the ways in which that blurring is intensified throughout the *corrida* and argue that the *corrida* is structured around this blurring. In particular, I draw from actor-network theory to explore the technological mediation of the human-horse relationship in *rejoneo*. I give an overview of this approach in relation to the human-animal-technology network underpinning *rejoneo* before I describe each of the three phases of the *corrida de rejones*. For each phase I describe the bull's character and the type of horse chosen to complement it. In Chapter Three I described the technological mediation of the human-horse relationship such as saddle, bridle, bit and spurs together with books, videos, schools of thought and so on. In most equestrian disciplines, these technologies are assumed. *Rejoneo* is distinguished from other equestrian disciplines because it involves technology which is designed to penetrate and harm the bull. In this chapter I focus on the technologies that the *rejoneador* uses to spear the bull: *rejones* and *banderillas*. I

suggest that these technologies mediate not only the *rejoneador's* relationship with the bull, but the centaurian relationship he shares with the horse.

In this chapter I explore the relations between *rejoneador*, *toro*, *caballo torero* and *rejones*. There are other participants in this network, such as the official bullfighting legislation (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996), the president of the *corrida*, the *torero* or *rejoneador's cuadra* or assistants, the audience, the breeder of the bulls and so forth. However, for the purposes of this chapter I focus on the *rejoneadores* who participate in the triadic relationship that dominates this dissertation. An analysis of human-horse-bull relations and the human-horse-technology-bull network supports my argument that their boundaries are mutually penetrated and that the *corrida de rejones* is structured around their boundary crossing. I close this chapter with a comparison of the *picador-pica-caballo de picar* network with the *rejoneador-rejon-caballo torero* network to illustrate that not all rider-horse networks are centaurian and that technology plays a role in the mediation of the centaur. I demonstrate that *kinesthetic empathy* and *symphysis* are more applicable to the centaurian relationship than the mechanical riding relationship by noting the role of movement, intercorporeality and desire in the human-animal relationship. I conclude that *rejoneo* is structured around the intercorporeality of humans and animals and that this involves a broader network of inanimate technology.

Actor-network theory

As signalled in Chapter One, I draw from actor-network theory to discuss the human-animal networks that feature in *rejoneo* and to discuss the ways in which the human-animal relationship is mediated. The fundamental principle behind actor-network theory is that humans do not exist in isolation from broader networks of nonhumans. Therefore, the actor, or 'actant', is simultaneously a network of nonhumans. These nonhumans are technical artifacts, institutions, social structures, and so on. Latour (1991: 110) perceives the relationships between humans and nonhumans as chains of associations. Actor-network theory features a 'principle of symmetry' which 'rejects any *a priori* distinctions between the human and the nonhuman, agent and object, the social and the natural or the technological' (Birke & Michael 1997: 5). In this regard, actor-network theory

moves beyond the dichotomous approaches that have been applied to the *corrida*, such as those described and critiqued in Chapter Four. For example, Birke & Michael (1997: 13) use the notion of hybridity alongside actor-network theory to 'confound' and 'destabilise that tired old division between nature and culture'. Moreover, actor-network theory presupposes blurriness in the border between human and nonhuman. 'What makes this theory different from many others is its insistence that nonhuman – technological and 'natural' – are present in the production of every 'ordering' of relations' (Birke & Michael 1997: 6). As a theory characterised by a material-symbolic method which deals with both objects and meanings, actor-network theory is particularly suited to an analysis of the humans, animals and technologies involved in the *corrida de rejones* and the meanings of their interactions.[139]

Birke & Michael (1997: 5) argue that in actor-network theory, 'nonhuman' can also mean nonhuman animals'. This relates to the view posed in the previous chapter that the world is shared and constructed by humans and animals. The inclusion of animal within the realm of nonhuman also redresses a critique of actor-network theory. For example, Dant (2004: 69) criticises actor-network theory for treating 'the relationship between human and objects as always mediated through some form of language' such as a report, statement, policy or speech. Although I acknowledged the body-language of animals, and their vocality, linguistically based language is not generally considered to occur between humans and animals. At the very least, '[w]e might say that animals are mute only if we remain deaf' (Birke & Michael 1997: 9), or in other words, that 'an animal's "dumbness" is really the measure of our "deafness"' (Williams, D. 2000b: 33). However, by focusing on intercorporeal human-object-animal networks, language – especially written language - loses its primacy. This is a similar approach to Barad (2003) who, as described in Chapter Three, applies Butler's (1993) performativity to the body, thus destabalising the primacy of discourse. Her application is then extended by Birke, Bryld & Lykke (2004) to animal bodies and human-animal intercorporeality.

[139] For a critical overview of the history of actor-network theory, its basic principles, see Dant (2004: 67-71).

Birke & Michael explore the human-lead-dog network as well as the human-bridle-horse network to support their argument that animals are important nonhumans in actor-network theory. For example, the doglead 'mediates exchanges between the human and dog, and blurs the site of agency. Who is the user – human or dog? Who does the configuring – animal, lead, or human?' (Birke & Michael 1997: 10). A parallel is found in the debate over whether guns kill people, people kill people or a hybrid of the two (explored by Latour 1999: 179). These are questions regarding agency, and they arise because human-gun or human-lead-dog are reconfigured as a hybrid. Birke & Michael (1997: 10) attribute agency to the lead by asserting that '[t]he doglead then permits a mutuality'. They (1997: 14) emphasise the mutuality of this particular network by noting that 'both human and dog become changed, and become more than simple person-plus-dog'.

Similarly, in Chapter One I emphasised the generative and transformative nature of the human-horse relationship and used the symbol of the centaur to illustrate this. It should be noted that my use of the centaur as a hybrid differs from the strict usage of the term in actor-network theory where hybrids are permanent (re)combinations of networks (Dant 2004: 62). The centaur is impermanent in that rider and horse often separate physically, but I argue that it also transcends physical hybridity as the horse is implied in the construction of a rider and that horse and rider are changed through their riding relationship, even when physically disconnected (as discussed in Chapter One).

Embodying the animal, embodying the tool

This chapter is an analysis of the ways in which technology mediates the human-animal relations in *rejoneo*. However, I wish to acknowledge that the human-technology-animal network is circular; humans mediate animal-technology relationships and animals mediate human-technology relationships. There is thus an intimate network of riding style, type of horse, skills required of a horse, type of tool, tool usage, way of approaching the bull and so forth. A focus on one of these elements would entail a description of the others. However, by focusing on the technological mediation of human-animal relationships, I illustrate the breadth of boundary-crossing in *rejoneo*; *rejoneo* not only performs the crossing of human-animal boundaries but also human-animal-technology crossing. In doing so, I

acknowledge that human-animal relationships exist within a broader network of technologies. In this chapter, I focus on the ways in which the human-horse-bull relationship in *rejoneo* is mediated by the various *rejones* and *banderillas* (see Plate 23, below). As noted in the introduction to this chapter, these tools are designed to penetrate the bull's boundary (see Plate 24, below). As extensions of the *rejoneador*, I argue that they also interpenetrate the network rider-horse-bull.

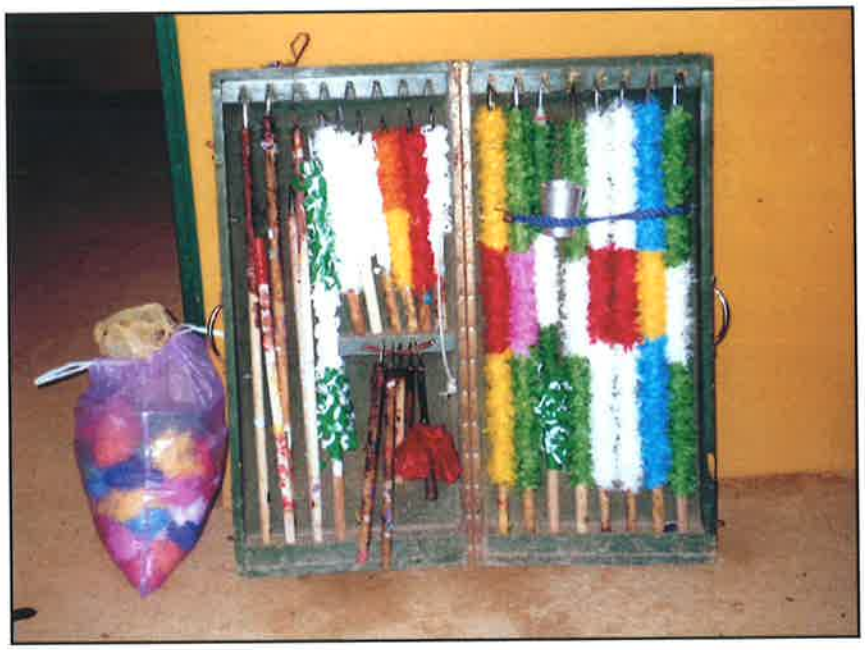


Plate 23: *Banderillas largas, cortas* and *rosas* in the process of being prepared to be taken to a *corrida de rejones.*

Photo: Author



Plate 24: Blades being prepared for attachment to the *rejones de castigo.*

Photo: Author

The technological mediation of human-animal relationships in the *corrida* has not been the subject of focussed research. I posit that this is a repercussion of etymological differences in the naming of bullfighters from foot and from horseback, such that a technological mediation is encoded in the latter's naming but not the former. The bullfighter from foot, upon which most bullfighting analysis is based, is most commonly referred to as the *torero*, from the noun *toro* for bull, and therefore meaning literally 'he who bulls'. Thus, the *torero* takes his identity from the animal to whom he most directly relates (the *toro*). The term *torero* is a fairly generic reference to a bullfighter. It can, in different circumstances, be used to refer to *rejoneadores*, to the *torero* who kills the bull, and to their assistants. In fact, the *torero* who kills the bull is usually distinguished as a *matador* (from the verb *matar,* to kill). A *matador* can be registered as a *matador de novillos sin picadors,* a *matador de novillos con picadores*, or a *matador de toros* (if he faces bulls two to four years of age, or bulls four and under six years of age, as discussed in Chapter One).[140]

There is another noun for a *torero,* or more precisely a *matador*, which derives from a relationship he has to the technology that he uses to interact with the bull; he is also known as the *espada* (sword). However, this is a less common and more formal term for the *matador*, suggesting that he is primarily someone who relates directly (that is through his body) with bulls and secondarily, someone whose relation with the bull is mediated by the *estoque* (a type of sword specific to the *matador*). The term *espada* distinguishes the *matador* from other footed assistants in his team, such as the *banderillero* (who is named after the *banderillas* he uses to spike the bull), because he is the one who delivers the final blow. The

[140] A *matador* begins his career as a *matador de novillos sin picadores,* with the approval of an institution or professional, as required by the legislation. After participating in ten *novilladas sin picadors*, the *matador* can participate in *novilladas con picadores,* as well as continuing to participate in *novilladas sin picadores.* To become a *matador de toros,* a *torero* is required to participate in 25 *novilladas con picadores.* His transition to *matador de toros* takes place at his first *corrida de toros* during what is known as an *alternativa*, from the verb 'to alternate'. During the *alternativa*, the most senior *matador de toros* in the programme allows the *matador de novillos con picadores* to carry out the death of the first bull and signals this by handing over the *muleta* and *estoque.* The *alternativa* is then confirmed when the *matador* performs for the first time in the *plaza de toros de Las Ventas* in Madrid. This process takes place by submitting the required documentation and with the required approval. *Matadores* can only perform in lower categories for which they are registered during *festivales* (charitable *corridas* that are usually held outside of the 'normal' season, and seen as less serious than *corridas per se*). *Rejoneadores de toros,* however, can continue to perform in *corridas de novillos.* (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 1-7).

term '*torero*' distinguishes him from others in his team because he has the most intimate relation (*compenetración*) with the bull.

Whilst the *torero* takes his name from the animal with whom he relates in the *corrida*, the *rejoneador* takes his name from the tool with which he relates: the *rejon*.[141] He is generically known through his relationship with the horse as a *caballero* (from *caballo* for horse), but the term *caballero* can mean knight, horse-rider and gentleman. The noun *rejoneador* is *corrida*-specific and means literally 'he who uses *rejones*'. Thus, the *rejoneador* takes his identity from the technology that he uses to physically penetrate and kill the bull. There is an interesting reversal in the etymology of the horses associated with the *picador* and the *rejoneador*. The *caballo de picar* (and the picador) takes its name from the *pica* used by the *picador*, whilst the *caballo torero* takes its name from the bull. Thus, the *rejoneador* is associated etymologically with technology, whilst his horse is associated with another animal (the bull). The *picador*, however, is associated etymologically with the technology he uses and so is his horse. As I argue below, this relates to the inanimate nature of the *picador-caballo de picar* relationship and the more animate nature of the *rejoneador-caballo-torero* relationship.

As noted in the previous chapter, the *torero* is considered to be *compenetrado* with the bull (see Marvin 1994: 159). This is a mutual penetration of human and bull and can be evidenced in the *torero* taking his name from the bull and therefore having his identity penetrated by the bull (as well as the ever present possibility that the bull may penetrate the *torero* with his horns), and by the *torero's* physical penetration of the bull using the *estoque*. Marvin (1994: 160) notes that in *rejoneo*, the rider is *compenetrado* with his horse but is never thought to be *compenetrado* with the bull, as if the horse interrupts human-bull *compenetración*. However, as the opening quotation to this chapter illustrates, *rejoneadores* strove for an intimate level of mutual understanding with their horses which they described as a pairing which shares bodies and minds. I therefore argue that the horse does not interrupt human-bull *compenetración*. Indeed, in this chapter I develop the idea

[141] Whilst the term *rejon* looks similar to the English word 'rejoin', there is no association between the two. *Rejon* is a nineteenth century word from the Latin *regula* for a straight piece of wood.

that the rider is part horse, and part *rejon*. In other words, the *rejoneador* is a part of the network *rejoneador-caballo torero-rejon-toro bravo*.

Thus, the *rejoneador* is *compenetrado* with his horse, the *rejon* and the bull. I argue that the *rejones* are embodied by the *rejoneador* and are extensions of his body. As Dant (2004: 75) explains in relation to the human-car relationship, '[t]he automobility that is realised in the driver-car serves as both an extension of the human body and an extension of technology and society into the human'. In *rejoneo*, this is a technologising of the *rejoneador*. Through the centaurian relationship of the rider-horse, this is more than a rider-*rejon* network, it is a centaur-*rejon* network. Thus, a consideration of the human-animal relations in *rejoneo* needs to consider the involvement of technology. In the following section, I describe the three phases of the *corrida de rejones*, giving for each phase a description of the bull, the horse and the tool that the *rejoneador* uses. The tools used in the *corrida de rejones* have various specific names but they are referred to collectively as *rejones*. I discuss them individually below, but use the collective term *rejones* to refer to them in general as the tools of the *rejoneador*.

The three *tercios* of a *corrida*

Primer tercio/tercio de salida

As noted in Chapter One, the *rejoneo* event is structured around three phases, or *tercios*. It is preceded by the *paseíllo* (parade of all involved) and the *espectáculo ecuestre* (a brief equestrian performance by the *rejoneadores*). This phase is known as the *primer* (first) *tercio* or the *tercio de salida* (entrance), as it marks the entrance of the bull to the *plaza*. In this *tercio* the bull is described as *levantado* (lofty), because the bull carries its head the highest during this *tercio*. The bull at this stage is unpredictable and 'although the bull is in the fullness of his power, he is considered less dangerous because he charges randomly' (Arratia 1988: 287). The *rejoneador* uses the first *tercio* as an opportunity to learn the habits of the bull, its tendencies to travel one way, to look more stable or balanced one way, or its preference for a particular horn. It is also a valuable way to learn how 'valient' the bull is, measured by its willingness to repeatedly charge something which it associates with pain or discomfort. The *rejoneador* weakens the bull by leading it

at pace around the *plaza*. The typical scene in the first *tercio* then is a horse cantering or galloping close to the *barrera* of the bullring with the bull in pursuit, its horns butting the horse's tail and very occasionally its rump.

To match the bull's frantic energy and determination to charge in the *tercio de salida*, the *rejoneador* uses a *caballo de salida*. The *caballo de salida* needs to be fast enough to lead the bull in a chase but keep to a pace and distance that allows the bull to come as close as possible without being gored. Breeds associated with speed and endurance are typically used at this stage such as English Thoroughbreds or Arabian horses.[142] A *rejoneador's* description of *temple* in the *corrida* involved a description of the skills required of a *caballo de salida*:

> *Si el toro a lo mejor tiene una embestida muy brusca, pues tú lo vas corriendo al toro por derecho y vas frenando el caballo hasta que le vas templando la embestida al toro sin que te coja la cabalgadura nunca. Y lo llevas a la cola; a la cola, encelándolo, encelándolo, encelándolo, hasta que el toro se vaya dejando de ir y lo vas templando tú de a caballo.*
>
> If the bull's charge is too fast you run alongside the bull to the right, slowing the horse until you have rgulated its charge without ever letting it hit the horse. You keep it at the horse's tail, teasing, teasing, teasing[143] until the bull gathers speed and you regulate its movements from horseback.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

In first and second category *corridas*, a *divisa* (small harpoon) is stuck in the bull's *morillo* before being released into the *plaza*, (for more information see de Cossío 2000, vol 1: 74-75). It bears ribbons representing the colours of the *ganadería* (the stud where it was bred) and is 80mm in total length, of which 30mm is a 16mm wide double-edged blade (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 59.5). This is the first in a number of cultural artifacts that adorn the bull over the duration of the *corrida*. The *rejones* used in the *primer tercio* are the *rejones de castigo* (*rejones* of punishment). The *rejon de castigo* is 160cm in total length. A hollow cylinder (*cubillo)* of 6cm in length attaches a double-edged blade to the wooden part of the *rejon de castigo*. The *cubillo* has a cross bar affixed which is also 6cm long. The blade is 2.5cm wide and 15cm long for *novillos* or 18cm long

[142] Moreno Pidal (2004: 252) recommends at least fifty percent English blood.

[143] The verb '*encelar*' is used here, which more accurately means 'to make jealous' but is more appropriately translated in this context as teasing.

for *toros* (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 67.1). Just back from the *cubillo*, the wooden stick is whittled down to a finer 'neck' that breaks away from the long handle when the barb is pushed into the bull and the *rejoneador* pushes against it. As the barb breaks away from the *rejon*, it triggers the unfurling of a coloured flag that has been wrapped around the main handle (see Plate 25, below). The *rejones de castigo* leave a small barb under the bull's skin from which colourful streamers dangle. The streamers indicate the *rejoneador's* accuracy of placement. They should be as close as possible to the *divisa*, to suggest that the *rejoneador* has taken the maximum risk of reaching over the bull's horns to place it.

The *rejones de castigo* are one of the main divergences between bullfighting from horseback and from foot. They take the place of the *pica* in the first phase of the latter. If the *rejoneador* feels that the bull's head is lofty enough to cause difficulty, or if he wishes to 'enliven' the bull, he can place more or less *rejones de castigo*. Placing more *rejones* can be seen to enliven a bull that seems disinterested, but there is a risk of causing the opposite effect by 'punishing' the bull too much. This is at the *rejoneador's* discretion according to how well he can read the bull's disposition. A maximum number of three *rejones de castigo* can be placed in the *primer tercio* (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 88).

Some *rejoneadores* use the *garrocha* during the *primer tercio* (see Plate 26, below). The *garrocha* is used in the *tercio de salida* to entice the bull to charge and pursue. The *garrocha* is a wooden pole of around 2.5m long and 5cm thick which is used in the countryside to control the movements of bulls at liberty, or to knock them over to be able to attend to them. This has become a competition called *acoso y derribo*. There are no official regulations regarding the usage of the *garrocha* in the *corrida de rejones*, as it is an innovation, or at least its use in the *corrida* is an innovation. The *rejoneador* drags the tip of the *garrocha* in the sand near the horse's hind legs, whilst turning his body and outstretched arm backwards towards the horse's rump and the trailing bull. As a symbol of *doma vaquera*, using the *garrocha* in the *corrida de rejones* is the translation of country work to the *plaza*. It is understood as an Andalusian tradition and is seen as representative of Andalusian identity, as described in Chapter Five.



Plate 25: A flag unfurls from the *rejon de castigo* after being placed by Fermín Bohórquez.

Photo: Author



Plate 26: Álvaro Montes *rejoneando con la garrocha*.

Source: http://www.portaltaurino.com/images/*corridas*/sevilla_2005/030405/020-alvaro-montes.jpg
(accessed 28 February 2007)

Segundo tercio/Tercio de banderillas

The *cambio de tercio* ('change of *tercio*) is signalled by a trumpet call. In the second *tercio*, the bull is less interested in following the horse and is thus described as *parado* (fixed) (Arratia 1988: 288). The bull may stand still and be reluctant to charge the rider-horse, favouring a place in the *plaza* called its *querencia* where it feels most comfortable (Arratia 1988: 287; de Cossío 2000, vol 1: 27). The *rejoneador* tries to keep the bull away from this area and avoids placing himself between the bull and its *querencia* for reasons of safety and aesthetics, as the bull is less active and more confident there.

The *tercio de banderillas* is often thought to be the most *vistoso* (eye-catching) *tercio*. It is also considered the most important in terms of securing trophies, notwithstanding the importance of a clean kill in the final *tercio de muerte*. The horse used at this stage should be *vistoso* itself and according to Moreno Pidal (2004: 256), no less than the *rejoneador's* best horse. This horse is referred to as the *caballo de banderillas*. It must have the confidence to remain within close proximity to the 'fixed' bull, simultaneously watching responding to signals from the rider. The Iberian horse - the Spanish *Pura Raza Española* and its Portuguese relation the *Lusitano* - are the preferred breeds for this *tercio* due to an innate 'capacity for collection, for training, for its beauty, its valour and its capacity to 'moderate' (templar) the bull' (Jiménez Benítez 1994: 102). The Portuguese Lusitano bloodlines are considered to be more versatile and useful in the *corrida* due to their continued presence in the Portuguese mounted *corridas* whilst the *corridas caballerescas* were little practiced in Spanish *corridas* during the 18th century. Thus, horses of Lusitano lineage are thought to have established and uninterrupted bullfighting lines.

The *tercio de banderillas* is named after the gaily decorated barbs that are placed into the bull (see Plate 27, below). The *segundo tercio* in the *corrida* from foot is also called the *tercio de banderillas* and is carried out by a footed *banderillero*. The *rejoneador* and the *banderillero* both aim to *adornar* (decorate) and *animar* (enliven) the bull with the *banderillas*. According to one *rejoneador*:

> *La banderilla que se pone a pie que se pone de frente y de poder a poder pues es la que intentamos poner a caballo también ponernos de frente y poner un par de banderillas de poder a poder igual que a pie...*
>
> The *banderilla* that is placed on foot, head-on, with the *torero* moving forwards is what we also attempt to do from horseback. We [*rejoneadores*] position ourselves in front and place a pair of *banderillas*, advancing to get the bull to charge, the same as it's done on foot...
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

Moments of tension usually precede each 'charge' where the horse is required to be explosive enough to avoid a goring but restrained enough to stay as close as possible to the bull. In the same way that a footed *banderillero* spins acrobatically before and after placing *banderillas* over the bull's horns, the *rejoneador* and his horse may perform one or two full pirouettes in front of the bull's horns. The pinnacle of the centaurian relationship in *rejoneo* is riding *sin manos* (without hands), as illustrated in Plate 27, below. The rider is required to do this to place a pair of *banderillas*. He ties the reins to his belt, takes a *banderilla* in each hand and guides the horse using only his seat, legs and changes of weight.

The function of the *banderillas* is to excite the bull. The verb *alegrar* (Gargantilla Rodríguez 2005: 36) is used to describe this, a word which means 'to liven up', from *alegría* which means happiness. There are two kinds of *banderillas*: *largas* and *cortas* (long and short). The *banderillas largas* are 80cm in length with a 6cm harpoon at one end (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 63.1). The *banderillas cortas* have the same harpoon as the long *banderillas*, but are between 20 and 35cm in length. These 20cm *banderillas cortas* are often decorated with green and red tissue paper or with artificial flowers to resemble *rosas* (roses), as they are then referred to (see Plate 28, below). Their invention is credited to the *rejoneador* Angel Peralta (Abarquero Durango 1984: 107). A minimum of two pairs of *banderillas* must be used by the *rejoneador* (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 76.1) with a maximum of three pairs of *banderillas* or three *farpas* (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 88.5). The *farpa* is a Portuguese variation of the *banderilla*. It has the same length as the *banderilla* larga with a harpoon of 7cm (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 67.2).[144]

[144] I was unaware of any *farpas* being used at the *corridas* I attended and neither did I hear the word '*farpa*' used.

The *banderillas* always progress from longest to shortest, requiring the *rejoneador-caballo torero* to come closer to the bull with each placement.



Plate 27: Fermín Bohórquez riding *sin manos* to place a pair of *banderillas largas*.

Photo: Author



Plate 28: David Vázquez holds a *rosa* to the crowd.

Photo: Author

In addition to 'enlivening' the bull, the *banderillas* are also seen as decoration, adding to the beauty of the bull and the spectacle of the *corrida*. *Banderillas* are decorated with brightly coloured tissue, usually in three segments often with the same colour used at each end and a contrasting colour in the middle. The colours are often chosen to represent the colours of a particular stud or a region. For example, blue-white-blue is a combination favoured by *Rejoneadores* from *Jerez* as these are the colours of the Province of Cadiz. Green and white are the colours of Andalusia, whilst red and yellow refer to the colours of the Spanish flag. The same colour combinations are typically used in the ribbons woven into the *caballos toreros'* manes (see Plate 16 in Chapter Six).

Tercer tercio/Tercio de muerte

The third *tercio* is the *tercio de muerte*, often referred to as the *último tercio*, as it is the final stage of the *corrida*, and represents the final moments of the bull's life. The bull at this stage is described as being *aplomado* (heavy) (Arratia 1988: 288) and although it still retains some strength, it is most 'fixed' in this *tercio*. In other words, the bull's usage of space is minimal in this *tercio*. The *rejoneador* selects a horse specifically suited to and trained for the requirements of this *tercio*. The *caballo de muerte* or *caballo de* matar (horse of death) is required to be noble and 'valiant' to perform difficult movements in tight space, such as spinning in the face of the bull, exposing its chest and rump close to the bull's horns. Similar Iberian breeds are preferred for this *tercio* as the *tercio de banderillas*. The horse used in the *tercio de muerte* also needs to have smooth movement to aid the placement of the *rejon de muerte* (*rejón* of death). The more precise the placement, the greater the chance of a clean kill which will enhance the *rejoneador's* performance and give a greater likelihood of being awarded trophies.

The bull must be killed. It has served the purpose for which it has been bred, and has had the 'honour' of defending itself in the *plaza*. After being transformed throughout the *tercios*, it is now considered too 'wise' and therefore too dangerous to be fought again. As one *rejoneador* passionately explained:

> *Pues, creo que el toro ha nacido para morir. Y a diferencia de que en Portugal no se matan los toros, aquí en España se matan y creo que es lo más bonito que hay ¿no? La muerte de un toro bravo es una cosa preciosa.*

> I believe the bull has been born to die. Contrary to Portugal's practice where bulls are not killed, here in Spain they are and I believe this is the most beautiful thing there is, isn't it? The death of a *toro bravo* is a wonderful thing.
>
> (LD, *rejoneador*)

His emotional description of killing the bull represents Smith's (2004: 5) 'ontological thrill' and reinterprets Acampora's (1995) *symphysical ethos,* as described in Chapter Three. The *rejon de muerte*, literally the *rejon* of death, delivers the *coup de grâce*.[145] Whilst the *banderillas* are barbs, the *rejon de muerte* is a 1.6m long sword. It features a double edged blade which is 2.5cm wide. It is 60cm in length for *novillos* and 65cm long for *toros* (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 67.3). This long and thin blade is sheathed in semi-transparent red tissue paper (see Plate 29, below).[146] Like the *rejones* and *banderillas*, it is used from horseback (see Plate 30, below).

After the placing of *rejones de castigo* in the first *tercio*, the *farpas* or *banderillas largas* and the *banderillas cortas* and *rosas* in the second *tercio*, the bull is considered *parado*. The *banderillas* stick out parallel to the ground, flapping up and down in time to the bull's panting. Its mouth is open and its dry tongue sticks out as if sketched by *Pica*sso (see Plate 37). The *rejoneador* needs to place the *rejón de muerte* amongst all of the *banderillas* and barbs that adorn the bull. If the bull is killed by the first *rejon de muerte*, its crowning decoration will be the handle of the *rejon* sitting between its shoulder blades. The *rejoneadores* of my fieldwork almost always dismounted to face the bull as it died, even if the *coup de grâce* came from horseback. They disengaged completely with the horse, sometimes even dismounting as it was moving. The horse would trot away from the *rejoneador* and the bull towards the door from which it entered and where it was led away by an assistant.

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[145] During the numerous *corridas* that I travelled to with a *rejoneador* and his *quadrilla* (team), I did not hear the *mozo de espada*s (sword handler) use the words *rejon de muerte*. This particular *mozo de espadas* always referred to the *rejon de muerte* as an *espada* (sword) and everything else as *cuchillos* (knives), which he differentiated with the words long or short (*larga* or *corta*).

[146] Álvaro Domecq y Díez killed the bulls using the *estoque*, the same sword used by *toreros* on foot (Fifield 1978: 108).



Plate 29: David Vázquez dedicating the *rejon de muerte* to someone in the crowd after it has been handed to him by the truck driver (something the truck driver considered a thrill and an honour).

Photo: Author



Plate 30: David Vázquez about to place the *rejon de muerte*.

Photo: Author

The *rejoneador* must make a minimum of two separate attempts with the *rejon de muerte* before being allowed to dismount (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 85.5). After two warnings from the president, the *rejoneador* must dismount from his horse and kill the bull from the ground. The first warning comes if he has not killed the bull within five minutes of the start of the *tercio de muerte*, and the second warning comes two minutes after the first (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 88.6). The *rejoneador* can substitute a qualified understudy to complete the kill if he wishes. This was, apparently, commonplace until Álvaro Domecq Romero started killing his own bulls as a rule. According to Fifield:

> Alvarito says that the man who fights the bull ought to be the one who kills it. This, for a time, got him a bad reputation as one who *liked to kill bulls* ... But Alvarito tells me the fact was be began it because he wasn't very good at killing from horseback and so had to resort to this, and, besides, a beginner then, he didn't have enough trained horses - and was often short of one for the final death faena.
>
> (Fifield 1978: 107)

An active *rejoneador* that I spoke to expressed the importance of killing the bull himself:

> *Cuando el toro sale... es mi toro; entonces yo intento matarlo. Para mí sería una deshonra que alguien lo mate. Cuando no hay más remedio, pues, que lo maten. Pero mientras que uno pueda y se vea recapacitado, uno debe de matar su toro porque para eso es su toro. Yo siempre intento matarlo; cuando no puedo, pues, no puedo.*
>
> When the bull comes out of the enclosure... it is my bull, therefore I attempt to kill it. It would be a great dishonour for me if someone else killed it. If there isn't any alternative, well, let it be killed by others. But as long as you are capable of killing it, you must do it because it is your bull. I always attempt to kill it; when I can't, well, I can't...
>
> (DV, *rejoneador*)

From the ground, the *rejoneador* faces the bull with the red *muleta* (cape) and the *descabello*, a straight sword 88cm long which has a cross bar that prevents it from penetrating the bull any more than 10cm (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 66.1, 2). The *descabello* is used to kill the bull quickly by jabbing it at the base of its neck and severing its spinal cord. Assistants usually enter and help to keep the bull still by swinging the larger *capotes* either side of it. The bull turns its head left and right as each swing of a *capote* grabs its attention (see Plate 31, below). This causes any blade inside the bull to also move sideways. The *capotes* are held low, to encourage the bull to lower its head, giving the *rejoneador* a clear view of the position between and slightly behind its ears where he will jab it with the *descabello* (see Plate 32, below).

The *rejoneador* uses the red *muleta* in front of the bull to draw its attention downwards. If the bull refuses to lower its head sufficiently, its muzzle is often pushed down, or at times 'jabbed' with the *descabello*. If the bull is not killed after three warnings, it is killed by a *cuchillero* using a short dagger to the spinal cord (see Plate 33, below), or returned to the corrals outside the *plaza* and killed (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 88.6). As with the case of an understudy or assistant being substituted to kill the bull from the ground on the *rejoneador's* behalf, I did not see a bull returned to the corral to be killed.



Plate 31: The *rejoneador* holds the red *muleta* used with the *descabello* whilst his *cuadrilla* use the pink and yellow *capotes* to assist.

Photo: Author



Plate 32: The *rejoneador* attempts to kill the bull using the *descabello*.

Photo: Author



Plate 33: If the *rejoneador* is unable to kill the bull with the *descabello,* it is killed by an assistant using a dagger.

Photo: Author



Plate 34: A bull about to be hitched to mules to be dragged from the *plaza*

Photo: Author

Sometimes the bull becomes enlivened during the *descabello* and lunges at the *rejoneador*. If it shows sufficient reserves of energy, the *rejoneador* may perform a few cape passes with it, in the style of a footed *torero*. When the bull has settled, the *rejoneador* re-positions it again to kill it with the *descabello*. At the *corrida de rejones at the Feria del Caballo* in 2001 I witnessed Luis Domecq walk to and fro in front of the subdued bull in the style of a *flamenco* dancer, with proud bearing and balanced turns which incorporated bending down on one knee and stretching a hand poignantly towards the bull. As with other occasions where I observed this kind of *flamenco*-inspired performance, the crowd greeted each turn with enthusiasm, calling out '*olé*'.

When the *descabello* accurately severs the bull's spinal cord its knees buckle, it drops to the ground like the proverbial tonne of bricks, falls onto its side and twitches in the deathly spasm that Douglass (1984: 254) likens to an orgasm. This is, however, a 'Hollywood' finish and the *descabello* is often used more than once. Once the *rejoneador* knows that the bull's expiration is secured, he does not wait for it to finish twitching before claiming success. He turns his back on the bull and walks to the centre of the ring to salute the crowd and accept his applause. If the *descabello* has been 'messy' and involved a number of attempts, the *rejoneador* may walk directly to the *barrera*, too ashamed to greet the crowd. No matter how well a *rejoneador* 'fought' in the other stages of the *corrida*, difficulties with the final kill can ruin the audience's and president's perception of the entire performance.

At the end of every *tercio de muerte*, a *cuchillero* (usually one of the *banderilleros*) enters the arena to stab the bull's spinal cord further to ensure its death whilst the team of mules is led in to drag away the bull's carcass (see Plate 34, above) and a *monosabio* begins to rake the sand clear as the *rejoneador* returns to the *barrera* where an assistant gives him water and a towel to wipe his face. Here the *rejoneador* waits to see how many trophies the audience demands of the president, and how many he will receive (see Plate 35, below). At high profile *corridas*, a television reporter may interview the *rejoneador*. As I describe in the following chapter, the *rejoneador* may go straight to the centre of the *plaza* to accept the crowds applause before being awarded any trophies.



Plate 35: David Vázquez waits as the crowd petitions the president to award trophies.

Photo: Author

I have described each *tercio* in the *corrida de rejones* according to the state of the bull, the type of horse chosen, the tools used at each stage and the ways in which they are used. In the following section I analyse this descriptive material in relation to the human-animal boundary and intercorporeality across humans, animals and tools. This analysis centres on the technological mediation of humans and animals in *rejoneo*. As such, a summary of the tools which characterise each *tercio* is provided below (see Table 1, below).

Analysis of the human-technology-animal network in *rejoneo*

In order to place the *rejones*, the *rejoneador* must manoeuvre his horse perilously close to the bull's horns. As shown below in Table 1, the *rejones* become shorter throughout the first two *tercios*. The tools decrease in size from 160cm (or 250cm on the less common occasions when the *garrocha* is used) to the 20cm *rosa*. As the tools become shorter, the rider-horse needs to come closer to the bull. This suggests that the *corrida de rejones* is structured around the closeness of human and animal bodies, facilitated by the shortening of tools.

	Name of tool	Length of tool	Length of blade	Number
Prior	***Divisa***	**80mm**	**30mm**	1
Primer tercio	***Rejon de castigo***	**160cm**	**15cm *novillos*** **18cm *toros***	Max 3
	Garrocha	**250cm**	**N/a/**	N/a
	Banderillas largas	**80cm**	**6cm**	
Segundo tercio	***Farpa***	**80cm**	**7cm**	Min 2 pairs Max 3 pairs
	Banderillas cortas	**20-35cm**	**6cm**	
	Rosas	**20cm**	**6cm**	
Tercer tercio	***Rejon de muerte***	**160cm**	**60cm *novillos*** **65cm *toros***	Min 2 before dismounting
	Descabello	**88cm**	**10cm max penetration**	Max 3 warnings from president

Table 1: Description of technology according to *tercio*

Source: Author

At a *corrida* in *Talavera de la Reina*, I watched a *rejoneador* whose style would be described as *valiente*, as opposed to *artista*. This young and daring *rejoneador* showed the audience just how close he was prepared to get to the bull. After making his horses sit down on their rumps in the presence of the bull and riding with a Cañero like brutality on his scarred horses with bleeding mouth and sides, he held a *banderilla* out to the crowd. In a valiant display, he rode to the *barrera* and cracked the *banderilla* against the rail, snapping it in halves and sending the blunt end ricocheting into the crowd. In doing so, he was performing his desire and ability to get closer to the bull than required, and to take the maximum risk

The relationship between rider-horse needs to be centaurian as there is little room for error, especially when placing a 20cm *rosa* between the bulls horns, for example. The *rosa* is placed *al estribo*, with the bull's horns facing the stirrups and the bodies of the rider-horse at right angles to the bull's body, or *de frente*, with the bodies of rider-horse and bull facing one another (see Plate 36, below). In these

positions, where the rider-horse bodies can be millimetres from the bull's horns or even touch the bull's horns, it is not as easy to get out of the way of the horns as it could be if the *rosa* was placed *a la grupa*, with the bull coming towards the horse's rump from a slight angle. Placing a *rejon* or *banderilla a la grupa* means that the rider-horse need only accelerate pace to clear themselves from the danger of a goring. Placing a *banderilla* or *rosa al estribo* or *de frente*, however, means that the rider-horse needs to move sideways or diagonally to avoid being gored. This suggests that the physical placement of rider-horse and bull bodies in space becomes more 'entangled' as the *corrida* progresses.



Plate 36: Series of three photos showing 1) David Vázquez inciting the bull with the *rosa*, 2) The bull turning to charge *al estribo*, and 3) the bull leaping after the *rosa* has been placed.

Photos: Author

I suggest that this physical proximity represents human-animal proximity. As discussed above, I argue that the *rejones* and *banderillas* are extensions of the *rejoneador's* body. Thus, as the tools are used to penetrate the bull's body, its body is being similarly penetrated by the *rejoneador*. The act of inserting the *rejones* merges human-horse(centaur)-*rejon*-bull and therefore blurs their physical boundaries. As the *rejon* is a human extension of the *rejoneador*, it also becomes an animal extension of the bull, thereby mediating the human-bull relationship and crossing the human-bull boundary. This profound intercorporeality is an example of the *ontological thrill* of being animal achieved by riding or killing animals, as noted above. For example, a *rejoneador* described the emotionality of successfully crossing this boundary and the joy of penetrating a brave bull as follows:

> *Pues si las pones bien, en una parte importante y con un toro muy bravo, pues es una emoción que no se puede describir porque... Se te ponen los bellos de punta y.... y a mí por ejemplo me achacan muchas veces que sonrío poco, que soy muy serio. Pero yo creo que cuando haces algo bonito, más que ganas de reírte lo que te dan ganas de hacer es llorar porque es una emoción grande.*
>
> Well, if you place them [the *banderillas*] properly, in the right place and if the bull is very *bravo*, it produces an indescribable emotion and gives you goosebumps. Me, for example, I'm often criticised for not smiling enough, for being too serious. But I believe that when you do something beautiful, instead of laughing you feel like crying, because the emotion is very intense.
>
> (LD, *rejoneador*)

A conceptual boundary crossing exists in addition to the physical penetration of human-animal bodies. As Dant (2004: 71) notes that 'all non-humans become imbued with human intentionality; guns are intended for killing, cars for driving. Horses, once trained, fed and saddled, become non-humans that have taken on some human intentionality for riding'. Likewise, *toros bravos* are intended for being *bravo* and being killed, *rejones* are intended for killing with, *caballos toreros* are intended for merging with *rejoneadores* and facilitating the killing of bulls. Moreover, I would point out that the horse conditions the *rejoneador* to ride and the bull conditions the *rejoneador* to interact with it in a particular way. Thus, the *caballo torero* is part human, the bull is part human, the rider is part *rejon* and so forth. In the same way that even when rider-horse is physically separated the horse retains human elements and the rider retains horse elements, after the *rejoneador* has let go of the *rejon*, the bull retains human elements represented by the *banderillas* and *rejones*. They bear testimony to the moments at which rider-

horse and bull were simultaneously physically united; the moment at which the rider-horse, using the *rejones* and *banderillas* as extensions of the rider's body, penetrated the body of the bull. The dead bull is part *rejoneador*, part horse and part *rejon* (not to mention the plethora of other institutions and so forth noted in the introduction to this chapter).

Marvin (1994: 148) notes that 'the bull comes into the arena as undressed, unadorned maleness' in contrast to the dressed *torero* (in fact, as noted above, the bull enters the arena with the small *divisa* attached to its *morillo*). The bull is literally decorated to death. The *rejones*, *banderillas* and *rosas* are seen as, *adornos* (decorations which embellish the bull and the spectacle of the *corrida*). By the end of the *tercio de salida*, the bull could be carrying up to three spearheads from the *rejones de castigo*, each one trailing a short streamer. By the end of the *tercio de banderillas*, the bull could have in addition up to three pairs of *banderillas* in its *morillo* with the gaily decorated wooden handles bouncing up and down at right angles from the spearheads embedded in its muscles which may include the red and green *rosas* sitting close to its skin. Its sides will be covered with a glossy sheen of blood, proof that the skin has been broken and the boundary between inside and outside has been transgressed (see Plate 37, below). Blood is common to bulls, horses and humans. Blood remains invisible until boundaries are broken; its visibility is a sign that boundaries have been crossed, and that there is a commonality in human and animal bodies. Moreover, the leakage of blood signals the potential for hybrids to be created.

The *rejon* used in the final *tercio* is as long as the *rejones de castigo* used in the first *tercio*, but its blade penetrates the deepest into the bull's body. This is the deepest penetration of the bull by the *rejoneador* and the greatest physical transgression of the bull's animal boundary by the *rejoneador's* human body. If the *rejon* is an extension of the *rejoneador's* corporeality and the placing of a *rejon* is the penetration of human-ness into animal-ness, then the *rejon de muerte* which is designed to deal death to the bull is the ultimate penetration of the human into the animal body. It results in the bull's death. The semantic repercussions of this are complicated and will be discussed in the following chapter. In this chapter, I restrict my discussion to the ways in which technology mediates the human-animal

relationships in the *corrida*. The meanings of these relationships are the topic of Chapter Nine.

Suertes de adorno

Whilst each stage of the *corrida* can be referred to as a *suerte* (*suerte de varas, suerte de banderillas* or *suerte de* muerte), the moment and way in which a *rejoneador* deliberately confronts the bull is also known as a *suerte*. *Suerte* is translated by Arratia (1988: 287) in the context of the *corrida* to mean the 'trying of one's luck' as a *suerte* can be an attempted confrontation with a bull as much as a successful one.[147] Basically, a *suerte* describes a manner of placing a *rejon* or *banderilla*. Redondo (1999: 66) argues that a *suerte* is distinguished according to six moments ranging from preparation through to completion[148] and he (1999: 66) identifies seven categories of *suertes*.[149] A number of *suertes de adorno*, or adornments, involve the *rejoneador* as rider-horse interacting with the bull. Some of these are mediated by objects, others by the rider's body (and therefore the horse's body that is implied in the rider-horse relationship).

An example of the latter is *el teléfono*, a *suerte* where the *rejoneador* puts his right elbow on the bull's forehead and his right fist on his own forehead and maintains this position whilst the bull follows his galloping horse (see Plate 38, below). This *suerte* first appeared in the footed *corrida* but was appropriated by *rejoneadores*

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[147] Outside of the *corrida* context, suerte can also mean 'luck', 'fate', 'chance', 'a sort of thing', 'a way of doing' or a 'kind of thing').

[148] 1) *P*reparation/*Preparación*, 2) commencement/*inicio*, 3) approach/*aproximación*, 4) charging/*embroque*, 5) placing the tool/*clavar* and 6) rounding off the suerte/remate (Redondo 1999: 66). I have translated *embroque* here as a charge. *Embroque* can also be used to define the moment at which a bullfighter places a barb by going between the bull's horns or the moment at which he positions himself close to a bull to avoid an otherwise certain goring. The charge of a bull is more specifically referred to as an *embiste*.

[149] 1) 'Classic *suertes*' which are some of the most 'traditional' *suertes*, 2) 'remedial *suertes*' used to deal with 'timid' bulls or bulls who are difficult to entice from their *querencia*, 3) '*suertes* of adornment' used to 'embellish' or adorn the confrontation, 4) 'variable *suertes*' which, depending on their context and the bull could be either remedial or adorning, 5) *suertes* defined by the area of the *plaza* in which they occur (two concentric rings divide the arena into three parts, also known as *tercios*. The most inner area is called the *medios*, the outer area known as the *tablas* and the area in between known as the *tercios*), 6) *suertes* defined by approach, such as from afar, from close, from the side, front-on and so forth and 7) new *suertes* created in the second half of the twenty first century (Redondo 1999: 66).

(Redondo 2000: 44). In *el teléfono*, the *rejoneador* touches the bull with his elbow. In addition to this, *rejoneadores* will at various times throughout the *corrida* touch the bull's head or horns after they have penetrated it with a *rejón*, often with their palm in a gentle but confident way (see Plate 39, below). This supports the argument that physical human-animal connections between humans and animals are important in *rejoneo*. Even though the rider-horse connection is fundamental, *rejoneadores* also seek physical connections with the bulls which are not directly mediated by technology such as the *rejones*. This challenges Marvin's (1994: 159) assertion that, '[a]lthough the horse might fall, exposing the thrown rider to danger, the physical proximity of the man and bull which excites emotion in the performance on foot is missing in [*rejoneo*]'. The physical proximity between man and bull is different between the footed and mounted *corridas*, but it is not entirely missing in *rejoneo*. Rather, it is articulated in a different way.

The *rejoneador* also relates to the bull through non-penetrative technologies and the rider's hat is often used to mediate the *rejoneador*-bull relation. This is known as *torear con el sombrero* (to bullfight with a hat) which involves the *rejoneador* holding out his hat to the bull; the 'inside' of it towards the bull, thus enticing the bull to penetrate the hat. It is also used as an *adorno* called *el tricornio* where the *rejoneador* places his hat onto the bull's forehead or in between its horns and maintaining this position as the bull follows the galloping horse, as required of *el teléfono*. The *tricornio* has an anthropomorphising effect, as Lawrence (1990: 234) notes in relation to hats being used in American rodeo events to humanise horses (in addition to sunglasses and pipes). Whilst *el teléfono* demonstrates the *rejoneador's* ability to maintain a physical relationship with the bull across movement, the *tricornio* demonstrates the anthropomorphising effect of this relationship.



Plate 37: The bull before the *rejon de muerte.*

Photo: Author



Plate 38: Diego Ventura performing *el teléfono*

Source: http://www.las-ventas.com/cronicas2005/1016/ventura.jpg (accessed 28 February 2007)



Plate 39: David Vázquez places his hand on the bull's head as it trails his horse's rump. Note the dangerous proximity of the bull's horns to the horse.

Photo: Author

For the seconds during which the *rejoneador* maintains *el teléfono* or *el tricornio*, he completes a triadic union between rider-horse and bull. This is a union of physicality through movement. Their bodies are unified and, through the anthropomorphising effect of *el tricornio*, their human and animal natures are made ambiguous. This is strongest in the sense of the bull 'wearing' a hat but also occurs in the rider-horse who appears to share a single body and mind to perform the *tricornio*. At the end of this *adorno*, the *rejoneador* lifts the hat away from the bull's head and holds it up to the audience, before replacing it on his own head. This is an act of crossing human and animal boundaries, performing that boundary-crossing for the audience, involving them in it and then reapropriating the tool that mediated that crossing.

El caballo es un capote

The horse can also be seen as a tool to mediate the human-bull relation. Its tail (and chest) is often compared to a *torero's* cape. '*El caballo es un capote, el caballo es una muleta*' (Arévalo 2001).[150] This is in reference to the pink and yellow *capote* capes used by the *torero*'s assistants, and the smaller red *muleta* used by the *torero* in the final *tercio* of the footed *corrida* to kill the bull.

> *Un muletazo le llamo yo, igual como un torero cuando se pone de frente en la distancia y dándole el pecho le pega un muletazo y te lo pasa por la faja, pues el caballo no tiene faja; tiene los pechos y sí, el cabestro lo tiene que pasar de los hocicos del toro... De los hocicos del caballo al rabo; pegarle un muletazo, cogerlo por la cara y pasárselo por la cola sin que toque al caballo eso se llama pegar un muletazo a caballo. Y de frente. Y no sólo es ponerse de frente. Hay que ir de frente...*
>
> They call it a *muletazo.* This is the same as when a *torero* stands directly in front of the bull at a distance and offering his chest, lets the bull pass by the *muleta* at the height of his waistband. The horse doesn't have a waistband but it's got a chest and the bridle has to go past the bull's snout, from the horse's snout to its tail. In the pass, the *muleta* will catch the bull at its face and pass to its tail without touching the horse. That is a pass with the *muleta* on horseback. And it's not just to stand in front; it's to move forwards…
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

[150] Llamas Perdigó (1997: 21) recalls the lines of a poem by Villalón who uses the same metaphor 'luring the wild bull / with a swift swish of the tail, / tricking him with a *matador*'s pass'.

The *rejoneador* Diego Ventura has a *caballo torero* named *Capote* and Martín González Porras has a horse named *Suerte*, which can refer to a pass with the *capote*. The comparison of the horse's tail with the *torero*'s cape suggests the crossing of a boundary between horse and tool, and more specifically between a part of the horse and a tool which mediates the rider-horse-bull relationship. In this way, there is a level of boundary crossing within the horse, where a part of it takes on the object status of a cape. At the same time, the horse's tail is recognised as part of an animal being, who (inter)penetrates a rider, who in turn (inter)penetrates the bull. Thus, *compenetración* pervades the rider-horse and permeates the networks with which they are associated.

Horse-bull boundary

As Marvin (1994: 159) notes in relation to the footed *corrida*, it is the tension surrounding the physical risk presented by the bull to the horse that generates the emotion of *rejoneo*, although it is the tension between the physical proximity of two animals. The tension upon which the success of a *rejoneo* performance is based does come from the proximity of the bull's horns and the horse's body, but this incorporates the rider's body. In particular, this tension of physical penetration surrounds the juxtaposition of the horse's tail with the bull's horns. A distinct style of fighting the bull from horseback is to *torear con la grupa*. This means to bullfight using the hind-end as a lure, and is a style which exists only in bullfighting from horseback (the symbolic ramifications of this are discussed in the following chapter). Whilst *toreando con la grupa*, the *rejoneador* positions the horse's buttocks to entice the bull's charge, keeping them close enough to maintain an engaged (and engaging) connection with the bull, but just far enough to maintain a safe distance. However, the bull's horns penetrate the horse's tail (an ambiguously solid-fluid boundary) and often disappear between its buttocks or under its dock. It is this penetrative tension that provokes an intense emotional response from the audience, who fear an actual *cornada* (goring) to the horse. '*Hay que comunicar*' (you have to communicate) was commonly explained to me by *rejoneadores*. In order to communicate this tension and danger to the audience, the *rejoneador* needs to flirt continually with the bull's horns and push the boundaries of horse-tail-horns-bull. A *rejoneador* described the way in which he would sometimes

make a move look more difficult than it really is to enhance this communication of danger and difficulty.

To summarise, in the previous chapter I discussed the construction of the rider-horse relationship in *rejoneo* as centaurian. In this chapter, I have discussed the ways in which the rider-horse centaur interrelates within a network including bull and *rejon*. This incorporated the involvement of the institutional networks behind the *corrida* represented by the Ministerio de Justicia e Interior through their bullfighting legislation (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996; 1996). This legislation backgrounded this discussion, although it was not the focus of my discussion of the human and animal networks of *rejoneo* and how they are technologically mediated. In summary, the tools that feature in the *corrida de rejones* mediate and enable the boundary crossing between humans, horses and bulls. This takes place due to the physical penetration of the bull's skin, the potential penetration of the rider-horse by the bull and the *rejones* as extensions of the rider-horse and bull. All of these levels of intercorporeality are in addition to the rider-horse intercorporeality symbolised by the centaur. The reader will recall an earlier descriptive comparison of the *picador* and the *rejoneador* in Chapter One, and a class-based comparison in Chapter Six. I wish to close this chapter with a comparison of the rider-horse network in *rejoneo* with the same network in the *corrida* from foot, represented by the *picador*. I compare the *picador* and the *rejoneador* according to their position with a network of humans and objects. This will involve an exploration of the ways in which the centaur is mediated. Through this comparison, I illustrate the ways in which some rider-horse networks are more centaurian than others. This will lead to a greater understanding of the quality of the centaurian relationship, through an appreciation that not all rider-horse networks are necessarily centaurian.

Comparison of two human-horse-tool networkss

The image of the *picador* astride the *caballo de picar* (I use 'the' here as the horse is not necessarily 'his') is never romanticised as a centaur. As noted in Chapter One, they are more likely depicted as the slow fatties of the *plaza*. I argue that the fact that the centaur image applies to the *rejoneador* but not to the *picador* relates

to their particular human-nonhuman-object network. The *picador's* horse is sensually and mentally stifled. 'Protected' by the *peto*, it's movement is restricted 'like a woman with a tight, short skirt' (Barga Bensusan 2000: 131) and its right eye (only) is required to be covered (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 72.2). According to Barga Bensusan (2000: 132), the horse's eyes are either blindfolded or its eyesight blurred by the application of liquid, balls of paper are inserted into its ears which amplify the roar of the crowd and it is injected with tranquilisers. He notes that whilst these are not officially required, they are tolerated. The *caballo de picar* can sense the bull's approach through the ground, but it can rarely see the bull coming and is not required to face it; as the bull is encouraged to charge towards its right-hand 'off' side. The rider, moreover, wears armour on his right leg which precludes him from feeling the horse's body. The technology within the *picador* network blocks the horse's ability to absorb sensory information from the environment and its rider. There is no mutual influence, no *compenetración* and little *kinesthetic empathy*; the rider gives orders and the horse submits. This hierarchical human-horse relation, based in the notion that the horse must be trained to carry out its tasks:

> ... has the effect of distancing the rider/trainer from the horse. Instead of working together in harmony (the Greek image of the centaur – human and horse joined as one being), the rider becomes merely a passenger who gives orders and the horse is relegated to the role of a creature to whom orders are given. There is thus no real communication, other than in a superficial sense. The horse may obey, but it is a mechanical kind of obedience, without that spontaneous gaiety we see in horses who truly become one with their riders.
>
> (Skipper 1999: 190)

Hearne (1987: 111) suggests that riders need to 'hear' their horse's skin to be able to communicate, and 'in doing so become comprehensible in their own skins to the horses'. The *picador* and the *caballo de picar* are both sensually stifled to an extent that prevents them from any mutual attunement and restricts the seamless imagery that characterises the centaur and the centaurian relationship. Although according to *kinesthetic empathy*, both *picador* and *caballo de picar* share bodies-in-the-world, there is little kinesthetic connection or intercorporeality between them. As noted in Chapter One, the *picador* may be riding a rented *caballo de pica.* He my therefore know little to nothing of his mount's history or spend hardly to any time training it. This suggests that *kinesthetic empathy,* like the centaurian

relationship is not a *fait accomplis*. Its achievement is enhanced by movement, close physical contact, rehearsal and a desire to know the other.

On the other hand, the *rejoneador's* horse is sensually and mentally liberated, albeit attuned to the movements and desires of a rider and restricted to some extent through the bridle and saddle. Nevertheless, the *caballo torero* is free in comparison to the *caballo de picar* and the saddle and bridle can be used to enhance communication.[151] The *caballo torero* is able to move its body without the restriction of a *peto*. Although some 'natural' instincts are suppressed in the *rejoneador's* horse, such as its horse's flight instinct, the horse is encouraged to develop and exercise intuition. Thus, there is a greater degree of sensory communication between the *rejoneador* and the *caballo torero* than between the *picador* and the *caballo de picar,* and a desire for the *rejoneador* to involve himself kinesthetically with the horse. *Rejoneador* and *caballo torero* lend themselves to the centaur metaphor through their unity. In this network it is unclear which being is thinking, which being is acting, as thought and action merge fluidly across and through human and animal bodies. Sharing space, time, expression and bodies, the *rejoneador-caballo torero* network is based on *kinesthetic empathy*. The immediate danger posed by the bull invokes an awareness of mortality and a shared *symphysical ethos*; harm to one involves harm to the other. This leads to the idea of a transcendent and generative centaurian fusion.

Aesthetically, the *caballo torero* and the bull should be facing one another at the moment that the *banderillas* and *rejones* are placed. That is, the horse is required to engage with the bull through a mutual gaze. This parallels the gaze of the *rejoneador* upon the bull. Gilmore notes the incorporative nature of sight. His comments are directed towards aesthetics but they relate to the inter-penetrative aspect of sight:

[151] A similar discourse on the use of technology in the rider-horse relationship can be found in international level *dressage*, where spurs and double-bridles (where two bits are used in the horse's mouth) are mandatory. The increased use of technology is seen to refine the communication between rider and horse.

> If you mention something valuable to an Andalusian, he wants to see it, wants to eye it. To express that something is good or true he points to his eye, tapping the side of his head: he needs to see it and in seeing to experience it, feel it. The ultimate judge of reality and of worth is sight, a kind of tactile sense, an ocular touch, a caress. In Andalusia, more than most places, to see is an "extension" of the sense of touch (Merloo 1971:94). When the Andalusian fixes a thing with a stare, he grasps it. His eyes are fingers, holding and probing. No wonder Andalusians have the custom of expressing moral ideas and judgements in an idiom of physical, or visual, beauty.
>
> (Gilmore 1987a: 156)

Through the higher degree of mutual gazing that occurs between *rejoneador-caballo-toro*, there is a more intense level of inter-penetration through sight than occurs between *picador-caballo*-bull. This inter-penetration is akin to the *compenetración* underpinning the centaur.

Movement is essential to the construction of the centaurian relationship in *rejoneo*. As Sheller (2004: 222) notes that movement is critical to the driver feeling the car. Motion and movement are central to the formation of the centaur in *rejoneo*.[152] 'Motion and emotion, we could say, are kinaesthetically intertwined and produced together through a conjunction of bodies, technologies and cultural practices (that are always historically and geographically located)' (Sheller 2004: 227). As noted above, the *caballo de picar* is heavily restrained by the technologies that surround it. It is trained to remain still and take the brunt of the bull's charge, hence it must weigh from 500 to 650 kilograms (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 60.3). Positioning the *picador* for this purpose often requires the rider visibly kicking it and one or two assistants leading it by its bridle. As noted in Chapter One, if the *caballo de picar* is knocked over by the bull it often lays still due to sensory disorientation. The *caballo de picar* has been described not as a human-animal hybrid such as the centaur, but as a 'mobile *toril*' which protects the *picador* from being harmed, (Barga Bensusan 2000: 133).[153] The likening of the *caballo de picar* to an inanimate *toril* reflects its etymology deriving from the inanimate *pica*, as noted earlier in this chapter. Its inability to move contrasts heavily with the flamboyant horses used by the *rejoneadores* who cover the spread of the *plaza* with hoof prints, and who are selected for their ability to 'move'. These are the

[152] Motion is also central to MacAloon's theory of spectacle (1984b: 244), which applies to *rejoneo* as an espectáculo.
[153] A *toril* is the part of the inner boundary of the *plaza* that someone can quickly slip behind to exit the *plaza* or protect him or herself from the bull's horns.

caballos toreros whose name aligns them with the animate, sentient bull. It is the movement of the rider-horse through space that heightens the centaurian relationship between them, and strengthens the human-animal-object network in *rejoneo*.

I have described the effect of the *peto* on the sensory abilities of the *picador* and compared them to the more relative freedom of the *rejoneador* and *caballo torero*. The *compenetración* between rider and horse that is needed to attain a centaurian relationship is dependent on the freedom of sensual communication between horse and rider. That the *picador's* horse is sensually stifled precludes this particular rider-horse from attaining a centaurian relationship. However, I have so far only discussed the technologies that are 'held' by the horse such as the *peto*. There is another technology which impacts on the rider-horse centaurian relationship which is held by the rider, such as the *pica* and the *rejones*. I will presently discuss the ways in which the *pica* and *rejon* mediates the rider-horse network in the *corrida*. This is in addition to my argument that the *rejoneador* and the *rejon* are inter-penetrated. I compare the *pica* and the *rejon* according to their associated styles of placement: *a la brida* and *a la gineta*. This entails a discussion of the horses involved.

As discussed in Chapter One, the *picador* uses a *pica* to lance the bull from a standstill.[154] As described above, the *rejoneador* places an assortment of shorter *rejones* whilst both horse and bull are moving. As noted by Abarquero Durango (1984: 87) '*el de la lanza espera al toro y el del rejon le busca*' (the lancer waits for the bull but the *rejoneador* seeks it out). This is how Abarquero Durango explains the difference between medieval bull lancing and the *caballero*s using the shorter *rejon* in the seventeenth century. There were probably only two ways of placing a lance at that time: *al estribo* (at the stirrup, with the bull charging at 90 degrees to the horse as described above) and *rostro a rostro* (de Cossío 2000, vol 2: 50). Marvin describes *rostro a rostro* as follows:

[154] The *garrocha* is also a long lance but as it does not penetrate the bull, it is only similar to the lance in length; they are used quite differently and here I focus on the tools which penetrate the bull.

> In this the rider held his horse (which had its eyes covered with a velvet blindfold) quiet while he waited for the bull to charge. When it did, just before it hit the horse, he would thrust the lance deep into the neck or ribs of the bull and at the same time attempt to turn his horse away from the horns.
>
> (Marvin 1994: 56)

This description describes the modern *picador* (except that he receives the bull *al estribo*) including the blindfolding of the horse, and the *picador's* armoured right leg is a reminder of his origins in the medieval knight. Waiting for the bull, the *picador* has time to position his *pica* and the weight and momentum of the charging bull assures deep penetration of the *pica*'s spearhead (the *puya*). Rider and horse are required to 'hold their ground', for which their heaviness of bone served them well. With the horse bracing against the bull's charge, the *picador* can lean all his weight into this armoured leg and push the pike into the bull's *morillo*.

The *picador* rides in the same style as the lancer, known as *la brida* (off the bridle). In Spain, *la brida* was associated with the Castilian style of riding horses of heavy-boned northern European stock (Lopez Izquierdo 1994: 129). It is typified by straight legged knights bracing their bodies for powerful couched lance thrusts during *en masse* charges. They were simultaneously braced against the horse's movement, with their weight held back behind the horse's point of balance. According to Hyland, this position was a consequence of saddle design. She argues that the knight's straight leg was forced by the 'relatively short seats and forward placement of the stirrups' (1994: 7). This position lessens physical contact with the horse, which necessitated the extremely long spurs of the time. The insensitivity of the spur and the lack of leg contact made it difficult for the rider to give subtle cues to the horse and also to receive subtle feedback from the horse as to its balance and direction. The most intricate connection that the knight had with the horse was with the harsh bits of the time and so the horse was ridden mostly 'off the bridle', hence the term *a la brida*. The horse's were ridden 'off the bridle' because their heavy set morphology made them more suitable to charging forwards with their weight on their forehands than performing agile spins or turns. Moreover, the lance was most suitable for this style of charging forwards. Thus, there is an intimate network of human-animal-technology in the *picador-pica-caballo de picar* relationship that affects and is affected by the style of riding, style

of horse, style of using the *pica* and so forth. The intricacies of the *picador-pica-caballo* network do not encourage a centaurian relationship between rider-horse.

The *rejon* is a distinct instrument from the *pica*, as it is much shorter. The *rejon* does not require the full thrust of a charging horse behind it to be effective. The lance could kill a bull with one usage, whilst the *rejón* can be used as one of a number of *rejones* to extend the performance and prolong the display of equestrian skill. These skills include spins, stops and sudden changes of direction, thus lighter, more agile breeds of horses are favoured to afford these movements. The *rejoneador* rides in a style known as *la jineta* (or *gineta*).

Llamas Perdigó argues that, although *la brida* was practiced by Northern Spaniards on the heavier, slower horses in that area, 'the people of Andalusia have always ridden *a la jineta*' (1997: 52). He argues that the style was inherited from the mysterious Ginetes, a people living in the upper marshlands of Southern Andalusia referred to in Punic works of the 6th century.[155] Loch (1986: 32-33; 1990: 41-42) also argues for an Iberian origin to riding *a la jineta*. The southern versus northern distinction that Llamas Perdigó refers to here is worth noting in relation to my argument in Chapter Five that *rejoneo* is tied to ideas of a southern, Andalusian identity.

La gineta is the (now widely adopted) style of riding with shorter stirrups and the legs bent at the knee to support the weight of the rider, who sits over the horse's centre of balance. With the legs bent around the horses' sides in this way, the horse can spin and turn agilely without the risk of unseating the rider – something that could have cost the stiff, armoured knight his life during battle. The *gineta* leg position affords more contact between the rider's legs and the horse's skin, allowing the rider-horse to 'hear' each others skin (Hearne 1987: 111), as discussed above. Touch, as 'the most effective human-horse communication of all' (Skipper 1999: 204) is key to the centaurian relationship. Thus, the *rejoneador-rejon-caballo torero* network is aesthetically and kinesthetically different from the

[155] Also known as Cinetes, Ciretes, Keretes or Kretes, these people 'may have given their name to the island of Crete, and taken traditions from Spain to Greece; it is difficult otherwise to explain the legend of the Minotaur in a country where there are no fighting bulls' (Llamas, 1997:19).

picador-pica-caballo de picar network. There is an intimate relationship between the *rejon*, the horse and the *rejoneador* that affects the type of horse favoured, the style of riding the horse and the way of placing the *rejones*, not to mention the 'spectacle' that results. *La jineta* affords a closer and more centaurian relationship between *rejoneador* and *caballo torero* than *picador* and *caballo de picar*, due to the *compenetración* between the bodies of rider and horse. Their intercorporeality allows them to perform as a centaur.

This comparison of the *picador-pica-caballo de picar* network and the *rejoneador-rejon-caballo torero* network has illustrated not only the ways in which technology mediates the rider-horse relation but the repercussion of the nature of that mediation on the degree to which the rider-horse network is comparable to a centaurian relationship. This clarifies that my usage of the term 'centaur' and 'centaurian relationship' is not a simply a romantic illustration of the rider-horse or the riding relationship, nor is it a *fait accomplis* arising from a human sitting astride a horse. It is a particular kind of rider-horse relationship where human and animal are interpenetrated physically, emotionally and kinesthetically to the extent that they transcend the image of a bounded human astride a bounded animal. The term '*centauro* is used in Andalusia to describe the centaur symbol and '*compenetración*' is the 'indigenous' term to describe the mutuality of rider-horse. The *rejoneador-caballo torero* network is an example *par excellence* of the centaurian relationship of *compenetración*, especially where lives are at stake.

Summary

In this chapter I have introduced the idea of the rider-horse-*rejon*-bull network within *rejoneo*. I have done so in the context of the *rejoneo* event, which I argue is structured around the crossing of human-animal boundaries based in the tension between actual penetration of human and animal bodies. The *rejones* technologically mediate the human-animal relations of the *corrida*, but at the same time are absorbed into a network of relationships which acknowledges that they extend into the human and animal realm. Within the context of a *corrida de rejones*, *rejoneador* and *caballo torero* manifest their centaurian relationship, thus crossing the human-animal boundary. Moreover, the human-bull boundary is crossed through *adornos* such as *el teléfono*, *el tricornio* and touching the bull's

head. The horse, and especially its tail, crosses a technological boundary through its interpretation as a cape that is used to control and temper the bull's charges. This suggests that *rejoneo* is an event based in actual, conceptual and potential boundary crossing. It performs these layers of boundary crossing to a paying audience. Success is judged against the extent to which rider-horse can exaggerate the tension between boundary crossing and the risk of serious injury to themselves, and their equine-selves. Actor-network theory presupposes that the environment is a network of human and nonhuman, within which humans, animals and objects are furthermore networks of humans, animals and objects. Likewise, *rejoneo* is a network of humans, animals and technologies and inter-penetrate other networks. Thus, *rejoneo* is based on the crossing of fundamental boundaries of existence which are already and always comprised of the *compenetración* of boundaries. I compared the *picador-caballo de picar* and *rejoneador-caballo torero* network to illustrate that the centaurian relationship is not a *fait accomplis* of the riding relationship but one founded on the dynamics of *compenetración*. In this chapter I have described the proceedings of the *corrida de rejones* according to the three *tercios*. However, there are two significant aspects of *rejoneo* which I have not commented upon. These are the death of the bull, and the gender of the *rejoneador*. In the following chapter, I discuss these in relation to two fundamental binary oppositions noted in Chapter Four that are recurrently applied to the *corrida*: human/animal and male/female. Thus, I return to two meta-narratives of the *corrida*, but instead of using them to formulate a reductive interpretation, I focus on the ways in which they suggest multiple ways of being human, animal, male and female. I do so by returning to the performativity of both gender and humanity/animality discussed in Chapter Three.

Chapter Nine

Cojones and *Rejones*: Multiple ways of being human, animal, male and female

[H]ow we think about both animality and gender is complex and interdependent.
(Birke 2002: 431)

Introduction

As noted in Chapter Four, the *corrida* is most often analysed through binary dualisms such as human/animal, culture/nature or male/female. This dissertation has centred on challenging the human/animal dualism in *rejoneo* at a number of levels, from the people and animals involved in *rejoneo* to the structure of the performance itself, through physical and conceptual intercorporeality and through concepts such as the centaur, *kinaesthetic empathy*, *symphysis* and the ontological thrill. Using actor-network theory has also entailed an exploration of the ways in which humans and animals are intersected by inanimate technologies, institutions and philosophies. In the previous chapter, for example, I explored the ways in which human-animal relationships in *rejoneo* are mediated by technology, how technology constitutes human-animal networks and how technology transgresses human-animal-object boundaries. Thus, this dissertation has centred upon a critique of the human/animal dualism which presents human and animal as mutually exclusive categories and which hierarchises the dualism in favour of the human, in the same way that the male/female dualism privileges masculinity in the *corrida* and reduces masculinity to biology.

However, there are two obvious challenges to my stance which would appear to confirm hierarchical, dualistic interpretations to the *corrida*. Firstly, the bull (an animal) dies, and secondly, a human male with obvious male genitalia survives. However, in the *corrida rejones*, the horse lives and the *rejoneadores'* genitalia are not emphasised. In this chapter I reconsider the significance attributed to the death of the bull and the *torero's* biological gender by describing the ways in which *rejoneo* presents alternate ways of being human, animal, male and female. This emphasis on multiplicity is inspired by Pink's (1997b) work which seeks not to identify a single version of femininity in the *corrida* from foot in the twentieth

century, but focuses on the multiple and at times competing discourses of gender and tradition. In this way, I am concerned with developing multiple and alternate perspectives on humanity, animality, masculinity and femininity in *rejoneo*. These themes of gender, humanity and animality are 'deeply entwined concepts in our culture – they are concepts that discursively construct one another' (Birke 2002: 430; see also Haraway 1992).

In the first half of this chapter I discuss the human/animal dualism and illustrate the ways in which the dismounting of the rider, the death of the bull, the survival of the human and his exit on the shoulders of other men do not necessarily support a dualistic and hierarchical view of human-animal relations in gender. I do so by focussing on the *corrida* not as a one-off, 'means to an end' process but as a recurrent performance which illustrates a variety of human-animal relations throughout each performance. In the second half of this chapter, I discuss the binary opposition of masculinity and femininity and question biological reductionist interpretations of the *corrida* as a commentary on masculinity centred on the *torero*'s testicles. In doing so, I note the aesthetics of *rejoneo* and the *rejoneador* in comparison with the *torero*. Birke (2002: 431) suggests that 'cultural meanings of animals and gender are complex and powerful. But both fields of inquiry would benefit from greater dialogue'. In this chapter, by questioning the construction of human and animal in *rejoneo* and considering alternate versions of masculinity and femininity, I conclude that *rejoneo* is a performance of multiple ways of being human, animal, male and female.

Multiple/Alternate Human-Animal Relations

In Chapter Four I reviewed the literature on the *corrida*, which commonly concludes that the *corrida* from foot articulates the supremacy of humanity over animality, human over animal and tame over wild. For example, Corbin (1999: 12) argues that '[t]he pre-modern theme of *los toros*, then, is human mastery of nature: the very wildness of the bull is bred by humans; human enterprise brings the animal from the distant countryside to full public view in a *plaza* in the centre of the city, to be mastered and killed'. In this dissertation I have argued that these facts of the human-bull interaction suggest not separation of human from animal, tame

from wild and urban from rural but a matrix of differences – and similarities – between and across these dualisms. In addition, I have argued that humans are animals and that human and animal realms are mutually constitutive. As Birke (2002: 433) notes, '[o]ur lives are situated not only within human social engagements but also – whether we know or acknowledge it – profoundly with other species'. This emphasises that binary interpretations originate primarily in analysis and analysts, as discussed in Chapter Four.

In the literature, the *torero* is predominantly understood as a symbolism of humanity, maleness, masculinity and culture. He faces an animal counterpart of maleness, wildness and nature. The *corrida* is seen as a process through which the bull loses its 'wildness'. It is tamed, dominated, killed and then eaten (Davies & Marvin 1987: 545; Marvin 1994: 105). This is seen to (re)affirm the status of the man as superior and to resolve the ambiguities posed by the *corrida* (Corbin & Corbin 1987: 113). In fact, Marvin (1986: 132) argues that '[h]umans may be brought into close proximity with animals, but this is in order that they may ultimately establish superiority and distance over them. To be civilised is to establish a 'proper' relation between animal and man - between nature and culture'. I argue that these interpretations apply to a view of the *corrida* as a one-off process. In other words, they are based not on the multiple human-animal relations that are enacted throughout the *corrida* but instead see the *corrida* as a linear process in which the end result is given priority (in this case the death of the bull and the life of the human) and construct the *corrida* as a one-off event. These dualistic and hierarchical interpretations do not take into account the fact that any single *corrida* is one of a number of formal *corridas*. Any single *corrida* forms part of dozens, if not hundreds of *corridas* that a *rejoneador* and his horses might participate in over a life-time.

In addition, the *rejoneador* spends most if not every day with his horses and often with bulls. A *rejoneador* that lived close to what is considered to be the best part of the Andalusian coastline with the best beaches told me he hadn't seen the beach for years because every day was dedicated to training his horses and becoming the best *rejoneador* he could be. *Rejoneadores* also frequently interact with bulls, mounted and unmounted. These activities are necessary from the point

of view of business, inheritance, training and *afición*. Managing the *toro bravo* in the 'wild' and facing it in the *plaza* are both fraught with danger on every occasion and require that the *rejoneador* develop a degree of *compenetración* with the horse that most riders dream of.[156] During the *corrida*, he absorbs the horse's abilities and uses them as if they originated in his own body; he communicates emotion to other humans through the horse's body; he embodies the centaur. Thus, the *rejoneador* spends a life-time immersing himself in the world of the horse and the bull and thereby extending that world into his own. He does not participate in *rejoneo* to show his domination of that world or to demonstrate the ways in which he embodies a separation of nature and culture. On the contrary, the *rejoneador* performs the multiplicity of human-animal (and object) interactions. If any of these are about separation, certainly not all are. Furthermore, if a hierarchy is established by the end of a single *corrida*, why is it repeated by the same human? This questions the nature of that hierarchy and, in particular its permanence, by suggesting that it is something that must be constantly re-enacted. As noted by Pollock (1974), 'culture' doesn't really triumph in the *corrida*; the *corrida* is repeated over and over and death comes to the *torero*, or in the case of *rejoneo*, to the *rejoneador* and the *caballo torero* eventually.

As I have shown in the preceding chapters, the human-animal relations in *rejoneo* are multifarious and overlapping. The bull is constructed as wild but shares a human realm, *rejoneadores* construct horses and bulls and draw from those animals to draw their own identity, the horse is wild, the horse is tame, the horse is used to tease the bull, the horse should not be harmed, the horse is used to bring about harm to the bull, the *rejoneador* joins physically and kinaesthetically with the horse and interpenetrates the bull, the *rejoneador* kills the bull, the *rejoneador* cares for the horse, and so on. Contrary to Corbin, I do not argue that these seeming contradictions require resolution but that they exist simultaneously alongside one another to illustrate the multiplicity of human-animal relations that intersect, and are intersected by, *rejoneo*.

[156] Their dreams, however, arise from a yearning for closeness and not necessarily the matter of life and death that also premises the compenetración between a *rejoneador* and his mount.

For example, rather than focusing on the transformation of the bull throughout the *corrida* from *levantado* to *parado* and from wild to tame, I argue that the *torero-toro levantado* relation, the *torero-toro aplomado* relation and the *torero-toro parado* relation are examples of three different kinds of *torero*-toro interactions. The same applies to the *rejoneador-caballo de paseíllo*, *rejoneador-caballo de salida*, *rejoneador-caballo de banderillas*, *rejoneador-caballo de muerte* interactions. The *caballos toreros* demonstrate a variety of different qualities ranging from speed to restraint, extravagant use of space to the ability to perform in intimate quarters with the bull. They lead the bull at a regulated chase and they charge towards it. This is a progression of proximity, with the rider-horse and bull coming closer and closer to one another throughout the *tercios*, as the *banderillas* become shorter.

Simultaneously, this is a showcase of various permutations of the human-horse-bull interaction. The bull may be 'single-use' and demonstrate these various relations and networks only briefly, whilst the *caballo de salida*, for example, will most likely appear at another *corrida* as a *caballo de salida*, and so on. All the while, horse and bull present a realm of polysemous possibility; wild/tame, natural/cultural, animal/human, the continuum between these poles and the ability to transcend the dichotomies. Thus, the *corrida de rejones* performs a variety of alternate and multiple human-animal relations. This rich array of human-animal, and object articulations suggests an overlapping, interpenetrating and blurring of human-animal and object. This suggests that the binary opposition human/animal in the *corrida* and in Andalusia more broadly is mutually inclusive and transcendent. By looking at the various stages of the *corrida* rather than its conclusion, it becomes clear that there are a number of ways in which humans and animals relate to one another besides a killer-killed relation.

The climax of the third *tercio* is the death of the bull, but this is a brief moment in the *corrida* (mounted or footed). The death of the bull may support a view of Andalusian human-animal relations being based on human superiority, dominance and separation from the animal realm, but this is similarly challenged by the *compenetración* of *rejoneador-caballo torero* and *torero-toro* prior to, during and after the *corrida*. Moreover, the killer-killed relation does not necessarily suggest dominance or separation. Killing an animal, especially through penetration by an

instrument that forms part of the human body (as argued in the previous chapter in relation to *rejones*), could be the most intimate human-animal relation. As I have frequently noted, killing animals (together with riding them) has been interpreted as the ontological thrill of being animal (Smith 2004: 5). Thus, there are a number of ways in which humans can perform their humanity and their animality and in which animals perform, and are constructed by humans as performing, their animality and humanity in the Spanish *corrida*.

In summary, the binary oppositions human-animal in relation to the *corrida* is challenged by contextualising the *corrida* as one in a number of performances, training sessions, rehearsals and related practices, and by appreciating that the *corrida* is a multi-dimensional event which showcase different kinds of human-animal relations rather than constructing the end-point as a one-dimensional commentary on the entire performance. This involves releasing the focus on the death of the bull and reconsidering the significance of that death. For example, a recurrent point used within pro-bullfighting discourse is that *toros bravos* are brought into life for the purposes of the *corrida*. Therefore, the death of bulls in the Spanish *corrida* is seen from within the pro-bullfight community as a productive and life-giving exercise. This is a culturally specific view which challenges the concept of harm and pain in *symphysical ethos* (Acampora 1995). I will now consider the death of the bull in more detail in addition to the human-animal relations surrounding it. These are the dismounting of the *rejoneador*, his being carried out on the shoulders of men and the idea of the *rejoneador* as the 'last man standing'.

The death of the bull

In the *corrida* from foot, the death of the bull occurs in the absence of any other nonhuman animals. Its death, leaving behind a triumphant human, could be suggestive of human supremacy and domination over the animal realm. However, this is to ignore the *caballo de picar* which leaves the footed *corrida* alive, as well as the *caballo torero* in the *corrida de rejones*. Moreover, this also ignores the fact mentioned above that there are no immortals involved in the *corrida* and death comes to the *torero*, the *rejoneador* and his horses sooner or later. In addition, the bull doesn't always die. There are exceptions where the bull lives, such as the

indulto, where the kill will still be feigned by the *torero*, using a *banderilla* in place of an *estoque*.[157] In addition to recognising that not all animals die in a single *corrida*, and that the *rejoneador* or *torero* may die outside the context of single *corrida* or in a subsequent one, the symbolic primacy attributed to the bull's death in terms of the human/animal dualism is challenged by the ambiguous nature of death itself.

Once the bull's fate is assured, *rejoneadores* typically disengage with it and turn to the audience to accept their applause, run or walk to the centre of the *plaza* to do the same or walk to an assistant at the *barrera* to get a towel or drink (the latter is done in most cases where the *rejoneador* does not expect the crowd to petition for trophies). The bull is often still twitching as its spinal sword is severed with the *cuchillo*, whilst its body is hitched to the mules that drag it from the arena or as its ears and/or tail are being cut to be awarded as trophies. Thus, the bull's death is not a rapid transformation from living to dead. It involves a nuanced period of dying and a moment at which it is not yet dead, but certain to be (separate from the *tercios* which some would interpret as an extended period of dying). The bull is in the process of dying as the *rejoneador* celebrates the completion of his interaction with the bull. This transience is important in interpreting the death of the bull as it suggests a blurring of the boundary of life and death. It also supports the assertion that although the kill must be performed well if the *rejoneador's* performance is to be well-received, the death of the bull is not the most important aspect of *rejoneo*.

The rider dismounts

As noted in the previous chapter, the bull may be killed from horseback or from foot. However, when it became clear that the bull was about to die from a successful *rejon de muerte, rejoneadores* would always dismount to stand in front of the dying animal, pointing at it, or with a hand outstretched as if its life were literally in their hands (see Plates 40 and 41, below). No matter by what means the

[157] There is also a form of *corrida* where the bull is not killed inside the plaza, but outside away from public view (as is the case with Portuguese *toureio*). This is the *toreo-comico* (a comic *corrida* with a circus atmosphere usually involving dwarf *toreros*) (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 90.2).

bull came to its death - through a *rejon de muerte* from horseback or from an agonising number of jabs from a *descabello* delivered from the ground - the *rejoneadores* during my fieldwork always awaited the bull's final moments from the ground, standing on the yellow sand of the arena. They often paced slowly in front of it, performing some slow-motion cape passes or taking up the posture of a *flamenco* dancer; decorating, emphasising and taking full advantage of the bull's passage from life to death (see Plate 42, below). I argue that this challenges the idea of the killing of the bull as symbolic of an hierarchical human/animal dualism. The *rejoneador* or *torero* do not kill the bull to separate themselves from it conceptually or corporeally. The killing of the bull is yet another demonstration of a human-bull inter-relationship. The action of dismounting, like the death of the bull, could be seen as the physical separation of human from animal in the final stages of the *corrida* which removes the animal element from the *rejoneador* and reduces the *corrida de rejones* to the same human-animal dyad which concludes the *corrida* from foot.



Plate 40: The *rejoneador* stares intently at the bull waiting for it to die.

Photo: Author



Plate 41: David Vázquez points at the bull after delivering a *rejon de muerte* from horseback. Note the footed assistant retrieving his horse in the background.

Photo: Author



Plate 42: Luis Domecq about to perform a slow and deliberate turn with his hat held out to the bull.

Photo: Author

Marvin (1994: 42) asserts that it is thought degrading for a *rejoneador* to dismount to kill the bull. However, this is in relation to the *rejoneador* being unable to kill from horseback after several attempts and is not related to being on the ground *per se*. I asked a *rejoneador* if it is perceived badly for him to dismount to kill. He replied:

> *No, no, para nada. No tiene nada que ver. Cuando tu ves que el toro no lo puedes matar desde el caballo, pues te bajas. Lo que sí está claro es, pues, que nosotros no tenemos experiencia para estar debajo. Ustedes el otro día lo vieron. Yo no sé. Yo tengo valor y llego, pero... es una cosa que lo practicamos hoy y lo próximo lo practicamos dentro de dos meses. Entonces hay muchos rejoneadores que no se bajan del caballo porque ven que no pueden... yo sí, me puedo bajar, y cuando el toro está queriendo morir yo estoy muy cerca de él y le doy la vuelta, siempre en contacto. Hay otros rejoneadores que clavan el rejón y cuando ya ven que de verdad se va a morir, ya se bajan del caballo. Yo creo que se te da lo mismo. Porque la cara del caballo tiene la misma holgura la misma longitud y me alejo, que te da lo mismo.*
>
> It doesn't matter, it's got nothing to do with it. When you see that you can't kill the bull from the horse, well, you get down. What is clear is that we [*rejoneadores*] don't have the experience to be down [to kill the bull from the ground]. You both saw it the other day [refers to a *corrida* where he had difficulty with the final kill]. I don't know, I've got courage and get to that point but... it's something we practiced today and we may not do it again for two months. So, there are many *rejoneadores* who don't get down from their horses because they feel that they can't do it [kill from the ground]. I can, I can get down and when the bull is just about to die ['wanting' to die] I keep very close to it, and I do a turn, always remaining in contact. There are other *rejoneadores* who thrust the *rejon* [*de muerte*] and when they see that it's truly going to die, get off the horse. I think it's the same [killing the bull from the saddle or from the ground] because the horse's face provides the same distance between me and the bull when I'm mounted that I keep when I'm on the ground, so it's the same [distance].
>
> (DV, *rejoneador*)

This *rejoneador's* concern was not so much mounting or dismounting but how close he is to the bull. Dismounting is typical in all *corridas de rejones* when the bull is 'on its last legs'. The phrase used to describe the dismounting, *echar pie a tierra* (put a foot on the ground), refers to getting onto the ground rather than literally to the process of getting off the horse (which is more accurately *apearse del caballo* or *bajar del caballo*). The commonality with which *rejoneadores* dismounted to kill the bull during my fieldwork suggests a transformation in practice and attitude since Marvin's (1994) research.

As soon as the rider has dismounted, he leaves the horse to trot back to a handler awaiting it at the main entrance to the *plaza*. *Rejoneador* and *caballo-torero* are

physically separated and the *rejoneador* will complete his lap of honour without this horse. From the dualistic perspective mentioned at the start of this chapter, this physical disconnection from the horse could support the idea of the *corrida* as an illustration of the primacy of humanity over animality and the need to maintain a distance between the human and animal realm. However, it seems tenuous to suggest that *rejoneadores* engage with horses, indeed form transcendental beings with them as in the centaur, with an overall aim of demonstrating the separation of the human and animal realm. As I have argued in Chapters Three, Seven and Eight that horse and rider share a connection and a mutual-identity even when physically separated, as when the rider dismounts. In fact, as the horse trots away from the *rejoneador* at the end of the *corrida*, the empty saddle with stirrups banging against the horse's sides beckons a rider. At the same time, the *rejoneador's* clothing and the way it affects his walk and stance beckon a horse to ride. Therefore, I argue that the physical separation of horse and rider does not represent a conceptual or cultural separation of human from animal.

On the shoulders of men

After the bull expires, the *rejoneador* is left to accept the judgment of his performance without the physical presence of the horse or the bull. However, they have an invisible presence, for the *plaza* is a space created by humans, horses and bulls. If he has performed well and killed cleanly, the *rejoneador* takes a lap of honour. He does so unmounted and if his performance has been overwhelming he will be carried *a hombros* - on the shoulders of men, not animals. However, this does not necessarily represent the separation of human from animal or the hierarchising of one man above another. The relationship between the *rejoneador*, the bull and the horse does not cease here. As argued in Chapter Seven, *rejoneadores*, *toros caballos* and *toros bravos* mutually intersect each other's realms of existence; intercorporeally and conceptually through their identities. In *rejoneo*, a *rejoneador's* identity relies on particular kinds of relationships with horses and bulls and a bull's identity relies on particular kinds of relationships with horses and *rejoneadores* and so on with regard to the horse's identity.

For the *rejoneador* to be carried *a hombros*, men run into the *plaza* and hoist the *rejoneadores* onto their shoulders. The carriers are usually men of stocky build,

wearing country work style clothing (jeans and shirts). At one category three *corrida de rejones*, the *mozo de espadas* (sword handler) rushed into the *plaza* to hoist the *rejoneador* (who was his employer, friend and housemate) onto his shoulders. Each carrier hoists one *rejoneador* onto his shoulders and begins to walk a slow lap of the *plaza* clockwise. On either side of the *rejoneadores* walks a member of their *cuadrilla*, ready to help rebalance the rider should he fall from the shoulders of the man carrying him, their *trajes de luces* beginning to reflect the last of the sun's rays. The *rejoneadores* each hook their ankles around the waist and lower back of their carriers. Whilst this happens, the band plays a tune, some members of the crowd start to vacate their seats whilst others stand to applaud and cheer the riders.

When *a hombros*, the *rejoneadores* assume positions similar to being on horseback, with one hand on their hip and the other holding out their hats, or with both hands up with their elbows bent in the way that they greet the crowd after being awarded trophies. I observed one carrier imitating a horse by doing a final *vuelta* (spin) with his *rejoneador* astride as he left the *plaza*. This is an illustration of the horse-ness within humans and a willingness to 'be horse' or perform the animal. I argue that being *a hombros* suggests an alternative human-human relation and therefore an alternative expression of humanity.

To be carried *a hombros* is a great honour and is always mentioned in reviews of *corridas* in the papers the following day. However, during fieldwork I became aware that some *rejoneadores* don't like being carried *a hombros* because of 'modesty'[158] or because they don't wish to be carried by other men, although it is unclear if this was due to a potential insult to the carrier or the carried. Some *rejoneadores* refused to be carried *a hombros* if they did not feel that their performance had warranted it. This suggests that whilst all *rejoneadores* were comfortable being carried on the backs of horses, not all were comfortable on the shoulders of men. At the same time, this questions the construction of *rejoneadores* of members of a superior class who wish to see themselves as

[158] This is the reason given for Luis Domecq being the only *rejoneador* not carried *a hombros* from the 2001 *Feria del caballo de Jerez de la Frontera*: *'no salio Luis Domecq porque es así de modesto'* (Liaño 2001: 16).

'above' other men, as noted in Chapter Five and critiqued in Chapter Six. It also suggests that some men are comfortable with, even enthusiastic about, carrying other men on their shoulders. This suggests multiple ways of being human, animal and expressing class relations.

For practical reasons, the *corrida* is usually timed to end around dusk to avoid the heat of day.[159] This is the moment at which the boundary between day and night is being transgressed. In relation to myths and folk tales about human and animal transformation, Doniger (2004: 720) notes '[t]here is an hour of twilight that the French call "entre chien et Loup" ("between dog and wolf"). That is where these stories take place, for the transitional, marginal, liminal animal transgresses this most basic of all boundaries'. She thus suggests that this is a liminal period between a masquerade and truth: 'The key seems to be that the true form is the one that appears at night' (Doniger 2004: 721). If this is applied to the *corrida* the argument could be made that when the *corrida de rejones* is over, a human being remains. This would thus support the dichotomous view of the *corrida* as an articulation of human culture taking primary cultural importance over animal nature.

However, Doniger acknowledges a fundamental irony underpinning this analysis:

> [T]here is a significant difference between stories in which the primary allegiance of the creature is animal and those in which it is human (or divine). Stories about animal lovers present two variants of a single truth: a human being is really an animal. But the weight of reality is placed differently in different variants, so that when the story ends, and the masquerade is over; either there is a human, or there is an animal.
>
> (Doniger 2004: 720)

Once again, I would thus argue that even though the 'last man standing' in the *corrida* is a human (male), this only makes sense if the *corrida* is viewed as a one-off, heuristically vacuous event won by a impermeable and immortal being. But humans are not impermeable, and this dissertation has illustrated the ways in which the *rejoneador* in particular is inter-penetrated by horses, bulls, *rejones* and *banderillas*. Therefore, the binary dualism human/animal has limited application to

[159] An exception is the *corrida de rejones* during the *feria* in Seville which, as noted in Chapter One, is traditionally held in the morning.

the *corrida* and to *rejoneo*. By considering the *corrida* as one of a number of regularly held performances, comprised of various different types of human-animal interactions and without prioritising the death of the bull to the detriment of other human-animal interactions the *corrida* can be seen to present alternate and multiple ways of being human or animal which transcend simple binaries.

When is a boundary not a boundary?

As the horse makes its appearance to the *plaza* with a rider astride, so too does the *rejoneador* make his appearance astride a horse. Rider-horse perform together, as if a centaur had graced the *plaza*. They perform, they entertain, they come together against a different kind of animal; a wild one. They dance around it, they get to know it, they decorate it, they tame it, they kill it and as it dies they disconnect physically from one another. The horse trots out of the *plaza* away from the *rejoneador*, the carcass (or should that be a cadaver-carcass?) of the bull is dragged out of the *plaza* (with the exception of the *indulto*) and the *rejoneador* either walks away or is carried out on the shoulders of men. Where a rider-horse entered the *corrida de rejones*, two separate and separated beings left the *plaza*. In a dissertation exploring the ambiguity of the human-animal boundary and acknowledging the multiplicity of alternative ways of being human and being animal, how can one account for these pragmatics of the *corrida de rejones*, which lend themselves to dualistic interpretations? I have already introduced alternative, non-dualistic interpretations of the proceedings of the *corrida* which have challenged dominant analyses. In addition to providing these alternate and multiple interpretations, I propose a critical analysis of the nature of boundary blurring presented in this dissertation by acknowledging that the transcendence of boundaries is necessarily based upon the existence of boundaries.

In this dissertation I have described the ways in which humans exist within a network shared by animals and objects and animals exist within a network shared by humans and objects, and so on for the network inhabited by objects. Thus, humans are part animal and animals are part human; their boundaries blur at different levels, in different ways and in relation to other specific networks. At the same time, humans are human, animals are animals and objects are objects. There is something human about humans and there is something animal about

animals. This leads to the realisation that boundaries can't be crossed or transcended without boundaries existing to be crossed and transcend. Moreover, the recognition of otherness is as important as continuity. As noted by Noske, we are not doing animals any particular favours by seeing them as humans and denying them their Otherness.

> Much as we would like to free animals from their object-status by showing that human-animal discontinuity is far from obsolete and that animals do indeed resemble us a great deal, we may nevertheless remain trapped inside anthropocentric bias. We may fail to acknowledge and respect animals' Otherness. Basically, we face a dilemma in that there seems to be no option to imposing upon animals either object status or *human* subject-status. However, animals are neither machines nor human. As yet there exists in our thinking little room for the notion of a non-human Subject and what this would imply.
>
> (Noske 1997: 157)

I would add that Noske's comments also ask whether we are doing humans any favours by seeing them as animals. My aim in this dissertation has not been to show that boundaries do not exist, but that boundaries are arbitrary, permeable and constantly gaining meaning through the networks of human, animals and technologies. Ultimately, this argument, this dissertation, this piece of paper, these words, exist within a human-animal-object network but originate in and are made meaningful primarily through human subjectivity. I have argued that if one is to look for meaning in the 'last *rejoneador* standing' interpretation of the *corrida*, then that *rejoneador* symbolises more than human; he is a human-animal-object hybrid. Where others may claim he symbolises human triumph over animal being, could the *rejoneador* not also symbolise the triumph of boundary crossing; the triumph of the hybrid? Finally, could the *rejoneador* not draw attention to the absurdity of a human triumphing over animal being and the unavoidability of human subjectivity, at least for humans?

Multiple/Alternate Masculinities

As noted above, there is an intimate relationship between discourses of gender and animality. This relationship has been explored through feminist scholarship where the issues of rights and oppression are recognised in relation to both women and animals (Birke 2002). In the literature on the *corrida*, gender research has been based in the ways in which humans (men) relate to animals (bulls). As

described in Chapter Four, the *torero-toro* relations in the *corrida* have been interpreted as a commentary on masculinity, which in turn has been constructed through a biological reductionist framework where masculinity resides in the testicles, or the *cojones*, hence the phrase '*tener cojones*' (to have balls). For example:

> [T]he *corrida* as pre-modern drama is about males and masculinity. The animal is always, and the human almost always, male. The testicles of bull and man, the bull's naked and dangling, the man's smoothly evident in his tight trousers, are visible in the event and much used in images of it. Certainly, too, there is an erotic element in the man's performance. Often, for example, he incites the bull with pelvis thrust forward, as if challenging the bull with his genitals. The bull may catch him in this area. Indeed, a common cause of death is unstoppable bleeding from a wound to the femoral artery.
>
> (Corbin 1999: 12)

Gilmore (1987c: 15) suggests that this emphasis on the testicles and phallus is a reaction to a lack of boy to man initiation rites for Spanish youths. This fact, combined with a strong mother-son bond (Gilmore 1986; Gilmore & Uhl 1987) and a restriction of men from the domestic sphere across the Mediterranean region in general leaves Spanish male youths with no 'proof' of their transition from boy to man and their consequent masculinity:

> Faced with these challenges to masculine autonomy and sensing peril in a world run secretly by women, Mediterranean men seem to fall back on the one unambiguous distinction between the sexes: anatomy. They honor the penis as the repository of manhood and the mirror for the masculine ego. The proof of this precarious manliness is the demonstration of phallic potency through erotic triumph. In aggregate, this would explain the flamboyant virility complexes of Mediterranean males, the pressured need to prove and defend manliness, the rivalrous conceptualization of sexuality, and the compulsion to denigrate and distance the female. Mediterranean sexual ideologies, along with their honour-and-shame derivatives, represent endless "rituals of manhood".
>
> (Gilmore 1987c: 15)

From this perspective, the *corrida* can be seen as a rite of passage to hyper-masculinity. However, there are homoerotic connotations to this male-to-male relation which are down-played in the literature. That is, the *corrida* represents the danger of a male being tamed, subdued and dominated by another male (Davies & Marvin 1987: 545; Marvin 1986: 126). Gilmore acknowledges the homoerotic elements of hyper masculine challenge as an aspect of masculinity within the broader Mediterranean context where,

> ... masculine rivalries seem to be intensified by an erotic dimension, which ... triangulates the sexual relationship, bringing into play an essentially homoerotic aim along with a heterosexual object. That is, sexuality, whatever other meanings it conveys, also establishes symbolically an intimacy among men which can be interpreted as homosexual. For the man who is "dominated" sexually through his women, or who is bested in virile performance, is said to be "shamed" ... and this sense of shame conveys very strongly the conception of diminishment, of feminization, of being placed in the passive position of a woman, and therefore conceptually subject to homosexual assault.
>
> (Gilmore 1987c: 10)

Thus, male to male interactions or sexual rivalries in and of themselves are not seen as threatening to a man's masculinity, but they may be if he is seen to take a 'feminine' position. This suggests a construction of homosexuality based on the passive/active, feminine/masculine dualisms. The use of a *torero's* penis as weapon in the *corrida*, together with his *estoque* (indeed he is sometimes named after it through the generic term '*espada*'), construct him as an active penetrator, and therefore male. However, this is only one 'masculinity' of a number of multiple and alternate masculinities that could be identified in the *corrida*. Using an argument similar to Pitt-Rivers' interpretation of the final sword thrust as symbolic of rape (see Chapter Four), Corbin narrows the homosexual elements of the *corrida* to a discourse on homosexual rape:

> There is a symbolic sexual drama here [between the *torero*'s pronounced genitals and the bull's horns]. Penetration with horn or sword can be read sexually as rape. If the *torero* is attracting with his genitals and copulating with a surrogate super-penis, if he is making himself masculine through a symbolic sexual performance, that performance is explicitly with another male. The drama is homosexual; it is about avoiding and inflicting homosexual rape. The role of the horse in the bullfight as sexual drama is to assume the greater risk of "femalization" by being gored.
>
> (Corbin 1999: 12-13)

A number of issues arise from this quotation from Corbin relating to the construction of gender and the role of the horse. These relate to both *toreo* and *rejoneo*. His interpretation of the *corrida* as homosexual rape is based on the assumption that being penetrated is a female position, relative to the male as penetrator. Although for the large part this appears to hold true in Andalusian culture, I would emphasise that this is one of a number of ways of constructing masculinity and femininity in Spain. As Pink notes, in Andalusian culture there are a 'variety of alternative sexual moralities' (1997b: 41) and 'several, ideal models of sexual behaviour' (1997b: 42).

Moreover, Corbin's argument, like others discussed in this chapter is based on the presence of actual testicles. In contrast, Pink found:

> ... that in the 1990s it was common for Andalusians to evaluate positively a 'brave' and publicly assertive woman as 'having balls'. The woman bullfighter Cristina Sanchez herself claims to have metaphorical balls and she is identified by some as both an icon of feminine beauty and a brave bullfighter. In these discourses which redefine masculinity and femininity, testicular power is not exclusive to those who have testicles. The terminology has been retained but the concept does not refer to an exclusively masculine social characteristic.
>
> (Pink 1997b: 166)

I am not suggesting that testicles have no importance in the construction of masculinity. Rather, I wish to present the multiplicity of versions of masculinity and femininity and alternative relations between sex (the male genitalia) and gender (masculinity). Thus, masculinity can arise from metaphorical testicles as much as actual testicles. This highlights the ways in which gender is something that people do, rather than what they are (Butler 1990).

With relation to the role of the horse, Corbin presents an image of human and horse as mutually exclusive and therefore suggests that the risk of goring can be restricted to the horse only without implicating the human. As I have demonstrated throughout this dissertation, the *rejoneador* and the *caballo torero* are intercorporeally linked so that harming a part of a hybrid relation, such as the one they exemplify, harms the whole. Neither should be gored and should one sustain a *cornada*, then it is felt by the rider-horse as a centaur. Indeed, the 'tipping' of the bull's horns is required for any *corrida de rejones*, to minimise risk to the horses.[160] Furthermore, Corbin suggests that the horse in the *corrida* acts as a kind of prophylactic against the risk of feminisation to, or homosexual readings of, the *rejoneador*. It is unclear as to whether he refers to the *picador-caballo de picar* relationship, the *torero-caballo de picar* relationship (which is little more than an observer-assistant relation) or the *rejoneador-caballo torero* relationship. The role of the horse as a 'mediator' of risk and feminization differs according to which particular human-horse-bull relations are under consideration.

[160] The verb for tipping the horns of a bull in Spanish is *afeitar*, which translates literally as shaving and can also mean 'to make up one's face' but the verb *maquillarse* is usually used in this context. Although I am aware that the padding of horns is an alternative to tipping, I did not see this happen during my fieldwork. It may, however, be more popular in other 'bullfighting' countries.

Corbin constructs a sexual drama between two masculine symbols; a fight to the death between two penetrators – penis and horn. He suggests that the human male protects himself from any risk of 'femalisation' from this male-to-male encounter by sublimating that risk to the horse. There is a problem in this analysis for the *torero* who does not appear in the *corrida* with a horse. Even if the *caballo de picar* is responsible for reducing the bull's strength, the only one at risk of a goring when the *torero* faces the bull in the third *tercio* is the *torero*. There is also a problem in Corbin's 'sexual drama' for the *rejoneador*, who does appear with his horse, but his genitals are obscured by his clothing (as described below). This remains the case once the *rejoneador* is dismounted, at which point he faces the same dilemma as the *torero*; there is no horse physically present to 'assume the greater risk of feminization by being gored' (Corbin 1999: 13). Corbin and Marvin present *toreros* with emphasised literal testicles and Pink suggests the importance of acknowledging metaphorical testicles. Indeed, *tener cojones* (to have balls) refers to the expression of masculinity, which does not necessarily arise from the presence of testicles. But how do arguments around the testicles being central in the footed *corrida* relate to a context where the genitals are not emphasised? In the remainder of this chapter, I compare the bodies and clothing of the *torero* and the *rejoneador* and explore the ways in which the *rejoneador's* obscured genitals suggest an alternate masculinity.

Clothing, bodies and *cojones*

There are significant differences between the ways in which the *rejoneador* and the *torero* relate to the bull through their bodies, particularly with their groins. If the *corrida* is about proving masculinity, the essence of which is believed to reside in the testicles (Marvin, 1986:128), then the *torero* presents his body in a way that undeniably draws attention to his genitals (hence, the conundrum presented by the female *torera*). The footed *toreros*, their assistants and the assistants of *rejoneadores* wear the *traje de luces*, 'a symbol of the truly male' (Marvin 1994: 147). This outfit is specific to the *plaza* and to those roles. Marvin (1994: 147) notes that even though homosexuals are thought to lack the courage to be a good *torero*, 'once someone is dressed in the suit of lights ... that person of necessity is regarded as a man and the public's expectation of that person is that he be a man'. Clothed in the skin tight stockings and high waisted calf length pants

(*taleguilla*), the *torero* and *banderillero* strike an explicit pose. With their penis and testicles tucked to one side of their crotch to form a *bulto* (package), the 'manliness' of these men is made clear to the public. This is further emphasised by their stance with hips thrust forwards and lower back arched. This position should be maintained regardless of how close the bull's horns come to penetrating the *torero*'s body. An aesthetically pleasing *torero* will not compromise this stance by moving a single muscle, even as the bull passes very close (Douglass, 1997:34, 79). In other words, the *torero*'s testicles should not 'back down' or 'back away' from the challenge posed by the bull's horns. Marvin (1994: 159) notes that the testicles are central to the aesthetics of the *corrida* from foot and that at the heart of every enticement to the bull to charge is the *torero*'s *cojones* and the movement of his testicles.

As the bull passes through the *torero*'s cape, its horns are parallel to the *torero*'s crotch. Similarly, as a *banderillero* leaps in front of the bull, with his own arms held high like horns as he holds a *banderilla* pointed down from each hand, his crotch faces the bull's horns. In fact, at the centre of photos or illustrations of *toreros* during the ultimo *tercio* is almost always the nexus of bull's head/horns and *torero*'s loins, especially those used for promotional purposes or on *carteles* (posters advertising *corridas*). When the *torero*'s face is not shown, the bull will usually be facing the viewer, and vice versa. In Figure 9, below, the bull and *torero* are moving towards one another and the artist has drawn both more-or-less in side-profile, thereby revealing one side of their faces each. This suggests a mutual identification between *torero* and toro, akin to a minotaurian relationship.

Wearers of the *traje de luces* are aware of the way it accentuates their sexuality. Two assistants from the *cuadrilla* of a *rejoneador* enthusiastically explained to me how much women are attracted to them when they are wearing their *traje de luces*. The pair stated that it is not unusual for them to be handed phone numbers from women of all ages whilst in their *trajes de luces*, but that if they were to return to the fair grounds later that night having changed back into their usual attire, the same women would not recognise them, nor pay them any attention. A *rejoneador* recalled the same experience with women when he was performing, suggesting that his *traje corto* is also culturally invested with a degree of sexuality. This is explored in greater detail below.



Figure 9: *Cartel* advertising a *corrida de toros* which shows a typical juxtaposition of bull's horns and *torero's* genitals.

Source: http://www.tiendatoro.com/images/cartel1_1.jpg (accessed 28 February 2007)

In *rejoneo*, there is little emphasis on the groin area of the *rejoneador*. It is obscured by the *rejoneador's* clothing, saddlery and the horse itself. Rather than wearing the *corrida*-specific *traje de luces*, the *rejoneador*, wears the *traje corto* which is used in a variety of rural horse and bull related contexts and *feria*. This does not mark the *rejoneador* as exceptionally masculine, or make his masculinity context specific in the way that Marvin above suggests that the *traje de luces* does for the *torero*. Moreover, there are male and female versions of the *traje corto* (the female version has a full skirt) whilst there is no specific female version of the *traje de luces*. This suggests that the *rejoneador's* masculinity is not tied to his appearance as has been suggested for the *torero*. His masculinity is performed through more than the visual body.

In contrast with the *traje de luces*, which emphasises the 'natural' lines of the lower body, the *traje corto* interferes with this silhouette. The leather *zahones* (full length chaps) worn by the *rejoneador* are wrapped twice around the waist like an apron and tied with a plaited leather cord with small tassle-like decorations at the ends. The *rejoneador's* clothing adds bulk to the waist and groin area, whilst the *zahones* detract from a clean silhouette of the rider's legs. From waist down, there

are many trinkets and decorations which swing about in time with the rider-horse's movement. There are leather tassles hanging from the saddle and the *zahones*. Silver or gold *caireles* (charms) adorn the five eyelets on the rider's trousers.[161] The movement of these charms and tassles emphasises the movement of the rider-horse and assists with their physical merging as it marks just one beat for 'two' beings.

The head carriage and front-end conformation of the *caballos toreros* is typically 'uphill', rising high out of the horse's wither like a virtual shield. Viewed from the front, the mounted rider's groin is obscured by the horse's head and neck, even 'replaced' by it. From other angles, the rider's groin is covered by the horse's free mane, or when the mane is plaited and decorated with ribbon or pompoms, the high, sheepskin covered pommel of the *doma vaquera* saddle detracts from a focus on the rider's groin. A fringed blanket is rolled and attached to the front of the *doma vaquera* saddle by leather cords. This is usually embroidered with the initials or stud brand of the *rejoneador*, and as each end hangs well past the rider's knees, it often blows back and over the rider's thighs. This has the effect of visually blending his legs into the horse's body and creating a visual centaur. The rider's clothing, the horse's mane, the pommel of the saddle, the blanket and the movement of the *caireles* converge to visually merge horse and rider in a centaurian image by making the 'seam' between one and the other indistinguishable. This blurring is strongest around the rider's groin area. As already discussed this would be antithetical to the *torero*'s stance and clean 'testicle enhancing' lines. Thus, the *rejoneador's* biological gender is visually intersected by his relationships with the horse and the technology of his human-horse relation.

[161] *Caireles* are like cufflinks joined together by a short chain, which chink against each other whilst the rider-horse is moving. *Caireles* are usually only worn during the *corrida de rejones* and not under general working conditions in the countryside. At the time of my fieldwork, the Guarnicioneria Duarte in *Jerez* sold five different types of *caireles*: Spanish coins, horse heads, the holy virgin of *El Rocio*, nails and stirrups. Other charms include acorns, bull heads and stud brands.

Bio-aesthetics of enticing the bull

The *torero* aims to keep his body still and express movement through the cape. The rider-horse on the other hand covers much ground in the *plaza*, usually at a gallop, with lots of sudden turns, stops and starts. In *rejoneo*, instead of a focused emphasis on the rider's groin that can be seen in the footed *corrida*, the viewer's eye is drawn to the rider-horse as a whole and changes slightly according to what is happening in the *plaza*. The focus could move from the *rejoneador* jerking a rejón in the air to entice the bull to charge, to the horse's legs as its front legs leap together from left to right, to the bull as it charges, to the flag that has been unfurled from the *rejon de castigo*. Thus, there is a significant shift from a genital focus in the footed *corrida* to a more dissolved focus in *rejoneo*. This makes it difficult to make a straight-forward association between sex and gender in *rejoneo*. In addition to the *rejoneador's* groin not being emphasised and the outline of his 'manhood' being obscured, he does not use his groin to entice the bull. In fact, often-times the *rejoneador* uses the horse's *grupa* (rear end) to entice the bull (see Plate 44, below).

The buttocks of the *torero* are as well defined in the *traje de luces* as his groin, 'framed' by the embroidery which runs down the side of each leg (see Plate 44, below). A *torero*'s buttocks are on display during a *corrida*, but not to the bull. He may show his buttocks to the bull when walking slowly away from it, but this is during *el remate* (at the end of a series of passes) to show the *torero*'s domination over the bull and is not intended to incite the bull in any way.[162] In fact, if the *torero* turns his back on the bull he is signalling the end of their mutual engagement during that series of linked passes (he will then re-engage with it again). Even in the *desplante*, where the *torero* positions himself *de rodillas* (on his knees) with his back to the bull, this is intended to demonstrate domination over the bull and his own fear. Moreover, the focus is on his back, not his buttocks. It is completely unimaginable and unthinkable that in the footed *corrida*, a *torero* would allow the bull's horns to be in any way visually composed in relation to his buttocks, or would use his buttocks to entice the bull to charge. This holds true for all of the actors in the footed *corrida* such as the *picador*, his mount and the

[162] Garry Marvin, email to the author dated 17 July 2003.

banderilleros. In *rejoneo*, however, the horse's buttocks (beneath the rider's buttocks) are used to entice the bull (as shown in Plate 43, below).

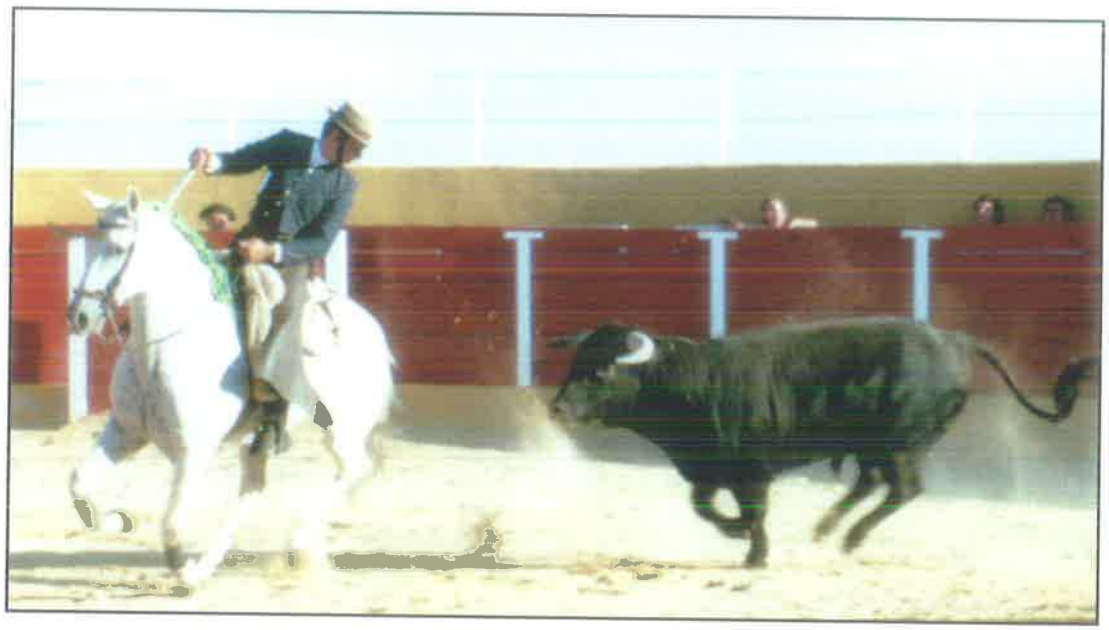


Plate 43: David Vázquez *rejoneando con la grupa* during the first *tercio* before placing the first *rejon de castigo*.

Photo: Author



Plate 44: Two of the *rejoneador's* assistants wearing the *traje de luces*. Note the emphasis on their buttocks (this is the reverse view of Plate 17 in Chapter Six).

Photo: Author



Plate 45: The *rejoneador's* buttocks are abscured by the high cantle of the *doma vaquera* saddle.

Photo: Author



Plate 46: The *rejoneador's* buttocks are not as clearly defined in the *traje corto* as are the buttocks of *toreros* wearing the *traje de luces.*

Photo: Author

Whilst mounted, the rider's buttocks are obscured from view by the high cantle on the saddle (see Plate 45, above). They are integrated into the centaur image where it is unclear where one body ends and the other begins. The invisible buttocks of the mounted *rejoneador* are in contrast to the *torero*, as is the fact that the bull is encouraged to chase the horse, albeit a regulated chase. This is a repercussion of the idea of the horse and especially its tail being to the *rejoneador* what the cape is to the *torero* (Arévalo 2001), as discussed in the previous chapter. The high percentage of time in which the bull pursues the horse, especially in the *tercio de salida*, requires the *rejoneador* to ride frequently looking over his shoulder.

The *rejoneador's* trousers are well fitted across his buttocks and this is visible when he is dismounted even when wearing the zahones (see Plate 46, above). The only moment of a *corrida de rejones* when the *rejoneador's* buttocks are clearly visible to the public is at the conclusion of the ultimo *tercio* when he has dismounted. Once he is on the ground separate from his horse, the *rejoneador* relates to the bull through his body in a similar way to the *torero* on foot. Although the *rejoneador* may perform some *flamenco*-like dance movements, including full turns in front of the bull, this turn always ends with him returning to face it. At no time does the footed *rejoneador* entice the bull with his buttocks in the same way that when mounted he uses the horse's buttocks and tail to entice the bull. Once footed, the *rejoneador* strikes similar poses to the *torero*, thrusting his pelvis forwards and hollowing the small of his back. The main differences are that his testicles are not clearly defined and that his boots do not give as much sensitivity to the ground as the *torero*'s *zapatillas* (slippers). However, the basic manner of focusing attention to the front of his body and to the genital region in general remains and contrasts starkly with the attention which is focused on the buttocks of the horse when the *rejoneador* is mounted. Once on the ground, the *rejoneador* makes similar movements in front of the bull as the *torero* except without emphasising his testicles clearly or drawing attention to them. As I argue above against considering the significance only of the final outcome of the *corrida*, the *rejoneador* shows different ways of interacting with the bull throughout the *corrida*. For example, sometimes the horse's buttocks are used as a lure whilst sometimes

they are not and sometimes he faces the bull mounted whilst other times unmounted.

This suggests a different dynamic between *rejoneador*-horse-bull and *rejoneador*-bull as well as a complex semantic relation between rider-horse and rider-ground. For example, a homosexual interpretation could be made in relation to the *rejoneador* using the horse's buttocks to lure the bull, which would require teasing out the role played by the horse in this dynamic, especially as the *rejoneador* does not lure the bull with his own buttocks once dismounted.[163] This might even be seen to account for the perception of *rejoneo* as feminine, as noted in Chapter Four. As Mitchell implores:

> We do not need another "interpretation" of bullfighting. We have dozens, each more strained than the last. Nor is it a question of affording a vague open-minded tolerance to the ones that exist. It is a question of seeing the limits of all interpretations, their arbitrariness, their perverse blind spots.
>
> (Mitchell 1986: 411)

Whilst I am reluctant to suggest that interpretations based in ethnographic context are arbitrary (see the discussion of symbolism in Chapter Three) I wish to emphasise that my intention in this chapter, and this dissertation is to move beyond reductive binary oppositions by outlining the ways in which *rejoneo* performs multiple and alternative ways of being. Therefore, suffice to say that a homosexual interpretation of a degree of the aesthetics of *rejoneo* may exist, but whether it resides in the aesthetics, their social construction, the rider-horse or the interpretation of the audience, or the analyst requires a different approach.

To summarise, the *rejoneador's* groin is not on display and he does not entice the bull with his *cojones*. The clothing and saddlery used by the *rejoneador* obscures it from obvious public display. The *rejoneador's* groin is instead subsumed into the physical connection between human and horse, following and absorbing the movements of the horse. Thus, unlike the footed *corrida*, the *corrida de rejones* does not frame an Andalusian human seat of masculinity; the testicles, against an

[163] This interpretation has been made by Guarner (1970: 19-20) in his psychoanalytic study of the *corrida* from foot in Mexico where he suggests that 'anal aspects are evident in the different back passes, which imply a contact with *matador*'s buttocks, while genitality is represented by the need of having the bull pass as close as possible in front of the genitals'.

Andalusian animal seat of masculinity; the bull's horns. The interpretations made by other researchers of the Andalusian *corrida* thus do not account for gender in *rejoneo*. The juxtaposition of testicles and horns does not dominate *rejoneo*. Even when the horse's testicles become obvious during the rear of a stallion, this is fleeting imagery. But male *rejoneadores* are not seen as female symbols and do not see themselves as feminine. One *rejoneador* explained how women are attracted to *rejoneadores*:

> *A las mujeres les impone mucho el torero. Impone mucho el traje e impone mucho alguien que se esté arriesgando la vida. A las mujeres les gusta que pasemos de ellas... y ellas van al tendido y llevan flores, y no llevan no sé qué y cuando tu das la vuelta al ruedo siempre dicen: 'Guapo'! Y cuando termina la corrida todo el mundo quiere autógrafos, todo el mundo quiere un beso mío, imagínate que tontería, un beso mío... ¿para qué quieren un beso mío? ¡Dame un beso! ¡Dame un beso! Sí, sí, es verdad. Pero no a mi sólo sino a montones. Después me ven cambiado y no me conocen. Después yo me cambio, me ducho, me arreglo, me voy por la feria y menos 40 o 50 personas de la plaza de toros las demás 2000 personas no me conocen. Pasan, se chocan conmigo y no me ven. Les impone el traje, el sombrero, el caballo el dale para atrás, dale para allá....*
>
> Women are attracted to the *torero*. The gear worn is very impressive, as well as the fact that he is someone who is risking his life. Women like it when we pass by them, wherever they are... Women go to the first row taking flowers or something else, and when I go around the ring they say: *Guapo* (handsome)! When the *corrida* ends everyone wants an autograph, and a kiss; imagine what silliness, a kiss from me! What do they want my kiss for? They go: "give me a kiss, give me a kiss!" ...Yes, it's true. But not just to me but to a lot of others as well. After I change my clothes they don't recognise me. I change my clothes, have a shower, I tidy myself up, I go to the *feria* and apart from 40 or 50 people who have seen me in the *plaza*, the remaining 2000 don't know who I am. They go past and they bump into me but they don't see me. They are attracted to the outfit, the hat, the horse and so on and so forth.
>
> (DV, *rejoneador*)

This *rejoneador's* comments question the association made between sex and gender in existing gender interpretations of *toreros*. His groin might not be visible but he is in no doubt over his masculine status. Certainly none of the *rejoneadores* I spoke with thought that they were compromising their masculinity in any way by being *rejoneadores*, just as none of Garry Marvin's participants agreed with Pitt-Rivers' assertion that they were symbolically female at the beginning of a *corrida de toros* (pers. comm. 2000). The invisibility of the *rejoneador's* groin and the fact that his movements and challenges to the bull do not originate in his groin could be interpreted as a reason why *rejoneo* is seen as more 'feminine'.

But what does it mean to say that *rejoneo* is feminine anyway? Feminine constructions of *rejoneo* seem more often to apply to the higher ratio of women in a *rejoneo* crowd than at a *corrida de toros*. So who is feminine: *rejoneador* or *aficionado/a*? Does a high proportion of women in the crowd suggest that the performer is feminine, that the event is feminine? Does a high proportion of men at a *corrida de toros* suggest that the performer is masculine? Could the higher presence of women at a *corrida de rejones* suggest otherwise, that the performers are masculine? These are the questions that arise in relation to the claim that '*rejoneo* is feminine', but finding answers is unlikely to clarify the situation, precisely because there is no single interpretation of the performance of gender in the *corrida* or across footed and mounted versions.

Rejoneadoras

I asked male *rejoneadores* about their opinions of female *rejoneadoras* to explore the ways in which women and femininity might relate with the concept of *rejoneo*. *Rejoneadores* had mixed opinions of their female colleagues. My gender could have encouraged them to soften any criticism of *rejoneadoras*, but those who did not agree with the idea expressed this without hesitation. One, however, turned off my tape-recorder first (thus his comments supporting his disagreeance are not reproduced here). This suggests an awareness of political correctness in relation to gender and the *corrida*. I found a common perception that *rejoneo* requires strength, and that women have less strength in their arms than men, even amongst those who were in favour of *rejoneadoras*:

> *No estoy de acuerdo con las rejoneadoras. Creo que una mujer puede montar a caballo mucho mejor que un hombre, las hay que montan mucho mejor. Pero el toreo es una cosa de hombre sólo. Entonces además está ahí probado que ninguna rejoneadora ha sido figura ¿no? Y no por nada sino porque esta es una profesión para hombres ¿no? Puede haber en las domas mucho mejores las mujeres, en salto, en lo que quieras. Pero en el toreo no. Está bien, es muy bonito verlo, un día puede estar mejor que el mejor de los rejoneadores, pero todos los días una lucha, es imposible. ¿Estamos? Y está la prueba ahí.*
>
> ***Autora:*** *Y Conchita Cintrón, era muy famosa.*
>
> *Famosa. Famosa, pero no figura... También igual que en domas o en cualquier modalidad ¿no? Hay muy buenas jinetes y en domas lo mismo, pero... esto ya es una cosa más dura. ... algo de machismo puede que haya pero no en el hecho de vetar a las toreras ni nada sino que como te digo pueden estar bien un día, dos, pero todos los días es muy duro ¿no? Lo que sí, hay muchas mujeres porque van*

mucho a los toros y los toros son maravillosos ¿no? Yo prefiero mujeres que tienen entendido. Pero... el toreo es para hombres.

I don't agree with [female *rejoneadoras*]. I believe a woman can ride a horse much better than a man and some of them do. But *el toreo* is something for a man only. Besides, it's been proven that no female in this activity has become a figure, and only because this is a man's profession. It could be that in other areas, jumping, whatever you want, women are much better than men. But not in *el toreo.* It's alright, it's nice to watch them and one day they can be better than the best of men. However, every day is a fight and for them that's impossible. Alright? And the proof is there.

Author: Conchita Cintrón was very famous...

Famous. Famous, but not a figure...It's the same as horse breaking or any other modality. There are some who are very good riders but... This stuff is harder. There may be some machismo involved but not to the point of being opposed to female *toreras* or anything like that but, as I tell you, they can perform well one day, two days, but to do it on a daily routine is very hard. It is true that there are many women because they go regularly to *los toros* [bullfights] and bulls are marvellous, aren't they? I prefer women who know about bulls. But... *el toreo* is for men.

(LD, *rejoneador*)

La verdad es que no, no me va. Pero como te dije antes soy muy antiguo; entonces creo que el toreo es cosa de hombres. Creo que el toreo es cosa de hombres, y de muy hombres... A mí me gusta cuando hay alguien, unas chicas que quieren rejonear, pero son muchas las que lo intentan y muy pocas las que llegan porque... para ser una buena jineta hay que tener un buen físico y tu físico no puede ser mucho más fuerte que el mío, ¿entiendes? Entonces claro ellas son finitas pero no tienen fuerza para agarrar un caballo. Imagínate lo que tira un caballo fuera, no te das una idea lo que es un caballo en una plaza de toros. La mano te revienta. Te agarras ahí, y tiras y tiras y no puedes con él y tienes que pegar toque y ayudarte con la derecha... Entonces hay muchas chicas que lo intentan pero muy pocas las que lo consiguen. Yo creo que sí [el rejoneo es macho]. Yo creo que un poquito de feminidad tiene. Porque a mí me gusta ver a algunas chicas a caballo, y me gusta verlas... Pero es que las ves un día y ya al día siguiente no las quieres ver, porque ves que no pueden con el caballo, ves que no pueden clavarle la banderilla al toro... Entonces uno piensa, bueno... y esta para que se pone ahí. Y ella lo esta viendo que no puede. Pues que lo intente dos veces más y se quite, ¿no? Y en toreo sí te digo que no me gusta ninguna torera de a pie. El torero sí es de verdad de hombres.

To be honest, it doesn't sit well with me [female *rejoneadoras*]. But as I told you before, I'm very old fashioned: so I believe *el toreo* is a men's thing. *El toreo* is something for men, every inch a man's thing... I like it when there are girls who want to *rejonear*, but those who try are many those who achieve it are very few because... to be a good horse rider it's necessary to have a strong physique and your [female] physique can't be stronger than mine, do you understand? Therefore, of course they are thin but don't have the strength to hold the horse. Imagine what it takes to hold a horse outside a *plaza* and you have no idea of what it means to hold a horse in a *plaza*. Your hand gets to bursting point. You pull and pull and you can't control [the horse] and so you have to help yourself with your right hand. That's why there are many girls who attempt it but very few who achieve it... I believe that yes, [*rejoneo* is a bit macho]. But I think it's got a bit of

femininity. Because I like to see some girls on horseback, I do. But you see them one day and the following day you don't want to watch, because you see that they can't manage the horse and they can't place the *banderilla* on the bull... Then I think, well... why is she there? And she realises that she can't do it. Let her attempt it a couple of more times and then get out of it, alright? And I tell you that I don't like any female *torera* on foot. *El toreo* is truly for men.

(DV, *rejoneador)*

Pueden hacer cosas maravillosas; lo que pasa es que esa regularidad es más complicada por la fuerza, porque es que para matar el toro, para el caballo, hay momentos que te resiste mucho; un hombre tiene más fuerza generalmente que una mujer. En los brazos, en las piernas, en todo, es el aguantar todo eso. Es lógico.

They [women] can do marvellous things; what happens is that consistency is more difficult for them to achieve due to the strength factor, because to kill the bull, to handle the horse... there are moments when the horse resists a lot; a man has generally more strength than a woman; in his arms, his legs, in everything, he has to endure all of this. It's logical.

(FB, *rejoneador*)

Another dominant theme to emerge from conversations with *rejoneadores* about gender was that in the eyes of the bull, gender is irrelevant.[164] This suggests that issues surrounding gender relate to physical capabilities of riders, not the juxtaposition of their gender against the bull:

Si lo hacen bien... Yo, si lo hacen bien me parece fenomenal; más suave, menos galope pero si lo hacen bien pues me parece fenomenal pero que al final cuando sale el toro todos somos iguales y te van a mirar igual.

If [female *rejoneadoras*] do it well I think it's marvellous; it's more gentle, they gallop less, but if they do it right I think it's marvellous but at the end of the day, when the bull comes out we are all equal in the bull's eyes.

(FB, *rejoneador*)

Sí, sí es verdad porque van a la equitación, de hecho salta las mejores caballistas olímpicas son mujeres. Porque tienen más tacto, tienen más paciencia, pero que sí está claro que cuando el toro sale el toro no ve si eres mujer, si eres hombre, o si tienes 10 o 40 años. Sólo ve que hay que cogerte y te va a coger como pueda.

It is true that women practice horse riding; actually the best Olympic horse riders are women. Because they've got more tact, more patience; but it is clear that when the bull when it comes out it can't differentiate if you are a woman, a man, or if you're 10 or 40 years old; it only knows that it must get you and it's going to get you one way or another.

(DV, *rejoneador*)

[164] Moreno Pidal (2004: 258-259) uses the same discourse in relation to money. He acknowledges that having money might help a *rejoneador* get into the *plaza*, but that the bull doesn't discriminate if he is rich or poor.

Even amongst a small sample of *rejoneadores*, there were common ideas that female *rejoneadoras* could ride as well as, if not better than a man, but lacked the strength and endurance to continually perform. Their perceptions of 'feminine' qualities such as tact and patience and 'masculine' qualities such as strength and endurance draw from some dominant gender stereotypes. Some just felt that *rejoneo* was a man's world, such as David Vázquez, the youngest *rejoneador* that participated in interviews. As a self-proclaimed traditionalist, he was also suspicious of homosexuality and technology such as the internet.

However, there was also a variety of opinions about how female *rejoneadoras* are and have been accepted. The reader may recall from Chapter Six a *rejoneador* whose sister is a former *rejoneadora*, and whose partner had dabbled very briefly in *rejoneo*. He had the most open views regarding female *rejoneadoras*:

> *Por supuesto, sí, son aceptadas en el rejoneo. Todo lo que se haga bien, y que cosa hay más bonita que una mujer a caballo y delante de un toro. Para mí por lo menos yo creo que una mujer a caballo cae mejor que un hombre. Sí, porque es más bonita a caballo que un hombre, tiene un físico más esbelto, más fino que el hombre y por supuesto una mujer que sea una buena amazona y que monte bien a caballo, cae más bonita en un caballo. Hombre, no va a dominar como un hombre pero sí cae más bonita a caballo que un hombre y si lo hace bien, por qué no va a ser aceptado, yo creo que siempre ha sido aceptada la mujer en el rejoneo.*
>
> Yes, of course they are accepted in *rejoneo*, as anything that is done well and... what could be more beautiful than a woman on horseback in front of a bull? At least for me, I think a woman on horseback looks better than a man. Yes, because she is prettier on horseback than a man, she has a slender body, slimmer than a man and of course, a woman who is a good rider and rides a horse well looks prettier on a horse. She is not going to have the same control as a man but she does look prettier than a man on horseback and if she does it properly, why isn't she going to be accepted? I think women have always been accepted in *rejoneo*.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

In addition to discussing *rejoneo* and gender with *rejoneadores*, I discussed these issues with *aficionados*. Similar to my conversations with *rejoneadores*, none of the male or female *rejoneo aficionados* that I spoke with reproduced the idea of *rejoneo* as an intrinsically feminine activity. One female *aficionada* told me that she didn't enjoy watching female *rejoneadoras*. Her opinion reflects that of *rejoneadores* who thought that *rejoneo* was a man's world and in some regard she was more emphatic on this point:

> *No me gusta ver a las rejoneadoreas pero accepto de verlas. Para las toreras nunca quería ver una en pista. Para mi enfrentarse a un toro es para los hombres. Muestran así su coraje, su fuerza. Llas mujeras son las que están en la plaza para animar los toreros, para ofrecer flores cuando hay triuntos. Estoy a veces en el callejón..., me insoporta de ver mujeres con faldas cortas, con tacones muy fines. Mujeres inconscientes que eltoro puede saltar... Cuando estoy en ese lugar siempre trato de esconder mi feminida..., mi pelo atado y por supuesto un vaquero o pantalón blanco y nunca con falda. Para mi es mi opinión... He visto muchas mujeres... y siempre para mi es aburrido.*
>
> I don't like to see *rejoneadoras* but I accept that they are there. I never want to see a *torera* in the ring. To me, facing a bull is a man's activity. This is how they demonstrate their courage, their strength. Women are the ones who are there to motivate the *toreros*, to offer them flowers when they have triumphed. Sometimes when I stand in the *callejón*.., I can't stand seeing women with short skirts and stilettos. These women don't understand that the bull can jump. When I am in the *callejón* I always try to hide my femininity... I tie back my hair and of course wear jeans or white pants and never a skirt. That's just my opinion... I've seen lots of *rejoneadoras* fand they're always boring.
>
> (Pers. Comm. Nathalie 9 April 2003)

Nathalie continues by describing how women doe not have the strength to place banderillas or to kill the bull and how this leads to the the event being unnecessarily and cruelly extended.

On the other hand, I found male *aficionados* quite supportive of female *rejoneadoras*. Upon asking one what his opinion was of them, he assumed that I wanted to become a *rejoneadora* and enthusiastically encouraged me. Another male *aficionado* knew the personal and professional details of at least four *rejoneadoras* from memory and was disappointed that the quartet *Las Amazonas del Arte* was no longer together.[165] Their separation was, however, the cause of joy for the female *rejoneo aficionada* quoted above.

[165] In 1998, Paco Dorado managed a quartet of *rejoneadoras* (there were five in all, as one was replaced due to injury) that toured and fought together under the group name of the *Amazonas del Arte*. There is, however, very scant record available of their performances and the group is not mentioned in the literature. I was alerted to their presence through an online chat group centred on *rejoneo* (http://groups.msn.com/*rejoneo*/). The *rejoneadoras* in the group were Ana Batista (Portuguese), Maria Sara (French) - later replaced by Patrícia Pellen, Ana Natalie Gomford 'Nathalie' (French) and Raquel Orozco (Spanish). The term '*amazona*' is used to refer to female horse-riders.



Plate 47: French *rejoneadora* Maria Sara about to place a *banderilla*.
Source: http://www.portaltaurino.com/images/toreros/maria-sara.jpg (accessed 01 March 2007)

Being a *rejoneadora* is seen as a more acceptable role for a woman than being a *torera* (as noted by Marvin 1994: 159) and, there are more *rejoneadoras* performing than *toreras*, especially in Portugal and France (see Plate 47, above).[166] Marvin (1994: 159-160) suggests that *rejoneo* is suitable for women because the relationship between the woman and the bull is mediated by the horse and the horse is a suitable animal for a woman to have control over because it is a domesticated animal, unlike the 'wild' bull. He adds that *rejoneo* is seen as no more than a public display lacking the 'emotional substance and drama of the *corrida*' (Marvin 1994: 160). There may also be a stronger historical association of women and *rejoneo*, as Shubert (1999: 97) notes that '[i]nitially woman fought on horseback, not on foot'. Similarly, Marvin (1994: 160) observes that 'horsemanship has always been associated with the aristocracy or landowning class, and within this class there has been a long tradition of female equestrianism. It is also quite acceptable for women to ride in public'. He could well have added that the blunted horns of bulls used in *rejoneo* to reduce the risk to the horse offer less risk of penetration by both a symbol of animality and by a symbol of masculinity. In

[166] It is difficult to procure exact numbers from the official registry which does not record nationality, gender or status and some may be listed but inactive.

relation to the *rejoneadora*, this could be construed as 'safe sex'. Thus, the wider acceptance of female *rejoneadoras* than *toreras* is attributed to the woman's relation to the horse and the way that this woman-horse relation affects her relation with the bull. It is also credited to a class-bound construction of the Andalusian woman-horse relation.

Marvin's first two points (that the horse mediates the woman-bull relationship and that the horse is a domesticated animal) are based on the dualisms of female/male and wild/tame. These may be reasons why some *aficionados* would argue that women are less problematic to *corrida* aesthetics when astride a horse, but what do they mean for male *rejoneadores*, if anything? If the bull is tame by the end of the *corrida*, as Marvin argues, why would a woman need her interaction with a tame animal mediated by the horse? Furthermore, the horse may be 'domesticated' in some sense of restricted space, controlled breeding, training and so forth but the bull is really only culturally wild. As I argued in Chapter Seven, the horse transcends the wild/tame continuum in any case. I have also argued that *rejoneo* is based on different tensions and dramas than the footed *corrida*, but no less significant ones. Indeed, an *aficionado* of *rejoneo* only may not identity any 'emotional substance and drama' in the footed *corrida*. Finally, with regard to class, upper-class women may have been associated with horse-riding, but would they have been associated with the management practices of the 'wild bull'? Women are literal 'hen's teeth' (to use an animal-inspired pun) in other equestrian activities associated with bull management such as *acoso y derribo*, *el coleo de becerros* and *doma vaquera* events. This suggests that *rejoneo* is a particular performance space which allows for ambiguity, alternativity and multiplicity. As I demonstrated in Chapters Five and Six, *rejoneo* is a performance of class rather than a class activity. I also noted in Chapter Six that *rejon*eo is a performance of what is, what could be, and what might be.

I would argue then that in terms of gender and a tendency towards visual primacy in aesthetic appreciation, that *rejoneadoras* are less problematic than *torera*s because their groins appear no different than the groins of their male counterparts. Of course, this is not to reduce gender once again to the level of sex and namely to the presence or absence of the male penis. *Rejoneadoras* are visibly female

and *rejoneadores* are visibly male, without their genitalia being on display. The combined semantics of the bull, the horse, the male *rejoneador*, the female *rejoneadora*, the tipping of horns, the presence or absence of visual phalli (or breasts) are intricate, fascinating and potentially infinite. This is not to say that they are arbitrary, as meanings are not necessarily plucked out of thin air but are inspired through context and relations with other symbols (see Chapter Three). However, there exists as many cases as counter-cases, and as many exceptions as rules. It is more valuable to look at the multiple and competing versions of masculinity and femininity and allow for diversity than to reduce this complex semantic network to a unitary and redundant interpretation. Doing so entails treading a fine line, but the line is just as fine between masculinity and femininity, animality and humanity. In fact the overlaps are analytically 'roomier' than that fine line.

I suggest that the case is not specifically that *rejoneo* is feminine, but that it is not absolutely masculine either. As noted in Chapter Five, *rejoneo* was re-invented at a time when the bullfight in general was being transformed from being male dominated. It is the binary model that suggests that if an activity such as *rejoneo* stands in contrast to a male activity such as the footed *corrida*, then by default *rejoneo* is the binary opposite: feminine. It is more accurate to say that *rejoneo* enjoys a broad appeal:

> *Eso lo han escrito varios periodistas en el que de hecho dicen que son aficionados al toreo y no lo son; porque el que de verdad es aficionado al toreo le gusta todo lo que sea en torno al toro y ellos no son aficionados; lo que pasa es que han hecho daño y han escrito eso.*
>
> That [*rejoneo* is feminine] has been written by several journalists who claim they are fans of *el toreo* [bullfighting] and they are not; because whoever is really a fan of *el toreo* [the bullfight] likes all that is related to the bull and they are not fans; what's happened is that they have caused damage by writing that.
>
> (FB, *rejoneador*)

> *A veces es verdad que en el público del rejoneo va mucha más juventud, muchos más niños, muchas personas muy mayores y muchas mujeres. Muchas mujeres van porque les gusta los caballos, les gusta el caballo como galopa.*
>
> Sometimes it is true that *rejoneo* has a much younger audience; many more children, many older people and many women. Many women come because they like the horses, they like how the horse gallops.
>
> (DV, *rejoneador*)

> *El rejoneo en el mundo del toro hoy en día pues yo creo que tiene tanta importancia, que incluso para un cierto público le gusta más el rejoneo que el toreo de a pie. Porque nosotros yo creo que somos... personas, los rejoneadores somos personas privilegiadas porque tenemos la cosa de llevar a toda clase de público. Llevamos al niño, porque le gusta, llevamos a la mujer, llevamos al abuelo, llevamos al taurino, al que entiende, porque cuando ve a un tío lidiando a caballo y toreando un toro bien a caballo, pues también llevamos al taurino, con que llegamos a todo tipo de público. A la vista está que en cualquier fiesta de pueblo o en cualquier plaza importante, dan cuatro o cinco corridas de rejoneo y se llena. Conque esto es porque hay espectáculo.*
>
> I think *rejoneo* is at present so important in the bull world that there is a section of the public who like it more than the *corrida* from foot. We as *rejoneadores* are privileged human beings who can draw all classes of public. We attract children, because they like it, we attract women, grandparents, the taurine expert, because a person who understands and sees when a guy fighting from horseback and *toreando* [bullfighting] a bull well from horseback, well, also gets attracted. So, we reach all kinds of public. Everyone can see that each time a *fiesta* is organised in a town or any important *plaza*, they present four or five *corridas de rejoneo* and the seats are full. This happens because there is a spectacle.
>
> (CZ, *rejoneador*)

Thus, *rejoneo* may not be exclusively masculine (and I would support Pink's (1997b) view that neither is the *corrida* from foot), but neither is it feminine, and moreover there is no strong sense of what it means for *rejoneo* to be feminine (physically, metaphorically, performer or audience?). Once again, there were no doubts in the minds of many *rejoneadores* about which sex should be performing in *rejoneo*. *Rejoneo* presents a version of a human-bull interaction within tauromachy which does not centre aesthetically on testicles and their juxtaposition against the bull. But there is no doubt that *rejoneadores* have the *cojones* to do the job. Together with research into female *torera*s, this questions the idea of masculinity being seated in the testicles, and the primacy of physical testicles in the *corrida*. It provides an alternative commentary on gender in *rejoneo* and Andalusia which is less tied to sex and moves beyond the male-female, penis-no penis dichotomous interpretation of gender. More research needs to be carried out with active *rejoneadoras*, and *rejoneadoras* in countries such as France and Portugal where they enjoy more fame than Andalusia. However, my research, based mainly on interactions with male *rejoneadores,* suggests that there are multiple ways of being male and female in the *corrida*. Given that 'the meanings of gender thus are not fixed but fluid and multiple', Birke asks '[w]hat could human-animal studies take from this?' (2002: 431). I argue that in *rejoneo*, gender and human-animal relations are intimately connected. As I have demonstrated in this

chapter, exploring this connection requires a careful consideration not only of the performativity of gender, but the performativity of humanity and animality.

Summary

In this chapter I have explored two inter-connected binary dualisms that have been applied to the *corrida:* human/animal and male/female. Interpretations of masculinity and femininity in the *corrida* have centred upon human-animal relations where the bull has been seen as a worthy male opponent. As performativity acknowledges that gender is not a biological given, an analysis of the gendered human-animal relations of *rejoneo* demonstrates the ways in which humanity and animality are likewise performed. In the first section of this chapter, I explored the ways in which the human/animal binary opposition has been applied to the Spanish *corrida* and therefore seen its the meta-narrative. This is presented as a narrative of human superiority over the animal realm and animal 'nature'. However, I noted that this interpretation applies only to the *corrida* when it is constructed as a one-off event reduced to the death of the bull in the final *tercio.* I also noted particular examples which could be seen to affirm the human/animal hierarchical dichotomy such as the death of the bull, the dismounting of the rider, his exit on the shoulders of men and the 'last man standing' symbolism. An exploration of these examples revealed that rather than affirming human-animal segregation, they could also be interpreted as human-animal incorporation. For example, I suggested that the nature of death, killing and the killer-killed relation can be seen as an intimate human-animal relation. I also suggested that physical separation of human and animal through death, dismounting or the exit of the horse does not imply conceptual or intercorporeal separation. I ended this section on the human/animal dualism by returning to the issue of the human-animal boundary which is the over-arching theme of this dissertation. I clarified that my intention is not to trivialise that boundary, but to recognise multiple ways of being human and animal whilst acknowledging the Otherness in human and animal.

In the second part of this chapter, I considered the related male/female dualism which has likewise dominated research on the *corrida.* I noted a tendency towards biological reductionism where the masculinity of the *torero* is equated with the

obvious display of his testicles and their juxtaposition against the bull's horn. I considered this dominant interpretation in relation to the *corrida de rejones* where the *rejoneador's* testicles are not emphasised by his clothing or means of enticing the bull. This could be seen as support for the popular stereotype of *rejon*eo as feminine (discussed in Chapter Four). However, interviews with *rejoneadores* and their male and female fans suggest that even though women are more acceptable as *rejoneadoras* than *toreras*, there is a general preference towards male *rejoneadores*. This questions the validity of the trivialisation of *rejoneo* as feminine and questions the exact meaning of that discourse and where it originates, as it does not appear to originate from within *rejoneo*. I conclude that binary and reductionist theories of gender which have been developed in relation to the footed *corrida* do not accommodate the multiple versions of masculinity and femininity in *rejoneo*, and the ways in which these are performed in relation to the bull and the horse. This observation suggests that more research is required into the performativity of humanity, animality and masculinity and femininity in *rejon*eo with regard to the performativity of gender. In other words, rather than analysing gender through biology and the visual body, masculinity and femininity are more likely performed in *rejoneo* through movement and human-animal intercorporeality.

Chapter Ten

Conclusions

In Spain, the dead are more alive than the dead of any other country in the world.

Federico Garcia Lorca

Recapitulations

In the preface to this dissertation, I stated that I didn't know why I was fascinated by *rejoneo*. I believed that in exploring *rejoneo* I could consolidate my love and respect for animals with the same feelings for an activity based on the death of an animal. What I have learned is that love can be expressed many ways, such as the death of a bull. *Rejoneo* is not about the separation of humans from animals. On the contrary, it is about the intercorporeality of humans and animals. What appear to be contradictions arise from efforts to reduce *rejoneo* to dualistic binary oppositions. However, *rejoneo* is a performance of the potential for multiple and alternative ways of being and becoming human, being and becoming animal, and being and becoming something else. This boundary crossing, whilst emphasising human-animal continuity and complementarity, also emphasises human-animal discontinuity and individuality. I set out to resolve ambiguity by analysing *rejoneo*, to reduce it to an unambiguous object of analysis. What I realised is that *rejoneo* is an organic subject through which humans, animals and objects constantly reconfigure their relationships whilst intersecting other networks. *Rejoneo* suggests the transformative nature of human-animal relationships by performing multiple and alternative ways of being – of being human, animal, male and female.

I began this dissertation by introducing *rejoneo* as an activity distinct from the *corrida* from foot and the *picador* involved in that footed version of bullfighting. I defined the centaur concept and suggested that it could symbolise the kind of human-horse hybrid relation that distinguishes the *rejoneador* from the *picador*. I explored the riding-relationship as a human-horse relationship marked by particular power relations, awareness of mortality and mutual embodiment. Of most relevance to this dissertation I noted the ways in which the riding relationship

transforms humans and animals and also has the potential to generate a hybrid symbolised by the centaur. This set the scene for a focus on intercorporeality across humans, horses, bulls and *rejones*. In Chapter Two I explained the major research decisions that I made to investigate the human-animal relations of the *corrida*. I recognised the applicability of *kinesthetic empathy* (Shapiro 1990) to participant observation and explained how it summarises the major assumptions of my method and supports my view of the researcher as a primary research tool. From this perspective of a shared body-in-the-world, my own personal experiences illuminate those of *rejoneadores* and even the animals which form part of their daily meaningful networks. In other words, from the assumption that I share a body and an embodied experience of the world with *rejoneadores*, horses and bulls, I have mediated their experience of *rejoneo* through, and into, this dissertation.

My research into *rejoneo* is primarily an exploration of human-animal relationships. This dissertation therefore contributes to the field of human-animal relations. In Chapter Three I introduced this field and explained that the human-animal boundary is one of its major concerns. I looked in particular at symbolic approaches to human-animal relations and emphasised that symbolism is not arbitrary, but is contextualised through a network of symbolic relations. I noted the relevance of Geertz (1972) work on the cockfight to this study of *rejoneo* and the interpretive view of human-animal interactions. As I argue that *rejone*o is a performance, I noted the intersection of performance and human-animal relations and introduced this small body of literature. I noted that questions of an animal's ability to perform require attention to human-animal performances from the perspective of humans, animals, audience and theorist. Drawing from theories of human performativity used to discuss gender (Butler 1993; Butler 1999), I introduced the idea of humanity and animality as a performance (Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004). Human-animal performances present alternative ways of being, becoming and performing human and animal. This is particularly clear in hybrid relationships which draw attention to the human-animal boundary and the intercorporeality of human-animal interactions (Birke & Michael 1997). I discussed the centaur as a hybrid and explored its transformative and generative nature through a small body of work on human-horse relations (Brandt 2004; Despret

2004; Game 2001; Wipper 2000). I drew once more from *kinaesthetic empathy* (Shapiro 1990) to account for the ways in which human and animal hybrids relate to one another intercorporeally and considered the ethical dimensions of hybridity by introducing *symphysis* (Acampora 1995) and how it is reconfigured through the killer-killed relationship in the *corrida*.

Hybrid relationships illuminate the artificial separation imposed by binary oppositions such as wild/tame, nature/culture and human/animal. These are in fact the dualistic frameworks through which the *corrida* has been analysed, as reviewed in Chapter Four. These have arisen from analyses of the dichotomous man-bull relation in the footed *corrida*, which interpret the *corrida* as a commentary on human-animal segregation and the idea of control as a separatist act. However, I provided examples of anthropomorphism, pet-keeping and animal attachment which challenged the view that Andalusian culture is characterised by a diligent policing of the human-animal boundary. I provided a critique of this binary approach and suggested that it had arisen from the analysis of human-bull relations in the footed *corrida* which neglected the role of the *picador* and his *caballo de picar*. Moreover, I noted that *rejoneo* has been trivialised in the scant attention it has been given as a feminine, upper-class and less serious form of the *corrida*. I suggested that *rejoneo* provided an excellent opportunity to contribute to existing literature around the *corrida* and its intersections with class and human-animal relations. With particular reference to the triadic human-horse-bull relationship, I introduced an alternative perspective by focusing on the ways in which the human-animal boundary is crossed, questioned and blurred in *rejoneo*. Inspired by Pink's (1996; 1997b) focus on multiple versions of femininity, I suggested that *rejoneo* had more to reveal regarding human-animal relations than another dualistic interpretation. Thus, Chapters Three and Four provided the reader with an overview of the field of human-animal studies and the anthropology of the *corrida* in which this dissertation is positioned.

Having discussed *rejoneo* in relation to the existing literature and dominant frameworks of analysis, I located *rejoneo* with its socio-historical context in Chapter Five. This involved an interpretation of *rejoneo* as an invented tradition, drawing from Hobsbawm's (1995a) concept of invented tradition and in particular,

sporting traditions in Europe at the turn of the twentieth century (1995b). *Rejoneo* is tied to pre-modern bullfighting restricted to the privileged classes, but is credited with a re-birth in the early twentieth century. I suggested the term re-invented tradition to account for its popular image as something which was abandoned and then revived. I demonstrated the ways in which bullfighting from horseback and from foot are intimately intertwined and in doing so, refuted the popular model of bullfighting from foot as a replacement of bullfighting frm horseback. The social history of *rejoneo* backgrounds its construction as an Andalusian activity that expresses an Andalusian identity. In Chapter Six, I questioned the conflation of *rejoneo* with the Andalusian upper-class. Although there is a class association with *rejoneo*, I used my fieldwork with a range of *rejoneadores* to illustrate the nuanced relationship between the upper-class, *rejoneo* and *rejoneadores*. I argued that although some *rejoneadores* have upper-class affiliations, this does not apply to all *rejoneadores* and suggested instead that *rejoneo* is a performance of the upper-class, rather than a performance by the upper-class. The *rejoneador's* particular human-horse relationship was introduced as Andalusian objectified and embodied forms of cultural capital *par excellence* (Bourdieu 1986). This discussion of *rejoneadores* and class also involved a consideration of the *rejoneo* habitus (Bourdieu 1977), individual habitus (Wainwright, Williams & Turner 2006) and the ways in which *rejoneadores* use their bodies to communicate their identities and relate to the horse.

As *rejoneo* emerges from human-animal interactions, in Chapter Seven I focus on the horse and the bull to acknowledge that they are more than representative of the category 'animal'; they are particular kinds of animals with particular roles in *rejoneo*. I used Lawrence's (1982) wild-tame continuum which was developed in relation to American rodeo. By applying the wild-tame continuum to *rejoneo*, I discussed the construction of horses and bulls as wild or tame. I extended Lawrence's ideas by arguing that the *caballo torero* embodies and therefore transcends the dualism wild-tame and the continuum wild-tame. I then analysed the relationship between the horse and the bull to show boundary crossing between the animals in *rejoneo*, which I termed toromorphisation. As *rejoneo* is a human construction, I also considered the intercorporeality of *rejoneadores*, *caballos toreros* and *toros bravos*. This involved the centaur metaphor and the

centaurian relationship which I used throughout this dissertation as a metaphor for intercorporeal rider-horse relations. However, I noted that *el centauro* is also used as a metaphor and symbol within Andalusia and that an indigenous Andalusian term for the centaurian relation is *compenetración*. *Compenetración*, which means mutual penetration and understanding is used to refer to human-human relations as well as human-animal relations. It therefore represents a local or 'indigenous' term for crossing the human-animal boundary. Its potential for further research is discussed below. Thus, Chapter Seven established a level of intercorporeal boundary crossing, which exists *a priori* to the structured interaction of human, horse and bull in the *corrida*.

The formal interaction of humans and animals in the *corrida de rejones* was the subject of Chapter Eight, where I used actor-network theory to discuss the technological mediation of human-animal relationships in *rejoneo*. In particular, I used an approach inspired by research into human-car networks (Dant 2004; Sheller 2004) and human-lead-dog and human-bridle-horse networks (Birke & Michael 1997). I looked at the ways in which *rejones* mediated the human-horse-bull relationships in *rejoneo* and formed an integral part of the human-horse-bull-technology network. This chapter illustrated the ways in which *rejoneo* heightened the boundary crossing identified in Chapter Seven, through the progressive shortening of *rejones*. I concluded that *rejoneo* is structured around the blurring of human-animal-object boundaries. As the focus of Chapter Eight was the technological mediation of human-animal relations in *rejoneo*, I provided an illustrative comparison of the *picador* and the *rejoneador* to emphasise that the centaurian relationship is not a *fait accomplis* of the riding relationship. I demonstrated that the technology involved in the *picador* network prevented the formation of a centaurian relationship whilst the technology involved in the *rejoneo* network facilitated a centaurian relationship. This distinguished the centaur relationship from the riding relationship and acknowledged the importance of sensory communication and movement to *kinesthetic empathy*.

In Chapter Nine, I revisited two dominant and interdependent dualisms that have been applied to the *corrida*. I began with the human-animal dualism most notable in the work of Marvin (1994) and Corbin (1999) and argued that *rejoneo* provides a

multiplicity of human-animal relations which can not be reduced to dualisms. I emphasised the need to consider *rejoneo* not as a one-off event epitomised by the death of the bull, but to recognise that each *rejoneo* performance is one of many in which the *rejoneador* and the *caballos toreros* are likely to be involved. Death is an important element of the *corrida* upon which arguments of human-animal supremacy have hinged. Only one participant in the *corrida* (typically) will not return to repeat the performance: the bull. To question binary interpretations of the bull's death which interpret it as a symbol of human supremacy over the animal realm, I noted that the horse is an animal that is not (usually) killed during the *corrida* and drew the reader's attention to the mortality of the human and the horse. In fact, it is this mortality that creates *symphysis* (Acampora 1995) between the humans and animals of the *corrida*. I then re-examined the significance of the death of the bull. I suggested that the killer-killed relationship is an intimate human-animal relationship which represents the ontological thrill of being animal (Smith 2004). I reconceptualised the ethical implications of *symphysis* by noting the cultural construction of the death of the bull as a life-giving act in the discourse of the *corrida*. In addition to the death of the bull, I reconsidered other elements of the *corrida* that could be seen as support for the human/animal binary dualism such as the rider dismounting the horse, the horse leaving the arena and the *rejoneador* being carried out on the shoulders of men. Thus, I suggested that these dualisms do not accommodate the *corrida* when it is recognised as one of many *corridas* and which showcases a variety of human-animal relationships of which the killer-killed is a very small part. I concluded that *rejoneo* presents multiple ways of being human and animal. At the same time I noted that boundary crossing relies on the existence of boundaries, and the need to respect human and animal Otherness.

In addition to the multiplicity of ways of being human or animal, I followed Pink (1997b) by suggesting that *rejoneo* presents multiple ways of being masculine and feminine. Because the *rejoneo* does not centre around the visibility and centrality of testicles, it challenges the association between sex and gender usually made in reference to the *torero* of the footed *corrida* (Corbin 1999; Corbin & Corbin 1987; Douglass 1984; 1997; Marvin 1986; 1994; Pitt-Rivers 1984). In these analyses, masculinity is inseparable from biology. My research with *rejoneadores* suggested

that masculinity is more complicated than the presence or absence of emphasised testicles. Thus, *rejoneo* presents multiple ways of being masculine as well as feminine, as being a *rejoneadora* is constructed differently to being a *torera*. I argued that gender is performed in *rejoneo* through human-animal relations, and that humanity and animality are likewise performative. Thus, this dissertation suggested that boundary crossing and the undermining of binary dualisms takes place in *rejoneo* at a number of levels; from the individuals involved, to the networks in which they exist, their interaction in a *corrida* and the themes of being and gender that they articulate. Most importantly, it suggested that human-animal relations are gendered and that human-animal relations influence gender constructions. This has demonstrated the ways in which gender and human-animal relations are mutually involved and performative.

Contributions and major findings

In this dissertation I have contributed to the ethnographic literature on the *corrida* and human-animal relations in Andalusia and Spain. This has provided important data and analysis to the fields of human-animal studies, anthrozoology and the anthropology of performance. For example, this dissertation contributes to research on the Spanish *corrida* by providing the first thorough study of *rejoneo*. Rather than considering *rejoneo* as the poor cousin, or more accurately the privileged cousin, of the footed *corrida*, I have explored *rejoneo* on its own terms. As noted in Chapter Four, *rejoneo* has been interpreted through those who prefer the footed *corrida*. As a result, it has been seen as less masculine, less accessible and less serious than the *corrida* from foote. However, by conducting research with *rejoneadores* and *rejoneo aficionados*, I have suggested the ways in which *rejoneo* articulates its own version of masculinity, privilege and legitimacy. I have given *rejoneo* a history which continues beyond its usual footnote as the overthrown and anachronistic precursor to the modern, footed *corrida*. As a legitimate version of bullfighting which exists alongside the footed *corrida*, *rejoneo* contributes to a fuller appreciation of bullfighting as a whole.

More broadly, this analysis of *rejoneo* has suggested an alternative human-animal relation in Andalusia. I have thoroughly explored the significance of something

only noted by other authors: that the human-horse relationship suggests that human-animal relations in Andalusia express more than the one-dimensional notion of human-animal separation. Through an analysis of the intercorporeality of the human-horse relationship I have demonstrated the ways in which the human-animal boundary is transgressed in Andalusia. This has also provided an *entrée* into other instances of boundary transgression that exist between humans and bulls, and horses and bulls. In fact, the term *compenetración* suggests that there is an Andalusian awareness of the corporeal and emotional availability of the animal Other. As emphasised by actor-network theory, the human-animal relations underpinning *rejoneo* incorporate the inter-embodiment of technology such as *rejones.* Therefore, this dissertation is an example of the extension of the nonhuman in actor-network theory from objects to animals. Thus, it demonstrates the multiplicity of human-animal relations in particular networks, across specific interactions and within cultures. Moreover, the intercorporeality of the *rejoneador-caballo torero* relation supports the view of human-animal continuity whilst respecting otherness and individuality. By focussing on the hybridity of the human-horse relation, I reconsidered the significance of control in the *corrida* because if the *rejoneador* exercises control over the horse, he is simultaneously exercising self-control.

In relation to the human-horse relationship, this dissertation has suggested the usefulness of the centaur as a symbol and the centaurian relationship as a metaphor for embodied boundary crossing and contributes to the small body of research into intercorporeality in the human-horse relationship (Brandt 2004; Despret 2004; Game 2001; Wipper 2000) and the centaur metaphor (Game 2001; Graves 1986; Loch 1986; Scobie 1978). Whilst these terms relate specifically to the rider-horse relationship, I identified the ways in which *compenetración* applies to human-human, human-horse, human-bull and human-horse-bull relations. In association with the emphasis on the role of technology provided by actor-network theory, I have provided a means of exploring the riding relationship through close attention to the humans, animals and objects involved. Moreover, by focusing on the centaur, I have highlighted the generative and transformative nature of intercorporeal human-animal relationships or hybrids. These are more than human-plus-animal and they deserve to be explored as a kind of third-being with

its own human and animal Otherness. Thus, *rejoneo* provides an important contribution to the existing research on hybridity by providing an example of a physically impermanent but pervasive hybrid relationship.

In this dissertation I have critiqued existing research into the *corrida* which is based on a dualistic human-animal relation. Whilst such approaches allow for an intimate understanding of human-animal relations, they can reduce one type of animal or human to a representative of the entire animal or human domain and overlook heterogeneity within categories. Such interpretations draw the researcher away from multiplicity, ambiguity, liminality and the 'matrix of differences' as well as the matrix of similarities. This study of the triadic human-animal relation in *rejoneo* suggests the advantages of a non-dualistic approach. I have identified the heterogeneity of horses within the *corrida*, and across horses and bulls, not to mention acknowledging that *rejoneadores* are particular kinds of bullfighters. The result is a version of human-animal relations in the Spanish *corrida* and Andalusian *rejoneo* which acknowledges the heterogeneity and individuality of animals and the multiplicity of human-animal relations. Thus, this dissertation illustrates the benefits of attention to non-dualistic human-animal relations, and the need to consider dualistic relations within a broader, heterogeneous context of human, animals and objects.

Rejoneo also contributes to the field of human-animal performances and performativity (Birke 2002; Birke, Bryld & Lykke 2004). As I demonstrated in Chapter Nine, *rejoneo* is a performance of alternate and multiple ways of being human, animal, male and female. As a spectacle where the *rejoneador* and the horse are seen to perform themselves (or versions of themselves), *rejoneo* contributes to the notion of animal as performance in combination with the literature surrounding animal as performer (Bouissac 1976; 1981; Marvin 2000; 2003; Scott 2004; Stokes 2004; Williams, D. 2000a). *Rejoneo* also straddles the realms of performance and sport, with particular reference to performance sports where aesthetic considerations are as important as qualitative objectives. As Marvin (2003: 58) notes in relation to foxhunting, *rejoneo* should be both effective and affective'. Due to the high degree of risk to the horse (aside from the obvious ethical dimensions to the *corrida* in general), *rejoneo* highlights the ethical

dimensions of animals in performance and sport and contributes to debates around the ethics of animals in performance (Rosenthal 2000) and sport (Rollin 1996), as well as the ethics of empathic human-animal relations more generally (Acampora 1995; 2006).

Directions for future research

Whilst contributing significantly to the ethnographic field of bullfighting in Spain and human-animal relations in Andalusia, I have identified a number of directions for future research. These range from more directed *rejoneo* research to broader thematic research into human-animal relations and human-animal performances. As already noted, this dissertation addresses a significant lacuna in the literature on the *corrida*. By conducting targeted research into *rejoneo*, I have addressed a neglected and trivialised form of bullfighting that has been and continues to be significant in the realm of Spanish bullfighting. However, this dissertation has also identified further directions for *rejoneo*-related research, such as research on female *rejoneadoras* and femininity, as noted in Chapter Nine. This would extend my own research with male *rejoneadores* in *rejoneo* and contribute to the body of research into *toreros* and masculinity (Marvin 1986; 1994) and *toreras* and femininity (Pink 1996; 1997a; 1997b; 2003). Female *rejoneadoras* are more commonplace in Portugal and Southern France and in these areas bullfighting from horseback takes regional forms which differ somewhat from Andalusian *rejoneo*. Thus, research into *rejoneo* in other countries could contribute new material on female *rejoneadoras*, as well as identifying which elements of *rejoneo* vary according to regional identity or are culturally appropriated.

In Portugal, for example, bullfighting from horseback is considered to be the most dominant form of bullfighting which has had no historical interruption such as that associated with *rejoneo*. Moreover, the bull is not killed in the *plaza* so there is no public death to the bull. Analysis into the Portuguese version of bullfighting would thus reveal some cross-cultural insights into the aesthetics of the bullfight, the death of the bull, and killer-killed human-animal relationships. In fact, the Portuguese *toureio* is gaining a reputation for being a 'bloodless bullfight' and therefore considered more bull-friendly than the Spanish version, something which

makes it slightly more acceptable to a broader public. Indeed, bloodless bullfighting takes place in California, supported by the Portuguese-American community. The tensions between this 'cultural expression' in a country generally opposed to the bullfight would make an interesting study in intersections between human-animal relations, migration and nationality.

Both Portugal and Southern France (particularly the Carmargue area), have established traditions of managing bulls from horseback together with indigenous horse cultures (human and equine). Thus there are a number of distinct Mediterranean equestrian sub-cultures surrounding bulls represent productive counter-studies to Andalusian *rejoneo*, especially considering that the same generic figures are involved: human-horse-bull. Another ethnographic site not directly related to the genre of bullfighting but involving the same human-animal network is found on the Greek island of Lesvos (close to Turkey) where a number of Saint's days are celebrated with horse-races, bull sacrifices and bull feasts in a number of villages.

As noted in Chapter One of this dissertation, I focussed more heavily on the human-horse relationship in *rejoneo* than the human-bull relationship. This was primarily a reaction to the literature on bullfighting which had neglected the role and significance of the horse and *rejoneo* in favour of attention towards the bull and the *corrida* from foot. Besides my attempt to reconcile a lack of attention to human-horse relationships in the bullfighting literature, this also arose from my own equestrian interests and abilities as well as fieldwork opportunities. With regard to the latter, it reflects the biased amount of time that a *rejoneador* spends engaging in interactions with horses than with bulls. The fact that I have attended to the horse more closely than the bull in no way relates to the importance I attach to the horse and the bull. The horse and the bull are both integral to the *rejoneo* performance.

Therefore, whilst this dissertation thoroughly explored the application of a centaurian metaphor to particular kinds of human-horse relationships, I have identified a number of human-bull interactions which also suggest a minotaurian relationship between humans and bulls, such as assistants holding bull's horns

over their foreheads and imitating the bull for the purposes of training horses. In addition, *toreros* are often smeared or spattered with the bull's blood. In fact, they are more likely to be covered by the bull's blood than *rejoneadores*. These instances of minotaurian relationships require further exploration, both in relation to *rejoneo* and the *corrida* from foot where the same bull impersonation is involved for the *torero*'s training. An exploration of the recurrence of the Minotaur in Picasso's work, which often incorporates *corrida* symbolism, would add to a consideration of minotaurian relationships. This research is particularly warranted since I have identified areas where humans do identify with bulls and anthropomorphise them and would contribute to Marvin's (1994: 159) description of *compenetración* between *torero* and bull.

As a result of my focus on intercorporeal relations between humans, horses and bulls, the roles of the audience, critics and commentators in the performance of *rejoneo* require further investigation. In Chapter Nine I discussed fans' opinions of *rejoneadores* and their gender. Some of these impressions were derived from one-on-one interaction with fans, whilst others were collected through internet research using an online *rejoneo* chat group.[167] Therefore, more research is required into the role of fans in the construction of *rejoneo* and the role that *rejoneo* plays in the social lives and identities of these fans, many of whom spend a great deal of time experiencing *rejoneo* electronically by creating fan sites, posting photos or using online forums. As the internet transcends geographical space, these fan groups represent a variety of international perspectives that would be anthropologically revealing in terms of media, technology, performance and performativity.

With further regard to the *corrida* from foot, this dissertation identifies a need for the consideration of the *torero* within a human-animal-object network, using actor-network theory in a similar way to that which characterises Chapter Nine. This approach would extend Marvin's (1986: 130) discussion of the cape as a mediator for the *torero* and bull and consider the intercorporeality of *toreros*, bulls, *banderillas* and swords. More broadly, the usefulness of actor-network theory in descriptions of human-horse riding relations could be evaluated through

[167] http://groups.msn.com/*rejoneo*/

application in other human-horse networks and extended to human-horse relations based on physical proximity which do not feature the riding relationship.

Furthermore, I see a need for a consideration of the human-horse relation as *sui generis*. Human-horse relations do not commonly fall under the field of companion animals, but they are not adequately described as human-livestock relations either. I suspect that human-horse relations share more features of human-companion animal relations than is commonly accepted. This research would benefit from the application and evaluation of pet-attachment scales to human-horse relations, taking into consideration the variety of human-horse relations (competition, pleasure, work, breeding and so on) and in combination with an ethnographic approach such as participant-observation. This would also be an interesting research setting in which to consider Shapiro's (1990) *kinesthetic empathy*. In addition, Chapter Three identified a need for research into the ways that riders construct their relationships with horses (as a partnership, or based on dominance/submission for example). The ways in which these justify various human-horse relations would also contribute to an understanding of human-horse relations.

This dissertation has focused on the human-animal boundary within *rejoneo*. Within the human-animal relationships of *rejoneo*, I noted in Chapter Seven that more research needs to be carried out into the significance of trends in the naming of horses, especially where they are named after other animals including insects and birds. This would require a culturally contextualised understanding of the construction of those other animals and the parallels drawn between animals. There are a number of other areas identified in this dissertation which would be greatly extended through anthrozoological analysis. This includes attention to a question raised in Chapter Five regarding the nature of *rejoneo* as actual or symbolic power for the Andalusian elite, in relation to Hobsbawm's (1995a; 1995b) invented traditions. In the same vein, this dissertation has suggested the need for greater research into the relationship between land and class, building on Corbin & Corbin's (1987: 20-22) work which suggests that rural dwelling is somehow sub-human but that this the upper class are immune to this negative association. Research with *rejoneadores* and those who live on the outskirts of city centres

suggests that there is a more complicated relationship between rural space and animality which may be intersected through occupation, wealth, class, status, human-animal relations and appearance (in particular hexis, habitus and embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977; 1984; 1986; 1990a)).

This dissertation has focussed on intercorporeal human-animal relations and the ways in which human, horse and bull bodies, together within inanimate objects such as *rejones*, inter-relate. I suggested that the riding relationship was a particular kind of human-animal relationship based on body language and intercorporeal communication. I symbolised with the image of the centaur and suggested the term 'centaurian relationship' to account for particular rider-horse relations based on mutuality, rapport and harmony. I noted that the Spanish equivalent of the centaurian symbol – *el centauro* – is used in a parallel way to describe *rejoneador-caballo torero* relations. Most significantly I have referred to the Spanish term used to describe the relationship that characterises *el centauro*: *compenetración*. This ethnographically specific concept of *compenetración* could be argued to represent an 'indigenous' medium for effecting Alfred Schutz's (Schutz & Luckmann 1973) '*epoché*'.

In other words, *compenetración* is a means for overcoming the philosophical and theoretical unavailability of the (animal) Other and positing the availability of the bodies, minds, emotions and experiences of the Other. As a performance, *rejoneo* effects the *epoché* by making human-animal transgression physically, emotionally and aesthetically fulfilling.[168] Moreover, Schutz' comments about the mutual tuning-in relationship resonate with my descriptions of the centaurian relationship, hybridity and compenetración between rider-horse: 'It is precisely this mutual tuning-in relationship by which the "I" and the "Thou" are experienced by both participants as a "We" in vivid presence' (1971: 161). The potential for *compenetración* to illustrate an 'indigenous' conceptualisation of Schutz's *epoché* represents a fascinating area of further enquiry and will be developed in future research.

[168] I am grateful to Dr Rod Lucas for brining my attention to the association between *compenetración* and Schutz's '*epoché*' (pers. comm, letter received by the author 22 February 2007).

In this dissertation, I have applied Shapiro's (1990) *kinesthetic empathy* to *rejoneo* in novel ways; in Chapter One I applied *kinesthetic empathy* as a method which complements participant-observation, in Chapter Two I suggested that *rejoneadores* also use the same process to understand their horses. In the same chapter, I also suggested *kinesthetic empathy* as a means for understanding the intercorporeality that underpins the centaurian riding relationship and continued this theme throughout the dissertation. In Chapter Seven I suggested that *kinesthetic empathy* is enhanced through movement and body-to-body contact. Whilst *kinesthetic empathy* offers a means for humans to appreciate the embodied experience of animals, it may be more or less one-sided depending on the animal species and individual animal engaged in a particular human-animal relation. Dogs and cats, for example, are often contrasted in terms of how much they appear to desire communication with humans (often defined through their willingness to please). Moreover, I may share a sense of the world with my horse and take that into account in my interactions with her (for example by avoiding causing her pain), but does my horse take that into account when she engages with me (for example, when she stands on my foot)?

Thus, an ironic twist to the concept of *kinesthetic empathy* is that in trying to create a shared basis for human-animal experience, the human desire to explore, feel, achieve and reflect upon *kinesthetic empathy* may be a unidirectional (human-directed) human-animal interaction. The debate, nonetheless, generates further conceptualizations of fundamental questions of human, animal, human-animal being and human-animal hybrids. In particular, further research is warranted to consider the ways in which *kinesthetic empathy* could accommodate a method used by animals in their interactions with humans; to understand and communicate with them: 'There is growing evidence, too, that some kinds of nonhuman animals clearly have a social self who can recognise and take the role of "the other"' (Birke 2002: 433; see, for example Sanders 1999).

In conclusion, I return to the preface to this dissertation where I described *rejoneo* as a dance of death. However, upon reflection of the generative, transcendent and transformative qualities of the human-animal relationships in *rejoneo*, and reliving the passion with which *rejoneadores* spoke about their love for *rejoneo*,

the horse and the bulls, I can't help but consider *rejoneo* as a meditation on life. For now the anthropologist sits at her computer with nothing more than vivid memories of encounters with *rejoneadores*, *caballos toreros* and *toros bravos*. Living in Andalusia, attending *corridas* and riding horses with *rejoneadores* was like another world. Even though she writes this dissertation a world away, a connection remains between her, the *rejoneadores* and the animals. All she has to do is sit astride a horse, embody the centaur, think '*kinesthetic empathy*' and take the posture of a *rejoneador*. Lifting her right hand above her head she calls to the invisible bulls. They emerge from an area of her being where bulls, horses and *rejoneadores* are intertwined without bodies, without space and without time but are embodied in a feeling and a posture; as they are in this dissertation. Through their intercorporeality with this anthropologist, they live beyond their bodily boundaries.

Appendix One: Glossary of terms

Acoso y derribo	The act of knocking down bulls from horseback using the *garrocha*. A *toro bravo* management technique that has been developed into a competition with marks allocated for the number of times a bull or calf rolls over.
Adornar	To decorate, to adorn, to embellish.
Adornos	Decorations. Can refer to movements as well as objects. See Chapter Eight.
Afeitar	To shave. Refers to the shaving of the tips of a bull's horns in *rejoneo* to protect the *caballos toreros*.
Alegrar	To enliven, to excite.
Alegría	Happiness.
Almonte	A municipality in Huelva Province on the Western side of the Guadalquivir River from *Jerez de la Frontera*. Incorporates the town of *El Rocio*.
Alta Escuela	High School. Refers to the advanced training of a horse. See also *haute école*.
Amazona	Female horse-rider, equestrienne.
Andalucía	Andalusia. Refers to the Southern part of Spain comprising eight provinces.
Andaluz(a)	Andalusian.
Apearse	To dismount.
Aplomado	Heavy. Self-assured. Describes the state of the bull in the final *tercio.* See Chapter Eight.
Artista	Artistic, a style of fighting with poise and 'purity'.
Banderilla	Gaily decorated barbs at the end of wooden shafts that are used to decorate and 'excite' the bull during a *corrida*. See Chapter Eight.
Banderillas cortas	Short *banderillas*. They are between 20 and 35cm in length with a 6cm harpoon at the end. See Chapter Eight.
Banderillas largas	Long *banderillas*. The *banderillas largas* are 80cm in length with a 6cm harpoon at one end. See Chapter Eight.
Banderillero	An assistant to the *matador* who places *banderillas* in the *tercio de banderillas* in the *corrida de toros.*

Barrera	The fence that encircles the area of the plaza where the *corrida* takes place.
Becerrada	An event involving calves.
Becerro/a	Calf under one year of age.
Bravo	Term used to describe a fierce or feroscious animal, or a boastful, swaggering and bad-tempered person. It can also be used as an exclamation to mean 'well done' (Collins Spanish Dictionary 2001: 145)! The bull bred for the Spanish *corrida* is the *toro bravo*. See Chapter Seven.
Bravura	The quality of bravery. See Chapter Seven.
Brida, a la	'Off the bridle'. The style of horse-riding associated historically with Northern Europe and Northern Spain characterised by the rider's legs being stuck straight out so he can brace against the horse's movement. Associated with knights, heavy-boned Northern European cart horses, the couched lance and charging *en masse*. See Chapters Five and Eight.
Bulería	A lively style of *flamenco* synonymous with *Jerez de la Frontera*.
Caballero	Gentleman, knight, horse-rider.
Caballo	A horse; a male horse; an uncastrated male horse.
Caballo cartujano	Carthusian horses. Refers to horses bred by the *Yeguada de la Cartuja/Hierro del Bocado* stud in Jerez which has historical associations with an order of Carthusian monks. See Chapter Seven for a discussion of this breed.
Caballo de banderillas	Refers to a horse used in the second *tercio* of a *corrida de rejones*. See Chapter Eight.
Caballo de muerte	'Horse of death'. Refers to a horse used in the final *tercio* of a *corrida de rejones*. See Chapter Eight.
Caballo de picar	The horse used by the *picador* in first *tercio* of the *corrida de toros*. It must weight from 500 to 650kg and can not be of a breed indigenous to Spain.
Caballo de salida	A horse used in the first *tercio* of a *corrida de rejones*. See Chapter Eight.
Caballo torero	The horse used by the *rejoneador*. Literally, it means, 'bullfighting horse'. See Chapter Seven.
Cádiz	A province in Andalusia where *Jerez de la Frontera* is located. See Chapter Two.
Caireles	Silver or gold charms which adorn the five eyelets on the rider's trousers. See Chapter nine.

Callejón	The causeway between the *plaza* and the first row of the audience in a *plaza de toros*. This is where the *rejoneador* or *torero* keeps their *banderillas*, *rejones* and so on and from which assistants pass them.
Campero	Of the countryside. See *estilo campero*.
Campo, el	The countryside.
Capote	The large cape used by the bullfighter's assistants in the first two *tercios* to test the bull and in the final *tercio* to distract it from the *matador* when required. It is typically pink on one side and yellow on the other.
Cara a cara	Face to face, a way of fighting the bull from horseback where the horse's face is aligned with the bull's face at the moment that the *rejon* is placed.
Carretón	Barrow like cart with a tyre and two bull's horns attached at the front. It is used to train horses and *toreros* how to move around the bull's horns and requires the person using it to mimic or impersonate the movements of the bull. See Chapter Seven.
Cartel	A bullfighting poster announcing the performers, the 'line-up' of performers.
Casetas	Small houses. Also used to describe the stalls and small bars at *feria*. See Chapter Two.
Castellano	Castilian. Refers to the Spanish language.
Cavaleiro	Portuguese term for 'rider'. See Appendix Four.
Centauro	Centaur.
Circo	Circus.
Clase alta	High class, upper-class. See *clase elevada*.
Clase elevada	Elevated classes, upper-class. See *clase alta*.
Clavar	To place a *rejón*, spear, *banderilla* or barb into a bull.
Cojones	Testicles.
Cojones, tener	Literally, 'to have balls' [testicles]. See Chapter Nine.
Coleo de becerros	The 'tailing' of calves. A bull-management technique involving a rider chasing a calf and tipping it over by pulling its tail. Has been developed into a competition popular in *El Rocio*.
Coleta	Means 'little tail'. Refers to a pigtail that is a caste mark of a *torero*. No longer grown by *toreros*, but a *torero* may use an artificial *coleta*. The phrase *cortar la coleta* (to cut the *coleta*) remains to refer to a *torero's* retirement from the ring.

Collera, colleras, por colleras	Pairs: When two *rejoneadores* together face a bull and take it in turns to place *rejones* and *banderillas*.
Compenetración	Literally, inter-penetration. Refers to a state of mutual understanding and influence between entities (human-human or human-animal). Can also be extended to human-inanimate object relations (see Chapter Nine).
Corazón	Heart.
Corbeta	A way of placing the *rosa*.
Cornada	A goring by the bull's horns.
Corrida, la	The bullfight. See also *los toros*, *el toreo*.
Corrida caballeresca	Knightly or chivalric lancing of bulls from horseback prior to the nineteenth century which were most common leading up to the eighteenth century. See Chapter Five.
Corrida de rejones	*Corrida* from horseback.
Corrida de toros	*Corrida* from foot. A *corrida de toros* involves the use of bulls four years and not exceeding six years of age(Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 45.1). Compare with *novillada*.
Corrida ecuestre	'Equestrian bullfight', another term for the bullfight from horseback.
Corrida mixta	*Corrida* comprising mounted and footed bullfighters (*rejoneadores* and *toreros*). They each face separate bulls.
Corrida nocturna	Nocturnal *corrida*.
Cortijo	Farmhouse or a cluster of farm buildings.
Cuadra	Team or stable.
Cuadrilla	Team of assistants contracted by a *torero* or *rejoneador*.
Cuchillero	Knife handler. The title of the person who ensures that the bull is dead at the end of a *corrida* by severing its spinal cord with a short dagger.
Cuchillo	Knife.
Desbravar	To 'de-wild' or to tame.
Descabello	A sword with a cross bar that prevents its tip from penetrating more than a few centimetres.
Desplante	When the *torero* positions himself *de rodillas* (on his knees) with his back to the bull.
Dinero	Money.

Divisa	A small harpoon that is stuck in the bull's *morillo* prior to its entrance to the *plaza* which bears ribbons representing the colours of the bull stud.
Doma Vaquera	Literally cowboy training. Style of horse riding particular to managing the *toro bravo* from horseback. Developed to facilitate long days of work in the saddle comfortably and with the minimum of risk to rider and horse from bulls, cows and calves. See Chapter Five.
Domado	Trained, mastered, 'broken' to saddle (of a horse). See Chapter Seven.
Domar	To train, to master. To 'break' a horse to saddle. See Chapter Seven.
Dos manos, a	Using two hands. Synonymous with *sin riendas* (without reins).
Echar pie (a la tierra)	To dismount from a horse and stand on the ground.
Embiste	A charge or an attack.
Embroque	I have translated *embroque* in this dissertation as a charge. *Embroque* can also be used to define the moment at which a bullfighter places a barb by going between the bull's horns or the moment at which he positions himself close to a bull to avoid an otherwise certain goring. The charge of a bull is more specifically referred to as an *embiste*.
Encierros	Penning (of bulls).
Enganche	Carriage-driving.
Engañar	To trick or entice.
Engaño	A trick.
Escalafón	The leader-board.
Espada	A generic term for sword. Sometimes used to refer to the *matador*. See also *estoque*.
Espectáculo ecuestre	A brief equestrian performance by the *rejoneadores*
Espontáneo	A 'spontaneous' bullfighter who leaps over the *barrera* to face the bull. Often pre-arranged with the particular bullfighter advertised on the *cartel*.
Estilo campero/estilo vaquero	'Country style'. Refers to a style of *rejoneo* characterised by approaching the bull through diminishing circles rather than from front-on. Refers to a general style reflected in dress, saddlery and the movements that the horse performs.
Estilo vaquero	See 'estilo campero'.

Estoque A sword 88cm long used by the *matador* to deliver the *coup de grâce* to the bull.

Estoque de descabellar An *estoque* with a cross bar 10cm from the tip of the blade.

Estribo, al Describes the placing of a *rejon* as the bull charges at right angles to the rider's stirrup.

Fanega Unit of land measurement. One *fanega* = 0.5 of a hectare = 1.4 acres (Gilmore 1980: 19). See Chapter Six.

Farpa The *farpa* is a Portuguese variation of the *banderilla*. It has the same length as the *banderilla larga* (80cm) with a harpoon of 7cm.

Feria A fair. See Chapter Two.

Finca A large country estate.

Forcado A Portuguese bullfighter. See Appendix Four.

Frente, de From the front, a way of approaching the bull. See '*rostro a rostro*' and '*cara a cara*'.

Galope Canter or gallop.

Ganadería Live-stock stud.

Ganadero Live-stock owner or worker.

Ganado Livestock.

Garrocha A thirteen foot pole used by cowboys to control the movements of bulls or horses either as a herd or to cut an individual from a herd. It is the tool used in *acoso y derribo* to knock down the bull or cow. The *garrocha* is symbolic of the Andalusian equestrian aesthetic. It is commonly used in artistic equestrian performances and occasionally used in the first *tercio* of a *corrida de rejones*.

Gineta, a la Also known as *a la jineta*. Refers to the riding style characterised by the rider's knees being bent and his/her weight underneath his/her body. Associated with Southern Spain and North Africa and most suited to the riding agile, light-framed horses of these regions. See Chapters Five and Eight.

Grupa, a la 'Off the rump'. Refers to the placing of rejones when the bull is charging towards the horse's rump. See Chapter Nine. Also refers to the act of riding behind the saddle, such as when women ride side-saddle behind male riders.

Guardia civil Civil guard (rural police force)

Guiñar To wink. Can be used to describe the expression on the face of a horse that is pinning its ears back threateningly at a bull. See Chapter Seven.

Haute école	High School. A French term used to describe the advanced training of a horse. See also *alta Escuela*.
Indulto	A pardoning of a bull considered that during the course of a *corrida* has proven itself too valuable (genetically) to be killed. Its final kill is faked by the *rejoneador* or *torero* and the *toro* is returned to stud to pass on its qualities.
Jaca	A gelded workhorse. Typically presented with a shaved forelock and mane and a tail cut just below the dock, or tied into a knot. See Chapter Seven.
Jerez de la Frontera	A city in Cádiz Province in Andalusia. See Chapter Two.
Jerezano/a	Someone from Jerez.
Jornalero	A term used by Gilmore (1980) to refer to landless peasants who sell their labour for a daily wage.
Levantado	Lofty. In the first *tercio* the bull is described as *levantado*, because it carries its head the highest during this *tercio*.
Lusitano	The Portuguese national breed of horse.
Mandan, los que	Those in charge, those who give orders.
Mandar	To order. The third in the tri-partite bullfighting mantra '*parar, templar, mandar*'.
Manso	Gentle, meek, tame.
Marismas	Marshes.
Matador	Name for the particular *torero* who performs the kill of the bull.
Matar	To kill.
Mayete	The *mayetes* are a social group identified by Gilmore (1980: 116) who own sufficient land to produce enough income to avoid selling their labour, although they often work side-by-side with the *jornaleros*. See Chapter Six.
Mayoral	The senior employee of a ranch-owner or senior stockman responsible for overseeing the herds of fighting bulls.
Medios	Two concentric rings divide the arena into three parts known as tercios. The most inner area is called the *medios*, the outer area known as the *tablas* and the area in between known as the *tercios*.
Mesura	Self-control and grace. See Chapter Four.
Monosabio	Assistant to the *picador, picador's* horse-handlers.
Morillo	The base of the bull's neck. Akin to the horse's wither.

Mosquero	A flyveil affixed to the browband of a horse's bridle. It can be made of leather or sewn from horse-hair.
Mozo de espadas	The sword-handler who is in charge of preparing and cleaning the tools of the *rejoneador* or *torero*.
Muleta	The red cape associated with the matador in the final *tercio*.
Nobleza	Nobility.
Novillada	A *corrida* involving bulls of two years and not exceeding four years of age. See *novillo*.
Novillada con picadores	A *novillada* with *picadores*. This form of *novillada* requires bulls of three to four years of age.
Novillada sin picadores	A *novillada* without *picadores*. This form of *novillada* requires buls of two to three years of age.
Novillo	A bull of two and not exceeding four years of age. Bulls used in *novilladas con picadores* are between three and four years of age, whilst other *novillos* are between two and three years of age (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 45.1).
Parado	To be fixed. The bull is said to be *parado* when it is not charging. The bull is described as *parado* typically in the *second tercio* of the *corrida*.
Parar	To stop. The first in the tri-partite bullfighting mantra '*parar, templar, mandar*'.
Paseíllo	Parade of all involved in the *corrida* before the first bull enters.
Paso	Walk (of a horse).
Passage	An *alta escuela* movement in which the horse sustains a slow-motion trot with a moment of suspension between each stride.
Pega, La	The Portuguese form of footed bull-wrestling.
Peto	The protective padding worn by the *picador's* horse to save it from the bull's horns.
Piaffe	An *alta escuela* movement in which the horse performs a trot on the spot, lifting diagonal pairs of legs without advancing.
Pica	The *pica* is the long lance held by the *picador*. Including the tip affixed to its end, the *pica* is between 2.55 and 2.70m in length.
Picadero	A riding arena.
Picador	The mounted figure who faces the bull in the first *tercio* of the footed *corrida*.
Pijos, los	Yuppies.

Plaza	Town square or a bullring.
Plaza de toros	Bullring, often simply called *la plaza.*
Potra	A filly (female foal).
Potra, tener	A phrase which means to be lucky (literally, to have foal).
Potro	A colt (male foal).
Primera	First. The *primera tercio* is the first act of the *corrida.* See also *tercio de varas* and *tercio de salida.*
Pura Raza Española	Means literally 'Pure Spanish Race' and is used to refer to horses of indigenous Spanish breeding. The *Pura Raza Española* (PRE) translates as 'pure Spanish race'. This horse is popularly referred to outside of Spain as the 'Andalusian'.
Pura sangre Inglés	Means 'pure English blood' and refers to the English thoroughbred horse.
Puya	The sharp retractable point affixed to the end of the *pica.*
Puyazo	A pick inflicted by the *puya.*
Querencia	A place in the *plaza* where the bull feels most comfortable, to which it returns and in which it is most dangerous to approach
Quiebro	A 'fake right, go left' manoeuvre performed whilst the bull charges the horse head-on.
Raza	Race. '*Pura raza*' refers to a horse of pure race.
Real Escuela Andaluza del Arte Ecuestre	Royal Andalusian School of Equestrian Art. Located in *Jerez de la Frontera.*
Recinto ganadero	A stock ground.
Rejon, rejones	The generic term for the barbs, spears and swords used by the *rejoneador. Rejon* is a nineteenth century word from the Latin *regula* for a straight piece of wood.
Rejon de castigo	Used in the *primer tercio,* the *rejones de castigo* (*rejones* of punishment) are 160cm in total length. A hollow cylinder (*cubillo)* of 6cm in length attaches a double-edged blade to the wooden part of the *rejon de castigo.* The *cubillo* has a cross bar affixed which is also 6cm long. The blade is 2.5cm wide and 15cm long for *novillos* or 18cm long for *toros* (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 67.1). Just back from the *cubillo,* the wooden stick is whittled down to a finer 'neck' that breaks away from the long handle when the barb is pushed into the bull and the *rejoneador* pushes against it. As the barb breaks away from the *rejon,* it triggers the unfurling of a coloured flag that has been wrapped around the main handle (see Plate 25, in Chapter Eight). The *rejones de castigo* leave a small barb under the bull's skin from which colourful streamers dangle.

Rejon de muerte	The *rejon de muerte*, literally the *rejon* of death, delivers the *coup de grâce*. Whilst the *banderillas* are barbs, the *rejon de muerte* is a 1.6m long sword. It features a double edged blade which is 2.5cm wide. It is 60cm in length for *novillos* and 65cm long for *toros* (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior 1996: Article 67.3). This long and thin blade is sheathed in semi-transparent red tissue paper (see Plate 29 in Chapter Eight).
Rejoneador	Someone who fights bulls from horseback.
Rejoneadora	A female bullfighter from horseback. See Chapter Nine.
Rejonear	To bullfight from horseback, literally to use a *rejon*.
Rejoneo	Bullfighting from horseback, mounted bullfighting. See also *corrida caballeresca* and *toreo ecuestre*.
Rejones, corrida de	A *corrida* from horseback.
Remate	The conclusion to a mutual interaction between *rejoneador* or *torero* and bull; the 'finishing touch'.
Ricos, los	The rich, the wealthy. See Chapter Six.
Rodillas	Knees.
Rodillas, de	On one's knees. Describes a particularly 'valiant' means of facing the bull.
Rosas	'Roses'. These are *Banderillas cortas* 20cm in length decorated with green and red tissue paper or with artificial flowers to resemble roses. See Chapter Eight.
Rostro a rostro	See *cara a cara*.
Saca de las Yeguas	'The taking out of the mares'. An annual round-up and droving of the stock of semi-wild horses from the marshlands of *El Rocio* to the neighbouring town of Almonte.
Sangre	Blood. '*Pura sangre*' signifies a pure blood horse.
Segundo	Second. The *segundo tercio* is the second act of the *corrida*. See also *tercio de banderillas*. See Chapter Eight.
Semental	Stallion.
Señorito	Upper-class gentleman. See Chapter Six.
Sevillana	A form of song and dance associated with *feria*. Typically considered as more of a folk dance than a form of *flamenco*.
Sevillano/a	One from Seville.
Sin bridas	Without reins. Refers to riding without reins and steering the horse with one's legs, weight and 'seat'. See '*sin manos*'.

Sin manos	Without hands. Refers to riding without reins and steering the horse with one's legs, weight and 'seat'. See '*sin bridas*'.
Sombrero	A hat.
Sombrero de ala ancha	A wide-brimmed hat.
Sombrero, torear con el	To bullfight with a hat, using the hat to lure the bull or to 'decorate' it by putting it on the bull's head.
Suerte	Literally means luck. In the *corrida* it refers to a mutually engaged interaction between a *torero* or *rejoneador* and the bull.
Tablas	Two concentric rings divide the arena into three parts known as *tercios*. The most inner area is called the *medios*, the outer area known as the *tablas* and the area in between known as the *tercios*.
Taleguilla	The *torero's* high-waisted, calf-length pants.
Teléfono, el	'The telephone'. An *adorno* which involves the *rejoneador* putting his elbow on the bull's forehead and his fist to his own temple. Requires the maintenance of a consistent speed and proximity in relation to the bull. See Chapter Eight.
Templar	To regulate. The second in the tri-partite bullfighting mantra '*parar, templar, mandar*'.
Tentaderos	Testing of young calves to ascertain their suitability for the *corrida*.
Tercer	Third. The *tercer tercio* is the third and final act of the *corrida*. See also '*tercio de muerte*' and '*último tercio*'. See Chapter Eight.
Tercio	A 'third'. Refers to one of the three 'thirds' or 'acts' through which each bull is faced by a *rejoneador* or a *torero* in a *corrida*.
Tercio de banderillas	The second 'act' of an interaction with a bull in a *corrida*, characterised by the use of *banderillas*. See Chapter Eight.
Tercio de muerte	The final 'act' of an interaction with a bull in a *corrida,* during which the bull dies. See Chapter Eight.
Tercio de salida	The first 'act' of an interaction with a bull in a *corrida*, when the bull enters the *plaza*.
Tercios	Two concentric rings divide the arena into three parts known as *tercios*. The most inner area is called the medios, the outer area known as the *tablas* and the area in between known as the *tercios*.
Tienta	The testing of young bulls to determine their future in the *plaza de toros*.
Torear	To bullfight, literally 'to bull'.
Toreo	Bullfighting.

Toreo cómico	Comic *corridas,* usually involving dwarf *toreros* and in which the bull is not publicly killed. I am unaware of any *toreos cómicos* where the *toreros* are mounted.
Toreo Ecuestre	Bullfighting from horseback, mounted bullfighting. Distinguished from *rejoneo* by a closer philosophical association with *toreo.*
Torera	A female bullfighter from foot.
Torero	A male bullfighter from foot.
Toril	The partition which obscures the breaks in the *barrera* that allows people to pass in and out of the *plaza.* It affords protection for those running to safety from the bull.
Toros, los	Literally, 'the bulls'. Often used to refer to a *corrida.*
Toro	Adult bull four years and over. In a *corrida,* the toro is four years and not exceeding six. Compare with *novillo.*
Toro bravo	*Bos taurus Ibericus.* Indigenous breed. Selectively bred from at least the eighteenth century for characteristics of suited to the *corrida.* See Chapter Seven.
Toureio Equestre	Portuguese form of bullfighting from horseback. See Appendix Four.
Traje	Suit (clothing).
Traje corto	Short suit. Synonymous with the *traje vaquero* and *traje del campo.*
Traje de luces	Suit of lights: the *torero's* embroidered suit which reflects light as the sun sets. Slender lines and fit emphasise the *torero's* body (See Chapter Nine).
Traje del campo /traje campero	Country suit. The suit worn by the *rejoneador.* See *traje vaquero.*
Traje vaquero	Cowboy suit: the suit worn by the *rejoneador.* See *traje del campo.*
Tricornio	A 'move' during which the *rejoneador* puts his hat on the bull's head. See Chapter Eight.
Trote	Trot.
Ultimo tercio	Final (and third) 'act' of an interaction with a bull in a *corrida.* See also *tercio de muerte* and *tercer tercio.*
Vaca	A cow.
Valiente	Valiant or brave. A style of fighting bulls which makes up for any lack of refinement or elegance. Compare with *artista.*
Vaquero/a	In this dissertation refers to a cowboy or cowgirl. *Vaquera* also means milkmaid.

Vara	A pole. In bullfighting refers to the *picador's* tool, also known as the *pica*.
Vida	'Life'. Used by Corbin & Corbin (1987) to structure an Andalusian cosmology according to degrees of autonomy, control and freedom. See Chapter Four.
Vistoso	Eye-catching.
Yegua	A mare (female horse). Compare with *caballo*.
Yeguada	A stud (a place of mares).
Yegüerizo	A mare owner.
Zahones	The leather full-length, apron-style chaps worn by the *rejoneador.*
Zapatillas	Slippers. The soft-soled shoes worn by the *torero.*

Appendix Two: Dates of interest[169]

17th Century	*Siglo de Rejoneo.*
1700	Felipe V takes the Spanish throne.
18th Century	*Rejoneo* loses popularity. Modern (footed) bullfight develops. *Varilarguero* appears in the bullfight. Aristocracy breed bulls in countryside.
19th Century	Social tensions heighten between landed class and the poor.
1860s	Anarchist idea of Mikhail Bakunin reach Spain.
20th Century	*Siglo de oro del Rejoneo.*
1902-1923	Thirty four governments during reign of Alfonso XIII.
1910	Anarchist unions organised into National Confederation of Work.
1923 - 1936	Antonio Cañero Baena revives *rejoneo.*
1923	General Miguel Primo de Rivera becomes Spain's military dictator.
1928	Protection for the *picador's* horse (*peto*) becomes mandatory.
1930s	*Rejoneo* becomes habitual.
1930	Primo de Rivera abandons power.
1931	Republican movement victorious in municipal elections. Alfonso XIII abdicates. Fall of the monarchy.
1936-1939	Spanish civil war.
1939	Franco becomes Spanish dictator.
1940	Álvaro Domecq y Díez refines *rejoneo* after the civil war.
1945	Peralta brothers begin bullfighting from horseback.
1946	United Nations recommends trade boycott of Spain.
Late 1940s	*Años de hambre* (years of hunger).
1950s-1960s	Drought across Spain.
1951	National income reaches pre-civil-war level (Hooper 1995: 15).

[169] For a detailed chronology of Spanish history see Carr (2000: 287-298).

1953	Franco accepts US aid in return for four military bases in Spain.
1954	Average income reaches 1936 level (Hooper 1995: 15).
1955	Spain admitted to the United Nations.
1961-1973	*Años de dessarollo* (years of development). Spanish economy grows 7% per year. By the end of this period Spain is the world's ninth industrial power. Spain's 'economic miracle' (Hooper 1995).
1963/1964	Spain no longer meets United Nations' definition of developing nations.
1970s	*Rejoneo* considered to be well established.
1973	*Real Escuela Andaluza de Arte Ecuestre* founded by Álvaro Domecq.
1974	Franquist legislation prohibiting women from participating in the *corrida* lifted (MacClancy 1996: 73).
1975	Franco dies. Juan Carlos crowned King of Spain.
1977	Restoration of democracy.
1978	Spain becomes a parliamentary monarchy with no official religion.
1983	By this year Spain had been divided into 17 'autonomous communities'.
1986	Spain joins the European Community (now the EU).
1986-1991	Spain's second post-civil war boom. Income at highest levels. Women undertake more higher education and join the workforce.
1992	Expo '92, Seville.
2000-2001	Period of fieldwork on which this dissertation is based.
2001	Molotov cocktail attack on Domecq horses.

Appendix Three: *El Yegüerizo*

A poem by Antonio Báñez Aragón, poet and *yegüerizo* from Almonte, Huelva (translated by the author with assistance from Claire Hockings).

Antonio Báñez Aragón was inspired to write this poem after he saw a *yegüerizo* from Almonte crying for his mares that had died because of grazing restrictions imposed by European Union regulations over the Doñana National Park (for further information see: Comisión Mixta de Gestión de los Parques Nacionales Andaluces 2000; González Faraco & Murphy 1999; Murphy 1987; Murphy & González Faraco 2001; Murphy & González Faraco 2002; Thompson 2002)

El Yegüerizo	***The mare-owner***
Si quieres que viva el coto	If you want the reserve to live
deja mis yeguas que vivan	let my mares live
que quando naciò Doñana	because they have been living there
ya habitan sus Marismas.	since the birth of the marshes.
Si quieres que viva el Coto	If you want the reserve to live
y el animal que lo habita	and the animal that lives there too
no presiones al yegüerizo,	don't make life difficult for the mare-owner,
a su yegua y la potrica.	his mare and the smallest of foals.
No abuses de la bondad,	Don't take for granted the kindness,
que el marismeño camina	that has resided within the marshes
de muchas generaciones	for many generations
por oruñas y albinas.	amongst the oruñas and albinas (local vegetation).
Cuidao quien no conoce	Beware the ignorant
los ojos de la Marisma,	who don't know the marshes well,
que en lo más llano se hunde	for they will sink into flatlands
sin encontrar mano amiga.	without finding a friendly hand.
Le di una vuelta al ganao	I went out to see the stock
en un año de ventisca	during a torrential year
y he visto llorar a una yegua,	and I saw a mare crying,
con el agua a la barriga,	with water at her belly,
buscando la tierra firme	looking for firm ground
para salvar a su cría.	to save her young.

Se lo impidieron la vallas	The fences prevented her
y el potrico se moría.	and the little foal died.
Me van arrollando todo	It was as if I was sinking
como el volcàn que asesina.	Under the weight of heavy lava.
Se lo pido a aquel que manda	So I appeal to those in charge
y ya no más de rodillas,	But no longer from my knees,
si quieres que viva el Coto	if you want the reserve to live
deja mis yeguas que vivan.	leave my mares to live.
Que no le pongan más vallas,	That no more fences be built,
que no se mueran más crías.	that no more young are allowed die.
Soy de Almonte y siempre	I am from Almonte and
he tenío la valentía	I have always had the right
de pasar por todas partes	to go where I pleased
sin nadie que me lo impida.	without anyone fencing me in.
Sobrepasamos al frìo,	We survive the cold,
al calor y la mala vida,	the heat and the hard times,
al tábano y al mosquito,	the horsefly and the mosquito,
peligros de la Marisma.	dangers of the marshes.
Y el portal Vetalarena,	And at the gateway to Vetalarena (a place),
donde el yegüerizo habita,	where the yeguerizo lives,
me lo tiraron al suelo	it all became clear to me
porque un ave cerca anida.	because a bird was nesting nearby.
Y la aves no se mueren	And the birds don't die
por la siembra de la isla	because of the rehabilitation of the island
y sì se mueren mis yeguas	yet my mares do die
porque cercan las Marismas.	because they fence the marshes.
Tenemos la protección	We have the protection
de la Pastora Divina;	of the Virgen of Almonte;
deja tranquilo al ganao,	to let the livestock be,
no es mal amigo el que avisa,	it is not your enemy who is warning you,
si quieres que viva el Coto	that if you want the reserve to live
deja mis yeguas que vivan.	leave my mares to live.

Appendix Four: *Toureio equestre* (bullfighting from horseback in Portugal)

As noted in Chapter Five, with the exception of royal weddings or similar events, lancing from horseback in the plaza was practically abandoned for almost two centuries until the re-invention of *rejoneo* in the early twentieth century. However, bullfighting from horseback continued to be practiced in Portugal, marking the historical moment in which two branches of bullfighting from horseback were formed: *toureio equestre* in Portugal and *toreo equestre or rejoneo* in Spain. King Sebastián of Portugal (reign 1557-1578) sidestepped Pope Pius' 1565 prohibition of bullfights by cutting the tips of the bull's horns, covering them with wooden balls (*embolando los cuernos*) and not killing the bull during the bullfight (it was killed afterwards out of public view). These procedures addressed the Pope's bill which stated that anyone who died in the ring would not be entitled to an ecclesiastical burial[170] (Shubert 1999: 147). Whether cunning or obstinate, King Sebastián's strategy worked and the Portuguese *corrida* has continued more or less the same since that moment. Because of the continued use of the *caballo torero* in Portugal during the 18th century, many believe that the Iberian horse developed into two strains. The horses from Spain remained smaller and had 'flashier' movement but were not considered to have as much strength or endurance as the Portuguese Lusitano horses.

There are four main differences between the Portuguese *toureio equestre* and the Spanish *toreo ecuestre* or *rejoneo* : 1) The Portuguese *cavaleiros* use *farpas*, which are the same length as *rejones* but have a double harpoon that is bigger, 2) the horse only appears in the first third of the bullfight, 3) the bull is not killed in the ring. After placing one to four *farpas*, the *cavaleiro* leaves the arena. The bull is then wrestled by a team of *forcados* in an act known as *la pega*. Four or five men leap into the bullring, which is smaller than the Spanish rings, and line up in single file at a distance from the bull. Once its charge has been provoked though shouts

[170] The bill titled *De salutis gregis domini* (on the Health of the Lord's Flock) also prohibited that anyone permit *corridas* as well as prohibiting the regular and secular clergy from attending them on pain of excommunication. For more detail on the bill and the more lenient alterations made to it in 1585 and 1596 see Shubert (1999: 147-148).

and gestures, the leader of the file leaps in between the bull's horns and grabs hold of them. The man behind him then grabs hold of his body to help take the impact and so on down the line. If the leader has been hurt or unsuccessful, the whole process begins again until all of the men except one are hanging off of the bull's head. Their weight is intended to slow it down so that the remaining man can grab hold of its tail. Acrobatics may also be performed over the bull's back. Once 'caught' in this way, the bull is led away for slaughter. Such is the progression of events in the Portuguese bullfight which, as Chapters One and Eight demonstrate, differs from the Spanish *rejoneo*. The most striking difference between Portuguese and Spanish bullfights from horseback is in the costume (4). The Portuguese riders today wear a riding costume in a style known as *la Frederica* which dates from the eighteenth century (See Plate 11 in Chapter Five). For more information on the Portuguese bullfight see Sommer D'Andrade (1991).

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