

Fiesta, local identity and symbolic exaltation of utopia. The Mad from Fuente Carreteros

Gustavo Ramirez

University of Cordoba, Spain

Email: g.ramirezcrd@yahoo.com

Abstract

The festive ritual around the dance of «Los Locos de Fuente Carreteros», in Cordoba province, makes up an ingrained expression of local identity and a popular exaltation of the utopia which, at the same time, reflects the inner cultural diversity in Andalusia. Introduced by the Central European colonists in the second half of the 18 th century, According to the MOST Widespread belief, it is held every 28 th of December With An Important social participation and careful zeal for keeping and transmitting the tradition. After intense arrangements since the day before, with special devotion from some groups of women, «los locos» meet in the square, perform the dances and, then, go across some streets in the village. «La Danza del Oso» (the dance of the bear), the tasting of «pestiños» (sweet Spanish fritters) and cups of anisette and a popular lunch complete the celebration.

Keywords: Danza De Los Locos, National Inheritance, Festive Ritual, Local Identity, Fuente Carreteros.

A. INTRODUCTION

Every December 28 Cordovan town of *Fuente Carreteros* plays a unique festive ritual around the *Danza de los Locos*. Also known as *Aldea de Fuente Carretero*, it is an autonomous local entity of Fuente Palmera whose origin dates back to the establishment of agricultural enclaves and communication nodes with European settlers under the reign of Carlos III, in the second half of the 18th century; settlements that, in cases like the one we are dealing with, were not exempt from conflicts with the former landowners from Cordoba and Ecija.

It is located in the countryside, in the South of the Middle Guadalquivir Valley, bordering the Sevillian municipality of Écija. It has 1,149 inhabitants (Yunes & Raj, 1994), and between the 1950s and 1970s it experienced a significant migration drain towards the capital and towards Spanish industrial centers and other parts of Europe. Its economic activity is mainly agricultural, with cereal, olive and citrus crops and some agri-food processing and marketing companies, although local authorities are working to diversify these activities, highlighting attempts to promote the attraction of visitors.

Its institutional dependence on the Fuente Palmera City Council has been accompanied by an autonomist sentiment that some people from Carretera characterize as "with deep historical

roots", achieving, in 1989, its recognition as an autonomous entity. In 1994 and 2011 it filed separate segregation files with the aim of becoming a municipality without a favorable result. In June 2015, in the act of constitution of its current corporation, its president, José Manuel Pedrosa, called for unity "for our segregation, for making our constitution a municipality a reality (...) to see the dream come true history of so many people from Carretera " (Fernandez, 2018). This deeply rooted local feeling has one of its most significant symbolic references in the celebration of the *Danza de los Locos*.

We observe the *Danza de los Locos* and the celebrations that accompany it as an activity of ethnological interest , as a ritual or festive act, from the perspective of the anthropological study of cultural heritage or what Moreno and Agudo call "Andalusian cultural expressions" (Agudo Torrico, 2012). Along with documentation tasks and bibliographic analysis, the information obtained comes from the ethnographic fieldwork carried out in direct contact with the celebration studied and with the social actors who star in it. This field work has enabled the selection of informants and the carrying out of different interview modalities, direct observation and obtaining unpublished documents and their own graphic and audiovisual records.

We present the theses on the antecedents and origins of the *Danza de los Locos* and refer to the process of its recovery at the beginning of the eighties of the last century. After outlining some theoretical and conceptual aspects, we describe and analyze the ritual taking into account the context in which it takes place, its main movable heritage expressions, its direct protagonists and the activities it comprises.

In November 2000 the *Danza de los Locos* was declared a Festival of Tourist Interest in Andalusia and each edition registers a greater number of visitors and reviews in the Andalusian media. Informative materials have been published and graphic and audiovisual testimonies proliferate in web spaces and social networks, as well as there are chronicles and historical references (Tubio Adame, 1998) , it was even included in some provincial ethnographic publications of Córdoba dances (Cobos and Luque-Romero, 1984, 1986) 6 ; but her study has not been updated in the vast ethnological production on Andalusian festive rituals. Although it has an audiovisual documentary record in the Atlas of Intangible Heritage of Andalusia, the complete file does not appear in its database, so it is of particular interest to contribute to its documentation and ethnological analysis.

B. METHOD

Research was conducted using qualitative methods. With this qualitative method, researchers attempt to reveal the universal essence of phenomena personally experienced by a group of individuals in depth (Estenberg, 2002). Data was collected through several techniques, including observation techniques, focus group discussions, and documentation studies. Data analysis was carried out through three analysis processes, namely coding, merging codes that

emerged into themes, verification of themes through theory and follow-up interviews, and drawing conclusions.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

HISTORY, MEMORY, TRADITION AND IDENTITY: THE PARTY AND MADNESS AS A SYMBOLIC EXPRESSION OF UTOPIA. ABOUT THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONCEPTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

1. The party and madness: origin, recovery and meanings

Its origin is unclear as there are no written testimonies that can substantiate it, so that several hypotheses have been provided based on contrasts of scholarly references and oral sources very present in the local imagination. A recurring explanation among the Carretera population dates its beginning in the colonization that populated these lands in the 18th century, specifically in the founding of the colony in 1767. Its origin would therefore be Central European, introduced by settlers, especially Germans and Swiss, together to the *Baile del Oso* that is also played every December 28. This hypothesis wields its relationship with the children's festival of Saint Nicholas as well as with the Day of the Holy Innocents that commemorates the massacre ordered by King Herod. In the dance, it is maintained, one of its components, "*the loquilla*", would symbolize the newborns, or the baby Jesus, and six other men dressed in women's clothing would represent the mothers who, given the fate of their children, they go "crazy." Hence the name "the crazy ones." In this sense, the celebration would have readapted an original substrate to practices and beliefs typical of popular religiosity in Andalusia (Becerra, 2000).

But there is no shortage of those who, arguing similarities with other expressions of nearby localities, are inclined towards an autochthonous medieval origin, resulting in a kind of syncretic evolution of the winter festivals of ritual reversal of roles that, as described by Caro Baroja, ridiculed ecclesiastical figures or other elements of power (Aranguren, 1997). Or the crazy parties to which Cox attributes a challenge to social hierarchies showing the people that things do not have to be as they are maintained and reproduces the established order (Cox & Sanchez, 1997).

It is interesting to retain Cox's thesis on how these medieval winter celebrations, which disappeared after the Counter-Reformation, would have preserved in industrial societies some isolated vestiges in hybrid rituals of vindication of the festival as a joyful and unproductive expression, and of fantasy as a way of conceive other ways of life, happy and utopian, alternative to everyday life.

Regardless of one or other statements about its origin and meanings, contemporary written references, oral transmission and the memory of current generations prove a historical presence since at least the 19th century.

Similar dances have also been performed in nearby towns such as *Fuente Palmera*, *La Herrería*, *La Peñalosa* and *Ochavillo del Río*. Each town had its "locada", or dance group linked to a brotherhood, which every December 28 would dance in the town square, next to the church, and then walk the streets. Subsequently, the different groups concentrated and competed in Fuente Palmera, the last one being the winner to give up the dance. But they only survived in La Herrería and *Fuente Carreteros*, the only place in the latter that continues to be represented.

The Danza de los Locos de Fuente Carreteros has suffered ups and downs. Prohibited during the Civil War, it was recovered and celebrated until 1951 (images 1 and 2) and, a decade later, it was represented again in the XV National Competition of Choirs and Dances held in Madrid. Emigration affected its continuity and it disappeared again, being definitively recovered in 1982, once the first democratic municipalities were constituted after the Dictatorship, coinciding with the CCXV anniversary of the founding of the colony. At the Cine del Negrillo, a cultural commission supported by the neighborhood representatives of the village then decided to contact older people who knew the tradition in order to rebuild and reproduce it, carrying out a popular collection to pay the costs of making the clothes .

This celebration constitutes an expression of the cultural heritage of Andalusia that exemplifies the diversity of Andalusian sociocultural manifestations, a contemporary result of complex historical processes and a fact that contradicts simplistic and unilateral observations about Andalusian cultural identity in the present time (García. et al., 2001).

2. The anthropological study of cultural heritage. Heritage and collective identities

Cultural heritage, having overcome the restrictive theses until a few dominant decades ago, we consider it as a set of significant cultural expressions of societies and groups that feel and live them as part of their memory, history and tradition, which contribute to transmit and recreate a feeling of belonging and acts as a symbolic reference, even within its internal diversity, of the collective identity (Romero Ternero, 2012) . In the words of Javier Escalera, regarding his study of Andalusian festivals as an expression of cultural heritage, these rituals constitute "forms of expression of the identity of the people or community that stars them". Thus, the different conceptions of cultural heritage and the different evaluations of its

concrete manifestations constitute a changing reality associated with the values that societies and groups attribute to it based on the social, political and economic contexts (Temino, 2010) .

“The concept of cultural heritage is subjective and dynamic, it does not depend on the objects or goods, but on the values that society in general attributes to them at each moment in history and that determine which goods must be protected and conserved in order to posterity” (Frenandez, 2015).

Late in the second half of the 20th century, various state and international entities, academics and intellectuals and other critical patrimonial sectors began to theorize and legislate on the cultural component of the concept of heritage, emphasizing its significance for groups and societies and its exemplification of diversity. human culture. This transition is to some extent reflected, although still influenced by the privileged valuation of exceptional cultural property of the immovable type, in the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, promoted by UNESCO in 1972, which includes:

"Places: works of man or joint works of man and nature as well as areas, including archaeological sites that have exceptional universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view" .

The Franceschini Commission, launched in 1964 in order to assess the state of Italian heritage and legislate in favor of its conservation, had already coined the concept of “cultural property”. The Theory of Cultural Assets came to maintain that the value of any material, movable or immovable cultural asset, "comes from its symbolic value and from the fact of being a testimony of a present or past culture"; being this dimension the one that gives meaning to a heritage expression in a given cultural and historical context (Diaz, 2019).

This open-minded vision - or "patrimonial theory" - has been taking shape, even with gaps and inaccuracies, in the regional legal and regulatory framework. The first Law of Historical Heritage of Andalusia (1991), related the “ethnographic heritage” with “the culture and ways of life of the Andalusian people”. For its part, the Andalusian law currently in force, Law 14/2007 of November 26 on the Historical Heritage of Andalusia, part of considering Historical Heritage as an expression "of the identity of the Andalusian people", of its historical trajectory and its cultural richness and diversity; and, in its classification of historical heritage, it exceeds the denomination of “ethnographic heritage”, a concept associated with obtaining and collecting data and, with greater analytical commitment, refers to it as “ethnological heritage”, linking it with “ways of life, culture , activities and modes of production typical of the community of Andalusia” (de Andalusia, 2007) .

The ethnological heritage of Andalusia can be classified into immovable heritage, movable heritage and activities of ethnological interest. The "places of ethnological interest" stand out in the immovable heritage, which include cultural landscapes, manifestations of vernacular architecture or other spaces with productive, ritual or social functions; as well as "heritage zones", territories with a diverse heritage set with social use value, sometimes accompanied by prominent landscape and environmental components. The ethnological expressions of movable nature refer to utensils and tools, implements, trousseau, handicraft products, decorative elements, bibliographic documents, sound or other records. And activities of ethnological interest are considered those typical of Andalusian socio-cultural life such as knowledge or knowledge, worldviews or ways of interpreting and transmitting reality, modes of expression and oral memory, traditional crafts and trades, and symbolic and ritual actions such as festivals, pilgrimages or other celebrations (Manjavacas Ruiz, 2018) .

It should be noted that, despite the advances made, our regulatory framework, and in many cases the discourses and practices that derive from it, continue to favor a historicist vision of cultural heritage, as evidenced by the very fact that Andalusian law is denominated «of Historical Patrimony». On the other hand, this law, while highlighting in its definition of Andalusian ethnological heritage the "forms of life, culture, activities and modes of production typical of the community of Andalusia", does so to the extent that they are linked to "places , spaces, buildings or facilities ", ultimately denoting their determination based on real estate-type cultural assets.

The incorporation of anthropological considerations to the study of heritage and its social and cultural valuation it has been particularly reflected in the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Paris, 2003), which defines the Intangible Cultural Heritage as:

“(...) The uses, representations, expressions, knowledge and techniques, together with the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces that are inherent to them, that communities, groups and in some cases individuals recognize as an integral part of their heritage cultural. This intangible cultural heritage that is transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups based on their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, infusing them with a sense of identity and continuity and thus helping to promote respect for cultural diversity and human creativity”.

Although the name "immaterial" raises criticism because it could lead to the conceptual separation of two interrelated dimensions, the materiality and immateriality of sociocultural

expressions, it is worth highlighting in this definition at least four elements of particular interest. In the first place, the centrality of “uses, representations, expressions, knowledge and techniques”, which also encompasses related material concretions. Likewise, the fundamental condition that the subjects - communities, groups and individuals - recognize these expressions as their own cultural heritage. Third, the dynamism of cultural heritage, reflected in the transmission "from generation to generation" and in its constant recreation, based on the socio-historical conditions between tradition and innovation. And finally, its link to the community feeling of identity and continuity, recognizing and respecting cultural diversity. The text of the Convention advocates the compatibility of intangible heritage with international human rights instruments, with mutual respect between communities, groups and individuals, and with sustainable development.

For the purposes of the Convention, intangible cultural heritage can be classified into oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social uses, rituals and festive events, knowledge and uses related to nature and the universe, and traditional craft techniques (Diaz, 2009) .

Without neglecting other aspects whose consideration, in an integrated way, is unavoidable - historical, artistic, aesthetic, economic or of another kind-, our interest in the study of the street celebration of the Dance of the Fools as a local expression of Andalusian cultural heritage focuses on the symbolic significance that it has had and continues to have over generations, both in the imaginary of its people as well as in its outward projection, in the collective identification, even from plurality, with the fact of being part of a certain human group. As Carrera points out, "it pluralizes the collective we represented by heritage with the incorporation of new social actors and new diverse voices in the field of heritage" .

Given the importance of these sociocultural references, their protection is pertinent. This is what UNESCO establishes in the aforementioned Convention, advocating for its safeguarding through measures aimed at "guaranteeing the viability of intangible heritage": identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission and revitalization of this heritage. .

Law 14/2007 on the Historical Heritage of Andalusia uses the protection figure Activity of Ethnological Interest for this type of heritage and the Andalusian Institute of Historical Heritage ratifies the safeguarding principles established by UNESCO in the Atlas of the Intangible Heritage of Andalusia project whose The purpose is to register, document and disseminate the Andalusian intangible heritage. As Carrera and Delgado point out, the documentation and dissemination of said heritage is the most effective means of safeguarding

it, since in this way it is intended to be valued by society and at the same time that it and the competent groups become aware (Navarro & Torrico, 2012).

THE DANCE OF THE FOOLS AS A FESTIVE RITUAL

1. Approach to the anthropological analysis of festivals

The festivals are symbolic expressions of social life, its structure and its cultural system, helping to define a community "we" with an extraordinary wealth of nuances and providing a language, full of ideatic and emotional messages, about social reality (Torrico, 1993). Following Isidoro Moreno, it is possible to superimpose in an intertwined way on the normative division of ethnological cultural assets - real estate, furniture and activities of ethnological interest - a contribution methodological that attends to four fundamental dimensions of the festive rituals: symbolic, or scope of the explicit or deep meanings; sociopolitical or role of the party with respect to society and its groups; economic, both in relation to ceremonial expenses and its economic role, rebalancing or not; and aesthetic or referred to concrete signifiers attending to the sensory and emotional stimuli. If the first of these dimensions - symbolic - can be directly related to identity recreation, the analysis of its socio-political dimension places us before its role, broadly conservative or of challenge, with respect to the dominant social and political order. The combined analysis of these dimensions can provide enormous information on identity elements, social and political functions or cultural meanings.

In this way, the study of festivals transcends their consideration, of course important, as picturesque and folkloric events or as mere acts of entertainment, taking them as rich and complex socio-cultural phenomena that are part of collective identities and identifications, and that are transmitted and they recreate in contexts and through communication channels of extraordinary experiential and emotional relevance.

2. Symbolic centrality of «the crazy» in urban space

The dance and the "crazy party" take place around the Plaza Real, which is located in the center of Fuente Carreteros. Measuring approximately 600 square meters, it constitutes an open space with a rectangular plan, mostly pedestrianized. The pavement, in rhomboid lines with red and white slabs, has urban furniture that surrounds the pedestrian perimeter with classic bifocal street lamps and wrought iron benches. On the rows of benches, tree pits are interspersed with orange trees and on the wastebaskets, as a local emblem, engravings of "the crazy people" can be seen dancing.

In the square, the center of the urban nucleus, the two buildings of greatest political and religious significance are located: the town hall, built in 1989, and the parish church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, patron saint of the town, originally from 1769 and in neo-baroque style and rebuilt in austere neoclassical-inspired arrangement in 1982. This main place is completed by the pharmacy and other establishments such as bars and small shops, configuring the most popular and popular open space for sociability in the town, which houses walks, meetings, gatherings, children's games and which, on special occasions, hosts extraordinary celebrations. The Dance of the Fools is held in the Plaza Real.

In other parts of the town there are numerous symbolic references directly related to this tradition. The one known as "Statue of the Fool" was made in 2005 by the natural sculptor from the neighboring village of La Herrería José Balmón, with popular economic contributions and the collaboration of the local cultural associations "Companions for Art" and "Making the Way". In allegorical allusion to utopia, it is dedicated "to the madmen of yesterday, today and forever," as shown by its bottom plate, and stands on a monolith representing a madman dancing whose right leg has been replaced by roots. in symbolic reference to the roots to the earth.

On Nueva Street, on a landscaped parterre, there is also a monolith by the local artist Antonio Blázquez that commemorates the declaration of the Dance of the Fools as a Festival of Tourist Interest. It has four fronts under a pyramidal vertex and each one houses a pictorial representation and a sign with an explanatory text whose content is revealing.

Finally, on the façade of a building owned by the city council located at the entrance to the town, there is a mural painting of the dancing madmen made in 2011 at the initiative of the association "Making the Way". These references in the public space reinforce the significance of the *Danza de los Locos* as a central element of identification of the Carretera population, as a local presentation to those who visit the town and as a ritual and utopian exaltation of "madness", of the transgression of the Social "normality."

LALOCADA : COMPOSITION, CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES

1. Components: socio-professional profiles, sexes and age groups

The dance is represented by a group known as "*la locada*" and is made up of various types of participants: dancers or "*locos*", "*loquilla*", musicians, sword captain, gunmen and pennant. The dancers or "*locos*" give the dance its name; There are six people, traditionally

men, who accompany "*la loquilla*", a key participant around whom the whole dance revolves and who is represented by a man shorter than the rest or by a child. The Instrumentation is carried out by five musicians, also men, who carry two guitars, a tambourine, a set of '*chinchines*' or cymbals, and a '*carrasquiña*'.

The component that acts as a sword captain dedicates each dance and gives the signal for the beginning and the end. He usually makes three dedications: in this order, to the Virgin of Guadalupe, to the women who help the "*locada*" to dress and, finally, to all those present. He is accompanied by two gunmen, six formerly, who at the signal of the sword captain fire their blunderbuss to make way for the beginning of the dance. Next to them, the pennant carries the banner with the town's coat of arms and, on the dorsal, an allusion to "*los locos*."

Traditionally, the ritual performance was carried out by men of popular extraction, generally landless farm workers, who attended rehearsals daily for months after the work day. The essay acted as a meeting point and a masculine space for sociability.

"Now they are rehearsing for three weeks and before they had been rehearsing for 3 months. Every night they went to rehearse for 2 or 3 hours when they came home from work, got ready and went to rehearsal, so they knew how to dance wonderfully" (Becerra & Machado, 2000).

The current participants are usually relatives of these former "crazy", both children and grandchildren who have wanted to continue with the family tradition, although there are also other young components without direct family history but who have been attracted since childhood. The profiles of these current younger members reflect the social and cultural changes experienced in rural Andalusia: greater social diversity, even within the local popular sectors, and higher levels of academic instruction and professional qualification.

As has been pointed out, "*la locada*" has traditionally been integrated and starred by men. Although there are attempts to downplay this fact, alluding to the role changes typical of some winter festivities, and specifically the celebration of December 28, it has been a masculinized representation in which men dressed in characteristic clothes of women. To this are added other activities as rehearsals and rounds that tradition has configured as eminently masculine spaces, historically reserving the participation of women to "dress the crazy people" and to prepare ritual meals. This manifest gender connotation begins to register changes and for several years the group has had the participation of a woman who plays the role of the group's flag. Her family has always been closely linked to "the crazy", it is "from the family of crazy people":

“It is a pride to feel like one of this people, to have something that is unique, to fight to continue with it and never lose it”.

In 2014 the "School of Fools" was reopened, a local initiative supported by the Emblematic Program of the Provincial Council where boys and girls go to learn dance and which seeks to transmit and maintain the tradition and provide a "quarry of crazy people" before the march back to emigration, in recent years, of young people from the town. Although traditionally the "locos" were adults, mostly with families, the ages of the participants are now more varied. Young people between the ages of 17 and 25 have been incorporated and the creation of the school is favoring the incorporation of adolescents and girls and boys, guaranteeing the continuity, extension and improvement of dance.

2. Women who dress "crazy": outfits and accessories

"Dressing a madman" is a somewhat complicated task that requires time and dedication due to the amount of garments and accessories that make up the suit, many of them basted or carefully pinned and safety pins. The costumes of "la locada" continue to be practically identical, with very slight variations, to those that have been documented about their beginnings.

The dancer or "loco" costume consists of white petticoats with embroidered lace superimposed on gray shorts, white stockings, white canvas shoes laced up to the calves with black ribbons, white shirt, blue sash at the waist, and two red crossed bands on the chest and on the back that, as accessories, show off colored bows and brooches and little golden chains sewn on both the front and the back, symbolizing the crosses during the performance of the dances. A white neck scarf closed with a barrette and a patterned scarf knotted towards the left side of the head complete the outfit. In the beginning, "the crazy people" did not wear shorts but The musicians wear a dark gray striped suit over a white shirt, a red sash, a red band crossed from left to right, a handkerchief tied to the left side of the head, and black leather shoes. The sword captain wears the same costume as the musicians although, instead of a scarf, he wears a mascot or hat on his head and, crossed from the right shoulder to his left hip, a leather belt in which he sheathes the sword. The gunmen dress the same as the musicians but without a jacket, and the pennant the same as the gunmen but with a crossed belt to hold the banner.

Women – "grandmothers, mothers, sisters, wives or girlfriends"- have been and continue to be the ones who dress «the crazy ones», a very relevant task although less visible since they

are not directly present in the spectacularity of the dance performance. In 1982, during the process of oral reconstruction for the recovery of dance, the members of the cultural association contacted several neighbors of Fuente Carreteros, among them with Antonia Soto, wife and mother of "old fools." Antonia, who turned 93 in 2016, and her companions were of crucial importance for the recovery of the costumes and the ritual of "dressing crazy." Since then, "*los locos*" don't dress at home but at the town hall, where Antonia Soto has helped and taught the mothers of the new dancers for years how to dress in a careful act that can take between two and three hours.

"You have to give it a lot of points and, if not, put it well with pins; who takes a while fixing a madman".

Before the disappearance of dance, each "madman" procured his own clothes and asked to borrow some jewels that complement the clothing; At present, the city council lends all the equipment and its accessories to the dancers.

"The clothes have changed a bit, but they are more or less the same. Now it is the most beautiful clothes, they make her petticoats shorter. Before they wore long pants and now they wear them short and with white socks and sneakers and in the past each one wore their shoes" .

3. Musical accompaniment: instruments and oral transmission

As has been explained, the musical accompaniment includes two guitars, a tambourine, a set of "*chinchines*", and a "*carrasquiña*".

Guitars make music more rhythmic. The '*chinchines*' are a set of copper crotals from which colored ribbons hang with which one of the musicians percussion. Another of the musicians accompanies with a tambourine made of wood and very taut leather, setting the rhythm in the dance to which all the "crazy people" follow when they dance, jumping in unison with each beat.

"His thing is that we all go to the rhythm set by the tambourine, tacarran, tacarran, pom pom... That pom pom is the one that beats the rhythm, that's why we try to connect all of us to the pom pom of the tambourine; if the tambourine fails, the castanets are heard in the background and they should not be heard" .

The "*carrasquiña*" is a percussion instrument that local tradition claims as "characteristic of Fuente Carreteros". It is made up of sixteen pieces of cane, approximately 25 centimeters long, joined horizontally one followed by another. It hangs like a breastplate and is *carrasquea* with a small metal piece causing a singular rhythmic succession of chattering sounds. It is also decorated with colored ribbons like the rest of the instruments. The castanets also have wool pompoms (images 5, 6, 7 and 8) and all the "*locos*" make them sound while they dance. Although the blunderbuss or shotgun cannot be considered an instrument, it does accompany the dance and its salute shots into the air mark the beginning and end of each dance.

It is not known in detail why these are the instruments or the origin of the chords and the repetitive rhythm, and traditionally its learning has been based on imitation and oral transmission from old to new "crazy", from parent to child, from some musicians to other younger musicians - "newer" - in some cases. The only formally recorded chords are those of the guitar touch (Tubío Adame, 1998).

THE CELEBRATION

1. The square, the church and the visit to the «mad major»

On December 28, "the madmen" gather early in the morning at the town hall from whose door the shotgun blasts into the sky begin. It is the announcement that all "the locada" is ready and that the dance is going to begin, before what increases the expectation among several hundred people who congregate in the square, waiting: "They are going to leave crazy". Scrupulously respecting the ritual, "*los locos*" cross the Plaza Real and head towards the door of the church where they perform the first dance, called "Simple Media" or "Simple Mary", dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Next, they go to the center of the square, where they perform the two remaining dances, the "Composite Media" or "Composite Mary" and the "Whole" or "Whole Mary", in an order that can be changing depending on the choice of the sword captain or "madmen."

The second dance, in the center of the square, is dedicated by the captain of the sword "to the women who dress the mad" year after year, and the third to all those present, sometimes under the formula "to all who they have been, are and always will be crazy. At the last celebration, in 2016, the group of girls and boys from the "Crazy School" also performed to demonstrate to those gathered their progress in learning.

After leaving the square, the crazy people have the habit of going, accompanied by numerous neighbors, towards the house of the "crazy major", José Díaz, popularly known as "the pellet" and who died in 2016, and dance in his honor as a sign of gratitude since this "crazy" was one of the residents of the town most committed to the recovery of dance in 1982. This past year, "los locos" have also danced to another neighbor of the town, Rafael Díaz, known as "the mosquito", who was also part of the old "crazy people". After these dedications, they walk through some streets and bars, dancing until they reach the Casa Grande, a municipal building where, after performing the dances, locals and visitors enjoy a popular meal after which the party is concluded.

2. Some changes in the ritual

The party has seen some changes over the years. The first is the place where "the crazy ones" dress. Nowadays they all do it together in the town hall, but in the past each "madman" was dressed in his own house by one of the women closest to him. The number of gunmen has also decreased to two when they reached six, one for each "madman." In the house of each "madman" a gunman waited, who would fire his blunderbuss when the "madman" was dressed and ready to go out. When the six "crazy" finished dressing, they went to the plaza accompanied by their corresponding gunmen to begin the dance.

As a third difference, it is worth mentioning that, according to some older neighbors, sometimes it was danced inside the church but today it is done in front of the door. In this sense it is observed that the Dance of the Fools, in another time was more linked to the parish, has been reaffirming itself as a civil ritual.

«In the past there was a tradition that is no longer preserved today, which was that a bottle was placed in the center of the square and the crazy people had to dance, passing each other without throwing it away, if the bottle was still standing after the dances, the money collected was for the crazy, but if it fell, it was for the Church ».

In addition to dancing in the plaza, "los locos" met with the other "locadas" at Fuente Palmera and competed to see which "locos" won. On the way back to town they continued dancing in the streets until it got dark.

"Those of Carreteros have always danced better and always won".

"They were going through the streets and (...) who wanted them to dance at his door, well (...) they danced a dance and gave him some money".

A fourth difference, of a technical nature, is related to the stylization of the dance: before it was danced with the arms higher, almost straight, and now they are lowered more. And as the fifth and last relevant difference, it should also be noted that, in the past, "the crazy people" met after dancing and dined with the tips collected, something that today has been replaced by popular food in the Casa Grande.

3. The three "marías": Simple mean, Compound mean and Whole

There are three different types of dance: "Simple Media" or "Simple Maria", "Compound Media" or "Compound Maria" and "Whole" or "Whole Maria". The three have steps in common but also steps and crosses typical of each dance that are what differentiate them. The most characteristic thing is that all her steps and changes of position are made with jumps of the dancers, who raise their arms while they sound the castanets.

Common to all dances is its beginning: all three begin with a "Salute" that consists of turning, ending with the body and legs slightly bent, with one arm covering the head and the other placed behind the back. Depending on the position in which the dancer is, on the right or left side, the turn will be carried out for different sides and the head will be covered with the arm corresponding to that of his position. The dancers on the right side will perform the turn to the left side and cover their head with the right arm, while the dancers on the left will perform the turn to the right side and cover their head with the left arm.

The showy jumps, crosses and turns of the dancers in each one of the "marías" denote a complexity and skill and a technique that is not formally described in any publication. Their learning is transmitted between "crazy people" by oral transmission and through practice during rehearsals, and the specific keys that govern them are reserved with zeal by their direct protagonists so that, even having documented them during field work, we abstain to reproduce them in detail.

The first dance – "Media simple" or "María simple" - is made up of eleven steps that, after several dances in pairs, crosses and changes, concludes with "la loquilla" in a central place protected by "los locos". In the second – "Media Maria" or "Composite Maria" - the steps are very similar to the first with changes of position in line without the madmen getting to cross diagonally. The dancers finish in the starting position after taking three jumps in a row. The third dance – "Entire" or "Entire Maria" - is similar to the first but much longer and with more steps throughout seven different moments.

4. The Dance or Dance of the Bear

A decade after the recovery of *the Danza de los Locos, the Baile del Oso*, a carnival-style staging that had been performed for the last time in the mid-1950s, was incorporated into the celebration of the streets. A young resident of the town, Antonio Priego, nephew of Antonio "el zambombo", the last "bear man", documented and updated it.

After finishing the dance of "*los locos*", a man in peasant garb appears in the square next to another, disguised as a bear and tied or chained, whom he pretends to dominate by giving whipping. The bear, - "*la osa Mariana*", according to some people from Carretera, dances to the rhythm of the tambourine, rolls over and, emitting grunts, goes towards the groups of people and adjacent streets with the intention of scaring the children who, in Sometimes they reply by running around, teasing and shoving him.

"With my bear Mariana, I come from Hungary, to earn my way".

The local adaptation of this winter ritual tradition, present in other rural festive manifestations European countries, it is explained as an attempt to chase away bad omens and receive favorable times in a few days, currently during the Christmas holidays, before the farewell of the year and the beginning of the new year.

THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY

1. "Los locos" and the celebration of the town of Fuente Carreteros and its visitors

The celebration has been attended by a large number of attendees since his recovery, as was the case until his disappearance, according to some older people who came, they say, "many people from other towns in the colony." At present, the main component of the public is made up of the local population itself, among whom a significant part are relatives of "the crazy people", as well as "old crazy people", who relive it with particular emotion, and their families.

In recent years there has been an increase in visitors from nearby towns and even from some more remote places. These include relatives of "*los locos*" or "old madmen" or other emigrated Carretereños, residing in other towns and cities. But, likewise, ethnography has shown that the number of visitors from more remote places such as Madrid and some parts of the Basque Country or, although more timidly, from European countries such as France or Germany is increasing. It is not easy to distinguish a dominant profile among these visitors since they are

mainly family groups but, in terms of their motivations, it can be advanced that the fact that it is celebrated during the Christmas holidays, joins the attraction of the dances due to their uniqueness and the possibility of integrating and enjoying a sociocultural phenomenon characterized by popular prominence and commensalism. In addition, the city council enables an enclosure and provides basic services in a space reserved for the stay of motorhomes.

Taking into account the size of the town, with a population of less than 1,200 inhabitants, the crowd in and around the square is much higher than usual and its economic impact on small establishments - shops, bars and restaurants - local is notorious. On the other hand, the tasting of the popular Christmas pottage contributes, with a very low price, to defray small expenses of organizing the party.

In addition, the Danza de los Locos and the festive celebration in which it is inserted have made possible the diffusion, at least in Andalusia, of Fuente Carreteros:

"If it weren't for crazy people, we would be real strangers" .

This dissemination by the Andalusian media, in particular public radio television, has an unquestionable regional projection although, as is observed in other festive celebrations in Andalusia, the work of reporters and cameras may condition some expressions to the requirements informative on issues such as schedules, waiting for "live" connections or other extremes, modifying the traditional development of the celebration.

2. Women who celebrate between stoves: pestiños with anise and popular stew

The women most closely linked to the celebration, who in some cases also "dress crazy", also participate directly in the preparation of sweets and ritual dishes that accompany the dance throughout the day. The day before the preparations begin. A group of women, some of them older, accompanied by their daughters and granddaughters or other relatives, meet at the Casa Grande to make *pestiños*. The dough, based on flour, cinnamon powder, water and salt, white wine, orange juice, cloves and olive oil, is prepared by the older women following a traditional recipe; then, around an elongated table, all the attendees gather - about twenty - round dough balls that they flatten into strips to make the raw bows and, later, fry them in a pan with olive oil. While doing the job they chat and sing in a lively gathering that is rarely attended by men. The *pestiños* will be offered the next day, in the square, accompanied by glasses of sweet anise to help combat the cold.

At the end of the dances, the city council offers a lunch in the Casa Grande for all the participants in whose preparation women also participate, also the day before, accompanied by the mayor and some other man linked to the municipal council or to the citizen candidacy of El Olivo that governs the consistory. It is a typical local Christmas stew, cooked in a bowl with a capacity for about four hundred servings, based on vegetables, chickpeas, lean pork, chorizo and black pudding from the road and Montilla-Moriles wine. The stew is served at noon, after the celebration of the dances, at a symbolic price, leaving its container as a gift and souvenir of "los locos" from Fuente Carreteros.

C. CONCLUSION

The "*Fiesta de los Locos*" of Fuente Carreteros constitutes a communal festive ritual with deep historical roots, strong evocation of tradition and territory, protagonism and popular participation and centrality in the local collective space and imagination and in its projection towards the Exterior. In the last thirty-five years it has undergone a lively process of recovery and social and cultural value enhancement promoted by citizen organizations with the strong support of local political representatives.

It constitutes a manifestation of the cultural heritage of Andalusia whose singularity exemplifies the Andalusian cultural diversity; particularly the diversity of sociocultural expressions in the Guadalquivir Valley, often observed in a simplistic and unilateral way that is excessively homogeneous. In accordance with Andalusian legislation on Historical Heritage, it can be classified as an asset of ethnological interest under the protection figure Activity of Ethnological Interest, also highlighting the immovable spaces and associated furniture-like manifestations.

In application of the provisions of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, on which the Atlas of the Intangible Heritage of Andalusia is inspired, it constitutes an expression of the intangible heritage of Andalusia, standing out for its symbolic identity relevance local, its exemplification of the internal cultural diversity of Andalusia, the feeling of community ownership, intergenerational transmission and its potential contribution to sustainable development. Also for the set of spaces, objects and other material elements - real estate and furniture-associated. Its consideration as a festive ritual is associated with many other manifestations of the intangible heritage: oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, other social uses and traditional crafts and trades.

REFERENCES

1. Agudo Torrico, J. (2012). Patrimonio etnológico y juego de identidades. *Revista Andaluza de Antropología*, 2, 3-24..
2. Aranguren, R. J. (1997). Julio Caro Baroja: Etnografía histórica de Navarra: Índice y estudio crítico. *Cuadernos de etnología y etnografía de Navarra*, 29(69), 87-206.

3. Becerra, S. R. (2000). *Religión y fiesta: antropología de las creencias y rituales en Andalucía* (Vol. 3). Signatura ediciones de Andalucía.
4. Becerra, S. R., & Machado, F. (2000). RELIGIÓN Y FIESTAS EN ANDALUCÍA Reflexiones metodológicas. *Religiosidad y costumbres populares en Iberoamérica: [actas del Primer Encuentro Internacional celebrado en Almonte-El Rocío (España) del 19 al 21 de febrero de 1999], Servicio de Publicaciones pp153-168.*
5. Cox, H., & Sánchez, R. D. (1983). *Las fiestas de locos: ensayo sobre el talante festivo y la fantasía*. Taurus.
6. de Andalucía, P. D. L. J. (2007). LEY 14/2007, de 26 de noviembre, del Patrimonio Histórico de Andalucía.
7. Díaz, G. C. (2009). Atlas del Patrimonio Inmaterial de Andalucía: puntos de partida, objetivos y criterios técnicos y metodológicos. *PH: Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico, 17(71), 19-41.*
8. Esterberg, K. (2002) *Qualitative methods in social research*. Boston; McGraw Hill.
9. Fernández, A. A. (2015). Apuntes para un Manual de buenas prácticas para la participación ciudadana en la gestión del patrimonio cultural en Andalucía. *Periférica Internacional. Revista para el análisis de la cultura y el territorio, (16).*
10. Fernández, F. J. P. (2018). Música y folclore en las nuevas poblaciones de Sierra Morena y Andalucía. *Revista de historiografía (RevHisto), 29, 313-328.*
11. García, G. C., Pérez, J. C., Roldán, C. C., Cabeza, M. D., Reyes, J. E., Avellán, J. A. L., ... & Núñez, M. R. (2001). *La identidad del pueblo andaluz*. Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz.
12. Manjavacas Ruiz, J. M. (2018). Patrimonio cultural y actividades turísticas: aproximación crítica a propósito de la Fiesta de los Patios de Córdoba. *Revista Andaluza de Antropología, 15, 127-155.*
13. Navarro, I. M., & Torrico, J. A. (2012). Las fiestas andaluzas. In *Expresiones culturales andaluzas* (pp. 165-217). Aconcagua Libros.
14. Romero Ternero, M. J. (2012). Contemporaneidad, turismo y patrimonio etnológico: realidad coriana y mediación etnográfica en el bajo Guadalquivir. *Turismo y Sostenibilidad: V Jornadas de investigación en turismo (2012), p 217-244.*
15. Temiño, I. R. (2010). Sobre el patrimonio cultural. *Sphera Pública, 75-117.*
16. Torrico, J. A. (1993). Religiosidad popular, territorio y poder; santuarios supracomunales y simbolización de las relaciones intracomarcales. *Revista de Estudios Andaluces, (19), 97-127.*
17. Tubío Adame, F. (1998). Historia de la colonia de Fuente Palmera 1768-1900. *Córdoba (2 edición).*
18. Tubío Adame, F. (1998). Historia de la colonia de Fuente Palmera 1768-1900. *Córdoba (2 edición).*
19. Yunes, J., & Rajs, D. (1994). Tendencia de la mortalidad por causas violentas en la población general y entre los adolescentes y jóvenes de la región de las Américas. *Cadernos de Saúde Pública, 10, S88-S125.*