

»ALL'UNGARESCA – AL ESPAÑOL«

Die Vielfalt der europäischen Tanzkultur 1420—1820



3. Rothenfelser Tanzsymposion

6.—10. Juni 2012

Tagungsband

Herausgegeben

von

Uwe Schlottermüller, Howard Weiner und Maria Richter

Tagungsband zum
3. Rothenfelser Tanzsymposium
6.—10. Juni 2012

Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek
Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation
in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet
über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

Freiburg 2012

© »fa-gisis« Musik- und Tanzedition
Uwe W. Schlottermüller
Postfach 5266
79019 Freiburg

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

ISBN 978-3-931344-08-5

INHALT

Vorwort / Foreword	7
BARBARA ALGE Die Mourisca aus Portugal. »Botschafterin« zwischen den Kulturen	9
KARIN FENBÖCK Hilverdings »danza parlante«. Zur Wiener Tanzkultur in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts	23
HUBERT HAZEBROUCQ Six French Dances in Germany. An Instruction by Johann Georg Pasch (1659)	39
GERRIT BERENIKE HEITER Getanzte Vielfalt der Nationen. Ihre Darstellung und Funktion im französischen Hofballett (Ende 16. Jahrhundert bis Mitte 17. Jahrhundert)	59
GUILLAUME JABLONKA French-Italian Dance Technique on the European Stage of the Late 18th Century	73
ALAN JONES In Search of the Fandango	83
ALEXANDRA KAJDAŃSKA »Von Unterschiedlichen Tänzern«. Georg Schroeder's Diary and the Tradition of Dance Culture in Gdańsk in the Second Half of the 17th Century	99
TIZIANA LEUCCI The Curiosity for the »Others«. Indian Dances and Oriental Costumes in Europe (1663–1821)	109
MARKO MOTNIK Italienische Tanzkunst am Habsburger Hof. Der <i>Tractatus de arte saltandi</i> von Evangelista Papazzone (um 1572–1575)	133

BARBARA SPARTI, CHRISTINE BAYLE, CARLES MAS A Hit Tune Becomes a Hit Dance. The Travels of a Pavane through Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, France, and Germany	147
HANNELORE UNFRIED Der Cotillon. Die Mazurka wird »German«	175
NICOLINE WINKLER Die »Régence« und ihre »Bals publics«. Pariser Contredanses in ihrem kulturellen Umfeld	191
ANA YEPES From the <i>Jácara</i> to the <i>Sarabande</i>	227
Zusammenfassungen / Summaries	245
Anmerkungen zu Workshops, Tanzabenden und Kurzauftritten	253
Quellenverzeichnis	255

In Search of the Fandango

ALAN JONES

It is unlikely that anyone will ever determine the origin or meaning of the word *fandango*, but we can safely say that it is a genuine eighteenth-century phenomenon, one of the very few major dances that appeared on the European scene around or after 1700 and made a lasting impact. There is no entry for *fandango* in the updated Covarrubias *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* of 1674, but in the 1730s the *Diccionario de autoridades* states that it was introduced into Spain by people who had been in the American colonies (“baile introducido por los que han estado en los reinos de Indias”). By this time, the Spanish “Indies” included Mexico, Central America and most of the Caribbean and South America, and their population included native Spaniards and several generations of “creoles,” as well as Africans, Philipinos, dozens of American tribes of vastly different languages and cultures, and every imaginable combination of the above. The fandango could have sprung from any of these sources or even from sailors who had elaborated an exotic motif on their guitars during long voyages from the New World to the Old. The most likely port of entry was Seville, and it appears to have spread from Andalucía to all the villages and towns of Spain before the end of the century.

All accounts agree that the fandango was voluptuous and earthy, yet its widespread reputation as a “forbidden” dance is much exaggerated. A number of respectable sources, not the least being the *Grove Dictionary*, claim that it was put on “trial” for corrupting public morals and was judged innocent by the pope himself. Some versions have it that all the cardinals in attendance found it so irresistible that they began to sway to the music, snap their fingers and stamp their feet. In reality, the story can be traced to a letter by Beaumarchais, referring to the plot of a recent play in Madrid.

It is true that Casanova referred to an interdiction of the fandango that had been overturned by the conde de Aranda. The most logical explanation is that municipal public balls requiring authorization followed the protocol of the court, which in fact had replaced the obsolete *pavanas*, *gallardas* and *españoletas* with the minuet and contredanses balls after the accession of Philippe d’Anjou as King Felipe V in 1700. It may be that the fandango, as a Spanish dance, was marginalized for a time, but no historian has come forth with a document proving that it was illegal. As we shall see, there is ample evidence that the fandango was favored in elegant society from around 1710 at least through the 1770s, and by 1820 it was on the wane mainly because of the new fashion for the bolero. Three dance manuals describing steps for the fandango were published between the 1730s and 1760s by Pablo Minguet (who happened to live across the street from the Madrid city jail) and all received the approval of the royal censor.

Accounts in Letters and Memoirs

The most striking evocation of how the fandango was danced comes from Casanova's account of his travels to Madrid in 1767–1768, and so it is fitting to start here. Much of what Casanova recounts is exactly what we would expect from Casanova: the fandango was a dance of passion, an indescribable riot of voluptuousness. It set the souls of the dancers aflame to the point that it would be impossible for a woman to refuse a man any favor after having danced it with him once. He does not fail to mention that after dancing with a local beauty, dona Ignazia, he asked her, "Are you satisfied?" and (of course) she expressed not mere satisfaction but her admiration for his skill.

Casanova's extravagant and boastful account might be easily dismissed, but it merits a closer reading, for not only did he observe this dance, he also studied and performed it. The fandango first struck Casanova as a dance of gestures and poses rather than of footwork, a sort of pantomime of love, where the man expressed desire and ecstasy and the woman, consent and sexual contentment.

While provoking confusion (*désordre*) and madness (*délire*) in the breast of dancers and spectators alike, the fandango was nevertheless subject to conventions, rules and structure, just like any dance of the time. The atmosphere in this Madrid ballroom exuded gaiety and pleasure, but also perfect decorum. The fandango was scheduled in the second half of the evening, after ten o'clock, when the minuets and contredanses were finished, and presumably after the dancers had had the chance to refresh themselves at a buffet which would have offered biscuits, fruit and wine. The fandango did not simply start spontaneously, it was announced by a master of ceremonies, and the couples arranged themselves face to face in two columns and put on their castanets. (This arrangement of the dancers calls to mind—surprisingly—an English country dance, and can still be seen in the performance of some regional fandangos.) The accompaniment was not provided by a singer and guitarists, but by an orchestra. Judging from the repertory of public masked balls in Barcelona from exactly the same period, this was likely a twenty- to twenty-five-piece string band with oboes and possibly clarinets or even trumpets.

Casanova confirms that it was possible to master the basic principles of the fandango from a dancing master (he took lessons from a local actor for three days), yet to truly understand it one needed to see it performed by gypsies. Thus, we may surmise that an antecedent of the fandangos de Huelva was taking root, many years before the word *flamenco* was applied to this style of song and dance. Finally, he tells us that the fandango that so impressed him in Madrid was entirely different from those he had seen in French and Italian theaters. (It is very surprising to hear of theatrical fandangos performed in France at this early date, and Casanova cites no specific performances. Gluck's *Don Juan* had premièred in Vienna only a few years earlier, in 1761.) Thus, he confirms the coexistence of three distinct performance styles of the fandango, as danced

in Spanish ballrooms, on the international stage, and among the Spanish gypsies, to which we should add the regional fandangos which were no doubt already performed in distinct styles from one village to the next.

In 1764, a few years before Casanova's Spanish adventure (and fourteen years before premiering his famous comedy *The Barber of Seville*), Beaumarchais also made a trip to Madrid, and he recounted in a letter to the duc de la Valière how he blushed at the very sight of this lascivious dance. Just as in Casanova's case, it is worthwhile to look past the titillating aspects of his account—letters were often read aloud in social gatherings and thus were intended to entertain—for Beaumarchais also provides a certain amount of concrete evidence, starting with the tempo of the music, which was of an “extreme vivacity.” The gestures of the dance attracted his eye, just as they did Casanova's, and he specifically recalled the woman beginning with her gaze cast modestly down, then extending her arms and, in the place of castanets, snapping her fingers in a mocking, defiant way, as if to say, “I'll never give in to you.” This is an interesting contrast to Casanova's pantomime of male conquest and female submission. In fact, according to Beaumarchais it was common for the gentleman to bow out of the dance from fatigue, and his place was taken by another, and then another.

One reason for this was that men danced the fandango in a vigorous, even “violent” manner, with bold leaps and turns while the woman echoed her partner's movements in a gentler style, always snapping her fingers and moving her arms enticingly. It is unfortunate that Beaumarchais does not attempt a precise description of these arm gestures, but it is perhaps significant that he compared the overall effect to the dancing of the African slaves of the Caribbean. Curiously, Casanova's description of the Venetian *forlana* is somewhat reminiscent of Beaumarchais's account of the fandango, in particular the amused defiance of the woman and the custom of dancers falling out of the dance one after the other from fatigue.

Two more letters offer further information. One Latin text, dated 1712, from a clergyman of Alicante living in Cadiz, the father Martin (or Manuel) Martí, is widely cited as “the first written description of the fandango,” yet its whereabouts seem to be a mystery. Although he was scandalized by the fandango, this did not stop Father Martí from observing it attentively on numerous occasions. He tells us that it could be danced by one or several couples and (in some of the versions that have crept into the history of flamenco) that it featured “smooth undulations” of the body in rhythm to the music. It adds that spectators found the dance particularly infectious, moving to the music, laughing and shouting. He makes no mention of castanets or finger-snapping, though a reference to “applause” may imply rather the spectators' clapping their hands rhythmically. Amidst all this noise he mentions stamping of the feet, an element not recorded by Casanova or Beaumarchais. Various versions of the letter state that the fandango was known in all regions of Spain “for centuries” (extremely unlikely) and that it was danced both by “honest” women and those of lower birth, a word translated sometimes as “gypsies” and sometimes as “black women.”

Tellingly, the relationship between the man and the woman called to his mind the myth of Omphale, the queen who enslaved Hercules, forcing him to perform female tasks and dress as a woman while she appropriated his club and lion skin. For Martí this emasculation is clearly shameful, but it underscores the power of the female dancer in Beaumarchais's account.

In the mid-1770s the English traveler Richard Twiss interestingly attests to the existence of two fandangos, one "decent" and the other "gallant" and full of expression. Otherwise he adds little technical information, except for the detail that the eagerness of Spaniards to take part in the fandango reminded him of race horses champing at the bit. Another Englishman, Joseph Townsend, who traveled through Spain in 1786 and 1787, indicates a change in the fandango's history. By now it was "banished from genteel assemblies" but not entirely as a result of its "lasciviousness." It had been replaced by a new dance, the bolero, which it resembled for its "sprightliness." For Townsend the fandango's lasciviousness did not preclude a certain elegance, however. "Disgusting" when danced by the vulgar, it had a veneer of respectability when performed by the upper classes—which made it all the more dangerous. Despite its supposed immorality, the fandango is attested a decade later by the German traveler Christian August Fischer in Bilbao and different Biscayan villages, where it was performed on street corners as part of religious processions. He includes an illustration of a couple accompanied by pipe and tabor; Twiss also mentions the tambour basque.

Musical Examples Intended for Dance

Period accounts invariably describe the fandango as a rapid dance, which might seem surprising when we think of the highly ornamented and technically demanding keyboard fandangos by Domenico Scarlatti and Padre Soler. It may be that its infectious, driving rhythm created the illusion of velocity. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that Scarlatti's and Soler's works were intended to *evoke* the fandango rather than accompany it.

Musical examples of fandangos intended for the eighteenth-century ballroom are far rarer than contredanses or minuets, but seem to be consistent on two crucial points. First, no ending is indicated by the composer or copyist, indicating that the musicians continued to play, either repeating or improvising to some degree, as long as at least one couple was still dancing. Second, a detail not explicitly stated in letters, memoirs or dance sources: the instrumental fandango (as opposed to regional fandangos with vocal accompaniment) did not consist of symmetrical phrases, but of repeating motifs of unpredictable length: sometimes eight or four measures, sometimes seven, five or only three. We find these characteristics in Santiago de Murcia's now-famous fandango for guitar in the Saldivar Codex in Mexico City (relatively, yet not entirely symmetrical) and in various anonymous manuscripts for harpsichord or psaltery at Madrid's Biblioteca

Nacional, notably a *Fandango de Cadiz*, the town where Father Martí described the dance. The same traits are also borne out in an *air des castagnettes* in a manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, intended for the rope dancer Mademoiselle Malaga, who entertained fairground crowds in Lyons in the 1770s. (The fandango as a rope dance is also documented in Spain at this time, for example, a performance in Seville, where “la Inglesita” performed a fandango aloft, while her colleague “la Sevillana” danced on the ground.) In the 1770s Richard Twiss states that the fandango, whether performed in proper assemblies or more doubtful circumstances, was always danced to the same melody, which he includes in his travel memoirs. Arranged in $\frac{6}{8}$ rather than $\frac{3}{4}$ and marked “Allegro,” it features a bass line by Felice Giardini, who imagined a connection between the fandango and the *follia*, and in particular Corelli’s variations on that theme; it could be mentioned that a recently discovered keyboard fandango by Domenico Scarlatti begins with six measures of *follia*. Be that as it may, Twiss’s version, like most earlier examples, is not composed of clear eight-measure phrases and does not indicate a final cadence.

This musical structure of instrumental fandangos is such that we can only assume that, choreographically, it must have been rather free and spontaneous, if not to say entirely improvised. It is likely that the man and woman responded to each other, dancing face to face, without attempting to execute identical step sequences in the manner of a courtly *danse à deux*. We should also remember that the dancers observed by Casanova, Beaumarchais, Twill, and Townsend also would have had a mastery of the minuet, which likewise could be as long or short as the dancers pleased and featured the overlapping of choreographic figures with the musical phrases, an important aspect usually ignored in modern performance.

It should be stressed that, unlike fandangos intended for public or private balls in large towns, the popular fandangos that have come down to us from different regions of Spain all have a fixed structure, consisting of vocal *coplas* (where the couple dances face to face, always performing the same step and usually on the same foot), separated by an instrumental *estribillo* or *paseo* (where the dancers either change places or travel from side to side). The number of *coplas* may vary from village to village, as do the lengths of the *copla* and the *estribillo*, but these elements are always predictable in a given village. This structure was already typical of the *seguidillas*, and it is possible—though hard to prove—that the popular fandango adopted the traditional structure of the *seguidillas* while the more free-form instrumental fandango thrived in private and public ballrooms.

Even within the realm of flamenco, ostensibly an improvised art form, the fandangos de Huelva most often have a far more fixed structure than in the eighteenth-century ballroom. Mainly prized as intense, virtuosic showpieces for a singer, they can also accompany dance, in which case they most often feature vocal *coplas* of twelve, or sometimes twenty measures for an “improvised” dance solo or duet (invariably rehearsed), followed by a guitar passage for a new soloist or couple to take the stage, and so on.

The Fandango in Dance Treatises

For a somewhat detailed technical description of how the fandango was danced, we have no choice but to leap into the early nineteenth century with Antonio Cairón's *Compendio de las principales reglas del baile* from 1820. The author was a professional dancer specializing in the *bolero* but interested in the history of his art and acquainted with Pierre Rameau and other earlier writers. By 1820 the fandango was entirely in the shadow of the *bolero*, but Cairón mentions that the latter was to a degree an imitation of the older dance. Thus, dancers could freely adapt any simple step combinations from the *bolero* when dancing a fandango. The word he uses is *mudanza*, originating from the old Italian word *mutanza*, and in the context of the *bolero*, according to his contemporary Fernando Sor, a *mudanza* could consist of either two or four measures. A certain number of *bolero* steps are described in Cairón's text (and one is even described by Sor himself, who was married to the French ballerina Félicité Hullin). Cairón tells us that the *bolero* steps most appropriate for the fandango are those performed close to the ground, which are both graceful and present no technical difficulty compared to the virtuosic and aerial *bolero*. The word he uses is *rastreros*, from the word *arrastrar*, used in dance to indicate a sliding or (in the case of a bow), brushing or scraping of the foot. (Pablo Minguet, whom we will consider further, mentioned in passing that certain Spanish gentlemen would affect to drag their feet when walking to show that they were dancers.) Cairón may well mean merely that the fandango avoided high jumps, which already indicates a technical change from the "bold leaps" observed by Beaumarchais in the 1760s. Today's regional fandangos feature many jumping steps.

Cairón's presentation, presumably for both the theater and the ballroom, has the fandango beginning with a *paseo* where the two dancers, face to face, changed places as many as four times. The step is described as a sort of open *pas de bourée* with a stamp of the foot and a bend of the knees. This, the first and only step identified as peculiar to the fandango, was accompanied by a rising or a lowering of the arms. The gentleman must always cede the right side to the lady, a detail perhaps assumed from the Z figure of the minuet; this nicety is rarely if ever observed in regional fandangos or, for that matter, in any Spanish dance, where the dancers generally pass right shoulders and then left shoulders. The fact that the *paseo* could be repeated at the dancers' pleasure indicates that the dance was improvised to some degree and also that the dance phrases did not need to fit the musical phrases, another characteristic of the minuet. Having changed places, the dancers would dance a *mudanza* face to face, change places twice again, and on and on. The dance itself could last as long as the dancers wished, again like the minuet. Cairón's instructions are succinct but precious, considering the relative silence on the subject by eighteenth-century dancing masters.

Eighteenth-century sources are not entirely lacking, however. An unhoped-for treasure comes to us from Pablo Minguet of Madrid. In his *Arte de danzar a la francesa* (1737), he describes no fewer than forty-seven different Spanish steps that he claims were in current use in the fandango as well as the *seguidillas*. One's suspicions are immediately aroused, however, upon further inspection: these step descriptions are nothing more than a reworking of a much earlier treatise by Juan de Esquivel Navarro, *Discursos sobre el arte del dançado* (1638), which dealt with the former school of court dance practiced under the Habsburgs. Not only was this school of dance theoretically extinct upon the accession of the Bourbon dynasty, it was also stylistically at odds with the fandango. Very stately and restrained, despite a certain virtuosity and gentlemanly brio, it allowed for no inclinations of the body, not to mention "voluptuous undulations," and arm movements were used very sparingly. This raises the question of whether Minguet had simply come across Esquivel's text and some unidentified manuscript and decided to exploit them for a new generation without entirely understanding their content. If this were the case, however, his treatise probably would have proved a commercial failure. In fact, Minguet chose to reprint the section on Spanish dance steps as an separate treatise at least twice again in the 1760s, both times mentioning on the title page that they were employed in the fandango and *seguidillas*.

The technique of these steps is reminiscent of Renaissance court dance with the one particularity that the *plié* was avoided as much as possible, even for preparing or landing from jumps. It involves a good number of kicking steps not unlike those found in galliard variations: *puntapié*, *coz*, *floreo*, and *cargado*, which one finds, perhaps not coincidentally, in some regional fandangos, such as the *fandango de Huescar* from a village in Andalucía. A step combination that would have been called *substenido y dos vazios* in the seventeenth century is practically a hallmark of Valencian dance, but more for boleros rather than fandangos. A variation of the so-called *vuelta al descuido* or *vuelta de folias* can be found in numerous regional fandangos, often to begin or end a *copla*.

Minguet opens up many other possibilities for the modern reconstructor in *Arte de danzar a la francesa* by mentioning that "French steps can be introduced into the fandango and seguidillas and freely mixed with Spanish steps." Here Minguet gives modern reconstructors versed in French Baroque dance a great liberty, but a liberty that should not be abused. It is true, for example, that some regional fandangos, and what little period iconography that exists, suggest that a pointing of the feet forward was a typical fandango motif, prompting us to think of the Feuillet's notation for the Sarabande from *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*. It would certainly not show great integrity to simply perform this solo to fandango music. However, a serious study of different *entrées espagnoles* and experiments with different beaten *pas de bourées*, for example, could provide many rich possibilities. A *pas de bourée* with a pointing of the foot is commonly found in *seguidillas* (Manchegas, Sevillanas ...) and the *Fandango de Cuevas* (a regional dance found between

Andalucía and Murcia) features a step sequence oddly reminiscent of a motif that is typical of French chaconnes: a *coupé* to the side followed by a *demi-coupé* and *ouverture de jambe*.

Minguet had a rival, Bartholomé Ferriol y Boxeraus, whose treatise, *Reglas útiles para los aficionados del danzar*, was published in the 1740s, first in Malaga and then outside Naples. Ferriol says nothing at all about the fandango, and he contradicts Minguet in no uncertain terms by claiming that the seventeenth-century courtly style of Spanish dance was in fact no longer practiced. Yet his book must be taken into account as a source on general trends in Spanish dance that may have influenced the fandango in the mid-eighteenth century. For example, Ferriol describes extravagant ornaments that were introduced into the minuet and other French dances. He recommends the *batido* (a beat of the calves), *frizado* (a beat of one foot in front and behind the other), *frizado trino* (two beats in front and one behind) and *frizado doble* (beating front, back, front, and back), as well as suspensions, *ouvertures de jambes* and *pas tortillés* (waving steps) that certainly would have been considered in dreadful taste by French dancing masters. If we take Minguet at his word, that the fandango could freely absorb French as well as Spanish steps, we could presume that it also incorporated some of these ornaments (which, admittedly, Minguet himself does not describe).

Despite his silence on the subject of the fandango, Ferriol does describe a number of steps that clearly break with the courtly French tradition. Some could well be intended for contredanses, notably the *paso de mascara*, which was often used as a setting step in England and still is practiced in Spain under the name *embotada*. In others he strays into the realm of theatrical dance: *cabriola de aletas* and *cabriola de abertura*, can both be traced in Magri's *Trattato di ballo nobile* and still exist in the *Escuela Bolera*, under the names *cambiamientos altos* and *cuartas italianas*. Other steps seem to derive neither from the contredanse nor from ballet. Unless they are inspired by the tarantella—which is not impossible, remembering that Ferriol was active in the Kingdom of Naples and tarantellas are found in Spanish music collections of the time—these remaining steps would seem to be Spanish. Considering that the fandango was by now approaching the height of its popularity, they would seem to be none other than fandango steps, or at the very least steps that could be performed in the fandango. These include the *paso de canario*, a traveling step featuring a slide and a stamp that is not unlike existing regional fandango steps. The *paso de Indias* also involves sliding and stamping, as well as a jump into a “false” third position; the name of this step also reminds us that the fandango was introduced into Spain by people who had resided in the “Indies.” There is also the *vuelta harmoniosa*, a turn performed by twisting the toes and heels in and out. One step that inevitably evokes the tarantella, but also the *jota* or *seguidillas*, is the *paso triplicado*, a jumping step in seven counts alternating heel and toe; Ferriol includes it in one of his contredanse choreographies.

Traces of the Fandango in Contredanses and Minuets

The contredanse repertory, in fact, reveals some unexpected information on the fandango. *La Miscelanea* is a Spanish contradanza in the French model, for eight dancers, and is known from several collections intended for balls in Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia from the 1750s through the 1780s. The dance begins conventionally with a gavotte-like melody, shifting to a grand chain danced to a *seguidillas* tune and continuing with a six-measure fandango, where the dancers return to their places in *pasos de fandango*. These steps are not specified, but Ferriol's *paso de Canarios* would serve the purpose very well. The ladies are facing in toward each other (*de cara*) and the gentlemen back-to-back with their partners and facing out (*de espaldas*). A variant of this dance by Minguet under the name *Los Presumidos y las Presumidas* has the dancers return to their places in the chain of *seguidillas* steps and then simply says, "dance the fandango with your partner," perhaps implying six measures of improvisation, or maybe a step sequence so well known at the time that he saw no reason to describe it.

Fandango steps are called for in another contradanza of the same period, *La Fandanguera*. The triple-meter section in question is oddly identified a *minuet*. It begins with bows to one's partner and corner and continues with traveling *pasos de fandango* with the ladies face-to-face and the gentlemen *de espaldas*, as in the *Miscelanea*.

Another case of the "lascivious" fandango being intertwined with the very respectable minuet is an elusive dance known as the *minué afandangado*, described rather summarily by Blasis as a "menuet composé en partie du fandango." It was famed mainly as a theme for instrumental variations by early-nineteenth-century composers (Félix Máximo López, Salvador Castro de Gistau, Dionisio Aguado, etc.) Choreographed versions are attested in theaters of Seville, Madrid and Barcelona beginning in the late eighteenth century. Outside Spain, the *menuet fandango* notably served as a final *pas de deux* in a ballet premiered at the Paris Opéra in 1815, *Les Noces de Gamache*, music by Persuis, choreography by Milon, which is the direct forerunner of the Minkus/Gorsky/Petipa *Don Quixote*. The critic Julien Geoffroy was disappointed by most of the ballet's choreography, but notes that the *menuet fandango*, performed by Auguste Vestris as Basile and Mademoiselle Cheverny as Quitterie, received much applause. He describes it as "une sorte de menuet espagnol, beaucoup plus vif et plus gai que le menuet ordinaire," the minuet by this time having become a ceremonious and relatively slow dance. A snippet of choreography to the melody of the *menuet fandango* is found in a nineteenth-century manuscript at the Paris Opéra, one of the notebooks of Léon Michel who taught dancing to the princesses of the house of Württemberg. Essentially consisting of nothing more than a promenade and bows for the two dancers by way of introducing a bolero, it is all the more frustrating because Léon Michel had worked side-by-side with Milon at the Opéra and wrote down some other pieces of his choreography elsewhere in the notebooks. Remembering that the *contradanza La Fandanguera* includes bows—unusual in

the middle of a contredanse—followed by fandango steps, this may indicate that the reverence had become a standard element of the fandango in proper society.

It should be mentioned in passing that Léon Michel is almost always identified as “the father of Arthur Saint-Léon, the choreographer of *Coppélia*,” however he was also the choreographer of *Le Procès du fandango* performed at Vienna’s Kärthnerthortheater in 1858, with music by Pugni. It was inspired by the story cited by Beaumarchais, in which the fandango is put on trial and absolved of guilt by the local magistrates, not in Rome or Spain but in Holland, as the ballet was also known as *Der Jahrmakel zu Harlem*. The same plot is found in a French comedy of 1810 with the same title, set in the French Basque town of Saint-Jean de Luz.

Indications of *Port de bras* and Castanets from Period Sources

Dance iconography is unfortunately much rarer in Spain than the rest of Europe before 1800, and depictions of dancers specifically identified as performing the fandango are practically unheard of. Perhaps the earliest is an illustration from Christian August Fischer’s *Voyage en Espagne*, from the late 1790s, where the dancing couple, normally face to face, is depicted facing the viewer for greater visibility. We see both dancers inclining slightly back and opposing the pointed left foot with an arm gesture over the head; the left arm is held out to the side, and the lady holds one corner of her apron (this period saw a fashion for light muslin aprons, and ladies sometimes held their apron rather than their skirt in the minuet).

Somewhat later, an engraving from about 1810 by the Frenchman Pierre Chasselat shows two arm positions: one couple holds their arms high in the general stance for popular dances, but with the hands pronated, while another couple curls one hand over the shoulder, crossing the other in front of the chest.

The bolero, on the other hand, was amply portrayed in a series of six engravings before 1790 by Marco Téllez. We find one instance of a hand held over the shoulder, but the most characteristic arm position of this series is a diagonal port de bras, which is never used in classical boleros as practiced today. Interestingly, a similar diagonal line can be seen in French sources, including illustrations from Rameau’s *Maître à danser*. Just as in the case of the bolero, it is practically never seen in modern reconstructions of Baroque dance.

The cover illustration of Minguet’s *Breve tratado* has been referred to as a “priceless” depiction of Spanish dance in the mid-eighteenth century. In reality, this picture had been reused from an earlier work by the author, *Arte de dançar a la francesa*, where it illustrated a couple performing a minuet. Nevertheless, the fact that Minguet, an accomplished engraver, chose to recycle the image more than once may indicate that the level of the arms, nearly shoulder-height, was just as appropriate for the fandango and seguidillas as it was for the minuet.

On the subject of castanets, in one edition of *Arte de danzar a la francesa*, from the 1750s, Minguet translates Feuillet's instructions for notating the movements of the feet and arms and the rhythms of the castanets, "for all Spanish and Italian dances" (Italian no doubt because the "French" version of *Les Folies d'Espagne* was sometimes known as *Folías italianas* in Spain, probably out respect to Corelli, Geminiani, et al.) He transcribes Feuillet's single couplet of *Les Folies d'Espagne* verbatim, including one important detail that is no longer typical of Spanish dance, rolling the castanets on the right hand, the left hand and both hands. Like Feuillet, he fails to explain how to roll, leaving the modern reconstructor to wonder whether it was a trill of two fingers, a roll of four fingers or a four-fingered roll punctuated by a beat on the other hand, as usually performed today. Whether Feuillet's system represents a widespread practice in Spain—or even in France—is open to debate.

One other very promising-looking source turns out to be disappointing, although not entirely useless. *Crotalogía*, a supposed treatise on the science of playing castanets from 1792, is in fact a satire of two eighteenth-century trends: the popularity of the bolero, which had developed into a veritable dance craze, and the proliferation of pompous scientific books in imitation of Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*. *Crotalogía* does confirm that castanets of the time had two pitches, lower (male, or *macho*) for the left hand, and higher (female, or *hembra*) for the right hand, unlike the earliest surviving pairs, contemporary with Feuillet, which appear to have had the same pitch. (The author claims facetiously that it would be scandalous if a guest showed up for a ball with two male or two female castanets.) Rolls were executed on the right hand exclusively, as they are today. More surprisingly, it seems that beats were rarely if ever performed on both hands at once, and the *choque* or crash of the castanets together, was avoided, at least in the bolero. The most typical rhythm cited is the two-measure phrase *ririrá-ririrá-ririrá-ririrá-ti-tá-ti-tá-ti-tá*, which does not conform to that of surviving classical or folk boleros but does lend itself well to the fandango.

The Survival of the Fandango in Today's Dance Heritage

The richest living source for eighteenth-century Spanish dance is in reality less rewarding than one might expect. The Escuela Bolera is widely reputed to have been preserved intact since the eighteenth century, and indeed Gennaro Magri would easily recognize certain isolated steps that are still taught today and which presumably date from the 1780s, when Italian grotesque dancers and pantomime artists toured throughout Spain. Despite its historical richness, the Escuela Bolera needs to be put into clearer historical perspective. The first member of the Pericet family, which has made the greatest contribution to preserving this tradition, was Angel Pericet Carmona. He began his training in the 1880s with one of the most celebrated bolero dancers of the mid-century, La Campanera. Thus the family entered the field when this dance style was in its last

decades as a living dance form, long after the great age of the fandango, and it was not until the twentieth century that the Pericet family found its vocation specifically in the preservation of the past. The definitive Pericet syllabus, consisting of turns, beats and other steps of increasing difficulty, is said to date from 1942, and as for the family's repertory of dances, admittedly priceless, the dates and names of the original choreographers have been long forgotten. The term "Escuela Bolera," in fact, was never used before the twentieth century.

Although it is true that Antonio Cairón invited dancers to perform "the simplest" bolero step sequences in the fandango, in practice this is easier said than done, for musical as well as technical reasons, in the case of the Pericets' *Bolero liso* or *Boleras de la Cachucha*. Without eliminating the Escuela Bolera as a source for the eighteenth-century fandango, we should not exploit it indiscriminately as a quarry for picturesque steps. The same caveat should be repeated for a related body of choreography known as *bailes de candil* or dances by lamplight, originally performed in taverns or private homes rather than in theaters. Their choreography is almost always of unknown provenance, usually referred to as "traditional." One anonymous *Fandango de candil*, for example, features choreographic passages that appear to have the ring of truth alongside others that bring to mind the ballets of modern zarzuela productions.

A more promising source of inspiration can be found in Spanish regional dances. Specialists in early dance have not always taken "folk" dance as seriously as it deserves, and likewise, folk dancers can be suspicious of book learning as opposed to active field work. Both worlds would profit from an exchange of experience and ideas. Naturally, no dance can remain in suspension for three centuries. Typically, researchers in popular dance interview many different dancers, often elderly, and do not hesitate to juxtapose the most interesting elements that they find in different villages with distinct traditions. The dance is usually transformed further when performed onstage, with greater precision and sometimes identical costumes. Frequently, folk-dance groups introduce more changes in the name of theatricality, for example, arranging the final couplet with all the dancers facing the audience. In addition, many regional dances still performed in Spain were taught as part of the Coros y Danzas movement of the Franco regime and had a certain patriotic and political subtext.

Keeping all this in mind, it must be said that the extensive repertory of dances from the region of Valencia is particularly rich. In the *Fandango de Cofrentes*, for example, we see echoes of certain details cited by Casanova and Beaumarchais, as well as Cairón: the arrangement of ladies and gentlemen in two lines and the dancers' changing places repeatedly in the opening of the dance. The provocative *meneo* or swaying of the hips by the ladies certainly brings to mind the voluptuousness so often evoked in memoirs.

In addition to fandangos proper, there are also Valencian versions of *Malagueñas* and the family of dances of the family known as "u." Remembering that the bolero was in a certain sense the daughter of the fandango, the innumerable Valencian boleros provide

much food for thought, all the more so because, contrary to our idea of “folk” dance, they were often taught by dancing masters to the children of well-to-do families in towns and passed down by their students independently of *Coros y Danzas*. In particular, the *Bolero andalus*, as taught by mestre Corretje de Algira and preserved by Xavier Rausell of Les Folies de Carcaixent, illustrates an interesting comparison made by Christian August Fischer in the 1790s: “The fandango stuns the senses, whereas the bolero transports them. The fandango expresses pleasure while the bolero portrays the rewards of tenderness.”

The Modern Choreographer Takes Stock

Is it possible to bring the fandango to life as it was performed at Spanish balls in the eighteenth century? Let us take stock of historical documents at our disposal.

- We have eye-witness accounts by a Spaniard, a Frenchman, two Englishmen, a Venetian, and a German. All of them are quite evocative, they provide a certain body of concrete evidence, and they generally support each other.
- The only instructions from a professional dancing master are admittedly brief and also quite late, but they indicate the general structure of the dance, its improvisational quality, and one important step. We also have indications of other steps from the eighteenth century and two confirmations that the fandango freely absorbed elements of other dances.
- A half-dozen surviving musical scores attest to a certain degree of improvisation, at the very least in regard to the length of the dance.
- Aside from the “voluptuous” gestures so often alluded to, we have graphic images of three distinct poses of the arms, and more if we include those used in related dances such as the bolero. We also have general guidelines for playing castanets in the second half of the century.
- In addition to documentary sources, we possess a very rich heritage of regional fandangos that give us an idea of movement quality and dynamics while supporting the observations from two to three centuries ago on a good number of points.

It may be impossible to “reconstruct” the fandango in all its details without notation or a full verbal description of all its steps and gestures. However, even in the case of dances that were notated or otherwise recorded (Pécour’s *Aimable vainqueur* or Caroso’s *Laura soave*, to mention only two) a reconstructor is still obliged to make any number of artistic choices in regard to phrasing, dynamics, arm gestures, and countless other nuances. If Pécour or Caroso were to return to life, they would inevitably be surprised by modern reconstructions of their masterpieces; they might even be dismayed or horrified. If we consider that, first, the fandango was a relatively free dance, to some degree improvised; second, that it varied from region to region and incorporated a variety of steps, old and

new, Spanish or French; and, finally, that a foreigner could master it adequately with a few days of lessons, it is just possible that an informed modern rendering of the fandango, performed expressively and sensuously, could satisfy the expectations of a spectator from the period, and perhaps to a greater degree than the most painstaking reconstructions of *Aimable vainqueur* or *Laura Soave*.

Might it be possible to use a similar process to revive other problematic dances that were never notated or adequately described? The courante from the time of Louis XIII? Medieval dances before the fifteenth century? This is a delicate question, and each dance should be considered independently. In any case, we should avoid the facile and all-too-frequent judgment “It isn’t possible, we just don’t have enough information.” It would show greater artistic integrity to first carefully study all of the working tools that we do have at our disposal, for very often we have far more than we imagine.

Texts

Father Martin Martí, Deán del Cabildo de Alicante, 1712

Conocí esta danza en Cádiz, es famosa por sus pasos voluptuosos y se ve ejecutar actualmente en todos los barrios y en todas las casas de la ciudad. Es aplaudida de modo increíble por los espectadores y no es festejada solamente por personas de baja condición, sino también por las mujeres más honestas y de posición mas elevada.

Ve ahora y censura la licencia de las antiguas costumbres y alaba el pudor de las nuestras. Has conocido aquel baile gaditano famoso en todo tiempo y lugar por su obscenidad. Y contempla hoy mismo cómo se baila ese baile gaditano en todas las encrucijadas de la ciudad, en todos los salones, con increíble aplauso de los asistentes, no sólo entre los negros y gente plebeya, sino también entre muy honorables damas, nacida de noble cuna.

El baile se ejecuta de la siguiente forma: Bailan el varón y la mujer, bien de dos en dos, o bien más. Los cuerpos se mueven al son de las cadencias de la música, con todas las excitaciones de la pasión, con movimientos en extremo voluptuosos, taconeos, miradas, saltos, todas las figuras rebosantes de lascivas intenciones. Puedes ver al varón insinuarse y la mujer emitir gemidos y contonearse con tal gracia y elegancia que bien te podrían parecer en su necedad y grosería las nalgas de la Fotis Apulellana. Finalmente, se interpreta ese baile como bien pudiera haberlo hecho su Hércules con Onfale.

Manuscript translated from the Latin, cited by CAPMANY: *El Baile y la danza*, p. 248, and reproduced by BUSTOS RODRIGUEZ: *Divertimentos en el siglo de oro español*, p. 41

Quite different adaptations can also be found in Spanish. The following English version is no doubt a translation from Latin to Spanish to English:

I made the acquaintance of this dance in Cadiz, famous for so many centuries because of its voluptuous steps, which are executed in all parts of this town and in every house eliciting an incredible amount of applause from the spectators. It is not only danced by gitanas and other persons of low condition, but even the most honest women in high positions. The steps of this dance are the same for man and woman and many couples take part, the dancers making delicate undulations of the body in time to the music [...] Noisy laughter and joyful shouts resound and the spectators are filled with enthusiasm [...] and unable to resist taking part, sway rhythmically following the movements of the dance.

Cited in LA MERI: *Spanish Dancing*, p. 19

Beaumarchais, 1764

au duc de la Vallière Madrid 23 décembre 1764

[...] la [danse la] plus estimée ici est celle qu'on appelle fandango, dont la musique est d'une vivacité extrême, et dont tout l'agrément consiste en quelques pas ou figures lascives [...] représentant assez bien [...] pour que moi, qui ne suis pas le plus pudique des hommes, j'en aie rougi jusqu'aux yeux. Une jeune Espagnole, sans lever les yeux et avec la physionomie la plus modeste, se lève pour aller figurer devant un hardi sauteur ; elle débute par étendre les bras, faire claquer ses doigts ; ce qu'elle continue pendant tout le fandango pour en marquer la mesure ; l'homme la tourne, il va, revient avec des mouvements violents auxquels elle répond par des gestes pareils, mais un peu plus doux, et toujours ce claquement de doigts qui semble dire : Je m'en moque, vas tant que tu pourras, je ne serai pas lasse la première. Lorsque l'homme est excédé, un autre arrive devant la femme qui, lorsqu'elle est souple danseuse, vous en met ainsi sur le grabat sept ou huit l'un après l'autre. Il y a aussi des duchesses et autres danseuses très distinguées, dont la réputation est sans bornes sur le fandango [...]

BEAUMARCHAIS: *Correspondance*. Vol. 1, p. 125

Casanova, 1767

Vers la fin du bal je fus tout-à-coup surpris d'un spectacle qui me parut aussi extravagant qu'attrayant. Tous les danseurs et danseuses comencèrent une danse sur deux rangs, que l'on me dit être le fandango. Je croyais m'en faire une idée pour l'avoir vu danser sur le théâtre, en France et en Italie ; mais ce n'était plus cela. Je n'avais pas la moindre idée des poses et des gestes expressifs, qu'il est impossible de voir sans éprouver le désordre de la volupté. J'étais dans un délire qu'il me serait impossible de décrire ; il faut avoir vu cette danse en Espagne, pour la comprendre. Chaque cavalier danse en face de sa dame, et accompagne ses mouvements du jeu des castagnettes, qui suit la mesure de l'orchestre. On ne peut rien imaginer de plus voluptueux, ni de plus séduisant. Les gestes du danseur exprimaient vivement les désirs et l'estase de l'amour ; ceux de la danseuse expriment le consentement, le ravissement, le délire même. Bref, il me parut qu'une femme ne pouvait plus rien refuser à un homme avec lequel elle avait une fois dansé le fandango. Je manifestai, par une exclamation, le plaisir que ce spectacle me faisait éprouver. On me fit observer que, pour avoir une juste idée de cette danse, il fallait la voir exécuter par les Gitanos (Bohémien). Je demandai comment la sainte inquisition permettait une danse faite pour enflammer l'âme et exciter si fortement les passions. On me répondit qu'elle avait été défendue très-long-tems, mais que le comte d'Aranda l'avait permise de nouveau. Chacun, ajouta-t-on, sort mécontent du bal lorsqu'on ne danse pas le fandango.

Le lendemain, je donnai ordre à mon faquin de page, de me trouver un maître de danse qui pût m'apprendre le fandango. Il m'amena un acteur que je pris en même tems pour maître d'Espagnol. En trois jours il me montra si bien cette danse, que je pouvais me flatter de ne pas craindre le plus habile danseur de Madrid [...]

CASANOVA: *Mémoires du Vénitien Casanova de Seingalt*, p. 54

Richard Twiss, 1772—1773

I saw [the fandango] danced in various private assemblies in Madrid, and afterwards in every place I was in. The fury and ardour for dancing with which the Spaniards are possessed on hearing th fandango played, recall to my mind the impatience of the Italian race-horses standing behind the rope, which being fixed across the street breast-high restrains them; and the velocity and eagerness with which they set off, and run without riders the instant that that barrier is removed.

There are two kinds of fandangos, though they are danced to the same tune: the one is the decent dance; the other is gallant, full of expression, and, as a late French author energetically expresses it, "est mêlée de certaines attitudes qui offrent un tableau continuel de jouissance."

In the dictionary, entitled, *Sobrino Aumentado* por F. Cormon printed in Antwerp in 1769, the Fandango is thus described:

“It is a kind of very lively dance, which the Spaniards have learnt from the Indians.”

I know not what foundation there is for this assertion.

The celebrated air, known by the name of la follia di Spagna, which, with its variations, is at the end of the set of solos by Corelli, was probably composed to gratify the desire of some Spaniard, who wished to have the favourite national dance of his country immortalized by that great musician. The modulation of the follia is exactly similar to that of the fandango, and the name farther demonstrates the truth of this assertion.

TWISS: *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, p. 146

Joseph Townsend, 1786—1787

[The bolero] bears some resemblance to the fandango, at least in sprightliness and elegance; but then it is more correct than that favorite yet most lascivious pantomime. The fandango itself is banished from genteel assemblies, and justly so. As danced by the vulgar, it is most disgusting; as refined in higher life, covered with a most elegant yet transparent veil, it ceases to disgust, and, from that very circumstance excites those passions in the youthful breast, which wisdom finds it difficult to curb. This dance must certainly come to them by tradition of the Moors. The music of it has such a powerful effect on young and old, that all are prepared for motion the instant the instruments are heard; and, from what I have seen, I could almost persuade myself to receive the extravagant idea of a friend, who in the warmth of his imagination, supposed that were it suddenly introduced in a church or into a court of judicature, priests and people, judges and criminals, the gravest and the gay, would forget all the distinctions and begin to dance.

TOWNSEND: *A Journey through Spain*.

Cited in SUÁREZ-PAJARES/CARREIRA: *The Origins of the bolero school*, p. 95

Antonio Cairón, 1820

Fandango

Baile antiguo español, y el que se ha conservado mas tiempo en uso sobre el teatro : el fandango, como la mayor parte de los bailes españoles, es de un tiempo ternario, alegre y vivo : no tiene marcada precisamente su duración ; y según el capricho de quien lo baila, puede ser mas larga ó corta. El fandango tiene mucha gracia : no es un baile de tanta capacidad como el bolero, ni se requiere tanto arte para bailarlo, pues aunque el bolero sea en parte una imitación del fandango, con todo, este último es mucho mas fácil, quiere decir que los pasos que le son característicos, son rastreros, y su compás precipitado y veloz, lo que no da lugar á que en él se puedan ejecutar pasos desplegados y majestuosos, como se pueden hacer en el bolero : á pesar de todo lo dicho, las mudanzas simples del bolero se combinan muy bien en el fandango : la regla que se debe observar en él es la siguiente. Colocados que estén los bailarines uno en frente de otro como en el bolero, principiarán con el paseo, el cual no se debe hacer mas que cuatro veces alternativamente una con cada pie, pues las repeticiones siempre son molestas ; en seguida se hará una mudanza, después de la cual se vuelve á repetir el paseo al que se le seguirá otra mudanza, y principiarán á pasar mudando el puesto ; bien entendido que el hombre dará siempre la derecha á la muger : esta pasada se hace con ciertos pasos de burea abiertos, batiendo la planta del pie en tierra, doblando un poco las rodillas, teniendo el cuerpo bien derecho, y alzando ó bajando las brazos : el dicho paseo se sigue siempre, hasta haber pasado y dado un giro, quedándose uno en frente de otro ; desde cuya situación se rompe de nuevo con el paseo, haciéndolo dos veces intermediado de dos mudanzas, como antecedentemente hizo cada uno en su primitivo sitio, al cual vuelven de nuevo á pasar para ejecutar tercera vez otros dos paseos con sus respectivas mudanzas, con una de las cuales se concluye ; Ninguna provincia hay en España en que no se conozca el fandango ; ya con el nombre de con rondeñas, de malagueñas, &c. queriendo cada Reino ó provincia que se le deba la invención del referido baile ; con efecto, es el mas característico de los bailes españoles [...]

CAIRON: *Compendio de las principales reglas del baile*, p. 110