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A Hit Tune Becomes a Hit Dance

The Travels of a Pavane through Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, France, and Germany

BARBARA SPARTI, CHRISTINE BAYLE, CARLES MAS

Introduction (Barbara Sparti)

1581 is the date in which the *pavaniglia*—as a dance together with its own music—appears in print for the first time. Its provenance is unknown. Fabritio Caroso refers to it as “balletto d’incerto,”¹ and as an anonymous dance it was probably known some years earlier, though there are no records of either the music or the choreography in any known Italian manuscripts. It was to be a hit for about 50 years in various parts of Europe, and longer, as we shall see, in Iberia. Why the melody and the dance are occasionally referred to as the *Spanish pavane* in both England and France is not at all clear. In 1578, for example, the Spanish composer, Cabezon, wrote variations on what he called *pavana italiana* which were definitely based on the French tune *Belle che tiens ma vie*. But to confuse us even further, Cabezon also composed an *Italian pavane* variation on the music to what we now refer to as *pavaniglia* or *pavane d’Espagne*.

The *pavaniglia* was, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, an instrumental hit. Most extant music is a single statement of the basic tune, but many composers wrote elaborate sets of variations. Among the notations are those by Caroubel (written in 1611 and included in Praetorius’s *Terpsichore* in 1612),² and in Zanetti’s *Il Scolaro* as late as 1645.

Like the music, the *pavaniglia* choreography was also a hit. There are more choreographic descriptions (nine known to date) than for any other dance written between 1581 and 1614. (More sources—from Iberia—that cover a wider chronological period will be presented below by Carles Mas.) Like much of the extant music, the choreographies too are composed of variations—often extremely virtuosic. Following Caroso’s 1581 publication, a brief choreographic version of one variation only (repeated), the *pavane d’Espagne*, appeared in Arbeau’s 1588 *Orchésographie*. Caroso composed his own version in 1600, and Cesare Negri, in his 1602 treatise, included two *pavaniglias*—in Roman and Milanese fashions.

In the last ten to fifteen years, three dance manuscripts from the early 17th century have come to light, each containing a *pavane/pavaniglia*: The *Instruction pour dancer* was compiled by a French dancing-master engaged at a German court (where the French composer Caroubel was also active) and is almost certainly the source for Praetorius’s *Terpsichore*; two *pavaniglia* choreographies appear in Ercole Santucci’s 1614 *Mastro da Ballo*; and the Spanish *Libro de dançar* by Juan Antonio Jaque is the third. Christine, Carles, and I will each briefly describe and show a couple of variations from these manuscripts pointing out their difficulties in interpretation, any similarities, and some of their distinctive differences.

“Basic” Italian *pavaniglia* Choreography

The first version of each of the three Italian *pavaniglia* choreographies—the anonymous one included in Caroso’s *Ballarino*, Negri’s Roman *Pavaniglia* and that in the Santucci treatise—all follow a basic scheme that Hubert and I will summarize and illustrate, so as to introduce you to and familiarize you with the model.

There are 16 bars of music that comprise a six-bar introduction—repeated for each choreographic part or variation (except for the first); two bars of a quick coda-like ending (or *chiusa*)—which is also the same throughout; and, in between, eight bars of music for the choreographic variations.

In the first anonymous Caroso *Pavaniglia*, and in Santucci’s first *pavaniglia*, attributed to a certain Padvello, there are 16 repeats of the music that correspond choreographically to:

- **1st playing:** the Introduction
- *Riverenza-continenza*³ and *chiusa*, always with hopped steps.
- **The 2nd and 3rd playings**, corresponding to the 1st *parte*, *passaggio*, or variation (which is repeated—“done and re-done”), have the couple going forward to the foot of the hall with eight *fioretti*; then turning round and going back with the other foot. Only in Caroso are the “ordinary” *fioretti* substituted by *fioretti a piedi pari*, a sideways version of Arbeau’s *fleurets*.
- **Playings 4 and 5:** correspond to the 2nd variation (then repeated)—the only sequence known of the period performed on symmetrical (rather than parallel) feet;
- **Playings 6 and 7:** or the 3rd *parte* (repeated). While the first and second variations go forward to the “foot” of the dance hall and return back to the head, some variations like this one are done “laterally.”
- **Playing 8:** this is a separation figure that marks the “half-way” point in the dance. Using the same “ordinary” *fioretti* as in part 2, the man and his partner end up with one at the head and the other at the foot, facing each other. While the axis is the same, there will now be a change of direction.
- Next come Variations 4 (**playings 9 and 10**), 5 (**playings 11, 12**) and 6 (**playings 13 and 14**). These tend to be almost on the spot and often have virtuosic steps—at times with more steps than musical beats.

Here, as an example, is Padvello’s 13th variation (Santucci’s first *pavaniglia*):

introduction (passo puntato – seguito di meza riverenza)
 fioretto (sottopiede – piede in aria – cadenza)—repeat
 sottopiede – passo in volta – passo incrociato – sottopiede – passo in volta – cadenza –
 fioretto – chiusa.

- Finally, the finale of the *pavaniglia*—two repeats of music (**playing 15**—the same ordinary *fioretti* during which dancers come toward each other, and **playing 16**—*passi* ending with a *riverenza*).

As I began writing this Introduction for the *pavaniglia* (the model just illustrated), one of my questions was whether or not the choreographed variations were fixed (that is mandatory) or if they were conceived as inspirations for individual improvisations/ variations. The answer, I believe, is the latter inasmuch as the second *pavaniglia* composed by Caroso himself (*Amoroso Grimana*), Negri's second version, and Santucci's own *pavaniglia* (his first, *alla Romana*, being Padvello's) are all quite different from the "basic" model.

Santucci's *pavaniglia* (Barbara Sparti)

As an example of how one dance master developed the "basic" *pavaniglia* structure, Hubert will show you two variations from Santucci's 1614 *Mastro da ballo*, which is characterized by technical virtuositities for the man.

The separation figure (8th *parte* and 8th *passaggio*) has the lady going to the head of the hall with the ordinary *fioretti*, while the man does a *sottopiede* and then 11 *meze capriole di passo in aria* (that is off one foot and landing on one foot), followed by a *meza capriola di cadenza* (landing on both feet), and finally ending with a *capriola quarta*, or cut four times (rather than the ordinary three). (Then the *chiusa*.) This *parte* has a total of 13 *capriole* in 16 bars of music. Hubert invented his own timing by inserting pauses.

Santucci, in his own *pavaniglia* version, introduces *mutanze*—or solos—for the man and the lady that are danced in place, rather than the *passaggi* for both dancers who move in the hall together. Here is the 3rd *mutanza* for the man. Following the usual *passo puntato* and *seguito di meza riverenza* we have:

capriola 4a – sottopiede – recciacciata – cadenza
 capriola 4a – sottopiede – spacchata incrociata – cadenza ritornata
 final capriola 4a and the chiusa.

Pavanne d'Espagne in the *Instruction pour dancer* (Christine Bayle)⁴

The *Instruction pour dancer les dances cy apres nommez* is an anonymous manuscript dating from the end of the 16th or the first quarter of the 17th century. It was discovered by Uwe Schlottermüller in the Hessische Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, Germany, in 1996 and published by him in 2000. In an introductory chapter, Angene Feeves points out that Michael Praetorius's *Terpsichore* (1612) includes all the same dances. In his preface, Praetorius explains that several of the melodies in *Terpsichore*'s five-part settings were composed years before by the musician Francisq(ue) Caroubel. Often at the court of Wolfenbüttel, Praetorius dedicated his *Terpsichore* to Friedrich Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick and Lünebourg. Anthoine Emeraud, the French dancing master at the court, responded to the Duke's request and "collected French dance melodies and choreographies"⁵ that he then delivered to Praetorius. Based on the order of the dances in *Terpsichore* that match those in the *Instruction*, musician Patrick Blanc hypothesized a new order in the *suite de branles* that is different from the Arbeau's suite (*Branle double, simple, gai, branles (découpés) de Bourgogne ou de Champagne, Gavottes*).

When I began to investigate the *Instruction pour dancer* in 2000–01, I had never seen or known any version of the pavane other than that described by Thoinot Arbeau in his *Orchésographie* of 1588. The *Pavanne* (sic) in the *Instruction* is a dance for a couple. It is located in the middle of the dances of the first suite and dances of society, between *La Bourree* (this is its first mention as a dance), *La Gavotte*, *La Danse du Chandellier*,⁶ two dances choreographed for four couples, *La Boesme* and *La Gillotte*, the four *Bransles de la Chapelle* (a dancing-master's dance), and followed by the four *Branles de Lorraine*, the four *Bransles of la Grenée* (a dancing-master's dance), the two *Passepieds*, and the final *Branles de Bretagne* that end “toute la dancerye.”

We know of the *pavane's* appearance in France through Arbeau's reference in 1588:

Depuis peu de temps ils en ont apporté une qu'ils appellent la pavane d'Espagne, laquelle se dance decoupee avec diversité de gestes.

Recently another one has been introduced, called the Spanish pavan, in which the steps are rearranged with a variety of gestures.⁷

Then, some time before 1614, the biographer Pierre de Bourdeilles, known as the seigneur de Brantôme, wrote that Henri de Navarre (who became Henry IV of France in 1584) and his sister danced the *Pavane d'Espagne* very well.⁸

The only musical concordance in France is in Mersenne's *L'Harmonie universelle* from 1636 (Livre second, proposition XXIII): a *Pavanne du quatrième mode*, a *passage* or variation very similar to Arbeau's.

In the *Instruction pour dancer*, the dance is called *Pavanne*. There is neither an introduction, nor choreographic notation, nor punctuation, nor music, nor an index of steps to aid the reconstruction. The number of *pas*—or actions—are given. These are not “steps.” It seems that they are “actions” or movements that we have to put together to do a *simple* or an ornamented step.

Fortunately we have the music of *Terpsichore* from the same period. Choreography and music seem to match the musical division based on Arbeau's pavane, although it does not have the same structure. The description in the *Instruction* is made up of seven *passages*, first danced starting on one foot and then repeated with the other (reprise: *tant en avant que en arrière lon conte cinquante six pas*). The fifty-six *pas* represent fifty-six actions that will reconstruct or make up the steps.

The steps

The steps used here are practically all unknown if we depend only on the preceding period. They include *battus*, *coulades* (steps only used in the pavane), *coupés*, *glisser*, *trois pas relevés*, *fleurets*, *fleurets croisés ou creuses* (which are also in the *bourrée*), and so on. Other steps are unclear and can be interpreted in different ways, such as *s'enlever les deux pieds du côté gauche*, *se dresser en présance*, *chassés*, etc. Other *pas* are known to us, like the *pas grave*, but they belong to the period of Louis XIV, and are thus of no use to us in the context of the *Instruction*.

Since the steps are hardly described in the *Instruction*, we have to look elsewhere for clues and explanations of how to perform them. We have to reconstruct them, and deduce information from other dances. The hypothesis of the reconstructed steps has to make sense in the other dances of the *Instruction* as well. Since the text is very incomplete and full of lacunae, we have tried and continue to try to find solutions by borrowing, for instance, Arbeau's *fleurets* and the Italian *fioretti* or *trango* for *fleurets croisés*.⁹

Other steps seem to be influenced by the Italian style. For example, *l'élevé*, *le chassé*, and *ballonnés en arrière*. Some of these steps seem to anticipate or resemble *belle dance* steps. It is also possible that this French *pavanne* borrows steps from Spain with an *enchainment* of *pas posé*, *chassé*, *posé*, *pose*, for instance, which looks like the *florete*.

The structure of the *pavanne* is made up of passages, as are numerous other dances in the *Instruction*. The term refers to a section or "part," a whole phrase, like a variation or Italian *mutanza*. In the *Instruction*, the *pavanne* has a precise number of passages, and is not just described once as in Arbeau's *Orchésographie*, where the dance is done *à l'envi* (freely, as many times as people want).¹⁰ Sometimes *couplet* or *couplet* is used instead of *passage*. (To complicate matters, there are also other mentions of the word *couplet* within *passages*.)

Each *passage* is made up of three distinct parts that are linked together: a first introductory part, which is almost always the same, and performed for the most part with either nine or ten steps (A);¹¹ then the middle part that changes at each *passage* (B); and the third part that is a sort of cadence that matches the musical cadence and is performed almost always with identical steps,¹² similar to Arbeau's end-of-phrase steps (C). The structure of the Pavanne is therefore ABC.

The count of 56 steps is composed, in the three first *passages*, of 28 steps, done twice (beginning with one foot and the other) to 32 *temps* of music or 16 measures. The music is ♪, the phrase is 16 measures or 32 *temps*.

1st, 28 pas:

s'enlever les 2 pieds ensemble, chasser le pied G du pied D pour le tenir en l'air le pied G pour faire un pas grave (3 pas) le mettre à terre et rechasser le pied G du pied D pour faire 2 battuz relevant le pied D en l'air pour le poser à terre (6 pas) et chasser du pied G le pied D pour faire 2 battuz tenant le pied G en l'air et le poser à terre (9 pas) et après commencerez à faire 2 fleuretz l'un du pied D et l'autre du pied G allant tout droit en avant (13 pas) et ferez 2 battuz (18 pas) et ferez encores 2 fleuretz creusez 14 l'un du pied D et l'autre du pied G (19 pas) et faire encores 2 battuz (21 pas) et ferez un fleuret du pied D tenant le pied G en l'air pour mettre les 2 pieds ensemble faisant un petit saut ouvrant la pointe des 2 pieds relèverez le pied G pour faire 3 relevez (28 pas)

In the 6th passage, of 58 steps, the 29 steps for each foot must be performed by "squeezing" the steps in the requisite number of musical *temps*, with a slight acceleration of steps. The rhythmic-musical choice is challenging. On the other hand, the 4th *passage* of 48 steps, has only 24 steps per foot, which entails a stretching out of the timing of the steps.

4th, 24 pas:

s'enlever les 2 pieds ensemble du côté G et après chasser du pied D le pied G le tenir en l'air pour faire un pas grave du pied G le poser à terre (3 pas) rechasser du pied G le pied D 2 battus relevant le pied D en l'air pour le poser à terre (6 pas) et chasser après du pied G le pied D pour faire 2 battus tenant le pied G en l'air et le poser à terre près du pied D (9 pas) avancerez le pied D en avant faisant un pas grave le mettant à terre et puis après ferez du pied G tout de même et ferez du pied D tout de même dont porterez le pied G faisant un pas grave en tournant devant la demoiselle la faisant reculer (13 pas) et commencerez à faire un fleuret²³ du pied D et un fleuret du pied G devant sa damoiselle comme elle reculera et un autre fleuret du pied D en vous détournant vous remettant en votre place et puis ferez du pied G mettant les 2 pieds ensemble ouvrant les 2 pointes des pieds faisant un petit saut (21 pas)³ pas relevez pour faire la fin du couplet (24 pas)

Steps are sometimes ornamented and, in various passages, *enchainments* of steps are repeated within the B section or couplet. There are also some exceptions to the basic and preceding structures whereby boundaries between sections A, B and C are crossed or broken, “jumping over” the end of the A section (in the 5th passage, for example), and cutting the beginning of the C coda (in the 3rd passage) where, as a result, we don't do the three usual final steps.

Space

We can see spatial figures in the *pavanne* that are new, unknown in *Orchésographie*.

While the lady seems generally to follow the man, performing the same steps in parallel, there are exceptions in two passages:

1. In the lateral progression (2nd passage), where the man and lady are facing each other and doing the steps left and right; and
2. in the 4th passage, where the lady goes backwards towards the *présence*, the man's progression causing her to move back (and the contrary for the *reprise*).

In the 2nd passage, when they go sideways as nothing is said for the lady, I propose two solutions:

1. if both take the same foot, they will turn round, so the lady can take the other foot to go ahead also
2. or they can take the symmetrical foot as in a similar Italian passage.

In the 5th passage, the man does two tours around himself in an *enchainment* of steps. We don't know if the lady does the same. In the 7th passage, we know that the couple does two tours together with the left arm, and the second time, when the passage is repeated on the other foot, the tour is done with the right arm.

Conclusion

Many of the problems of the *pavanne*'s reconstruction are clearly still not solved, especially as regards the reconstruction of the steps, the rhythm of the counted actions or steps with the music, and the lady's performance.

Furthermore, in terms of the performance itself, the *pavanne*—for one couple—could be danced as described in Arbeau,¹³ with at least one couple at each side of the room, going forward and then turning back, or changing foot and moving backwards. It is also possible that several couples dance in a processional file.

With the *Instruction*'s *pavanne*, a new style is offered here that seems both fluid and full of contrasts, between smooth steps and bounds, ornamented steps, danced in simple or compound meter, and with new spatial relations between the man and lady, with turns, and different body orientations.

There is a sort of technical virtuosity required to do the changes between steps like *battus* and *fleurets*, and to perform other elaborate steps, to go fast and light, smooth and flowing. It makes us understand and physically feel the refined evolution of the steps and style from Arbeau to De Lauze, in the direction of the *belle danse*.

The *Pavana* in Iberian Sources (Carles Mas i Garcia)

My paper is a comparative analysis of five different categories of the *pavana* that are found in Iberian documentary sources, both Catalan and Spanish. This paper also proposes a possible identification of the *pavaniglia*, as the Italians now know it, and to distinguish it from the processional, regular, and symmetrical *pavane* in slow tempo, the most common or canonical form of the *pavane* in 16th-century French or Italian practice.

The *pavane* is a processional dance in slow tempo that assumed a very stable form during the 16th century.¹⁴ Arbeau describes this kind of regular *pavane* in close proximity to his description of the almost outmoded *basse danse*. After reading this and other historical sources, and practicing the described dances, it is clear that the 16th-century *pavane* replaced the 15th- and 16th-century *basse danses* in the various processional and social functions.

This common French *pavane*, or Italian *pavana*, often has a regular musical and choreographic phrasing (*in principio* ...) that consists of [(simple + simple) + (double)] + [(simple + simple) + (double)].¹⁵ But, just as the *basse danse* in Arbeau's descriptions can be regular, canonical, or not,¹⁶ many musical scores can be found with *pavanes* that display a different phrasing or structure.¹⁷ The "pavane commune et régulière" (as we use to say in keeping with the concept formulated by Arbeau) is rare in Iberian musical sources and seems completely absent from the Iberian choreographic sources known to us.¹⁸

Following Arbeau's descriptions, there is another way to vary the *pavane* genre, after using the *commun* structure (*pavane commune et régulière*) or the asymmetrical structure

(*pavane coupée*), namely through the dynamic variation of the tempo. This seems to be the source both of the *passamezzo* and the *Pavane d'Espagne*. When the *pavane* is played with a more *legière mesure*, and with the same division of the beat that is used in the *basse danse* (but in the rhythmical structure of the *pavane*), this is called *Passe meze*. In the same manner (according to Arbeau in 1588), another dance had recently been introduced (a *pavane* played in a more moderate tempo) called the “*Pavane d'Espagne*.”¹⁹

The five versions of the *Pavana* that follow come from Iberian sources and correspond to the latter genre (which always displays a particular bass or harmonic line), i.e., that referred to as the *Pavane d'Espagne* by Arbeau or *pavaniglia* by the Italian masters (the diminutive name possibly stemming from the tempo or the diminutions of the steps and music).

1. The *Pavana* in “de l’Hospital” or Tarragó manuscript

The first purely choreographic description we have of the *pavana*, *pavaniglia*, or *pavane d'Espagne* in the countries of the Iberian Peninsula is, in my opinion, in the final choreographies of the so-called “de l’Hospital” or Tarragó manuscript. This document is of uncertain date, is written in the Catalan language, and is an interesting example of the practice of dance by one or more dancing masters. Even if only a single folio has been preserved (unfortunately mutilated at an unknown point of time to make a book cover, which however also assured its preservation), this manuscript records eighteen representative choreographies by a Catalan master²⁰ of the late 16th century. It contains oral (or “literary”) descriptions (with the name of the movement and numbers to indicate the quantity, or choreographic descriptions (with real choreographic signs and numbers for the quantity). Some choreographies offer mixed descriptions using the two systems to indicate alternations, replies, or other details that are difficult to express in symbols. And only one of these descriptions is given in the two systems, with some interesting details.

Table 1 summarizes of the content, with the abbreviations O (oral), C (choreographic) for the two possible systems of description, and compl(ete) or inc(omplete) to indicate the state of the choreography.²¹

In earlier studies and papers,²² I have already discussed the documentation of the dances practiced in Catalonia in the late 15th²³ and early 16th centuries,²⁴ and proposed a hypothesis of a certain continuity over several centuries of a tradition of writing with choreographic symbols. This tradition of script reappears, adapted in form but certainly with the same practical purpose, in the choreographic papers, published and manuscript, that are associated with the traditional Catalan folk dance known as *Contrapàs*.²⁵ This tradition of symbolic choreographic script was probably developed and handed on in the milieu of Catalan dancing masters, who, in the years of the probable redaction of the “de l’Hospital” manuscript, were already numerous and organized in the Confraternity of Musicians and Dancing Masters (founded in the Principality of Catalonia in 1592).²⁶

Ms. de l'Hospital or Tarragó	Name of dance	Description O(ral)/literary	Description C(horeographic)	compl.	inc.
1	(?)	O			inc.
2	Soyba	O			inc.
3	lalta (l'alta)	O			inc.
4	francazeta	O			inc.
5	Esperança	O		compl.	
6	Peu de xivau	O		compl.	
7	Valentiana	O		compl.	
8	Contrapas	O		compl.	
9	Sancto tome	O		compl.	
10	Dama de valor	O		compl.	
11	Gentil cavaleiro	O		compl.	
12	francesa la Velal	O		compl.	
13	esparanca		C	compl.	
14	cativo		C	compl.	
15	la quim vol be		C	compl.	
16	Royero		C	compl.	
17	pavana		C	compl.	
18	lo balle(t)		C		inc.

Table 1: The dances of “de l’Hospital” or Tarragó manuscript.
Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Barcelona, manuscrit M. 1410/2.
Known as “Carta de dances, procedent de l’Hospital de la Sta. Creu”

Almost all the choreographic signs in the “de l’Hospital” manuscript can be interpreted thanks to the obvious connection with the two different systems used in the two distinct folios of the Cervera manuscript.²⁷ Careful study of this notation,²⁸ which I refer to as Catalan dance notation (since it is found only in documents written in the Catalan language), displays at least three subsequent stages in the graphic notation of the movements of the main steps of the “Catalan” *bassedanze* or *balletti*.

In Cervera (a), Cervera (b), and “de l’Hospital,” we find a clear use of choreographic symbols and abbreviations for the *reuerentia* (*riverenza*), *continencas* [*continenças*] (*continenze*), *passos* (*sempij*), *represes* (*riprese*), and *seguits* (*seguiti o doppij*) that are very similar in all three sources. The “de l’Hospital” manuscript reveals a particular development or variant of this Catalan notation in comparison to the two 15th-century stages, for several times we find a *seguit*, also even groups of two or three *seguits* indicated with segments of equal length,²⁹ with circles or other curved lines that undoubtedly indicate that they are to be done while turning (as expressed in the text 2. *seguits voltats* in the dance *Esperança*).

It should be remembered here that the first mention of the *seguit*, in the context of the *baixes danses* repertoire, is found in the Cervera manuscript, which probably dates from the end of the 15th century. That is to say, several years before the term *doppio* (of the 15th-century *basse dance*) was replaced in the usage of the Italian masters by the *seguito* more commonly used in the dances of the 16th century.³⁰

In any case, below this opening we find six *mudances*, vertically aligned, of a single *pavana* (Arabic numerals 1—6) and a phrase that always starts the same. I am of the opinion that this is to be read in the order

R (reverentia) ij p^a (dos passos) continença[s] [ç]alt,

followed by six differently notated *mudances*, and therefore to danced

1. R (reverentia) ij p^a (dos passos) continença[s] [ç]alt + 4 seguits + [ç]alt
2. R (reverentia) ij p^a (dos passos) continença[s] [ç]alt + 14 (passos breus? little steps?) + [ç]alt
3. R (reverentia) ij p^a (dos passos) continença[s] [ç]alt + (3 + 3 + 3 + 2 passos? costadets? with seguit rhythm?) + [ç]alt
4. R (reverentia) ij p^a (dos passos) continença[s] [ç]alt + (signs of 4 floretes?) + (wave with 5 or 6 dips: carrerilla?) + [ç]alt
5. R (reverentia) ij p^a (dos passos) continença[s] [ç]alt + (signs of 4 sideways seguits? 4 costadets?) + [ç]alt
6. R (reverentia) ij p^a (dos passos) continença[s] [ç]alt + (signs of carrerilla? wave longer than that of the fourth mudança?) + [ç]alt

Bearing in mind (and in body!) the *mudances* of the *pavana* that we have danced for several years (by Jaque and Minguet, as well as most of the Italian and French versions), I am absolutely convinced, and choreographically certain, that the *pavana* of the “de l’Hospital” manuscript is a further and perhaps very old version of the *pavaniglia* that was so famous throughout Europe in the late 16th century and for many decades afterwards.

The recurrent structure that the *pavaniglia* almost always presents has already been discussed with other examples: an introduction of twelve beats (in six measures with two beats each), a diminished development of twelve beats (also in six measures with two beats each), ornamented, varied during each *mudança* and a *cadenza redoubled*, a total of four beats done twice (two + two beats in two measures), which confirms the return to the musical *finalis* or tonic.

Although there may have some doubt about the order in which the first movements of each *mudança* should be read, it is easy to see that a phrase containing

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{R (reverentia)} & + & \text{two passos}^{31} & + & \text{continências} & + & [\text{ç}]\text{alt} \\ (4\text{t}) & + & 2\text{t} + 2\text{t} & + & 1\text{t} + 1\text{t} & + & 2\text{t} \end{array}$$

can be inserted into a phrase of twelve beats (or six measures)!³²

The ornamented part of the first *mudança* clearly contains four *seguits* that fit perfectly to the 12+4 beats (in 6+2 measures, with two beats each measure) of the varied central part, which in the earlier versions adds the first “false” cadence (measures 13+14) to the end of the development of the central phrase of the *mudança*, the second *cadenza ribattuta* or *redoubled* being danced only with *salti* + *cadenza* (measures 15+16). We shall see later that other versions of *mudances* (cf. Jaque) already have a first cadence in measures 13+14, which is answered with a cadencing refrain (for all the *mudances*) in the second final cadence, measures 15+16.

It is true that the indication at the end of each *mudança* is only [ç]alt, i.e., “salt,” singular, not plural (when, in fact, other versions have up to two or three jumps—*pieds joints*,

pied en l'air droit, pied en l'air gauche, pied en l'air droit, pieds joints, etc.). Here, I would gladly return to reading the signs above, with the *continências* and final *çalt*, whereby the doubled cadence so characteristic of the end of the *Pavane d'Espagne* would be confirmed.³³

We shall see later, when comparing structures, that this *pavana* from the “de l’Hospital” manuscript has elements in common with the Italian and French versions, but mostly to those of 17th-century Iberia. Moreover, that our imaginary and hypothetical Catalan dancing master (perhaps Tarragó himself?), who transcribed or collaborated in the writing of this document towards the end of 16th century, shared with other masters and probably with many dancers the pleasure that this dance form offers those who try to learn it and to maintain its nature as a dance open to more or less virtuosic variation, open to the ornamentation of the *mudances* and to musical diminutions.

The *pavana* in “médiocre” time,³⁴ based on the same characteristic bass line as the *pavaniglia*, was undoubtedly a genre well suited to measured ornamentation, so that it proved to be appropriate for gradually learning of the difficulties of the *mudances*, for progressively combining the vocabulary of movements as the dancing master teaches us the steps, style, and variations. A window open to improvisation and measured freedom, and hence a dance popular for centuries!

In analyzing Jaque’s *pavana*, and comparing it to the popular forms, it is obvious that this dance enables one to repeat and learn each step type easily, thanks to an ordered, dynamic, and measured repetition in the tempo of the same movement, done several times. And it is precisely with this pattern of repetition of the same step that it has been transmitted orally in the tradition of folk dance in village squares, especially for ceremonial and ritualized festive occasions and in a specific geographical area of Catalonia. This *pavana* was so famous and effective because it is a musical form and dance genre perfectly suited to the desire to hand on an artistic practice in a dynamic and progressive fashion, and a well-ordered teaching tool. I think this is the desire and a specialty of many dance teachers, and one that I personally share.

2. The *Pavana* at the time of the *danza de escuela* and Esquivel

The little treatise on the art of dancing by Juan de Esquivel Navarro, *Discursos sobre el arte del danzado*, published in Seville in 1642, is the main source for the interpretation of the 17th-century *danzar de escuela*, literally, “school (or academic) dancing.” Not only are the descriptions of the movements the most comprehensive in all of the 17th-century Iberian sources, but also the chapters explaining the artistic genealogy of the 17th-century dancing masters, from the masters of the royal court down to the many masters working in the major cities of the Iberian peninsula, tell of the dissemination of “school” style throughout the peninsula, as successor, to a large extent, to the genres of Renaissance dance, to dance structures, the vocabulary of movements, a thought-out course of teaching, and stylization of dance.

Esquivel takes the opportunity and introduces a brief explanation of the *Pavana* to speak of the nature of *passos*, i.e., of natural steps “such as those one takes walking down the street without thinking about it,” and of *dobles*.³⁵ He also reminds us of which foot to start the dance with. He confirms for us that the *pavana* (or *pavana*), i.e., the *Pavaniglia* (for there is practically no other *Pavana* treated in the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Iberian treatises), falls into the category of dances in which *mudanzas* are done beginning with the left foot, and are undone beginning with the right foot.

In his treatise Esquivel does not aim to give choreographies, indeed he gives us descriptions of the vocabulary of steps and details specific to some dance, such as his description of the particular *Reverence del Villano* or the style that must be followed in making movements, avoiding certain defects so as to satisfy the aesthetic standards of good “school dancing.” Here is practically everything he says on the *pavana*:

The *Pavana* begins with the left foot, and *four Passos accidentales* [going forward], two *Vazios*, and a *Rompido* [cadenza] with the left[,] *Carrerilla* [“scorsa”...], and another *Rompido* [cadenza] with the right [foot], [after] with seven odd *passos estraños* [back], of which four are *Graves*, and three *breves*, and [then] the *Reverencia*. The *mudanzas* begin with the left, and are undone by the right. [...] And all the *mudanzas* and the executions and have their *Disfatti*; except *Folias*, *Rey and Villano*, which do not get undone, although nowadays Antonio de Vurgos undoes them through without this having been taught him, and were I a master, only in teaching those undoings I would do differently from all others.³⁶

3. The *Pavana* of Juan Antonio Jaque (17th/18th century)

The choreographies of master Juan Antonio Jaque come down to us in two copies of a hypothetical original, both from the 19th century. It would seem that the great musicologist Barbieri was right when he transcribed one of these copies in 1881 and, speaking of the original, which is no longer extant, declared the script to be that of the last quarter of the 17th century.³⁷ Other than these choreographies, which encompass the whole vocabulary of 17th-century school dancing,³⁸ including technically virtuosic *intrate* and *mudanzas* for *pavana*, *gallarda*, *jácara*, *folias*, *billano*, and *Las Paradetas*, nothing is known about Jaque.

Leaving the details of the dating of the manuscript and of the work of this Castilian master to other studies, I would like to touch upon a few problems arising from a desire, born thirty years ago and still alive, to attain a coherent and satisfactory pairing of the choreographies to the music. In the case of the *pavana*, and in contrast to other dance genres from the 16th to 19th centuries, versions and variations of every kind are very frequently found in Catalonian music manuscripts, particularly in compilations by violinists and organists. Indeed, in the 19th century it was still transcribed as popular dance music, even if associated with the emotional charge of ceremonial dance. In the oral tradition, popular forms of this dance have been transcribed by folklorists since around 1850, and it is still present in the oral and more or less “folklorized” Catalan tradition.

The structure of Jaque's *Pavana*

The general structure of Jaque's *Pavana* (fig. 2), although very close to the *entrada* described by Esquivel, allows more “freedom” with the phase that I refer to as the *presentation* (P).

The Presentation (P)

The choreography of the *mudanças* seems to use this first period of music (measures 1—5 or 6) as a real “presentation” of the material of the movement, a discourse “in movement” that will develop in the central part of the *mudança*.

The first of Jaque's *mudança* decreases the four slow steps characteristic of the early versions of the *pavana*, of Esquivel's *entrada*, and that of Jaque himself, which present their diminutions in phrases composed of *floretas* and *salto + encaxe*. These movements are proportionally more frequent during the whole *mudança*. It is in this sense that I use the term presentation “of the material” that is to be developed in the *mudança*. This reminds us of the usage of calling this first variation “the *mudança* of the *fioretti*.”³⁹ Other *mudanças* in Jaque's set of eight seem to intensively develop two or three elements of the vocabulary of the *danza de escuela* style in every *mudança*.

I think this is really a “compositional” model in accord with both the pedagogical and virtuoso aim of this “school” repertoire. To put it another way, it is a structural element that was to develop a true form of music and of dance, the genre of “theme and variations,” in which one finds pedagogical interest and order ably mixed with virtuoso effectiveness.

I believe that the relatively new form of dance and music of the *pavaniglia* genre came into being as early as the 16th century. It seems to have developed out of the very old idea of the *fiorire*, of the embellishment of the dance and music, and that pedagogical use brought about the emergence of the form “with variations or *mudances*.” In any case, the *pavana mudances* seem to confirm the occurrence, in the late 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, of a matching of form and function, the main quality that made it a popular dance throughout Europe for centuries.

The Mudanza (M)

The central parts of each *mudança* always develop out of a certain desire to decrease frontal movement, which is already reduced to a minimum in the *entrada*. Forward movement continues, with phrases that diminish the idea of the forward *carrerilla* by going a few steps back, but the general rule is that of phrases that go forward ... toward the teacher, as explained by Esquivel.

If in the presentation of the *mudança* the *floreta* and *salto + encaxe* are announced, then the central part of the same *mudança* phrases are composed with *carrerillas* forward and *floretas* in great density and speed of diminution, and the element *salto + encaxe* presented as a *salto atrás con un pie + encaxe con el otro*, varied as *salto en buelta + encaxe*, which is a variation of direction or of space of the same kinetic element. A spatial variation.

Pabana
La entrada

cuatro Pasos empezando con el Pie
Izquierdo: Bacio con el mismo: otro
con el derecho: otro con el Izquierdo: Cam-
panela: Carrerilla y media: Bacio
con el derecho: Campanela: Paso a tras
con el Izquierdo: otro paso a tras con el
derecho: otro con el Izquierdo: otro con
el derecho: Dos Pasos breves y Hamita
con el Izquierdo: Coxia con el mismo:

Prim. Mudanza

Florita con el Izquierdo: otra con el derecho:
Salto a tras con el Izquierdo: en casa con el

Figure 2:

JAQUE: Libro de danzar. Detail of Pabana

In these *mudanzas* we thus find a certain consistency in the use of vocabulary, which undoubtedly makes it easier to progressively teach the vocabulary and the characteristic forms of school dance at the same time. This structural logic fits well to the dance lesson developed by the teacher. Esquivel's descriptions of the teaching method "in the schools" make me think that this repertory—organized in *intrate* and *mudanzas*, and taught progressively (after the *intrata*, one or two *mudanzas* of each dance, etc.)⁴⁰—may perhaps have been done without practicing preparatory "exercises," except perhaps those that were already intended for the practice of the movements of a concrete phrase of the *mudanza*.⁴¹

The large number and quality of the movements to be done in the *mudanzas* does not seem to leave too much room for adding more ornaments. These choreographies seem to be virtuoso models, far removed from improvisation, worked out and fixed by teachers who thought of dance as a personal and individual teaching of choreographic difficulties and of excellence.

Back and forth ... and final Cadenza redoubled (C1 + C2)

Jaque's *mudanzas* therefore seem to reflect the basic structure of the old 16th-century *pavaniglia*, intensifying the density of the movements, and filling with step diminutions even the part of the *presentation* (P) that is only respected in the nature of its *passi gravi* or *simples* during the *entrada*. The two final cadences, however, are almost always respected, at least the second, double cadence that, after the *salto + encaxe, y rompido* of the first false ending, always retreats two steps back in the resonance of the backward "strange" space (*extraño*) of the end of the *entrada*.

I also believe that the most virtuoso *mudanzas*, such as the last, have a structure preferred by the master. In fact, the eighth *mudanza*, perhaps the densest of all, has after the presentation three *capriole* following on one another—*buelta al descuydo*, *carrerillas*, *reverencia cortada*, *planta al cuadrado*, *buelta de pechos*, *salto en buelta*—when it lets us breathe a little with the cadencing refrain of the end, which is always done with *rompido* and two steps back, as in all *mudanzas*. This match between form and practical and educational function is always to be found (see Comparative table in the Appendix).

4. Minguet's *Pavana*

I shall not dwell very long on an analysis of the *mudanzas* of the *pavana* that Minguet describes in his publications (fig. 3). Their construction and the vocabulary they use remind us so much of Jaque's, although it often seems that he provides less detail.

A simple reading of the texts reveals that Minguet, who published prints, books, and writings of every kind, shamelessly plagiarized all the descriptions of the movements

given by Esquivel as much as a century earlier! The *mudanzas* of the *pavana* described by Minguet are not the same as Jaque's, but do not represent major changes in this genre. Except for certain movements mentioned in a French-influence vocabulary, he mostly offers examples of the school repertoire from the 17th century, and even extending to the second half of the 18th century, from 1735 to 1764.

Minguet is perhaps the first to specify the name of each *mudanza* in the *pavana*, citing the steps or movements found most frequently in it: "Mudanza primera de las Floretas," "Mudanza segunda los Saltos, y Encages," "Mudanza tercera de los Saltos, y Cruzados," "Mudanza quarta del Sacudido, y Carrerilla," etc.

Various 18th- and 19th-century musicians' notebooks contain transcriptions of the *pavana*, sometimes in a preferential position in the ordering of the pieces, or sometimes already relegated to the end of the collection, after some 379 minuets.⁴²

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el izquierdo fuera, el sombrero puesto sobre la cabeza, y haciendo lo que se sigue.

Un passo grave con el pie izquierdo, otro con el derecho, otro con el izquierdo, otro con el derecho, un bacio con el pie izquierdo, un rompido con el derecho, carrerilla, un bacio con el mismo pie, y plantarse con el izquierdo fuera, un passo atras con el dicho pie, otro con el derecho, otro con el izquierdo, otro con el derecho, un passo mediano atras, y breve con el izquierdo, otro con el derecho, y plantarse con el izquierdo fuera, quitándose el sombrero con la mano derecha, y hacer la cortesia, y plantarse otra vez, pasando el sombrero à la mano izquierda para empezar la mudanza.

Mudanza primera de las Floretas.

En todas estas mudanzas, hechas, y desechas ha de tener el Danzante la cabeza descubierta, y el sombrero con la mano izquierda, y caidos los brazos naturalmente, empezando los movimientos que se siguen.

Una Floreta con el pie izquierdo, otra con el derecho, salto, y encage con el izquierdo, y floreta, otro salto, y encage con el derecho, y passo adelante, una campanela con el pie izquierdo allado, una buelta al descuido con el derecho, cargados con el izquierdo, un passo adelante con el derecho, un cruzado con el izquierdo, un passo atras con el derecho, una floreta con el izquierdo, otra con el derecho, un salto, y encage con el pie izquierdo, un rompido con el derecho, y carrerilla, un passo atras con el derecho, otro con el izquierdo.

Aquí

Aquí el desecho.

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Esto es, que así como en las mudanzas, se empieza con el pie izquierdo à hacerlas, todas las segundas se hacen con el pie derecho; aora se han de hacer al contrario, empezando las mismas que se han hecho con el pie izquierdo, hacerlas con el derecho, y las que se han empezado, ò hecho con el pie derecho, hacerlas con el izquierdo: esto es lo que se debe observar quando se dice. El desecho.

Mudanza segunda de los Saltos, y Encages.

Un Salto, y encage con el pie izquierdo, y floreta, otro salto, y encage con el derecho, y floreta al medio, un bacio con el pie izquierdo, otro con el derecho, un cargado atras con el derecho, un sacudido con el izquierdo, y campanela atras con el mismo pie, un salto, y encage con el izquierdo, un bacio con el mismo pie, un rompido con el derecho, y carrerilla, un passo atras con el derecho, otro passo atras con el izquierdo. El desecho.

Mudanza tercera de los Pasos.

Un Passo con el izquierdo, otro con el derecho, un salto, y encage con el izquierdo allado izquierdo, un bacio con el izquierdo, una campanela con el derecho, un salto, y encage en buelta con el izquierdo, una reverencia cortada con el mismo pie, una campanela, y salto al lado con el izquierdo, otra campanela con salto allado con el derecho, otra campanela con el pie izquierdo, un sacudido con passo adelante con el izquierdo, otro passo con el derecho, un sacudido con el izquierdo, y passo, otro passo con el derecho, una llamada atras con el izquierdo, y, car-

re.

re.

Figure 3:

MINGUET È IROL: *Arte de danzar a la francesa*, pp. 54f.: Detail of *Pavana*

5. The *Pavana* in Catalan traditional dance.

On teaching dance, on how to learn the movements of the style, on the repetition of the same movement, and on folk practices

In *school dancing*, we often find choreographic phrases composed with a great variety of movements. One hardly ever does the same movement or the same series of linked movements more than twice. Although each *mudanza* seems to have a different choreographic “color” because of the higher frequency of one or two movements (cf. the *mudanza per fioretti*, or the *mudanza delle capriole*, the *mudanza degli scorsi*, etc.), the *mudances* of *pavana*, as well as those of *folias*, *villano*, or *Xàquera*, link so many different steps without ever repeating the same movement more than two or three times.

In the Catalan folk tradition, and in particular in the dances that present the *pavana*, the oral tradition teaches us that every *genre* of dance uses a *small set of steps* that organize the necessary cadential structure of phrases and the spatial design of group figures. But some folk practices offer dances with a very complex development compared to the metrics of their parts, even when using the same categories of steps: a kind of specialization of all genres of dance, referring the complexity back to the structure of the genre. This kind of choreographic form, is absent in academic practices.

Taking this analysis further, we see that the folk tradition and the academic or *dansar d'escola* tradition diverge mainly in these formal structures of the repertoire: each style cultivates complexity in a different formal aspect (see Comparative table in the Appendix).

While a school choreography uses all the steps and movements of the style in a single *pavana with mudances*, popular tradition instead prefers almost the opposite distribution: every genre of dance has a small vocabulary of steps, when it is not only a main and single step. But at the same time processes for joining together different dances often develop, linked by the same festive use, and with different social functions. We do not know whether this process, in the case of folk dances, was already shaped in this way in earlier centuries, but oral tradition, and social function in very large areas of Catalonia, speak of a ritual purpose for social gatherings, at least around the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, that often encouraged a practice of dance in the popular form of a “suite.”⁴³

In our folk dance, which has orally transmitted danced versions to the music of the *pavana*, we see that this kind of ceremonial dance usually offers neither complexity nor great diversity within the main phrase of the dance when the latter is musically repetitive. But it seems as if the diversity of steps and movements is in some way “distributed” in the collective repertoire: each dance uses at most one or two basic movements, which are often done during a whole musical part. Thus, the *pavana* found in certain ceremonial dances can be a group dance, a circle dance, a couple dance, and while the music is being played, the men do the same series of steps in front of their partners: *espolsat* (a “composite” movement, in the vocabulary of the Catalan dance school around 1701, consisting of the *floreta + espolsat* in Catalan, *floreta + sacudido* in Spanish). The woman does another basic step, the *punt pla*, often considered as the basic step for women in many dances.⁴⁴

And the end of the musical part is marked by the *volta* or turn that both do on the spot, before marking the musical cadenza with a *salutació puntejada* forwards, or by the *rístol* that the man makes to the woman (giving her his raised hand and having her turn under the arch of their linked arms, turning himself before both do the *saluto punteggiato*).

Change of the male partner often occurs in this kind of folk *pavana* in Catalonia and, by settled tradition, each man must *espolsar* in front of each couple. And even though one may think that the rhythmic motor of the movements is the same, and that the steps are the same, we know that this kind of *pavana* was, before undergoing the many folkloristic changes that tend to leveling, also an opportunity to make more or less studied changes or more or less free improvisation, according to the skill, capabilities and culture of the dancers.

Up to the 20th century the *pavana* had, within these cycles of folk dances, a great reputation as a virtuoso display dance. It was the chief dance for showing off in the square in front of the whole community—which makes one think a great deal of the display conception of the *danza di scuola* from the 16th century up to the 19th century and beyond ...

Conclusion

The different terms we find in the vocabulary of the dancing school, in comparison to the usages handed on by the oral tradition of the 19th and 20th centuries, teach us that we can in no way continue thinking in terms of the 20th-century folkloristic cliché according to which courtly dance and folk dance were two totally separate worlds. Instead of passing on this sort of banality *ad aeternum*, I think we should strive, in the small and often self-sufficient world of dance history research, for real, responsive, and practical knowledge of all forms of dance, with an approach that is both practical and ethnomusicological.

The direct influence that certain dancing teachers may have had on Catalan folk tradition has been demonstrated most directly by the names and periods of activity of the dancing masters of the 17th and 18th centuries in cities that experienced or still practice dancing to the music of the *pavana* or the *spagnoletto* through oral tradition.

In our local neighborhoods at least, courtly, cultivated, school dance, or that simply reworked by the masters of the 17th and 18th century, seems to have been very close to the folk practices that were spread and handed down by oral tradition. It has been documented that these teachers were usually in direct contact with all the levels of society.⁴⁵

The discourse concerning the extreme gap between courtly, aristocratic practices and folk practices, rather than that of patterning a style on the models of another style, though with a fund of myth and legend—therefore with some element of truth—is barren and futile in the long run. Let us instead make a more serious analysis of dance forms that match their functions, and we shall see that, in the transmission of dance and culture, those who want to set up barriers between folk practices and those of the “school” have other ideological interests.

Translation by Michael Sullivan

Concluding Remarks and Questions (Barbara Sparti)

In conclusion, I am sure that after these presentations, there are many questions. Among the more general questions—which we, the presenters—also have are the following:

- Why was the danced *pavaniglia* so popular—across countries (Italy, France, Germany, and Iberia) and generations (ca. 1570–1620)?
- Why is the *pavaniglia* always presented as a discrete dance (to the same tune) rather than—like the *canario* and *gagliarda*—an example of variations, to any appropriate music of 16 bars?

Other questions, the first of which I think may have been answered in part by the different versions we have, are:

- Were the choreographed *pavaniglia/pavana* variations fixed (mandatory) or were they conceived as inspirations for individual invented variations—as is the case, for example, for Santucci’s *gagliarda mutanze* of two or more tempi?
- How is this question connected to that of the dance’s “function” or “context”—in a dancing school, for example?
- Or as a social dance for the ball performed by various couples?
- Do we see a resemblance between Santucci’s solo *mutanze* and Jaque’s “academic” *pavana*?
- Was the *pavaniglia* a vehicle for teaching or performing technical virtuosity?

Notes

- 1 CAROSO: *Il ballarino*, carta [fol.] 37r.
- 2 Published after Caroubel’s death. Caroubel collaborated with Praetorius at the court of the Duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel.
- 3 There seem to be discrepancies in the Italian versions between the choreographic and musical durations of the *riverenza-continenze* in this first playing. This is also true for the *passi* and *riverenza* of the finale, which are avoided and thus solved in Santucci’s second version.
- 4 With thanks to Louis Taurines and Barbara Sparti.
- 5 PRAETORIUS, dedication to *Terpsichore* (1612). Cited in Angene Feves’s Introduction to the *Instruction pour dancer*, p. 29.
- 6 This resembles Arbeau’s version except that it is a true choreography with three dancers and, in my opinion, figures in the Italian manner.
- 7 ARBEAU: *Orchésographie*, p. 33. Trans. Mary Stewart Evans.

- 8 DE BOURDEILLES: *Discours sur la reine de France et de Navarre*, fol. 58v. Paris, BNF, Département des manuscrits, français 14343. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9061502t/f60.image>.
- 9 After consulting the step rules in Negri's, Caroso's, and Santucci's treatises.
- 10 "Et pour la prolonger fault recommencer tant de fois qu'il plaît aux joueurs d'instruments ou aux danceurs" ("And to prolong it, these can be repeated as many times as the musicians or dancers please"). ARBEAU: *Orchésographie*, fol. 32v. Trans. Mary Stewart Evans.
- 11 See the 3rd, 5th, 6th, and 7th *passages*. Occasionally this fixed *partie* is incorporated within the *enchaînement* of the next steps.
- 12 Except in the 3rd passage, which leaves out the last three *pas relevés* because the *couplet* goes over the final refrain.
- 13 "et quand on l'a dancee en marchant en avant pour le premier passage, il la fault retrograder en desmarchant, puis continuant le meme air, on fait avec aultres nouveaulx mouvements le second passage, puis les aultres consequemment, lesquels vous pourrez apprendre tout a loisir" ("And after it has been dances moving forwards in the first passage one must then move backwards and retrace one's steps. Afterwards a second passage with new movements is performed to the same melody and the remaining passages, which you can learn at your leisure, follow in turn"). ARBEAU: *Orchésographie*, fol. 96v. Trans. Mary Stewart Evans.
- 14 "Premierement je vous donneray une pavane avec le battement du tabourin en mesure binaire pesant" ("First I shall give you a pavan with the tabor rhythm in slow duple time"). ARBEAU: *Orchésographie*, fol. 29v. Trans. Mary Stewart Evans.
- 15 "La pavane est facile à dancier, car il n'y a que deux simples & un double, en marchant & savanceant. Et deux simples & un double en reculant & desmarchant" ("The pavan is easy to dance as it is merely two *simples* and one *double* forward and two *simples* and one *double* backward"). *Ibid.*, fol. 29r. Trans. Mary Stewart Evans.
- 16 "Il y avoit deux sortes de basses dances les unes communes & regulieres les aultres irregulieres. Les regulieres estoient appropriées aux chansons regulieres & les irregulieres aux chansons irregulieres. / *Capriol*. Qu'appelés vous chansons communes & regulieres. / *Arbeau*. Les musiciens d'alors composoient leurs chansons de seize mesures qu'ils repetoient, & ainsi estoient trente deux mesures pour le commencement: & pour la mediation mectoient seize mesures, & sur la fin seize mesures repetées qui faisoient trente deux mesures, ainsi en tous estoient quatrevingtz mesures, dont la basse dance commune & reguliere estoit composee: Et si d'aventure l'air de la chanson passoit ces octante mesures, la basse-dance jouée sur icelle, estoit appelée irreguliere" ("There are two kinds of basse dance, one common and regular, the other irregular. The regular one was set to a tune in like form and the irregular one to an irregular tune. / *Capriol*: What do you mean by common and regular tunes? / *Arbeau*: The musicians of that time composed their ballads in sixteen bars which they repeated, making thirty-two bars for the beginning, and for the middle section they wrote sixteen bars, and for the end sixteen bars with a repetition. Thus, the common and regular basse dance contained eighty bars. And if it happened that the ballad exceeded these eighty bars the basse dance performed to it was called irregular"). *Ibid.*, fols. 24v–25r. Trans. Mary Stewart Evans.
- 17 In analyzing and teaching these asymmetrical forms of *pavane*, we differentiate these structures, specifying the "pavane commune et régulière" as the regular form described by Arbeau, and the "pavane coupée" as the asymmetrical form, even though Arbeau does not use these terms in connection with the *pavane*. However, by doing so, we can use the same concept, allowing us to classify the dances in genres, such as *Branle double commun*, *Branles coupés*, or *Branles de Champagne coupés*, according to their symmetrical or asymmetrical structure. *Allemandes* can also be "communes" or "coupées," as can some airs and phrases of *gavottes*. Musical sources very often present non-canonical structures in melodies of *basses danses*, *pavanes*, *allemandes*, and *gavottes*; in such cases they are all *coupées*.

“De tous les branles cy dessus comme d’une source sont derivez & emannez certains branles composez, & entremeslez de doubles, de simples, de piedz en lair, de piedz jointz & saultz quelquesfois variez par intercalation de mesures diverses, pesantes ou legieres, selon que bon a semblé aux compositeurs & inventeurs. Les joueurs distumentz les appellent branles de Champagne coupeez” (“The various branles noted above represent the source from whence are derived certain other branles composed of a combination of *doubles*, *simples*, *pieds en l’air*, *pieds joints* and *saults*, sometimes varied by the insertion of miscellaneous bars, in slow or quick time, as it pleases the composers or inventors. The musicians call them mixed branles of Champagne”). Ibid., fols. 73v–74r. Trans. Mary Stewart Evans.

- 18 For that matter, the musical sources of the 16th century, if they do include some *pavanes*, are absolutely asymmetrical and irregular, and very different from the later French models (cf. the *Pavanes* of Lluís del Milà for vihuela). We don’t discuss here the enigmatic and difficult to reconstruct *Pavana Italiana* from the anonymous ms. *Reglas del Dançar*, found in Academia de la Historia, Misceláneas M.S.S. from Biblioteca Valleumbrosiana, tomo 25, fol. 149(v). The calligraphic style of this ms. seems to be from the 16th century, but a more precise dating is uncertain. Is this *Pavana Italiana* another version of the *pavaniglia*?
- 19 “Les joueurs d’instruments la sonnent aulcunes fois (*la pavane* [n.d.a.]) moins pesamment, & d’une mesure plus legiere, & par ce moyen elle se ressent de la mediocrité d’une basse-dance, & lappellons passe meze. Depuis peu de temps ils en ont apporté une qu’ils appellent la pavane d’Espagne, laquelle se dance decoupee avec diversité de gestes, & par ce qu’elle à quelque conformité avec la dance des Canaries, je ne vous en declareray point la mode de la dancier, jusques à ce que nous soyons en propos desdictes Canaries, seullement vous entendrez icy qu’il y à aulcuns danceurs, lesquels decoupent le double qui est aprez les deux simples [...]” (“The musicians sometimes play it more quickly to a lighter beat, and in this way it assumes the moderate tempo of a basse dance and is called the *passamezzo*. Recently another one has been introduced, called the Spanish pavan, in which the steps are rearranged with a variety of gestures, and, as it is somewhat similar to the dance known as the Canary, I shall not explain how it is performed until we are on the subject of the said Canary. Only you should be told now that some dancers divide up the *double* that follows the two *simples* [...]”). ARBEAU: *Orchésographie*, fol. 33r. Trans. Mary Stewart Evans.
- 20 Or of a group of dancing masters in the context of the Confraternity of Masters of Dance and Musicians of the Principality of Catalonia?
- 21 The transcription corresponds to the original spelling and capitalization.
- 22 MAS: *La baixa dansa al regne de Catalunya i Aragó al segle XV* and *Le più antiche notizie di bassa dança nei documenti catalani*.
- 23 “Manuscript of Cervera.” Historical Archive of the city of Cervera (Catalonia). It contains two different folios, A and B, of which the former can be dated to ca. 1496. The latter folio is of uncertain date; it is obvious that two different scribes worked on this manuscript, so that they were probably transcribed at two different dates.
- 24 Cf. “Manuscrit de l’Hospital”.
- 25 For a study dealing with this choreographic notation, see MAS: *Aproximació a la tècnica coreogràfica del contrapàs*.
- 26 Concerning the foundation and history of this confraternity, a complete transcription of the original document can be found in MAS: *En el 4t centenari de la fundació de la Confraria de Música i Mestres de Dansa del Principat de Catalunya* (as yet unpublished; for information, please contact the author). The original document and the study are both in Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (Historical Archive of the City of Barcelona), call number Gremis 77-1.
- 27 See note 23.
- 28 The visit by Barbara Sparti and her Renaissance Dance Group to Barcelona in 1982 was fundamental for my continuing this research on historic dance and the documentary sources. Her teaching gave purpose to a lifetime of research and practice of early dance.

29 Therefore, representative of steps of equal length, perhaps, in terms of duration in time or in space? In the *baixes danses* of the Cervera manuscript, the signs of *seguit* are composed of segments of different lengths (1 long and 2 shorts, or 2 longs and 1 short), which suggests both the duration in time and space and the length of the movements, but doing the *seguits* in *bassadanza* time. Are these 4 *seguits* of the “l’Hospital” version of the *pavana* therefore done in four beats (and two measures: 1-step R, 2-step L, 3-step R, 4-step [R] stay on the right foot and a suspension on the same)? If so, given the tempo of the *pavaniglia*, are these *seguits* equivalent to *dopij in quadernaria* or *doubles d’Allemande*?

30 It is an assumption commonly made (and somewhat “irresponsible”?) that the modern historiography of dance focuses solely on the dissemination of 15th- and 16th-century “Italian” and “French” dance throughout Europe as the only possibility of expansion of the practice of dance or the courtly repertoires of their masters. But I would like to express some doubt about this here, although the relative absence of documents and dance treatises in Spanish, Portuguese, Basque, and Catalan sources for those centuries does not allow us to conclusively rebut the idea. In other studies, I have already mentioned the notion, which cannot be proved at this time, that the relative absence of documents written by masters may also be due to the vitality of the oral transmission of the dance of a community or of a culture. And an ethnomusicological approach to the history of dance might be perhaps more useful in determining reciprocal influences and the expansion in practices and genres of western European dancing in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The transition made in vocabulary between the 14th and 15th centuries from *trobadors de danses* to *mestres de dansa*, documented by certain chronicles (for example, those mentioning Catalan *trobadors de danses* in the service of the court of Sicily), the fact that it appears that certain elements of the vocabulary of dance were first adopted in Catalan practices (cf. *seguit*; *costadet*?), and the development of a complex and original Catalan tradition of choreographic notation as early as the late 15th century, also makes one think of a mutual influence of Iberian tradition in general, more specifically Catalan, which may also have been relatively influential in the southern areas of the Italian peninsula considering the presence of the Kingdom of Catalonia and Aragon in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily during the 14th and 15th centuries, and perhaps even during the 16th century for the kingdoms north of the Italian peninsula.

31 Two steps *gravi, naturali* (not short, and in fact they are equivalent if this were a “normal” or processional 16th-century *pavane*, to two simples [without closing every simple] in *proportio dupla*: too fast to do them closing every simple). See the comments on the issue of the “tempo” of the *pavana*, the *pavane d’Espagne* or the *pavaniglia*. Notice how *passos graves* are very clearly distinguished from *passos breves* in the *pavana* of Esquivel and Jaque. In my opinion, the two *passos* found in the opening phrase of the “l’Hospital” *pavana* are *greus (gravi)*, or *llars* (as they are called in 1701), or *naturals* (a two-beat “measure” for every *pas*). And the *reverencia* could then also have the duration of two measures of two beats each.

32 If we question the reading of the letter R, and *continenças* and *salt* inserted in the line of the first *mudança*, the phrase of every *mudança* remains without dynamic solution. If we consider that the *reverència* should be done only the first time by way of greeting or presentation, following a very lineal interpretation of the manuscript(?), then one has to give the two *passos* a double duration of the *due passi gravi, greus, or naturali*: this is the case for the version transcribed by Arbeau, which begins by making two *simples* (closing the step and thus doubling the length). The sequence would thus be: *pas* (closing the simple, beats 1—4), *pas* (idem, beats 5—8), *continença* (9), *continença* (10), *salt* (11—12) ... and then the *mudança*.

33 In fact, every detail of this version of the *Pavane d’Espagne* transcribed in ARBEAU: *Orchésographie*, (*pieds joints, trois pieds en l’air [R, L, R] et pieds joints*), resembles what was to become two *continenças* (left + right, raising the free foot) and a cadence on the left, lifting the right foot and ending with feet together, everything in a somewhat skipping fashion. In Jaque’s *mudanças*, the first cadence is always preceded by *un salto atras + encaje*, plus a *rompido y planta*, that is a *salto in cadenza*, ending in *planta*, and then doubling the cadence with a *carrerilla* forward and *dos passos graves* back. This refrain, consisting of *salto atras + encaje* that announces the first *cadence* of measure 14, practically follows the structure of *due continenças + salt*, all done with bounds (on the spot or backwards).

- 34 Cf. ARBEAU: *Orchésographie*, fol. 96v: “Pavane d’Espagne se dance par mesure binaire mediocre” (“The Spanish Pavan is danced in moderate duple time”). Trans. Mary Stewart Evans. The issue of the tempo of this *pavana* or *pavaniglia* seems fundamental to understanding the relationship between the structure and tempo of the movement (integer, dupla) with respect to the musical cadences. This seems to result in at least three possible rhythmic relationships in the *pavaniglia*: the slowest one, which is a *simple* (i.e., a step and its closure) in two measures (cf. Arbeau’s *Pavane d’Espagne*); that, for example, of the *passos graves*, for Esquivel’s version (a *passo* in one measure); and that twice *dupla*, which decreases the relationship between music and movement: when one does *fioretti* or *fleurets*, one is doing a *doppio* in a single musical measure. To summarize: (1) a simple in two measures, (2) a simple in one measure, (3) a *doppio* in a measure.

I think that precisely this tempo “mediocre,” which Arbeau explains as appropriate for the *Pavane d’Espagne* (halfway between a tempo “largo”—slow, the canonical “common et régulière” *pavane* and its *proportio dupla*), is in practice the only choice of tempo that enables us to bodily, physically remain in a dance movement that can be felt as “continuous,” and dancing, depending on the version, in the three proportions mentioned. The undoubtedly virtuoso development of the *Pavana mudances* owes much to this creative instrument of ornamentation so dear to Renaissance dance: certain *mudances* seem to go beyond the third proportion mentioned when we are faced in the text with a notable density of movements in the phrases of the *mudances*. (For the theme of time proportions in the *Pavane d’Espagne* and its closeness to the tempo of the *Allemande*, cf. the comparative table in MAS/ROUSSEAU: *Tactus et Tempo des musiques à danser*.)

- 35 Cf. ESQUIVEL: *Discursos sobre el arte del dançado*, fol. 20v: “La calidad de los Passos la he dicho ya en los Dobles, que vienen a ser Passos: y el que los executare con descuido, como si se fuesse por la calle, los acertará.” (“The quality of the steps I have already explained in speaking of *doppio*, which are like *passi*: and he who will do them (the steps) nonchalantly, as if walking down the street, will succeed.”)
- 36 Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 20f.: “La Pavana se comienza con pie izquierdo, y con quatro Passos accidentales, dos Vazios, y un Rompido con izquierdo[.] Carrerilla, y otro Rompido co[n] el derecho, con Siete passos estraños, los quatro Graves, y tres breves, y la Reverencia. Comie[n]çase las mudanças con izquierdo, y deshazense con derecho. [...] Y todas las mudanças y execuciones tiene[n] sus Deshechos; menos Foliás, Rey, y Villano, que no está puesto en estilo deshazerlas; aunque oy las deshaze sin auerselo enseñado, Antonio de Vurgos. Y si yo huuiera de ser Maestro, solo inovàra a los demas en enseñar estos Deshechos.”
- 37 JAQUE: *Libro de danzar*.
- 38 And even the few elements of French dance contained in these choreographies makes one think of the dissemination in the Iberian Peninsula of the French *belle danse*. This thus suggests a date not far from 1700–1720 for those choreographed by Jaque. Cf. the chapter, by MAS: *L’expansió de la dansa d’escola*.
- 39 Cf. Minguet’s *La Pavana*.
- 40 Cf. ESQUIVEL: *Discursos sobre el arte del dançado*, fol. 30v: “El que dança el Alta, continúa la Efcuela en esta manera: Dança dos mudanças de Pauana, Gallarda, dos mudanças de Foliás, dos de Rey, dos de Villano, Chacona y Canario; y rematafe la Efcuela co[n] el Torneo, o el Pie de gibado, que es todo lo que se dança en Efcuelas.” (“The dancer who knows the Alta [dance], continues the school in this manner: he dances [learns] two mudanças of the Pavana, of the Gallarda, two mudanças of the Foliás, two of the Rey, two of the Villano, Chacona, and Canario; and finally he concludes the school with the Torneo or the Pie de Gibado, that is everything that is danced in schools”). Trans. Mary Stewart Evans.

- 41 When in the history of dance teaching did the idea of a preparatory exercise that is not directly equal to the concrete phrase of choreography make its appearance?
- 42 Manuscript M. 1452 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, compiled in 1736, can serve as an example of the case. It contains 379 minuets, ca. 150 other French-influenced dances, and only

twelve dances that belong to the tradition of the 17th-century dance school. For the dating of the change of fashion and dance repertoire in Catalonia between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, cf. MAS: *L'expansió de la dansa d'escola*.

- 43 It is precisely in these genres of linked dances, such as *l'Espolsada*, the *Ball de Gitanes*, *l'Entrada de Ball*, etc., that we find, often at the beginning of the suite and like a more or less fossilized historical cultural substrata, the part where the music is a *pavana* and where *floretes i espolsats* are done. Other dances come later, chronologically in the suite, and like so many superstrate of the chronology and history of western dance, the older dances are overlaid by other dances such of the *contredance* genre (which emerged in Catalan countries in the 18th century), or those for couples in closed position, such as the *polka* or the *mazurka* that appeared in the 19th century. Cf. MAS: *L'expansió de la dansa d'escola*.
- 44 The *punt pla* can certainly be regarded as both a variant of the *sempio* made up of diminutions, and as a variant of the *fioretto*. Which variant is used will depend on the type of dance (*ball pla* or *jota*), the geographical area of the practice (Catalunya Vella, Catalunya Nova, etc.), or the type of dance space.
- 45 Cf. MAS: *L'expansió de la dansa d'escola*.

documento			Hospital / Tarragó	Arbeau	Esquivel	Juan Antonio Jaque	Juan Antonio Jaque	
nome			Pavana	Pavane d'Espagne	Pabana	Pabana	Pabana	
data			fine XVI	XVI	1649	fine seicento	fine seicento	
parte					La Pabana se comiença con pie izquierdo, y con	Entrada	1ª mudanza (hecha, con el i)	
basso	mis.	forma					(de les floretes)	
re	1	presentació	R11	simple (g)	quatro Passos accidentales (passo)	paso i	floreta i	
la	2			(fermer le simple)	(passo)	paso d	floreta d	
la	3		pas	simple (d)	(passo)	paso i	salto atrás i + encaxe d	
re	4		pas	(fermer le simple)	(passo)	paso d + bazio i	floreta i	
re	5		continença + continença	simple (g) +	dos Vazios,	bazio d + bazio i	salto atrás d + encaxe i (+ passo adelante d) (passo adelante) en anacrusa?	
do	6		çalt	entretaille (d) + pied en l'air (g)	y un Rompido con izquierdo	rompido i (o campanela d)	Planta i	
do-sol	7		mudança, mutança	seguit (1 pas del seguit) (2n pas del seguit)	fleuret (g)	Carrerilla,	carrerilla (y media) d (bacio d)	buelta al descuydo d
do	8			(3r pas del seguit)	fleuret (d)	y otro Rompido co[n] el derecho	rompido d	(acaba la buelta al desc.d) + cargado i (cargado i)
do-la	9	seguit: (1 pas del seguit) (2n pas del seguit)		fleuret (g)	con Siete passos estraños, los quatro graves (passo grave)	paso i (extraños y graves)	paso adelante d + cruzado i	
re	10	(3r pas del seguit)		fleuret (d)	(passo grave)	paso d	salto atrás i (o passo) + encaxe d (o passo)	
re	11	seguit (1 pas del seguit) (2n pas del seguit)		fleuret (g)	(passo grave)	paso i	floreta i	
do-sib								
la	12	(3r pas del seguit)		fleuret (d)	(passo grave)	paso d	floreta d	
fa								
sol	13	cadència I	seguit (1 pas del seguit) (2n pas del seguit)	fleuret (g)	y tres breves (passo breve)	paso i + passo d (medianos y breves)	salto atrás i + encaxe d (bacio i)	
re	14		(3r pas del seguit)	pieds joints + pied en l'air (d)	(passo breve) + Rev.	paso i + cortesia 1 t.	rompido i + carrerilla y media (i)	
fa						cortesia 2 t.		
sol	15	cadència II	(continença + continença)? çalt	pied en l'air (g) + pied en l'air (d)	y la Reverencia	cortesia 3 t.	passo atrás d	
la						cortesia 4 t.		
re	16		(acaba el çalt i Planta)	pied joints	R	planta i	passo atrás i	

Juan Antonio Jaque	Juan Antonio Jaque	Juan Antonio Jaque	Minguet	tradicional catalana
Pabana	Pabana	Pabana	Pabana	Pavana
fine seicento	fine seicento	fine seicento	1735-60????	1918
2ª mudanza (deshecha, con el d)	3ª mudanza (hecha, con el i)	4ª mudanza (deshecha, con el d)	Mudanza primera de las Floretas	Entrada de ball (Caldes de Montbui)
(l'espolsada)	(saltos y encaxes, campanelas, carrerillas)	(rompidos y carrerillas)	(floreτας)	espolsada
salto atrás d + encaxe i	paso i + paso d (+llamada i)	floreта d	floreта i	(anacrusa: espolsar peu d) floreта d, al lloc
				espolsar peu e
floreта d	salto atrás i + encaxe d	(salto a un lado i, cruzar atrás d) + (salto a un lado d, cruzar atrás i) + sacudido i	floreта d	floreта e, al lloc
				espolsar peu d
salto atrás i + encaxe d	paso i + planta a un lado (creuar)	campanela i + planta i (preparar buelta)	salto i + encaxe (d)	floreта d, al lloc
				espolsar peu e
paso adelante i + bacio d (sobre d) + bacio i (sobre i) [espolsat i]	salto en buelta i + encaxe d	salto en buelta con el d + (encaxe i + floreta d)	floreта (i)	floreта e, al lloc
				espolsar peu d
paso d [+ bacio i (sobre i) + bacio d (sobre d) + paso d] [espolsat d]	R i + (bazio i) + campanela (d) + (bazio d)	paso adelante d + cruzar i + salto atrás i + encaxe d (+ anac. de la fl.)	salto (d) + encaxe (i)	floreта d, al lloc
				espolsar peu e
cargado i (+ comença carrerilla ...)	campanela + sacudido + paso i (adelante)	floreта i + salto atrás d [en anac.]	passo adelante (d) + campanela i al lado	floreта e, al lloc
				espolsar peu d
2 carrerillas y media i	paso d + sacudido i + paso i + paso d + sacudido i	encaxe + rompido d + dos carrerillas y media (i)	buelta al descuydo d +	floreта d, al lloc
				espolsar peu e
... + llamada (i)	paso i + llamada d + paso atrás d	(dos carrerillas y media) (i) (+ anacrusa de la floreta)		floreта e, al lloc
			& cargado i	espolsar peu d
carrerilla y media i + llamada d	carrerilla i (bolbiendo el cuerpo)	floreта i + salto atrás d (en anac.)	passo adelante d + cruzado i	floreта d, al lloc
				espolsar peu e
carrerilla y media d (+ posar d per preparar la...)	carrerilla d (bolbiendo el cuerpo)	[encaxe i + rompido d] (afegit, com a l3-14)	passo atras d (manca info.?)	floreта e, al lloc
				espolsar peu d
salto en buelta i + encaxe d	salto en buelta i + campanela (d)	dos carrerillas y media (i)	floreта i	floreта d, al lloc
				espolsar peu e
floreта i	planta con el derecho + buelta al descuydo ...		floreта d	floreта e, al lloc
		(+ salto atrás d en anac.)?		espolsar peu d
salto atrás d + encaxe i + rompido (d)	... buelta al descuydo + carrerilla (d)	salto atrás d + encaxe i	salto (i) + encaxe (d) + rompido (d)	floreта d, al lloc
		salto atrás d [+ encaxe i] (per poder fer el romp.)		espolsar peu e
(post i) carrerilla y media (i)	carrerilla (y media) (d)	rompido d + carrerilla y media (i)	carrerilla	floreта e, al lloc
				espolsar peu d
passo atrás i	passo atrás d	passo atrás i	passo atras d	floreта d, al lloc
				espolsar peu e
passo atrás d	passo atrás i	passo atrás d	passo atras i	salutació punta e davant