

VOM SCHÄFERIDYLL ZUR REVOLUTION

Europäische Tanzkultur im 18. Jahrhundert



2. Rothenfelser Tanzsymposion

21.—25. Mai 2008

Tagungsband

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von

Uwe Schlottermüller, Howard Weiner und Maria Richter



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Für unseren Tagungsband wurde sie mit einem roten Halsband versehen:
Mit diesem Erkennungszeichen durfte man bestimmte Bälle besuchen, wenn
(mindestens) ein Familienangehöriger auf der Guillotine hingerichtet worden war.

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Uwe W. Schlottermüller
Postfach 5266
79019 Freiburg

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The Triumph of Anti-Fashion

How Conservatism Nurtured Innovation in 18th-Century Spain

JANE GINGELL

Spanish sources for the dances of the aristocracy in the 17th and 18th centuries are few. However, the texts of Juan de Esquivel Navarro, Juan Antonio Jaque, Pablo Minguet e Yrol, and Bartholomé Ferriol y Boxeraus tell a story of, first, conservatism and particularity; then, latterly, a developing dance scene where French styles stood side by side with a developing Spanish tradition, which was to emerge as the Bolero School. In the 17th century, Esquivel's text from the 1640s¹ and the Jaque manuscript from the 1680s² indicate a technique, rather old-fashioned in European terms, where complex footwork and clever variations were the norm. There are no arm movements, and the authors are dealing mostly with technique for the solo male dancer, rather like the massive variations for solo male published in Italy in the early 1600s by Livio Lupi³. Although we know of other, wilder dance styles in 17th-century Spain, such as the »zarabanda« and »chacona«, these were theater or low-class dances, not done by »polite society«. However, such dances often featured the use of castanets, which were soon to make their way into the ballroom.

In the 18th century, the texts of Minguet and Ferriol indicate a dance scene where two styles are running concurrently: the advent of the Bourbon kings of Spain has brought in the French style of dancing, which was of course dominating most of Western Europe at the time; but the old Spanish style remains. Minguet's description of the Spanish style includes indications of arm movements and the use of castanets, and he makes it clear that a dance is either a »danza«, in which the performer will carry his hat in his hand, or a »baile«, in which he will keep his hat on his head, and use his hands to play castanets. The »Spanish steps« which he describes are to be used, he says, when dancing the »seguidillas« and the »fandango«.

Finally, at the end of the century, the Escuela Bolera burst upon the scene. Growing out of the »seguidillas« and »fandango«, it took Spain by storm. Though rarely danced by anyone other than Spaniards, the style caused a sensation in the European theaters of the late-18th and early-19th centuries, and was eagerly sought out by European travelers in Spain. So, paradoxically, intense conservatism eventually gave rise to a cutting-edge dance form. So, let us track this development from the old-fashioned to the innovative.

Spain in the 17th century was famous for its conservative outlook on life and art. In a deliberate resistance of the French fashions which were spreading throughout Europe, Spain developed a style of its own. At the end of the century, Spanish fashion in dress, manners, dance, and music were still preserving aspects and forms from the early 1600s, and the contrast between the extremes of French fashion and Spanish conservatism

often was often mocked. Thus, the English playwright Wycherley, in his comedy *The Gentleman Dancing Master*, presents an old Englishman who favors Spanish tastes and somber clothing, and his nephew, enamored of all things French, who enters wearing his latest, be-ribboned, Parisian breeches. They insult each other freely:

- MONSIEUR [...] is dere any ting in de Universe so jenti as de *Pantalloons* Any ting so ravisaunt as de *Pantallons* Auh – I cou'd kneel down and varship a pair of jenti *Pantalloons*. Vat, vat, you would have me have de admiration for dis outward skin of your Thigh, which you call *Spanish* Hose, fie [...]
- DON DIEGO Dost thou deride my *Spanish* Hose? [...]
- MONSIEUR [...] I must needs say, your *Spanish* Hose are scurvy Hose, ugly Hose, lousie Hose, and stinking Hose.
- DON DIEGO Do not provoke me, *Boracho* [...] While you wear *Pantalloons* [...] Auh – they make thee look and waddle [with all those gew-gaw Ribbons] like a great old Fat, slovenly Water-dog.
- MONSIEUR And your *Spanish* Hose, and your Nose in the Air, make you look like a great grisled-long-*Irish*-Greyhound, reaching a crust from off a high Shelf, ha, ha, ha.⁴

Insults aside, it is true that the Spanish nobleman was the last courtier in Europe to discard his doublet. And right til the end of the 17th century, ladies of the Spanish aristocracy persisted in two habits totally unfashionable in the rest of western Europe in the Baroque: they wore their hair long and loose, and wore their sleeves right down to the wrist, so that no part of the arm should be bare.

However, when the first Bourbon King came to Spain in 1701, he brought with him the tastes and fashions of his native France. Spain was assailed with a barrage of new French styles, in all areas of life and art, not least the dance. Felipe V, who came to the Spanish throne at the age of 16, courteously began in the Spanish style, and we can see him in two striking portraits by Rigaud wearing an impressive black satin court costume. However, the young man was not known for strength of character, and the dominant figure at his court right from the start was the competent and strong-willed Princesse des Ursins. In the first year of Felipe's reign, she reports, smugly, how well she is establishing a new order of etiquette:

I will give you an account of our afternoon, which was spent in dancing. Again contrary to court protocol, the king and queen danced in the presence of the Spanish grandees; and after their majesties, I made some of the ladies of the palace dance with the duc d'Ossone. It is necessary to provide such entertainments, and I wanted the grandees to be there in order to obtain their approval and to accustom them to these types of recreations. They thanked me very much for it.⁵

The influx of French taste was inevitable from this point. As well as the French dominating the court, many French merchants and artisans used the new regime as an opportunity to find a new market in Spain. An observer remarked in 1715:

One sees in Madrid very many French employed in crafts and trades, there being several surgeons, a few hatmakers, many wigmakers, and numerous comb-makers, tailors, shoemakers and four or five tapestry-workers who are nearly all members of the *gremios*, or craft guilds. There are also in Madrid several French bankers, a few wholesalers, and a great number of small traders who draw their merchandise from France.⁶

However, the development of French influence in many areas was slow. Despite the Bourbon determination to centralize government with new ministers and the creation of new secretariats, the political organization of Spain was still fixed along the lines created by the feudal divisions of the Middle Ages. And despite abolition of much of the political autonomy of Aragón and Valencia, the Council of Castile remained autonomous to the extent that it could, in the first half of the century, successfully defy the wishes of the king.

The ideology of the Enlightenment was also slow to influence Spain; the power of the Church was still strong, and although the publication of the works of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro in the 1740s and 50s lit a new flame in the intellectual life of Spain, foreign books had to receive the approval of the Council of Castile before they could be legally imported, and even eminent authors such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau could find themselves branded heretical by the Church. Spain was well-known for her resistance to change; so how did other Europeans envisage the Spaniard? He was pictured as a well-bred, sober, old-fashioned conservative. Yet in the Arts there was another side to the Spanish style, which had enormous influence outside of Spain, especially in France: this was the fabulous, exotic mosaic of dance and music inspired by Spain's vast underbelly of slaves and immigrants.

17th-century Spain had a large and diverse slave population. Andalucía already had a large heritage of Moorish culture and many families of Moorish extraction. More exotic were the African and South American natives arriving through the port of Sevilla. A great melting pot of »exotic«, »native« styles in dance and music was one of the results, and the diverse and largely downtrodden population of Sevilla cheered itself with the invention of what was basically a Baroque Spanish jazz, nursed along by the taste for improvisation over a ground bass which was already the favorite kind of music with the native Spaniards.

The most famous, and infamous, of the forms produced were the »zarabanda« and »chacona«. Originating respectively in Mexico and Peru in the late 1590s before fusing with Spanish trends, the »zarabanda« was famous for its sexually provocative writhings and the »chacona« was famous for being the dance that no one could resist: even the holy men of the church (so the story went) had to get up and dance when they heard it. Moreover, both dances originally had music improvised over a ground bass, and both had catchy hemiola rhythms:



Spanish dance has always made much of the ambiguity and play between six short beats and three long beats. (This is still characteristic, not only in Spain, but also in the music of the Latino population of South America.)⁷

The »zarabanda« and »chacona« proved irresistible outside Spain as well, and by the 1630s the popularity of their music had spread to Italy, where the musical style became a little more sweet and a little less wild. The Spanish guitar – the ultimate dance instrument, providing percussion as well as harmony – came with the dances, and before long the styles were becoming popular in Northern Europe. Suddenly, Spanish guitars and Spanish dances were all the rage. Both dances eventually settled down in France and became, by the late Baroque, slower, more courtly and elegant; but not before another Spanish export had hit the French stage. This was the character of the Spaniard, who appeared in countless »ballets de cour«, comedies, and often opera. Stage Spaniards often had the roles of musicians and dancers, but sometimes a more rounded figure entered the plot.

And what was the French impression of his character? La Motte tells us, in the foreword to the opera-ballet *L'Europe Galante* of 1697. Depicting four nations, he describes the Italians as jealous, but refined, and the Turks as haughty and quick-tempered. He adds:

The Frenchman is depicted as fickle, indiscreet, and teasing [...] The Spaniard is faithful and romantic.⁸

This image of the sober, loyal Spaniard was nothing new; nearly two centuries earlier, Castiglione, in his *Book of the Courtier*, discusses whether it is better for an Italian to have French manner or Spanish manners:

I do not say that there are not to be found the most cultivated and well-mannered gentlemen in France [...] but [...], it seems to me that the customs of the Spaniards are more suited to the Italians than those of the French, because the calm dignity characteristic of them seems to me more appropriate to us than the ready vivacity we see in almost everything the French people do. In them, this is not unbecoming; in fact, it is full of charm.⁹

The notated French Baroque dances that survive to our day have many »entrées« for Spanish characters; also, dances such as the »sarabande«, the »louré«, and the »folies«

were thought to be Spanish in character. So what is the characteristic »Spanish« flavor in these dances that makes them different to the French ones? The difference is quite subtle, but I do think it is there. French baroque dances have rhythmic patterns that most of the time run counter to the rhythm of the music. This is less true of the English Baroque dances, and I always tell my students to try to think of the French dance rhythms as an extra instrumental line, running in counterpart to, and in harmony with, the rest of the music parts.

For instance, here is the melody of the French »entrée« for a »berger« and »bergère« (from the opera *Ulysse*) with the counterpoint rhythm of Pécour's dance steps beneath:

The image shows a single staff of music in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 3/4. The melody is written on the upper line, and the counterpoint rhythm is written on the lower line. The melody consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a final phrase that is more melodic and includes a slur. The counterpoint rhythm consists of a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a final phrase that is more rhythmic and includes a slur.

However, it seems to me that the real »Spanish« character comes through as an extreme form of that, with some very long moments that last suspended over more than one bar, and a flurry of movement at the musical cadence, when the music notes themselves are often longer.

Here is the melody of a French »Spanish style« »louré« (from *L'Europe Galante*) with the counterpoint rhythm of Pécour's dance steps beneath:

The image shows two staves of music in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb) and a time signature of 6/4. The melody is written on the upper line, and the counterpoint rhythm is written on the lower line. The melody features a long, suspended note (a half note) that spans across two bars, followed by a flurry of movement at the end. The counterpoint rhythm consists of a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a final phrase that is more rhythmic and includes a slur. The word "etc." is written at the end of the second staff.

Was this extreme contrast of rhythm typically Spanish? A fascinating document exists which was written by a Frenchman in 1671, after he had watched a »sarabande« danced – presumably by a Spaniard, as both the dancer and the dance seem a novelty to the writer. François Pomey describes the sudden rhythmic changes and the smooth, elegant performance:

[1] He danced, then, at first with a completely charming grace, with a grave and measured air, with an slow, regular cadence [...]

[...]

[3] Sometimes, with the most beautiful timing in the world, he would stay suspended, immobile, and half leaning to the side with one foot in the air; and then, making up for the loss of time he had caused with one cadence, with another measure more precipitous one saw him almost fly, so rapid was his motion.

[...]

[6] Sometimes he let a whole measure go by, moving no more than a statue; and then, setting off like an arrow, one saw him at the other end of the room before one had time to realize that he had departed.

[7] But all this was nothing compared to what was observed when this gallant man began to express the emotions of his soul through the motions of his body, and to show them in his face, his eyes, his steps and all his actions.

[8] Sometimes he would cast languishing and passionate glances throughout the duration of a slow and languid measure [...]

[9] Now and then he would express anger and spite with an impetuous and turbulent measure; and then, representing a sweeter passion by more moderate movements, one saw him sigh, swoon, let his eyes wander languishing, and by certain movements of the arms and body, nonchalant, supple and passionate, he appeared so admirable and so charming that throughout this enchanting dance he won as many hearts as he attracted spectators.¹⁰

It is clear from this text that the characteristic dance element was extreme contrast in movements and timing; but, even more interestingly, what has impressed Pomey most is the affect, the emotions suggested and stirred by this dance. It always grieves me when I hear (as I often do) a dancer say: »It's dreadful when dancers act. It doesn't have anything to do with dance.« In the Baroque period, nothing in music or dance was considered high art if it did not stir the emotions of the audience. In the later rivalry between La Camargo and La Sallé, most connoisseurs preferred Sallé, because she moved their feelings, while Camargo simply dazzled by technique.

Another incursion from Spain to France came with the Spaniards who accompanied the Infanta Maria Teresa when she arrived France in 1661 to marry Louis XVI. She kept her own band of Spanish players and singers – and perhaps dancers, too. They featured prominently in Lully's famous *Ballet des Muses* of 1666, which contained a Spanish interlude. The dancers included the king himself, and the Spanish ambassador at Louis' court, the Conde de Fuentes, wrote admiringly of the king's castanet playing: 'The king, he said, had showed himself to be »expert in his manner of playing the castanets«¹¹.

Which brings us to the final Spanish Baroque dance export, the castanets. We have a very small amount of French castanet notation, mainly based on – indeed, usually copied from – Feuillet's single page of the castanet, arm, and foot notation for *Folies d'Espagne*. It is unlike modern, or even bolero technique, in that it gives rolls on both hands (Though modern castanet specialist players will also do this, it is, however, not typical.) Many of the engravings of Baroque dancers in France show them playing (or perhaps even simply holding) castanets. The character need not be Spanish in any way; it was obviously a popular technique for French dancers. Interestingly, some dancers have the

castanets on their middle fingers (like the present day »jota« castanets) and others have them on their thumbs (as in »bolero«, »classico«, and »flamenco«). The »jota« castanet technique is the only one which nowadays has, regularly, rolls on both hands – but they are shaken rolls, produced by a rapid wrist movement. Although this is a possible interpretation of the Feuillet notation, it is very hard to combine this with the wrist movements required by the arm notation, without looking foolishly frenetic.

Looking back at the ambassador's comment on Louis, one wonders what punctuation was intended: Did he mean: »The King showed himself expert in his manner of playing the castanets«? Or did he mean: »The King showed himself expert, in HIS manner of playing the castanets«? We hope it was not a backhanded compliment; but it might imply that the French way of playing was not, to a Spaniard, the real thing. Some modern Baroque dancers use modern Spanish castanet technique for Baroque French dances, perhaps feeling that what Feuillet wrote down was in some way an aberration. The notation can be interpreted in the modern way, except for those places where both hands are to roll at once. The earliest Spanish source I know which describes in detail the rhythmic patterns the castanets must make is the 1792 *Crotalogia* by Ignacio Agustin Florencio¹². This book certainly describes only one hand rolling, and is close to modern technique, giving a »ria ria ria ria pi ta pi ta« rhythm for the »seguidillas« and »el bayle bolero«.

Perhaps things in France also varied with the dancer. There is one engraving showing a dancer with a castanet on the thumb of one hand, and the other castanet on a finger; another plate shows the castanet on the forefinger – perhaps for decoration? A final suggestion as to the Spanish influence in France is just a possibility, a conjecture, that Baroque French arm positions may have been suggested by Spanish style.¹³ Despite Spanish conservatism, however, the growth of French influence was inexorable, if slow. Felipe V never managed to master the Castillian language, and during his reign the court spoke French as its official language. We have already seen the Princesse des Ursins trying to instil French dance etiquette into the Spanish nobility, and later, books on French dancing began to appear. Pablo Minguet e Yrol published his first in Madrid in 1733¹⁴, followed by Bartolomé Ferriol y Boxeraus in Malaga (also Naples) in 1745¹⁵.

Minguet is an interesting figure. He was a printer, not a dancing master, and seems to have been a kind of amateur polymath, producing many and varied books and pamphlets on subjects ranging from contemplations upon the Holy Mass, to books of card games and road maps of Spain. He seems to have kept his galleys, or at least his master proofs, as he issued many of his prints and pamphlets repeatedly over the decades, as well as binding them in many different combinations, creating a librarian's nightmare. For example, if we take three specimens of his dance book, from the Library of Congress, the Biblioteca Nacional of Spain, and the Bodleian, we find that all three are assembled in different ways:

- The Library of Congress copy of 1737 claims to be a »third« edition.
- The Barbieri Madrid copy, of 1758, with different opening pages, also claims to be a »third« edition (although the author adds that it is »Corregido« – corrected); it is bound together with the »second« edition of another dance tract, printed in 1764.
- The Bodleian copy, similar to the Madrid copy, nevertheless has picture pages absent from the Madrid book.

In the 1737 edition of his *Arte de dançar a la francesa*, Minguet gives instructions for deportment, foot positions, courtesies, and the »minuet« and »passepied«. However, by 1758, his *Arte de dançar a la francesa* additionally contains many plates of French steps, arm movements, and several French dance notations; it is also bound together with two tracts on the French »contredance«. By contrast, Ferriol seems to have been a qualified dancing master. His book is a comprehensive dance manual on the French style, modeled on the books of Raoul-Auger Feuillet and Pierre Rameau¹⁶. One might imagine that the French conquest was complete by the time Minguet published his later editions; but this was far from being the case. Bound together with Minguet's 1737 edition is another booklet entitled *An Explanation of how to Dance in the Spanish Style*.¹⁷ This booklet was also bound (under a changed title) with the 1758 books, indicating that a distinct Spanish style in fact co-existed with the French.

We know that Ferriol was a Catalan, and Minguet's family name indicates that he, too, was of Catalan extraction. This is of interest, as it seems that Catalonia was the only part of Spain where a strong dancing-masters' guild was established: founded in 1592, the »Confraria dels Musics« was a guild embracing both musicians and dancing masters. Ferriol himself points out that, in Barcelona, a dancing master has to have passed an examination before he is allowed to teach. And the author complains bitterly that elsewhere that anyone can set up and teach, no matter how bad they are.¹⁸ Ferriol was obviously a master, but Minguet, the publisher, was not. And it is this very fact which makes Minguet such an interesting source. Ferriol talks about dance the way it should be; Minguet describes it the way it is. This results in much advice for the less-adept dancer.

If you do not understand some of the dances in question, you can mark out the first figure on the floor, with a little piece of chalk or carbon in the space in which you will study, and after knowing how to dance it well, it can be rubbed out with a scourer and you can do the same with the rest of the figures in the dance in question.¹⁹

Take note, that those who do not know the steps of minuet, rigodon, boréas, assamblés, chassés, contratiempos, balancés, etc., may do something similar, because in the Contradanzas, nobody observes these steps.²⁰

Talking of »contradanza« figures, Minguet explains:

[...] if there may be one of the gentleman who knows how to do it, while nobody else does, let yourself be led by him.²¹

To the joy of certain senior citizens among my own students, Minguet also gives a »paso de minué descansado« – a relaxed, casual, or nonchalant step: it is the basic minuet step, but notated (and performed) with no »pliés« or rises at all.

We, as researchers, are beginning to find (or perhaps, allowing ourselves to be aware of) more documents which deal with usage, as opposed to theory. Carol Marsh's recent work on the 17th-century Lovelace manuscript²² is a case in point: consisting of the notes of a country dance enthusiast, the document reveals a more varied and flexible approach to Playford dances than we have considered before. In the same way, Minguet's footnotes tell us what can »really« happen at a dancing evening:

Before beginning any Contradanza, there must be someone who explains it to the others, [...] and the figures which they have to make.²³

Through these figures, you can invent others, and design different Contradanzas [...] the music [...] can be changed [...] at those times when it is wanted.²⁴

But, most interestingly, he tells us what Spaniards did at the end of a »contradanza«: they immediately danced a »seguidillas«. For *Los Presumidos*, he gives a »contradanza« melody, immediately followed by a »seguidillas«:



Immediately followed by a fandango:



He comments:

Once you have understood the other Contradanzas, these are very easy: in the Seguidillas everyone may do the cadena back to their place, and then dances fandango with their partners.²⁵

Several of Minguet's comments make it clear that the »seguidillas« were as common as the »contradanzas«; for example:

When you know the figures by heart, you can dance any contradanza [...] they also serve for dancing the seguidillas in the four ways in question.²⁶ [That is, longways, in a circle, in a square with four couples, or in a square with two couples.]

Minguet printed two editions (at least) of his booklet on Spanish dance steps: the editions differ, and the two together can be seen as the evolving link between the courtly 17th-century style of Esquivel, danced, like the Negri and Caroso dances²⁷, with no arm movements and no finger instruments, and the exuberant Escuela Bolera, enlivened by castanets.

In Minguet's first Spanish dance treatise, he adds at the end six choreographies. They are for a *Pabana*, *Gallarda*, *Villano*, *Españoleta*, *Los Imposibles*, and *La Hermosa*; all seem to be solos for man. The first two of these have a similar overall structure to the same choreographies from Jaque's manuscript of the mid-17th century, although the step sequences are different. The other four dances have details about castanet playing, which is the first description extant (as far as I know) of using castanets in formal, aristocratic Spanish dance.²⁸ The Spaniards were unusual in that, from early on in the Baroque, they categorized dance into two categories. A »danza« (such as a »pabana« or »gallarda«) was a courtly dance, serious and artistic in intention. A »baile« (such as the »zarabanda« and »chacona«) was showy, elaborate, and more the province of a professional dancer. Sometimes less than respectable, it used wide arm movements and was often meant for the stage or street performer.²⁹

However, with this 1737 text of Minguet's, we see the »baile« (and the use of arms and castanets) becoming respectable. He describes in detail how to use the arms and castanets in the »paseo« of the *Españoleta* (the arms are at chest height, closed, then opened wide), but, unfortunately, does not give details for any other passages. In the *Villano*, he asks for a »golpe« of the castanets for each »floreo« of the »paseo«, but then simply adds that the dancer is »playing all the time in the rest of the variations«³⁰.

Minguet tells us that *Los Imposibles* are »bailados«; only the »entrada« is »danzada«, after which »the castanets begin«. He makes the distinction between the two dance categories very clear when he describes the *Hermosa*:

La Hermosa is, for half of the music, danzado, and half bailado [...] you do eight variations, four danza[ada]s with the hat in the left hand, and the other four bailadas with castanets.³¹

Some of Minguet's step descriptions are almost identical to those of Esquivel, and some modern researchers are inclined to cry plagiarism, and claim that Minguet's Spanish style was an archaism, included to bulk out his publication. The six choreographies are, however, to the best of my knowledge, unique, and must, I believe, describe dances currently in use. It is therefore significant that Minguet's second edition of the Spanish dance treatise still has the steps, but not the choreographies: the steps are now being used, he claims, for the »seguidillas« and »fandangos« which are now being danced in the ballrooms.³² It is this use of »seguidillas« and »fandangos« in the ballroom which is significant in the development of the »bolero«. The briefest way to define the birth of the »bolero« is that it was a »seguidillas«/»fandango«, danced at double speed, but to the

same music, which was accordingly played more slowly. This explains the sometimes conflicting descriptions of the early »bolero« as being, on the one hand, leisurely, and on the other, fast and brilliant. As Sor describes it:

A young man, who could execute petits battements, thought to vary the steps of the Seguidillas Manchegas by marking with his feet the half and quarter of each musical beat [...] So, he divided [musically] some quavers of the rhythm into semiquavers.³³

For example, one dances three dance steps per bar in traditional *Seguidillas Manchegas*:



But in the »bolero« *Panaderos de la Flamenca*, one dances six dance steps per bar.



Thus, the music seems slower, and the dance, faster.

What all writers agree on, however, is that the »bolero« came out of the very dances which Minguet was describing in the ballroom, side by side with the French dances: the »seguidillas« and »fandango«.

It is possible that we can see pictured, through Minguet's books, an unbroken Spanish tradition evolving from Esquivel to the Escuela Bolera, first with the old dance styles plus castanets and arm movements, the style then continuing in use for the »seguidillas« and »fandangos« that gave birth to the Escuela Bolera. On the way, the Spanish style had doubtlessly assimilated something of the French »academy« style, and also something of the Italian influence. What emerged, however, was something uniquely Spanish.

Spanish artistic reticence had first been seen as an intense conservatism, then as a fondness for being old-fashioned. But finally, it blossomed into a distinct, separate national style, long before nationalism became a popular artistic trend in the rest of Europe.

Notes

- 1 ESQUIVEL NAVARRO: *Discursos sobre el Arte del Dancado*.
- 2 JAQUE: *Libro de Danzar*, p. 190.
- 3 LUPI DA CARAVEGGIO: *Libro di Gagliarda*.
- 4 WYCHERLEY: *The gentleman dancing-master*, act III, scene 1.
- 5 HILL: *Story of the Princess*.
- 6 Partyet, quoted by KAMEN: *War of Succession*, p. 122.
- 7 Many Argentine folk dances, still danced today, have three dance steps to the bar, while the dancers simultaneously snap their fingers in a counter-rhythm of two beats to the same bar. The music is commonly ambiguous between 3/4 and 6/8 (both sequentially and, often, simultaneously).
- 8 CAMPRA: *L'Europe Galante*.
- 9 CASTIGLIONE: *The book of the courtier*, II, p. 146.
- 10 POMEY: *Description d'une Sarabande dansée*.
- 11 Quoted by LA GORCE: *Jean Baptiste Lully*, p. 156.
- 12 FLORENCIO: *Crotalogía*.
- 13 The height of the arms in Spanish dance was formerly much lower than now (see GRUT: *The Bolero school*). If the dancer stands in a Spanish pose, right foot pointed forward, right arm low over right foot, and body leaning toward it, it is possible, by straightening the body and looking toward the left arm, to arrive at a baroque »opposition«.
- 14 See MINGUET E YROL: *Arte de danzar a la francesa*. 3rd edition. Madrid 1737 [¹1733].
- 15 FERRIOL Y BOXERAUS: *Reglas utiles*.
- 16 FEUILLET: *Chorégraphie*; RAMEAU: *Maître a danser*.
- 17 MINGUET E YROL: *Explicacion del danzar a la Española*.
- 18 FERRIOL Y BOXERAUS: *Reglas utiles*, Tratado II, chapter 1, p. 134.
- 19 MINGUET E YROL: *Arte de danzar a la francesa*. 3rd edition, »Corregido«. Madrid 1758, on unnumbered page beginning: »Explicacion de algunas advertencias«.
- 20 Ibid., p. 7 of »Contradanza« section.
- 21 Ibid., p. 15.
- 22 See MARSH: *The Lovelace Manuscript*.
- 23 MINGUET E YROL: *Arte de danzar a la francesa*, p. 26.
- 24 Ibid., p. 11 of »Contradanza« section.
- 25 Ibid., p. 13 of »Contradanza« section.
- 26 Ibid., page beginning »Quadernillo Curioso«.
- 27 NEGRI: *Le Gratie d'Amore*; CAROSO: *Ballarino*; CAROSO: *Nobilta di Dame*.
- 28 Though, of course, if you were a low-class actress or dancing girl, or a nobleman in a masquerade, you could use any kind of noisy instrument you wanted.
- 29 Later, with the advent of the Escuela Bolera, the term »baile« lost its overtones of bad morals, and was freely applied to »bolero« dances. Estébanez Calderón, in 1832, entitled one of his articles »Baile al Uso y Danza Antigua« – »Bailes in use today, and ancient Danzas«.
- 30 MINGUET E YROL: *Explicacion del danzar a la Española*, p. 65.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 69f.
- 32 MINGUET E YROL: *Short Treatise* [second edition].
- 33 SOR: *Le Bolero*.