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From the *Jácara* to the *Sarabande*

ANA YEPES

(English translation by Derek Matson)

The present paper is about the *Jácara*, a sibling of the *Zarabanda*, a very representative Spanish *baile* of the 17th century, and about its relation to the *Sarabande*, which we find in France during the same period.

The *Jácara*

The Sources for the *Jácara*

Principal sources relevant to the *Jácara* in the 17th and early 18th centuries are:

| No. | Year | Author | Title | Reason |
|-----|----------|--|--|--|
| 1. | 1611 | Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco | Tesoro de la lengua castellana | origin of the name |
| 2. | 1615 | Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra | El Rufián dichoso | origin of the name |
| 3. | 1642 | Juan de Esquivel Navarro | Discursos sobre el arte del danzado | cited as a “piece” danced in the dancing school; <i>Zarabanda</i> family |
| 4. | 1661 | Sebastián de Villaviciosa | Entremés de los Sones | cited as a “dance” |
| 5. | 1669 | Calderón de la Barca | Loa para la Compañía de Escamilla | cited |
| 6. | ca. 1680 | Juan Antonio Jaque | Libro de danzar | choreography |
| 7. | ca. 1680 | Anonymous | Jácara | choreography |
| 8. | 1701 | Francesc Olivelles, transcribed by his pupil Joseph de Potau y de Ferran | Memoria de las danzas | choreography |
| 9. | 1701 | José de Cañizares | Mojiganga de los Sones | cited as a character in a play |
| 10. | 1726ff. | Real Academia Española | Diccionario de la lengua castellana (Diccionario de Autoridades) | complete definition |
| 11. | 1793 | Felipe Roxo de Flores | Tratado de recreación instructiva sobre la danza | disappearance |

Table 1:
Sources for the *Jácara*

The word *Jácara* carries with it several meanings. It was originally a brief poetic composition—the entr’acte *Jácara* ballad (*Jácara entremesada*) that made up part of a theatrical performance. It also signified the character depicted in those works who represented the *jacos*, or ruffians. In addition, it referred to a *son* that was sometimes danced. And last but not least, it was a *baile* that was associated with the *Zarabanda*.

To start, I shall quote a few references to the original word and its diverse meanings, then a quote referring to the *Jácara* as a piece danced at school and a late 18th-century reference to its disappearance. I also want to discuss the three complete choreographies of the *Jácara* that have made their way down to us today in textual form. The first two are compositions by the dance masters Jaque and Olivelles, and the third is taken from an anonymous manuscript of the 18th century.

1. COVARRUBIAS: *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (1611)

Other examples of the origin of the word:

Jaque. Term for those who play chess, when one advises an opponent to move the king from its position or protect it with another piece: Arabic word of Hebrew origin from the verb *jacab*, *audere*, *obedire*, *obtemperare*. / *Jaque y mate*. When one and the other are done simultaneously, making ‘check’ and ‘mate.’ Skilled players often make bets as to which of two pieces will give ‘check’ and which will give ‘mate.’ / *Jaque* [orig. *Xaque*]. With ‘x’ can mean ‘old person,’ ‘governor,’ ‘sir,’ and in criminal slang ‘ruffian.’ / *Jacarandina*. Criminal slang or language belonging to ruffians known as ‘jaques’.¹

2. CERVANTES: *El Rufián dichoso* (1615)

In this citation Cervantes mentions the origin of the name *Jácara*. His character Lagartija says,

Reveal something about him to me? / The whole unprofitable brain / of Apollo closes in on him. / It is a *jácara* romance, / that I equal and compare him / to the best ever made; / the rest made of the underworld / in a rare and *jaco* style [...].²

From the great corral of the Olmos / the *jacarandina* of knaves, / emerges Reguilete the *jaque* / marvelously attired.³

3. ESQUIVEL: *Discursos sobre el arte del dançado* (1642)

Esquivel mentions the *Jácara* and the *Zarabanda* as “pieces” that are danced in schools:

[...] it is all that is danced in schools: and although there is the *Rastro*, *Jácara*, *Zarabanda*, and *Tárraga*, these four pieces are one and the same thing; even if the *Rastro* has its different *mudanzas* and for a different style.⁴

This reference leads us to understand that the *Jácara* and the *Zarabanda* are “the same.”

4. VILLAVICIOSA: *Entremés de los Sones* (1661)

Cited as *son*:

Out there, out there, melodies, / that carry the air of them all / the Castilian *Jácara*!⁵

5. CALDERON: *Loa para la Compañía de Escamilla* (1669)

Cited as *son*:

The *Jácara* being the tone, from *Gallarda* are the steps.⁶

6. JAQUE: *Libro de danzar* (ca. 1680)

Choreography: see specific section below.

7. Anonymous: *Jácara* (ca. 1680)

Choreography: see specific section below.

8. OLIVELLES: *Memoria de las danzas* (1701)

Choreography: see specific section below.

9. CAÑIZARES: *Mojiganga de los Sones* (1701)

Cited as a character:

Out comes the *Jácara* with mantilla and a dagger and castanets.⁷

10. REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1726ff.)

Jácara. f. f. Poetic composition. [...] Much used in the singing of same among those known as “jaques,” from whom the name could be taken. [...] Also understood to mean the *tañido* that is played for singing or dancing. [...] **Also refers to a kind of *danza*; fashioned to the *tañido* or *son* belonging to the *Jácara*.** [...] Also understood to mean the gathering of young people, and happy people, who walk about by night making noise and singing in the streets. Said because they generally walk about singing some *Jácara*.⁸

11. ROXO DE FLORES: *Tratado de recreación instructiva sobre la danza* (1793)

The character of Spanish dances can be understood without too much difficulty through the music with which they are executed, as much those familiar to us as those of which there is no other memory than that of their name, such as the *Caballero*, the *Rugero*, *Jácara de la Costa*, *Mariona*, *Tarantela*, *Batalla*, *Gelves*, and *Piegibado*.⁹

Thanks to this quote, we can conclude that the *Jácara* was already no longer in use toward the end of the 18th century.

Three *Jácara* choreographies

As mentioned above, we currently know of three specific choreographies of *Jácaras*, two from the end of the 17th century and a third from 1701:

| Author | Date | Distribution and context | Instructions for arms | Instructions for space |
|-----------|----------|--|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Jaque | ca. 1680 | – For one person? For a man? – A school choreography? | no | yes |
| Anonymous | ca. 1680 | – For one person? For a lady? For a couple? – A theater choreography? | yes | yes |
| Olivelles | 1701 | – For a couple? – A ballroom dance or school choreography? | no | yes |

Table 2: Three *Jácara* choreographies

In the collection “Dance in the Spanish Golden Age: III. Choreographies”, which I am currently working on, volume 4 is devoted to *Jácaras* and *Zarabandas*, with a special emphasis on these three choreographies. All three present the dilemma of having no corresponding music and not a single rhythmic instruction that specifies the beat to which the steps need to be executed—nor do they include the quantity of steps that each *mudanza* comprises. Unfortunately, we encounter this same dilemma with all extant choreographies from the period: these missing elements present considerable obstacles to those attempting to reconstruct the dances in question. Nevertheless, one common feature of all three of these *Jácaras* is the inclusion some spatial instructions, an extraordinary exception among recorded dance works of this period.

1. *Jácara* by Jaque

Figure 1 shows the first of two pages of Jaque’s description of the *Jácara*. It includes a list of steps and some instructions for the use of space, but there is no reference to the movement of arms. The use of several technically complicated steps, such as the *vueltas de pecho* (in the 17th century they were turning *saltos*), leads me to believe that this choreography could only be for a man, and is therefore a school choreography.

Let us take a look at some extracts from this choreography:

*Cortesía, paso, and juntar and cargado in a circle remaining in planta in the starting position, paso and juntar with the left foot and paso and abrir with same walking toward the hall, cargado with the left foot vacío, vacío and llamada, this being repeated until back at the starting point.*¹⁰

*paso and romper and paso and romper with the other in a circle until back in the starting position.*¹¹

10
 Repite asta el sitio donde se comienza
 Salto Lencave al lado. Con el Izquierdo
 La Andanza del Amolador, Salto Lencave
 Con el Derecho Lencave Campaneta
 quiebro con el Izquierdo, Campaneta
 quiebro con el Derecho; guadrupendo Con el
 Izquierdo. Sacudir Con el mismo Paso
 Sacudir Con el Derecho Paso en zirculo
 asta el anárris Encale Con Campaneta
 asta el punto que se comienza, Anábregas
 La una por el lado Izquierdo La otra
 Con el Derecho Aneta misma andanza
 Salto Lencave Con Pie Izquierdo
 Salto g sacudir Con el Derecho. Salto
 Lencave Con el Derecho. Salto g sacudir
 Con el Izquierdo Salto Con el Derecho

Sacudir Paso am lado
 Con el mismo: Batio con el derecho
 Buelta al derecho: Cabrida Con el
 Izquierdo quedando Con el Axe
 el Pie derecho: Sacudido y paso am lado
 Con el mismo: Batio Con el
 Izquierdo. Buelta al derecho
 Buelta de Pecho. Cortesia
 Jácara
 Coxera, Paso y Junta Lencave en zirculo
 quedando en Junta con el Pie que se
 comienza, Paso Junta con el Pie Izquierdo
 y Paso g abrir con el propio andando asta
 el Anábregas; Lencave Con el Pie Izquierdo
 Batio. Batio. Llamada; Esto se

These examples describe a small series of steps that are repeated several times, occupying a trajectory in the space. This form of choreography is found only in the *Jácara* and the *Paradetas*. These two choreographies are, in fact, the only extant choreographies by Jaque that contain spatial instructions. The others are simply lists of steps. In Jaque we find a specific *mudanza*, the *mudanza del amolador*, without any further explanation:

salto and *encaje* to the side with the left, the *mudanza del amolador*,¹² *salto* and *encaje* with the right and *desbacerla* [the *mudanza*].¹³

This passage suggests that the *mudanza* in question was a variation known by everyone. The *amolador* or “grinder” is a sharpener, the person who sharpens knives with a pedal-operated grindstone. This same *mudanza* also appears in Jaque’s *Paradetas*, a dance that shares many similarities with the *Jácara* as far as steps and spatial displacements are concerned.

In 1745 Ferriol y Boxeraus describes the *mudanza del amolador* as part of the series of movements used in *Contradanzas*:

The *amolador* consists of making circles with the hand and index finger, at the same time that the foot on the same side lowers and lifts, while also imitating with the mouth the sound that the stone makes in this practice.¹⁴

Further on he incorporates it into the figure called “Redonda 7”:

The first couple dances *floreo*, and, grasping hands, makes a circle. The *amolador*, and a circle back to the same spot.¹⁵

I conclude that this *Jácara mudanza* from the 17th century survived well into the 18th century, incorporating itself into the *Contradanzas* imported from France with the arrival of Philip V. Thanks to this later description, we can imagine the movement—unless, of course, it already is a deformation of the original movement? The answer to this question remains open.

El Amolador was also the title and subject of an *Entremés* by Quiñones de Benavente, in which Juana, a noblewoman, says,

Ageda, then you know me, / nothing need I say: / my whole life has been hurly-burly / since the day I was born. / With *rastreadas mudanzas* [“Rastro-type variations”] / and *chaconil* [“Chacona-like”] spirit / I will dance for forty days / without eating or sleeping.¹⁶

This play is identified by Margit Frenk as the *Baile del Amolador*, possibly by Quiñones de Benavente: “Oh, grinder, dear little grinder! / Oh, sharpen me that knife!”¹⁷ In this case, she identifies it as a *baile* and not as an *Entremés*.

Cotarelo y Mori remarks with respect to the French:

Franceses. Many French roamed about Spain in the 17th century as grinders with their wheel (see the *Entremés del Niño de Quevedo*).¹⁸

Does that mean that there were as many French as there were “grinders with their wheel,” which is to say, a great many?

2. Anonymous *Jácara*

This *Jácara* is an undated manuscript that Barbieri copied from a book in the library of his friend Don José de Sancho Rayón,¹⁹ wherein Barbieri specified that the handwriting was from the end of the 17th century. The author of this *Jácara*, in addition to listing steps, indicates paths and positions in the space and describes a few very precise arm movements.

Some feminine past participles might indicate that it is a woman dancing: “until you end in half-profile”²⁰ or “stay in place turned in profile.”²¹ Unfortunately, we cannot adequately distinguish these gendered participles in English translation. One might also conjecture that these feminine participles refer more generally to “a person,” the gender of which in Spanish is feminine and which may not necessarily connote a directive exclusively intended for a woman.

We don’t know if this choreography is for one person or two. Only at one point does the text suggest that there might be two dancers: “and undo it [the *mudanza*] with *voladillo*, passing in front.”²² This spatial instruction brings to mind the idea of passing in front of someone, an indication that a couple might be dancing, although there is no specification as to whether the couple consists of a man and a woman or two women.

The steps mentioned are quite different from those described by Jaque. We observe the use of some new expressions and a few series of steps that are often repeated, such as several *quiebros* in succession that are danced to the same side. Such steps do not appear in earlier *Jácaras*.

Some spatial instructions suggest the notion of a raked stage in their use of the words “up” to indicate upstage and “down” to indicate downstage. In other expressions, like “*voladillo* through the center [orig. “por medio”] to upstage,” “*voladillo* and go downstage through the center,”²³ the “through the center” seems to indicate the center of the stage. The sum of those details, along with the fact that women didn’t dance in schools, leads me to imagine that this choreography could well be a theater *baile*.

I see some similarities to the two other *Jácaras* here: in this choreography the same series of steps is also performed while on a fixed path, and the formula for performing *mudanzas* is also followed. In the following excerpt a new *mudanza* appears, that of “the drunk.”

[A]nd the *mudanza del borracho* all around and on arriving at starting the position, the *mudanza* of arms in and out entering the right foot back and putting it out making a circle all around until holding in profile the left shoulder up.²⁴

Other examples from this choreography will be quoted below, in the section dealing with arm movements.

3. *Jácara* by Olivelles

This manuscript was found very recently in the archives of the Barcelona Library (fig. 2). I am currently working through it and have not yet been able to finish reconstructing its dances. Like Jaque's, it, too, consists of a list of steps, a few instructions for the use of space, and no reference to arm movements. There are many steps in it that are identical to those described by Esquivel, and to those that we encounter in Jaque's *Jácara*, including similar combinations of steps. We know, however, that this choreography was meant for a couple. Therefore, I imagine it would be more of a society *baile*.

Olivelles's *Jácara* states:

Jácara begins with the man at one end of the room and the lady at the other, and in front of her making two *pasos* to one side, and *romper en el aire*, and a *cuatropeado*, and *media* [*cabriola?*],²⁵ and change position with two *pasos* and *romper en el aire* and on arriving to the other position a *cuatropeado*, and *media*, or a *vacío* afterwards.²⁶

In this excerpt we see that the choreography in question is a *baile* for a couple. It is the only *Jácara* in which a dancing pair is mentioned.

The Zarabanda

Numerous sources discuss the possible origins of the *Zarabanda*, complete with detailed descriptions, references, and quotes that we need not go into here. Suffice it to say, they will all be included in my collection "Dance in the Spanish Golden Age: IV. Danzas and Bailes", vols. 13/14 ("Sources"), and vols. 15/16 ("Analysis and Commentary").

Unfortunately, I have not yet found a single description of a specific *Zarabanda* choreography from 17th-century Spain. As we know from the citations above, Esquivel mentions the *Jácara* and the *Zarabanda* as "pieces" that are danced in schools:

[I]t is all that is danced in schools: and although there is the *Rastro*, *Jácara*, *Zarabanda*, and *Tárraga*, these four pieces are one and the same thing; even if the *Rastro* has its different *mudanzas* and a different style.²⁷

In *Le tour du monde*, Charles Davilliers and Gustave Doré confirm for us that

[t]he songs that accompany the *Zarabanda* [orig. *Sarabande*]²⁸ had different names, such as *Jácaras*, *Letrillas*, *Romances*, *Villancicos*, etc. These popular poetic forms, a fair number of which have made their way to us today, were not well-defined and, in general, only the refrain that was occasionally repeated with each verse gave an indication of how they would end.²⁹

This explanation corroborates Esquivel's reference to the *Jácara* and the *Zarabanda* as being related insofar as they were one and the same form.

La Jácara comença al un cap de sala lo home,
 y al altre la Donada en ora y devant de ella
 fent los passos al un costat, y rompra al ayre,
 y un quadrupedado, y mitja, y can-
 biar de puesto ab dos passos y rompra
 al ayre y en ser al altre puesto un qua-
 drupedado, y mitja, ò un vano després
 dos floretas de cara al puesto que se
 ha començat y en ser fer un rompra
 dos quadrupedados y rompra una cam-
 paret, dos caídas y un salt de cada peu, ad-
 vertint que en lo chele un dos floretas
 se pot fer un sacudido y un pas, y
 després lo rompra ^{al ayre} y en loc de los dos
 quadrupedados y rompra se pot fer
 una llamada un pas del altre peu, can-
 sado, salto y encave, y vano y un qua-
 drupedado y mitja, y en loc de las dos
 caídas del dret se pot fer un rompra al
 ayre y un quadrupedado y mitja

The same authors quote the Countess d'Aulnoy from her book *Voyage en Espagne*, published in 1691, when she describes seeing a *Zarabanda* [orig. *Sarabande*] being danced:

The entr'actes were intermingled with dances to the sound of harps and guitars. The actresses had castanets and a little hat on their heads. It is the custom when they dance, and when it is the *Zarabanda* [orig. *Sarabande*], they do not seem to walk as much as gently flow. Their manner is completely different from ours: they move their arms too much and often slip their hand over their hats and over their face with a certain grace that is rather pleasing. They play the castanets admirably well.³⁰

From this quote we can conclude that the actress-dancers danced while moving their arms above their heads. These movements are similar to those described in the anonymous *Jácara*. It also confirms that castanets were played as part of the *Zarabanda*.

Based on these quotes from Esquivel, the Countess d'Aulnoy, and Charles Davilliers, it is safe to conclude that the *Jácara* and the *Zarabanda* were the same form, a kind of *baile*. For me, the above quotes show that these *bailes* had arm movements, and that, in all likelihood, the *tañido* and the rhythm of the *Jácara* arrived in France with a *Zarabanda son* and perhaps for that reason was called *Sarabande*.

The Sarabande

I am not aware of occurrences of French *Sarabande* choreography before those found in Feuillet's *Recueil de Dances composées par Mr. Feuillet* (1700) onward. The best I can provide is a description of a danced *Sarabande* by Père François Pomey (1671). He doesn't mention specific steps, but he does refer to numerous actions, rhythms, contrasts, and graces. Here are two brief excerpts:

Then, rising up with more poise and carrying the arms to mid-height and half-open, he performed the most beautiful steps that had ever been invented for dance. Soon he was imperceptibly floating without anyone being able to discern the movement of his feet and legs, and seeming to glide rather than walk. Then with the most beautiful tempi in the world, he remained suspended, immobile, and half-tilted to one side with one of his feet in the air. And then regaining a loss of his cadence with another one more abrupt, we saw him almost fly, so quick was his movement.

[A]nd with certain turns of the arms and body, listless, unfinished, and impassioned, he seemed so admirable and so charming that, for as long as this enchanting dance lasted, he stole no fewer hearts than he fixed eyes on himself to behold.³¹

This quote describes a *Sarabande* as danced by a solo man in France. It details some arm movement, including the circles with the arms already cited in the anonymous *Jácara*. We also find the notion of speed and gliding in certain steps to be much like what was described by the Countess d'Aulnoy.

We also find three choreographic descriptions of the *Sarabanda* in Germany at the end of the 17th century in Johann Georg Pasch's *Anleitung sich bei grossen Herrn Höfen und*

andern beliebt zu machen. They consist of a list of steps organized in “strophes” with “verses” numbered from 1 to 8 (except for one strophe made up of ten verses) and with one step per line or “verse.” They describe body orientations and directions of steps, but provide no information on possible shapes in space. This treatise gives no indications of who is dancing, nor does it provide any musical transcriptions. However, the possible eight-bar musical structure would correspond to the two *Sarabandes* found in *Terpsichore* by Praetorius (1612).³²

The relation between the *Jácara* and Lully’s *Sarabande*

Court relationships between Spain and France in the 17th century

Ana María Mauricia, Archduchess of Austria (*b* Valladolid, 22 September 1601; *d* Paris, 20 January 1666), known as Anne d’Autriche, was Queen of France from 1615 to 1643 as wife of Louis XIII, then acting regent during the minority of her son Louis XIV from 1643 to 1661. She was the daughter of Philip III (1578–1621), King of Spain, and Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1584–1611), and therefore the sister of Philip IV, King of Spain. She learned to dance in Spain before 1615 and went on to reign over France and Navarre for 44 years. Her ladies-in-waiting, actors, and guitarists traveled with her to France. Subsequently, in 1660, Marie-Therese of Austria (*b* Madrid, 10 September 1638; *d* Versailles, 30 July 1683), daughter of Philip IV and Elizabeth of Bourbon (1602–1644), married her cousin Louis XIV, King of France and Navarre (1638–1715). Marie-Therese of Austria learned to dance in Spain prior to 1660. She later she reigned over France for 23 years from 1661 to 1683.

On the occasion of Marie-Therese’s wedding to Louis XIV, which established peace between the two countries after the Thirty Years’ War, Calderón de la Barca wrote the allegorical eucharistic play *La Paz Universal o El Lirio y la Azucena*, whose subject was precisely the union of the King and Queen. The Spanish minister Don Luís de Haro hired the theater company of Sebastián de Prado to perform the piece. This same troupe traveled to the French court where they took up residency for some six months. At the same time in France, Cardinal Mazarin also commissioned a play for this wedding: *Ercole Amante*, with a libretto by Francesco Buti, music by Cavalli, and ballets by Lully. It was premiered only in 1662, two years after the wedding.

During their many stays on French soil, the Spaniards undoubtedly performed plays in which they demonstrated their art and style. Their art, in any case, appears to have pleased the French, since *Sarabandes* and *Loures* were written and choreographed in the Spanish style. Circles of the wrist and elbow were introduced in a style that moved the arms upon dancing, and musical forms appeared that were imbued with typically Spanish rhythms, such as those found in the *Jácara*, the *Zarabanda*, and the *Chacona*, as well as the influential hemiola rhythm itself.

Sarabandes, choreographies of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Source: | <i>Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme</i> , comedy-ballet |
| Composer: | Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) |
| Librettist: | Jean-Baptiste Poquelin (i.e., Molière, 1622–1673) |
| Title of the work: | “1er air des Espagnols” [“First Air of the Spaniards”] from the <i>Ballet de las Naciones</i> [<i>Ballet des Nations</i>] |

There exist four different choreographies that were set to this melody. In all cases, the choreographies are referred to as *Sarabandes*.

| Reference Catalogue F. Lancelot | Choreographer | Title of the Choreography | Source | Editor | Dancers |
|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|--|----------|---------|
| FL/1700.1/05 | Feuillet | Sarabande pour femme | Recueil de danses composées par Mr. Feuillet | Feuillet | 1 woman |
| FL/1700.1/06 | Feuillet | Sarabande pour homme | Recueil de danses composées par Mr. Feuillet | Feuillet | 1 man |
| FL/1704.1/01 | Pécour | Sarabande pour une femme | Recueil d'entrées de ballet de Mr. Pécour | Feuillet | 1 woman |
| FL/Ms17.1/05 | Favier | Sarabande de Mr. Favier | [Recueil de danses, Ms. fr. 17884] | Descan | 1 man |

Table 3: Four choreographies of Lully's *Sarabande*

The first two choreographies mentioned (FL/1700.1/05 and FL/1700.1/06), from Feuillet's *Recueil de Danses par Mr. Feuillet* (1700), were reprinted in Descan's French manuscript in 1748 without any changes. In this Descan manuscript we find reprints of all of Feuillet's choreographies, as well as other versions set to the same tunes. Such is the case of the fourth example presented here, a solo for male dancer choreographed by Favier (FL/Ms17.1/05). The *Sarabande pour une femme* by Feuillet (FL/1700.1/05) is also listed in the Derra de Moroda Dance Archives, Salzburg, in an anonymous *Recueil de Danses* (catalog no. 113), and dated before 1720,³³ but as it happens, the page is totally blank.

These choreographies are comprised of French dance steps from the court of Louis XIV, which indicates that they are in a different style from those described in Spain. It is curious that, if we try to put the names of Spanish steps to the movements transcribed in Feuillet, we find many corresponding parallels. This goes beyond the scope of the present article, but is a subject I hope to deal with in the near future.

There is, nonetheless, an essential characteristic that turns out to be identical to both the *Jácara* and this *Sarabande*, as well as to many other French *Sarabandes*: the rhythmic-harmonic form of the hemiola.

Hemiolia rhythm

A hemiola is a shifting of rhythmical accentuation in the ratio of 3:2, as when, for example, two groups of three eighth notes ($\frac{6}{8}$) alternate with three groups of two eighth notes ($\frac{3}{4}$). This alternation is very common in Spanish *danzas* and *bailes*, and entails a variety of issues. The foundation tends to be the three-note groups, while the irregularity is provided by the two-note groups (see Table 4). The *Jácara* is a dance based on this hemiola rhythm. We also find foundations consisting of two-note groups, with a three-note group providing the irregularity at the cadence, as in, for example, the French *courante*.

The hemiola, an omnipresent aspect of the music and dance of Spain, Central America, and South America in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, is found in numerous popular dances of the present day. We also find it in the French *Sarabandes* of the Baroque period.

In the specific case of the 17th-century Spanish *Jácara* and *Zarabanda*, we are confronted with rhythmic schemes that are identical to the *Bulerías*, the *Alegrías*, and the *Soleá* of present-day flamenco. This is why I contend that the *Jácara* and the *Zarabanda* are nascent flamenco, what today we would call “ancient” or “historical” flamenco. All the *Jácara* music follows this scheme, and it pervades pieces by numerous authors, including Gaspar Sanz, Francisco Guerau, Antonio de Santa Cruz, Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, and Santiago de Murcia, among others.

The *Sarabande* “1er air des Espagnols” of the *Ballet des Nations* in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* presents the same rhythmic and formal structure as the *Jácaras* by Santa Cruz or Gaspar Sanz. Reminiscences of this scheme can be found in other French Baroque dances, such as the concluding hemiola in the *Sarabande*, *Chaconne*, *Passacaille*, and *Menuet*, etc.

Dances that follow this rhythmic scheme include *Jácaras* by Sanz (1640–1710), Juan Antonio Mendoza (17th c.), Guerau (17th c.), Santa Cruz (17th c.), Ribayaz (ca. 1650–early 18th c.), and Murcia (1673–1739); the *Sarabande* “1er air des Espagnols” from *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*; and *Bulerías*, *Alegrías*, and *Soleá* in flamenco.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|----|---|
| Beats | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | |
| Accents | | | > | | | > | | > | | > | | >> | |
| $\frac{3}{4}$ | ♪ | ♪ | ♪ | ♪ | ♪ | ♪ | ♪ | ♪ | ♪ | ♪ | ♪ | ♪ | : |
| Counts in flamenco | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | - | - | |
| Accents | | | > | | | > | | > | | > | | >> | |

Table 4: hemiola rhythms

Arm movements

I would like to clarify a detail with regard to the arm movements in Spanish dance. In Esquivel's book the only instructions that he gives about the arms is that they must be

dropped down, such that the hands are in the pockets at the sides, without winding them around the body, but rather moving them very little and carelessly.³⁴

It is certain that Esquivel describes the steps that were used in dances in school, and he speaks very little of the arms, presumably precisely because they are school dances. But in the popular or theater *danzas* or *bailes*, we do know that the arms were used.

Concerning the arm and castanet movements that were used in the Spanish *bailes* of the 17th century (and the 18th century, for that matter), here are a few excerpts from the anonymous *Jácara*:

- turn in profile [...] *sostenido* and *quiebro* upwards, and *sostenido* and *quiebro* downwards, turning the right arm around to one and the other *quiebro*
- *sostenido*, *cargando* the right foot over the left and pass the right hand in front of the face
- do three *quiebros* to the left side, making a circle with the right arm on each one
- two *vacíos* with the left winding around and *sostenido* and *quiebro* downwards with the left and pass the hand in front of the face
- two *pasos* to the side with arms out *sostenido* and *quiebro* with arms in
- *sostenido* and *quiebro* to the left side with arms in, two *vacíos* with arms out, and another *sostenido* and *quiebro* with the right and arms in
- two *pasos* to the right side with the left and making a circle with the left arm and throw out the foot along with the arm.³⁵

These descriptions are informative about the use of circular arm movements, “making a circle with the left arm [...] turning the arm around.” The author names two directions for these circular arm motions: “with arms in [...] with arms out.” All of these movements remind us of certain arm movements used today in flamenco.

To complete the picture this information paints about the possible use of arms in Spanish dance, I offer the following description of arm movements and castanet playing from the *Españoleta* by Minguet (1737).

Whosoever should try dancing the *Españoleta*. [...] Now one must be advised on how to hold the arms in order to play the castanets for this *paseo*: upon starting to do the *pasos*, they are held down at the sides, without playing the castanets; but upon doing the *sacudido*, one must lift the arms the same amount, bringing the hands up to the chest, and at the moment of doing the *carrerilla* open them outwards the same amount, striking the castanet with both hands at one time, then one must again lower the arms until the other *sacudido*, and must do the same thing on the *vuelta al descuido*, and all this must be done in the time of one complete *tañido* for the *Españoleta*: all the *mudanzas* occur within the time of a half *tañido*, and the *deshecho* within the other half.³⁶

The arm movements described here are much more contained or restrained than those described in the anonymous *Jácara*. It is a use of the arms and castanets in a reduced and

regular manner. For this reason, I am convinced that, on some occasions at court, it was also possible to dance with arm movements while playing the castanets, and that this is the type of arm movement that was practiced in the *danzas*, or rather, the *bailes* at court, as well as in the dance schools. Curiously, it reminds me of the arm movements described by Rameau for the French *Menuet*, the court dance par excellence.

Conclusion

Flamenco is the dance of the gypsies. I have read and heard flamenco specialists claim that the gypsies came to Spain from India in times long past. I conclude that one of the dance styles practiced in 17th-century Spain—the style of the popular *Jácaras* and *Zarabandas*, for example—might correspond to what I dare call the “early flamenco style,” since, among others things, we find that some arm movements, some steps, and the hemiola rhythm are still practically identical in today’s flamenco.

The arm movements mentioned above were integrated into popular dance and the use of castanets was added already in the 17th century, or perhaps even earlier. In the 18th century we see from Minguet’s book that the use of arms and castanets has gone on to include certain courtly dances.

At the same time, I sense that one of the Spanish contributions to French dance was the integration of the circular motions of the arms and wrists as described above, adapted and codified by the *Académie de Danse* that was created by Louis XIV in 1661; and a second contribution was the use of castanets that eventually developed in France.

In his *Maître à Danser* (1725), Rameau describes in detail the arm movements in courtly dances. Only circles and half-circles of the wrists and elbows were used in these dances. By contrast, Feuillet, in his *Chorégraphie* (1700), additionally offers notation for recording circles and half-circles of the shoulders. The circular arm movements from the shoulder imply that the arm lifts over the top of the head, which we know was done in the *Jácara*, the *Zarabanda*, and the original *Sarabande*. These higher arm movements were used in dances for the theater. Feuillet also presents a system for annotating the castanet rhythms, a sure indication that castanets were often played while dancing.

Thus, we can conclude:

- 1) that early Spanish dance did use the arms, as well as the castanets, in diverse ways. These can be constrained and noble, or, in the case of a popular dance like the *Jácara* and the *Zarabanda*, very similar to those of present-day flamenco with several circles of the arm in front of the face and over the top of the head.
- 2) that the difference between *danza* and *baile* can be found in the use of the arms and the castanets, but that the same piece can be a combination of both.
- 3) that the *Jácara* is an old form of the *Alegría* or *Bulería*, by way of its music and steps and its use of the arms. Moreover, that a kind of French *Sarabande* derives directly from the *Jácara* or *Zarabanda*.

I suggest as well, in the way of a broader reflection, that Spanish dance in the 17th century, evolving through the 18th century, grew into the style known today as the Bolera School. On the other hand, French academic dancing in the 17th and early 18th centuries, and evolving over the course of the 18th century, ultimately evolved into classical ballet.

Finally, a small sampling of the terms circulating around the *Jácara* and its relation to the *Alegrías*:

| Spanish | → | English | → | Spanish |
|----------|---|---------------|---|------------------------------|
| Jácaras | → | Merry Songs | → | canciones alegres [Alegrías] |
| Alegrías | → | Happy Moments | → | momentos felices |
| Jolgorio | → | Merriment | → | Alegría |

Table 5: Terms in relation to the *Jácara*

Appendix: *Danza* and/or *baile*

One question that all researchers of historical Spanish dance ask is, what constitutes the difference between *danza* and *baile*? Especially since both words were used in Spanish to describe the act of dancing. Numerous people have researched and written on this topic, it is not the place to go into detail here regarding all the possible conclusions that have been reached. Nevertheless, I want to share with you some examples of usage on this subject as offered by Minguet in his *Danzas a la española para los que las han sabido, y se les han olvidado* from the 1737 edition *Arte de danzar a la francesa*:

In the *Pavana*:

The *Pavana* is *danzada*, which means the castanet is not played while dancing.³⁷

In the *Gallarda*:

The *Gallarda* is *danzada* like the *Pavana*.³⁸

In the *Españoleta*:

Whosoever should try *bailar* [dancing] the *Españoleta*, the first thing one must do is to place oneself firmly in the position, as has been indicated in the other *danzas* [...].³⁹

Does this quote mean that:

- 1) it is perfectly clear that the *Españoleta* is a *baile*, but that it simply begins in the same way as the *danzas* described beforehand?
- 2) that the terms *danza* and *baile* are confusing and used in an indistinguishable manner?

In the *Villano* castanets are used from time to time, but it is called neither a *danza* nor a *baile*. This is an example in which castanets are used with the arms down.

I advise that [...] when doing the *paseo* at each *floreo*, one must strike the castanets, all at one time, both arms down at the sides for the whole *villano*, and that the striking of the castanets is not more than for the *pas[e]o*; but played constantly in the rest of the *mudanzas*.⁴⁰

In the *Imposibles*:

The *Imposibles* are *bailados*, only the *entrada* is *danzada*.⁴¹

In the *Hermosa*:

The *Hermosa* is half *tañido danzado* and half *bailado*, and this is done with the *cortesía* up to the middle of the first entry, it has four *tañidos*, and within them eight *mudanzas* are performed, four *danz[ad]as* with the hat in the left hand, and four more *bailadas* with castanets.⁴²

This coincidentally provides us with a possible clue concerning rhythm: four *tañidos* equals eight *mudanzas*.

We can observe the regular alternation of *mudanzas danzadas* and *mudanzas bailadas*:

This first *mudanza* is *danzada* and serves as *entrada* [...]. The second *mudanza* is *bailada* [...]. The third *mudanza* is *danzada* [...]. The fourth *mudanza* is *bailada* [...]. This *mudanza* [the fifth] is *danzada* [...]. The sixth *mudanza* is *bailada* [...]. The seventh *mudanza* is *danzada* [...]. The eighth *mudanza* is *bailada* [...].⁴³

To me, these examples seem to indicate that:

- 1) on one hand, the relationship between *danza* and *baile* can be that of a movement without use of the arms, with more constrained steps in the case of *danzar*, and with use of the arms and/or castanets in the case of *bailar*.
- 2) on the other hand, the relationship between these two modalities is not well defined, since we already find an alternation between both terms within the same choreography.

Notes

1 COVARRUBIAS: *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, p. 487.

2 CERVANTES: *El Rufián dichoso*, lines 173—180.

3 Ibid., lines 204—207.

4 ESQUIVEL: *Discursos sobre el arte del dançado*, fol. 30v.

5 VILLAVICIOSA: *Entremés de los Sones*. Cited in COTARELO Y MORI: *Colección de entremeses*, vol. 1, p. CCLII.

6 CALDERON: *Loa para la Compañía de Escamilla*. Cited in Ibid., p. CCXXXII.

7 CAÑIZARES, JOSE DE: *Mojiganga de los Sones*. Cited in Ibid., p. CCLII.

8 REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, vol. 6, letter X, p. 532.

9 ROXO DE FLORES: *Tratado de recreación instructiva sobre la danza*, p. 118.

- 10 JAQUE: *Libro de danzar*, fol. 9v.
- 11 Ibid., fol. 10v.
- 12 REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, vol. 1, letter A, p. 271: *Amolador*. f. m. “One who grinds and sharpens tools on a whetstone. Spoken language from the verb ‘amolar’ [to grind]. / *Amolar* v. a. To sharpen, to hone, put an edge on a weapon or cutting instrument of some kind.”
- 13 JAQUE: *Libro de danzar*, fol. 10v.
- 14 FERRIOL Y BOXERAUS: *Reglas utiles*, p. 47.
- 15 Ibid., p. 59.
- 16 QUIÑONES DE BENAVENTE: *El Amolador*, p. 754. Cited in COTALELO Y MORI: *Colección de entremeses*, vol. 1, p. CL.
- 17 FRENK, MARGIT: *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica*, vol. 1, p. 803. Frenk’s sources are QUIÑONES DE BENAVENTE: *El Amolador* (1643), fol. 11, and *Nuevos entremeses*, (or GONZ LEZ MAYA, JUAN C.: *Entremeses nuevos?*), Alcalá 1643.
- 18 COTALELO Y MORI: *Colección de entremeses*, vol. 1, p. CL.
- 19 Don José Sancho Rayón, the owner of the original manuscript, was co-author, together with Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle and Don Francisco de Zabalburu, of *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*.
- 20 ANONYMUS: *Jácara*, fol. [2]r, line 6.
- 21 Ibid., fol. [3]r, line 10.
- 22 Ibid., fol. [3]r, line 3.
- 23 Ibid., fol. [2]v, lines 19 and 22.
- 24 Ibid., fol. [3]r, line 12.
- 25 Whenever *media* is used in this manuscript, it clearly refers to the abbreviated name of a step. I imagine that it could be the abbreviation of *media cabriola*.
- 26 OLIVELLES: *Memòria de les danses*, p. 195.
- 27 ESQUIVEL: *Discursos sobre el arte del dançado*, fol. 30v.
- 28 In different eras of the past, it was customary to translate the names of steps and dances, which is why in the original French they refer to the dance as the *Sarabande* when describing the *Zarabanda* that they saw in Spain.
- 29 DAVILLIERS/DORE: *Le tour de monde*, p. 396.
- 30 LA JUMEL DE BERNEVILLE: *Voyage en Espagne en 1679*. Cited in DAVILLIERS/DORE: *Le tour de monde*, p. 396.
- 31 POMEY: *Le dictionnaire royale*, p. 22. Reproduced and translated in RANUM: *Audible rhetoric and mute rhetoric*, pp. 34f.
- 32 PRAETORIUS: *Terpsichore* (1612), *Sarabandes XXXIII and XXXIV*.
- 33 Listed in LANCELOT: *La Belle dance*, FL/Ms02.1/19.
- 34 ESQUIVEL: *Discursos sobre el arte del dançado*, fol. 21v, line 13.
- 35 ANONYMUS: *Jácara*, fols. 1r—4v.
- 36 MINGUET È IROL: “Danzas a la española para los que las han sabido y se les ha olvidado” in *Arte de danzar a la francesa*, p. 61: *Españoleta*.
- 37 Ibid., p. 53.
- 38 Ibid., p. 58.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 61f.
- 40 Ibid., p. 65.
- 41 Ibid., p. 67.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 69f.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 71f.