

The Global Reach of the Fandango in Music, Song and Dance

The Global Reach of the Fandango in Music, Song and Dance:

*Spaniards, Indians,
Africans and Gypsies*

Edited by

K. Meira Goldberg and Antoni Pizà

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Frontispiece images:

David Durán Barrera, of the group Los Jilguerillos del Huerto, Huetamo, (Michoacán), June 11, 2011. Photo: Raquel Paraíso.

Daguerreotype. Madame Dolores Navarrés de Goñi with Spanish Style guitar. Circa 1850-1855. Courtesy of C. F. Martin Archives.





We dedicate this volume to our colleague and friend
Paul Dana Naish, 1960 – 2016.

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K. Meira Goldberg and Antoni Pizà

INTRODUCTION: *MESTIZAJES*

You have already heard of this dance of Cádiz, which has always been known for its obscenity. Nowadays you would see this very dance performed in every public square and in every room of every home in this town. Applauded beyond belief by everyone standing about, it is performed and appreciated not only by dark-skinned folk and people of low station, but also by respectable ladies of noble birth.

—Manuel Martí Zaragoza, Deacon of Alicante, 1712¹

*Venimos de dos orillas
Atlántico de por medio
todos buscando el promedio
y medir las maravillas.
Hemos sembrado semillas
que nos vienen desde España,
desde África la entraña
nos convoca aquí en New Yor'
donde Meira con amor
ha logrado gran hazaña.*

*Estamos aquí reunidos
a celebrar el fandango,
cultores de todo rango
han sido los elegidos.
Muchos nombres distinguidos
han acudido a la cita.
La ocasión bien lo amerita
pues convoca a todo el mundo
para sentir lo profundo
de esta fiesta que es bendita.*

—Rafael Figueroa Hernández, April 17, 2015

¹ Alan Jones's new translation of Martí's 1712 letter from Latin to English is discussed in his article "Emergence and Transformations of the Fandango," in this volume. An often-cited Spanish translation can be found in Aurelio Capmany, "El baile y la danza." In Francesch Carreras y Candi, *Folklore y costumbres de España: II* (Barcelona: Casa Editorial Alberto Martín, 1931), 248.

In *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*, Serge Gruzinski notes “the difficulty we experience even ‘seeing’ *mestizo* phenomena, much less analyzing them.”² The fandango emerged in the early eighteenth century as a popular dance and music craze across Spain and the Americas. While in parts of Latin America the term “fandango” came to refer to any festive social dance event, over the course of that century in both Spain and the Americas a broad family of interrelated fandango music and dance genres evolved that went on to constitute important parts of regional expressive culture. This fandango family comprised genres as diverse as the Cuban peasant *punto*, the salon and concert fandangos of Mozart and Scarlatti, and—last but not least—the Andalusian fandango subgenres that became core components of flamenco. The fandango world itself became a conduit for the creative interaction and syncretism of music, dance, and people of diverse Spanish, Afro-Latin, Gitano, and perhaps even Amerindian origins. As such, the fandango family evolved as a quintessential *mestizaje*, a *mélange* of people, imagery, music and dance from the Americas, Europe, and Africa.³ Emerging from the maelstrom of the Atlantic slave trade with its cataclysmic remaking of the Western world, the fandango in its diverse but often interrelated forms was nurtured in the ports of Cádiz, Veracruz, São Paulo and Havana, and went on to proliferate throughout Old and New Worlds. Widely dispersed in terms of geography, class, and cultural reference, the fandango’s many faces reflect a diversity of exchange across what were once the Spanish (and Portuguese) empires.

Born in transit between the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula, the fandango was swept along by industrialization and the growth of cities, the birth of capitalism, and the great emancipatory processes that would lead, over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to independence in the Americas. From the celebrations of humble folk to the salons and theaters of the European elite, the fandango multiplied. With boisterous castanets, strumming strings and dexterous footwork, flirtatious sensuality and piquant attitudes, the costume of peasants and Gypsies done in elegant fabrics for aristocratic patrons, wherever it took root the fandango absorbed dance and music ideas of “Gypsies and other people of

² Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (N.Y.: Routledge, 2002), 2.

³ José Antonio Robles Cahero, “Un paseo por la música y el baile populares de la Nueva España” (Hemispheric Institute Web Cuadernos, March 6, 2010), <http://www.hemisphericinstitute.org/cuaderno/censura/html/danza/danza.htm> (accessed February 13, 2014).

low caste” into the heart of national identity. The period of its greatest popularity, from approximately the mid-eighteenth to the early-nineteenth century, straddles the tipping point of the Spanish colonial enterprise from ascent into decline. With Gluck’s *Don Juan* (1761), Mozart’s *The Marriage of Figaro* (1786), Rossini’s *The Barber of Seville* (1816), and Petipa’s *Don Quixote* (1869), the narrative of Spain as represented by the reviled *conquistadores*, Torquemada’s Inquisition, and Dominican missionaries (the “dogs of God”), was replaced with the image of Spain as a land of festive bandits and swarthy, gleaming-eyed Gypsies.

As the emblem of *majismo*, an aristocratic fashion for imitating the underclass, the fandango, emerging in the Americas among enslaved Africans and decimated indigenous peoples, was embraced and absorbed by Spaniards who raised this dance of the Indies in resistance to the minuets of the French. With its empire crumbling, Spain, once the colonizer, was now the object of the colonizing gaze—as Dumas is reputed to have said, “Africa begins at the Pyrenees.” In the ultimate reversal, the fandango was a symbol of freedom of movement and of expression, a danced opposition to the academic conscriptions and modes of the Spanish court.

The process of creolization took place on both sides of the Atlantic, and it took place through surprising alliances, such as the black and white slaves—*fandangueros*—of Cádiz in 1464, or the Gypsies whom Swinburne described in 1776 dancing a variant of the fandango, the Mandingoy—recalling not only the Mandinka people of West Africa, but also a runaway slave community in eighteenth-century México.⁴ In each universe where the fandango took root, it developed differently, as classical music, flamenco, son jarocho, joropo, punto...

What is the full array of the fandango? How has the fandango participated in the elaboration of various national identities; that is, what are the politics of representation of the various fandangos? How do the

⁴ José Luis Navarro García, *Semillas de ébano: el elemento negro y afroamericano en el baile flamenco* (Sevilla: Portada Editorial, S.L., 1998), 59, 199, citing Municipal Archives of Jerez de la Frontera, September 14, 1464, folio 118; Henry Swinburne, *Travels through Spain, in the Years 1775 and 1776* (Dublin: Printed for S. Price, R. Cross, J. Williams [and 8 others], 1779), 353–54; Patrick J. Carroll, “Mandinga: The Evolution of a Mexican Runaway Slave Community, 1735–1827,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 19, no. 4 (1977): 488–505.

fandangos of the Enlightenment shed light on musical populism and folkloric nationalism as armaments in the revolutionary struggles for independence of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? What are some of the shared formal features—musical, choreographic, or lyric—that can be discerned in the diverse constituents of the fandango family in Spain and the Americas? How does our recognition of these features enhance our understanding of historical connections between these places? How does the fandango manifest the recurrent reflections, cultural assimilations, appropriations, elisions, accommodations, and rejections of the postcolonial Latin world? What are the political economies of fandango performances—how do local, cross-class, and transnational transactions activate the process of mestizaje? Can we track the great flows, effusions, migrations, and transformations of culture through a close examination of the local and specific histories of the fandango? How do fandango music and dance embody memory? How do they collapse past and present, creating performances that simultaneously echo the magical or sacred practices of their ancestors and appeal to a commercial audience? How may we read, as Terence Cave has described, the performance of mestizaje and the negotiations of hegemonic gender codes in intermediate forms like the minuet *afandangado*, or a fandango on eggs?⁵ What is the genealogy of the fandango's stringed instruments, instrumental and vocal techniques, meter, verse, melodic structures, and improvisational syntax? What does the *movimiento jaranero* in immigrant communities across the U.S. as well as in México have to do with the process of decolonialization? The papers that follow answer many of these questions and undoubtedly pose new ones.

This volume is an all-English edition of the bilingual conference proceedings published in *Música Oral del Sur*, vol. 12 (2015). To the thirty-one articles published in MOS, three have been added: those of Cristina Cruces Roldán, José Miguel Hernández Jaramillo, and Lénica Reyes Zúñiga. Eight of the nine articles originally published in Spanish have been translated. And some typographical errors in the MOS publication have been corrected here.

The uttermost respect we have for the scholarship presented in this volume will be obvious to the reader. The perspectives presented in

⁵ Terence Cave, *Mignon's Afterlives: Crossing Cultures from Goethe to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Chrystelle T. Bond, *A Chronicle of Dance in Baltimore, 1780-1814* (New York: M. Dekker, 1976), 13.

this volume have not been curated, and they do not necessarily represent the viewpoints of the editors. Rather, we have elected to include the astonishing range of methodological approaches and of subject matter gathered at the 2015 conference in New York. Even the tone is diverse: some articles are general and expository for the beginning reader just familiarizing him or herself with these topics, while other articles have a high level of erudition and specialization.

We have organized this collection into five large sections. The first one, “Genres and Forms,” addresses some of the structural and purely musical characteristics of the fandango. In their approach and methodology these papers are straightforward musical scholarship. They outline formal typologies and generic categorizations, but they are also attentive to the limits of such an endeavor. Thus one of the writers, Miguel Ángel Berlanga, asks whether, considering the variety of phenomena that fall under that label, a “universal” definition of fandango is possible; he concludes that there are indeed some universal underlying traits in most fandango types. Peter Manuel eloquently adds to this view, stating that the fandango is “an unruly and sprawling set of entities,” and proceeding to articulate some of its essential and broadly disseminated characteristics. For John Moore the fandangos *libres* (or in free meter) perhaps are not so free; he points out that they often overlap with those considered to follow a *compás* (or meter). Even in a single locale, a constrained geographical area, the fandango hardly seems to fit any pre-established categories. In Málaga, for instance, fandangos are performed as verdiales or as malagueñas, states Ramón Soler; they are performed with or without meter; and with different degrees of involvement of instruments and dance. José Miguel Hernández Jaramillo questions the evolutionary prejudices of flamenco historiography and challenges us to look beyond taxonomic segregation of folklore from flamenco in the nineteenth century. Lénica Reyes Zúñiga takes a closer look at the formal similarities and distinctions between fandangos and malagueñas, providing an extremely useful catalog of nineteenth-century scores. Guillermo Castro Buendía focuses on how compound meter, an “unruly” hybrid in itself, is one of the defining factors of many fandangos.

The following section, “Migration, Diaspora, and Global Pop,” ponders the role of commercialization and a global audience in the transmission of vernacular or folk practices onto the international stage, highlighting the ability of music to cross borders and to reincarnate itself in different contexts. Reynaldo Fernández Manzano juxtaposes the

persistence and yet mutability of tradition, tracing the re-imaginings of vernacular Spanish fandangos on the European concert stage, and also the centuries-old traditions of verbal jousting in localized communities in the Alpujarra Mountains, contests of improvised verse that bear a remarkable resemblance to several Latin American traditions. Bruno Bartra's essay covers another reincarnation of the fandango in a distant and different context, studying the persistence and yet malleability of fandango performance in New York City in 2015. Wilfried Raussert explores the cosmo-political ramifications of the fandango in a border zone, in this case between the U.S. and México, and how old traditions are given new relevance for contemporary listeners and performers by filling them with political content, engaging directly with pressing social issues such as migration. Rafael Figueroa Hernández explores how a global pop standard like the song "Yo no soy marinero ¡Soy capitán!" testifies to the strength and persistence of tradition, broadcasting even in its most commercial incarnations the voice of revolution and self-determination, given new potency by activist-artists like the group Quetzal. Walter Clark meditates on another global pop standard, Ernesto Lecuona's 1928 *Malagueña*, and how its transatlantic and cross-genre migration, from the flamenco malagueñas of Juan Breva, to the classical works of Isaac Albéniz, to the height of kitsch as played by Liberace, encapsulate a moment of richly cohesive incongruity in our shared culture, a constellation of delicious ironies underlying one man's personal narrative. Cristina Cruces views Fernando el de Triana's tortured view of the fandango and the flamenco opera of the early twentieth century in light of the adoption of flamenco and indeed Andalucía itself, stripped of its Gitano roughness as of all traces of criminality, as providing the language for an epic, paternalistic, and propagandistic discourse—a vision of flamenco, "the quintessence of Spain," as political metonymy for the nation as a whole. Kiko Mora looks at the U.S. national narrative, tracing how the guitar, a mass-produced instrument appropriate to middle-class living rooms, was popularized and feminized by Spanish artists like Dolores de Góñi. He uncovers surprising connections between Spain and the U.S., as for example how The Spanish Students, guitar ensembles who toured the U.S. in the 1880s and 90s, impacted the designs of Gibson guitars, and how Spanish guitar techniques may have influenced the slide guitar of blues and rock.

"Mestizaje and Hybridization" surveys the richly variegated ways in which colonial-era fandango traditions circulating throughout the Caribbean and, indeed, the Atlantic basins are fortified with the interlocking and interwoven aesthetic practices of Amerindians, Spaniards,

Africans, and Gitanos. Ricardo Pérez Montfort cautions us not to juxtapose the idea of *mestizaje* or hybridization with that of “purity”—of breeding; all societies are already mixed, already creolized, he argues, and so we should view cultural particularities, as well as shared cultural traits, from a granular perspective, taking note of what is at stake in the circulation and transmission of images and sounds. Nubia Flórez Forero looks at the fandangos of the Colombian Caribbean, circular spaces for celebrating community through music and dance like many found throughout the African diaspora, as a matrix where resistance to colonial evangelization and subjugation not only survived but propagated. Using formal musical analysis, Claudia Calderón Sáenz traces the relationships between the many Joropos of the Orinoco River Basin of Venezuela and eastern Colombia, noting related formal traits such as improvisational structures, the instrumentation of song, and polyrhythmic dance play between double and triple meter that delineate a web of familial relationships between the musics of the plains and those of the Andes. Raquel Paraíso gives another vivid account of the politics of the fandango. In Huetamo, Michoacán, local communities are reviving fandango practices from memory, rejecting the homogenized and nationalist stereotypes of the fandango as Mexican folklore in favor of reclaiming rich local traditions, such as planting the *tarima* in the earth, thus powerfully embodying communal memory, bringing the past into the lived present. Jessica Gottfried Hesketh considers the fandango as a fiesta, arguing that the liminal space of the fandango should itself be an object of research. She notes that there are fandango festivities in which the word “fandango” alludes not only to the fiesta itself but also to a moment or gesture essential to the communal ritual, and documents how this in itself is a shared characteristic in fandangos as disparate as the Fandango Tehuano in San Juan Guichicovi in the state of Oaxaca in México, and the Fandango Parao of Alosno, in the province of Huelva, Spain.

In “Politics and Policies” the fandango emerges as a malleable musical phenomenon, adaptable, of course, to almost any political purpose. Craig Russell examines in detail *The Marriage of Figaro* and how the fandango is placed in key moments in the opera to proclaim egalitarian attitudes. The fandango is, according to Russell, the “encapsulation of the Enlightenment” in its expression of human equality. The first novel in the USA to deal with a Latin American topic, Timothy Flint’s 1826 *Francis Berrian*, expresses the same egalitarian attitudes through the fandango. Paul D. Naish states that a fandango makes everyone “mix in a giddy dance that anticipates a future happy union

between Mexico and the United States”—although, ironically, the North American protagonist is far less comfortable with this democratic situation than is his Mexican consort. Examining the dictatorship of Francisco Franco and his regime’s use of coloristic Andalusian images and especially of flamenco musical forms to bring tourist dollars to Spain, Theresa Goldbach scrutinizes how the fandango “provided a bridge between the franquista use of Andalusian imagery for tourist purposes and the orthodoxy of flamenco purists.” In Brazil, as well, the fandango “has a central role in the internal social dynamics of these communities, operating as a leisure practice and, at the same time, regulating social relationships,” according to Allan de Paula Oliveira. Inspecting the contribution of women to flamenco, Loren Chuse concludes that the fandango in addition to operating as an expression of national and regional identity, is also a powerful signifier of gender. When protesters, as recently as 2014, wanted to object to the politics of austerity of the government, as well as to comment on other causes, they used the fandango to disrupt the Andalusian Parliament, Tony Dumas reminds us. And in Mexico too: Alex E. Chávez shows how the *topadas* or musical and poetic duels of the *huapango arribeño* are filled with political content made increasingly urgent by narco-trafficking and the related crisis of immigration.

The final section, “The Exotic and the Other,” opens with Alan Jones’s thorough and detailed historical analysis of some of the reincarnations and transformations of the fandango, including a significant new translation from Latin to English of Manuel Martí y Zaragoza’s often-cited letter of 1712. He tracks the fandango from Casanova’s “voluptuous” dance to highbrow hybrids, splattered with touches of country-dances, contradances, and the minuet. Even “straight-laced” Boston fell to the fandango craze of the 1790s... Lou Charnon-Deutsch surveys the origins and persistence of certain stereotypes about Spain, its music, and especially the fandango. She summons literary and other sources that over the course of several centuries have construed an image of Spain as an exotic and fascinating locale for Europeans. Adam Kent explores how the fandango has been adapted and updated by classical composers. The fandangos of Scarlatti, Soler, Boccherini, Granados, and Falla all reflect the current musical language of their periods. Granados deploys romantic piano elements, while Falla applies Impressionist colors—each thus reflecting their own time, rather than any other idea of a historical fandango. Claudia Jeschke discusses how the fandango and the “hispanomania” of the nineteenth century made a mark on dance and

choreography, expanding the vocabulary of classical dance and developing more personal and expressive performance modes. Thomas Baird, K. Meira Goldberg, and Paul Jared Newman document their reconstruction of an eighteenth-century danced fandango. They argue that the *pasada*, a step in which partners change places, reveals traces of the eighteenth-century fandango as an improvisational social dance. Further, they argue, the *pasada* embodies the licentiousness of the fandango, in terms both of its sensual intercourse between men and women, and in its transgressive movement across classes. María José Ruiz Mayordomo y Aurèlia Pessarrodona cap this section with an interdisciplinary analysis (music-dance and theory-practice) of the relationships between musical and dancerly gestures viewed through the lens of the “ideal” dancing body of the second half of the eighteenth century. Using the bolero school dance known as *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*, whose choreography fits perfectly with the music of a theatrical fandango of the late-eighteenth century composed by Bernardo Álvarez Acero, they seek the keys to understanding these and other musical fandangos of this era.

The papers gathered here were presented at the conference “Spaniards, Indians, Africans, and Gypsies: The Global Reach of the Fandango in Music, Song, and Dance” (Foundation for Iberian Music; The Graduate Center, The City University of New York, April 17 & 18, 2015). Our endeavor in organizing the conference was to bring these “cousins” into dialogue with one another, to wonder how one form might shed light on another—this was the first international conference on the fandango as a phenomenon of *mestizaje*, and we are immensely proud of its outcomes. During the conference, the papers were presented, in English and Spanish, in several double sessions under descriptive headings. As we noted at the beginning of this introduction, although some questions have been answered, many more await a response. The merits of this collection of essays rest on the superb scholars who have contributed their knowledge. We, the organizers, can only say that we are grateful that they lent their scholarship to this project. We feel privileged and honored that they entrusted us with their work. We hope this pioneering effort to gather international, world-renowned scholars will open new horizons and lay the foundational stone for further research, conferences, and publications. The 2015 conference program is included at the end of these proceedings, as is the advertisement for the sequel, *Spaniards, Indians, Africans, and Gypsies: Transatlantic Malagueñas and Zapateados in Music, Song, and*

Dance—to be held April 6–7, 2017 at the University of California, Riverside.⁶ We hope to see you there.

K. Meira Goldberg and Antoni Pizà

⁶ For more information, please visit the websites of the Center for Iberian and Latin American Music at UCR (<http://www.cilam.ucr.edu/>), or the Foundation for Iberian Music at the CUNY Grad Center (<http://brookcenter.gc.cuny.edu/2017-spaniards-indians-africans-and-gypsies-transatlantic-malaguenas-and-zapateados-in-music-song-and-dance-2/>), or send an email to fandangoconference.cuny@gmail.com.

I.

GENRES AND FORMS

CHAPTER ONE

THE FANDANGO COMPLEX IN THE SPANISH ATLANTIC: A PANORAMIC VIEW

PETER MANUEL

Abstract

While the Andalusian and best-known forms of fandango share certain distinctive musical features, these same features can be seen to link these subgenres, historically and structurally, to much broader sets of transatlantic musical families, including the eighteenth-century vernacular and semi-classical fandango, older genres like the zarabanda and chacona, a wide family of Caribbean-Basin ternary forms, as well as Andean and South American relatives. At the same time, clear distinctions can be made between genres related to this fandango complex and other major musical families in the Spanish Atlantic.

Keywords

Fandango, zarabanda, flamenco

Resumen

Así como las formas andaluzas más conocidas del fandango muestran ciertos rasgos musicales distintivos, que pueden servir para vincular estos subgéneros, histórica y estructuralmente, a grupos mucho más amplios de las familias musicales transatlánticas, como el fandango popular y el semi-clásico del siglo XVIII, géneros anteriores como la zarabanda y la chacona, la amplia familia de patrón ternario de la cuenca del Caribe, además de otros géneros andinos y sudamericanos. Mientras tanto, existen diferencias claras entre el complejo del fandango y otras familias importantes en el Atlántico español.

Despite the considerable amount of astute and ongoing scholarship on the fandango in its diverse transatlantic incarnations, the fandango set of musical families remains an unruly and sprawling set of entities. While it may be relatively easy and logical to delineate a “core” fandango family of Andalusian song forms, the distinguishing features of this set of genres are in fact shared, in various ways and to various degrees, with other Spanish and Hispanic American musical genre groups, whether of the present or of previous epochs.

This brief essay suggests a set of analytical parameters and continua for categorization of forms within the fandango family itself. It seeks to posit a “fandango complex” of musically related genres, involving a set of core subgenres structurally linked to sets of larger musical families in Spain, the Hispanic Caribbean, and Latin America as a whole. This taxonomy excludes the numerous Latin American “fandangos” which bear that name only as an indicator of a certain festive event, rather than as denoting specific musical features; at the same time, it seeks to show relations with other genres which are not called “fandango,” and yet which bear clear affinities, in musical terms, with core members of the fandango family.

The fandango, in accordance with its importance in flamenco and in Spanish music as a whole, has been the subject of several erudite studies, primarily by Spanish scholars, including Berlanga (2000), Fernández Marín (2011), and Torres Cortes (2010).¹ The present article attempts to build on the insights and findings of these studies by suggesting, to some extent from a panoramic perspective, some broader ways of organizing and classifying fandango variants in terms of their specific musical features and their relations to other major categories of Iberian and Latin American song. Hopefully subsequent studies may enhance such analyses with choreographic perspectives, which are wholly absent from this inquiry.

Miguel Berlanga, in his aforementioned volume (2000), points out the utility of grouping diverse Spanish fandango variants into two large categories, viz., what he aptly calls the *fandangos del sur* (i.e., of

¹ See also *V Congreso de folclore andaluz: Expresiones de la cultural del pueblo: "El fandango."* 1994. Malaga: Centro de Documentacion Musical de Andalucía (no editor named). The perspectives presented in this essay overlap considerably with those, in this same volume, of Berlanga, whose scholarship is especially noteworthy.

Andalusia), and all the rest. The former category would comprise malagueñas, verdiales, fandango de Huelva, fandango libre, granáinas, tarantas, traditional rondeñas, and other lesser related genres (in their sung rather than solo guitar forms), whether rendered in *aflamencado* (“flamenco-ized”) style or not. Before the interventions of twentieth-century folklorists and flamencologists, not all these song forms were traditionally designated as “fandangos,” but their retrospective classification as such makes eminent sense in view of their shared formal structure. As has often been described, this structure, in its quintessential form, can be seen to alternate *copla* (verse) sections with instrumental (primarily guitar) interludes, which are here referred to as ritornellos (though in modern flamenco discourse they would be called *entrecopla*); these consist primarily of passages which themselves have been variously labeled *variaciones*, *diferencias*, or (in modern flamenco guitar playing) *falsetas*. The ritornellos (in, for example, what guitarists would call *por arriba* tonality) often outline Am-G-F-E (iv-III-II-I) patterns in the “Andalusian tonality” of E Phrygian major, while the *coplas* would be in the common-practice key of C major, with the progression C-F-(G7)-C-G7-C-F [-E], in which the final F chord marks the dramatic climax and serves as a modulatory pivot to the Phrygian major tonality of the *entrecopla*.

Grouping the Andalusian fandangos in a discrete *fandango del sur* category is logical, and clearly consistent with vernacular discourse and understanding among Spanish musicians themselves. At the same time, analysis of the specific musical features defining this category reveals how its borders are best seen as porous rather than rigid, such that the fandango as a formal entity spills over in various directions, whether in terms of geographic ambitus, social strata, or historical epoch.

In categorizing the *fandango del sur* variants in relation to each other, as well as to other genres to which they are linked, it is useful to approach fandango forms in terms of a set of particular parameters and continua. One of these would distinguish fandango as a dance genre (or a musical genre intended to accompany dance) or, alternately, as a listening-oriented genre. Thus, for example, the early historical references to fandango, from 1705 on, describe it primarily as a dance, suggesting that its purely musical features may have been unremarkable. Similarly, as Berlanga (2000) notes, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the *fandangos del sur* flourished primarily, and most characteristically, in the context of festive, informal, participatory *bailes de candil* (“candle-lit dances”). Stylized (and *aflamencado*) versions of such dances (such as

verdiales), with their musical accompaniment, were also performed on stage in the *cafés cantantes* which, in the latter 1800s, constituted focal sites for the evolution of flamenco. As has been documented, during this period singer-guitarist Juan Breva popularized the malagueña as a sort of listening-oriented counterpart to the verdiales; by the early twentieth century, the soloistic flamenco forms of *granaínas*, *tarantas*, and the free-rhythmic *fandango libre* also came to be cultivated as quasi-art-songs for listening rather than social dance. For its part, the classicized, pre-composed *fandangos de salón*, whether written for keyboard (like that of Antonio Soler) or for guitar (like that of Dionisio Aguado), were also presumably conceived as listening-oriented, stylized versions of the contemporary dance-oriented fandango.²

Another analytical parameter involves the relative importance—or the very presence or absence—of the *copla* and *ritornello* sections in fandango variants. Most of the *fandangos de salón*, such as those attributed to Soler and Scarlatti (or for that matter, those of Mozart and Boccherini), consist solely of ritornellos, or more specifically, a string of *variaciones* or *diferencias* set to a Dm-A chordal ostinato. In their non-teleological, isorhythmic repetition of two or three chords in ternary meter, these pieces resembled the earlier *zarabanda*, *chacóna*, and *pasacalle*. It is quite likely that the contemporary vernacular fandangos that the *fandangos de salón* imitated were also structurally similar, perhaps consisting of chords strummed, with some characteristic variations, by an amateur Afro-Hispanic guitarist or vihuelist, whether in Spain or Mexico (then New Spain). For their part, the fandangos de Huelva and assorted fandango variants performed to *abandolao* strumming rhythm in the *bailes de candil* may have contained both *copla* and *ritornello* in balanced emphasis. As expressive free-rhythmic flamenco renderings of fandangos were cultivated in the early 1900s by vocalists Antonio Chacón, Enrique el Mellizo and others, emphasis shifted to the *copla*, and the *ritornello* took the form of free-rhythmic guitar *falsetas*, with some atavistic articulations

² However, it is conceivable that such fandangos as that attributed to Scarlatti (which was not included with the sonatas he eventually published) may have been played for social dancing even in court festivities. It is easy to imagine a court soirée in which Scarlatti, having played a few sonatas, is requested to play a fandango, so that all could dance. The fandango manuscript attributed to him might consist of a student's recollection of how the maestro used to improvise *diferencias* on such occasions.

Some scholars have questioned the authorship of the fandango attributed to Soler.

of iv-III-II-I chords and occasional ternary-meter passages. The *copla* assumed the greatest emphasis in the mature flamenco malagueña, where the “ritornello” is reduced to a few guitar *falsestas* introducing the long-winded rendering of a single vocal *quintilla*.

A third analytical continuum is that distinguishing the fandango rendered either as a participatory “folk” idiom, or, alternately, as a “cultivated” form of art song or piece performed by trained professionals for a discriminating audience. The category of “cultivated” fandangos would comprise two classes of performers. One would be the classical performers—musically literate, versed in formal music theory, and sustained by elite patrons. Another class—in some respects closer to the participatory “folk” milieu of the *bailes de candil*—would be the flamenco performers, who although professionals performing for paying audiences, had no need of formal theory beyond the oral tradition they would informally learn. A prodigious socio-musical gulf could separate the periwigged harpsichordist at the Bourbon court from the illiterate, lumpen-proletarian Andalusian—perhaps a *gitano*—strumming a guitar or singing at a family fiesta in some humble cave. However, as has been pointed out, there has always existed a fluid continuum between these two realms, which has long been traversed in both directions by musicians and musical forms.

Looking at the fandango complex in terms of these various analytical continua may help us specify formal relationships between individual *fandango del sur* subgenres as well as related genres outside this core, some of which may not be called “fandango” but are nevertheless clearly linked. For example, understanding the fandango as an entity alternating *copla* and ostinato-based ritornello sections highlights its clear affinities with the Cuban *punto guajiro*, especially as sung in its most familiar *punto libre* form in the western part of that island (see Linares 1999:26-35). Like *fandango del sur* forms, the *punto libre* consists of verses sung in free rhythm, to a standard chordal accompaniment, alternating with instrumental ritornellos that reiterate simple chordal ostinatos in ternary meter (typically played on guitar, *bandurria*, or other instruments). The verses consist of ten-line *décimas* rather than *quintillas*, and the accompanying chord progression differs from that of the *fandango del sur*, but the length is similar, the alternating *copla*-ritornello formal structure is the same, and the ritornello—in what is variously called the *tonada triste*, *carvajal*, or *española* form—may even consist of a fandango-like iv-III-II-I or Dm-A-type ostinato (though a major do-fa-sol

chordal ostinato is more common).³ Hence, while it may be difficult to reconstruct in detail the evolution of the *punto* form, that genre must be recognized as a close cousin of the *fandango del sur*.

If many Latin American entities bearing the name “fandango” have no structural relation to the *fandango del sur*, there is reasonable evidence linking the fandango mentioned in numerous eighteenth-century sources to the Andalusian fandango forms that emerge into historical daylight in the mid-nineteenth century. Aside from choreographic similarities, both the *fandango del sur* and its eighteenth-century predecessors—as documented in stylized versions like that of Santiago de Murcia—prominently feature the ritornello based on a chordal ostinato (in the Dm-A or Am-E configuration). It is certainly easy to imagine sung verses being added to such ritornellos, as in genres such as the *joropo* or *son jarocho*. By the same token, once the link between the Andalusian fandango and its eighteenth-century counterpart is acknowledged, this expanded fandango family must by extension be seen as part of a broader family of seventeenth-century predecessors, such as the *zarabanda* and *chacona* (and perhaps the *pasacalle*). Like the fandango, these emerged as vernacular dances—presumably with characteristic accompanying music—in the New World. Also like the later fandango, and in accordance with their likely Afro-Latin origins, they evidently consisted of endlessly reiterated chordal ostinatos in ternary meter (in which form they were incorporated into the European Baroque).

Despite common origins in an early-eighteenth-century vernacular Afro-Latin namesake, the *fandango de salón* and the Andalusian fandangos might be seen as representing a subsequent bifurcation into two quite distinct musical families, distinguished not only by their respective

³ As discussed elsewhere (Manuel 2002), the chords in such configurations should not be seen as tonic and dominant, nor do they necessarily conform to Andalusian Phrygian tonality; rather, for example, the Dm-A (or even D-G-A) ostinato is best seen as a pendular oscillation between two chords of relatively equal weight (although concluding by convention on the A major chord, which should not be labeled “the dominant”). See Manuel 1989 for a discussion of Andalusian Phrygian tonality in the broader Mediterranean context.

The Cuban town of Trinidad is the home of a voice-and-percussion genre called “fandango,” which, like many New World entities bearing this name, has no musical features linking it to other fandangos (see Frias 2015).

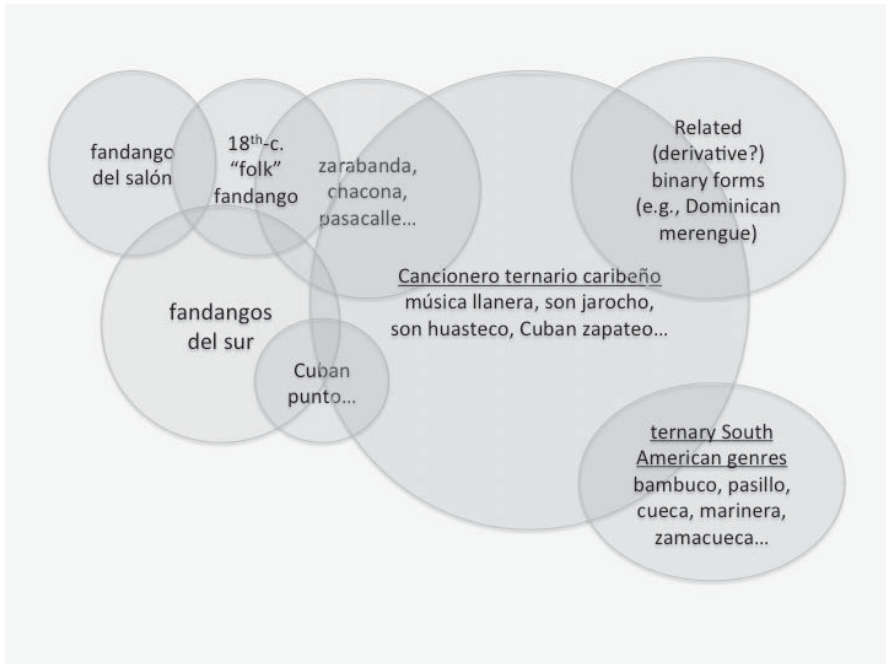
Note that the *punto guajiro*’s form of setting a verse to a conventional chord progression corresponds to other Renaissance entities such as the *passamezzo moderno* and the “Guárdame las vacas” progression.

social milieus, but also by the presence of the sung *copla* in the latter set of genres. However, although the notated *fandangos de salón* were instrumental rather than vocal, those of both keyboardist Félix Máximo López (1742-1621) and guitarist Dionisio Aguado (composed in 1836) contain *copla* sections, in harmonies nearly identical to that of the conventional Andalusian fandango,⁴ and even Antonio Soler's contains a brief but conspicuous *copla*-like excursus into the relative major key. All of these would seem to constitute stylized evocations of verse sections in the "folk" fandangos of southern Spain.

If the colonial-era, transatlantic fandango-zarabanda complex can be seen to ramify into the peninsular *fandango de salón* and *fandango del sur*, at the same time it is also inseparable from a broader set of genres which García de León (2002) calls the *cancionero ternario caribeño* ("Caribbean ternary-metered repertory"). This category comprises a variety of related genres based on two- or three-chord ostinatos set to ternary meter, with pervasive hemiola/sesquialtera, combining 3/4 and 6/8 meters either simultaneously or sequentially. Such genres, found both in coastal and inland regions of the Caribbean Basin, would include such genres as the *son jarocho* and *son huasteco* of Mexico, the *zoropo* and *galerón* of Venezuela and Colombia, and the Cuban *zapateo*. Meanwhile, this musical family is itself taxonomically inseparable from a kindred set of ternary-metered, sesquialtera-laden Andean and southern cone genres, such as the Colombian *bambuco*, the Ecuadorean *pasillo*, the Chilean *cueca*, the Peruvian *marinera*, and the Argentine *chacarera*. Finally, as has been noted (e.g., Pérez 1986), Hispanic ternary genres, under evident Afro-Latin influence, have tended over time to morph into duple-metered ones, in a grand process of binarization. Hence, even if modern genres such as cumbia, salsa, bachata, and reggaetón may have evolved primarily from musical families separate from the fandango complex, to some extent some of them might also represent a binarization of rhythms within that complex itself. As such, it may not be entirely inappropriate to regard even such genres as the modern commercial Dominican merengue as genetically related to the fandango complex. As a result of these considerations, the fandango complex must be seen as part of a vast, heterogeneous, and rather disorderly extended family of musical forms, which can be graphically represented as in Figure 1.

⁴ The *copla* section in Máximo López's "Variaciones del Fandango Español" may be heard at 1:00 on the CD (of the same title) by harpsichordist Andreas Staier (Teldec 3984-21468-2). See Castro 2014, vol. 1: 216-17. See also Fernández Marín (2011:42) for discussion of Aguado's fandango.

Figure 1: The fandango complex in the Spanish Atlantic



The reader may be suspecting by now that this analysis has distended the notion of the fandango to the extent that it has become at once an all-encompassing and effectively meaningless category. Hence it may be useful at this point to enumerate various significant Hispanic and Latin American music families that are fundamentally *distinct* from the fandango complex in terms of both structural features and historical evolution. These would include the following:

- the contradance/contradanza family, in its numerous pan-Caribbean variants and derivatives, including the Cuban *contradanza*, *danza*, *habanera*, and *danzón*, West Indian quadrilles, and Dominican creole figure dances such as the *carabiné*;
- narrative, text-driven forms derived from the *romance*, such as the Mexican *corrido* and *ranchera*;
- neo-African voice-and-percussion genres, such as Cuban *Santería* and *palo* music, traditional rumba and processional

conga, Puerto Rican *bomba*, Dominican *palo* music, Haitian *vodun* music, etc.;

- genres deriving from mainstream European (or Euro-American) song forms, including sentimental *canción*, *balada*, Spanish *copla* and *cuplé*, and perhaps the Caribbean bolero;
- in the realm of flamenco, the *guajira*, *rumba*, and other *cantes de ida y vuelta*, as well as *cante jondo* (which, however, may have some roots in stylized renderings of *romance*);
- Christian hymns, *villancicos*, and *salves*; children's songs, work songs, and other miscellaneous genres.

Scholars could no doubt augment this list, as well as point out genres that may straddle some of these categories in terms of style and derivation (such as the Cuban *son*). Nevertheless, this enumeration should suffice to indicate that prodigious amounts of Spanish and Caribbean music genres do fall largely outside the purview of even the most extended and expansive conception of fandango families. Ultimately, one would hope that scholarly taxonomies could impose some order and taxonomic logic on what is otherwise a vast and hopelessly heterogeneous aggregate of Spanish Atlantic musical forms.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE FANDANGOS OF SOUTHERN SPAIN IN THE CONTEXT OF OTHER SPANISH AND AMERICAN FANDANGOS

MIGUEL ÁNGEL BERLANGA

Abstract

Some years ago, historical and (ethno)musicological research documented the great number of musical phenomena denoted by the word “fandango.” But from the conceptual and musical point of view there yet remain some unanswered questions. Is it useful to propose a general definition of the fandango that would include all the musical phenomena known by this denomination? I propose here to demonstrate that it is indeed useful to propose a universal meaning for the word “fandango.” (Or, at least, as universal as possible.) For this definition to be valid, we must assume that it should include in a convincing way all of the diverse meanings of this word, in the present as well as in the past. In this regard, from a strictly formal point of view, the most characteristic features of the fandango music of southern Spain are compared with those of other fandangos from both sides of the Atlantic.

Keywords

Southern Fandangos, The *other* Spanish Fandangos, American Fandangos.

Resumen

La investigación histórica y (etno)musicológica, hace unos años evidenció la gran cantidad de fenómenos musicales que envuelven a la palabra fandango. Pero desde el punto de vista conceptual y musical quedan por clarificar algunas cuestiones ¿Resulta útil proponer una definición general de fandango que envuelva a todos los fenómenos musicales conocidos bajo esa denominación? En este trabajo mantenemos que es útil proponer

un significado lo más universal posible de la palabra fandango. Esta propuesta intenta asumir los diversos significados particulares que la palabra reviste en la actualidad, la cual viene iluminada con frecuencia por sus antiguos significados. Para ello, se tienen en cuenta los significados de la palabra fandango en diversas partes del mundo y en diversos momentos históricos. Posteriormente, y desde el punto de vista más estrictamente formal, los rasgos musicales más característicos de los fandangos del sur de España se comparan con los de otros fandangos a una y otra orilla del Atlántico.

Opening Words

I would like to start off with a sincere “thank you” to the organizers of this Congress for the honor of attending. Over these few days we will work with fandangos, understanding them as music and dances as well as musical behaviors linked to a musical repertoire which Angeliers León has called *Cancionero Ternario Caribeño*. This musical *complex*, until a few years ago, seemed to have been overshadowed by the rise of other repertoires in the middle of the 20th century such as, bolero, salsa, cumbia, rap, hip-hop... This shift in musical attention is a phenomenon created by mass media as well as the record companies.

Cultural and scientific events, such as this one, contribute to the revitalization of important cultural practices. In this case, fandangos have been and still are a representative part of “the Hispanic cultural universe.” I agree with Antonio García de León that fandangos, as a cultural practice reflect “features of national identities,” not only of one country, but of many (García de León, 2002: 14). Fandangos, understood as social/festive conventions, maintain a relationship with a specific kind of music that still has gifts to offer to the musical panorama of our time, in which mercantilism and individualism reign in popular music. I consider this conference to be an excellent initiative, which without a doubt will assist in discovering new methods of revitalizing these important cultural practices.

Introduction

In 1992, as a musicology student I decided to conduct fieldwork study on a specific type of music that was improvised during a certain type of gathering in central Andalusia, known as “*fiestas de poetas*” (poet parties). Besides discovering the world of oral improvisation, I discovered that the

improvised musical structure was a kind of fandango similar to the *fandangos verdiales* that are sung and danced in the province of Málaga, not far from the area I was researching.¹ I decided to expand my fieldwork to include those fandangos from central and eastern Andalusia. This research included formal musical analysis as well as cultural analysis of the groups that created this music through song and dance.

Initially, I knew very little about this music. It was rural in character and some of it seemed, frankly, very exotic. After my initial research, I decided to study the degree of connection between those *fandangos verdiales* and the *fandangos de Huelva*, which are more well known in Andalusia and Spain, perhaps because of their presence in the flamenco canon. Soon, I also decided to study the musical and historical relationships between these and the more artistic and elaborated *flamenco fandangos*, as I was uncovering more and more similarities between these fandangos and their more traditional relatives. Soon I established my hypothesis: that these traditional fandangos are the direct ancestors of flamenco fandangos—preflamenco music.

This was the subject of my doctoral thesis, led by professor Ramón Pelinski. I presented my work, *Los fandangos del sur. Conceptualización, Estructuras sonoras, contextos culturales*, in November of 1998. Part of it was published in *Bailes de Candil Andaluces y Fiestas de Verdiales: otra visión de los fandangos* (Málaga, Diputación, 2000). It will be useful to continue with the ideas from my research, as they summarize some issues that concern my presentation theme. I will first focus on formal musical topics, and later on the topic of rituals related to the practice of fandangos.

1. Fandango Music

From a musical point of view, it did not take me long to discover that fandango was in fact an umbrella term for many diverse musical forms.

1. A. Southern Fandangos

In effect, the immense popularity of these fandangos in southern Spain is the reason behind my title: *fandangos del sur* (southern fandangos). Before going further in depth, I will provide a brief summary of fandangos. They are characterized by their respective series of verses (octosyllabic

¹ Actually they are known colloquially as *fiesta*, or *fiesta de verdiales*.

quatrains and limericks). Usually they are sung with instrumental accompaniment (in some cases, guitars and other stringed instruments and percussion; in other cases, flute and tambourine) in order to support the characteristic dance. They always maintain a Phrygian sonority (we will examine this more in depth) as well as a very identifiable ternary rhythm, always strung together in cycles of 12 beats.

This common form is practiced in various areas: verdiales from eastern Andalusia, fandangos from Huelva, malagueñas from the Murcia region, diverse fandangos from the Levante region, Castilian *rondeñas* and malagueñas, and finally, the malagueñas from the Canary Islands. Most of these fandangos can be referred to with the umbrella term “malagueña.” My hypothesis is that it was the long-lived popularity of this music that motivated musicians such as Albéniz, Sarasate and Ernesto Lecuona to compose their own malagueñas. This popularity also led to the creation of many flamenco malagueñas as well as its other subtypes such as *granadinas*, *tarantas*, *mineras*, fandangos, and *rondeñas*. In my analysis, I detail which elements from the traditional fandangos were maintained in their flamenco relatives and which were transformed, a matter that we will leave for another conversation.

1. B. The “Other Fandangos”

Besides the family of fandangos mentioned above, another type of music, also referred to as “fandangos,” and which did not follow the musical characteristics nor the form of the fandangos of southern Spain, appeared in many parts of Spain as well as other Spanish-speaking countries such as Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil, even including the Philippines (where they are called *Pandangos*).

Thus arose the question: Why does one word, fandango, refer to these diverse musical realities? For months I kept coming back to this question until I came to the conclusion that, for at least the initial research, merely searching for shared musical connections was not a useful hypothesis (although later we will see that there are in fact some musical connections). Nevertheless, there was one common element between these diverse fandangos that always appeared, and it could be found not in the musical form, but in the fact that *all these traditions were linked to a specific types of dances at specific types of social gatherings, almost always danced in pairs.*

Based on nineteenth-century texts, colloquial uses of the word “fandango,” and on other arguments regarding musical genre, I concluded that through a process of semantic reduction of this metonymy, in many areas the traditional colloquial meaning (*la fiesta de baile*) ended up designating music that was traditionally played at these gatherings. The process of creating this metonymy had already begun when these gatherings started to lose popularity by the mid 19th century, if not before, depending on the region.

1. C. Jotas, Seguidillas and Fandangos as Fandango musics

Is there any way of comparing the great variety of fandango musics from the Americas with those of the fandangos of southern Spain? In effect, as we shall see shortly, only a part of the musics known as “fandangos” in Latin America coincide with the musical form of the Southern Spanish fandangos. In light of what we have discussed above, the best and most logical method of investigating these relationships at the formal level, as well at the behavioral level, is to broaden the frame of reference to include more than the fandangos of southern Spain. The three main types of traditional couple dances in Spain are fandangos, jotas and seguidillas (Crivillé, 1988: 203-220). In fact in western Andalusia, especially in Seville, the *seguidillas sevillanas* are and have been very popular since (at least) the 16th century. In some northern areas, the term *jota* and *fandango* have come to be equivalent and confused, as we can hear in the *Magna Antología del Folklore Musical Español*, by Manuel Garcia Matos. In consequence, we can consider this large group of dances and musics to be “fandango musics.” Here following, I will discuss the common features of these dance musics.

Common Features of Jotas, Seguidillas and Fandangos as “Fandango Musics”

- Jotas, seguidillas, and fandangos are genres sung in couplets by a soloist, with instrumental accompaniment for couple dances.
- These three types of folk dances often have the same instrumental accompaniment: predominately string orchestras, emphasizing strummed guitars and related instruments including violin-style bowed string instruments, and various percussion instruments.
- The three main forms share a similar structure: instrumental introduction/ couplet/ instrumental interlude/ couplet/ etc.,

sung an undetermined number of times, varying according to the occasion. The songs do not usually have refrains, however there are exceptions, and these are sometimes introduced in the instrumental interlude.

- The three types are all triple-meter, composed almost invariably on harmonic-rhythmic cycles of 6 or 12 beats with a flexible melody guided by the harmonic-rhythmic cycle. The triplets making up cycles of 6 or 12 are an idiomatic constant throughout this entire dance repertory. The alternating cycle 3+3+2+2+2 is not always made explicit.² Our hypothesis is that this musical tendency took place in America, possibly due to the interaction with African rhythmic precedents. Without a doubt, the process influenced Spain from the very beginning of the colonial age and can be traced back to the *Canaries*, *Sarabandes* and *Chaconnes* from the end of the 16th century/beginning of the 17th.
- Jotas and fandangos are sung in octosyllabic quartets or quintets. Seguidillas are sung in their own style of quartet, called “*cuartetas de seguidilla*.” These structures are very characteristic of the *tonadas* (songs and musical dances) of the Iberian lyric from the Middle Ages onward, although it was at the end of the 15th and into the 16th centuries when these structures became dominant (Frenk, 1977).
- The predominant musical modes in these genres are: Phrygian (in the fandangos of southern Spain), Ionian (modal Major), and Aeolian (modal Minor). Mixolydian sonority, which we consider to be an idiosyncratic sonority of the fandangos of the Americas and which appears most often in musics sung in *décimas* (ten-line stanzas), appears, although infrequently, in traditional Spanish music as well.³

2. Fandangos as festive rituals

Regarding the ethnographic and cultural study of the festive contexts in which these types of music were played, through the fieldwork and written sources I was able to create a synchronic and diachronic study of the

² Even the prosody of octosyllabic verse tends toward this rhythmic structuring.

³ We follow the terminology and explanation proposed by Miguel Manzano, perhaps the best and clearest to understand the most common musical modes in traditional musics in Spain.

fandango dance parties. Until the middle of the 20th century, in some rural areas the ritual coincided in its essential lines with the ritual described the texts that have arrived to us about the *bailes de candil* of the 19th century (Afán de Ribera, Estébanez Calderón, J. M^a Gutiérrez de Alba etc.), and includes the end of the eighteenth century (José Blanco White, José Cadalso and others), customs that today have either practically disappeared or evolved very far from their roots.

There are some reoccurring features in the rituals of Spanish fandangos.⁴ They are as follows:

- The rituals occur during the weekend (Saturday afternoon/evening) as well as in festivals specific to each community. In the latter situation, the ritual is more elaborate.
- The location: in private homes or in communal spaces. In cities they occur small plazas or *patios* of neighboring houses, and in rural areas, they are celebrated in fields, vineyards, under canopies, or country houses.
- Often, they were the first occasions that courting relationships were established between adolescents. Men and women usually were separated in different areas of gathering with a characteristic manner of men inviting women to dance.
- Many of the lyrics were improvised, stemming from the themes of the particular *fiesta*; and the fiestas usually ended with improvised *controversias*.
- They always constituted a particular type of symbolic authority for the occasion according to the traditions of each; however, fights often occurred due to jealousy.

I also arrived at the important conclusion that these settings were one of first environments, along with theaters, in which flamenco emerged, particularly in the cities of southern Spain. In this sense, flamenco, especially in its first phases, has inherited from fandangos not only the music, but also a kind of ritual gathering, which appeared in the old flamenco fiestas. Just as the 19th century ended, these environments were turned into theater, and a new stage was conquered.

⁴ You can read more details in Berlanga, *Bailes de Candil...* 2000.

3. American Fandangos

What of these musical and ritual characteristics (that we have only described here in an approximate manner) are found in the fandangos of the Americas? As we saw in the original questions, what are some of the shared traits at the formal level (music, choreography, lyrics) that can be discerned in the diverse types of fandangos from Spain and the Americas? Can one create a genealogy of the rhythms, verses, melodic structures, and improvisatory syntax of fandangos?

I do not claim to have answers to all of these questions, which need an amplified and detailed study as well as a complete team of researchers. However, I would like to make a comparative table of the general similarities and differences that I found between American and Spanish fandangos.⁵ As you will see in the following table (table 1), I have delineated more differences in formal musical aspects than in the festive contexts, due to the degree of depth with which I have studied the former. Furthermore, I have only become deeply familiar with the aspects of ritual and social aspects of the fandangos from the south of Spain.

SPANISH FANDANGOS	AMERICAN FANDANGOS
Throughout the Spanish territory	The coast of Veracruz; Panama's interior; The Eastern and Western Cuban countryside; the interior of Spanish Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico; the interior plains of Colombia and Venezuela; eastern Venezuela and Margarita Island "(G ^a de León, 2002: 103).

⁵ As regards the Spanish fandangos, sources in this table are oral and written. Many are outlined in *Bailes de Candil ...* (Berlanga, 2000). As regards the American fandangos, I have mainly listened to musical sources - now possible thanks to internet - and analyzed the American musical repertoire that will be cited. As for general historical and ethnographic data, I refer in this table to Garcia de Leon (2002) and, for specifics regarding Mexico, to Gottfried (2009), Robles Cahero (2013), Páramo Bonilla (2009) and Perez Monfort (2010), among others.

SIMILARITIES and DIFFERENCES in FORMAL ASPECTS (current practice)	
COPLAS soloists + instrumental accompaniment (rarely improvised verses). COPLAS: Octosyllabic quatrains and seguidillas (hexasyllabic ...).	COPLAS soloists + instrumental accompaniment (frequently improvised verses). COPLAS: Octosyllabic quatrains and seguidillas (hexasyllabic ...) and décimas
INSTRUMENTAL ACCOMPANIMENT: String orchestra and percussions. Sometimes, + wind instruments. Prevalence of strummed guitar type (6 strings) Occasional presence of violin. <i>Fiesta de Verdiales</i> No harp Significant presence of castanets Absence of footwork (only in flamenco)	INSTRUMENTAL ACCOMPANIMENT: String orchestra and percussions. Sometimes, + wind instruments. Prevalence of strummed guitar type (5 strings) Occasional presence of violin. <i>Son jarocho</i> Significant presence of harp Absence of castanets Significant presence of footwork
Structure: Instrumental introduction / song / Instrumental Interlude / song... Sometimes interlude converted into choruses Rhythmic-harmonic cycle: 12 beats (or 6 + 6; rarely 3, 3, 2, 2, 2), on which melodic variations are built	Structure: Instrumental introduction / song / Instrumental Interlude / song... Rarely interlude converted into choruses: Son jarocho. Rhythmic-harmonic cycle: 12 times (or 6 + 6; frequent 3, 3, 2, 2, 2), on which melodic variations are built
Rhythm: Ternary, integrated into 12 or 6 cycles (frequently: 6 + 6). Sometimes, presence of 12 hemiola: 3 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 2. Very frequent in flamenco	Rhythm: Ternary, integrated into 12 or 6 cycles (frequently: 6 + 6). Important presence of 12 hemiola: 3 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 2.
Musical scales: Important presence of the Phrygian mode Presence of major and minor scales Very low presence of Mixolydian mode	Musical scales: Important presence of the Phrygian mode Presence of major and minor scales Meaningful presence of Mixolydian mode

Comparison Table 1 (In blue: the main differences)

THE OLD RITUAL OF FANDANGOS. SIMILARITIES AMERICA-SPAIN (historical data: practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries)	
When: a) Weekends (Saturday evening: less ritualized celebrations) b) Specific holiday in each place: more ritualized Where: Neighborhoods cities; towns and rural areas. Spacious interiors: private homes or yards, or tenement houses Outdoors: small squares; yards farmhouses or cottages.	When: At the beginning of the eighteenth century, <i>fandanguear</i> means: favorite pastime, especially on weekends and holidays (...) during the afternoon and evening (G ^a de León, 2002: 105-6) Where: Neighborhoods cities; towns and rural areas. Spacious interiors: private homes or yards, or tenement houses. Tarimas. Outdoors: small squares; yards farmhouses or cottages.
What: Parties (fiestas) with special involvement of traditional dances for couples (<i>bailes de candil</i>). Other diversions: solo dances, songs and improvised verses	What: Parties (fiestas). “ Dances for couples (...) around a wooden deck in candlelight . Stories in verse were narrated, as were sung verses (...) both known and improvised (G ^a de León, 2002)

You can observe that in reference to ritual aspects, only some of the shared elements are identified. I have not showed the differentiating elements, because I have not performed the necessary research to provide sufficient information.

Let us now consider the strictly technical aspects of the music. Attending to questions of musical sonority united to the structure of the pieces, I have found, as you can see in Comparison Table 2, four main types of fandangos with a Phrygian/Minor sonority and a large group of (American) fandangos with Myxolidian/Major sonorities.⁶

⁶ As to establishing models, I have drawn possible historical references and comparison with the Spanish Baroque musical forms from the written sources (mainly Esses, 1994). I distinguish 5 major types, but obviously this proposal is subject to change, extension, discussion, etc. Eg. Type 4 (Malagueña huasteca and petenera) shows similarities within each type of music, but they have also some distinctive features. As to the tonal duality of all these pieces, see Manuel, 2002.

Comparison Table 2. Musical analysis of the main fandangos (proposal):

HARMONIC CYCLES, CLASS 1

MUSIC of JACARAS and FANDANGOS in PHRYGIAN mode / MINOR SCALE:

Jácaras (17th century)⁷

Early fandangos (18th century)

***The fandango* by Scarlatti:**

***Fandango*, R. Twiss (manuscript, 1772)**

***El fandanguito* (son jarocho)**

Venezuelan *loropo*⁸:

***Tonada punto Carvajal*:**

Dm – A

Dm – A

Dm -Gm – A

Dm – A

Dm – Gm – A

Dm – Gm – A

Dm – A

Dm – A

Dm – Gm – A [Dm

-Bb - A]

Dm – Gm – A(7)

Dm – Gm – A

Dm -Bb - A (Dm –

C- Bb - A)

Tonal perception: minor scale:

(ending in the Dominant: ?)

Modal perception: Phrygian scale:

(ending in the Phrygian Tonic)

i - iv - V

iv - vii - I

⁷ See the observations made by Arriaga (2014: 183-184) about the probable folk origin of jácaras and some of their Phrygian sonorities, such as *jácaras por 5, que es la E*, by Antonio de Santa Cruz, or the brief *Jácara del cinco*, for guitar, in the *Libro de diferentes cifras* (Ms M. 811st National Library of Spain, p. 95, of 1705). His modal harmonic phrasing places it in the Phrygian mode or “cuarto tono por alamire.” Other interesting *jácaras* are: *Jácara de fandanguillo*, *Villancico de chanza de Navidad a 5 con violines* [1733], de Juan Francesc Iribarren (1733).

⁸ See Calderón, 1999; Guerrero Briceño, 2001.

HARMONIC CYCLES, CLASS 2,
GUÁRDAME LAS VACAS (EARLY FOLÍA)⁹

Guárdame las vacas (Romanesca): F – C – Dm – A
 (Dm in even phrases)

Aguilandos, Murcia (Southeast Spain): F – C – Dm – A;
 and also:

F – C – Dm – A
 Dm in even phrases
 F – C – Dm – A;

La Lloroncita (Mexico):
 and also:

Dm – C – Bb – A
 F – C – Dm – A

Polo margariteño (Venezuela):
Polo margariteño, modern variants

(C) F – C (A7) Dm (Gm) A
 – (Dm)

Tonal perception: minor scale:
 [“Asks” to be adds the i (Dm)]

III – VII – i – V

Modal perception: phrygian scale:
 (ending in the phrygian tonic)

VI – III – iv – I

HARMONIC CYCLES, CLASS 3
SOUTHERN FANDANGOS (malagueñas)

A. Instrumental introduction and interludes: variety but all are similar
 in defining a tonic around the E mode:
 ie: E – F – E

E – A – G – F – E...

and similar.¹⁰

B. Couplets: chord at the end of every phrase:

1^a: C; 2^a: F; 3^a: C; 4^a:
 G; 5^a: C; 6^a: F-E

⁹ See Querol 1966; Rey 1978. The *folia*, in musical terms, is a harmonic structure of vocal origin, listed in several parts of the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* (c. 1450s to 1530s), and upon which were embroidered endless instrumental variations. Miguel Querol, among others, noted that its characteristic sequence contains the *Guárdame las vacas* cycle: F – C – Dm – A. See also Rey, 1978.

¹⁰ For more on the Andalusian cadence, see Garcia Gallardo: 2014.

“Tonal” explanation: modulation:**Introduction** and instrumental interludes:**I – II – I****I – iv – III – II – I,**

and so on

Couplets: modulates toward the major key: C 1^a: **I**; 2^a: **IV**; 3^a: **I**; 4^a: **V**; 5^a: **I**; 6^a: modulation: **II-I** of mi mode and link with instrumental interlude

“Modal” explanation:**Introduction** and instrumental interludes:**I – II – I****I – iv – III – II – I,**

and so on

Couplets: remain in the **Phrygian mode**.1^a: **VI**; 2^a: **II**; 3^a: **VI**;4^a: **III**; 5^a: **VI**; 6^a: **II-I*****HARMONIC CYCLES, CLASS 4.*****Malagueña huasteca****(A) – Dm – C – F –****Bb – A****(E) – A – G – C – F**

(similarity with Folia ostinato)

– E**(V) – i – VII – III –**

Tonal perception: Dm o Am

VI – V**(I) – iv – III – VI –****Modal perception:****II – I****Mexican *petenera*. Huasteca****Dm – A – Dm – C–****Bb – A****Dm – F – C (A7)****Dm – C –Bb – A****i – V – i – VII – VI –**

Tonal perception:

V**iv – I – iv – III – II –****Modal perception:****I**

HARMONIC CYCLES, CLASS 5**FANDANGOS in MIXOLYDIAN mode / MAJOR SCALE:****Zarabanda**, Gaspar Sanz**D – G – D – A****Galerón** (Venezuela)**D – G(9) - A(7)****Torbellino** (Colombia)**D – A (and D – G -****A)****Puntos** (Cuba)**D – G – A [D – F# -****Bb – E – A]****Jarabe loco** (huastecos),**D – G – A (D – C# -****B – A)****Sones jarochos** (*La Bamba, el Canelo...*)**D – G – A****Cantaderas** Panama, **décimas** Pto Rico...**D – G – A**Tonal perception: “major” scale
in the Dominant**I – IV – V. Ending****Modal perception:** Mixolydian mode**IV – VII – I,**harmonic cycle very characteristic of this kind of Mixolydian mode in
American fandangos.**Conclusions**

Spanish and American fandangos, although presenting significant differences, maintain many shared conceptual features, such as the importance of music and rituals.

Everyone agrees that the music is developed from ancient festivals of fandango, leading to the conclusion that it is further linked, directly or indirectly, to dance.

Many American fandangos are based on rhythmic-harmonic structures similar to some *dance variations* of Spanish Baroque dance. Over a ternary rhythmic base made up of cycles of 6 or 12, soloists sing melodies from the modal base and a flexible melodic line, governed by the underlying harmonic rhythm. The 12-beat hemiolas are very common in American fandango, which demonstrates a greater rhythmic complexity.

Due to their structures, many American fandangos show interesting similarities with Spanish Baroque dance. There are two idiosyncratic sonorities that stand out: one showing ambiguity between the

Minor and Phrygian (found in the bass part of “Guárdame las vacas” in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in the seventeenth-century *jácaras*, and eighteenth-century fandango), the other showing ambiguity between the Major and the Mixolydian (*zarabandas*, *chaconas*, *zarambeques*, *cumbés*, *canarios*, *jácaras de la costa*). This Major/Mixolydian sonority is very abundant in the American fandango. In Spain, it practically does not appear in any traditional popular music except in some *romances*, dance tunes such as *fandango parao* from Alosno, Huelva, and some others. We also see it in the medieval music of the *Cantigas de Santa María* (cantigas 29 and 383 for ex.). Our hypothesis is that Spanish fandango has been subsumed in the older sonorities, whereas its American relatives have developed, perhaps due to the influence of African and American sounds.

Other continuities between Spanish and American fandango are also made clear, not between the Southern Spanish and (Latin) American fandango (we only know the case of the *Malagueña* from Margaret Island), but between the traditional music of dancing couples from both sides of the Atlantic. The *introduction/lyric/interlude/lyric/interlude* structure, the strophic forms of the songs, as well as the importance of the little orchestra filled with plucked strings (and harp in some American regions) all stand out as similarities.

Also the performances include the same importance of lyrical improvisation. This characteristic has remained prevalent in American countries, most prevalent within the *décima*. Notable differences are the increased presence of the floorboards, the footwork, the outfits and scarves in American dances, but this deserves its own distinct detailed study.

From the point of view of ritual, interesting connections between the fandangos from both sides of Atlantic appear. Beyond coinciding in some formal and even conceptual aspects, such the importance and presence of dances and tunes, sung and often improvised, certain commonalities between the ritual of Spanish and American fandangos also show the interesting cultural continuities in the general festive ethos. Paraphrasing Jessica Gottfried (2009), we recognize that both are or were a festive ritual of integration. This statement would demand, logically, a more in-depth analysis, but it still highlights certain continuities evident in primary sources as in the chronicles of private parties. Personally, from the prior knowledge we had of the fandangos of southern Spain, we have noted these continuities in the case of Mexico, and specifically the *jarocho*s fandangos, of which we have had much more opportunity to research (or read).

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CHAPTER THREE

CANTE LIBRE IS NOT FREE— CONTRASTING APPROACHES TO *FANDANGOS PERSONALES*¹

JOHN MOORE

Abstract

Flamenco song forms are often divided into two categories: *cante a compás* and *cante libre*; respectively those with a steady rhythmic structure and those said to lack any regular rhythmic structure. Most of the *cante libre* forms belong to the generalized *fandangos* family and derive ultimately from rhythmic folkloric song forms. *Cante libre* emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as professional singers expanded the flamenco repertoire by transforming these rhythmic forms into *libre* vocal showpieces. Among these are the *fandangos personales*, which are often associated with the twentieth century *ópera flamenca* movement. This paper will examine two contrasting approaches to rhythm in *fandangos personales*: those associated with Pepe Marchena and Manolo Caracol. I discuss the interplay between rhythm and adornment in the execution of this form and an evolution where *compás* diminishes over time. Interestingly, however, one finds vestiges of *compás*, even in the freest expression of *cante libre*.

Keywords

Fandangos, *fandangos personales*, *cante libre*, flamenco, rhythm, *ópera flamenca*, Pepe Marchena, Manolo Caracol

¹ Thanks to Brook Zern for generously sharing the discographic information. He is not responsible for any erroneous interpretations presented here.

Resumen

Los palos flamencos suelen dividirse en dos campos: los palos a compás y los palos libres. La mayoría de los palos libres pertenece a la familia fandangos, los cuales se derivan de palos folklóricos rítmicos. Los palos libres surgieron a finales del siglo XIX y principios del XX, cuando cantaores profesionales ampliaron el repertorio flamenco transformando palos rítmicos en obras libres. Entre estas últimas se encuentran los fandangos personales, asociados con el movimiento de la “ópera flamenca”. Este ensayo estudia dos formas de compás en los fandangos personales: la de Pepe Marchena y la de Manolo Caracol. Propongo aquí que lejos de haber líneas divisorias claras, hay una amplia gama de expresiones rítmicas que van de ejemplos con estructura rítmica muy clara a otros de auténtico cante libre. Sin embargo, siempre quedan vestigios de compás incluso en los ejemplos más libres del cante libre.

Introduction

This paper will discuss aspects of the *fandango personal* – a flamenco *cante* that became popular during the early twentieth century and remains a popular major flamenco song form today. I will begin by discussing the folkloric roots of these fandangos and how the folkloric rhythmic structure was altered to create a vocal showpiece. *Fandangos personales* are usually characterized as *cante libre* – that is, a form with no fixed rhythm. Nevertheless, I will show that this is not always the case and that vestiges of the folkloric rhythm remain, even in interpretations that seem to be *libre*. In addition, I will suggest that interpretations range from fully to less rhythmic, with the trend to dispense with some of the rhythmic remnants as the form evolved in the twentieth century. After discussing the emergence and structure of these fandangos, I will concentrate on their interpretation by two prominent exponents of the *fandango personal*: Pepe Marchena and Manolo Caracol. These artists had very different approaches, but both were hugely influential during the mid-twentieth century and both were widely imitated, leading to a division in interpretation, which, to some degree, remains with flamenco today.

Eastern and Western varieties

The *fandango personal* has its roots in the folkloric fandangos of Southwestern Andalucía—often loosely referred to as *fandangos de Huelva*, due to their prominence in the province of Huelva, although there are several regional varieties of fandangos found in that area.

Nevertheless, it is useful to distinguish Western fandangos (de Huelva) from the related Eastern fandangos found in the provinces of Málaga, Granada, and elsewhere, as these latter are characterized by a distinct rhythm (“*abandolao*”), despite a nearly identical chord structure.

The *abandolao* forms include a number of regional varieties, all with a basic 6-count rhythm and a similar chord structure. The *abandolao* cover term has gained increased currency over the past decades for forms that once were, perhaps too loosely, referred to as *verdiales*. Indeed, *verdiales* represent a particular form in this family, as do *rondeñas*, *jaberas*, *fandangos de Granada*, *fandangos de Lucena*, among others.² The Golden period of flamenco—roughly the late nineteenth century—saw several singers develop personalized versions of some of these forms. By dispensing with the strict rhythmic structure, they created a repertoire of free form (or cante libre) forms such as *malagueñas* and *granadinas*. Major figures from this period include artists such as Juan Breva, Antonio Chacón, Fosforito, El Canario, and Enrique el Mellizo (Molina and Mairena 1979: 298–305, Alvarez Caballero 1981: 121–127). A somewhat different, but similar, process, also in the late nineteenth century, led to the development of the *Levante* forms from fandangos associated with the Eastern provinces of Almería and Murcia; these include *tarantas*, *mineras*, *cartegeneras*, among others (Castro Buendía 2011).

Discographic evidence shows that both *abandolao*-based and *Levante* forms were popular around the turn of the twentieth century. In 2003 the Centro Andaluz de Flamenco released a double CD with 45 tracks taken from early wax cylinder recordings. While these are not dated, they probably were recorded before 1905. They include six *malagueñas*, three *cartegeneras*, and one *murciana*. Similarly, a 1996 Sonifolk collection of 24 recordings by Antonio Chacón (recorded between 1913 and 1927) includes five *malagueñas*, two *granadinas*, two *media granadinas*, two *mineras*, and three *cartegeneras*. Interestingly, neither of these collections includes forms labeled “fandangos”. A survey of recordings from the Soler collection (consisting of about 6000 recordings from cylinders and 78s), restricting the search to recordings from 1890 through 1909, reveals seven cuts labeled simply “fandangos”—three by el Niño de Cabra, one by el Diana, and three by el Mochuelo.

² It may be the case that aficionados did not always control the melodic distinctions between these forms and simply referred to them all as *verdiales*. Nowadays, more enlightened aficionados still do not always control the distinctions, but refer to them all as *abandolao*.

While I have not been able to locate all of these, those I have reviewed (by el Niño de Cabra and el Mochuelo) were actually *fandangos de Lucena*, again from the *abandolao* category. Also included among these early recordings were a total of twelve cuts labeled “*malagueña y fandango*”, “*cartagena-fandangos*”, “*tarantas y fandango*”, “*fandangos de Granada*”, “*fandangos de Málaga*”, and “*fandangos de Lucena*”. I assume these also represent fandangos based on *abandolao* or other Eastern forms. Thus, it is likely that the term “fandangos” had not been widely applied to Western varieties at this point and that the regional varieties from the Huelva region had not yet been exploited by professional singers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Whereas the late nineteenth century saw the rise of personalized versions of *abandolao* forms, the rise of Western-based fandangos seems to have begun slowly in the teens to become a robust trend in the 1920s. Looking again at the Soler collection, of the 26 recordings from teens identified as some type of fandango, we still find fifteen that are unlikely to be Western (listed as “*malagueña y fandango*,” *fandango de Lucena*, etc.), but eight labeled simply “fandangos” and three “fandangos de Huelva.” Of course, we don’t know how many of those listed as “fandangos” might be something like *fandangos de Lucena*, but the first appearance of “fandangos de Huelva” shows that Western varieties are entering the professional repertoire.

Turning next to recordings from the 1920s, we find an explosion of fandangos, and it is likely that the majority of these are based on the Western style. Of the 595 Soler recordings from this decade bearing some kind of “fandangos” label, only fourteen have labels like “*fandangos de Lucena*”, etc., while 26 are “fandangos de Huelva”; the remaining 555 are simply labeled “fandangos.” Of course, the increase in numbers is certainly due to the general increase in recording, but the small percentage of non-Western labels, as compared to earlier periods is significant. Furthermore, we begin to see recordings by artists famous for the Western-based *fandangos personales*: e.g., Pepe Marchena, Angelillo, José Cepero, el Carbonerillo, Manuel Centeno, el Niño Gloria, Pepe Pinto, and Manuel Vallejo (Alvarez Caballero 1981: 191–199; 207–208). Molina and Mairena (1979: 294) note that the popularity of *fandangos personales*, often based on fandangos de Huelva, began around 1925.

I suspect that while the use of the term “fandangos” once tended to refer to *abandolao* forms, particularly *fandangos de Lucena*, by the end of

the 1920s, this same term generally referred to Western-derived *fandangos personales* or, in some cases, *fandangos de Huelva*. Certainly, this latter usage seems to be the norm today.³

Fandangos de Huelva and fandangos personales

Fandangos personales are the personalized version of primarily Western *fandangos* and vary in melody and delivery from singer to singer. Often, but not always, these are *libre*—that is, the guitarist’s rhythm associated with *fandangos de Huelva* is relaxed or abandoned. The adjective “*personales*” suggests that each singer modifies the melody and delivery in a way to create a personal style of *fandango*. Such *fandangos*, particularly when *libre*, are sometimes called *fandangos naturales* or *fandangos grandes*.⁴

To understand the structure of these *fandangos*, I first discuss the structure of *fandangos de Huelva* according to three dimensions: rhythmic structure, chord structure, poetic structure.

Rhythmic structure

The rhythm associated with *fandangos de Huelva* is usually described as either a three or six beat cycle. The flamencopolis website represents it with two measures of three beats, as in (1):

(1)



(<http://www.flamencopolis.com/archives/472>)

³ A related term “*fandanguillos*” seems to be used in at least two ways. Manfredi Cano (1963: 147–153) uses it as a synonym for *fandangos de Huelva*, noting that Pepe Pérez de Guzmán (1895–1930) was an important creator in this genre. Pohren (1984: 20) gives the same definition. Nevertheless, Blas Vega and Ríos Ruiz 1988: 288 note that “*fandanguillo*” can also refer to any *fandango* associated with the *ópera flamenca* period (roughly 1920–1950), including the *fandangos personales* discussed here.

⁴ Pohren (1984:118-119) uses the term “*fandangos grandes*”, as do many non-Spanish aficionados. It is not clear that this term has much currency in Spain, where the nomenclature “*fandangos naturales*” or “*fandangos personales*” is common.

Because the two measures have slightly different accents, most guitarists think of the form as having a six-beat pattern.

Chord structure

The chord structure of fandangos de Huelva involves two separate sections: the *copla* and the *entrecopla*. The *copla* is the verse; the singer is accompanied in a major key – often using a C major position.⁵ The verse is divided into six melodic units, each with two measures of six beats. While there are several variations, the pattern in (2) is common:

- (2) *Copla*: a. G7 – C
 b. C – F
 c. G7 – C
 d. C – G7
 e. G7 – C
 f. C – F – E

Notice that while the *copla* uses chords associated with the C major key, the last line resolves from the sub-dominant F down a half-step to E, creating an E phrygian chord progression. This leads to the chord structure for the *entrecopla* (“between *coplas*”), where the guitar, without singing, cycles through the Andalusian cadence—a pattern associated with the phrygian mode:

- (3) *Entrecopla*: E – Am – G7 – F – E

The *entrecopla* is played over two six-beat measures per cycle – there are usually two or more *entrecoplas* between each *copla*. In addition, the guitarist may play melodic variations (*falsetas*) between *coplas* – these are usually structured around the *entrecopla* chord pattern.

Thus, the chordal structure alternates between phrygian Andalusian cadence *entrecoplas* before and between verses, with related major key *coplas* interspersed.⁶

⁵ While the guitarist often plays in the C major position, the actual key will vary, depending on the singer’s range, which is accommodated through the use of a cappo.

⁶ Because traditional flamenco guitarists were unschooled in music theory, they referred to the E position as “*por arriba*”, reflecting the altitude of the left hand on the fingerboard. Fandangos de Huelva could also be played in the A position, which was called “*por medio*” (left hand in the middle of the fingerboard); this

Poetic structure

Fandangos verses typically consist of five lines of approximately eight syllables each;⁷ the example in (4), recorded by el Cojo de Huelva in 1943, is typical:

- (4) 1. tengo una pena conmigo (9 syllables)
 2. que me sirve de compañía. (8 syllables)
 3. Ya la alegría para mí (8 syllables, *para* → *pa*)
 4. me parece cosa extraña, (9 syllables)
 5. desde que te conocí. (7 syllables)

“I have a sorrow
 that keeps me company.
 For me happiness
 is something unknown,
 ever since I met you.”

In order to fit five lines into six melody units, one of the poetic lines (usually the second) is sung twice—as the first and third melodic line (lines a and c in 2). Each line contains twelve beats (two measures of six) and approximately eight syllables. However, there is often more than one syllable per beat and the final syllable may fall as early as the fifth or sixth beat of the first measure, or as late as the third beat of the second measure. In order to fill out the second measure, some syllables can be elongated; most commonly the last syllable is extended several beats, while other accented syllables may also be extended. It is common for the singing to end before the end of the second measure, where the singer rests during the remaining beats. Putting this all together, the example in (4) is sung approximately as in (5):

would involve an A phrygian *entrecopla* (A Dm, C7, Bb, A), and the related F major *copla*. Additionally, there are several regional varieties (e.g. Calaña, among others), where the *entrecopla* remains in E phrygian, while the *copla* may be in A major, A minor, or A major alternating with A minor.

⁷ See Navarro (1968: 61–76) for a discussion of Spanish intonation groups and how they are typically seven or eight syllables long.

(5) *Fandangos de Huelva* (el Cojo de Huelva)

Line a. Rhythm:	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chords:	G7						C					
Verse:	que	me	sir-	ve	de	com-paña	aaaaaaaaaaaaaa					
Line b. Rhythm:	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chords:	C						F					
Verse:	tengo	una	pena	con-	mi-	go	oooooooooooo					
Line c. Rhythm:	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chords:	G7						C					
Verse:	que	me	sir-	ve	de	com-paña-	aaaaaaaa					
Line d. Rhythm:	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chords:	C						G7					
Verse:	ya	la	ale-	gría	pa	mi	oooooooooooooooooooo					
Line e. Rhythm:	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chords:	G7						C					
Verse:	me	par-	ece	cosa	(e)tra	ña	aaaaaaaaaaaaaa					
Line f. Rhythm:	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chords:	C						E					
Verse:	des-	de	que	te	cono-	ci	oooooooooooooooooooo					

Taking the structure of fandangos de Huelva as a canonical pattern upon which *fandangos personales* are based, we find that singers employ a variety of mechanisms to personalize their interpretations. These include:

(6) Non-canonical aspects of *fandangos personales*:

- Medium to long extensions: varying degrees of longer extensions than normally found in fandangos de Huelva
- Linking: combining lines – that is, moving from one line to the next without resting for the final beats
- Pauses: breaking up a line with pauses, repetitions, and vocalizations (“*ay*”, “*jipíos*”)

The last line (line f) often involves extensions, repetitions, vocalizations, etc.; however, these features are also possible on the other lines. The following examples illustrate some of these effects:

(7) *Fandangos*, Pepe Marchena (Gramophóno, 1934; re-released 1996, *Cátedra del Cante*)

a. a implorar vienes tú perdón	
b. tú le faltaste a mi madre un día	extensions throughout
c. y vienes a implorarme perdón	extension, mid-line
d. sabiendo que tú no podías	extension, end of line
e. perdonar tu mal acción	extensions, beginning & end of line
f. aunque tanto yo a ti te quería	pauses

“One day you disrespected my mother
and now you come asking forgiveness
knowing that you cannot
forgive such a bad deed
even though I loved you so much.”

(8) *Fandangos*, Manolo Caracol (Columbia, 1954; re-released 2007, *Discos de Pizarra*)

a. de mi mente	extension, end of line
b. le pido a ese gran poder	pause, extensions, mid- & end of line
c. que te quitara de mi mente	extensions throughout
d. yo paso un día sin verte	
e. delante de una cruz	

f. a Dios le pido la muerte	vocalizations (ay ...), pauses, long resolve ⁸

“I ask that great power
to get you out of my mind.
If I go a day without seeing you
in front of a cross
I ask God for death.”

In both of the examples in (7–8), the guitarist does not keep a steady rhythm; rather, there is a background rhythm that is broken to match the singer’s structure—this is typical of *cante libre*, and particularly of *libre fandangos*. The rhythm is not totally absent, but it is inconsistent. Hence, in these *libre fandangos personales*, there are still vestiges of the six beat pattern associated with *fandangos de Huelva*. Nevertheless, it is possible to employ non-canonical features and still keep rhythm; in the following example, the guitarist keeps a steady beat, while the singing tends to float over the rhythmic structure; in addition, each line is longer than the two six-beat measures found in *fandangos de Huelva*:

(9) *Fandangos*, Pepe Marchena (unknown year, re-released 1996, *Cátedra del Cante*)

a. yo vendo flor de romero	vocalization (“ay”), extensions, mid- & end of line
b. en un campo entre tomillo	extensions, mid- & end of line, lines b & c linked
c. yo vendo flor de romero	
d. allí vive en un Castillo	lines d & e linked
e. la mujer que tanto quiero	extension mid-line, vocalizations
f. a reina del fandanguillo	long resolve

“In a field of thyme
I sell rosemary flowers
there, in castle, lives

⁸ The series of “ay” vocalizations in this example is similar to the *malagueña de Enrique Mellizo*. In addition, the melody of the fandango resembles that of the *malagueña del Mezillo*; this was a signature feature of Caracol’s *fandango personal*. Thus, while the guitar accompaniment is clearly based on Western *fandangos*, the melody is based on the (ultimately Eastern) *malagueña*. This is possible because the chord structures are very similar.

the woman I love so much
the queen of the *fandanguillo*.”

To summarize, there are a number of non-canonical features associated with *fandangos personales* – aside from melody, these are mechanisms for personalizing the *cante*. We have seen these features employed both with a rhythmic accompaniment and as *cante libre*, although, even in the latter case, the guitarist tends to keep vestiges of a six beat rhythm. This raises several questions about *fandangos personales* and *cante libre*: Is there a tendency for them to be *libre*? Put another way, is there a correlation between non-canonical features and a *libre* accompaniment? Has *libre* accompaniment become more prevalent over time? Finally, what is the range of individual variation? I will explore these questions in the next section based on a comparison of two famous *fandangueros*: Pepe Marchena and Manolo Caracol.

Marchena and Caracol: contrasting approaches to *fandangos personales*

Two of the most influential flamenco singers from the mid-twentieth century were Pepe Marchena and Manolo Caracol. Both enjoyed immense popularity, both have been criticized for their commercialization of flamenco, and both have left scores of followers. However, the two are far apart in the way they approach *cante*.

José Tejada Martín (1903–1976) was born in Marchena (Sevilla) to working- and service-class parents. His hometown gave him the artistic name “Niño de Marchena” and later “Pepe Marchena”. Marchena worked at menial jobs, beginning around age eight and began singing in local taverns, despite opposition from his father (who was an amateur singer himself). In 1917 Marchena debuted in the *Café de Novedades* in Sevilla, which launched his professional career. He began recording in 1925 and ended up with one of the most illustrious careers in flamenco and is largely credited with popularizing the *fandangos personales*. Marchena was the leading figure of the *ópera flamenca* period, which lasted from the 1920s until the 1950s and was characterized by *fandangos*, Latin American inspired songs (e.g. *milongas*), *cante libre*, and use of falsetto. The antithesis to Gypsy flamenco, *ópera flamenca* generated considerable controversy; many saw it as a watered-down parody of pure flamenco, while for others, it was the preferred form of popular flamenco. Thus, Marchena was a polarizing figure; while many credit him for his

fandangos creations (e.g. el de Triana 1952: 24), there is a range of opinion over his merit and influence (e.g., González Climent 1975, Pohren 1988, Cobo Guzmán 1990, and Mitchell 1994). The *ópera flamenca* period was populated with Marchena imitators; many aficionados grudgingly admire Marchena, while heaping scorn on these *marchenistas* (e.g. Camacho Galindo 1977:154-155).

Manuel Ortega Juárez (1909–1973) bore the family nickname “Caracol” after his father, Manuel Caracol “el del Bulto”, a singer and sword bearer for his bullfighter cousins Rafael el Gallo and Joselito el Gallo. Born in Sevilla, and growing up in the famous Alameda de Hércules neighborhood, Caracol belonged to the Gypsy family Ortega, famous for flamenco artists and bullfighters, tracing their ancestry back to El Planeta and Curro Dulce – two of the earliest singers for which there are historical records. Manolo Caracol debuted at the 1922 *cante* contest in Granada, organized by Federico García Lorca, Manuel de Falla and others. This contest was an intellectual reaction to the commercialization of flamenco; therefore, only non-professionals were allowed to compete (Mitchell 1994). The teenaged Caracol won the youth prize. He made his first recordings in 1930, and launched a very successful theatrical career, exploiting the popularity of the *ópera flamenca* movement. While his approach to *cante* was very Gypsy, he created many commercialized *cantes*, including *zambras* (to orchestral accompaniments), often performed with singer/dancer Lola Flores. His *fandangos personales* are famous and widely imitated, particularly by Gypsy singers. Caracol opened the Madrid *tablao Los Canasteros* in 1963. Aficionados tend to be more forgiving towards Caracol – partly because he can sing very intense and personal Gypsy flamenco. However, he had no qualms about commercializing his art when expedient, and this has caused some controversy (Camacho Galindo 1977: 162–165).

Evidence from a sample

In this section I report on a sample of 60 *fandangos personales* recorded between 1928 and 1963 by Marchena and Caracol (30 *fandangos* each). Each fandango was coded according to the degree to which it strays from the canon of a typical *fandangos de Huelva*. These codings are based on the sum of a score—between 0 and 3—assigned to each of the first five lines of the fandango. Because the final line is usually ornate, it was not coded. The line score was based on the number and degree of non-canonical features: pauses, linked lines, and extensions all add to the non-canonical score (up to a ceiling of 3). The five line scores are added,

yielding a range of scores from zero to ten. The purpose of this coding is to answer the following questions:

- (10) a. Is there a significant difference between Marchena and Caracol's approach to fandangos?
- b. Is there a correlation between date of recording and whether the guitar accompaniment is libre?
- c. Is there a correlation between non-canonical features and whether the guitar accompaniment is libre?

It is clear from listening to the examples in (7-8) that Marchena and Caracol sound very different. Caracol's delivery is typically Gypsy, while Marchena has the sweet, high-pitched voice (with some falsetto) popular in the 1920s and 1930s. However, non-canonical features are, in principle, orthogonal to voice quality. Nevertheless, we find that Marchena's fandangos are, indeed, less canonical than those of Caracol. The average of Marchena's 30 scores is 4.8 (SD=2.27), while Caracol's average is 3.16 (SD=2.26). A one-tailed T-Test shows that this difference is highly significant ($p=0.00465$). While it may be possible to find examples where Marchena's fandango seems more ornate than Caracol's and vice versa, the statistical analysis shows that Marchena's fandangos are significantly more non-canonical than Caracol's.

As the *fandangos personales* evolved from Western varieties of fandangos, the rhythmic structure became less pronounced. If this is an actual trend from rhythmic fandangos towards cante libre, we would expect to find more *fandangos personales* with rhythmic accompaniment earlier and fewer later. The data from this sample bear this out. With two exceptions (two verses from a 1928 recording), all of the recordings between 1928 and 1933 had rhythmic accompaniments. There were two more rhythmic recordings in 1934, but the remaining eight recordings from 1934, and all subsequent recordings (1944-1963) had libre accompaniment. In total, there were 20 rhythmic recordings and 37 libre ones.⁹ Thus, with the exceptions of two libre fandangos in 1928, the practice of cante libre for *fandangos personales* takes hold definitively in 1934. The correlation between date and type of accompaniment is further confirmed by a regression analysis.

⁹ One of Marchena's recordings, with three verses, was undated and excluded from these data.

In order to determine whether the degree of non-canonicity correlates with a libre accompaniment, and to see if this correlates with other factors, a logistic regression analysis was conducted to see which is the best-fit model to predict libre accompaniment. The independent variables were singer (Marchena, Caracol), guitarist (orchestra, Ramón Montoya, Niño Ricardo, Paquito Simón, Manolo de Badajoz, Paco Aguilera, Manuel Morao, Melchor de Marchena), year (1928–1963), and non-canonical score (0–10). Running a step-up regression, the only factors that were significant in the best model were year and non-canonical score:¹⁰

- (11) BEST STEP-UP MODEL OF RESPONSE *libre* IS WITH
 PREDICTOR(S):
 year (5.83e-11) + score (0.019) [p-values building from null model]
- \$year continuous logodds
 +1 0.416
- \$score continuous logodds
 +1 0.526

The fact that neither singer nor guitarist are included in the best model shows that the likelihood of a fandangos having a libre accompaniment does not correlate significantly with each of these variables. The effect of year on the model is highly significant (with a very small p-value, $5.83 \cdot 10^{-11}$) and the non-canonical score also contributes significantly to the model (with a p-value less than .05, .019). The logodds show the magnitude of the effect that these variables have on the likelihood of increases in year or score resulting in a higher likelihood of a libre accompaniment. This regression analysis confirms that libre accompaniment is more likely in later years (which was clear from the distribution discussed above), but it also shows something less obvious, namely that the degree of non-canonicity contributes to the likelihood of a libre accompaniment. While it may seem self-evident that extending melodic lines, linking them together, and inserting pauses and vocalizations should correlate with mitigated rhythm, we have seen that these can happen with rhythmic accompaniment (e.g., the example in 9), and many of these features are found in other *cantes* that are not libre. Nevertheless, the current analysis shows, for a particular sample, that these non-canonical features do contribute to cante libre in *fandangos personales*.

¹⁰ The regression was run using the R-based Rbrul software package (<http://danielezrajohnson.com/rbrul.html>).

Conclusion

In this paper we have seen the emergence of *fandangos naturales*, beginning around the 1920s. While the turn of the twentieth was dominated by fandangos from Eastern Andalucía (*abandolao* forms, particularly *malagueñas*), the fandangos from the province of Huelva became the model for a new trend that largely replaced the nineteenth reign of *malagueñas*. While Eastern-based cante libre is still very much alive, it is not nearly as prevalent as *fandangos personales/naturales*, which are featured in practically every serious recording and performance. It may be that the structure of these fandangos are simpler and more direct than the rather ornate *malagueñas* and allow for a wider range of interpretations and interpreters.

We have also contrasted the fandangos of Pepe Marchena and Manolo Caracol and have demonstrated both qualitatively and qualitatively that their approaches are very different. Both were widely influential, although Marchena's influence waned with the onset of *mairenismo* in the 1960s, a movement that emphasized Gypsy flamenco and disparaged ópera flamenca practices. Caracol, because of his ability to interpret traditional Gypsy flamenco, fared better. The result is that there have been many younger singers interpreting *fandangos caracoleros*, and few drawn to *marchenismo*. The situation may be changing, however, as contemporary flamenco has begun to embrace some of the commercial music of the past (including both *marchenista*, e.g., Juan Valderrama, son, and *caracolera*, e.g. Antonio Reyes). Thus, both of these traditions, rooted in the ópera flamenca, period, remain influential today.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE FANDANGO IN MALAGA: FROM A DANCE TO A RENDING SONG

RAMÓN SOLER DÍAZ

TRANSLATION BY K. MEIRA GOLDBERG

Abstract

Málaga—both the capital and the province—occupies a place of singular importance in the birth of flamenco, a musical genre that began to develop in parts of Andalusia from earlier musical traditions in the mid-nineteenth century. The fandango in this southern Spanish province manifests in a diversity of forms unknown in other regions. Its oldest variants are still practiced—with great vitality—in the *pandas de verdiales*, groups with guitars, tambourines, cymbals, song, and dance. They originate in the agrarian regions of the Málaga countryside, growing out of the roots of pre-Christian fertility rites. Around 1860 the music of these danceable fandangos slowed down and lost their orchestration, to become, with only guitar accompaniment, what are now called “*fandangos abandolaos*,” one of the first forms of flamenco song of which we have notice. At the end of the nineteenth century the fandangos definitively lost their basic rhythm and the personal fandangos were born, reaching the height of popularity until the demise of the *cafés cantantes*, the music halls where flamenco was born, in the decade of the 1920s. Both the fandangos abandolaos and malagueñas make up the customary repertory of the *cantaoras*—flamenco singers—of today. The 1920s saw the birth of the era of “Flamenco Opera”—an era in which many singers created numerous styles of fandangos, the earliest of which were elaborations of folkloric fandangos. In Málaga these fandangos, the *fandangos personales* (personal fandangos), were widespread and popular. Today there lives in the city of Málaga the greatest living representative of *fandangos personales*, El Álvarez (b. Málaga, 1947), a singer of great expressivity who, despite

never having worked professionally, has been admired by figures like Chano Lobato, Camarón, Luis el Zambo, and Duquende. In 2010 a full length documentary film directed by Vicente Pérez Herrero, titled *Válgame Dios, qué alegría tiene esta gente qué fatigas tengo yo*, was released by RTVE, a portrait of El Álvarez's life and singing.

Keywords

Flamenco, verdiales, abandolaos, malagueñas, Estébanez Calderón, Eduardo Ocón, Juan Breva, Cojo de Málaga, Álvarez, Vicente Pérez Herrero.

Resumen

El fandango en Málaga se manifiesta de muy diversas formas: como verdiales, interpretados por agrupaciones llamadas pandas, que incluyen canto y baile y están acompañados de guitarras, panderos y platillos; como fandangos abandolaos, que se cantan solo con guitarra y ritmo ternario y desvinculados del baile; como malagueñas, derivadas de los anteriores pero sin ritmo; y como fandangos personales, estilos surgidos a partir de la década de 1920, en la llamada Ópera flamenca, y que son de gran aceptación por el gran público. Desde la figura de Juan Breva (1844-1918) hasta el actual Álvarez (1947–), de quien se ha rodado una película recientemente, el fandango ha sido uno de los estilos folklóricos y flamencos más cultivados en Málaga.

In this article I focus on the flamenco aspect of the fandango cultivated in Malaga, on its folkloric antecedents, on its most elaborate versions, and also on its principal interpreters.

Flamenco studies that began being published from the early 1960s, beginning with *Mundo y formas del canto flamenco* (1963), by Ricardo Molina and Antonio Mairena, established a taxonomy of flamenco song that has been widely accepted until very recently. This system of classification considered the *tonás*, *siguiriyas*, *soleares*, and *tangos* to be fundamental flamenco styles. However, it is clear that if there is a foundational—in the literal sense of the word—flamenco song, it must be the fandango, since a great number of different styles, such as *malagueñas*, *granáinas*, *rondeñas*, *jaberas*, *tarantas*, *tarantos*, *murcianas* and *cartageneras* (to name just a few) derive from this form.

Some variants of the fandango were already in the repertoire of the first singers who we might call “flamencos”—that is, “*cantaores*”—even though the term “flamenco” was not yet in use in this context. Estébanez Calderón (Málaga, 1799–Madrid, 1867) occupied a prestigious political post in 1838 Seville, where he attended various *fiestas* (celebrations) that featured song and dance (Estébanez 1985: 28). His chronicle, *Escenas andaluzas*, is based on these experiences. One of the scenes described in his book is titled “General Assembly of the Ladies and Gentlemen of Triana and the investiture in the Order of a certain blonde dancer,” first published in 1845 in the magazine *El Siglo Pintoresco*. In this scene Estébanez speaks of a cantaora Gitana (Spanish Roma) known as “La Dolores:”

Among the things that she sang, two were particularly praised. One was a Malagueña sung in the style of *Jabera*, and the other was a certain song that aficionados call *Perteneras* [sic]. Whoever heard the *Jabera* declared unanimously that it was the winner, and they affirmed that what the little Gitana sang was not the Malagueña of that celebrated *cantadora*, but rather a new melody, with a different ending and of greater difficulty, and that because of the name of she who so artfully sang it, could be called “*Dolora*.” The verse began, taking off in the running Malagueñan style, slowing down later and giving way to inflections of the *Polo Tobalo*, with great emotion and sustained phrasing, concluding by rising again to the opening note, astonishing all the listeners present.¹

In the years when this account was written flamenco was not yet solidified as a genre, although within a few short decades it would become a well-defined form. From this text we may deduce several interesting things. First, we learn that in this era there were songs called “malagueñas.” We should remember that malagueñas, like jaberías, are flamenco styles that are derived from the fandango. From the above-quoted passage we may

¹ *Entre las cosas que cantó, dos de ellas sobre todo fueron alabadas. Érase una la Malagueña por el estilo de la Jabera, y la otra ciertas coplillas a quienes los aficionados llaman Perteneras [sic]. Cuantos habían oído a la Jabera, todos a una la dieron en esto el triunfo, y decían y aseguraban que lo que cantó la gitánilla no fue la Malagueña de aquella célebre cantadora, sino otra cosa nueva con diversa entonación, con distinta caída y de mayor dificultad, y que por el nombre de quien con tal gracia la entonaba, pudiera llamársela Dolora. La copla tenía principio en un arranque a lo malagueño muy corrido y con mucho estilo, retrayéndose luego y viniendo a dar salida a las desinencias del Polo Tobalo, con mucha hondura y fuerza de pecho, concluyendo con otra subida al primer entono: fue cosa que arrebató siempre que la oyó el concurso.*

infer that in 1838 there were various modalities of malagueñas, one of which was the jabera. We also gather from this text that these song styles were not static, but rather that they were constantly evolving thanks to the personal style of the interpreter, as is quite characteristic of flamenco song, but less so of folk song.

This is not the first notice we have of a song called malagueña. From seventy years earlier, from the anonymous *sainete* (picaresque one-act farce or tidbit) *El maestro de música*, of 1774 (Subirá, 1928: vol. 1, 75).² In it we read:

*Señor, yo quiero un maestro
que sepa hablar en mi lengua,
que agarre aqueste instrumento
que me enseñe a cantar coplas
de caballo, malagueñas
o gaditanas, tonadas,
siguidillas y jopeos.*

Señor, I want a teacher
Who knows my language,
Who knows how to hold that
instrument
Who can teach me to sing verses
of *caballo*, *malagueñas*
or *gaditanas*, *tonadas*,
siguidillas and *jopeos*.³

We do not know for certain what this malagueña referred to in the *sainete* was like, but it must have been a folk style of fandango, a precursor to flamenco which, as indicated in the text, was accompanied on the guitar.

In 1865, the *Cancionero popular* (Popular Songbook) by Lafuente y Alcántara was published. This illustrious son of Archidona includes in his recompilation four verses in which the malagueña is referred to as a song; these verse also refer to the *rondeña*. In this era flamenco began to solidify as a genre born out of folklore and interpreted and elaborated by individual artists, as described by Estébanez Calderón. In the *Cancionero* published by Lafuente (1865: vol. II, pp. 180 and 410) we find:

*Si tuviera el pecho claro,
te cantara la Rondeña;
pero como no lo tengo,
te canto la Malagueña.*

If I had a clear chest
I would sing you a *Rondeña*;
But as I have not,
I will sing you a Malagueña.

² Subirá explains that the instrument referred to in this passage is the guitar. The date is provided by Faustino Núñez (2008: 669).

³ “*Caballo*” is “horse,” “malagueña” refers to Málaga, “*gaditana*” refers to the city of Cádiz; *tonadas*, *siguidillas*, and *jopeos* are song types.

*La rondeña malagueña
nadie la sabe cantar,
sino los malagueñitos,
que tienen sandunga y sal.*

No one knows how to sing,
The rondeña malagueña
Except those from Málaga,
Who have grace and spice.

Lafuente also documents a “new malagueña” twice (1865: 409-410):

*La malagueñita nueva
ha venido de Madrid;
desde Madrid vino a Cádiz
y desde Cádiz aquí.*

The new malagueñita
Has arrived from Madrid;
from Madrid it went to Cádiz
and from Cádiz it came here.

*La malagueñita nueva
nadie la sabe cantar,
sino los zapateritos,
que están en la Puerta Real.*

No one knows how to sing The
new malagueñita
Except the little shoemakers,
From Puerta Real.

We may extrapolate important information from these verses as well. One detail is that at the mid-nineteenth century the malagueña was a somewhat popular song that had been known for a long time and was continuously evolving. Another important piece of information written in the above verse is that the malagueña had overflowed the borders of its birthplace and was already in 1865 sung in Madrid, Cádiz and Granada (Lafuente defines Puerta Real as a suburb of Granada).

There are numerous documentary sources of the nineteenth century that speak of fandangos, malagueñas, and rondeñas, as being indistinguishable, signaling that they are accompanied by guitar. In many texts the three terms have exactly the same signification. For example, in 1850 the Belgian musician François Auguste Gevaert, in his treatise *La musique en Espagne*, speaks of rondeñas as “danced airs, called, depending on where they are from, fandangos, malagueñas or rondeña” (Rioja, 2013: 16–17). Eusebio Rioja makes an excellent study of these early malagueñas and rondeñas (2013: 13–14):

Rondeñas and malagueñas are two very popular genres of the nineteenth century; they are the “pre-flamenco” or “proto-flamenco” Andalusian songs and dances which achieved the greatest popularity. They are repeatedly cited in literature in the press, and in music. The first reference to the rondeña is in the Madrid *Gazeta* of 1807, in which a music store on the Carrera de San Jerónimo advertised “*canciones gitanas para guitarra*

(Gypsy songs for the guitar):” the *rondeña* and the *caña* among others, works which were also transcribed for the piano.⁴

In 1874 Eduardo Ocón published *Cantos españoles*. This is a compilation of popular songs that the musician and composer worked on between 1854 and 1867 (Picó Pascual, 2004:83–85).⁵ The transcriptions included in this work include various malagueñas and fandangos. Speaking of fandangos, Ocón writes:

Within the category of Fandango are included the Malagueña, the Rondeña, the Granadinas, and the Murcianas, which are not distinguished one from the another except in tonality and some variants in the chords. Besides being a popular Spanish song, [the Fandango] is one of the most ancient dances and most popular even in our day, especially in urban neighborhoods and in the countryside. The instruments that accompany it are: the guitar, castanets, triangle, small cymbals, and sometimes the violin. This dance is done generally in couples of composed of members of the opposite sex.

Eduardo Ocón was born in 1833 in Benamocarra, a town of the Malagueñan region of Axarquía. Ocón must have been familiar with one of the most unique manifestations of popular Spanish culture, whose vitality continues to this day: the *verdiales*. These are fandangos characterized by an upbeat rhythm and by a music that might be called minimalistic because of its mix of apparent monotony and hypnotism. Verdiales are sung by popular poets composing verses that draw from traditional sources. Their natural habitat is circumscribed within a very small geographic area: the hills that surround the city of Málaga and part of the neighboring region of Axarquía. Verdiales are performed by groups known as “*pandas*,” which include percussion (finger-cymbals and tambourines), guitar, violin and, in some cases, lute. The singers of these verses tend to be instrumentalists and even others who join the circle that constitutes the panda. Like the fandango, the verdial is danced in couples or in trios. In the *fiesta de verdiales* (verdiales celebrations) two types of practice may be distinguished. One is occasional and is contextualized by religious, family, or social festivities. The other is more ritualized and is tied to the solstices. That of the summer is celebrated in San Juan and that of winter is tied to the Nativity and has its signal day on the festivity of the

⁴ The word “*rondeña*” alludes to a song of *rondar*, that is, of “hanging out,” as it equally does to the city of Ronda.

⁵ This work was published in Leipzig because Ocón married the German Ida Borchardt y Odendahl (Colonia, 1836–Málaga, 1934).



Eduardo Ocón, Parque de Málaga. Photo: Victoria Soler Roca.

Santos Inocentes (the holy innocents, or the holy fools), December 28. The ceremonial use of the spectacular hat of the participants is reserved for this day, the only one on which the members of the *pandas de verdiales* are referred to as “*tontos*” (fools).⁶ It is inevitable to think here in the ancient Roman Saturnalias, celebrated in the same season as the verdiales and part of the type of ritual festival that aspires to begin a new cyclical representation of primordial chaos (Eliade, 1984, 141–47). Antonio Mandy highlights the ancient solar symbology that has survived within ancient agrarian cults (1996, 36–39).



Paco Maroto and Pepe Molina, in a fiesta de verdiales en Comares, 2007. Photo: Ramón Soler Díaz.

⁶ On the relationships between the spectacular hat with the costumes of other cultures and eras, Roca Barea's 2010 article is of great interest. In this issue of *Jábega* (2010, no. 103), which may be consulted online, the interested reader will find a wealth of information about the fiesta de verdiales and all that surrounds them, by well-informed researchers <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/ejemplar/301552> (accessed May 29, 2016).



Monumento (de Miguel García Navas) al fiestero en el parque de Málaga. Photo: Victoria Soler Roca.

A verdiales celebration may last anywhere from a few hours to a few days, with the *pandas* traveling through the countryside and stopping at *lagares* (local country houses) where they are given accommodations and food in exchange for enlivening the neighborhood with their fiesta. The experience of the fiesta of several decades ago is reflected in this anecdote: the grandfather of my friend Adolfo “La Jaba” was a *fiestero* (a member of a *panda de verdiales*) and once when his friends came calling to go to a fiesta he said, “For less than three days, I’m not going anywhere.” The verdiales played by these *pandas* have changed remarkably little during the time since we have sound recordings. The first recording of the verdiales of the *pandas* comes from the 1952 film *Duende y misterio del flamenco*, directed by Edgar Neville.⁷ Through oral tradition we know that a hundred years ago the verdiales were quite similar to those of today (Eduardo Ocón’s above-cited description of the fandango seems to describe the instrumentation of today’s verdiales), and we know that these verdiales of the past had themselves changed little, because they were practices solely in isolated rural spaces far from urban centers.

But these primitive fandangos were the source of *cantes* (song styles) now part of the flamenco repertoire. In this development, Juan Breva played a key role. His real name was Antonio Ortega Escalona, he was born in 1844 in Vélez-Málaga, the capital of Axarquía, and he died in Málaga in 1918. Fortunately, in 1910 he recorded ten songs, four of which are titled “Malagueña,” “Malagueñas-fandanguillos,” “Fandanguillos,” and “Verdiales.” On these recordings Breva sings several fandango melodies adapted from the folklore of his native region in a flamenco style; his interpretations are so unique that Juan Breva is known as the first great singer of malagueñas.

⁷ It is worth noting that although there are some early recordings titled “Verdiales,” these are fully flamenco versions: that is, accompanied by guitar and not by a *panda*. Not until the 1960s did microgroove recordings of fiestas de verdiales appear.



Juan Breva. Photo courtesy of Archivo Peña Juan Breva.

In these recordings, Juan Brea leaves behind—as one would expect of a flamenco singer—the traditional orchestra of the *panda*, and is instead accompanied by two guitars: one he plays himself, and the other the great Ramón Montoya (1880–1949). Yet in some of the verses that he recorded we note the presence of the *fiesta de verdiales*, in the voice of a woman:

AUDIO 1⁸

Mi mare me llevará
 en la Cala hay una fiesta
 mi mare me llevará
 yo como voy tan compuesta
 me sacarán a bailar
 llevando mis castañetas.

My mother is going to take me
 There is a fiesta in Cala
 My mother is going to take me
 And as I look so pretty
 They will invite me to dance
 With my castanets.

Juan Brea left a great flamenco legacy and was quite well known in his own day; he even sang several times for the Kings Alfonso XII and Alfonso XIII. Singers such as “El Mochuelo,” Manuel “El Sevillano,” and “El Diana” recorded *malagueñas* and *fandangos* even earlier than Brea, on wax cylinders of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Thanks to Eusebio Rioja’s above-cited article, we now know that Juan Brea was not the first to substitute a solo guitar accompaniment for the traditional *panda de verdiales*; many nineteenth-century *malagueñas* were accompanied by guitar alone. The first known *malagueña* score was composed by the guitarist from Granada Francisco Rodríguez Murciano (1795–1848), who was very admired by the father of Russian musical nationalism, the composer Mihail Glinka (1804–1857).⁹

⁸ To listen to the audio, please visit https://us.ivoox.com/es/podcast-ramon-soler-the-fandango-in-malaga_sq_fl293386_1.html (accessed July 8, 2016).

⁹ I have a recording of the flamenco singer Juan Casillas singing Murcia’s *Malagueña* accompanied on the guitar by Ángel Luis Cañete, following the score but adding the stylistic turns appropriate to flamenco, and it sounds just like a variant of the flamenco *malagueñas* of today. The verse is: “*Los ojos de mi morena (bis) / son lo mismo que mis males / grandes como mis fatigas / y negros como mis males, / los ojos de mi morena*” (The eyes of my dark girl / are those of my troubles / they are as big as my suffering / and as black as my misfortunes / the eyes of my dark girl). This performance accompanied the lecture “La guitarra en los primeros tiempos del cante,” given by Eusebio Rioja in the Ateneo de Madrid on February 14, 1989. (AUDIO 2) On a newly discovered *Malagueña* by Murciano, see M^a Luisa Martínez Martínez and Peter Manuel, “El Murciano’s

Juan Brev's fandangos and malagueñas conserved the ternary rhythms, but lost the danceable character of traditional verdiales. The style of playing with which Brev accompanied himself on the guitar was typical of the fandango known from the eighteenth century on and which in Málaga, since the 1960s, began to be called "toque abandonado" by members of the Peña Flamenca Juan Brev. This denomination has been widely accepted by aficionados and flamenco scholars. But the malagueña changed a great deal over the last decades of the nineteenth century. Thus, in addition to Juan Brev we should take note of two other great creators of malagueñas: Juan Reyes Osuna "El Canario" (1855–1885), from Álora (Málaga), and the Gitano from Cádiz, Enrique Jiménez "El Mellizo" (1848–1906). Younger than these artists were Juan Trujillo "El Perote," from Álora, Trinidad Navarro "La Trini," and Maestro Ojano y Baldomero Pacheco, all three were from Málaga. From Cádiz, Francisco Lema "Fosforito" (1869–1940), and from Jerez Don Antonio Chacón (1869–1929), who elevated the malagueña to great heights by developing it melodically with their prodigious creativity and technical faculties. Chacón's malagueña was the only one of those cited above that was recorded. As we note by listening, Chacón completely suppressed the ternary rhythms of the traditional malagueñas, making them *ad libitum*; the collaboration of Ramón Montoya, founding father of the modern flamenco guitar, was fundamental in this development.¹⁰ Other magnificent interpreters of malagueñas were Paca Aguilera, Niño de Cabra, Niño de la Isla, El Peña, la Niña de los Peines, Luisa Requejo y Manuel Vallejo.¹¹ (AUDIO 3)

'Rondeña' and Early Flamenco Guitar Music: New Findings and Perspectives," in this volume.

¹⁰ For more on *cante libre*, see John Moore, "Cante libre is Not Free—Contrasting Approaches to *fandangos personales*," in this volume.

¹¹ The most exhaustive critical study of malagueñas is Jorge Martín Salazar's 1998 study *Las malagueñas y los cantes de su entorno*, http://www.noriestabernarios.com/opencms75/export/sites/norios/galerias/descargas-literatura-tabernaria/libros-recomendados/Las_malaguenas_y_los_cantes_de_su_entorno_Texto.pdf (accessed May 30, 2016). Martín Salazar cites a verse which gives an idea of the change of mode produced in flamenco styles between Juan Brev and Chacón: "En el Café de Chinitas / le dijo a Chacón Juan Brev: / *cantas tú mejor que yo / la malagueñita nueva*" (At the Café de Chinitas / Chacón said to Juan Brev: / you sing the new malagueñita style / better than I do) (1998: 31).

What we know today as the modern malagueña—different from that collected by Lafuente y Alcántara in 1865—emerged after Juan Breva, approximately between 1885 and 1910. The golden age of the malagueña lasted through the 1920s, coinciding with the sunset of the *cafés cantantes*, localities where this type of fandango was one of the most popular styles. After this period the flamenco *cante por malagueñas* evolved little. Even so, given its great beauty and melodic variety, the malagueña lives on in the repertoire of almost all flamenco singers. Nowadays, when a singer decides to sing malagueñas, he or she interprets one or two of the *ad libitum* styles, and tends to close with a *cante abandonao*, that is, one of the fandangos—or malagueñas—which conserve the primitive ternary rhythm of folklore, and of which Juan Breva was the greatest representative.

But the fandango continued on a path of ever-greater personalization, finally separated completely from its local and folkloric character. In the flamenco discography, the first recorded fandangos attributed to an individual person—as opposed to a generic style—date to the first decade of the twentieth century. In October of 1908 Sebastián Muñoz Beigveder “El Pena” (Álora, 1876–Málaga, 1956) recorded “Fandanguillos del Pena,” although they are really a local style of fandangos from the town of Lucena in Córdoba, sung to an abandonao rhythm, rather than a personal creation. Two months later Antonio Cordero “El Diana” recorded “Fandangos de Juan Breva,” in which he sang verses from a malagueña and a fandango of Juan Breva.

What we have seen up to this point demonstrates that the earliest great singer of flamenco fandangos was Juan Breva, a *cantaor* (flamenco singer) of enormous transcendence during his own time as well as for later generations. Breva’s death in 1918 closed an era and began a new one as in the 1920s the fandango would reach a new splendor. This was the beginning of the so-called *ópera flamenca* (flamenco opera), an era which began approximately during the decadence of the *cafés cantantes* and continued through the mid-1950s, when the first *tablaos* (flamenco clubs) opened and the first flamenco festivals were founded. Now Seville (rather than Málaga) would be the laboratory where new fandangos began to germinate. But before touching on that great flowering of fandangos we must mention a Gitano *cantaor*, Joaquín Vargas Soto “El Cojo de Málaga” (Málaga, 1880–Barcelona, 1940). Although this singer gained fame thanks to his interpretation and creation of many styles from the Levante (tarantas, murcianas, levanticas, and cartagenas, fandango derivations

all) he also put the stamp of his strong personality on various types of fandangos, some of which are fundamental to what we call today rondeñas and granáinas (such as the fandango in the style of Granada sung with the verse “*Rubia la mujer primera / hizo Dios como un ensayo / rubia la mujer primera / y como no le gustó / la tuvo que hacer morena / y morena es la que quiero yo*” The first woman was blonde / God made her on the first attempt / the first woman was blonde / and as he was not satisfied / he had to make her dark / and dark is the one I love).

AUDIO 4

In his discography—almost exclusively recorded during the 1920s—there are various fandangos, which he himself adjudicated.¹² El Cojo de Málaga was an artist who because of his age and taste found himself caught between two fashions: that of the malagueñas creators (Chacón, El Perote, La Trini, Fosforito...), who were fifteen or twenty years older than him, and the artifice of the modern *fandanguillos* of the ópera flamenca, who were two decades younger than him. El Cojo de Málaga’s influence can be heard in later singers, especially in Angelillo (Madrid, 1908 – Buenos Aires, 1973), and in two great creators of fandangos: José Cepero (Jerez de la Frontera, 1888–Madrid, 1960), and Manuel Vallejo (Sevilla, 1891–1960).

Another singer who is key to understanding the great success of the fandango during the first half of the twentieth century was from Huelva: Dolores “La Parrala” (Moguer, 1845–Sevilla, 1915). It seems that she disseminated throughout the province the Malagueñan fandangos that served as the foundation for artists from Huelva such as José Rebollo (Moguer, 1895–Sevilla, 1938), Paco Isidro (Huelva, 1896–1960) and Antonio Rengel (Huelva, 1904–Sevilla, 1961) as they developed their respective fandango styles. These singers brought the modern *fandangos de Huelva* to Sevilla, and from there they radiated out again to various other places. Following these three singers from Huelva, along with El Cojo de Málaga and, from Triana, Rafael Pareja (Sevilla, 1877–Gibraltar, 1965), among others, the following generation of fandango singers built their personal styles, such as those of the above-mentioned Cepero and Vallejo, along with Enrique “El Almendro” (Sevilla, 1892–1959), and El Niño Gloria (Jerez de la Frontera, 1893–Sevilla, 1954). These artists would

¹² During this era, concretely in 1922, Manuel Centeno (Sevilla, 1885–Cartagena, 1961) recorded a series of fandangos that he attributed to two cantaores: Pérez de Guzmán and Juan María.



Cojo de Málaga. Photo courtesy of Archivo Peña Juan Brea.

would be followed by Macandé, Niño de Marchena, Pepe Pinto, Carbonerillo, José Palanca, and Corruco de Algeciras, to mention just some of the most outstanding, who created their respective styles prior to the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). The fandangos that they sang tend to be known today, with a definition that certainly lacks rigor, as *fandangos naturales* (natural fandangos), *fandangos personales* (personal fandangos), or *fandangos artísticos* (artistic fandangos).

This hatching of new fandangos was supported by writers who composed verses for these singers, among whom Emilio Mezquita, Nicolás Callejón, Hilario Montes, Francisco de la Obra, and Fernando Mourelle should be mentioned. Also cantaores like José Cepero—nicknamed “El Poeta” (the Poet) of the cante—and Pepe Pinto composed many of the verses that they sang. These cantaores performed in opera flamenca shows and in private parties, of which the most outstanding were those organized on the Alameda de Hércules in Sevilla, a flamenco focal point between the 1920s and the early 1950s.¹³

In the 1920s and 30s the guitar accompaniment of these fandangos personales also evolved: it no longer played in the *abandolao* style of fandangos malagueños, a direct descendent of the old bolero, but rather in the rhythm of the fandango de Huelva, also ternary, but with different accents. This new manner of accompanying the fandango developed thanks to the contributions of *tocaores* (flamenco guitar players) such as Manolo de Huelva (1892–1976), Manolo de Badajoz, Niño Ricardo (1904–1972), Ramón Montoya (1880–1949), and Sabicas (1912–1990). This accompaniment would gradually attenuate after the Civil War until it completely lost its original rhythm—thanks to the genius of guitarist Niño Ricardo—which allowed the cantaor much greater freedom in developing new melodic lines. Certainly those cantaores who remained active and in continuous evolution—as is the case with Marchena, Pepe Pinto, and Palanca—also contributed to this slower and more attenuated rhythm. A new crop of fandango singers, almost all born in the second decade of the twentieth century, soon followed. Important among them were Manolo Caracol (1909–1973), Canalejas de Puerto Real (1905–1966), Antonio el de la Calzá (1913–1981), El Sevillano (1909–

¹³ An exception is Gabriel Díaz Fernández “Macandé,” a Gitano cantaor (Cádiz, 1897–1947) who hardly ever performed before large audiences. His stormy personal life led to him ending his days in an insane asylum. (‘*macandé*’ is a Gitano word; it means “crazy.”) Macandé in Málaga before the Civil War and while there a number of local singers learned his style.

1989), Juanito Valderrama (1916 – 2004), Pepe Aznalcóllar (1912–1973), Niño León (1911–1968) y Porrinas de Badajoz (1924–1977), some of whom also wrote many of the verses they sang, as is the case with “El Sevillano” and Valderrama.

Among singers who wrote their own verses, Antonio “El de la Calzá” is noteworthy. His real name was Antonio Tovar Ríos (Sevilla, 1913–1981), and he was admired by all his contemporaries as by later generations because he elevated the fandango to the height of emotional expression. In order to achieve that he incorporated echoes of other cantes (soleares, siguiрийas, and cañas), he added quite a few more syllables to some verses, and even in some cases added an extra line, making of a six-line traditional verse a seven line verse. Antonio el de la Calzá lived in Málaga after the Civil War, until the early 1950s. He earned his living singing in private fiestas privadas and at the *ventas* (inns) on the urban outskirts—principally at the Ciudad Jardín and los Montes—with local artists such as dancers Juan “El Porrilla,” “La Pirula”—who was also a singer, especially of tangos and bulerías—and “La Paula,” and alongside the singers Agustín “El Gitano,” “El Galleta,” Ángel de Álora, Agustín “El de las Flores,” Chato de Málaga, and Antonio de Ceuta, all great fandango singers who saw Calzá as a fundamental inspiration.

Following Calzá’s generation of fandango singers, the generation of singers born between 1925 and 1935, as the opera flamenca yielded to an era of revitalization of the traditional cantes, sometimes called the neoclassic era and often dated by scholars from the 1954 *Antología del Cante Flamenco*, was less creative. Notable among this group are Gordito de Triana (1926–1981), Chiquito de Camas (1928–2008), Antonio Carmona ‘El Rubio’, Antonio Núñez ‘Chocolate’ (1930–2005) y Paco Toronjo (1928–1998) (although Paco Toronjo’s repertoire was centered around fandangos de Huelva).

Up until this point we have noted how the manner of singing and of guitar accompaniment changed in the flamenco fandango. If Juan Brea stripped the verdiales of cymbals, tamborines, and violins, making of them fandangos and malagueñas to an abandolao rhythm, later malagueñas gained new melodies and definitively lost their rhythm. Later came fandangos personales whose guitar accompaniment was the same as that of fandangos de Huelva and with these fandangos as well the rhythm was gradually attenuated and they grew more ornamented.

The stages on which these fandangos were sung had also changed. The *café cantantes* of the nineteenth century gave way to the great arenas of the *ópera flamenca* (such as bullrings and theaters), which coexisted with private fiestas. We have already touched on those organized in the Alameda de Hércules. This boulevard in Sevilla began declining as a center of flamenco song after the Civil War in favor of a new place: a town on the border with British Gibraltar: La Línea de la Concepción. In this Cádiz locale money flowed like water thanks to smuggling—so necessary in the climate of extreme need of post-war Spain—and thanks to the wealthy *llanitos* (inhabitants of Gibraltar)—who often traveled to La Línea in search of diversion. Great fandango singers from other areas, such as Marchena, Rafael Pareja, Palanca, Valderrama, Niño de la Huerta, Juanito Maravillas, and Antonio de la Calzá spent long periods or even settled permanently in this zone supported by flamenco fiestas. Given how close it is, the flamencos of Málaga also frequently traveled to La Línea. Local singers such as Chato Méndez, Antonio el Rubio, and his cousin Joaquín “El Limpia” learned from these outsiders and perfected their ways of singing. Bars with private rooms and cabarets proliferated, in which flamenco fiestas unfolded in an atmosphere in which there was also prostitution, as had been the case on the Alameda de Hércules. The fandangos sung in this atmosphere were much more filled with raw emotion and drama, and the thematic content of the verses also changed substantially. After the Civil War, the literature of flamenco fandangos turned toward “*la mala vida*” (the wicked life), while verses protagonized by handsome women on horseback, talking about the countryside or the hunt, or praising the bride, the hometown, or the local saints lost favor. Candor gave way to fandango verses in which desperation was voiced with full throat. The invocation of the mother would become less and less frequent, crowded out by verses about prostitutes, abandoned children, children who beat their parents, husbands who beat their wives, people drowning their sorrows in alcohol, women in insane asylums breast-feeding rag dolls...and other pleasantries. Although most of these new verses were of poor literary quality, they were sung with a hitherto unknown dramatism. Thus, in traditional verses motifs of the countryside and of love, such as this one, recorded by Rengel in 1929, were frequent:

AUDIO 5

Me quiero comprar una jaca
mare, dame usted el dinero
que quiero comprar una jaca

I want to buy a horse
Mother, please give me money
Because I want to buy a horse

pa meterme a bandolero
con trabuco, manta y faca
por una mujer que quiero

I want to become a bandit
With a rifle, a blanket, and a knife
For the woman I love

In contrast, the verses that predominated in 1940s had a much more truculent aesthetic. Antonio “El de la Calzá” was the greatest representative of this new trend. In order to understand it, we have no more than to listen to him sing the following fandango:

AUDIO 6

Se le caía,
mira si ella estaría borracha
que hasta la copa de vino que tenía en
las manos se le caía;
no maltratadla por Dios
porque yo también tengo una hermana
en la vía
y eso son desgracias que nos manda
Dios,
eso son desgracias que nos manda Dios.

It fell from her hand
She was so drunk
That the glass of wine she held fell
from her hand
For God's sake, don't mistreat her
Because I too have a sister living the
mala vida
And these are misfortunes sent by God,
These are misfortunes sent by God.

The last great fandango emporium, La Línea, collapsed from one day to the next with the closing of the gate separating it from Gibraltar by order of the Franco government in 1969, complying to the letter with the treaty signed in the 1713 Peace of Utrecht. Nothing was ever the same, as Camarón de la Isla (1950–1992) y Pansequito (b. 1946)—the former born in La Línea and the latter resident there after his marriage—in a fandango whose verse was written by a singer nicknamed “El Sheriff:”

Me dio ganas de llorar,
el otro día fui a La Línea
y me dio gana de llorar:
los bares estaban vacíos,
a La Línea no voy más
con lo que La Línea ha sido.

It made me want to cry,
The other day I went to La Línea
And it made me want to cry:
The bars were empty,
I'll never return to La Línea
Considering what La Línea once was.

For its part, flamenco in Málaga had been in a depression ever since the disappearance of the cafés cantantes, of which there were once a great many in this city. This would change, thanks to tourism, from the end of

the 1950s. In Málaga and its western coastline—the so-called Costa del Sol—a great many tablaos opened. It would be a new golden age for flamenco in Málaga. In this city the most representative tablao was the Gran Taberna Gitana, open from 1963 until the beginning of the 80s. The greatest singers of the era, among them many of the fandango singers mentioned here, passed through the stages of this tablao, and those of Torremolinos and Marbella.

At the beginning of the 1970s the flamenco scene in Málaga took place principally in private fiestas in popular neighborhoods (Cruz Verde, Perchel, Trinidad, El Ejido, and El Palo), and at fiestas in the ventas, alongside shows in the top-flight tablaos. In this environment, between private and public performances, a young artist named Antonio Álvarez Rosales (Málaga, 1947), known as “El Niño del Sombrero,” grew up. He listened equally to Porrinas de Badajoz and José Palanca at the Taberna Gitana as he attended the flamenco fiestas flamencas at the ventas in wee hours on the outskirts of Málaga, not recommended for a small boy. In those places it was common for *señoritos chulos* (gentlemen gangsters) to pay both flamencos and ill-reputed women. The young man, who in time would be known as “El Álvarez,” learned a great variety of fandangos of the above-cited creators from older singers—his father and brother included—in all of these environments. He personalized them in such a way that in my opinion it is not an exaggeration to say that El Álvarez is one of the greatest interpreters in the history of the fandango. This cantaor puts a personal stamp of unusual dramatism on his fandangos, and the same time that he sings with absolutely perfect pitch and knowledge, which makes them sound different. El Álvarez possesses the rare virtue of being able to elevate the majority of fandangos that he interprets, which are of the broadest stylistic scope, with a special predilection the fandangos of Antonio el de la Calzá. His gifts as a singer reached the ears of flamenco luminaries such as Camarón, Juanito Villar, Remedios Amaya, Duquende, Luis el Zambo, and many others who have come and keep coming to listen to this singular cantaor who has never wanted to become professional.¹⁴

¹⁴ In an interview that Javier Osuna did with Villar for a series at the Universidad de Cádiz this singer has very high praise for El Álvarez. The interview may be found at *Flamenco en Red*, “Fer 2014/2015 Presencias flamencas Juan Villar entrevistado por Javier Osuna,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e6chAB1lvEM> (accessed May 30, 2016), 39:35.



El Álvarez in a gathering at the Peña Juan Breva, 2013. Photo: Ramón Soler Díaz.

The strong personality of El Álvarez has been documented in a full-length 2011 film by director Vicente Pérez Herrero, titled *Válgame Dios qué alegrías tiene esta gente qué fatigas tengo yo (Flamenco de raíz)*. I was among a group of El Álvarez's friends who advised the director in making this film. José Rodríguez Jiménez and I also collaborated in producing the film. But what would have been a feature-length film dedicated entirely to this *rara avis* of flamenco was forced by budgetary limitations to be transformed into something else, including segments filmed in flamenco dance schools in Madrid. Nonetheless, the film records memorable moments of El Álvarez singing fandangos and recounting the vicissitudes of his life.

From even before flamenco existed, when malagueñas derived from fandangos were already circulating, passing through Juan Breva who fashioned the danceable malagueñas and fandangos bailables into fully flamenco cantes, and up till Antonio Álvarez today, Málaga has played a principal role in the creation and diffusion of fandangos and cantes derived from it. Thus today we can succumb to the primitive charm of a panda de verdiales singing verses such as this one:

AUDIO 7

La madre de esa doncella
qué contentilla estará

This damsel's mother
Must be so proud

la madre de esa doncella
estando el cielo tan alto
tiene en su casa una estrella,
tiene en su casa una estrella.

This damsel's mother
Heaven being so high
She has a star in her house,
She has a star in her house.

Or we may be moved, as by the most dramatic *siguiriya gitana*, by El Álvarez when he repeats the extenuation of the first word in this fandango verse:

AUDIO 8

Siempre preguntan por ti
los niños cuando se acuestan
siempre preguntan por ti
tú no sabes el trabajillo que a mí me
cuesta
el tenerles que mentir
y decirles que tú estás muerta.

They always ask for you
The children when they go to sleep
They always ask for you
You don't know how hard it is for me
To lie to them
And say that you're dead.

Between a fandango verdial and one interpreted by El Álvarez spreads a chasm: that between the pre-flamenco forms of a hundred and fifty years ago and the most refined flamenco essence. Both conserve the name and share a number of verses but they are absolutely different. Here we find the greatness of the fandango, which, more than a homogeneous song is an entire system that has transcended the Spanish frontier and which sinks its roots in the trunk of a secular tradition.

Audio Credits

Audio 1: Juan Brea, Verdiales, Zonophone 552.138, guit.: Ramón Montoya y Juan Brea, 1910.

Audio 2: Juan Casillas, guit.: Ángel Luis Cañete, Home recording, Madrid, February 14, 1989.

Audio 3: Don Antonio Chacón, Malagueña nº 2, Gramophone 3-62.361, guit.: Ramón Montoya, 1914.

Audio 4: Cojo de Málaga, Fandanguillos del Cojo, Odeón 13.594, guit.: Ramón Montoya, 1922.

Audio 5: Antonio Rengel, Fandangos, Odeón 182.463, guit.: Pepe de Badajoz, 1929.

Audio 6: Antonio de la Calzá, Del LP *Fandangos*, Sonoplay M-18048, guit.: Antonio Arenas, 1968.

Audio 7: Carlos Fernández, Del CD *Verdiales de los Montes de Málaga*, 2005.

Audio 8: El Álvarez, Home recording by Ramón Soler in la caseta de la Peña Juan Breva, guit.: Chaparro de Málaga, Feria de Málaga, August 17, 2014.

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CHAPTER FIVE

FANDANGO IN NINETEENTH CENTURY FLAMENCO: THE UNTOLD STORY

JOSÉ MIGUEL HERNÁNDEZ JARAMILLO

Abstract

In this paper, the first results of my research on the role that the fandango occupied in the nineteenth century flamenco are shown. This role is, paradoxically, quite different from what flamencology has for years stated, highlighting the lack of knowledge that still prevails nowadays about nineteenth century flamenco. In this brief essay I invite the reader to reflect on the ways in which the research around flamenco music of the past has been carried out, and the way the knowledge has been built—even in recent dissertations or academic and institutional projects—in order to achieve more precise knowledge about flamenco in future research.

Key words

Fandango, flamenco, nineteenth century flamenco, flamenco dance.

Resumen

En este escrito se muestran los primeros resultados de mi investigación sobre el fandango en el flamenco del siglo XIX. Éstos reflejan, paradójicamente, que el fandango ocupó un papel bastante diferente al que la flamencología le ha asignado históricamente, lo cuál pone de manifiesto la falta de conocimiento que aún existe sobre el flamenco del siglo XIX. En este breve ensayo realizo una invitación a reflexionar sobre la manera en la que tradicionalmente se ha hecho investigación musical del flamenco, y el modo en el que se ha construido el conocimiento -incluso

en tesis doctorales recientes y proyectos académicos o institucionales-, con el objeto de ir obteniendo en futuros trabajos de investigación una noción más precisa del flamenco.

Introduction

The fandango has been one of the most relevant musical expressions in several musical cultures in Ibero-America in the last three centuries. Its popularity has even transcended borders, and has been used by several European composers in their works. Even nowadays, we find it extended across several territories in Spain and America. To flamencology, the fandango is also “considered one of the fundamental styles of flamenco” (Kroher, Díaz Báñez, Mora Roche, and Gómez Gutiérrez, 2015, p. 11), and it is often represented in genealogical trees as one of its fundamental pillars.¹

Years ago I carried out a musical research project on the nineteenth-century fandango, and in my investigations, I learned that there are no studies proving the important role assumed by the fandango in flamenco during this period. Likewise, what has been written about the fandango contrasted with what my research was unveiling.² At that moment it seemed important to pause and to think about the ways in which the research around flamenco music has been carried out and the ways that knowledge has been constructed in that field, with the aim of understanding the discrepancies between what has been written about the fandango and what the nineteenth-century sources were telling me.³ In this paper I present a series of reflections on the issue. To start with, I will present some general questions regarding the research that traditionally has been done on flamenco. Then I proceed with a revision of what flamencology has said about the fandango and, finally, I will present the results obtained so far in my research, in which it is quite evident that there is an untold story of the fandango in nineteenth-century flamenco.

¹ With the term *style*, the author refers to each one of the different musical expressions that are part of flamenco.

² In other previous research about *peteneras* I had already met with a similar situation (Hernández Jaramillo, 2009; 2015).

³ In this regard I agree with the approach that Hettie Malcomson outlined in her article about the *danzon* (2011), in the sense that it is necessary to do a critical review of what has been written about certain musical genres.

Some Thoughts on Flamencological Musical Research

Even though the bibliography in flamencology is broad, in this paper I shall emphasize the most recent sources—of the last twenty years—in order to highlight still current theories about the fandango. In many of them I find a series of inaccuracies in reference to repertoires of the past. From my perspective, there are two main causes that have conditioned and limited these works: a) the research is guided by immovable prejudices; b) the research is carried out under an evolutionist and linear premise.

When a flamencologist treads the paths of researching documentary sources of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, his or her work is usually guided by a conjunction of prejudices that have been acquired basically from previous flamencological works.⁴ The most important of them is the recognition of an “official history” of flamenco, barely questioned, that has been built over the course of the last century, according to which flamenco in the nineteenth century did not differ greatly from that which we know in the present day. Usually, the primary sources for studying the past have been the descriptions of travelers or romantic writers, as well as hemerographic references, and in their reading an inherited subjectivity, in Hans-Georg Gadamer’s sense, is clearly visible:

A person who is trying to understand a text is always projecting. He projects a meaning for the text as a whole as soon as some initial meaning emerges in the text. Again, the initial meaning emerges only because he is reading the text with particular expectations in regard to a certain meaning (2013, 279).

Using some prejudices as the starting point when doing historical research is not necessarily a bad practice. On some occasions they may be useful resources when dealing with research that delves into unknown or scarcely studied themes. However, this act should be accompanied by an open attitude at the moment of interpreting what is narrated in the sources, and a willingness to review these prejudices, once new knowledge is obtained. A flamencologist rarely goes through this process. In this sense, as Gadamer says, they leave the Heidegger’s hermeneutic cycle unclosed:

⁴ This opinion is shared by other authors, such as Gregorio Valderrama: “it’s increasingly necessary to have musicologists who are able and willing to deal with the topic objectively and without any interested or distorted prejudice originated by the legend of the flamenco that has arrived until nowadays” (2008, p. 162).

Working out this fore-projection, which is constantly revised in terms of what emerges as he penetrates into the meaning, is understanding what is there. (...) The process that Heidegger describes is that every revision of the fore-projection is capable of projecting itself a new projection of meaning. (...) This constant process of new projection constitutes the movement of understanding and interpretation (2013, 279–280).

As a rule, the new texts that are found are subject to eisegetic interpretations. In this way, they're used as arguments that confirm and reinforce previous prejudices rather than to refine or widen knowledge. This confirmation bias has become an obstacle to the production of knowledge in flamenco. Besides, there is usually no questioning about what other flamencologists have previously written, thus attributing to them an authority as described by Gadamer: "Thus acknowledging authority is always connected with the idea that what the authority says is not irrational and arbitrary but can, in principle, be discovered to be true" (2013, 292).⁵ Therefore, reading historical sources through the lens of these kind of prejudices leads to a distorted and limited interpretation of musical reality of the nineteenth century flamenco, most of the time justified with quite inconsistent bases.

This practice is more acute in texts written by people with scarce or no specialized musical training, who therefore try to fill this void using their prejudices as the main resources to substantiate their work. An example of this can be found in works presented by the *COFLA* research team (University of Seville). They are aware of the need to perform a rigorous musical analysis when doing musical studies on flamenco: "When attempting to carry out a scientific study on the evolution of flamenco, it is undoubtedly necessary to make a rigorous analysis of the musical features of each style" (Díaz Báñez and Escobar Borrego, 2010, 261), and yet, they do acknowledge they don't have enough competence to carry out musical research (Díaz Báñez, Escobar Borrego, Gómez Gutiérrez, Gómez Martín, and Mora Roche, 2010, 40). Regardless of this limitation, the group undertakes projects such as studying the "evolution" of flamenco, such as the one that has been referred previously.

The lack of musical specialization has led these scholars to obtain questionable results, as is evidenced in the article *Similarity and evolution in flamenco rhythm: a revision of computational mathematics* (Díaz

⁵ This element has been one of the causes of the generation of *mythical theories* to explain some aspects of flamenco (Reyes Zúñiga and Hernández Jaramillo, 2013).

Báñez, Farigu, Gómez Martín, Rappaport, and Toussaint, 2005). In this paper, a group of mathematicians attempts to apply a series of similitude measures to flamenco music, based on mathematics and on a phylogenetic analysis stemming from biology, without any deep basis in musical theory, with the following objective:

One of the objectives of this work is, on the one hand, to provide to a flamenco musicologist analytical tools, in this case on rhythm. On the other hand, arising from the outcome of the research, to suggest ideas on current musicological matters, such as the study of the relation between the different styles, their origins, to contrast the different genealogical trees of flamenco *cantes*, [...], a search of possible ancestral styles, influences of music foreign to Andalusia, etc. (492).

These scholars consider the rhythm as the pertinent feature of differentiation between the musical expressions they study, without any solid argument to justify the selection of this analytical feature:

We have focused on rhythm because, among the many musical factors that constitute flamenco, it is, undoubtedly, one of the most noticeable ones. An easy way to carry out this analysis would be to strip flamenco music from its lyrics, harmony and melody and to leave out only the rhythm (in its general sense) as the only element. [...] it's logical to consider rhythm when thinking about simplifying the style (492).⁶

To that end, they chose a single “clapping rhythm” of each of the five flamenco *palos* they study—fandango among them—because, according to them, for each palo “the underlying rhythmic pattern is expressed through clapping accents” (493).⁷ I do not agree with this statement, because the accents that are done in the clapping accompaniment may be different from the intrinsic rhythm of each palo. In fact, we can listen to flamenco without any clapping accompaniment and each palo will still have its own identity. Moreover, there may be multiple and complex patterns of clapping accompaniment for each palo.⁸

⁶ It should be said that simply because a feature is “noticeable,” it does not follow that it should be a representative element for analytical purposes; in this case the authors don’t give further explanation for this choice.

⁷ *Palo* is an emic category with which every musical expression of flamenco is denoted.

⁸ In any case, a deep study of the rhythmic structures of flamenco should be carried out, such as the ones that have been done for other musical cultures (Arom, 1991).

A numeric mathematic model is applied to these simple rhythmic patterns and as a result this research derives a representation in the form of a phylogenetic tree of palos.⁹ It concludes by making an interpretation of the genealogy, in such a way that the results match their own scheme of prejudices stemming from the conclusions flamencology has built over time and, from this interpretation, providing a series of “questions and suggestions for the flamenco musicologist to respond to” (504).¹⁰ From this point, this research even goes as far as to extrapolate their outcomes to the entirety of flamenco and its historic development, even suggesting the existence of “ancestral rhythmic patterns” from which the current ones could have evolved (501). To sum up, this is a clear example of a study of flamenco music in which, deriving from a very simplified premise, generic outcomes are proposed in accordance with prejudgments, and the validity of the results is never questioned.¹¹

⁹ The authors justify the use of this model by arguing that “the human ear considers two rhythmic patterns as being closely tied when the change between accents is small and these changes occur between adjacent accents” (498), without providing a reference to any study supporting such statement.

¹⁰ Perhaps the most evident prejudice is when the authors of this study interpret the fandango and the *guajira*, two palos that appear in the center of their tree. According to them “the rhythmic patterns that are most similar to the others are guajira and fandango [...]. This is why these are represented in the middle of the graph” (502). They justify the location of the guajira at the center by arguing that its rhythmic pattern is a “trace of the influence that other styles have exercised in this rhythmic pattern” (504–505) because they consider it a “recent” palo. In line with their evolutionist prejudice, in which one of the analyzed palos should be the “father” of the rest, this is what they conclude about the fandango: “it is possible to think that fandango is the most primitive one, because this is the other rhythmic pattern that is located at the center” (505). The authors elevate this statement to the rank of a “theory” and attempt to support it by means of the following quote: “fandango is the source of all flamenco patterns,” from Jose Manuel Gamboa (505). Therefore, as can be seen, two different interpretations have been used for the same mathematic outcome. The authors even include erroneous quotes. For example, when they say that “there are existing theories stating that *seguriya* is a style that was incorporated to flamenco by the end of nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth” (505) and they refer to my book *La música preflamenca* (Hernández Jaramillo, 2002). I have never made such statement in this, nor in any other work of mine.

¹¹ In a later work which also deals with the rhythmic aspect of flamenco, they still maintain these considerations (Guastavino, Gómez Martín, Toussaint, Marandola, and Gómez Gutiérrez, 2009).

Another recurrent aspect of flamenco research is the tendency to explain flamenco of times past in a simplistic and linear way. A series of historic stages clearly delimited that have occurred one after the other has been described, such as the era of *cafes cantantes*, the golden age, or the *opera flamenca*. These periods have been viewed through low-grade lenses, therefore attributing features in a generic way, rather than using a microscope to allow a more detailed view. Moreover, it is a recurring practice that musical research in flamenco takes on broad and general topics in a wide timeframe.¹² Given the extension of the object of study, it is common to find superficial explanations to complex processes through generic statements. This trivialization of reality will be referred later on in this paper with some concrete examples about fandango.

In the same way, flamenco research has been focused on the search for the “origin and evolution” of the diversity of flamenco musical expressions. This evolutionist conception has simplified reality and has added obstacles in the understanding of a complex process of formation of flamenco, which encompasses the coexistence of musical cultures of at least three continents over more than three centuries. In this sense, it is frequent to see flamenco genealogical trees, explaining palos in terms of their supposed ancestral roots from which all branches and leaves have derived.¹³ In my view, the implied simplification of this kind of schema necessarily excludes fundamental elements that are needed for the understanding of the phenomenon.

As a consequence, the above elements have raised obstacles to the process of generation of knowledge and, in a way, have led to a rejection and exclusion—even institutional exclusion—of the outcomes of research that contradicts the established “official history.” Thus, a focus on the deep and detailed study of each of these musical processes is urgently needed.

¹² It is a recurring practice that research attempts to cover in a single work all musical expressions of flamenco throughout all of its history or a big part of it. Examples of this type of works are (Hernández Jaramillo, 2002; Valderrama Zapata, 2008; Hurtado Torres and Hurtado Torres, 2009; Castro Buendía, 2010; Núñez Núñez, 2011; Castro Buendía, 2014; Castro Buendía, 2015), among others.

¹³ A recent example of this can be found in Anguita Peragón (2010, 17). In the past few years, graphs have been proposed instead of trees for phylogenetic representations (Díaz Báñez et al, 2010; Núñez Núñez, 2011), without abandoning this evolutionary conception.

The Told Story

At this point, it is useful to review what has been said about flamenco, especially of nineteenth century fandango. In accordance to the dogma of flamencology, flamenco in this period would have been limited to family or working environments, usually in Gypsy communities. It is often said that despite some sporadic representations for tourists or travelers, flamenco's florescence on stage was in cafes cantantes during the second half of nineteenth century. The "cafe cantante was the ultimate space of professionalization for flamenco" (Pulpón Jiménez, De Vega López, Gallargo Gutiérrez, Ibáñez Jiménez-Herrera, and Tenorio Notario, 2011), where "for the first time, artists would become salaried workers" (González Sánchez, 2011). This notion is still prevalent in flamencology nowadays, even in academic and institutional contexts.

This description of the phenomenon often comes along with arguments stating that flamenco of past times cannot be known or studied given the fact that it is a music stemming from oral transmission. Following this line of thought, Alicia González, professor of flamenco in the Conservatory of Music "Rafael Orozco" in Córdoba, said the following in a lecture in 2011 called "The history of flamenco":

Can a history of flamenco be written? Bearing in mind that flamenco is a music of oral transmission, an art of oral tradition, how can we write a history out of something that is oral? We have no scores, no texts, *cantaors* could not write, in many occasions creators could not read or write, so, how can we make a history out of all this? The truth is that it is quite complicated (González Sánchez, 2011).¹⁴

Throughout her lecture, González states that "the main sources to clarify this stage in flamenco are Demófilo and Fernando de Triana." González's reliance on sources that traditionally have been used by flamencology neglects innumerable sources to which we have access nowadays on this subject. Under the premise that it stems from an oral tradition, other works do state that there are few remaining musical traces of flamenco in the nineteenth century: "The fact that flamenco is a music of oral tradition, along with a lack of documents both of sound and written information, leads the study of flamenco music to engage in interdisciplinary studies"

¹⁴ The lecture can be heard at the URL:

http://www.cacocu.es/static/CacocuElementManagement/*/alicia-gonzalez-la-historia-del-flamenco-2/ver (accessed March 18, 2015).

(Díaz Báñez and Escobar Borrego, 2010, 261). Guillermo Castro Buendía in his Ph.D. dissertation acknowledges that there is indeed musical documentation referencing flamenco in the nineteenth century, but he argues that most of it is useless to its study:

There are a number of publications of the nineteenth century with “popular,” “folk,” and “flamenco” musical content, at least supposedly in the latter. However, once we have studied all the material that has appeared with this qualifier [flamenco] from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, we must to say that there is scarcely any useful material. With the exceptions of Eduardo Ocón, Ramon Sezac, and some other specific cases, the rest of the scores preserved do not reflect in a faithful way the interpretative nature of the *cantos flamencos*. Most of them are what we could call “flamenco inspirations,” compositions by authors attempting to reflect flamenco influence in their work, whether in the melodies of *cante* or in some rhythmic and harmonic formulas. Others are simply “Andalusian songs,” very fashionable at the time, with the presence of musical features that are common in flamenco (Andalusian cadences, melismatic singing...), but not flamenco songs (Castro Buendía, 2014, 90).

Paradoxically, by analyzing documental and musical sources of the time we find contradictions between what these show us and what has been told in the history woven by the flamencology that we have just seen. The sources prove that the notion of flamenco in the nineteenth century was very broad; I would even dare to say that it was wider than in our current days, and therefore we cannot think that there was a one and only type of flamenco in those days. Beyond the musical occasions that flamencology is willing to admit, there have been others that have been invisibilized that encompass theatrical, salon, or instrumental music, as well as music for religious contexts, music for bullfights, for fairs, *romerías*, etc. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, we find flamenco practically in every social context, from slums of cities to aristocratic and royal gatherings and parties, and all of them designated with one single term: “flamenco” (Hernández Jaramillo, 2009; Reyes Zúñiga, 2015). I have selected some hemerographic sources of the time that clearly reflect this reality: “flamenco invades Spain” (Ortega Munilla, 1885, 202); “*flamenquismo* has turned the concept of Andalusian from regional to national” (Gómez de Baquero, 1897, 134); “*Flamenquismo* has degraded the stages [of Spain], (...) you can barely conceive a play in which no hands are being clapped, in which actors are not stomping *cuatro pataitas* [dance steps], or using a crepe scarf” (Pérez Nieva, 1890, 466); “flamenco is dominating every stage. There is barely a piece in the theatres without any occasion to play *peteneras* or *malagueñas*” (“La plaga flamenca,” 1888).

Therefore, the idea that flamenco was restricted to subaltern social spheres in which only the mechanism of oral transmission prevailed is inaccurate. Music circulated in every social stratus, and this very same dynamicity explains why we meet flamenco in all these diverse musical occasions. Even though the means of interpretation might be different, in its structural dimension the music that appears in nineteenth century scores resembles that which people would sing in different social and musical contexts.¹⁵ In this sense, I do not agree with Castro Buendía when he states that most of these scores are “folk” or “flamenco inspirations”¹⁶. It seems that the prejudice that leads this author to declare that “there is barely any useful material” comes from the notion that the “interpretative nature of flamenco” in the nineteenth century should be similar to that of flamenco that we are familiar with nowadays.

At this point I should raise some questions: if in the nineteenth century there was a very broad notion of flamenco, why should we only consider the flamenco that most resembles that of the present day, while leaving aside the rest? And, why should we use the categories “preflamenca,” “protoflamenco” or “folk” to refer to those types of flamenco that do not fit within the known styles of the twentieth century? Why is it that there is still such a rigid division between what was or wasn’t considered as flamenco in those days? Do we know more about nineteenth-century flamenco than the very persons that lived it, narrated it, registered it in scores and described it in that time?

In the context of this limited notion of nineteenth-century flamenco, what is the story told of the fandango of the nineteenth century? There are two main ideas that we will find in almost all flamencological works on this matter. The first is that flamencologists consider the

¹⁵ In various investigations in which I have carried out comparative structural analysis between the flamenco music notated in nineteenth century scores and recorded music from the ending of that century to the present time, I have documented a very high degree of fidelity of written music with respect to that of oral nature (Hernández Jaramillo, 2009; 2015).

¹⁶ There are other works that contradict this affirmation. For example, the PhD dissertation of the ethnomusicologist Lénica Reyes (2015), shows that a large number of analysed malagueñas of the nineteenth and early twentieth century do have a shared structure, and that many of them were specifically referred to as “flamencas.” Moreover, Reyes finds very few examples of pieces called “malagueñas” without a structural correlation to malagueñas of those times, but that could be “flamenco inspirations” of some composers; however, those would be exceptional cases.

fandango, malagueñas, *rondeñas*, *granadinas*, *verdiales* or *javeras*, among others, to be part of the same entity (Díaz Báñez et al, 2005, 505; Ortega Castejón, 2012, 105; Soler Díaz, 2015, 201; among others). The consequence of this position is that the descriptions of these musical expressions are usually carried out in a joint manner, thus preventing us from grasping the particularities of each and every one of them:

The group of fandangos constitutes the widest family of *cantes* in flamenco. From the most primitive and less evolved forms, such as *verdiales*, to others that developed later, such as *malagueñas nuevas* or “*de cante*”, *granadinas*, *cante minero-levantinos* and *personal fandangos*, that emerged most recently, they all share a common origin in popular fandango (Castro Buendía, 2014, 193)

This school of thought even generalizes to the point of saying that all these musical expressions that are part of the “fandango family” have “exactly” the same features: “These *cantes* [malagueñas, *granadinas* and *cantes de levante*] are, rigorously speaking, varieties of fandango, due to the fact that absolutely all their poetic, melodic and harmonic features are exactly the same than those of any fandango” (Hurtado Torres and Hurtado Torres, 2009, 173). We cannot ignore the musical similitude that all these forms may have, but for the purposes of our analysis, we need to differentiate them, because historically they have had clearly separate identities. This may serve as a clear example of how the emphasis on the phylogenetic links among the different musical expressions of flamenco has prevented a deepening characterization of each and every unique form.¹⁷

The second argument that we often find is the idea that flamenco palos derive from folk variants: “*cantes de Juan Breva*, also called Juan Breva’s malagueñas, go from folklore to flamenco” (León Benítez, 1999). “Interpretations of fandangos largely vary with respect to their abstraction from their folkloric origins” (Kroher et al, 2015, 11). In line with this second argument we find more generic statements saying that: “flamenco was created from an innovative and artistic reinterpretation of the Andalusian folklore” (Steingress, 1998, 221). This step from folklore to flamenco is what many authors have called *aflamencamiento*:

¹⁷ In accordance with the thorough comparative musical analysis between fandangos and malagueñas of the nineteenth century carried out by Lénica Reyes in her Ph.D. dissertation (2015, 118–156), despite some shared features that are mostly harmonic, both musical expressions have specific features that define and differentiate them.

Nevertheless, the popular and folkloric character associated with the dancing of the first modalities reveals that their aflamencamiento occurred at the same time, towards the mid-nineteenth century; as we shall see in the *caña*, *polo*, *serrana*, etc., they all acquired their final flamenco form in the last quarter of the same century within the *café cantante* environment (Castro Buendía, 2014, 343).

This route of the fandango traced by Castro Buendía contradicts the evolutionary path described by Jose Luis Navarro: “little by little [the fandango] lost ground and became a specific dance of folkloric nature” (2008, 124). The notion of folklore of past times is used in these examples as a generic resource to end what should be a more thorough description.

In this way, statements of such magnitude do not usually come with justifying arguments, nor they do make reference to the research works or frameworks of thought upon which these are based. Besides these, there have been many equally unsupported statements regarding the fandango. I will list some examples that have been mentioned in recent flamencological works:

- a) Verdiales are the “most primitive and least evolved forms” of fandango (Castro Buendía, 2014, 193).
- b) “The *pandas de verdiales* perform a very archaic variant of fandango, which is malagueña’s ancient form” (Hurtado Torres et al, 2009, 256).
- c) “The oldest fandango that is accepted by the history of flamenco is, precisely, that of Málaga” (Arrebola Sánchez, 1998, 223).
- d) “Verdiales are the oldest and most ancient expression of this type of fandango [fandango from Málaga], that comes along with other musical forms” (León Benítez, 1999).
- e) “these traditional fandangos [fandangos verdiales and fandangos from Huelva] are the direct ancestors of flamenco fandangos—preflamenco music.” (Berlanga Fernández, 2015, 173).
- f) “Verdiales are the fandango of the Andalusian Moors.” (León Benítez, 1999).
- g) “Verdiales gave way to malagueñas” (Cruces Roldán, 2003, 39).
- h) “Many flamenco styles have their roots in the *fandango* from Málaga” (Arrebola Sánchez, 1998, 224).

- i) From verdiales “stems the tree trunk of what we now call flamenco” (Mandly Robles, 2013).
- j) “Polo and *soleá* are derivatives of fandango” (Hurtado Torres et al, 2009, 173).
- k) “*Jácara* and fandango are practically the same” (Fernández Marín, 2011, 42).
- l) “The presence of fandango is also evident in the *petenera*” (Hurtado Torres et al, 2009, 255).
- m) “The fandango is the genre whose main features prompted the evolution of Andalusian music until they crystallized, by mid-nineteenth century, in the most authentic styles of flamenco, such as *soleáres*, *bulerías* and *fandangos flamencos*” (Núñez Núñez, 2012, 143).
- n) “Primitive fandango was purely instrumental, without any vocal *copla*” (Fernández Marín, 2011, 39).
- o) “The historic fandango refers, then, not to a singing piece, but to the music to accompany dancing, which will after lead to the crystallization of *jaleos* which in major tone would be named *cantiñas*, and in Andalusian modal tone, *soleares*” (Núñez Núñez, 2012, 144).
- p) “However, the *seguidillas*, and especially the *boleras*, had a great influence in the crystallization of many flamenco genres. It is not in vain that the so-called *abandolao* rhythm, natural to a large part of *fandangos* from Málaga, Granada and Almería, is no other than that of bolero, the Spanish *bolero* that was so famous during a great part of nineteenth century” (Núñez Núñez, 2012, 145–146).
- q) “In my opinion, the *tirana* is the clearest predecessor of *jaleos* (and therefore, of *soleá*), and is also the link that joins *jaleo* with the historic fandango, resulting the evolutionary line as follows: *jácara*-fandango-*tirana*-*jaleo*-*soleá*. This is only a hypothesis, but it is a first step toward achieving a musical history of flamenco styles” (Núñez Núñez, 2008, 199).

According to the flamenco phylogeny that has been expressed in these references, the “ancestors” of fandango would be bolero or *jácara*, and among the “descendants” or influenced by fandango we would have *tirana*, polo, *soleá*, *petenera*, *bulería*, *jaleos*, *cantiñas*, verdiales or malagueñas. Unless flamencology manages to escape from these categorical statements, presented without any analytical argumentation, and put question marks around them, we will hardly be able to reach an

understanding of the historic processes of the fandango and of flamenco itself.

The Untold Story

When I review the research on the fandango of nineteenth-century flamenco I find, as you might expect, a great number of sources that refer to musical practices in the hegemonic strata of society. The subaltern ambiances are only referred to in stories told by travelers, chronicles, iconography and literature, or in the representation of these ambiances within theatrical plays (as a secondary source)—that is, in texts in which these are represented. In this context, it's surprising that most of the references describe the fandango as a dance. This conception is totally different from that one that is held in nowadays flamenco, in which, paradoxically, dance has practically disappeared: “nowadays, the fandango, except for some more or less sporadic choreographic pieces, [...] cannot be said to be part of the lush tree of flamenco dances” (Navarro García, 2008, 124). Despite the fact that I find numerous sources documenting the fandango's danceable nature throughout the nineteenth century, in flamenco studies dance's presence is acknowledged only in the eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth century. For example, in José Luis Navarro's *Historia del baile flamenco* (2008), there is only a brief mention to the dance of the fandango in the second half of nineteenth century stating that it was “losing ground,” as seen above. By contrast, Navarro presents information on descriptions of fandango dance from the accounts of travelers in Spain accounts of previous eras.

Let's consider some examples describing the fandango of the second half of nineteenth century—usually as a dance form—in different performative contexts. Benito Mas y Prats, in his article *Bailes de palillos y flamencos* (1882), includes the fandango as one of the most frequent dances: “the most frequent *palillos* (castanet) dances have been, and still are in current days, the fandango, bolero and *seguidillas mollaras*, *manchegas* and *sevillanas*” (58). Mas y Prats considers the fandango, along with the sevillanas, as “the salt and pepper of public or crowded gatherings” (59). He also offers a description of the way of the dancing:

It is usually danced to *punto de malagueñas*; all the couples go out at the same time, and, after each performing their steps, they repeat the same exits. There is no need to have great skills to do it, and all Andalusian girls take part in it during the most climactic moments of their crowded gatherings (59).

Mas y Prats also refers to the fandango in rural environments, where, he says, “it reigns without any rival among our peasants” (58). Moreover, he mentions it when describing the parties that are held during the season of the milling of oil:

It seems an impossible task that poor women, who open their eyes at dawn, and whose bodies stand the fatigue of long hours of work under the sky, have the strength and the agility to dance one and a hundred fandango coplas (Más y Prats, 1885, 118)

Nor could the fandango be absent in parties and popular *verbenas* such as the *Velá de Santa Ana* in the Seville neighborhood of Triana (“Gacetillas”, 1879, 2). We also have evidence that the fandango was danced in café cantantes, as is clear in the following description of the *Café Filarmónico* in Seville, “where you can dance, sing and drink, all of that in the style of our country; because the dance is fandango, and the singing is polos or malagueñas, and the drink is *manzanilla*” (Lamasque, 1879, 1). This quote is pretty similar to the following one, that was published some years later: “Spain, where the *pandereta* (tamborine) is played, the malagueña is sung, and the fandango is danced” (Alfonso, 1884, 1). All these sources reflect a clear differentiation between malagueña and fandango, the latter being associated with dancing, whereas the malagueña is the paradigm of flamenco song.¹⁸ The fandango was considered a national dance: “fandango, that became a dance of national nature in our Peninsula, [...]” (Varela Silviri, 1881, 1); “the *fiesta flamenca* is not the mill party nor the so-called Andalusian fiesta. The fandango is cosmopolitan, and it is danced, both at the heart of the Bética and in the eastern coasts, and in Ronda mountains” (Más y Prats, 1885, 118).

A second fact to highlight from these first results of my research is that over the course of the nineteenth century, and above all with the prevalence of *flamenguismo*¹⁹ in the last quarter of the century, several musical expressions that were in vogue at the beginning of the century, such as the bolero, *zorongo*, *cachucha*, and fandango, gradually lost

¹⁸ This is in open contradiction with the statement made by Castro Buendía about the fandango as being a relevant singing form in nineteenth century: “the fandango kept on being cultivated in the nineteenth century, becoming one of the most influential singing forms in the emerging flamenco art” (2014, 218).

¹⁹ This term was used to refer the tremendous success of flamenco in the Spanish society during the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Reyes Zúñiga, 2015, 178).

popularity and disappeared from the stage.²⁰ From that moment on, certain adjectives are consistently applied to the fandango, such as “primitive” (Barbieri, 1861, 16), “classic” (Rueda Santos, 1887, 2), or “ancient” (Vidal y Careta, 1914, 64). There are many indicators that confirm this fact. First is the drastically diminishing presence of fandango on the Spanish stage, almost to the point of its complete disappearance. In the newspapers of the late-nineteenth century we barely find the fandango performed at theatres or events by the bourgeoisie or the aristocracy, in marked contrast to other flamenco musical expressions, such as *malagueñas*, *peteneras*, *tangos*, *zapateados*, *soleas* or *sevillanas*.

The reasons for this situation are not yet clear, and more research is needed, but a hypothesis may now be proposed: given its almost exclusively dancistic character, the fandango suffered along with the decadence of dancing that took place in the last three decades of nineteenth century, after the splendor that dance had enjoyed in Spain in the middle of the century. In 1902, Anastasio Gonzalez, known as “Alejandro Miquis” gave a possible cause of this decline:

The star of Terpsichore suffered from an almost expected fall as a reaction to the great dance shows of Circo de Rivas, and the dancers took refuge in theatres of lower scale: Martin and la Infantil were their last houses: in them there was “dance at the end of each act.” After that the *cancan*, with scarce clothing, scared away from la Infantil and Capellanes those who considered their morality offended by that show.

In Martin and in la Infantil [...], dance lived a languid life, but not even there did it manage to last, and, finally, it disappeared. The eclipse would have been total without *bailarinas* (dancers) who, renewing the traditions [of the *Puellae gaditanae*], kept the sacred fire burning in cafes cantantes. Terpsichore had descended to a very low level (González y Fernández, 1902, 159).

²⁰ As we previously saw, Jose Luis Navarro also warns about this “loss of territory” that the *fandango* suffered during the second half of nineteenth century.

Another indicator of the scarce theatrical presence of the fandango in the late-nineteenth century is the number of zarzuelas that included it. Between 1840 and 1915, I can only identify two zarzuelas containing fandangos:²¹ *Chorizos y polacos* (1876) by Francisco Barbieri and *Soledá* (1906) by Joaquín Gené. This low number makes a high contrast with what the presence of other flamenco musical expressions, such as malagueñas, present in 78 zarzuelas, or peteneras, in 43 (Reyes Zúñiga, 2015, 184).

I also considered it relevant to analyze the presence of fandango in the first recordings of flamenco. To this end, I conducted a quantitative analysis of the number of fandango recordings in relation to other musical expressions, by consulting the database of recordings of the *Centro Andaluz de Documentación de Flamenco*.²² This collection holds data of more than four thousand recordings of flamenco since 1897. By limiting the search to the period of our interest, setting the upper limit as 1915, I got the percentage of recordings of the different palos shown in the following chart:

²¹ Even though a piece called “Fandango y jota valenciana” appears in the zarzuela *Exposicion Universal* by Ruperto Chapi (1889), I can’t identify in it the structure of nineteenth century fandangos.

²² Available at:

http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/centroandaluzflamenco/ServicioDocumental/Catalogos/form_palos.php (accessed March 19, 2015).

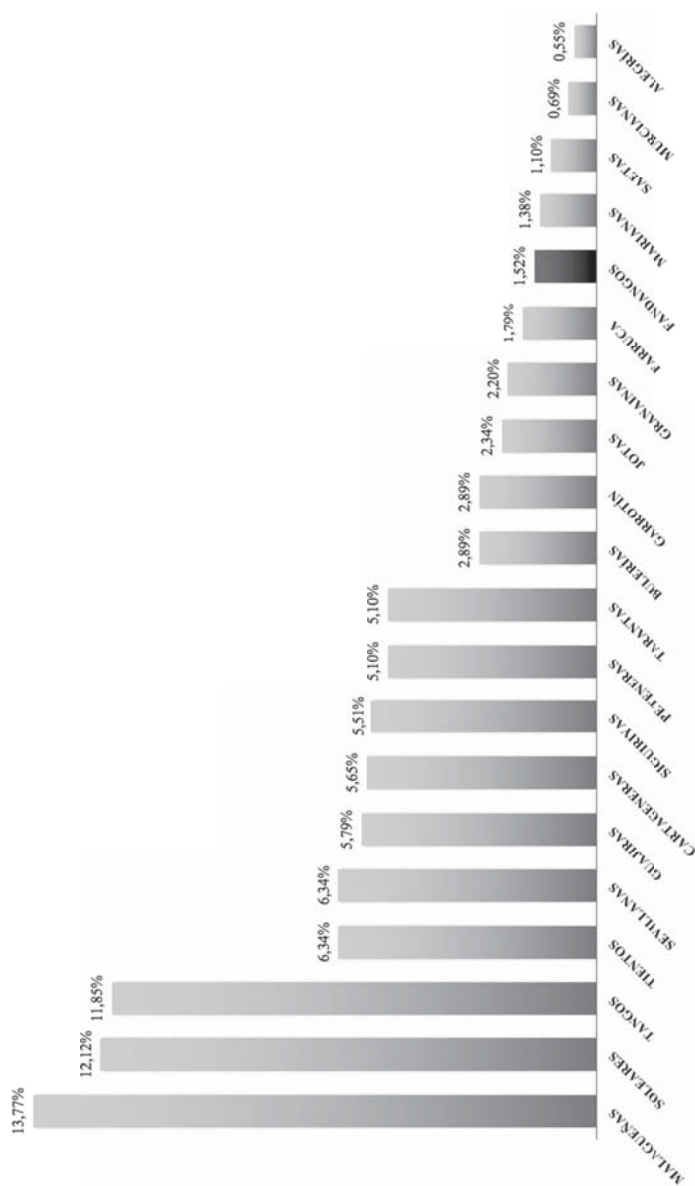


Figure 1. Percentage of recordings of each *palo* between 1897-1915 (Source: CADF)

Out of the total of 715 recordings during this period,²³ we can see that only eleven correspond to fandangos,²⁴ representing a 1.52% of the total recordings, against the one hundred malagueñas (13.77%). Therefore, the *fandango* ranks sixteenth in the recorded palos from 1897 to 1915. In line with these statistics, I found an article on music therapy in which professor Vidal y Careta comments in 1914 on the absence of fandango in flamenco repertoire:

In the town in which I live, what you rarely hear sung is the old fandango, the father of all the tunes of the Andalusian region; you shall hear everywhere malagueñas, rondeñas, *murcianas*, *farrucas*, *marianas*, *cante jondo*, to put it in one word (...); but you will rarely savor in all its purity the truly popular singing, the artistic fandango, sentimental, expressive, free of any ornaments or effeminate lamentations (Vidal y Careta, 1914, 64).

If we undertake a statistical analysis of recordings similar to the previous one, but without any time restrictions, then we find that the fandango has been the most recorded palo of flamenco, with a 23.27%, and at a great distance is the second, the soleá, with an 8.63%. To explain this apparent paradox between the weight that fandango had in the first years of the twentieth century with respect to the rest of the century, we only need to observe the way in which that percentage has changed over time. Figure 2 shows the percentage of *fandangos* recorded in relation to the total of recordings of each year up to 1940, in comparison to those of the malagueña. We can see how, starting from the third decade of the century, the fandango becomes the favorite of flamenco artists, and that there were years in which more than half of recorded cantes were fandangos. The study of the possible causes of this resurgence of fandango goes beyond the limits of this paper, and will be dealt with in the future.

²³ Those recordings that have no information in the field "year" have been excluded, and therefore it is possible that exist more recordings of that time within this database.

²⁴ I only considered the recordings titled *fandanguillos* or fandangos, excluding some others labeled as "fandangos del País Vasco", "fandangos of Málaga" or "fandangos de Lucena", that either do not correspond with Andalusian or flamenco fandangos, or they are structurally more similar to other musical expressions such as malagueñas.

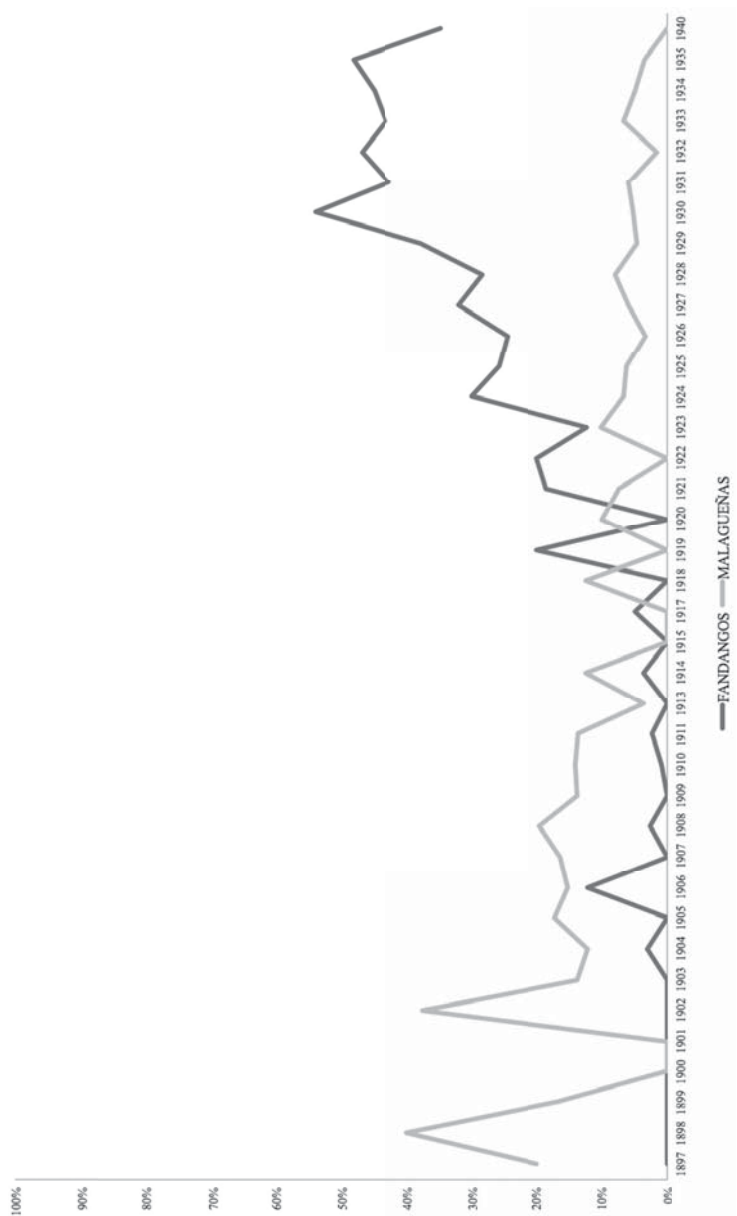


Figure 2. Percentage of recordings of *fandangos* and *malagueñas*, per year up to 1940 (Source: CADF)

All these indicators are showing us a story so far untold by flamencology or musicology: fandango was on the verge of disappearing from the gamut of palos, and it could only latch onto the flamenco chariot—losing the danceable character that defined it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—almost in the last breath, before its repertoire became “closed,” defined in the way that we know it nowadays.

Although these are only the first results of my research, I believe that they are strong enough to make clear the considerable lack of knowledge that still prevails nowadays, not only about the fandango, but also about nineteenth-century flamenco in general. My aim here has been to share a series of elements and to reflect on the path that musical research of flamenco has taken—its told and its silenced stories. The eisegesis of flamencologists and some musicologists needs to yield to exegesis, so that in the musical research of flamenco, with the passing of time, we have fewer untold stories.

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CHAPTER SIX

MUSICAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SPANISH MALAGUEÑA AND FANDANGO IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

LÉNICA REYES ZÚÑIGA

Abstract

The fandango, as a musical expression, had a strong presence in the Ibero-American musical scene in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Well into the nineteenth century, it was replaced on the Spanish stage by other expressions that became crowd favorites, like the *malagueña*. *Malagueñas* have been regarded as a derivative of fandango, however, there is little research to explain this linkage. In this paper the relationship between the fandango and the malagueña will be shown, detailing the musical features that they share as well as those that are specific to each one. Using the *SAAP* software, musical paradigmatic analysis is applied to a large corpus of scores.

Key words

Fandango, malagueñas, musical paradigmatic analysis, Spanish nineteenth century music, flamenco.

Resumen

El fandango, como expresión musical, tuvo una presencia importante en diversas ocasiones musicales de Iberoamérica en el siglo XVIII e inicios del XIX. Ya entrado el siglo XIX, en los ámbitos escénicos españoles, el fandango fue remplazado por otras expresiones que se convirtieron en favoritas del público, como la malagueña. Tradicionalmente se han considerado a las malagueñas como un derivado del fandango dada su similitud musical, sin embargo, apenas existen investigaciones que expliciten cuáles son los rasgos musicales que las asemejan. En este

escrito se mostrará la relación que existe entre ambas expresiones, detallando cuáles son los rasgos musicales que comparten y cuáles son específicos de cada una. Para ello, mediante el Software SAAP, se ha realizado un análisis paradigmático musical aplicado a un amplio corpus de partituras de malagueñas y fandangos españoles del siglo XIX.

Introduction

Fandango, as a musical expression, had an important presence in the Ibero-American musical scene in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Well into the nineteenth century it was replaced on the Spanish stage by other musical expressions that became the audience's favorites. One of these was the malagueña, a piece that, as had occurred with the fandango decades earlier, gained an important place not only on stage, but also in other performative spaces. Malagueñas had a strong presence in Spain, Mexico and other American countries in the nineteenth century. Its music was sung and danced, and it was played mostly by piano or guitar.

In my Ph.D. dissertation, titled *Malagueñas in XIX Century in Spain and Mexico: History and musical system* (2015), I contribute to the knowledge of malagueñas, conceptualizing them as a *musical system of transformations* due both to their musical structures and to the social dynamics in which they played the role of protagonist, both in Spain and in Mexico. In the course of my research I found some nineteenth century writings—as well as some current ones—stating that malagueñas are a “derivative” form of fandangos.

Composers such as Eduardo Ocón (1833–1901) have alluded to this linkage. In his popular edition *Cantos Españoles*, Ocón states: “the term fandango also encompasses malagueñas, *rondeña*, *granadinas* and *murcianas*, which do not differ from one another except for the tonality and some chord variants” (1874, 80). This statement has been quoted by several researchers of the present day—mostly within the flamenco field—to support the idea that malagueña is part of the fandango family. Some authors even go further and say that both have the same structures. For instance, David and Antonio Hurtado, in their book *La llave de la música flamenca* (2009), state:

These *cantes* [malagueñas, *granainas* and *cantes de Levante*] are—rigorously speaking—varieties of fandango, due to the fact that absolutely all their poetic, melodic and harmonic characteristics are exactly the same as those of any fandango (2009, 173).

Later on they add:

Fandango, along with malagueña, *rondeña*, *jabera* and *granadinas*—in other words, fandangos—are some of the first *cantos flamencos* to be referred in ancient lists and catalogues (Estebanez and Gevaert), all of them with their names and basic musical structures firmly fixed (as shown in ancient musical transcripts), and by that time, all of them were already considered to be traditional (2009, 174).

As can be seen, these authors state that the malagueña is a fandango. However, they do so while saying that in that time malagueña is also considered a musical piece with clearly defined name and structure. It would seem that what they call “variety” is understood as “identity,” meaning that malagueña has the identity of the musical expression from which, according to them, fandango “stems,” while at the same time denying it its own. If we were to follow this trend of thought, we would not be able to explain how it is that they also state that in that very same period of time, the malagueña is recognized in society as a musical expression of its own, with a different name than that of fandango. Hundreds of published scores and numerous published descriptions of malagueñas evidence their great success both in theatres and in private parties. Another example is to be found in the Ph.D. dissertation by Guillermo Castro Buendia (2014):

However, the fandango was still promoted during the nineteenth century, and it became one of the most influential singing forms in the emergent art of flamenco. We will find it in the form of *rondeñas* and malagueñas with the new support of the six-string guitar in E Phrygian mode [...] (2014, 218).

He continues: “by the middle of the nineteenth century, we see that the most popular fandango forms are: fandango itself, *rondeñas* and malagueñas” (2014, 219). Similar to the logic employed by the Hurtado brothers, we can see some ambiguity in what the author considers fandango and malagueñas to be.

So far, I have not encountered any study focusing on clarifying the similarities and differences between fandangos and malagueñas, or any exhaustive analytic studies proving the supposed affiliation. Rather, the assumption is stated as if it were a generally accepted thesis. Some authors only provide generic descriptions, such as those of its harmonic structures. On the other hand, based on my hemerographic research comprising of more than one thousand five hundred sources from the nineteenth century,

and I have found that, whenever there is a reference of these two musical expressions in a joint manner, this link is hardly ever mentioned. In any case, most of the time both are mentioned as part of the popular Spanish repertoire.

Given the above, I decided to perform a comparative analysis of the musical structures of nineteenth century malagueña and fandango, with the aim of identifying the similarities and differences between these two musical expressions. Even though I do think it is crucial to complement a musical analysis with information on the contexts in which the music was developed, as well as of those social actors involved, due to problems of length and the scarcity of research on this issue, I will only refer to musical structures in this paper.

General Description of Fandango and Malagueña in the Nineteenth Century

First it is necessary to do a description of the general characteristics of these musical expressions. It is possible to assert that both are musical pieces generally written in a ternary time signature, whether in 3/8 or 3/4. They have a series of instrumental motives built upon the harmonic base of the Phrygian dominant mode, as well as of intercalated *coplas* (verses)—whether sung or played by any instrument—in a major tone. In some occasions we may find melodic phrases that do not fulfill this overall scheme, and are usually presented by composers as an introduction, bridge between parts, or the ending of their musical works.

From this generic description, it would seem that what various authors, including Ocón, have asserted regarding the link or resemblance between these two expressions is confirmed. But if we bear in mind that in the descriptions of that time, both the fandango and the malagueña were pretty well differentiated—to such a degree that there are no comments alluding to confusion on the part of those people who played and listened to these pieces—then, it is relevant to ponder their differences.

To determine the degree of similitude between fandangos and malagueñas of this era, I analyzed at depth a series of musical parameters with the aim of comparing them and to learn their specific particularities. I

have used the methodology of the paradigmatic analysis¹, and to that end I used the *SAAP* software, that automatizes most of the processes of the analysis and allows the researcher to study a large corpus while at the same time saving a huge amount of time.² To analyze these entities and to obtain their structural representation, I apply the analysis to the following musical parameters:

- a. Pitch analysis (regardless of rhythm and harmony), including coplas—whether sung or executed by an instrument—as well as the instrumental motives.
- b. Quantitative analysis of coplas' ornamentation.
- c. Rhythmic pattern analysis of coplas' accompaniment.
- d. Harmonic analysis of coplas and instrumental motives.
- e. Interval analysis of coplas.

It is important to mention that the analysis carried out has a generic nature, that is, it is oriented toward finding the main trends of both expressions. In this regard, the particularities of each work will be left for future research. In the following sections of the article, I will present the results of these analyses.

Corpus of fandangos and malagueñas

The selected corpus analysis consists of 27 fandango scores and 48 malagueña scores, which are listed in the following tables:

¹ The phases of the paradigmatic analysis that I use are, in general terms: the segmentation of the pieces of the corpus in accordance to some criteria, the grouping of such segments by similitude, and the paradigmatic representation of each of the resulting groups—in which constant and variant elements are shown. For more thorough information on the paradigmatic analysis, see Ruwet (2011 [1966]), Nattiez (2011 [1997]), Arom (2001 [1991]), Alegre González (2005), Reyes Zúñiga (2011), and Hernández Jaramillo (2015), among others.

² This software has been designed and developed jointly with Jose Miguel Hernández Jaramillo. For more information on the phases of the paradigmatic analysis in the *SAAP* software, see Hernández Jaramillo, 2015.

Table 1. Corpus of fandangos

Work	Author	Year of Publishing
Repertorio de música española para canto con acompañamiento y guitarra. N° 12. Fandango y coplas	Tomás Damas	1871
Los jardines de Valencia (Fandango)	Lázaro Núñez-Robres	1854
Fandango para piano	Lázaro Núñez-Robres	ca. 1868
Fandango variado	Tomás Damas	1871
Fantasia de Aires Nacionales - Fandango	F. J. Jiménez Delgado	1870
España y sus cantares. Popurri brillante – Fandango	Dámaso Zabalza	1878
La Joya de Andalucía - N° 8. Fandango	Juan Cansino	1865
Chorizos y polacos – Fandango	Francisco Barbieri	1876
Polo del contrabandista – Fandango	Valentín Borrero	1876
Música de Castro-Urdiales - El primitivo fandango	Francisco Barbieri	1861
Música de Castro-Urdiales – Fandango	Francisco Barbieri	1861
Flores de España – Fandango	Isidoro Hernández	1883
Spanische Lieder (Cantos Españoles) - Fandango con ritornello	Eduardo Ocón	1874
Spanische Lieder (Cantos Españoles) – Fandango	Eduardo Ocón	1874
Nuevo método en cifra para guitarra doble, octavilla, bandurria ó cítara de seis órdenes – Fandango	Jocaste Posayoc	1872
Deuxième collection d'airs espagnols avec accompent de piano et guitare – Fandango	Narciso Paz	ca. 1813

El Fandango. Arreglo con acompañamiento de piano y guitarra	José Jesús Pérez	ca. 1870
Colección fácil de aires populares - Nº 4. Fandango	José Gonzalo	1870
Album de aires populares - Nº 3. Fandango	Manuel Fernández Grajal	1866
Ecos de Andalucía - Nº 4. Fandango	Isidoro Hernández	ca. 1880
Tradiciones populares andaluzas - Nº 7. Fandango	Isidoro Hernández	ca. 1868
Andalucía - Fandango	Laureano Carreras y Roure	ca. 1867
Five Spanish waltzes - Fandango	A. Fernández de Córdoba	1840
Le tour de monde en dix chansons nationales & caractéristiques – Fandango	Paul Lacome	ca. 1874
Pot-pourri de aires nacionales con nuevos cantos y variaciones compuesto para piano - El fandango y la Jota	Florencio Lahoz	1865
Souvenirs d'Andalousie – Fandango	L. M. Gottschalk	ca. 1856
Fandango Alegre	Daniel Steibelt	ca. 1810

Table 2. Corpus of malagueñas

Work	Author	Year of Publishing
Echos d'Espagne: Chansons & danses populaires – Malagueña	Paul Lacome y José Puig y Alsubide	ca. 1870
Álbum de Aires Populares de España - Nº 6. Malagueña	Manuel Fernández Grajal	1866
La Música del Pueblo. Colección de Cantos Españoles - Nº 44. Malagueña	Lázaro Núñez-Robres	1867

La Música del Pueblo. Colección de Cantos Españoles - Nº 5. Malagueña	Lázaro Núñez-Robres	1867
Brisas de España - Nº 14. Malagueña Flamenca Op. 74	Oscar de la Cinna	1895
Claveles de España – Malagueña	Pola Gibarola	1958
El Sol de Andalucía - Malagueña para piano	José Muñoz y Lucena	1879
Spanische Lieder (Cantos Españoles) - La malagueña tirana (Malagueña)	Eduardo Ocón	1874
Nuevo Pot-pourri Malagueño, Op. 36. Nuevas Malagueñas Populares para piano	Mariano Liñán	ca. 1900
Obras escogidas de varios autores - Malagueñas	José García Solá	1909
Por seguir una mujer - Malagueña	Joaquín Romualdo Gaztambide y Garbayo	1851
Ecos de Andalucía. 8 Cantos populares Andaluces - Nº 1. Malagueña	Isidoro Hernández	ca. 1880
La Edad en la Boca - Nº 2 bis. Malagueña	Joaquín Romualdo Gaztambide y Garbayo	1861
Malagueñas de concierto para canto y piano	Esteban Puig	1898
Flores de España. Album de los cantos y aires populares más característicos de este país – Malagueñas	Isidoro Hernández	1883
Echos d'Espagne: chansons & danses populaires - Nº 18. Malagueña	Paul Lacome y José Puig y Alsubide	ca. 1871
Nuevo método de guitarra por cifra - Rondeña – Malagueña	Tomás Damas	1869
Malagueña en <i>El Rasca Tripas. Semanario Musical y Literario</i> del 2 de octubre de 1882	Francisco García Vilamala	1882

Malagueñas del Canario, Op. 1	Rafael Cabas Galván	ca. 1880
Género Ínfimo - Nº 4. Malagueña	Joaquín Valverde Sanjuán y Tomás Barrera	1901
Château-Margaux - Nº 3. Capricho cómico sobre la malagueña y la gallegada	Manuel Fernández Caballero	1887
Cantos y bailes populares españoles - Málaga. Malagueña. Op. 37	Laureano Carreras y Roure	ca. 1867
Colección de Aires Nacionales para guitarra - Nº 1. Malagueña	Francisco Rodríguez Murcia	ca. 1878
Rondeña Malagueña.	Pablo Hernández	ca. 1868
Repertorio de música española para canto y acompañamiento de guitarra. 1ª serie - Nº 17. Malagueña. Aire popular andaluz	Tomás Damas	1871
Malagueñas jaleadas para piano	Buenaventura Íñiguez	1878
Flamencomanía - Nº 2 bis. Malagueña y Tango	Ángel Rubio	1883
Ecos de Andalucía. - Rondeña Malagueña	Rafael Ayllón y Grande	1872
Malagueña (canto popular)	Juan Cansino	1878
La Joya de Andalucía. Miscelánea de aires característicos para piano - Nº 10. Malagueña	Juan Cansino	1865
Nadie se muere hasta que Dios quiere. Nº 4. Malagueña	Cristóbal Oudrid	1860
A mi morena. Malagueña característica para guitarra	Tomás Damas	1867
Los Caballeros de la Tortuga - La Jota del Ta y el Te y Malagueña	Joaquín Romualdo Gaztambide y Garbayo	1870

Viaje a la luna – Malagueña	José Rogel	1876
Malagueña facilísima para piano	Eduardo Ayucar y San Juan	1876
Rondeña Malagueña para piano. Género puro andaluz	Ventura Navas	1876
Deuxième collection d'airs espagnols avec accompent de piano et guitare - Malagueña. Chanson populaire de l'Andalousie	Narciso Paz	ca. 1813
Malagueña para piano	Enrique Rodríguez	1877
Miniaturas musicales: álbum de 5 piezas muy fáciles - Lolita (Malagueña)	Dámaso Zabalza	ca. 1879
La más flamenca. Gran Malagueña con seis cantos para piano	Francisco Tamayo y Montells	ca. 1879
Ortografía - Nº 5. Malagueña y Jota. (Duo de la Z y la J.)	Ruperto Chapí	1889
Nuevo método en cifra para guitarra doble, octavilla, bandurria ó cítara de seis órdenes – Malagueña	José Campo y Castro	1872
La Soledad de los Barquillos y Malagueña: canción árabe con acompañamiento de piano	Sebastián Iradier	1863
¡Cuba libre! - Nº 6. Malagueña a dúo	Manuel Fernández Caballero	1887
Malagueña. Morceau caracteristique genre pour andalous-moresque pour piano, Op. 69	Oscar de la Cinna	1873
Música de Castro-Urdiales - Canción de la parranda (Aire de malagueñas)	Francisco Barbieri	1861
Cantares malagueños o sea Malagueña variada para canto y piano	Antonio Llanos	1872
Charito - Nº 4. Pieza flamenca	Joaquín Valverde Sanjuán	1891

As is evident, the selected works cover most of nineteenth century and the first decade of twentieth century; therefore, we can consider that they encompass a representative corpus of the period under consideration. Also, we note that twelve of the composers that appear in the tables wrote both fandangos and malagueñas. This is a relevant fact, because it's possible to examine whether these authors differentiated between the two forms or, on the contrary, whether they indistinctly used the same instrumental motives and coplas across the two forms. Furthermore, working with a considerable number of pieces allows us to obtain consistent enough results to establish trends and conclusions.

Through a revision of the key signature of the analyzed scores, we can see the first differences between fandangos and malagueñas. Most of the former—67%—are written in *D minor*: that is to say, they are in *A Phrygian dominant* mode, whereas malagueñas are mostly in *E Phrygian dominant*—66% of the works. In addition, in the rest of the malagueñas this mode can be built with a broad diversity of fundamental keys, whereas in fandangos this occurs only in five different keys. To make the comparative analysis of the works easier, they all have been unified under the *E Phrygian dominant* mode.

A second difference appears with the overall number of coplas that are contained in the works of the corpus. The 27 fandangos contain 26 coplas in total. In proportion, they constitute a smaller number than those of malagueñas, because these contain 81 coplas in 48 works. Furthermore, while all malagueñas in the corpus at least have one copla—whether sung or instrumental—only 78% of these fandangos have one or more coplas. Of the latter with copla, 14% has more than one; unlike malagueñas, in which this occurs in 41% of the works. These statistic facts start to point to a trend in malagueñas of allocating more relevance to coplas than in fandangos.

Analysis of coplas in fandango and malagueñas

The coplas of both musical expressions are generally constituted by four different octosyllabic lines³ and, including the repetition of some of those,

³ Only in four malagueñas is this number altered: in *Malagueña* included in *Ecos de Andalucía*, by Isidoro Hernández (ca. 1880) and in *Capricho cómico sobre la malagueña y la gallegada de la zarzuela Château-Margaux* (1887), by Manuel Fernández Caballero (1835-1906), five lines are sung. In *Canción de la parranda. Aire de malagueñas*, included in *Música de Castro-Urdiales* (1861) by Francisco

a total of six lines are sung. This section is in major key and usually follows this harmonic scheme:

- 1st Line: Tonic
- 2nd Line: Subdominant
- 3rd Line: Tonic
- 4th Line: Dominant
- 5th Line: Tonic
- 6th Verse: Subdominant and goes back to the original tone (Phrygian dominant mode)

An important element of coplas in both musical expressions is the abundant presence of ornamentation. However, the amount of ornamentation in coplas of fandangos is much lower than in malagueñas, this being another characteristic that clearly differentiates them. While coplas in malagueñas have 37% ornamentation, in fandangos ornamentation only reaches 9%.⁴ The interpretation of this fact is in line with the higher relevance of the copla in the malagueña than in the fandango, as mentioned above. To carry out the analysis of the structure of coplas, I chose to not take into consideration those notes that are purely ornament, because I do not consider them to be relevant to obtaining a generic structural representation.

The first analysis that I show here focuses on examining the starting and ending notes of each line. In general terms, as can be seen in the following table, fandangos have a much more limited range of possibilities than malagueñas.

Barbieri (1823- 1894), nine lines are played, and in the work *Malagueña y Jota de la zarzuela Ortografía* (1889) by Ruperto Chapí (1851-1909) seven lines are sung. As for fandangos, only two pieces have five lines: *Repertorio de música española para canto con acompañamiento y guitarra. N° 12. Fandango y coplas* by Tomás Damas and, *Le tour de monde en dix chansons nationales & caractéristiques – Fandango*, by Paul Lacome.

⁴ This quantitative analysis was done by dividing the number of notes considered ornamentation between the total of notes in the coplas (both ornamented and not ornamented).

Table 3. Starting and ending notes in coplas of malagueñas and fandangos

Lines		Line 1		Line 2		Line 3		Line 4		Line 5		Line 6	
Harmony		E-C		C-F		F-C		C-G		G-C		C-F-E	
		F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Startin g Note	C	18 %	13 %	61 %	46 %	7% %	9% %	45 %	21 %	5% %	8% %	14 %	38 %
	D		11 %		2% %	7% %	6% %			19 %	22 %	10 %	4% %
	E	53 %	16 %	11 %	14 %			15 %	27 %		7% %	14 %	16 %
	F		5% %			13 %	30 %			10 %	8% %	10 %	6% %
	F#										1% %		
	G	24 %	19 %	28 %	33 %		7% %	40 %	52 %	19 %	28 %	10 %	13 %
	G#	6% %	5% %				1% %						3% %
	A		11 %			73 %	40 %			10 %	8% %	33 %	14 %
	B _b				2% %		1% %						1% %
	B		21 %		3% %		6% %			38 %	18 %	10 %	5% %
Ending note	C	71 %	73 %			53 %	39 %			25 %	35 %		
	D				2% %			25 %	20 %				
	E	24 %	19 %			13 %	27 %			70 %	54 %	70 %	97 %
	F			28 %	29 %			5% %					
	G	6% %	8% %		2% %	33 %	34 %	35 %	39 %	5% %	11 %		
	G#											30 %	1% %
	A			72 %	65 %								
	B _b				2% %								
	B				2% %			35 %	41 %				1% %

In the starting notes of the first line, most of fandangos start with *E*, with only three other possibilities. On the contrary, although many of malagueñas start with *B*, its percentage is not too distant from the rest. The other lines behave similarly, with the exception of 5th and 6th, in which we see that the spectrum of possibilities for fandangos is the same as for malagueñas. As for the final notes, both musical expressions have a similar behavior, except for the second line in which, again, malagueñas prove to be more diverse. A relevant aspect is the final note of the last line, in which both end primarily on the fundamental note of the Phrygian dominant mode; nevertheless, fandangos prevail with its ending in *G#*, a note that is for all intents and purposes absent in malagueñas.

The analysis of the intervals between the starting and the ending note of the coplas also provides us with important information. In the following figure, it is quite clear that fandangos have a some minor leeway; that is to say, they don't have a wide range of intervals: they don't go beyond an ascending perfect fourth and, even though the range is widened downwards, we can see that beyond the values of third, those are a minority. On the other hand, malagueñas, even though the majority are located in the same proportion as fandangos, have intervals with a wider range and a larger diversity, both ascending and descending, even reaching an octave in both directions.

The range of intervals between the first and last note separated by lines is shown in the next table. Overall, we can see that in the first line of fandangos mostly end in a descendant major third, usually from *E* to a *C*, and at a considerable distance there are other possibilities. In the second and third line we can see that they do not go beyond the perfect fourth; however, in the final two lines there is a bigger correlation between the two musical expressions.

Figure 1. Range of General Intervals of coplas of malagueñas and fandangos

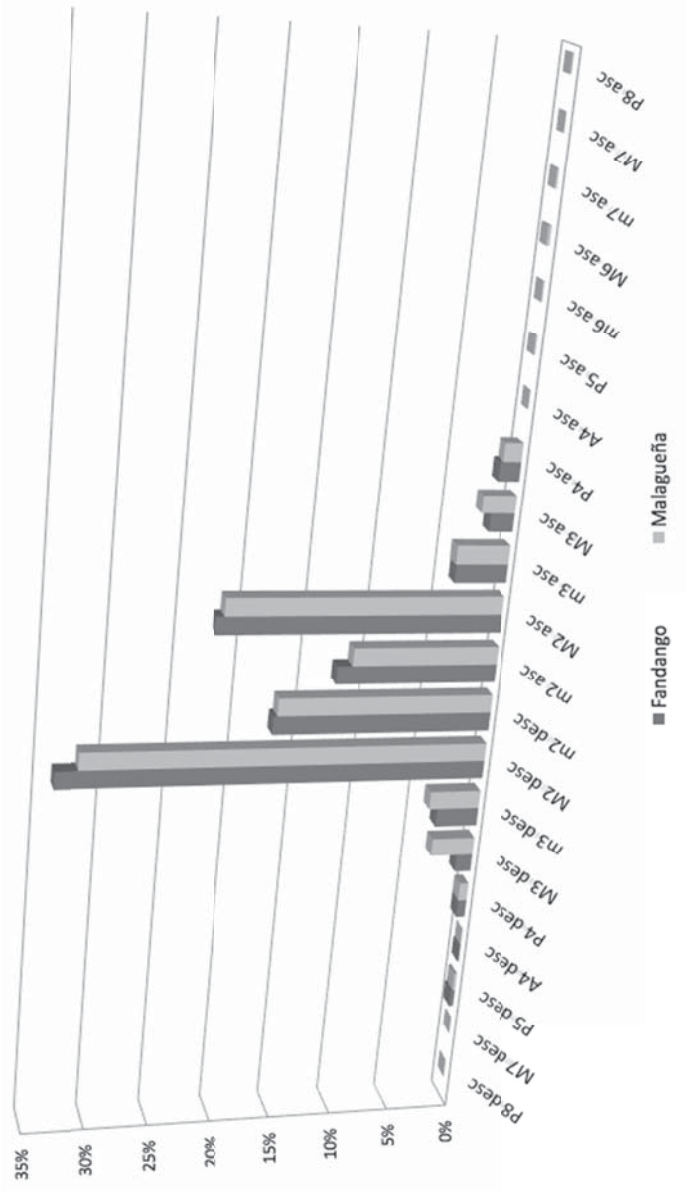


Table 4. Range of intervals by lines of fandangos and malagueñas

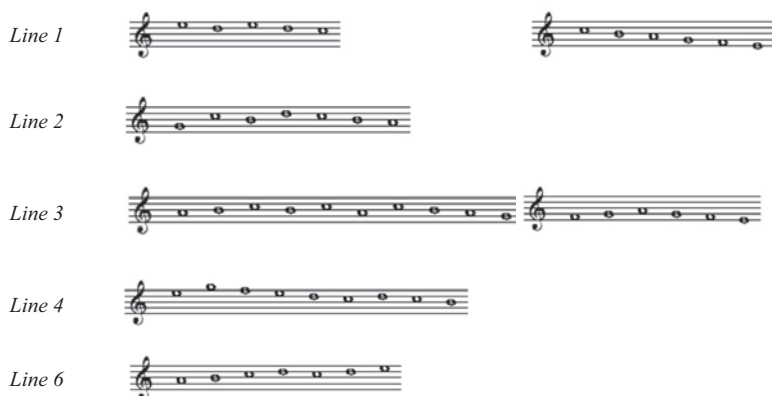
Lines	Line 1		Line 2		Line 3		Line 4		Line 5		Line 6	
Harmony	E-C		C-F		F-C		C-G		G-C		C-F-E	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
m10 asc								1%				
M9 asc								3%				
M7 asc								1%				
m7 asc							5%	1%	5%			
m6 asc	6%	2%										
P5 asc		2%		2%		1%	10%	15%			10%	8%
P4 asc	6%	13%		10%		1%				4%		
M3 asc	6%	6%		2%		3%	5%	15%			5%	13%
m3 asc		5%		2%	33%	16%	5%	6%	5%		5%	
M2 asc		2%	11%	22%		9%	15%	4%	5%	3%	5%	4%
m2 asc		13%	11%	6%		3%			5%	3%		
P1	18%	6%			7%		20%	21%		7%	14%	14%
m2 desc		5%		2%	7%	10%	20%	6%	10%		19%	8%
M2 desc		10%	17%	11%	40%	19%	5%	6%	5%	7%		
m3 desc	6%		61%	32%		1%			14%	15%	14%	13%
M3 desc	41%	13%				3%			5%	1%	5%	3%
P4 desc		3%		2%	13%	14%	10%	10%	5%	16%	10%	6%
A4 desc				2%		1%				1%		1%
P5 desc	6%	8%		10%		4%			33%	20%	5%	5%
m6 desc	12%	3%				1%	5%	6%	5%	3%	5%	25%
M6 desc		5%				1%				4%		
m7 desc						7%			5%	9%	5%	
M7 desc		2%								1%		
P8 desc		3%				3%		4%		3%		
m9 desc						1%				1%		
M9 desc										1%		
M10 desc		2%										

After this first statistical analysis, I will proceed to show the results of the musical paradigmatic analysis. I will only explain the similitudes I found, both in the segments of analysis as well as in the paradigms.

Comparison of the Copla of Malagueñas and Fandango

The coplas of fandangos and malagueñas have been segmented by lines, and with the resultant segments, six groups were formed called V1, V2, V3, V4, V5, and V6, that correspond to the lines from the first to sixth.⁵ While comparing each of the segments of coplas of malagueñas and fandangos, I find that there are only seven identical segments between them. If we take into account the number of coplas of fandangos and malagueñas analyzed, it becomes quite evident that these shared segments constitute a very low percentage. This fact is extremely meaningful, because it suggests that none of the authors “confused” the sequences of malagueñas and fandangos. It might reasonably be considered that the composers had differentiated schemes for each of these musical expressions.

Figure 2. Identical segments between fandangos and malagueñas



In comparing the paradigms of coplas of malagueñas and fandangos, I find that only a couple of them are very similar. Before showing them, it's relevant to remind ourselves that paradigms are a representation that contains the constant elements as well as those that are susceptible to being substituted, and these include the percentages of interpretation of each *substitution point* (Arom, 2001 [1991]). One of the paradigms of the

⁵ The resultant segments are available for consultation in my Ph.D. dissertation (Reyes Zúñiga, 2015, 458–481, 509–515).

second line of *malagueña*—called V2b.3 in my dissertation (Reyes Zúñiga, 2015, 85)—is very like one from the fandango—called V2a (128–129). As we can see in figure 3 and 4, they both share almost integrally the same constant pitches.

Figure 3. Paradigm V2b.3 (*malagueña*)

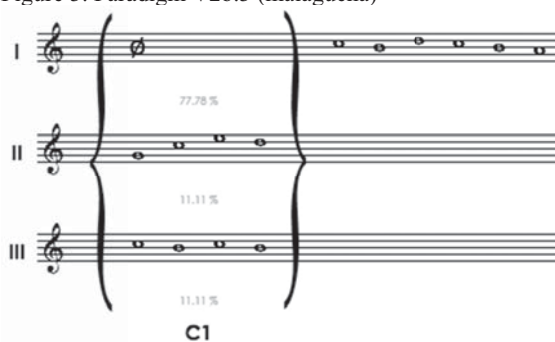
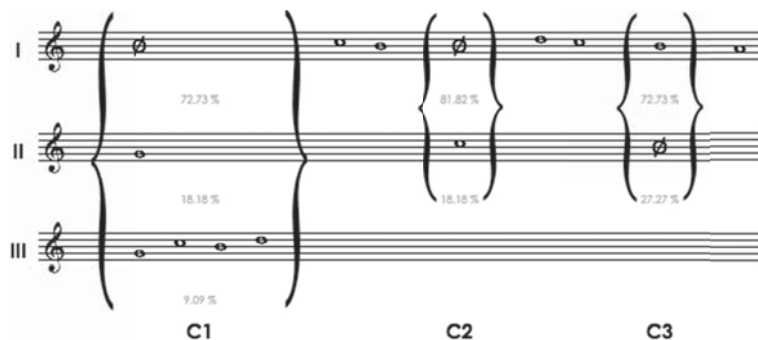


Figure 4. Paradigm V2a (*fandango*)

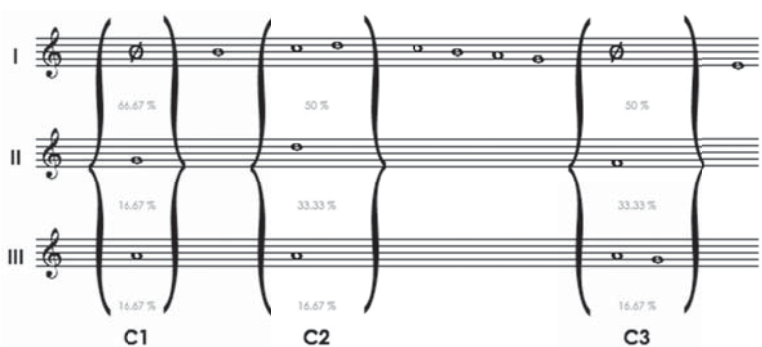


Likewise, in the fifth line, the paradigm V5a.3 of *malagueñas* (2015, 97–98) is similar to V5a of *fandango* (2015, p. 134–135).

Figure 5. Paradigm V5a.3 (malagueña)



Figure 6. Paradigm V5a (fandango)



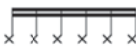
If we take into consideration that the total number of paradigms resulting from the analysis is 205 (36 of fandango and 169 of malagueñas), and that there are only two paradigms that are pretty similar, then we can estimate that the melodic construction of the coplas was clearly different in the two expressions.

Analysis of Rhythmic Patterns

Besides the pitch structures, when analyzing the accompaniment of coplas, I find other considerable differences between fandangos and malagueñas. First of all, most of the fandangos of the corpus are written in 3/4 (15 pieces) and only six pieces in 3/8; whereas, on the contrary, most of the malagueñas are written in 3/8 (27 pieces), although the number of pieces in 3/4 is quite close (24). Another relevant fact is that fandangos always have instrumental accompaniment in their coplas, whereas some malagueñas may be sung without accompaniment or with the voice part doubled by the instrument. This, along with the quantity of ornamentation already mentioned, reinforces the idea that in malagueñas there is a bigger intention of vocal brilliance than in fandangos.

I decided to analyze the main rhythmic patterns found in coplas, and the outcome of that analysis is shown in table 5.⁶ In fandangos that are written in 3/8, I see that they have a coincident pattern with that of malagueñas, although the latter have more variety. Despite the fact that the first two figures are written with the same rhythmic pattern, I decided to split them because, as can be seen in the percentages, it is relevant to distinguish whether the pattern is used with chords or with an arpeggiated accompaniment. It is important to highlight that usually these are executed in a sequence of repeated patterns—at least two measures—and rarely do two different combined figures appear.

Table 5. Rhythmic patterns in 3/8 of fandangos and malagueñas

Pattern	Figure	M	F
		13%	8%
		20%	23%
		10%	-
		1%	-

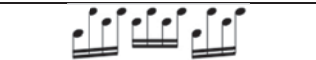
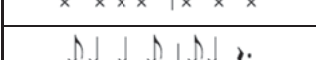
⁶ The last two columns of the tables refer to the percentage with respect to the total of coplas of the corpus, including those that were written in 3/8 as well as those in 3/4, and are presented in rounded values.

		1%	-
		-	4%

Most of the fandangos that have a 3/4 time signature use the pattern of eighth notes, in which a certain diversity can be seen. While listening, it can be sensed that the coplas of fandango have more movement, and while analyzing it, this becomes evident. You might think that this pattern is the one that brings out the dynamicity that is heard. We also find combined patterns, but these are a minority. On the contrary, the malagueñas that are written in this time signature use mostly quarter notes, whether with chords or arpeggios, and the effect is that they are heard as more paused. In the same way as in the previous table, I decided to split the same rhythmic figures by their standard difference in interpretation, whether they are played in an arpeggiated manner or with chords. I truly believe this is the only way to understand the sound intention in the works; otherwise the diversity of each pattern would be lost:

Table 6. Rhythmic patterns in 3/4 of fandangos and malagueñas

Pattern	Figure	M	F
		41%	4%
		1%	-
		-	15%
		-	8%
		-	4%
		4%	4%
		4%	-
		-	8%
		-	4%

		-	11%
		-	4%
		-	4%
		4%	-

Once coplas of fandangos and malagueñas have been analyzed from these different perspectives, the results can be summarized as follows:

- While malagueñas in the corpus always have a copla, there are fandangos that do not.
- In malagueñas there is a greater number of works containing more than one copla. In fandangos there is a tendency to only contain one.
- Coplas in malagueñas are much more ornamented than those in fandangos.
- In malagueñas, the range of possible starting notes in each line is very wide, while in the first four lines of fandangos, this range of notes is very limited.
- The *E* note is often found at the end of malagueña, whereas in fandango the *E* and the *G#* are equally likely to be present.
- The range of intervals between the starting and ending note of each line is wider in malagueñas than in fandangos.
- There is a recurrent use of long notes in the accompaniment of malagueñas. Fandangos have the greatest rhythmic variation in the accompaniment of copla.
- The accompaniment of malagueñas can be interrupted in certain sections of the copla. In fandangos there are no *a cappella* coplas.

With this information we can suggest that even though coplas of fandangos and malagueñas share a similar harmonic context, they are differentiated entities. This is supported by the fact that composers do not use the same pitch sequence or rhythmic structures for the lines of one or the other. The information that was obtained in this analysis confirms what was said in the documentary sources of that time: malagueñas were—for

the most part—pieces to be sung, whereas fandangos were mostly described as a dance.

Analysis of instrumental motives

As has been already said, the instrumental part of fandangos and malagueñas appears in a Phrygian dominant mode. For the comparative analysis of their instrumental motives, I use similar criteria to those used in coplas, in which every identified motive is considered as a segment of analysis. Besides these motives, both contain harmonic sections that do not develop any melodic line. They may appear both in arpeggios as well as in a chord sequence. The most frequent sequence of chords in fandangos is *E–A* minor; in malagueñas, besides this sequence *E–A minor–E* is frequently found. In both musical expressions we find motives based in the Andalusian cadence; however, malagueñas contain this type with much greater frequency: while malagueñas have 165 motives, fandangos have 44.

In general terms, it is possible to say that both musical expressions have many variations in their instrumental motives. In the same way, thanks to the analysis performed in this research as well as in other previous ones, it has been possible to verify that fandangos of the nineteenth century have representative motives inherited from those of eighteenth century.⁷ In figure 7 we can see an example of a motive of the fandango included in the *tonadilla Las Músicas*, by Blas de Laserna:⁸

Figure 7. Instrumental motive of 18th century fandango



This motive is practically identical to one of the most characteristic motive of fandangos of nineteenth century (figure 8).⁹ These motives rarely appear in malagueñas (Reyes Zúñiga, 2015, 152).

Figure 8. Instrumental motive of nineteenth century fandango



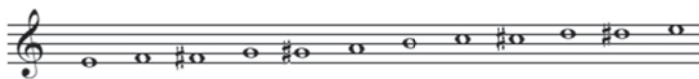
Malagueñas also have their own representative motives and these are rarely found in fandangos (Reyes Zúñiga, 2015, 146–147). One of those is the following:

Figure 9. Representative motive of nineteenth century malagueñas



There are few motives that are shared by both musical expressions. Among these, we find, for instance, those that perform an ascending or descending scale on *E*, such as the one that is shown in figure 10.

Figure 10. Ascending instrumental motives



In conclusion, fandangos and malagueñas have characteristics identifying instrumental motives, making each recognizable and discernible. It can be said that between fandangos and malagueñas there are scarcely any shared motives. In this sense, the fact that some authors have portrayed them as part of the same family can only be explained by considering their more general musical features.

⁹ The characteristic motives of fandangos were obtained in the process of segmentation in the paradigmatic analysis. To consult all paradigms and segments of the instrumental motives, see (Reyes Zúñiga, 2015, 144–152, 482–508).

Conclusion

With the comparative analysis of fandangos and malagueñas of the nineteenth century I have been able to find that there are similitudes in the copla and in their harmonic structure. However, despite this similitude, the copla maintains its identity; which can be stated along with the fact that composers rarely repeat melodic sequences in one and another musical expression. On the other hand, it is also shown that there are few instrumental motives that are shared between them. In this sense, despite the fact that malagueñas and fandangos, in a general manner, do present musical similitudes, the structural combination of three parameters—rhythm, harmony and pitch—clearly differentiates these musical expressions. It has been possible to reach this conclusion after a thorough and detailed analysis, such as the paradigmatic analysis, alongside the statistical analysis. Furthermore, bearing in mind the competence of the social actors that produced and listened to them, what the structures indicate is reinforced: these are differentiated musical expressions. Thus, it becomes evident that the willingness to relate or assimilate these two musical expressions simply by using evidence that does not explain the underlying logic and context of their linkage—especially within the field of flamencology—has become an obstacle to understanding the particularities of each, and has contributed to an uncritical de facto acceptance of their equivalence.

At this point, it is convenient to recall the quote by Eduardo Ocón referred to above, in which he states that malagueña is a fandango. When we zoom in, we can see that there are many more differences between malagueña and fandango than Ocón acknowledges. Moreover, his phrase: “not differing from one another except for the tone and some chord variants” is imprecise. I’m not judging what Ocón meant to say, because at some level he might be right. In any case, I believe that the linkage that he makes: “the term fandango also encompasses malagueñas, *rondeña*, *granadinas* and *murcianas*,” may have several readings. The only linkage that has been widely accepted and reproduced until now is that based upon a phylogenetic point of view, seeing one musical expression as “deriving” from another. In this paper I argue that we may understand the links between these forms as musical “borrowings,” in the sense that they all are part of a repertoire with a shared and single denomination: “popular *cantos*,” “national,” “Andalusian,” or “flamenco” music. In this sense, fandango and malagueña do have certain musical features and musical occasions that are shared. It remains, therefore, for the future to analyze

them from this perspective, as a set of related expressions. In order to achieve this purpose it would be necessary, as I have shown here, to analyze each one of them in a detailed manner as an individual entity and later on to find these relations.

Given the fact that up until this moment, I have not found a comparative analysis of these characteristics, it could be said that the results I present in this paper—that are by all means unfinished and not finalized—show us a trend in a considerable number of pieces. The results presented in this paper set a foundation for continued research on malagueñas and fandangos. The intention has been to open pathways for future knowledge.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

RHYTHMIC EVOLUTION IN THE SPANISH FANDANGO: BINARY AND TERNARY RHYTHMS

GUILLERMO CASTRO BUENDÍA

Abstract

In Spain, the fandango has a polyrhythmic character. On one hand is the binary rhythmic pattern of the singer (6/8, similar to *Jota*), and on the other hand is the musical accompaniment in ternary rhythm (3/4). These rhythms merge to create one of the most unique styles of Spanish popular music. In fandangos published in Spain from the early eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century, we can detect an evolution in the accompaniment that, upon close analysis, allows us to better understand the nature of this musical genre. In this presentation, I focus on the polyrhythmic nature of fandangos, which has led to a number of musicians to write it sometimes in binary meter and other times in ternary meter.

Keywords

Fandango, rondeña, malagueña, granadina, binary rhythm, ternary rhythm.

Resumen

En España el fandango tiene carácter polirrítmico. Por un lado, el patrón rítmico del canto de naturaleza binaria compuesta (6/8) semejante a la jota, y por otro, el ritmo de su acompañamiento de tipo ternario (3/4) se funden para crear uno de los estilos más singulares de la música popular española. En las publicaciones de fandangos en España desde principios del siglo XVIII hasta finales del siglo XIX, podemos detectar una evolución en la forma de acompañamiento que creemos importante analizar y estudiar para conocer mejor la naturaleza musical de este género tan popular. Nos referimos precisamente a esa naturaleza polirrítmica que ha llevado a los

diferentes músicos a escribirla unas veces en compás binario compuesto y otras en ternario.

Introduction

The fandango is one of the most widespread musical genres in popular Spanish music and flamenco.¹ Since its appearance as a dance form at the end of the seventeenth century, it has been through many transformations, engendering diverse variants associated with specific geographic zones, and also with the *escuela bolera*, the classical school of Spanish dance.² In the eighteenth century the fandango became the national dance *par excellence*, danced all over Spain across all social classes. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, new fandango variants called “*rondeñas*” and “*malagueñas*” arose, and somewhat later came the “*granadinas*,” all styles which have obtained an important presence as flamenco forms. In this article we will examine the fandango’s rhythmic particularities, distinguished by their polyrhythmic character, which has led some musicians to write it in compound duple-meter and others in triple meter.

Musical character of the fandango

The fandango has a ternary rhythm.³ This is the basic pattern when singing:⁴



Image 1: Basic rhythm of the fandango when singing

¹ I am grateful to Kiko Mora for his assistance with the English translation of this article.

² For broad historical information on the fandango, I refer the reader to Guillermo Castro Buendía, *Génesis musical del cante flamenco. De lo remoto a lo tangible en la música flamenca hasta la muerte de Silverio Franconetti* (Sevilla: Libros con duende, 2014), 187ff.

³ Miguel Manzano Alonso, *Mapa Hispano de bailes y danzas de tradición oral, Tomo I, aspectos musicales* (Badajoz: Publicaciones de CIOFF España, Badajoz 2007), 660.

⁴ Ibid, 409.



Image 2: Rondeña from the collection *La Gracia de Andalucía* by Isidoro Hernández (188?)

But, it is more correct if we write in groups of two, like *jota*. Thus, 3/8-3/8 become 6/8, or 3/4-3/4 become 6/4, depending on the speed of the interpretation.

This is the basic pattern of the jota (Miguel Manzano):



Image 3: Basic rhythm of the jota when singing



Image 4: Melody of “Authentic Fandango” by Isidoro Hernández in *La Gracia de Andalucía* (188?) written in 3/4 time.

While the fandango has a polyrhythmic character, due to the rhythmic pattern of the singing: in duple meter (6/8), it also admits triple-meter

notation (3/4) in some strophes, while the accompaniment uses this rhythmic formula: 3/8, 6/8, and also 3/4.⁵

Miguel Manzano compiles three ways of writing the melody of fandango:⁶

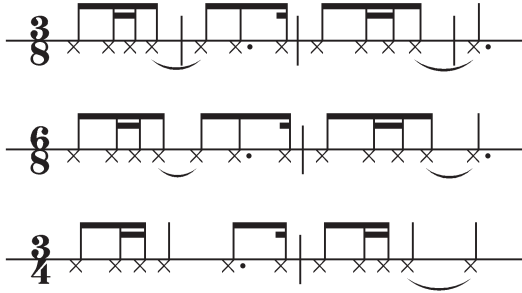


Image 5: Three ways of writing the melody of the fandango

In the interpretation of the fandango style, we have, on one hand, the song's rhythm in 6/8 or 3/4, and on the other hand, the instrumental rhythm, with these dynamic accents in the upper register:

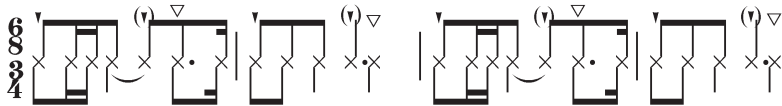


Image 6: Rhythm of the fandango when singing with instrument accentuation

⁵ Ibid, 663 ff.

⁶ Ibid, 662.



Image 7: Melody of “Authentic Fandango” by Isidoro Hernández

Manzano makes an important observation about the origin of this rhythmic pattern of the fandango, affirming that it comes directly from the octosyllabic strophes of Spanish verse, from the period before those rhythmic formulas were extended with instrumental preludes and interludes.⁷

If we compare the fandango notated in 6/8 with some of the most frequent rhythmic patterns in the jota style (the V type classified by Manzano), we can see a similar structure:⁸

PLANTILLA RÍTMICA V: TIPO FANDANGO (I)



Image 8: Rhythmic pattern of a jota similar to the fandango

This rhythmic pattern is the reason that the fandango and the jota could absorb foreign elements. Manzano talks about the polyrhythmic character of the fandango as a union point between one and the other, asserting that the similar rhythm of singing allows the jota to absorb the fandango rhythm and vice versa.⁹

⁷ Ibid. Page 662.

⁸ Miguel Manzano Alonso, *La jota como género musical* (Madrid: Ed. Alpuerto, 1995), 184.

⁹ Manzano, *Mapa Hispano de Bailes y danzas...*, Op.Cit., 673. The author indicates many examples of jotas with the similar rhythmic pattern of the fandango in the north of Spain.

To perform a comprehensive historical study of the fandango we should have a higher number of truly popular music sources, because most notated music sources have an academic origin. Therefore, is very difficult to know how a popular fandango was played at the beginning of the eighteenth century. However, we notice an evolution in the accompaniment that is important to analyze in order to better understand the popular music of this genre. That is, the fact that in the academic context the fandango is sometimes notated in compound meter and other times in triple meter provides a possible clue to its polyrhythmic nature in the popular context.

Now, let's examine the notation of the fandango through history.

Published fandangos through history

In 1705, we have three different fandangos recorded in tablature.¹⁰ The first one can easily be written in 6/8, due to the form of strumming, even though the time signature's upper numeral is three.

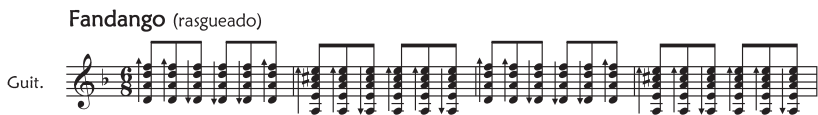


Image 9: Strummed fandango in 1705

The second fandango can be written in 3/4:



Image 10: Plucked fandango in 1705 written in ternary time

But it is also possible to write this in 6/8:

¹⁰ *Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra escogidas de los mejores autores.* Manuscript M/811, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Fandango (punteado)

Image 11: Plucked fandango in 1705 written in binary time

The notes remain the same, but the accentuation is different: we exchange three beats to a measure for two beats:

Transformación del fandango de 6/8 a 3/4



Image 12: Transformation of fandango from binary time to ternary time

Most academic sources notate the fandango in 3/4. The following rhythm is similar to the *seguidilla* style:



Image 13: Fandango rhythm similar to seguidilla in 3 time

We can also find this one:



Image 14: A variation of fandango rhythm also similar to seguidilla in 3 time

And this one, the called “*abandolao*,” similar to bolero style (a slow seguidilla):

Image 15: Fandango rhythm called “*abandolao*” playing

These rhythmic forms are used in popular and flamenco fandangos today, but we should not assume this holds for the original fandangos.

The fandango of Santiago de Murcia (ca.1732) is very sophisticated if we compare it with different sources of the same period.¹¹ It was notated in threes, a rhythmic structure which may be of academic origin, although I am not entirely sure. Nonetheless, it still contains some passages that recall the 6/8 (page 3, measures 51-3, marked with brackets):



Image 16: Fandango by Santiago de Murcia, Measures 51-53

Final bars:



Image 17: Fandango by Santiago de Murcia, Final bars

In the fandango “Tempestad grande amigo” by José de Nebra (1744) we find the polyrhythmic formula of the fandango.¹² The melody has a

¹¹ Craig H. Russell, *Santiago de Murcia's Códice Saldivar n.º.4. A Treasury of Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico Vol.2, Facsimile and Transcription*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1995.

¹² José de Nebra, *Vendado amor no es ciego*, María Salud Álvarez, transcripción (Zaragoza: Instituto Fernando el Católico (C.S.I.C.), Sección de Música Antigua, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza), 1744.

hemiolic character (3:2 two notes in the measure of three or the reverse) in a score written in triple meter:



Image 18: Hemiolia (3:2)

Image 19: Fandango by José de Nebra “Tempestad grande amigo,” Measures 1-8

The introduction of the first violin is in 6/8 with a rhythmic pattern similar to sung fandango. The bass is in 3/4, and the melody of the singing begins with an anacrusis, falling into a possible 6/8 followed by 3/4 in succession.

There is no “*abandolao*” rhythm in this example—no seguidilla style either. Perhaps this is an ancient form of popular style, copied by composers and taken to the theatre along with a popular inspiration.

Pablo Minguet e Yrol (1754) has a fandango written in triple meter (3/8):¹³

¹³ Pablo Minguet e Yrol, *El noble arte de danzar a la francesa y a la española adornado con LX láminas*, Madrid, 1755?

alternativa rítmica sugerida por Pablo Minguet



Image 20: Fandango by Pablo Minguet e Yrol

We can write it in 6/8 due to his harmonic cycle and strummed interpretation:

Fandango por patilla en 6/8



Image 21: Fandango “por patilla” of Pablo Minguet e Yrol

It is not possible to write the seguidilla rhythm in this example of Pablo Minguet in 3/8, we need to make a group with two measures: 6/8 and use hemiola ($6/8=3/4$):

Transformación del fandango de 6/8 a 3/4



Image 22: Transformation of the fandango writing from a binary time to the ternary time

Scarlatti wrote his fandango in 3/4. Nevertheless, the left hand has an echo of 6/8 notation. Measures 10-13:



Image 23: Fandango by Scarlatti, Measures 7-15

Measures 106-108:



Image 24: Fandango by Scarlatti. Measures 103-110

In the manuscript M/1250 *Pieces for Harpsichord* (first half of the eighteenth century), in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the “Fandanguito de Cádiz” has hemiolic character written in a polyrhythmic vertical form:



Image 25: Fandanguito de Cádiz of manuscript M/1250 in the Biblioteca Nacional de España

The fandango by Antonio Soler y Ramos (before 1783) has some parts in 6/8. Measures 47-50:



Image 26: Fandango by Antonio Soler y Ramos

The fandango transcribed in Richard Twiss's travel memoir (1772/3) is written entirely in 6/8, but some parts admit triple-meter notation, for example measures 7-9:¹⁴



Image 27: Fandango by Richard Twiss

The fandango by Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán (1773) can be written in 3/4 or 6/8 time, but we think that 6/8 time is better; because the strummed form indicated suggests this accentuation:¹⁵

¹⁴ Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain, in 1772 and 1773* (London: Printed for the author, and sold by G. Robinson, T. Becket, and J. Robson, 1775).

¹⁵ Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán, *Explicación de la guitarra* (Cádiz, 1773).

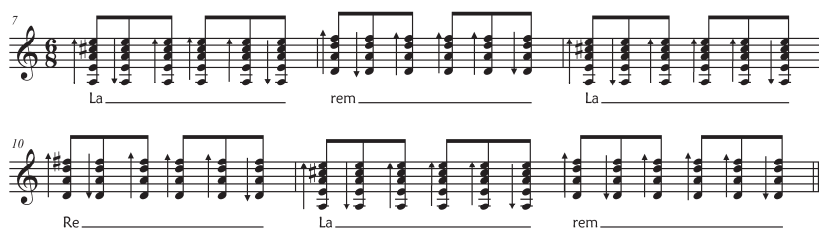


Image 28: Fandango by Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán

I think that in the eighteenth century people practiced this form in 6/8 in vernacular settings, while in academic sources the composers tend to prefer 3/4. The codification in an academic ballet of the popular dances could be the motive for this preference in the world of classical music and dance. Juan Antonio de Iza Zamácola “Don Preciso” claimed in 1799 that in 1740 the master Pedro de La Rosa “reduced the seguidillas and fandango to fixed rules.”¹⁶ The fandango was adapted to dancing in the academic setting, probably to a seguidilla structure, but with easier movements, as dance maestro Antonio Cairón said in 1820.¹⁷

The fandango of Luigi Boccherini (1788/98) presents the “*abandolao*” playing in the string instruments, but not in the guitar. This is the Ruggiero Chiesa edition done from the original ones that François de Fossa copied.¹⁸ Look at the guitar:

¹⁶ Don Preciso (Juan Antonio de Iza Zamácola), *Colección de las mejores coplas de seguidillas, tiranas y polos que se han compuesto para cantar a la guitarra* (Córdoba: Ediciones Demófilo, 1982. [Reedition of the 1802 ed. First ed. Madrid, 1799]), 13.

¹⁷ Antonio Cairón, *Compendio de las principales reglas del baile. Traducido del francés por Antonio Cairón* (Madrid: Imprenta del Repullés, plazuela del Ángel, 1820), 110–111.

¹⁸ *Quintetto IV in re maggiore*, G. 448. Edizioni Suvini-Zerboni, Pl. –Nr. S. 7504 Z (Milano, 1973).

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Fandango' by Luigi Boccherini, specifically measures 16-25. The score is written for five staves, likely representing a guitar and four strings. The key signature is G major (one sharp), and the time signature is 3/4. The first system (measures 16-18) shows a melody in the first staff with triplets and slurs, and a rhythmic accompaniment in the other four staves. The second system (measures 19-21) continues the melody and accompaniment, with a key signature change to E major indicated by a 'B' in a box above the first staff in measure 19. Dynamics include [f] and [sf].

Image 29: Fandango by Luigi Boccherini, Measures 16-25

This first section of strummed music (measures 16-23, n° 2-3) has a rhythm quite similar to “*abandolao*” playing, but the subdivision of the second eighth on the quarter time is not present. The “*abandolao*” playing, present in the strings later, never appears in the guitar. We are not saying that this rhythm was not practiced in guitar playing, but we can’t affirm that it was definitely present at this time. What we are able to say is that this rhythm was typical in academic circles at the end of the eighteenth

century.¹⁹ It appears clearly in measures 158–165 (n° 21–22) in first violin:

Image 30: Fandango by Luigi Boccherini, Measures 158–160

In the cello, measures 100–107 (n° 13–14):

¹⁹ We saw it in the fandango of Antonio Soler y Ramos (before of 1783). It would be a good idea to study other music sources of fandangos in the Biblioteca Histórica de Madrid, where there are many masterpieces played in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, searching for this rhythm.



Image 31: Fandango by Luigi Boccherini, Measures 98–103

In some sections, the notation appears in 6/8: Measures 20–23 in the viola:

Image 32: Fandango by Luigi Boccherini, Measures 20–23

Returning to the matter of polyrhythms, in this part of Boccherini's score we can see 6/8 writing in guitar (measures 49 and following). If we come back to the measures 20–23, described above, we see in the viola the 6/8 writing, while the other instruments play different rhythms in 3/4:



Image 33: Fandango by Luigi Boccherini, Measures 49-52

The typical rhythm of fandango, similar to seguidilla, can be read in the *forte* of measure 7:



Image 34: Fandango of Luigi Boccherini, Measures 5–7

The typical accentuation on the third beat of fandango rhythm can be found in measure 60 (nº 8), in the second violin and in the guitar:

59 8

tr

[f]

pp e estacc.

[f]

pp e estacc.

[pp]

[f]

[ppp]

Image 35: Fandango by Luigi Boccherini, Measures 59–61

Also in the violins in measures 92–107 (n° 12):

92 12

Image 36: Fandango by Luigi Boccherini, Measures 92–94

In the trills of Vl. 1° and figurations of Vl. 2°, in measures 150 and following (n° 20):



Image 37: Fandango by Luigi Boccherini, Measures 150 and following

The fandango of Cathedral of Albarracín (early nineteenth century) is written in 6/8 time:²⁰



Image 38: Fandango of Cathedral of Albarracín

Some measures of the fandango of Salvador Castro de Gistau (ca.1810) can be written in 6/8 (measures 16, 20–21):²¹

²⁰ Jesús María Muneta Martínez de Morentín, *Dos cuadernos del archivo de música de la Catedral de Albarracín* (Teruel: Centro de estudios de la Catedral de Albarracín, 2009).

²¹ Score placed in Javier Suárez Pajares, *Antología de guitarra I. Piezas de concierto (1788-1850)* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2008).



Image 39: Fandango by Salvador Castro de Gistau, Measures 16-21

Also in the measures 40–45:



Image 40: Fandango by Salvador Castro de Gistau, Measures 37–45

And measures 83–87:



Image 41: Fandango by Salvador Castro de Gistau, Measures 81–86

The intention of the composer seems to be a rhythm in three, except in the strummed guitar, where a binary pattern, the way of playing used for the accompaniment in popular circles, is more pronounced.

In *Fandango: Canción española meridional para danzar* by Narciso Paz (1813), we can find a popular form of the fandango of the eighteenth

century, with a 6/8-3/4 rhythmic pattern. See the left hand in the instrumental section, Measures 7–12:



Image 42. Fandango by Narciso Paz, Instrumental part

If we look at the melody of *Fandango intermediado de la rondeña para fortépiano* (ca.1830), we can find a rhythm based in this formula 6/8-3/4:²²



Image 43. Fandango intermediated with Rondeña

In the *Fandango* by Dionisio Aguado (1834–5), we find 6/8s in some parts of the triple-meter notation (polyrhythmic character):



Image 44. Fandango by Dionisio Aguado, Third staff on page 5

²² Biblioteca Nacional de España. Sig. M.REINA/2.

Also in the last staff (same page), look at the bass line:



Image 45. Fandango by Dionisio Aguado, Last staff on page 5

Page 6:



Image 46. Fandango by Dionisio Aguado, Page 6.

Final Allegro. Look at the bass line (page 10):



Image 47. Fandango by Dionisio Aguado, Final Allegro

In the examples of *rondeña-malagueña* published in the mid-nineteenth century (Francisco Rodríguez Murciano, Sebastián Iradier, Julián Arcas and many others), there is no polyrhythmic writing. Only Rafael Marín, in his guitar method (1902) presents *malagueñas* and *granadinas* sections with 6/8 writing in the strummed parts, while the rest of the music is clearly in 3/4 time. *Malagueñas* by Rafael Marín (page 106).²³



Image 48: Malagueñas by Rafael Marín's Guitar Method

We can find this kind of interpretation in recordings of “El Mochuelo,” in a *taranta* by Antonio Chacón and a *fandango* from Lucena sung by “El Niño de Cabra.”²⁴

²³ Rafael Marín, *Aires Andaluces. Método de Guitarra por Música y Cifra* (Madrid: Sociedad de Autores Españoles, Madrid, 1902).

²⁴ El Mochuelo—*Javeras*—“A mí me pueden mandar,” guitar Antonio López?, 1907?, Odeón 41115. Antonio Chacón—*Taranta 2* (1)—“Una pena impertinente,”

Eduardo Ocón (between 1854 and 1867)²⁵ presents a *Fandango con ritornelo* with some parts of the violin in the typical 3/4 rhythm, meanwhile the guitar use a elemental strummed:²⁶



Image 49: “Fandango con ritornelo” by Eduardo Ocón

Núñez Robres (1866) presents the granadina in 3/8 time, but it might be done grouping two measures: in 6/8:



Image 50: “Granadina” by Lázaro Núñez Robres

This writing in 3/8 for the fandango genre is the most frequent in the compilations of popular music in nineteenth century.

1909, Odeón 68092. Guit. Juan Gandulla, “Habichuela.” Niño de Cabra—oFandangos de Lucena, 1914, ¿Ref.? Guit. ¿Ramón Montoya? Transcription in Castro Buendía, *Génesis musical del cante flamenco...* Op. Cit., 312 ff.

²⁵ Ocón compiled these songs during these years. Gonzalo Martín Tenllado, *Eduardo Ocón. El Nacionalismo Musical* (Málaga: Ediciones Seyer, 1991), 181.

²⁶ Eduardo Ocón, *Cantos españoles. Colección de aires nacionales y populares, formada e ilustrada con notas explicativas y biográficas* (Málaga, 1888. [First ed. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1874]).

In this malagueña by Isidoro Hernández in the collection *Ecos de Andalucía* (ca. 1880), the notation, originally in 3/8, would be very appropriate to 6/8:



Image 51: Malagueña in the collection *Ecos de Andalucía* by Isidoro Hernández (ca.1880)

Nevertheless, we can find 3/4 writing for similar pieces. The rhythmic is the same, but in larger notes (eight note=quarter note). This is another malagueña of the same author in the collection *Flores de España* (1883):



Image 52: Malagueña in the collection *Flores de España* of Isidoro Hernández

The fandangos written by Isidoro Hernández are in 3/4 time, but with different rhythm. This example is from *Cancionero Popular* (1874), where we can appreciate the typical rhythm of fandango, and in the last measure, the “*abandolao*” playing:



Image 53: Fandangos inside the collection *El Cancionero Popular* by Isidoro Hernández

Nevertheless, in this fandango inside the collection *Flores de España*, the tempo for the allegretto is: dotted half note=66. In practice, we have: quarter note=198, similar to other pieces in 3/8 time:



Image 54: Fandango inside the collection *Flores de España* of Isidoro Hernández

This is the beginning of the singing in the same fandango:



Image 55: Melody of the fandango inside the collection *Flores de España* by Isidoro Hernández

The pieces written in 3/8 time, like this rondeña in the collection *La Gracia de Andalucía* (188?), would be written in binary time: (6/8), like some fandangos in the 18th and 19th century:



Image 56: Rondeña from the collection *La Gracia de Andalucía* by Isidoro Hernández

The rhythmic pattern of the melody of this rondeña is similar to the other fandango, although the pulse is different: quarter note pulse as opposed to eighth note pulse. If we write this rondeña in 3/4 time, we would have a similar notation to the previous fandango. If we write everything in 3/8 time, grouping measures in groups of two (6/8) we would have the typical formula of fandango seen many times in 3/4:

Transformación del fandango de 6/8 a 3/4



Image 57: Transformation of fandango from binary time to ternary time

Not until the nineteenth century, it seems, did the notation of the fandango in 3/4 time become customary in academic circles. And given the fact that this particular rhythmic schema is widely played today, it also seems that this rhythmic convention may have an important influence on popular interpretations, as well.

This is the “Authentic Fandango” by Isidoro Hernández inside the collection *La Gracia de Andalucía* (188?):



Image 58: “Authentic Fandango” by Isidoro Hernández in *La Gracia de Andalucía* (188?) written in 3/4 time

Written in 3/4 time, he still presents a certain influence of the 6/8 time in the left hand. But most of the figures are in 3/4 time, consistent with the typical form of fandango in academic pieces. In the final bar we can see the “*abandolao*” playing. In this case, we can’t make groups of two with two bars of 3/4, because it is written in the polyrhythmic form: 6/8 or 3/4 in the same bar. Nevertheless, in the other examples (except the fandango of *Cancionero Popular*) we can make groups out of two three-beat measures, regardless of whether they are written in 3/8 or 3/4, because their musical construction is based on dyads of three-beat measures. Here is the song melody from the same fandango by Isidoro Hernández:



Image 59: Singing of “Authentic Fandango” by Isidoro Hernández

As we can see, the melodic character in 6/8 can be transformed to 3/4 simply by changing the accentuation: adding an accent in the third pulse (thinking in 3/4). The rhythm of the accompaniment is clearly in 3/4. Recalling the previous scheme

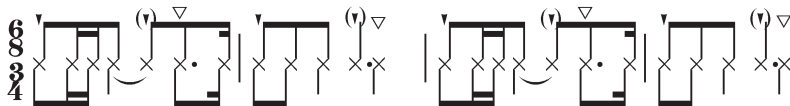


Image 60: Basic rhythm of the fandango song, polyrhythmic formula

In other words, we have two bars extension in the fandango formula, and it doesn’t matter if it is written in 6/8 or 3/4. But normally, we see a type of writing in four bars in 3/8 time:



Image 61: The fandango written in 3/8

Or this one in 3/4 time (“Fandango” in the collection *Ecos de Andalucía* (ca. 1880) de I. Hernández):



Image 62: The fandango written in 3/4

Let's see now an example of fandango of Málaga (Comares) transcribed in 3/4 with quarter note pulse:²⁷

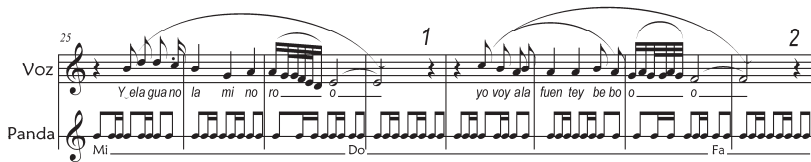


Image 63: Fandango from Comares

We have four bars of three here as well. But if we look at the accompaniment, the typical rhythm of fandango is played in three pulses, not in six (the traditional form). If we make groups with two bars (6/4), the rhythmic pattern is not quarter - two eights - quarter note, we have two

²⁷ “Viva Campillo y Ardales,” 1982, Hispavox 7991642.

complete patterns of three pulses of “fandango formula” (or “seguidilla formula”):

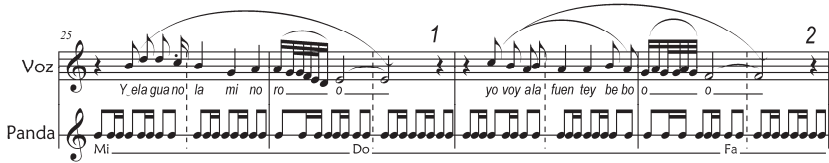


Image 64: Fandango by Comares in a binary ensemble

In the region of Huelva²⁸ we can find the ancient form in 6/4 time (ternary rhythm in binary ensemble), with a particular harmony changing:

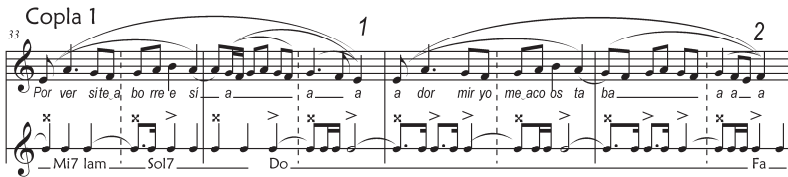


Image 65: Fandango of Huelva

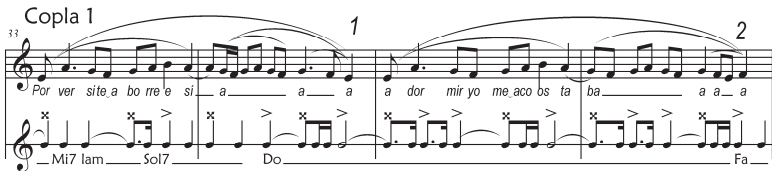


Image 66: Fandango of Huelva in a binary ensemble

The Huelva style of playing of the fandango

In the region of Huelva, there is a particular style of fandango, with a personal way of accompaniment, where the harmonic resolution of the chord is not in the first pulse of the bar. The resolution is in second or

²⁸ The Toronjo Brothers and their Band—*Fandangos de Alosno*—o “Por ver si te aborrecía. (Hispanovox HH 11-47, 1961).

third pulse. We can also find syncopation between the third pulse and the first pulse of the next bar:



Image 67: Accompaniment in a fandango from Huelva

Our transcription is in 3/4 time, but, depending on the speed of the interpretation, it can also be valid in 3/8. This particular way of playing inherits the ancient accompaniment of fandango in binary formula (6/8, or 3/8+3/8). The typical pattern of a fandango song presents a similar syncopation between the third pulse and the fourth pulse (in 3/8):



Image 69: Typical rhythm formula of a fandango song

In flamenco, the speed of the playing of the fandango from Huelva can be slower because the singer needs the freedom to interpret the melody.²⁹ We can find rapid tempos in the popular examples, as well as in the popular dance.

Conclusions

Fandango singing has maintained its rhythmic structure, more or less, through the centuries. It has a similar formula to one type of jota style.

Current fandango accompaniment is mainly triple meter (3/4), but it was originally in duple meter like the jota and the fandangos from Huelva (6/8). Although it is very difficult to know exactly, because we don't have sources of authentic popular music from the past, it seems reasonable to posit a continuous practice of this rhythmic formula in vernacular settings,

²⁹ For example the fandangos alosneros sung by Camen Linares "A la Virgen de la Bella" in *Antología*, 1996.

with strummed playing, different from fandango styles practiced in academic circles. This formula continues in flamenco music.

The fandango's polyrhythmic character changed the rhythmic pattern of the accompaniment, using a triple-meter accentuation. We don't know if it is an academic or dance influence, but either is possible. At the beginning, and throughout the eighteenth century, we can find pieces written in duple or triple meter. It was also common to find both rhythmic formulas in the same piece throughout the eighteenth and into the early-nineteenth century. Today, the duplet models have lost ground in favor of the triplet ones, disappearing definitively in the 20th century styles called "of Málaga," such as rondeñas and malagueñas, which are played in a triplet rhythm called "*abandolao*," similar to the bolero (slow seguidilla). In the contemporary styles known as verdiales two rapid ternary formulas are present (fandango pattern) whereas early styles usually used only one. The ancient forms remain in the Huelva styles of fandango, with a particular harmonic structure.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

EL MURCIANO'S “RONDEÑA” AND EARLY FLAMENCO GUITAR MUSIC: NEW FINDINGS AND PERSPECTIVES

M^a LUISA MARTÍNEZ MARTÍNEZ
AND PETER MANUEL

Abstract

The “Rondeña” of guitarist Francisco Rodríguez Murciano (El Murciano, 1795–1848) of Granada—as documented in a notation made by his son—has been a subject of considerable interest among scholars of flamenco guitar history. Such authors as Eusebio Rioja (2008, 2013), Javier Suárez Pajares (2003), Guillermo Castro Buendía (2014), and Norberto Torres Cortés (2010) have all recognized the importance of this piece in the project of reconstructing, however hypothetically, the development of the art of flamenco guitar. These flamencologists have also raised various questions about the piece, involving the date and circumstances of its preparation and the extent to which it accurately represents El Murciano's actual playing. In 2014–15, one of the present authors (Martínez) discovered two previously unexamined variant transcriptions of Murciano's rondeña. In this article, we present these manuscripts and suggest how they shed new light on the evolution of pre-flamenco guitar playing.

Keywords

Fandango, rondeña, malagueña, Murciano, guitar, flamenco guitar

Resumen

La *Rondeña* del guitarrista granadino Francisco Rodríguez Murciano (*El Murciano*, 1795–1848)—tal y como se documenta en una transcripción

realizada por su hijo—ha sido objeto de interés reciente entre investigadores y flamencólogos especializados en el estudio del desarrollo de la guitarra flamenca. Autores como Eusebio Rioja (2008 y 2013), Javier Suárez Pajares (2003), Guillermo Castro Buendía (2014) y Norberto Torres Cortés (2010), han sabido reconocer la importancia de esta obra en la reconstrucción evolutiva del toque de guitarra flamenca, aunque no sin ciertas reservas. Dichos autores han planteado varios interrogantes sobre la pieza, entre los que destacan la fecha y circunstancias bajo las que se preparó, y el grado en que verdaderamente ésta representa la técnica interpretativa de *El Murciano*. En 2014–15, uno de los presentes autores (Martínez) halló dos nuevas transcripciones, hasta ahora no examinadas, de esta misma pieza. En este artículo, presentamos ambos manuscritos y sugerimos de qué manera arrojan nueva luz en la evolución del toque de guitarra pre-flamenca.

Introduction

The “Rondeña” of guitarist Francisco Rodríguez Murciano (El Murciano, 1795–1848) of Granada—as documented in a notation made by his son—has been a subject of considerable interest among scholars of flamenco guitar history. Such authors as Eusebio Rioja (2008, 2013), Javier Suárez Pajares (2003), Guillermo Castro Buendía (2014), and Norberto Torres Cortés (2010) have all recognized the importance of this piece in the project of reconstructing, however hypothetically, the development of the art of flamenco guitar. These flamencologists have also raised various questions about the piece, involving the date and circumstances of its preparation and the extent to which it accurately represents El Murciano's actual playing. In 2014–15, one of the present authors (Martínez) discovered two previously unexamined variant transcriptions of Murciano's rondeña. In this article, we present these manuscripts and suggest how they shed new light on the evolution of pre-flamenco guitar playing.

Traditional rondeña is a form of Andalusian fandango dance and song, in triple meter, roughly akin to verdiales, but with a distinctive melody (such as is presented in Pedrell 1958 [1900], II, 258–60, as “Malagueña”).¹ Sources from the early nineteenth century indicate that it

¹ Serafín Estébanez Calderón (1799–1867) describes the rondeña dance in his *Escenas andaluzas* (1920-1929, 9, 120, 164, 169). This edition can be seen in the website of Biblioteca Nacional de España:

<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000124443&page=1> (accessed June 9, 2016), 7/126124.

was especially popular in the province of Granada (Castro Buendía 2014, 206–07). Such rondeña songs are still occasionally performed in flamenco contexts, especially as a coda concluding a languid, free-rhythmic malagueña. By the 1830s if not earlier, the rondeña had also acquired its own characteristic style of guitar accompaniment, or *toque*, distinguished especially by conventional *variaciones* (what would later be called *falsetas*) in the ritornello or *entrecopla* interludes played in between the verse sections (*coplas*). As in most fandangos, the *copla* sections would consist of a five-line *quintilla* or, less often, a four-line *cuarteta* sung to the standard Andalusian fandango chord progression (roughly, in C major: C-F-[G7]-C-G7-C-F-E, thence returning to the E Phrygian major tonality of the ritornello/*entrecopla*). The rondeña was one of several fandango variants and contemporary song-forms or *cantes* that would eventually be incorporated into the rapidly evolving professional art form that came to be called “flamenco” from the 1860s. Evidence also suggests that rondeña was a particularly popular song and guitar entity, and that, accordingly, it played an especially important role in the consolidation of flamenco.

By Murciano's time—the 1830s–40s if not earlier—, rondeña could evidently also be performed as a listening-oriented song for guitar and voice. Further, it was also coming to be played as an item for solo guitar, essentially consisting, like other flamenco guitar *toques*, as a series of *falsetas* derived primarily from conventional *entrecopla* patterns. Such a guitar rondeña could be played by an amateur for his own diversion, or, eventually, as a stage piece. Although the characteristic rondeña verse melody differed from that of the malagueña, both were set to the standard chordal pattern of Andalusian fandangos, and both used the same rhythm and the same conventional guitar patterns. Hence, during this period, the two forms were seen as nearly identical, and the terms were often used interchangeably, as we shall discuss below.

The earliest transcriptions of proto-flamenco guitar playing are of Murciano, an unlettered but respected performer who would have been most active in the 1830s–40s. Murciano was particularly known for his version of rondeña; in September of 1842, for example, a Madrid newspaper featured an advertisement for guitar lessons offered by a young disciple of Murciano, “author of the genuine Rondeñas Granadinas [Granada-style rondeña], celebrated for their *variaciones*, and never heard

in this court,”² and in 1859, one José Pérez placed a similar advertisement in a Seville newspaper offering guitar lessons which could include Murciano's malagueña (presumably synonymous with his rondeña).³

Until the fresh discoveries presented in this article, the only known version of Murciano's piece had been that published in 1882 by José Campo y Castro, with a prologue by composer and pianist José Inzenga and biographical data presented in the same publication by Mariano Vázquez, a musician of Granada who knew Murciano personally and was a friend of his son.⁴ The latter, named Francisco Rodríguez after his father but known by the pseudonym “Malipieri,” was a musically literate guitarist and music professor who prepared the transcription of his father's manner of playing rondeña and provided it to Vázquez. As the latter wrote, “With great patience and skill [Malipieri] managed to put on paper some of the ‘inspirations’ of his father, but not without difficulty, since the latter was not always in the mood to bestow them on his son, nor did such free fantasy lend itself to being imprisoned [on paper] so easily.” This transcription (also presented in a reduced form by Pedrell in his 1900 anthology [1958, II, 257–60]) has been an important document in the reconstruction of solo flamenco guitar music.

² *Diario de avisos de Madrid* (16/IX/1842), p. 2. All quotations from Spanish authors are translated by Peter Manuel.

³ The advertisement reads: “Don José Pérez da lecciones de dicho instrumento (guitarra), ya sea de música o de memoria, según convenga a las personas que gusten ocuparle: también enseña las malagueñas del Murciano de Granada.” (Don José Pérez gives lessons on this instrument, whether from [written] music or memory, as suits the students; he also teaches the malagueñas of Murciano of Granada.) The advertisement is reproduced in Castro Buendía 2014:233.

⁴ Campo y Castro's edition can be found as a digital document in this link to Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE):

<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000043250&page=1> (accessed June 9, 2016), MP/1293/31. From 1854 Inzenga, contracted by the state, had devoted his energies to compiling Spanish regional popular songs, which he then published with harmonized piano accompaniment. It was presumably due to his prominence in this area that he was able to “present” the rondeña in the 1882 edition, which evidently derives from Malipieri, with some minimal additions, such as fingerings provided in the first sections of the item. Mariano Vázquez interacted with *Malipieri* in the social gatherings called *El Pellejo* and *Cuerda Granadina*. See *ABC* (15/09/1956), p. 9, *La Alhambra* (30/IV/1921), p. 97–99 y *La Alhambra* (31/VII/1922), pp. 153–155.

In the aforementioned publications, scholars have focused on the conspicuous similarities between this rondeña and the piece *Rondeña para guitarra sola* (Rondeña for solo guitar) by classical guitarist Julián Arcas (1832–82), which, registered in 1860, is generally considered the first extant work for solo flamenco guitar. Certainly both pieces reveal many features in common not only with each other but also with the modern style of playing malagueña. These would include, in the standard “*por arriba*” tonality based on E Phrygian major, in 3/4 meter: a basic “filler” riff of bass/thumb E-B-e-E-B-e patterns, with E-major arpeggios; other “bourdon”-type bass/thumb melodies decorated by constant E or E7 arpeggios; and interjected passages of *picado* mixed with legato effects executed by left-hand “hammering-on” and “pulling-off.” In the playing of Arcas and subsequent guitarist-composers like Eduardo Ocón, the “filler”-type patterns could take the form of antecedents to a two-bar consequent phrase (as in the familiar “Lecuona” pattern: //E-G#-B-E-G#-B-A-C-B-A-G-F ://). Both the rondeñas of Arcas and Murciano (in two of its versions) contain *copla* sections. In Arcas’s version, which is explicitly written as a solo guitar piece, the guitar plays a rendition of the familiar vocal melody; Murciano’s versions, by contrast, merely show chordal patterns, such as would accompany a vocalist if one were present.

While the rondeñas of Murciano and Arcas (together with subsequent malagueñas such as that published in 1874 by Ocón) constitute invaluable documents in the study of pre-flamenco guitar playing, they also present researchers with various enigmas. Some of these involve the question of whether Campo y Castro’s 1882 publication of Murciano’s rondeña can indeed be taken to accurately represent the playing of that guitarist, who had died 36 years earlier. While some issues may remain unresolved, considerable insight can be gained through the recent discovery of two other versions of Murciano’s rondeña.

One of these was included in a work written by Russian composer Mikhail Glinka (1804–57), who visited Granada for several months in 1845–46, during which period he befriended Murciano. As Vázquez related in his biographical essay published by Campo y Castro, Glinka enjoyed “an extended stay in Granada, during which his main activity was spending hours listening to our Rodríguez Murciano improvise variations on the rondeña, the fandango, the jota aragonesa

etc.”⁵ Glinka himself wrote a diary with illuminating descriptions of his experiences:

This Murciano was an illiterate person who sold wine in his own tavern. He played divinely, with grace and an accurate style. Some variations on a national song from that region—the fandango—composed by him and notated by his son, demonstrated his talent... On one occasion, I met a pretty gypsy woman and asked if she knew how to sing and dance; she affirmed that she did, and I invited her and her friends to my house that evening. Murciano directed them and played guitar. Two young gypsy women danced, along with an elderly gypsy man who was so dark he looked African.⁶

Glinka included in a Spanish songbook he elaborated during his stay in Spain a transcription of Murciano's *rondeña*, titled *Rondeña con variaciones para guitarra* (1845/1953, 357), which, however, had itself eluded flamencologists until the present, when Martínez unearthed it in the New York Public Library.⁷ The notation—shown here as Example 1—is clearly incomplete, consisting of only the first page of the manuscript (as states the caption for the image); nevertheless, as we shall note, it remains an illuminating document. Although Rioja (2013, 64) voiced doubts about whether this notation (which he had not seen) was made by Glinka himself or by Malipieri, it clearly was not written by Glinka, whose handwriting and notation style were recognizably different. Rather, it seems clear that it was notated by Malipieri, whose signature (next to that he provided for his father), dated February 1846, appears on the following page, where the transcription had originally been presented, immediately below the piece;⁸

⁵ The essay of Vázquez, together with Glinka's remarks, is discussed and reproduced, among other places, in Rioja 2013.

⁶ In Álvarez Cañibano, ed., *Los papeles españoles de Glinka 1845–1847* (Madrid: Consejería de Educación y Cultura de la Comunidad de Madrid, 1996), 35.

⁷ Álvarez Cañibano (1996, 27) relates how Glinka extracted his notation of Murciano's *rondeña* from his notebook of Spanish songs to offer it to his fellow composer Balakirev, with the intent that the latter would compose a piano piece based on it. He also mentions the 1853 volume containing a photographic reproduction of this version of the *rondeña*, which can today be found in the New York Public Library, *QDZ. It was in this edition that Martínez found the first page of the *Rondeña con variaciones para guitarra* reproduced in this essay (Glinka 1953, 357).

⁸ Glinka's Spanish music notebook, reproduced in *Los papeles españoles de Glinka 1845–1847* (Álvarez Cañibano 1996, 68–69), contains a gap between pages 28 and 30, which suggests that page 29 contains the transcription of Murciano's *rondeña*, since the subsequent page (30) features the signatures of Murciano and his son.

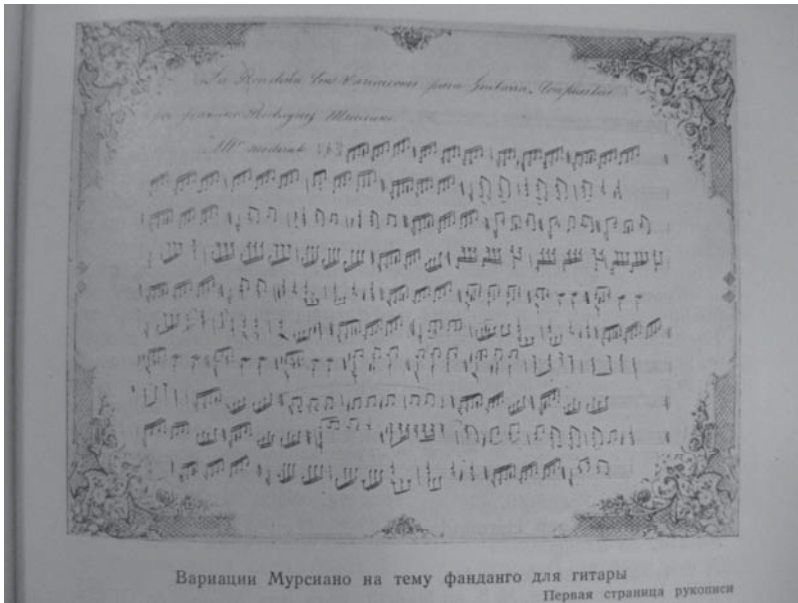
the inclusion of this item also resembles that of other pieces which Glinka included in this Spanish songbook, which were copied and signed by their composers. The presence of this notation in Glinka's notebook also illustrates that it dates from 1846, rather than being the invention or revised work of some later editor or copyist; as such, this notation—together with the markedly similar version of Campo y Castro—thus can be assumed to accurately reflect Murciano's playing.

The authenticity of the Glinka and Campo y Castro editions helps resolve questions which have been raised about guitar playing during this era. Various flamenco scholars have noted how the rondeñas of Murciano and Arcas illustrate how classical performers like Arcas as well as unlettered, vernacular ones like Murciano contributed to the cultivation of an increasingly elaborate and sophisticated solo guitar style. However, most studies have treated the classical guitarists as the primary driving force in this development. Rioja, while acknowledging a degree of mutual borrowing between classical artists and (proto-)flamenco players, asserted that in the case of the published rondeña of Murciano, “his son (...), who was a trained [and musically literate] guitarist, must have influenced the playing of his father,” who, further, “must have followed the path of the concert guitarists of his time” (Rioja 2013, 9, 48, 60). For his part, Norberto Torres doubts that the Campo y Castro version of the rondeña—published 36 years after Murciano's death—reflected the actual playing of the latter, arguing that it presents “techniques that were not yet established in the classical guitar playing of Murciano's time,” such that Campo y Castro's version is better regarded as representing an “arrangement” considerably subsequent to whatever was earlier notated by Malipieri or “some other classical guitarist friend of Inzenga” (Torres 2010, 53, 55). Among the guitar techniques in question would be the tremolo (i.e., a melody played by sequences of three repeated high notes punctuated by bass/thumb notes). The tremolo had only become a feature of Spanish classical guitar playing in the preceding decades. Recordings of flamenco in the early twentieth century reveal that many guitarists did not use tremolo, but instead exhibited a more limited palette of techniques—primarily strumming (*rasgueado/rasgueo*) and thumb-picking. It is for this reason that some flamenco scholars have inferred that classical techniques such as tremolo were seldom, if ever, played by flamenco guitarists until the twentieth century.

While the reproduction of Glinka's notation, presented here as Example 1, may not be of pristine quality, the reader can readily observe,

among other things, the tremolo passages in the fourth and final staves (mm. 20–22), along with other typical malagueña features such as the characteristic thumb/“bourdon” melodies with arpeggios, or a passage rendered by the left hand alone (via the aforementioned hammering-on and pulling-off techniques) (mm. 53–55). These passages effectively confirm that Murciano performed these techniques. Thus, while we can assume that many flamenco guitarists of that period and later possessed only a relatively “primitive” technique, there clearly existed proto-flamenco guitarists who from the 1830s played in a more refined manner and influenced subsequent styles, as were presented, for example, in the music of Arcas.

Example 1: Murciano's rondeña presented by Glinka (1845/1953)



Meanwhile, yet another notation of Murciano's rondeña, under the title *Rondeña de Granada*, has also been discovered by Martínez. This version, penned by an unknown copyist, was included in an unedited organological catalog manuscript of 1892–93 entitled *Colección de Instrumentos Populares de España*, prepared by the Princess María Isabel Francisca de Borbón (1851–1931), which was recently unearthed in the Real Conservatorio

Superior de Música of Madrid.⁹ This 68-page catalog, which was written to accompany an exhibition of Spanish musical instruments in Vienna, includes notated examples of various characteristic examples of Spanish vernacular music, including a *jota aragonesa* and a *parranda murciana*.¹⁰ The catalog's version of Murciano's rondeña, like that published by Campo y Castro in 1882, may have been provided by Vázquez, who was Princess Isabel's chamber-master from 1882, and who was involved in the preparation of the Vienna Exposition. As mentioned, he was also a personal friend of Malipieri (who himself might have been in his seventies at that point and presumably provided this new transcription to Vázquez).¹¹ It is also safe to assume that this transcription of the *Rondeña de Granada* is a faithful reproduction of Malipieri's original. Accordingly, for example, Martínez's research has established that the *jota aragonesa* and *parranda murciana* presented in the catalog are identical copies of transcriptions by Ruperto Ruiz de Velasco and Antonio López Almagro, as earlier presented in their respective works *La jota aragonesa: estudio crítico descriptivo sobre su música* (Ruiz de Velasco, 1892) and *El cancionero panocho: coplas, cantares, romances de la huerta de Murcia* (López Almagro 1900, IV, 6-11). This fidelity strongly suggests that the anonymous copyist of the Princess's version maintained the same sort of accuracy in his transcription of Murciano's *Rondeña de Granada*. This version is presented below as Example 4, edited here without alteration, by Martínez in order to provide greater legibility than is afforded by the handwritten manuscript itself.

⁹ Madrid, RCSMM, S/1799. The catalog is a focus of Martínez's doctoral research.

¹⁰ The *Colección de Instrumentos Populares de España* was prepared by Princess María Isabel Francisca, daughter of Queen Isabel II and probably one of the most influential women in the musical sphere of Madrid around the end of the nineteenth century. It includes twenty-eight individual entries on instruments used to perform popular music in Spain, together with an array of musical transcriptions. *Rondeña de Granada* is the third of fourteen musical transcriptions. This manuscript, together with a collection of twenty-eight Spanish popular instruments, was displayed at the International Exhibition for Music and Drama of Vienna in 1892, for which Princess Isabel was appointed President of the Commission in charge of the Spanish representation. Months later, when the exhibition ended, the Princess made sure both the collection and the catalogue reached the facilities of the Conservatory in Madrid, probably emulating the main European conservatories, which had created the first museums of musical instruments decades before, in the 1860s.

¹¹ Malipieri appears to have also been a friend of Conde de Morphy, personal secretary of King Alfonso XII, a celebrated musician in the Madrid court, and a mentor to Isaac Albéniz. See the note in *La Alhambra* (31/VIII/1899): 384.

The relation between these three versions of Murciano's *rondeña* (which we shall refer to as Glinka's, Campo y Castro's, and the Princess's) is not entirely clear. They are quite similar, but present some minor differences (which will be considered below). However, the close similarities of the three do suggest that they all derived from one source, presumably Malipieri. While we cannot definitively know the circumstances under which he generated these different versions, it is easy to imagine that from the 1840s Malipieri prepared a few slightly different versions of his father's improvisations, with or without certain *falsestas*, and with or without *copla*. Over the course of subsequent years or decades he had occasion to provide notations to various people, such as Glinka, Vázquez, and perhaps sundry others, including the aforementioned guitar teachers of Madrid and Seville who advertised in 1842 and 1859, respectively, that they could teach the “*rondeñas granadinas*” or Murciano's *malagueñas* (as his *rondeña* might have been labeled), using either sheet music or memory. Individuals may also have requested versions from Malipieri, and in an era before photocopying and digital scanning, providing multiple copies of a score entailed writing them by hand, with the attendant liberty to introduce variant versions of his father's playing.

The differences between the three versions of Murciano's *rondeña* are not insignificant (aside from the incomplete nature of the extant NYPL Glinka notation). Firstly, as mentioned, there are some relatively minor differences in manners of notating otherwise identical passages. In the case of the Glinka version, the abundant use of double-bar repetition indications, as involving the arpeggiated filler ostinato (as in the Princess's version),¹² together with a somewhat simplified, reductive version of some of the *variaciones* (henceforth “V”), as compared to similar passages in Castro y Campo and the Princess (i.e. V6, V9, last part of V10.2), may reflect a certain haste with which Malipieri transcribed the *rondeña* for Glinka. It is possible that he might have prepared his version for Glinka in a single sitting, and perhaps with deliberate inclusion of particular passages that interested the Russian composer. In the Castro y Campo version, the filler patterns are fully written out, as opposed to being indicated with double-bar repetitions in the other two versions. A few other passages are identical in the versions of Glinka and the Princess, but are slightly different in Campo y Castro, suggesting an element of minor

¹² The two-measure “filler” pattern (//:E-B-e-E-B-e://) is fully written out in Campo y Castro's piece, but indicated with double-bar repeats in the versions of Glinka and the Princess.

editing (e.g., V12 in Campo y Castro and the Princess, and V12.1 in Glinka).

Secondly, there are also some differences in the number and order in which some of the *variaciones* are presented. The rondeña of Campo y Castro presents the largest number of *variaciones*, most of which conclude with the double-bar arpeggiated filler pattern (shown as "FP" in Table 1).

Table 1. Murciano's *Rondeña* published by José Campo y Castro (1882)

INTRO. (1-11) : V1 (12-14) -- FP -- V2 (17-25) -- FP: V3: (28-35) -- FP: V4 (38-40) -- FP: V5 (43-45) -- FP: V6 (48-50) -- FP: V7 (53-55) -- FP: V8 (58-65) -- FP: V9 (68-70) -- FP: V10 (73-90) -- FP: V11 (93-95) -- FP: V12 (98-106) -- FP: V13 (109-111) -- FP: V14 (114-116) -- FP -- V15 (119-130) -- FP: V16 (133-144) -- FP: V17 (147-150: 151-158: 159-162:) -- FP -- V18 (165-167) -- FP: V19 (170-172) -- FP: V20 (175-176) -- FP -- V21 (179-181) -- FP: V22 (184-189) -- COPLA (190-215) -- V23 (216-219) -- FP: V24 (222-224) -- FP -- V25 (227-229) -- FP -- V26 (232-234) -- FP: V27 (237-239) -- FP: V28 (242-244) -- FP -- CODA (247-257)

A few such *variaciones* in the Campo y Castro version are absent in the other two versions, although that of the Princess includes a tremolo passage (mm. 119–121) which is not found in Campo y Castro. For its part, the Glinka version contains distinct material in the final three bars of V8. The Princess's version reproduces these same *variaciones* in the same order as does Campo y Castro (see Table 2), while the Glinka reveals a quite different organization (see Table 3). Unlike in the edited Campo y Castro version, the *variaciones* of the other two manuscripts rarely repeat, and on occasion, a *variación* in Campo y Castro appears divided into two sections in the other two versions, punctuated by the filler pattern or other *variaciones* (e.g., V15 and V17 in the Princess, and V10 and V12 in Glinka); given the quasi-improvised nature of a typical guitar rendering, these differences should not be seen as unusual or structurally important.

Table 2. Murciano's *Rondeña de Granada* presented in princess Isabel's manuscript (1892)

INTRO. (1-5) -- V1 (6-8) -- FP -- V2 (10-18) -- FP -- V3 (20-22) -- FP -- V6 (24-26) -- FP -- V7 (28-30) -- FP -- V8 (32-39) -- FP -- V9 (41-43) -- FP -- V10 (45-61) -- FP -- V11 (63-65): -- [No FP] -- V12 (66-73) -- FP -- V13 (75-77) -- FP -- V14 (79-81) -- FP -- V15.1 (83-85) -- FP -- V15.2 (87-95) -- FP -- V16 (97-104) -- FP -- V17.1 (106-109 : 110-113) -- FP -- V17.2 (115-117) -- FP -- V* (119-121) -- FP -- V18 (123-125) -- FP -- V19 (127-129) -- FP -- V20 (131-132) -- FP -- V22 (134 137) -- FP -- V23 (139-142) -- FP-- CODA [Last 3 bars in INZENGA's coda] (144-146) COPLA (147-168) * Variation with different material

Table 3. *Rondeña con variaciones para guitarra* transcribed in Glinka's Spanish songbook (1846)

INTRO. (1-8) -- V6 (9-11) -- FP-- V7 (13-15) -- FP -- V2 (17-22) -- FP -- V3 (24-26) -- FP -- V1 (28-30) -- FP -- V8* (32-34/35-37*) -- FP -- V9 (39-41) -- FP -- V10.1 (43-48) -- V12.2 (49-51) -- FP -- V11 (53-55) -- FP -- V12.1 (57-59) -- V10.2 (60-64) -- FP -- V13 (66-68) -- FP -- V14 (70) * The second half of V8 presents new material

It is interesting to note that some of the *variaciones* (e.g., V2, V10) are transcribed identically in the versions of Glinka and the Princess, but differently in the Campo y Castro, suggesting a particular connection between these two manuscripts.¹³ As mentioned, Campo y Castro's version may have been subjected to some editorial alterations. At the same time, this version also bears some conspicuous similarities to the Glinka, in contrast to the version of the Princess (e.g., Intro., V14),¹⁴ which confirms the relation between all three versions, on one hand, and, on the other, the *rondeña* of Murciano himself, as a common source.

¹³ The versions of Glinka and the Princess, unlike the Campo y Castro, also give tempo indications, of "Allegro Moderatto" and "Moderatto," respectively.

¹⁴ The Campo y Castro opens with a four-bar arpeggiated phrase which is not present in the Princess's version, although it appears in Glinka's version, with some minor differences. In the version of the Princess, one appearance of the filler pattern—at m. 86—interrupts a *variación* fully presented in Campo y Castro, and is presumably a copyist's error; quite possibly it was intended to go after m. 65, which is located at the same place on the preceding page of the original.

Thirdly, at certain points the versions appear to provide variant manners of playing passages. For instance, Examples 2a and 2b show two very similar phrases, from the Princess and Campo y Castro, which are rendered in slightly different forms; the Princess's involves a typical bass/thumb note followed by a three-note arpeggio, while the other shows a double-octave E/e--played in a "pinching" motion between thumb and index finger--followed by a two-note arpeggio. The latter technique is not common in modern mainstream flamenco playing. Presumably Malipieri wrote both as alternates to indicate the variant styles in which his father played.¹⁵

Example 2a: *Variación 15* in the transcription of Campo y Castro



Example 2b: *Variación 15.2* in the transcription of Princess Isabel



Another such difference can be seen in the renderings of V8 in the versions Campo y Castro and the Princess (Examples 3a and 3b); the former accompanies the descending thumb melody with arpeggios, and the latter with Am chords adorned with a B.

Example 3a: *Variación 8* in the transcription of Campo y Castro



¹⁵ Slight differences can also be noted in the renderings of V6 in the three versions.

Example 3b: *Variación 8* in the transcription of Princess Isabel

A conspicuous difference involves the presentation of the *copla*. In the Campo y Castro edition, the *copla* appears as a four-line *cuarteta* (“Los ojos de mi morena...”) with guitar accompaniment, preceded and followed by guitar *variaciones/falsetas*. By contrast, the Princess’s version presents the *copla* solely as guitar accompaniment, and at the end of the piece, separated from the guitar variations by a double bar. The presentation infers that the *copla* was an optional rather than essential entity in the piece, which is thus primarily a solo guitar item. At the same time, the pattern shown in the *copla* section has the character of accompaniment rather than a soloistic guitar rendering, as if to indicate how a guitarist would accompany a singer if one were present or desired; in that sense, it differs from the *copla* sections of Arcas’s *rondeña*, which are explicitly designed for solo guitar and are accordingly melodic rather than merely chordal in character. The relegation of the *copla* to the end, as a detachable and dispensable appendage, reflects how the piece is best seen as a relatively unstructured fantasia in which the guitarist explores a given tonality (here, E Phrygian major), akin to modern guitar versions of *granaínas* and *tarantas* (in their respective tonalities), or even, for that matter, the otherwise musically unrelated *rondeña* invented by Ramón Montoya (1879–1949) around 1930.

Analysis of Murciano’s *rondeña* versions, together with related pieces by Arcas and others, sheds light on various aspects of flamenco evolution. Three themes in particular may be mentioned here. The first involves the evident sophistication of pre-flamenco guitar playing of the 1840s or earlier, as reflected in Murciano’s use of classical techniques such as tremolo. This sophistication itself illustrates the socio-musical continuum that existed between the realms of vernacular, unlettered, pre-flamenco musicians and classical concert artists. Clearly there did exist a wide social gulf between, on the one hand, the illiterate gypsy guitarist crudely strumming in some Andalusian cave, and on the other, a Madrid- and Paris-based classical soloist such as Dionisio Aguado (1784–1849). Advocates of the increasingly discredited “hermetic theory” have argued that flamenco evolved primarily in the isolated contexts of private fiestas

of gitanos and their *señorito* (provincial playboy) patrons. Yet Murciano's music reflects that between the gypsy and courtly realms there existed a continuum which was traversed in both directions by musical forms, techniques, and musicians themselves. The illiterate Murciano himself was comfortably immersed in the world of informal gypsy dancing and music-making, yet his playing incorporated sophisticated and even recently innovated techniques such as tremolo.¹⁶ The elaborate guitar techniques evident in Murciano's *rondeña*, and its clear affinities to the "concert" classical counterpart by Arcas, demonstrate the clear continuities--both musical and social--between the art and folk music realms, just as the eighteenth-century keyboard *fandangos de salón* attributed to Domenico Scarlatti, Antonio Soler, Félix Máximo López and others imitated contemporary vernacular *fandangos*.

A second phenomenon further illuminated by Murciano's *rondeñas* is the process by which various Andalusian *fandangos* evolved from light, rhythmic, danceable songs into languid flamenco quasi-art songs--the *malagueña*, *tarantas*, *granaínas*, and *fandango libre*--, while the conventional accompaniment patterns of the first three also came to constitute *toques* for solo guitar. We can see how the *rondeñas* of both Murciano and Arcas exhibit vestigial features of the Andalusian *fandango* form. The *variaciones/falsetas* of both pieces, like modern solo guitar *toques* of *tarantas* and *granaínas*, presumably derived from conventional manners of accompanying sung versions of these forms. Both pieces retain the *copla* section, albeit as a solo guitar entity in Arcas and an optional add-on in Murciano. As transcribed, both these sections could be seen as "false *coplas*",¹⁷ illustrating how proto-flamenco forms of both singing and guitar playing co-existed in the first half of the 1800s. Meanwhile, the rhythmic patterns (including the E-B-e... filler phrases) recall the modal, danceable *ritornello*, although other passages seem more free-rhythmic, as if evolving toward the modern *malagueña* and *fandango libre* styles. However, once the *coplas* were dispensed with (or relegated to the finale), all these *toques* ceased to bear any structural relation to the *fandango*. In fact, despite their names, the guitar *toques* of *granaínas* and *tarantas*, and Murciano's *rondeña* can scarcely be regarded as members of the *fandango* family in any sense.

¹⁶ It seems safe to assume that Murciano was not a gypsy; certainly Glinka, who identified others as such, did not describe Murciano thusly.

¹⁷ "*Coplas postizas*," an apt term coined by Juan Francisco Padilla of Almería, a gifted guitarist whose repertoire includes Murciano's *rondeña*.

Thirdly, the study of Murciano's *rondeña* gives occasion for further reflection on the complicated and enigmatic evolutionary relation between that genre and its sibling, the *malagueña*. In the early nineteenth century, *malagueña* flourished as a danceable fandango form akin to *verdiales*, typically accompanied by guitar strumming in the ternary-metered *abandolao* rhythm typical of eastern Andalusian fandango variants. Over the course of the century, and especially as popularized by Juan Breva in the decades before 1900, the *malagueña* came to be cultivated as a slower, listening-oriented, quasi-art song, with characteristic guitar accompaniment patterns. From the mid-century decades, such patterns could also be strung together as a guitar solo, whether by a "vernacular" pre-flamenco guitarist like Murciano, or a classical soloist such as Ocón. In 1902 Rafael Marín published a flamenco guitar method book which included a *malagueña*. In the first decades of the twentieth century, under the influence of Antonio Chacón, Enrique el Mellizo, and others, the *malagueña* evolved into a leisurely, free-rhythmic rendering of a single *copla*, with introductory guitar *falsetas*. Curiously, despite the richness of its conventional *falseta* repertoire, which every guitarist must learn, *malagueña* ceased to be a common *toque* for solo guitar.

For its part, traditional *rondeña*--which is still occasionally performed in flamenco contexts--is, as mentioned above, a danceable fandango variant, in *abandolao* rhythm, with a characteristic *copla* melody. By Murciano's time, the *rondeña* could also be rendered as a listening-oriented song for voice and guitar, or, as we have seen, as a guitar solo.¹⁸ In this form, it became largely indistinguishable from the *malagueña*, and the two terms came to often be used interchangeably. Hence, Campo y Castro, in his frontispiece and Inzenga in his prefatory remarks, calls Murciano's piece a *rondeña*, but on the first page of the score itself the same piece is labelled "*malagueña*." Pedrell perpetuated this conflation, entitling his transcription "*Malagueña*" while referring to it

¹⁸ As noted by Castro Buendía (2014: 30, 236), the tradition of instrumental *rondeñas* continued in the second half of the 1800s: Matías de Jorge Rubio (1860: 45-46) included a piece, "Las Rondeñas," for solo guitar in his *Nuevo método elemental de cifra, para aprender á tocar por si solo la guitarra con los últimos adelantos hechos en este sistema*. This can be accessed on the BNE website at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000129326&page=1>. Similarly, in 1868, the Madrid press mentioned a concert whose seventh item was a "Gran Rondeña a dos guitarras por la señorita Aguilar y su maestro D. José Asensio" (in *Diario oficial de avisos de Madrid* [21/IX/1868], p.4).

in his introduction as a *rondeña*.¹⁹ Similarly, the prose introduction preceding the Princess's *rondeña* manuscript explains, "The *rondeña* or *malagueña*, being known by both names, constitutes, together with the dance called *fandango*, the typical music and dance of all Andalusia."²⁰ Meanwhile, a modern listener would identify the *rondeñas* of Murciano and Arcas as "*malagueñas*."

It seems that in the latter 1800s the term "*malagueña*" largely replaced "*rondeña*" in referring to both the listening-oriented flamenco *cante* and its derivative guitar *toque*. Hence, the vocal *malagueñas* of Breva and El Mellizo were clearly distinct from the light, danceable *rondeñas* (to which they might occasionally segue). Similarly, since it was redundant to have two terms to designate the associated guitar *toque* that Murciano, Arcas, and others had developed, this entity eventually came to be known solely as *malagueña*, as was thus the title of the pertinent composition of Ocón (1874), the corresponding *toque* presented in Marín's 1902 flamenco guitar method book (pp. 106-11),²¹ and, for that matter, the renowned light-classical piece by Cuban composer Ernesto Lecuona.

Around 1930, flamenco guitarist Ramón Montoya, presumably aware of the existence of this earlier tradition of solo guitar *rondeña*, recuperated that entity by giving that name to the guitar *toque* that he invented, even if it bore little or no musical relation to its earlier namesake (as noted, among others, by Suárez-Pajares [2003] and Rioja). Montoya's *rondeña*, like flamenco tarantas and *granaínas*, is essentially a free-rhythmic fantasia-like exploration of a particular tonality, in this case, D $\flat$ Phrygian (with a distinctive tuning).²² Today, the *rondeña* created by Montoya is the only *palo* that exists only as a guitar *toque*, without any sung counterpart.

The complex, circuitous, and bifurcating trajectories of *rondeña* forms over the last two centuries are at once idiosyncratic, and illustrative of the central generative processes operant in the evolution of modern flamenco. As flamenco scholars have noted, such processes were, on the

¹⁹ This ambiguity is also noted in the studies by Rioja (2013) and Torres (2010).

²⁰ Madrid, RCSMM, S/1799, p. 21.

²¹ Marín presents *malagueña* as a guitar solo, with a *copla* section, and later in the volume (p. 182) indicates the chords that would be used to accompany a sung *copla*.

²² John Moore (personal communication) points out that Montoya's recorded *rondeña* includes a *copla*-like section which seems to outline a melody derived from the *levantica*.

one hand, animated by grand metanarratives such as Romanticism, nationalism, and the emergence of a modern bourgeoisie. At the same time however, much insight into these processes can also be gained by close examination of the relatively small number of musical examples dating from flamenco's embryonic period.

Example 4: Murciano's *Rondeña de Granada* in the Princess's Catalog***Rondeña de Granada***

Madrid, RCSMM, S/1799, 21-28

Francisco Rodríguez Murciano
(1795-1848)**Moderatto**

Guitar

3

7

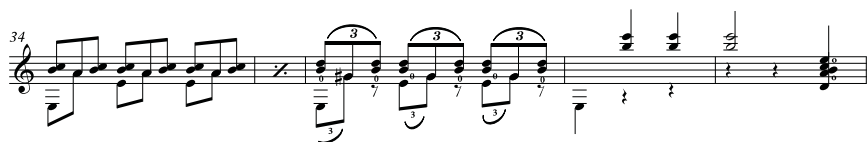
11

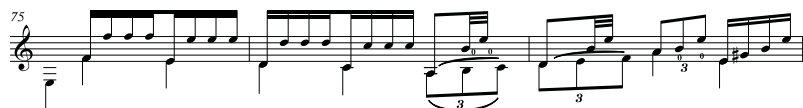
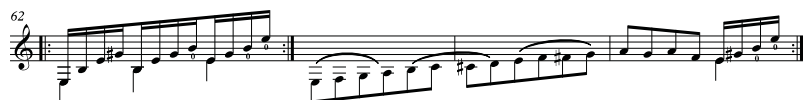
17

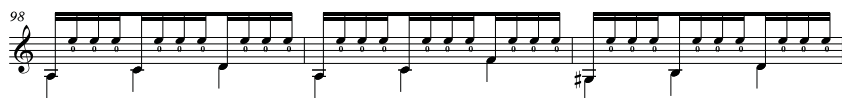
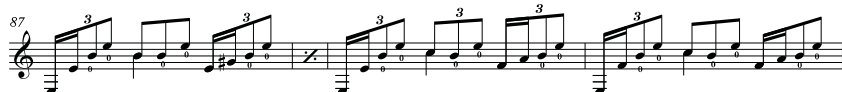
20

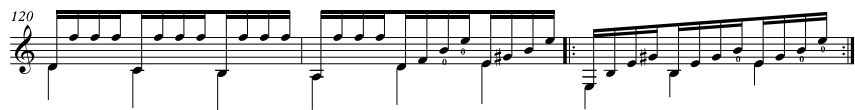
24

4^a c









123



126

This block contains the musical notation for measures 126 and 127. Measure 126 begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written on a single staff, starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4-B4, quarter notes C5-B4, and eighth notes A4-G4. The bass line consists of quarter notes G3, F#3, and E3. Measure 127 continues the melody with quarter notes D5-C5, B4-A4, and G4, followed by a quarter rest. The bass line continues with quarter notes D3, C3, and B2. The notation includes various accidentals and a repeat sign at the end of measure 126.

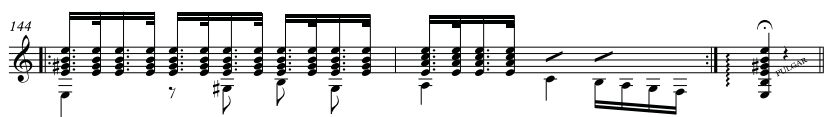
130

Measures 130-131 of the musical score. Measure 130 contains a single melodic line on a treble clef staff, starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, and a quarter note G4. Measure 131 contains two staves. The upper staff has a treble clef and a whole note chord G4-A4-B4-C5. The lower staff has a bass clef and a whole note chord G3-A3-B3-C4. Both staves in measure 131 have a fermata over the final note.

[illegible]

137

141



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II.

MIGRATION, DIASPORA, AND GLOBAL POP

CHAPTER NINE

TWO GLANCES AT THE FANDANGO: THE FANDANGO IN CLASSICAL MUSIC, AND AN EXAMPLE OF POPULAR ANDALUSIAN FANDANGOS— *EL TROVO DE LA ALPUJARRA*

REYNALDO FERNÁNDEZ MANZANO

TRANSLATION BY K. MEIRA GOLDBERG

Abstract

The fandango has been a widely established popular music and dance throughout Latin America and Spain, and has been present in classical music from the eighteenth century onward. Its development has constituted one of the most distinguished branches and forms of flamenco, and has become an identifying sign of the Spanish world for Romantic tourists and later composers. The *Trovo* of Alpujarra is one of the principal forms of the region of the provinces of Almería and Granada, linked to the *verdiales* of the hills of Málaga and other manifestations. With a poetic base of *quintillas* (five-line stanzas) and musical accompaniment of violin, guitar, and castanets, to which may be added the bandurria and the lute, a tournament upon a theme chosen by the audience, where one defends and another attacks, is improvised.

Keywords

Fandango, fandango yndiano (indiano), trovo, mudanzas, robao, violín, castañuelas, bandurria, laúd, guitarra, quintillas, décima, espinela, Alpujarra, Andalucía, poesía improvisada y cantada.

Resumen

El fandango constituye una de las formas musicales más poliédricas. Extendido por Latino-América y España, este artículo se centra en dos miradas. Por una parte, el fandango en la música clásica española y su papel en su difusión en el imaginario europeo sobre el Sur. Por otra parte, la visión concreta del Trovo de la Alpujarra como fandango popular de poesía improvisada y cantada en Andalucía.

Introduction

In this article I consider two aspects of the fandango universe. From the macroscopic perspective I look at the role of Spain in the diffusion and the imaginary of classical European fandango musics. From the microscopic perspective, and focusing on the fandango's popular aspect, I examine the concrete case of the *Trovo de la Alpujarra*.

The terms “fandango,” “fandangos,” and “*fandanguillos*” reference a wide variety of musical, poetic, and dance phenomena, in both Latin America and Spain.

The Fandango in the Classical Music of Spain and its Role in the Diffusion of the Fandango in the European Imaginary of the South

We may consider the *Fandango Yndiano* by Santiago de Murcia (1682–1732?), compiled in the *Códice Saldivar no. 4* (ca. 1732), to be one of the first references to the fandango. The denomination “*indiano*” makes reference to the fandango's origins in the New World. The fandango's popularity and its inclusion in concert music made it become one of the most characteristic musical forms of the international imaginary of Spanishness.

To cite just a few important examples of the fandango in classical music we should mention Luigi Boccherinni (1743–1805) in the baroque era, who used the fandango in the last movement of his *Quinteto n. 4, G 448, en Re Mayor, para guitarra y cuerda* (1798), although it was originally composed for his *Quinteto, G 341* (1788). Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757), in his *Fandango Yndiano*, and Antonio Soler (1729–1783) with his *Fandango*, brought the fandango to the harpsichord.¹

¹ Andrés Valero-Castlls, *La música del padre Soler como idea en la composición*

The romantics looked to the “Other” for exoticism, adventure, and love. Granada and Andalucía would be sources of inspiration and mythic symbolism for European romantics.² Consider this example: Glinka³ visited Granada from November of 1845 to February of 1846, transcribing the melodies of the flamenco guitarist “Murciano,”⁴ and sparked the movement called “Symphonic Alhambriism,” of works inspired in these palaces. Glinka described the fiestas with lovely *gitanas* and Andalusian girls, in which he was moved to dance, for his family: “besides studying the popular songs, I also study the regional folk dances, as one and the other are essential to a perfect understanding of Spanish music.” Or the following quote:

I study Spanish music with dedication. Here people sing and dance more than in other Spanish cities. The melody and dance that predominate here in Granada is the fandango. The guitars begin and then each person present in turn sings a verse while one or two couples dance with castanets. This music and dance is so original that up until now I have been unable to capture the melody, because each one sings it in his own way. In order to better understand it I take classes three times a week (for 10 francs a month), from the principal dance master, and with him I work on both my hands and feet. It might seem strange to you, but here music and dance are inseparable ... Most of the melodies are Arabic. In order to achieve my objectives I turn to the

moderna: el “fandango” soleriano en la creación musical española desde fines del s. XX hasta la actualidad, (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2012).

² Rocío Plaza Orellana, *El flamenco y los románticos. Un viaje entre el mito y la realidad* (Sevilla: Bienal de Arte Flamenco, 1999).

³ Reynaldo Fernández Manzano, “La Granada de Glinka (1845–1846),” *Los papeles españoles de Glinka* (Madrid: Consejería de Educación y Cultura, Comunidad de Madrid, 1996), 19–24.

⁴ Francisco Rodríguez Murciano, (1795–1848). In his *Cancionero Musical Popular* Felipe Pedrell said of him: “he was a famous guitarist, an independent popular artist, whose musical imagination was full of fire, an inexhaustible vein, always alive and fresh...” Rodríguez Murciano improvised with grace and played malagueñas of his own creation, which were published by maestro Ycenga in his *Colección de aires populares para guitarra*. Rodríguez Murciano’s son was “Malipieri” of the “*Cuerda granadina*” (string of Granada), who with a beautiful voice and accompanying himself on the guitar sang the “Amonestaciones” by Sebastián Iradier, like the deepest flamenco songs. He transcribed the Rondeña with variations that Glinka gave as a gift to Balakirev, he wrote a Fandango etude, a rondeña that Pedrell reproduces and says that it was the creation of Francisco Rodríguez Murciano. Eduardo Molina Fajardo, *Manuel de Falla y el “Cante Jondo”* Granada: Universidad de Granada, Cátedra “Manuel de Falla,” 1962, 1976), 41–42; Eduardo Molina Fajardo, *El flamenco en Granada. Teoría de sus orígenes e historia*, Granada, 1974, 39–40.

muleteers, the artisans, and the simple folk, to listen with great attention to their melodies. The melodic turns, the distribution of the words and the adornments are so original that up until now I have been unable to fully capture the melodies I have heard.

In November of 1846 Glinka visited Córdoba, and Sevilla,⁵ where he spent the winter of 1846–1847. While there he attended the evenings of dance held by Félix and Miguel, where

they sang the best national songs in an oriental style, while the women dances extraordinarily. We seemed to hear three different rhythms: the song went one way, the guitar separately, and besides the *palmas* (hand clapping) and heelwork of the dancer seemed also to be independent of the music.

In Sevilla he raised birds in a special room (he had up to fourteen). In the city on the Guadalquivir River, Glinka heard El Planeta sing, and the famous violinist Ole-Bul play.

Fandangos are found in the work of Dionisio Aguado (1784–1849): *Fandango Variado*, *Op. 16*; Julián Arcas (1832–1882): *Jaleo por punto de fandango*; Joaquín Rodrigo (1901–1999): *Fandango, Passacaglia, Zapateado* (1954) dedicated to Andrés Segovia (1893–1987). For violin: Pablo Sarasate (1844–1908): *Introducción y fandango*, *Op. 40*. For piano: Antonio Mercé Fondevila (ca. 1810–1876): *Fandango para piano con canto y variaciones*, Madrid, A. Romero [1866, n° de plancha 110], Enrique Granados (1867–1916): *Danzas españolas*, n. 3 *Fandango*, an arrangement for player piano Barcelona, Pincesa, [manufactured by] Moya Hermanos [n. de publicación 179 Princesa]; and the *Fandango del Candel*, from *Goyescas*. Granados played the master for the player piano edition of this work for the Æolian Company, fabrication number 267803. “Imperio Argentina,” Magdalena Nile del Río (1906–2003) popularized this fandango in the film *Tosca* (3:17, Granados-León), with the Gran

⁵ Joaquín Turina cited Glinka in passing in his lecture read on June 10, 1936 at the Liceo Andaluz de Madrid: “The great Russian composer Glinka did some studies of Spanish music, among others his poem *Una noche en Madrid*. Rimsky Korssakoff made a closer approximation of Andalucía in his *Capricho español*; but the real tie between Russian and Andalusian music is in the orientalism of some compositions, as if the Arabism of *Scheherazade*, *Antar* or *Prince Igor* had some junction, came from the same root as our Moorish songs, which have in their turn influenced the purest flamenco school.” J. Turina, *La Música Andaluza*, (recopilación de artículos) (Sevilla: Servicio de Publicaciones del Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1982), 62.

Orquesta Sinfónica de Columbia conducted by J. Muñoz Molleda (1905–1988). Manuel Font de Anta (1895–1936): *Fandango*, 6ª pieza de *Cantes gitanos, modelos clásicos recogidos, transcritos y armonizados para piano* (1922). The adaptations for player piano made that same year of the *Fandango asturiano* by Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908) in his work *Capricho español*, fabricated by U.M.E.C.A. (Madrid, ca. 1924, nº publicación 1264 Diana) are very interesting; as is the *Fandango* by Amadeo Vives (1871–1932) from his zarzuela *Doña Francisquita*, fabricated by U.M.E.C.A. (Madrid, ca. 1924, nº publicación 1468 Diana).

A Glance at the Vanguard: Picasso, Diaghilev, and Falla

I think it was in 1919 when I had the opportunity of witnessing the performance of Manuel de Falla's *Le Tricorne* by Diaghilev's Ballets Russes.... Although Nijinsky had already gone mad, the Ballets Russes of Diaghilev continued to shock the world and to stir artistic communities wherever they went. At that premiere, besides discovering the passionate rhythms and “deep,” profound soul of Falla, I had the revelation of the grace and charging creativity of Picasso. That marvelous indigo curtain over that suggestion of a bridge [of a string instrument] made of black eyes, that boiling lime of the walls and the well, all that simple and warm geometry that embraced and fused with the colorful bends of the dancers! Nothing I ever saw from that company surprised me or forever marked me in this way. And that is to say that *La Boutique Fantasque*, by Rossini-Respighi and with sets by Darain, *Schéhérazade* and Tamar of Rimsky, with the apotheosis of scenographic fantasy of Leon Bakst, meant then, with the great spectacles that Diaghilev offered, the newest language, the most audacious expression of the new rhythms of the body, of music, and of painting that inaugurated the twentieth century.

Rafael Alberti.⁶

The Ballets Russes were a great and multidisciplinary experimental laboratory, where composers of various nationalities, dancers, vanguardist practitioners of the plastic arts and flamencos could have fruitful encounters. The powerful personality of Picasso and his achievement in painting undoubtedly marked the unfolding future and lead to a new respect for popular culture and especially towards flamenco.

Picasso collaborated with the Ballets Russes as a costume and set designer in several productions, among them *Le Tricorne*, with music by Manuel de Falla, choreography by Léonide Massine, and libretto by Gregorio

⁶ Rafael Alberti, “Evocación,” *España y los Ballets Russes*, 38 Festival de Música y Danza. Congreso España y los Ballets Russes, Granada, 1989, 20–21.

Martínez Sierra based on the book by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, which premiered on July 22, 1919 at London's Alambra Theatre. The third piece in the first part is a *Fandango (Danza de la Molinera)*. Picasso also designed costumes and sets for Diaghilev's *Cuadro Flamenco, suite de cantos y danzas andaluces*, with musical arrangements by Manuel de Falla, which premiered on May 17, 1921 at the Théâtre de la Gaîté-Lyrique in Paris, and featured dancers María Dalbaicin, La Rubia de Jerez, La Gabrielita del Garroín, La López, El Tejero and El Moreno.⁷

In the area of research into the fandango we should mention the first publication of Pablo Minguet e Yrol (1733–1778): *Breue tratado de los passos del danzar a la española que hoy se estilan en las seguidillas, fandango, y otros tañidos...*, *Corregido en esta segunda Impresión por su Autor*. Madrid, Imprenta del Autor 1764, 14p., [1] h. pleg.; 8° [“hoja plegable” is sheet music]. In terms of bibliographic works that are useful in working on the fandango, those of Anselmo González Climent: *Bibliografía flamenca*, (Madrid, 1965) and *Segunda bibliografía flamenca* (Málaga, 1966) are notable, as are the reflections of Cristina Cruces, Ángel Álvarez Caballero [et al.]: *La bibliografía flamenca, a debate* (Sevilla, Centro Andaluz de Flamenco, 1998).

Of the several songbooks, three clearly describe the transmission of various themes and the image of popular music, as well as its shaping within new classical compositions. Eduardo Ocón: *Cantos españoles*, Leipzig, 1874, (Málaga, 1888), J. Inzenga: *Cantos y bailes populares de España* (Madrid, 1888), and F. Pedrell: *Cancionero musical popular español*, 4 vols., (Barcelona 1917-1922), which would exert so much influence.

There are also numerous treatises today which relate to flamenco with the presence of the fandango. In the first place are those dedicated to the guitar; there are fewer treating song, dance, or percussion—although these are of great interest. In the latter category we think of *Crotología o Ciencia de las castañuelas*, by Francisco Agustín Florencio (Madrid, 1792), or the *Impugnación literaria a la crotología erudita o ciencia de las castañuelas*, by Juanito López Polinario (Valencia, 1792). Rafael Marín's work *Método de Guitarra: Aires andaluces [flamenco] por Música y Cifra* (Madrid, 1902), a work that greatly influenced Ramón

⁷ Chronology of ballets and óperas-ballets produced by Serge Diaghilev compiled by Nancy van Norman Bear and Lynn Garafola, *España y los Ballets Russes*, Granada, 1989, 109–117.

Montoya, Luis Molina, and Manolo de Huelva, among others.⁸ Manuel Cano Tamayo's work, *La Guitarra. Historia, estudios y aportaciones al arte flamenco* (Córdoba, 1986), holds a place of special importance, as he was the first professor to introduce flamenco guitar within the educational system of Spanish music conservatories; in Córdoba he created a professorship for flamenco guitar.

From this moment onward we have a broad bibliography on this theme. In the area of outstanding research taking place in Spanish universities, we should make special note of the doctoral dissertations of Miguel Ángel Berlanga, Norberto Torres, y Alberto del Campo.⁹

El Trovo de la Alpujarra

El trovo de La Alpujarra (the centuries-old traditions of verbal jousting in localized communities in the Alpujarra Mountains), the improvisational art of dialogic poetry, a "dialectic discussion" between two *troveros*, is present in a great many cultures.¹⁰ Asian traditions, Greek, Roman,

⁸ For other publications of interest on these topics, see Manuel Cubas, *Fandangos y polos: Aires nacionales que se bailan solos* (Madrid, Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1887); Salvador Fernández Olea, Salvador (d. 1962), *Suspiros de Andalucía: (Homenaje al fandango)*, ilustraciones de Francisco Hohenleiter (Málaga: R. Alcalá, [1937?], 143 p. 8º mllª [18 cm]); Juan Moreno Lorente, *Colección de fandangos, granáinas, milongas, peteneras, siguirillas, boleros, pasodoble, zambra, rumba* ([Barcelona]: Mollet, 1973); Congreso de Folclore Andaluz, V (1994): *Expresiones de la cultura del pueblo, "El fandango"* (Granada, Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 1998); Modesto Martín González, *Fandangos* ([Alicante]: M. Martín [1998]); Miguel Ángel Berlanga Fernández, *Bailes de candil andaluces y "fiesta" de los verdiales: otra visión de los fandangos* ([Málaga]: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, [2000]).

⁹ Miguel Ángel Berlanga Fernández, *Los fandangos del sur: conceptualización, estructura sonora, análisis cultural* (doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Granada, 1998) [editors' note: please see also Berlanga's chapter in this volume: "The Fandangos of Southern Spain in the Context of other Spanish and American Fandangos"]; Norberto Torres, *De lo Popular a lo Flamenco: Aspectos Musicológicos y Culturales de la Guitarra flamenca (Siglos XVI-XIX)* (doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Almería, 2009); Alberto del Campo, *Trovadores en la Alpujarra. Por una antropología de la construcción burlesca de la realidad* (doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Sevilla. 2003).

¹⁰ Reynaldo Fernández Manzano, [et. Al ii.]: "El trovo de la Alpujarra," *El trovo en el Festival de Música Tradicional de la Alpujarra (1982-1991)* (Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente, Asociación Cultural Abuxarra, Orgiva,

Muslim cultures, and also famous poets of various epochs have practiced this kind of fresh, spontaneous, improvised lyric contest or tournament, which demands a high cultural level, intuitive capacity, and mastery of language.

The strophic form most often used is the *quintilla* (five-line stroph), whose octosyllabic lines typically rhyme on lines 1,3,5/2,4. The musical accompaniment of *quintillas en redondilla*, which rhyme 1,3,4/2,5, is the fandango. The *décima* (ten-line stanza) or *espinela*, which also has octosyllabic lines that rhyme 1,4,5/2,3/6,7,10/8,9, are strophes named for Vicente Espinel (Ronda-Málaga, 1550–Madrid, 1624). Some *trovadores* sing this *décima* in the key of guajiras; in the poems constructed with a *cuarteta* (four-line stanza) that rhymes 1,3/2,4, four *quintillas* are improvised, each closing with its respective *cuarteta*. The thematic content of the trovo may be philosophical, or may deal with daily life; it may be satirical, burlesque, charming and funny, amorous, lyrical, or panegyric. The instruments used are violin, guitar, castanets, and on some occasions plucked or picked string instruments: *y en ocasiones instrumentos de pulso y púa: bandurrias* (similar to a mandolin) and *laúd* (lute). They may be accompanied by dance: *mudanzas y robao*.

El trovo, although it seems to have extended through the entire region, is conserved principally in the area of the Contraviesa, comprised of Adra, Albuñol, Albondón, Murtas, and Turón, and extending today to the agricultural zones of the Almería and Granada coast. The fiesta of the trovo happened spontaneously. A group of people would gather during the evening at a country house, and the fiesta might last several hours, or several days. Often these trovo gatherings were tied to kinds of collective labor called “*tornapeón*” (*a torna peón* means reciprocal), such as, for example, to finish the harvest, or to accomplish particular agricultural tasks—such as the *mondaderas de almendras* (almond processing), animal slaughter, etc. Neighbors would band together and help each other with these labors; this collective labor generated cohesion and solidarity between members of the community, in which the festive dimension was always present, and in which the trovo, with its music and dance, was an important protagonist. These fiestas did not need to involve many people: eight to ten participants were more than sufficient.

1992), 25-61. Contains several studies and a musical transcription of the Trovo by Azuzena Fernández Manzano, <http://www.bibliotecavirtualdeandalucia.es/catalogo/consulta/registro.cmd?id=1038998> (accessed June 2, 2016).



Left: José López Sevilla, trovero. Photo: R. Fernández Manzano

Right: Grupo de trovo. Festival de Música tradicional de la Alpujarra, 2012. Photo: R. Fernández Manzano.

CHAPTER TEN

SON JAROCHO IN NEW YORK: JARANA AND FANDANGO AS SYMBOLS OF A NEW MEXICAN IDENTITY

BRUNO BARTRA

Abstract

In the past decade, a New York-based music scene surrounding son jarocho—music from the Mexican State of Veracruz—has started to develop. It is linked to a middle class diaspora of Mexican professional musicians who perform and teach, in concert with impresarios whose upscale restaurants in Manhattan and Brooklyn provide performance venues for these artists. Bands like Radio Jarocho and Jarana Beat lead a scene that has a two-fold agenda. On one hand, the bands perform a fusion of the genre with rock, but, on the other hand, they always play an acoustic segment in which they try to organize a traditional “fandango” (a traditional dance-party), having the “jarana” guitar and the dancing “tarima” as central elements of identity and authenticity. Integrating musicians from all-over Latin America, this community, in contrast to the traditional working class migrant Mexicans, is trying to find a niche within the New York world music community, in an attempt to construct an alternative Mexican-American, a “friendly” and professionalized Other.

Keywords

Son jarocho, fandango, jarana, diaspora, migration, New York, Veracruz, Mexico.

Resumen

En la última década se ha desarrollado una escena neoyorquina que gira en torno al son jarocho, música originaria del Estado mexicano de Veracruz. Está vinculada a una diáspora de clase media conformada por músicos

profesionales que tocan y dan clases, así como por empresarios cuyos restaurantes lujosos en Manhattan o Brooklyn sirven como foros para estos artistas. Bandas como Radio Jarocho o Jarana Beat lideran esta escena que tiene dos objetivos musicales. Por un lado, los grupos interpretan una fusión del son jarocho con rock, pero, por otro lado, sus conciertos siempre tienen un segmento acústico en el cual se organiza un fandango jarocho tradicional, teniendo a la jarana y a la tarima como elementos centrales de identidad y autenticidad. Congregando músicos de toda Latinoamérica, esta comunidad, en contraste con el típico migrante mexicano de clase obrera, busca un nicho entre la escena de la *world music* neoyorquina, en un intento por construir un México-Americano alternativo, un Otro “amigable” y profesionalizado.

Introduction

An “exotic chocolate sauce chicken dipped in mole sauce served with beans and rice” is advertised as one of the most valuable recipes in the menu of Casa Mezcal, an upscale Mexican restaurant which opened in the summer of 2010 in the Lower East side of Manhattan. This “secret family recipe” attracts New York foodies and the local Mexican middle class alike to the restaurant, which is property of the same individuals who owned Café Central, a venue that served as hotspot for intellectuality and the arts in Oaxaca, Mexico. Up to late 2013, in the basement bar of Casa Mezcal, one could have been lucky enough to hear an evening performance by Radio Jarocho, New York’s pioneering ensemble of the sophisticated Mexican popular music genre son jarocho or even, if it was a Monday, one could have taken a course with the band members on *jarana* playing or *zapateado* percussive dancing.

The five-piece band, with Mexican and Latin American members, might not seem to be a surprise in the multicultural landscape of New York, but what is interesting is that Radio Jarocho is part of a small son jarocho scene that has been developing in the city for over a decade. It now includes other bands such as Jarana Beat, Villalobos Brothers and Son de Montón, which not only perform, but give workshops and classes similar to those that were given at Casa Mezcal.

There are several activities linked to Mexican culture in New York, and I have been able to recognize several types of places where different musicians perform. These range from the norteño musicians in the subway train cars to the festivities in East Harlem for Cinco de Mayo

or for the Day of the Dead, to the concerts held at places such as La Boom, Casa Azul library, Casa Mezcal, Hecho en Dumbo, the Mexican Institute of Culture—official organ of the Mexican Government—and the Museo del Barrio. Since 2011, a yearly Encuentro de Jaraneros de New York (Gathering of New York Jaraneros) has taken place, with several local bands and Mexican guests performing. This has been an attempt to establish an annual tradition similar to that of Los Angeles, where there have been more than 10 of these gatherings. In Tlacotalpan, Veracruz, epicenter of jarocho in Mexico, a similar gathering has been held for over 30 years, since the “rediscovery” of the genre.

In this article I plan to analyze the phenomenon of the son jarocho scene in New York within the context of the Mexican diaspora in the city and the New York world music scene, as well as with the development of son jarocho, from its popularity in the 1950s as an official symbol of Mexican nationalism, to its revival in the late 20th Century as a sophisticated popular genre which would be linked to the political left wing of Mexico (Cardona 2012). Integrating musicians from all over Latin America, the sound of these bands attracts a Mexican diaspora that contrasts with the traditional low wage working-class Mexican community. Son jarocho in New York is linked to a higher profile middle-class Mexican migrant, and thus tries to find a niche within the New York world music community that revolves around places such as Barbés, a well-known concert venue and bar in Brooklyn. The bands performing the Mexican genre attempt to construct an alternative Mexican-American, a “friendly” and professionalized Other. Within a theoretical frame of Arjun Appadurai’s “social imagination” (Appadurai 1990), I also argue that Veracruz, son jarocho, and in particular the fandango and the jarana small stringed guitar are those essential “building blocks” to construct the ethnoscapas, mediascapas, financescapas, ideoscapas and technoscapas within an upscale middle-class Mexican diasporic community in New York.

Mexican diaspora in New York

Much has been written on the Mexican migration to New York, and in general to the U.S., and it is no secret that the vast majority of this Mexican diaspora consists of working-class, low income and undereducated subjects, most of whom arrived through an illegal crossing as a consequence of the search for better economic conditions than those in Mexico, or through the 1940 to 1960s Bracero Program. Most of this

diaspora resides in the southwestern part of the country, with over 50% inhabiting California.

Beginning in the 1970s, the rate of permanent settlement by Mexican migrants to the United States began to increase, while the diversity of their geographical origins expanded, at the same time that the skill composition of the Mexican migrant flow began to improve and the gender composition shifted, becoming less male-dominated as more single women and whole families began to migrate (Marcelli and Cornelius 2001, 106).

The influx of migration of Mexicans has increased at a 30 percent rate each decade. In 2010, 31 million Mexicans were counted in the USA, against the 20 million of the 2000 census. But in New York City the rate almost doubled, going from 183,000 in 2000 to the most recent 342,000, representing 4.2 percent of the city's population, against the 2.3 percentage it represented in 2000 (Ennis, et al 2011). Among the Latino population of the city, it also jumped from constituting 8.4 per cent to 14.3. On a darker side, the Mexican community in New York is the minority with the lowest level of education: about 41 percent of all Mexicans between ages 16 and 19 have dropped out of school, according to census data (Bergad 2011).

This stronger presence of Mexican population has triggered and consolidated a local cultural life, with a large number of cheap restaurants throughout the five boroughs that are almost replicas of the famous *fondas*, or low budget home-style food restaurants, that are typical in Mexico. There are a couple of tabloids, *El Diario de México* and *El Diario La Prensa*, both in Spanish, which focus on local stories of small villages in states such as Puebla, Michoacán or Veracruz, among other places of origin of the migrants. Local television has three channels in Spanish, and it is interesting to point out that Telemundo regularly transmits soccer matches from the Mexican league, so that Mexicans who watch open air New York TV don't miss the results of their favorite teams. All these events connect directly to a network of local Mexican community celebrations such as the Cinco de Mayo Parade in East Harlem, the Carrera Antorcha Guadalupana, or the Feria del Sol, most of which are organized by the New York Tepeyac Foundation sponsored by Mexican businessmen established in New York. There is a small chain of fast "authentic" Mexican food called El Águila, which opened in 2008 in Passaic, New Jersey, and has a couple of branches in East Harlem; in

October 2012, for example, one could taste a *tamal* while listening to some ranchera music and even get the autograph of Mexican famous boxer Erick “El Terrible” Morales, who was invited to the restaurant’s 116th street branch in East Harlem.

As Cathy Ragland’s 2003 study of Mexican *sonideros* in the New York area shows, members of this Mexican community are linked to particular parties where these DJs play cumbia and other Latin American genres. They have a particular style that includes a sort of *toasting* technique to send greetings among family and gang members between New York City and Ciudad Nezahualcóyotl, an urban extension east of Mexico’s capital. The two sites are playfully termed as “Puebla York” and “Neza York”. A great number of these party goers also gather in the club La Boom in Queens, a musically versatile venue that can have a Mexican ska-punk band one night, a nortño act the following day, and a Latin pop star in a third night. Besides musical exponents from other Latin American countries, it usually organizes events with bands that could easily play in front of a massive audience in the marginalized and rough zones of Mexico City.

But then there is another, scarcely studied side to the Mexican diaspora in New York, for the owners of the food chains, the tortilla distributors, and some executives of the newspapers actually live in the city and have high incomes. At the same time, 12 percent of the Mexican population in New York City—that is, 40,000—have a college education or higher. These New Yorkers are another type of Mexican, a mix of white-collar, businessmen and intellectuals with particular tastes and interests: they are not looking for authenticity at El Águila or cumbia parties, and they don’t precisely get along with the working-class Mexicans.

In this context, gourmet Mexican food had a boost: while there had been the prestigious Rosa Mexicano since 1983, between 2008 and 2013 new places such as Black Ant, Casa Mezcal, Chavela’s, Fonda Mexicana, Hecho en Dumbo and Mesa Coyoacán opened, with prices and locations that would “repel” the blue-collar Mexicans. Some of these upscale new restaurants had stages or basement bars for musicians to perform, and sophisticated genres such as *son jarocho* were welcome, since a sophisticated genre was apt for a “sophisticated” audience.

From Tlacotalpan to New York

In the early 2000s, the Mexican musician Gabriel Guzmán, who had arrived in New York in 1998 to earn an M.A. in Music, brought with him a few *jaranas* after a holiday in his homeland. He then started to seek musicians who could be interested in performing one of his favorite Mexican traditional music genres, son jarocho. By 2003 he founded the band Los Olvidados, with which he performed traditional songs of the jarocho repertoire. Two years later, he founded the band Semilla and with this, possibly the first New York public fandangos took place. Guzmán's projects were linked to a so-called revival of son jarocho in Mexico, which had started to take place in the 1970s, when a group of young musicians decided to recover the "authentic" jarocho, after a few decades in which it had been adapted for urban audiences.

The origins of son jarocho date back to the Colonial age, and three musical roots have been recognized in its foundations: African, Indigenous (American) and European (Spanish, particularly the Arabic-Andalus music). These were present in the original *sones* performed by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *conjuntos*, bands with an instrumentation that consisted of several guitars, from small high-voiced ones to the lower-voice *guitarrón*, as well as the harp and violins. Jarocho finally got its shape in the twentieth century to become one of the universally acclaimed popular music genres in Mexico, on the one hand due to its uniqueness and the fact that any Mexican could instantly recognize it, and on the other hand due to the fact that the interpretation of the genre, usually in 3/4 or 6/8 with abundant use of hemiola, requires a highly developed technical skill. It thus became a resource for pride regarding artistic achievement.

It was in the 1940s, when Miguel Alemán Valdés took office, that jarocho took the spotlight. The president was a native from Veracruz, and he alleged that son jarocho was his favorite music, which, in the authoritarian paternalistic post-Revolutionary regime was translated into tremendous support for the genre from the state budget. But, at the same time, Alemán's modernization perspectives were seen by some of his rivals within the party as anti-nationalist, and thus the promotion of son jarocho was a way to divert the criticisms and show him as an authentic Mexican nationalist (Cardona 2012). The jarocho supported by Alemán reached Tijuana and Los Angeles by the 1960s, and ignited a local scene which had its reference of authenticity in the jarocho performed by the state-sponsored artists.

In the 1970s, several anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and musicians started a search for the authentic *son jarocho*, the one which predated the Alemán years. For this they drew upon some masters of the tradition who were forgotten in several villages of Veracruz. The most famous encounter being that of the master Arcadio Hidalgo (1893–1984) and several younger musicians, who founded the band Mono Blanco.

Meanwhile, in California, bands like Conjunto Hueyapan, Conjunto Alma Grande and Conjunto Jardín had grown with Alemán's harp-driven jarocho (Cardona 2012), and had created a scene with that particular model. By the 1980s, when the different musicians met, there was a mutual distrust, but eventually the bands started respecting each other and recognizing their work, especially after the Mexican-born musicians realized that the California-based bands were formed as part of a pro-migrant Chicano movement (Cardona 2012). Within this context, the east Los Angeles band Los Lobos adopted jarocho as an influence in their rock music, and recorded their version of "La Bamba," which eventually became one of the greatest hits in the country, raising the popularity of jarocho in the USA, and raising the voice of the struggle of the Chicano community (Loza 1992).

Fandango at the Mercury Lounge

On November 30, 2012, an unusual event took place at the Mercury Lounge, one of New York's alternative rock hotspots. In the middle of a gig, the band David Wax Museum got off the stage, and among the audience started playing its instruments in an acoustic manner. They were joined by the members of Radio Jarocho, and suddenly a fandango was organized in the middle of an American middle-class crowd. The people went mad as a response to the unexpected performance, which lasted for a couple of songs before David Wax Museum got on stage again to continue performing its indie rock. That fandango perhaps could not have happened without the effort and insistence of Guzmán, who by then had already been promoting jarocho in New York for a decade. After Semilla split up in 2007, he founded Radio Jarocho, whilst other members of Semilla created Jarana Beat and Son de Montón.

In 2005, Julia del Palacio arrived in New York City to study toward a Ph.D. in history at Columbia University. At the same time she was a freelance jarocho dancer, and soon met Gabriel to join Radio Jarocho as an occasional dancer. Back then, as she remembers, there was

basically no jarocho scene. Every summer at Washington Square Park Radio Jarocho started to organize a weekly fandango, a typical party of son jarocho where the musicians play acoustically, while many dancers take to the *tarima* (small wooden dancing base) and people surrounding dance along. “We were the first to organize fandangos there. Back then we were almost the only ones in the party, or there were five persons, but eventually more people started gathering around us” (Del Palacio, personal communication). Even if Radio Jarocho, Jarana Beat and Son de Montón were around in 2005, they were still trying to find several spaces to perform. Radio Jarocho started playing in several events of the Mexican Council, as well as at Barbès, Jalopy Theater, Terraza 7 and East Harlem’s Carlito’s Café. Guzmán evokes “memorable fandangos” in that place, including one in January 2006, when the Veracruz musician Patricio Hidalgo (grandson of Arcadio Hidalgo) performed alongside them. The relationship with Patricio Hidalgo would grow to the point that he collaborated in some songs of Radio Jarocho’s albums. In December 2011, Radio Jarocho invited Hidalgo again to New York to give a workshop on jarana playing. In 2009 the band released the first ever New York-made son jarocho record, an album where the band performed some classic tunes of the genre with a twist. “La Bamba”, perhaps the best-known jarocho tune—due to the 1950s Ritchie Valens rock and roll version and the 1980s Los Lobos Chicano rock version—was included in the album, with some modification in the lyrics to express the transnational situation of the band.

At that moment, Jarana Beat and Son de Montón started performing in similar places. The groups also became part of a Mexican music scene in New York which included the singer-songwriter Rana Santacruz, a former performer in Mexico City’s Latin rock scene, who arrived to NYC in 2002 to work as an executive at the Sony record label. Santacruz maintained his artistic career as a solo singer, and released *Chicavasco* in 2009, which included the track “El Ranchero Punk”; in 2015, he released a second album. On the other hand, there were projects like Banda de los Muertos, which consisted of mostly American jazz musicians who perform banda brass music from the north of Mexico; or the Flor de Toloache female mariachi. All these bands usually perform in the same circuit of world music venues such as Barbès in Brooklyn, and all are linked both to the Mexican cultural circuit and the afore mentioned upscale restaurants.

On a parallel line, Ernesto Villalobos arrived in the early 2000s in New York City to study violin on a Fulbright grant. He founded a band called Bamba NY, with which he performed some traditional repertoire from Veracruz in places such as Joe's Pub. Villalobos is a virtuoso musician who started playing instruments at a young age along with his brothers in the State of Veracruz, where they were born. In 2006, his other two brothers, Alberto and Luis, moved to New York, and they founded the Villalobos Brothers band, which had a debut performance in Carnegie Hall. While they were the only musicians directly from Veracruz in the scene, they were not only linked to son jarocho: given the versatility of their style and classical formation, they performed a wider span of music, and thus were not interested in being tagged as jarochos. They did help enormously, however, especially with the release of their second album in 2012, to promote the scene, since their single, "El San Lorenzo," was their own arrangement of a son huasteco.

Sinuhé Padilla, Jarana Beat's lead singer and founder, describes the show of his band as two-fold: they start as Jarana Beat and finish with a traditional jarocho fandango. "We get off the stage, disconnect the instruments and play with no microphones. Some people bring their jaranas and others bring their dancing shoes" (Padilla, personal communication). Born in Mexico City, Padilla has travelled and studied music around Latin America, and he arrived in New York in 2007 after an academic invitation. The growth of interest in jarocho in the city through the diverse courses, attended mostly by graduate students or professional musicians, has led to the creation of a jarana workshop in Brooklyn, where Padilla built the first New York-made jaranas. Jarana Beat has also given master classes on jarocho at the Berklee College of Music.

Both Jarana Beat and Radio Jarocho follow the mentioned two-part format in which a segment of their show, usually at the end, is dedicated to pure acoustic son jarocho, while in the other section they perform their own fusions. It is in these original creations that the main differences between the bands can be heard: Radio Jarocho fuses the genre in a very respectful manner, adding some Latin American music and rock elements. Jarana Beat also performs a fusion of the genre with other Latin American sounds, but they also play an altered version of a son from the western Mexican state of Guerrero, on the Pacific coast. The Villalobos Brothers range from Latin Pop to son jarocho, and Son de Montón tries to keep only within the borders of traditional jarocho.

These bands share certain elements: they are essential pieces in the creation of the alternative Mexican presence, but they also create a branch of it, a jarocho presence. But perhaps the essential element is that the object of the jarana and the act of the fandango take the center stage within this scene; fandango unifies the bands, while the jarana articulates the whole differences between the bands.

Conclusions

In the summer of 2012, the Mexican low-budget airline Interjet inaugurated its Mexico City-New York air route. This, along with Aeromexico's classic cheap midnight Flight 440, known as "El Tecolote," have helped to promote a permeability between Mexico and New York: whilst the borderlands have a natural transnational flux due to a shared territory, the increase of Mexicans in New York has led to this artificial permeability nourished by cheaper transport between the cities. The still very small jarocho scene has emerged in this new permeable Mexican-American fertile zone, becoming an expression of the desire for cosmopolitanism of a new Mexican transnational and translocal condition: it is transnational in the sense that it deals with being Mexican in the U.S., or Mexican-American; but it is also translocal in the sense that it tries to place New York City in a circuit where it becomes, along with Tlacotalpan, Los Angeles, and a few other urban areas, a node of son jarocho as an international genre. Each node has its uniqueness, Tlacotalpan having the traditional town fandangos, Los Angeles having jarocho as a symbol of the late-twentieth century Chicano culture, and in New York, jarocho being a connection with the local hip scene, an element to construct a Mexican that is contrasted to the mainstream *paisano*.

The New York jarochoes are a result of the clash of the different cultural presences within the Mexican middle-class community in the city: a clash that has originated a new space. I would rather not call it a third space, although I refer to the same concept as Bhabha, who mentions this idea as a clash of two cultures generating a third space. In this case, I think the complexity has reached much more cultural levels: it is a clash not only of two cultures, but actually of several "third spaces" previously existing. This new space of *Mexicanity* is a consequence of the clash in New York City of different Latin American migrant cultures, of their clash with Asian and European migrant cultures, and, at the same time, their crash with the Anglo Saxon or "white" section of society. Within this,

there is also the economic class clash, where the Mexican middle-class constructs itself in opposition to its blue-collar compatriots. Out of these multiple social and cultural clashes comes the reshaped hip Mexican-American, one who does not work in construction sites, but as an artist, white-collar worker or businessman; a Mexican-American that does not eat at El Águila for 10 dollars, but he rather tastes the sophisticated meals of Mesa Coyoacán, Hecho en Dumbo or Casa Mezcal for more than 30 dollars.

The New York *son jarocho* performers, linked to the middle-class migration, generate a transnational identity which has four strong presences: the Mexican and the American on one level, and the New Yorker and the Jarocho on the other level. It is these four presences that construct this identity and that make jarochos a unique and appealing artist type for the Mexican-American hip middle class in the city. Within these four presences, the jarana guitar and the fandangos become elements of friction and connection: the emblematic instrument and dance parties of son jarocho become one of the strongest imaginary blocks to generate the cultural flows of the hip Mexican in New York.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

YO NO SOY MARINERO, SOY CAPITÁN:¹ CONTEMPORARY SOCIOPOLITICAL USES OF FANDANGO AND *SON JAROCHO*

RAFAEL FIGUEROA-HERNÁNDEZ

Abstract

The popular fiesta known as a fandango, with roots in the intercommunication of Latin America and Spain during the three hundred years of the colonial period, has become, since the last quarter of the twentieth century, a powerful tool for the creation of a transnational and transcultural social movement known as the *movimiento jaranero*. His movement has transcended the region of its birthplace in southern México and gained followers in practically every major city in México, important Hispanic communities in the United States and modest, but significant, enclaves in Europe.² Following the traditional musical and lyrical rules of *son jarocho*, an increasingly large number of people have been using the fandango as a way to participate in social protest in various ways: a) by creating and/or maintaining identity among subaltern groups, b) by spreading social and political ideas through lyrics based on traditional forms and c) by directly participating in rallies and demonstrations, among others.

¹ “I am not a sailor, I am a captain”, verses of *La bamba*, the most famous tune of the *son jarocho* tradition, a genre of danceable music that was born in the Sotavento region of the Gulf of México, basically the southern half of Veracruz and small portions of the neighboring states of Oaxaca and Tabasco.

² “Jaranero movement”: *jaranero* comes from *jarana*, the most common instrument in *son jarocho*. Therefore, a *jaranero* is a *jarana* player but also an interpreter of *son jarocho*.

Key Words

Fandango, movimiento jaranero, social protest, subaltern globalization, “Fandango por la democracia”, fandango fronterizo

Resumen

La fiesta popular conocida como fandango, con raíces en la intercomunicación de Latinoamérica y España durante los trescientos años del periodo colonial, se ha convertido, a partir del último cuarto del siglo XX, en una herramienta muy poderosa en la creación de un movimiento social, transnacional y transcultural, conocido como movimiento jaranero, que ha trascendido su región natural en el sur de México y ganado adeptos en prácticamente todas las ciudades grandes en México, las comunidades hispanas más importantes en Estados Unidos y modestos, pero significativos enclaves en Europa. Siguiendo las reglas musicales y líricas tradicionales del son jarocho, un creciente grupo de personas han estado usando el fandango como una manera de participar en protestas sociales de varias maneras: a) creando o manteniendo identidad entre grupos subalternos, b) diseminando ideas políticas y sociales a través de letras basadas en formas tradicionales y c) mediante la participación directa en manifestaciones y marchas entre otras.

Son Jarocho, Movimiento Jaranero, and the Revitalization of Fandango

Nobody knows for sure when we can speak of a fully formed son jarocho. With the data we have at hand we can say that until the eighteenth century the music played in Veracruz certainly showed some regional differences but due to continuous contact with other parts of the Hispanic Caribbean, these regional differences were minimal. We can talk about a Hispanic-Caribbean genre that shared the same features: ternary rhythmic and harmonic structures from the European Renaissance, literary forms of the Spanish Golden Age and tap dancing on a platform. Music with these characteristics was played in Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Colombia or Venezuela with some local variations. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, a series of events (mainly two: the independence of Haiti and its respective economic collapse and the need to produce sugar in other Caribbean islands with the consequent increase in the number of African slaves needed) had as a consequence that this pan-Caribbean genre had to take refuge in isolated areas where the social structures that allowed their existence could be maintained. With minimal

communication with each other, each particular region began developing particular ways to play their music. Through this process, distinct but interrelated genres were created: the Cuban *punto cubano*, Puerto Rican *seis*, Panamanian *mejorana*, *música llanera* of Venezuela and son jarocho of Veracruz.

We can therefore reason that it was probably along the nineteenth century than in the Sotavento region (as a region of cultural haven), what is now known as son jarocho was molded and reached the twentieth century fully formed, with its musical, dance and lyrical protocols as we know them today.³ A musical complex was not known outside their geographical area, until post-revolutionary governments decided, based on their nationalist projects, to incorporate regional cultures.⁴ With Vasconcelos as the leader, the government of the Republic made a major effort to learn and later incorporate the various regional cultures of the nation after the concept of a modern Mexico proved to be an illusion.⁵ The result is that they only superficially incorporated the cultural aspects that served their interests, concept of the nation, and modernity, and abandoned the aspects that most closely reflected the original regions' socio-cultural realities. Regarding son jarocho, only one style of playing was favored, one that met the needs of the city and left forgotten much of the rural tradition of this music.

It should be noted that this "urban" side possessed at the beginning a strong creative weight because it adapted ancient knowledge to new circumstances and created a new and vigorous style of playing son jarocho, which had made great aesthetic and cultural contributions to shaping our national culture. Unfortunately, as the generations passed, and the ever-changing traditional and oral ways of learning were replaced by fixed sources such as recordings that were reproduced to the letter, a way was paved to a creative stagnation that proved too difficult to resolve. After a golden age of *música jarocho* coinciding with the periods of two

³ "The Sotavento" is a region that runs along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, roughly from the center of Veracruz to the southern part of the state where it meets the northern part of Oaxaca and western Tabasco. Its historical coalescence through the colonial years corresponds to multiple cultural elements of which son jarocho and fandango are some of the most important.

⁴ The Mexican revolution (1910-1920) was an armed movement that overthrew dictator Porfirio Díaz' regime that had been in power for more than three decades.

⁵ José Vasconcelos (1882-1959) was the first Minister of Education of the post-revolutionary governments.

presidents from Veracruz, Miguel Aleman and Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, this stagnation coupled with the downturn in the general living conditions in the Veracruz countryside, resulted in son jarocho falling into a lethargy in its two main fronts.

In cities, the musicians of this urban style took refuge in folkloric ballets or in seafood restaurants that, being related to Veracruz, promoted this music. In both cases it was required that the musicians only repeated the versions of the *sones* that had become famous with little space for variation or improvisation.

On the other front, in the rural communities and small towns of Sotavento, the social conditions that had allowed the emergence of the genre had changed so drastically that they threatened the cultural continuity of practices such as son jarocho: fandangos were no longer practiced and the performers were not well regarded by a society that set their sights on being “modern.” This modernity complex resulted in young people no longer wanting to learn a music that, for them, pointed to the past.

In the 1970s, vindication came at the hands of what was gradually becoming known as the movimiento jaranero (jaranero movement), which, long before it was known as such, had begun to grow, out of many different points of view. A variety of elements were taking shape to achieve this national drive for renewal of the popular and folk music of Sotavento.

On one side there were the rural musicians who still kept practicing son jarocho from their communities, with social prestige in decline, because being a traditional musician was synonymous with everything that we wanted to leave behind to become a modern nation. On the other, there were the exiles returning as prodigal sons, most of the time with much greater social prestige than their fellow musicians who had remained in the countryside. Names like Julián Cruz, Andrés Alfonso Vergara, and, to some extent, Rutilo Parroquín, represented the son jarocho players who left these lands and returned changed.

Then came researchers as Joseph Raoul Hellmer, Daniel Sheehy, Arturo Warman, and Antonio García de León. As part of their ethnographic work, these men made, or helped, to create field recordings. Promoters such as Humberto Aguirre Tinoco worked closely with Radio Education, a public radio station, to create the *Encuentro de Jaraneros de*

Tlacotalpan, whose importance will be later analyzed.⁶ Groups that drew on the traditional son jarocho, such as like Mono Blanco, Tacoteno, or Siquisirí, were followed by the next generation of groups, such as Chuchumbé and Son de Madera, among many others.

1969 also brought an essential recording in the history of the spread of son jarocho that would prove, over the years, to be central to the revitalization of the genre. It was number six in the music series of the National Institute of Anthropology and History and bore the simple title of *Sones de Veracruz*. Thanks to this recording, with Arturo Warman's notes, a reality that had remained hidden was rediscovered. This album played a major role in the development of movimiento jaranero.

In the late 70s another element was added to the process of shaping the contemporary scene of son jarocho. In Tlacotalpan, Veracruz the *Encuentro of Jaraneros* consolidated, after uncertain beginnings. Originally born as a contest soon it became evident that it was impossible to measure the different regional styles of son jarocho with the same rule. It was then decided to transform the event into an *Encuentro*, a meeting where each group simply was invited to present their work, without any limitation or attempt at control. The *Encuentro de Jaraneros de Tlacotalpan* began to play a very important role in the contemporary development of son jarocho. Thanks to the Encuentro, it became evident that son jarocho is not one but many, and that the differences between regions must not be seen, as some had done, as deviations, but rather as enriching trends that can and must coexist within the world of son jarocho. During its more than thirty years of existence, Encuentro has made possible the exchange of experiences among young men discovering this music and those who endured several decades under the Sotavento sky. Also for the first time it was possible to hear and appreciate the differences of dissimilar groups that came from the same indigenous rural communities, rather than from fully urban areas, formed by amateurs and by professional musicians, soloists and groups—in other words: diversity.

All these backgrounds came together for a new generation of musicians, dancers and *versadores* (popular poets) that took in hand the task of revitalizing son jarocho, from inside out. Young musicians interested in maintaining traditions were, at the same time, promoters of son jarocho. Convinced that the only way to keep the tradition alive was

⁶ Annual meeting of son jarocho players in Tlacotalpan

by renewing it, these young musicians, who were also, perhaps most importantly, creative musicians, were capable of producing new ways to play son jarocho, incorporating new sounds in the compositions.

Jessica Gottfried chronicles what, to her knowledge, characterizes the *movimiento jaranero*:

... some of the main premises appear to be looking to give a privileged place to old soneros; to understand that the son jarocho has its origins in the Baroque period; to find a place for son jarocho within the institutions and also to refute the idea that the son jarocho refers strictly to the famous trios *sotaventinos*⁷; creating poems and *décimas* [strophes of ten octosyllabic verses]; that son jarocho is also derived from African rhythms; and mention the growing involvement of young jaraneros who come from other regions or cities outside Sotavento (Gottfried: 40).

To all this we only need to add: a) the process of vindicating fandango as a source of musical knowledge and b) the creation of new ways of transmitting knowledge mainly through musical workshops but soon also through academic research and publications. Today the *movimiento jaranero* enjoys perfect health and contains several trends. In an optimistic plan which we share, Alfredo Delgado has characterized it in his notes to the recording *Sones indígenas del Sotavento* (Programa de Desarrollo Cultural del Sotavento, 2005):

The jaranero movement is a unique phenomenon. It has roots and heart, passion and movement, past and future. It has gone beyond regional and national borders, it has reached the mass media, it is present in the villages and in big cities, in cyberspace and community mythology.

Thanks to the *movimiento jaranero*, the son jarocho that was at an impasse on its two fronts: urban and rural, began a period of revitalization after the vindication of the rural front. The *movimiento jaranero* turned its eyes to what was left of son jarocho in the countryside and from a contemporary vision decided to return to the knowledge and culture that for several hundred years was cultivated in the plains of Sotavento. The move was successful, as we saw earlier, in the rehabilitation process of cultural frameworks that allowed the son jarocho again to be present in many places where it had literally disappeared and strengthening it in other regions where it had survived.

⁷ Gottfried is talking about the trio of requinto, harp and jarana that characterized the stream of son jarocho that became famous after migrating to Mexico City.

Our interest in this paper is to discuss the parallel process to this inward development of son jarocho: a movement in the opposite direction—to the outside. At first, this was seen as a by-product that was not in the original canon of the movement.⁸ This process took two different but complementary routes. On the one hand the musical groups that were the leaders of the movement began to tour, spreading a new way of presenting traditional forms.⁹ On the other hand, different encuentros, mainly that of Tlacotalpan, began attracting the attention of audiences outside the traditional cultural region of Sotavento. One of the pillars of the movement, the *Encuentro de Jaraneros de Tlacotalpan*, was from the beginning, a bridge between cultural manifestations born in Sotavento and new audiences that were falling in love with the sounds and semantic universes of this new aspect of son jarocho. The result was the same: external eyes and ears began to settle on the jaranero movement. Son jarocho was slowly settling in other geographical areas that were not its native Sotavento—the son jarocho began to “conquer the world.”

Jarocho Imperialism or Subaltern Globalization

The “rebirth” of traditional son jarocho brought along an internationalizing development that has gone hand in hand with a significant growth of cultural activity around the son jarocho in cities like Mexico City and most of the urban centers of a certain size in México, besides various locations in the United States where the Mexican presence is important. Those areas include California around Los Angeles, the Bay Area and even more distant places like San Diego, Chicago, Austin, and New York. A small but significant community in Europe (Barcelona, London, Paris, Toulouse, Berlin, etc.) rounds out this global presence. I have called this process “subaltern globalization,” trying to explain how a social/cultural movement, of a clearly marginal membership, has been gaining ground in various social spheres outside their natural regional boundaries.

⁸ We see the canon of movimiento jaranero as a conglomerate of general guidelines, that without being written down or being completely explicit, rule the actions of all those that belong to the movement, whether they openly accept them or not. Some of this guidelines might be: a) the fundamental importance of fandango as the center of the musical, lyrical and dance experience of son jarocho; b) the utmost respect for the persons and the ways of producing music of those of the countryside; c) admiration of pre-modern ways of social organization, etc.

⁹ Look up *La Mona* de Juan Pascoe (2003) that chronicles Mono Blanco tours funded by Fondo Nacional para las Actividades Sociales (Nacional Fund for Social Activities).

In this process, the son jarocho and movimiento jaranero far from opposing the wave of globalization and from being “anti-globalists,” have taken advantage of the structures put in place by globalization to achieve a multinational presence integrated into a community that shares aesthetic codes, social ideas, and political positions—despite their high degree of geographic dispersion. Through this process, son jarocho, using as a core standard the figure of the fandango as a community party, has been gaining ground without the intervention of governmental institutions or private companies, despite making use of the instruments that globalization offers. From the earliest stages of this process, various actors of this globalized son jarocho, through small actions, were—probably without the consciousness of this process of cultural globalization—planting son jarocho in diverse parts of the globe. In a very similar process to the spread of a virus, in many cases the presence of a first carrier’s (patient zero) principles and collective knowledge (or part thereof) was the only thing necessary to create a group of people that, because of the mobility of its members, would soon create new cells that might have dissimilar characteristics but would remain loyal to the loose but real canon of the jaranero movement.

Contemporary Social and Political Uses

One of the constants of this transnational and transcultural conglomerate that the jaranero movement has become, is its almost *sine qua non* condition of being to the left, of being rebellious, and subaltern. As expected, in a widespread movement, its different uses vary, but nevertheless they maintain a clear connection with the canon. The movement has become a diverse conglomerate of different identities that have found something in son jarocho that allows them to belong to a community that no longer needs geographical contiguity to exist. We address three uses, among many possibilities, that the various communities that make up this great transnational and transcultural community have made out of son jarocho:

- a) the creation or strengthening of the identity of subaltern social groups
- b) the dissemination of political and social ideas through lyrics based on traditional forms
- c) the direct participation in political demonstrations

a) Identity

One of the most basic and, perhaps for that same reason, most powerful ways in which we relate music with political processes lies in the fact that music is one of the most effective vehicles for identity. The mere presence of music that identifies a social group in opposition to “the Other” has a very strong political charge. Social groups produce music that helps define who they are. Mexicans, for example, not only produce Mexican music, but also Mexicans are who they are because of the music they have made over the years, a process of constant feedback. The groups that perform music that feels as their own, may be simply validating their own existence, which is the purest and most basic form of political resistance.

At the same time son jarocho, and especially the practice of fandango, have been creating communities that learn to live together through the knowledge gained from this community celebration. The fandango, even though it is not the oasis of brother/sisterhood that jaranero movement has trumpeted, does contain in its structure various elements that incorporate the different actors, so that everyone who attends feels part of the party, whether as a musician, as dancer, as an organizer or just as a spectator; the fandango welcomes everybody.

Speaking only of musicians for example, the learning curve required to participate in a fandango is relatively simple, both because of the intrinsic musical characteristics of son jarocho and the organization in a fandango of the participating musicians. The musicians are placed in a semicircle on one end of the platform where people dance. In traditional environments by habit, and on the most recent scenarios by explicit guidelines, the best musicians are those who are at the front of the stage and “carry” the fandango. The other musicians augment the semicircle behind the leaders, allowing less experienced musicians to participate in the outer layers of the semicircle without doing too much damage, because of their inexperience, to the desired musical result of a good development of the fandango. This allows for the coexistence of experienced musicians on the same stage as those who literally have played the instrument for just a few weeks. Mechanisms like these exist for other aspects of the fandango, such as dancing or singing, which together form a favorable environment for social gatherings. They become a powerful magnet for the many participants in fandangos in various locations in Mexico, USA and Europe where the presence of Sotaventinos is minimal or nonexistent.

This is how the concept of “jaranero” as a performer of son jarocho, regardless of playing jarana, requinto or other instruments, has become a feature of identity that implies acceptance of the elements of the canon of the jaranero movement, while also serving for identity purposes to the different groups invited to the party. As suggested by George Sanchez-Tello, Chicano journalist, identifying as jaranero(a) among second or third generation Chicanos, is a way of reaffirming their Chicano identity through the guidelines laid by a culture that is not their own, one that has a flexible structure that allows inclusion (Sanchez-Tello, 2012). Marcos Amador, Chicano musician, also says: “for Chicanos playing son jarocho, its importance lies not only in learning and playing traditional music of Mexico, but also in expressing our own Chicano experience” (Torres, 2015).

b) Lyrics

Jarocho tradition, from which movimiento jaranero draws its inspiration, has another feature that strengthens identity and belonging, but also allows a lyrical expression of one’s own. Jarocho tradition not only enables the creation of new lines for use with sones jarochos, but also encourages it. One of the first things you learn when you delve into the intricacies of jarocho tradition is that each singer is responsible for creating his/her own *versada*. *Versada* is a collection of verses that each singer accumulates through time and therefore becomes as unique and personal as if he had written it her/himself. In the *versada* there is place for known verses, inherited by tradition, other verses heard from other singers, personal versions of other people’s verses, and new material, whether written beforehand, or improvised on the spot. This collection becomes so personal that it is a direct reflection of the person who collects the verses.

It is the same process when legendary Arcadio Hidalgo sings about his personal experience in the Mexican revolution...

Yo fui a la Revolución
a luchar por el derecho
de sentir sobre mi pecho
una gran satisfacción.
Pero hoy vivo en un rincón
cantándole a mi amargura
pero con la fe segura
y gritándole al destino
que es el hombre campesino

nuestra esperanza futura. (Gutiérrez 1981)¹⁰

Or when *Las Cafeteras* sing “La bamba rebelde” in their CD *It's time* (2012), a clear expression of their political and cultural positions...

Es la bamba rebelde
que cantaré
porque somos chicanos
de East LA

Ay arriba y arriba
Ay arriba y arriba iré
Yo no soy de la migra
Ni lo seré, ni lo seré¹¹

Lyrics are one of the present forces within the movement that have allowed it to carry out the process of subaltern globalization to which I referred above. Each one of the social groups that have been identified with the jarocho practice have formed a *versada* of their own, choosing either known verses that are closer to their reality, rearranging the traditional verses to tell other realities or composing verses that sing to new realities in a different context than that of which son jarocho was born.

c) *The presence*

One advantage of traditional jarocho instrumentation is mobility. Requintos and jaranas are easy to carry and easy to perform with while standing or even walking. This makes them more suitable to participate in political rallies, demonstrations or marches, which have been multiplying in the context of the transnational movimiento jaranero. An important example of this was the series of political demonstrations to the beat of son jarocho that became known as “fandango for democracy.” In the days following the election fraud against the presidential candidate of the left, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, on July 30, 2006 a mega demonstration was summoned. Ulises Amador Trejo, coordinator of the Yahoo information group called “rincondeladecima,” uses his group along with

¹⁰ I went to the Revolution / to fight for the right / to feel on my chest / a great satisfaction. / But today I live in a corner / singing to my bitterness / but with a certain faith / and yelling at fate / that it is the peasant man / our future hope.

¹¹ It is the rebel bamba / that I will sing / because we are Chicanos / from East LA. // Ay up and up / Ay I go up and up / I am not part of the *migra* [immigration police] / Nor will I be, nor will be.

another group coordinated by the author of this paper called “sonjarocho,” to convene a differentiated jaranero community participation within the movement that became known as “fandango por la democracia.” The call by Ulises Amador Trejo, in *décima*, read:

Hago el llamado extensivo
y atenta la invitación,
a la manifestación
contra ese fraude lesivo.
En momento decisivo,
debemos participar,
y así se haga respetar,
nuestro voto ciudadano:
Pido levante la mano,
quien se anime a ir a marchar.¹²

The result was a contingent marching along with everyone else but that was easily distinguished from the rest because its members were carrying jarocho instruments and were singing sones with new *ex profeso* lyrics. At the end of the demonstration in overnight campsites the protest became a full-fledged fandango that kept the protesters awake late into the night.

Another example, among many others, of this is an interesting occurrence that has been taking place at the border between México and the US. In the area that includes Tijuana in México and San Diego in California a community has been formed, following similar models outside the natural cultural area of Sotavento. This community has been strengthened by the creation of a fandango that is located exactly on the fence that divides the two countries: the border fandango.

En corto o en lontananza
venceré la resistencia,
en dos lados mi existencia
será una punta de lanza.
A pesar de la ordenanza
de cerrarme el pasadizo,
yo sigo siendo macizo
aguanto los malos modos,
no me importan, soy de todos
soy fandango fronterizo¹³

¹² I make an extensive call / and attentive invitation, / to the demonstration against this damaging fraud. / In this turning point, we must participate, and this is done to respect, / our citizens' vote: / I ask her/his hand up, / who wants to go and march?

In an almost natural way the jarocho community born in this region included both members from Tijuana and from its neighbor, San Diego. With this transnational community created, immediately a problem arose: how to produce events in which all members could participate. The main problem was the border, an inescapable presence that delineated in many ways the development of son jarocho in this area. Due to visa problems, a meeting in the US was impossible, and although it was possible on the Mexican side it was also problematic. From any perspective, the border was an obvious obstacle.

The first border fandango was conducted in February of 2008 with a call that was made by word of mouth and through social networks and emails from an already established community. Access to the fence from the Tijuana side is fairly simple and even has a public parking lot and a restaurant area nearby at the seashore. The access from the US side has to be done by taking a pretty long hike, which is only possible thanks to the portability of the jarocho instrumentation as seen before. Border fandango has been taking place every spring without interruption and has become, by its mere symbolic power, a symbol of the international jaranero movement, which has generated some replicas in both Mexico and the United States.

Conclusions

Son jarocho has created, beginning in the last decade of the twentieth century, a transnational and transcultural community that has found primarily in the practice of fandango an instrument of struggle against cultural hegemonic powers. This struggle, sometimes underground and clandestine, in other times open and proactive, occurs in all cases at various levels and is motivated by different goals. Each of the parties involved, each of the social groups that make up the movimiento jaranero, uses son jarocho for a number of diverse reasons: the mark of origin, Veracruz and/or Mexican pride, because it represents the lost homeland and the possibility of identity against the “Other”, because its communal momentum carries conceptions of “pre-modern” life with which we can face the postmodernist society, because it is an ideal manifestation of

¹³ Close or in the distance / I will overcome the resistance, / my existence on both sides / It will be a spearhead. / Although the ordinance / to block my passage, / I'm still solid / I put up with bad manners, / I do not care, I'm everyone's, I am the border fandango. *Décima* composed by Carlos Adolfo Rosario Gutiérrez that was said, along others, during the Fourth Fandango Fronterizo on May 2011.

political ideas of the left, etc. There are many reasons and many motives for participants, but son jarocho always serves as a reference, mobile and mutable according to the circumstances of use, and as one of the pillars that can help local cultures survive.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

PLAYING THE SOCIAL, DANCING THE SOCIAL, SINGING THE SOCIAL: FROM “SAY IT LOUD (I’M BLACK AND I’M PROUD)” TO FANDANGO SIN FRONTERAS

WILFRIED RAUSSERT

Abstract

This essay looks at the Fandango Sin Fronteras movement as representative of contemporary transnational grassroots politics in a larger context of music and social movements. It intends to highlight a particular facet of contemporary global flows closely related to translocal community building through participatory music. For more than a decade the Fandango Sin Fronteras movement has produced mobile networks to support diaspora community building through the diffusion of sound, rhythm, and dance as a form of *convivencia* between the Caribbean cultures of Veracruz, Mexico, and various cities in the US and Canada such as Los Angeles, Seattle, Chicago, and Toronto as well as along the conflicted US-Mexican border. Music projects such as the transnational diaspora project Fandango Sin Fronteras are musical endeavors that are closely connected with contemporary participatory cultures and their ideals of a new civic society.

Keywords

Social movements, Fandango sin Fronteras, community building, ethnic music, grassroots politics

Resumen

El presente ensayo analiza el movimiento Fandango Sin Fronteras como representativo de las políticas populares transnacionales contemporáneas

en un contexto más amplio de la música y los movimientos sociales. Se pretende resaltar una faceta particular de los flujos globales contemporáneos estrechamente relacionados con la construcción de comunidades translocales a través de la música participativa. Durante más de una década el movimiento Fandango Sin Fronteras ha producido redes móviles para apoyar la creación de comunidades diaspóricas a través de la difusión de sonido, ritmo y danza como una forma de convivencia entre las culturas caribeñas de Veracruz, México, y varias ciudades en los EE.UU. y Canadá, como Los Ángeles, Seattle, Chicago y Toronto, así como a lo largo de la conflictiva frontera México-Estados Unidos. Proyectos de música, como el proyecto de diáspora transnacional Fandango Sin Fronteras son esfuerzos musicales que están en estrecha relación con las culturas participativas contemporáneas y sus ideales de una nueva sociedad cívica.

Introduction

Music, no doubt, is a global player, as it traverses national and continental boundaries faster than any other art form. It moves within transnational economic, cultural, and political circuits and forms an important asset of translocal and global community building. But does globalization via music signify a smooth homogeneous and ideologically unified process? Perhaps music's utopian potential should not be overestimated, although governmental institutions and grassroots movements alike have recognized its political significance. In U.S. government-sponsored programs such as The Jazz Ambassadors and The Rhythm Road, music as political messenger is mobilized from above; political power structures with national interests in global politics guide the funding and distribution of "American" musical expression cross-culturally. Both projects emerged in moments of national crisis, The Jazz Ambassador program was launched as response to anti-Americanism(s) during the Cold War Period, whereas The Rhythm Road project represents a follow-up response to the global image loss of the U.S. during the Bush Administration after September 11.

But we have witnessed other forms of sonic cosmopolitics from below such as in the context of African American "sounds of freedom." Against the historical background of the tumultuous 1960s and early 1970s, when the Civil Rights and the Black Power movements not only shook the foundations of white supremacy in the United States but advanced anticolonial black struggle throughout the Americas and other parts of the globe, musical expression turned into a major medium to

spread political messages. Referring to the diffusion of black cultures and politics during that epoch, Thomas Fawcett writes about new identitarian links between African American and Afro groups throughout Latin America and the Caribbean that travel via music—funk and soul—in particular:

[...] the globality of soul and funk music [...] shows that music can create linkages between distinct groups of the African diaspora. [...] Soul and funk music linked distinct communities of the diaspora despite the potential barriers of linguistic and cultural differences. Fans and musicians alike adopted elements of the soul aesthetic—such as the afro hairstyle—in a show of solidarity and as an implicit protest against the status quo (24).

Commenting upon black musical expression in the Americas, Roger D. Abrahams reminds us that

Not that these black expressive forms are not associated with specific places: the Cuban Habanera, the Samba of Rio, Reggae and Kingston, the Mississippi blues. But these are also recognizably vernacular inventions that achieved a place in the transnational entertainment industry rather than providing the kind of cultural reflexivity that leads to the formation of a patria (99).

What Abrahams suggests here is the diffusion of a larger black imaginary in market circles beyond the boundaries of nation-states. As he concludes,

These musics, and the peoples identifying themselves through them, knit together the entire region, even as they advertise local cultural invention to worldwide popular audiences (100). What emerges is a vision of black Americas far beyond the US South: “It is a region which not only includes the Caribbean and the U.S. South, but many coastal outposts in South America on both the north, east, and west coasts, and many areas of the latifundium of Central America, including Mexico, Belize, and Costa Rica (100).

Describing the impact of funk and soul for black liberation throughout the Americas, William L. Van Deburg in *New Day in Babylon* (1992), states that

Transcending the medium of entertainment, soul music provided a ritual in song with which blacks could identify and through which they could convey important in-group symbols. Music was power and considered to be supremely relevant to the protracted struggle of black people for liberation. To some it was the poetry of the black revolution (205).

Soul songs such as "To Be Young, Gifted, and Black" by Nina Simone, "We Got More Soul" by Dyke and the Blazers and in particular "Say It Loud (I'm Black and I'm Proud)" by James Brown turned into hymns for the struggle of black liberation throughout the Americas and other sections of the globe concerned with anti-colonial struggles.

With reference to contemporary times, Puneet Dhaliwal describes how "Social movements across the world are currently expressing this selfsame insubordination, or resistance, to neo-liberal capitalism through mass public demonstrations and the articulation of their own cry of "no, no more" to the existing social, political, and economic order" (Dhaliwal 251). While movements like the Arab Spring are intense but often short-lived there is a growing presence of movements that are less noisy but steady and that bring music to the streets, public places, conflicted territories and cultural centers to support their efforts in new community building processes. While participatory cultures are frequently associated with cyberspace networks today, their antecedents in communal rituals and spectacles continue in music projects that emphasize participation, tear down walls between stage and public space, and dissolve boundaries between performer and spectator.

By looking at the *Fandango Sin Fronteras* movement as representative of contemporary transnational grassroots politics, this essay intends to highlight a particular facet of contemporary global flows closely related to translocal community building through participatory music. For more than a decade the *Fandango Sin Fronteras* movement has produced mobile networks to support diaspora community building through the diffusion of sound, rhythm, and dance as a form of *convivencia* between the Caribbean cultures of Veracruz, Mexico, and various cities in the US and Canada such as Los Angeles, Seattle, Chicago, and Toronto as well as along the conflicted US-Mexican border. The movement *Fandango Sin Fronteras*, a fusion of participatory music and community building between locations in Mexico and urban centers in the US started approximately around 2003 with first collaborations between music groups such as Quetzal from Los Angeles and Mono Blanco from Veracruz.

The movement's decolonial outlook attempts to free fandango music from such stifling labels as state, regional, and national cultural heritage and to revive a participatory and horizontal spirit that takes away the boundaries between performer and audience, between professional

musicians and amateurs. *Fandango Sin Fronteras* also revises the traditions of music along gender lines. While women have always taken part as dancers, for instance on the *tarima*, today they are increasingly contributing as composers, lyricists, and instrumentalists.¹ Finally, making participatory culture a central strategy of musical performance and social network building, the grassroots movement promotes ideals of a transnational civic society linking Mexican communities to diverse Latina/o communities in the US and more recently also Canada (and German cities like Munich and Frankfurt, too). Put briefly, *Fandango Sin Fronteras* is a musical grassroots movement that has traversed local, regional, and national borders in the new millennium. As primarily a larger informal transnational coalition of artists and musicians from California and Mexico, they engage in music as a community building project and as mobile cultural heritage; furthermore, they address issues of social justice and urban planning and reflect relations between music and social engagement in workshop and event settings such as the Seattle Fandango Project. Locating the political in everyday life and culture, the actors involved travel back and forth between communities in Mexico, the US, and Canada, in this way creating communitarian and cultural networks based on the idea that fandango music represents an inherently participatory culture.

Fandango as a musical form traces its origins to Spanish-Arab culture and arrived in the Americas with the *conquistadores*. It is a participatory form of music and has played a central role in communal dancing throughout its history.² García de León defines it as:

The musical ensemble that accompanies fandango, starting from a basic orchestration, varies according to the circumstances, as a group of musicians - whose number can increase or decrease in the course of the evening - come together around a set of two or three instruments around the stage. The most common melodic instruments are the diverse types of

¹ A *tarima* is a small dance platform a foot high, approximately the size of a piece of plywood and usually made of cedar planks. Here the dancers pound out a diversity of rhythms, interacting with the other musicians of the group sometimes following and sometimes dictating the direction the music takes.

² “*Huapango*” (word that comes from Náhuatl) is the original word people use in the places where the tradition is preserved. There is an on-going discussion about who changed it and why, since “fandango” comes from Spanish tradition. It might be due to the resurgence of popular music in Sotavento, but local people consider it is important to bring back the actual word they use in an attempt to repair the broken bond of people with their culture.

“*son* guitar,” “*jabalina* guitar,” or “*requinto jarocho*,” which is the instrument that sets the plucking melody with a plectrum [pick] and that is made up of four strings (2009, 37–38, *my translation*).³

The third of the instruments named gives the popular music of Sotavento from the Veracruz region its unique sound and distinguishes it from other Mexican regional traditions. In Mexico, fandango (*huapango*) traditions have flourished in the Caribbean cultural setting of the Veracruz region ever since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Further processes of transculturation took place as indigenous and African musical traditions impacted on the Spanish-Arab fusion from the Hispanic peninsula and led to a variety of regional styles.⁴ Later further processes took place when already fused musical styles traveled through different regions in México, mixing the internal flows. But more than simply a musical form, it is a ritual or a celebration that involves dance, word, crafts, and even food. It is a complete folk party.

In a series of cultural heritage acts of the Mexican government after the Mexican Revolution fandango was declared Veracruzano state music—an act of cultural policy consolidating state identities in the public sphere that consciously negated indigenous and African elements of Veracruzano fandango, frequently referred to as the *Son Jarocho* tradition (“*Fandango Jarocho*,” see García de León 2009, 11).⁵ According to Gonzalez, “the *son jarocho* from Veracruz, the fandango and its

³ “*El conjunto musical que acompaña al fandango, partiendo de una orquestación básica, varía de acuerdo a las circunstancias, pues a partir de un “pie” de dos o tres instrumentos alrededor de la tarima, se aglutinan un grupo de músicos que puede crecer o disminuir a lo largo de la noche. Los instrumentos melódicos más comunes son los diversos tipos de “guitarra de son”, “guitarra jabalina” o “requinto jarocho”, que es el instrumento que marca la melodía punteada con un plectro y que consta de cuatro cuerdas*” (de León 2009, 37–38).

⁴ As Guevara points out in an interview, *son jarocho* in particular in the US context serves as an umbrella term but does not do justice to the regional differences in style in the Veracruz region. As examples of a more differentiated terminology she mentions a few such as “*música de jarana*,” “*música popular del Sotavento*,” “*música popular abajeña*” in Veracruz, “*música de huapango*,” and “*música popular del Sur de Veracruz*,” which are more objective terms and point to the whole tradition and not just to the developments of the last 30 years (Guevara 2014).

⁵ *Son Jarocho* refers to the music, and points specifically to the commercial aspect. Fandango as a concept is *huapango*, which has always included everything, not just the music, and can only be done communally.

communal participatory aspects (trans-generational, virtuoso-to-beginner skill level, spontaneous music making process where there is no audience only participants) of this social phenomenon, disappeared in this consolidating effort” (2011, 61–62).

The *Fandango Sin Fronteras* movement draws upon a restoration policy developed by *El Nuevo Movimiento Jaranero* in the mid-1970s to decolonize the state identity politics of the Mexican government by re-emphasizing the multicultural ingredients of the musical tradition and by reviving the participatory and improvisational elements in the fandango praxis of rural communities (cf. *ibid*, 63). To link this newly regained praxis to Chicano/a communities in the United States music groups such as Quetzal from Los Angeles, Mono Blanco from the port of Veracruz, and Son de Madera from Xalapa initiated transnational collaborations at the beginning of the New Millennium. In the meantime fandango has traveled to various urban centers and Latina/o communities in the United States and Canada and has created new networks of *convivencia* (the Latina/o notion of community and coexistence) by means of a participatory music culture. The musicians and community activists involved in *Fandango Sin Fronteras* frequently travel back and forth between various locations, have roots and contacts at different sites and build networks on translocal as well as transnational scales. Communal and cultural centers in Xalapa, Santa Ana, and Seattle are representative sites of network-building and nodal points of transit for musicians and activists alike. Hence mobility not only leads to plurilocal activism in community building but also to a shifting positionality of actors in different networks. As a result, multiple translocal and transnational flows of actors, concepts, and traditions challenge various norms, be they aesthetic, political, or social. Frequently there is also a divide between traditionalist purists and progressive fusion-oriented musicians in Mexican as well as diaspora communities in the US. What emerges from transversal flows of actors and their music is a transnational social and cultural network, and the network structure is constituted by connected sites of cultural production, preservation, and diffusion in Mexico and the United States. Workshops run by the group Los Cojolites from the south of Veracruz take place in Jáltipan, Mexico in an annual weeklong series.

These workshops are linked to the Center for the Documentation of *Son Jarocho*, the latter being dedicated to the documentation, preservation, and promotion of this Veracruz fandango tradition as a cultural heritage. Within these workshops both musical expertise as well

as a participatory spirit are at the center of attention. Musicians from Los Cojolites and Ricardo Perry Guillén, the founder of the group and of the Center, a historian and cultural worker, travel back and forth between their center in Jáltipan and regional sites such as Xalapa as well as centers in Santa Ana, California, Seattle, and Chicago. They travel as musicians, social activists, and educators to spread the communal gospel of *Son Jarocho* in the context of *Fandango Sin Fronteras*. Their mission includes the preservation and expansion of this musical heritage but also dialogue and innovation through exchange and most of all the creation of a sense of communal belonging at home and in the diaspora. In the area around Veracruz with an Afro-Latina cultural spectrum, *huapango* events frequently function as communal gathering to bring the people from the farms and ranches to the “pueblo.” In urban centers the intention is to create identitarian spaces for communal bonding in the metropolis as well as the diaspora.

The birth of the Seattle Fandango Project in 2009 also resulted from frequent transversal journeys of Mexican and Chicana/o musicians and activists between Veracruz, Los Angeles, and Seattle. Martha Gonzalez and Quetzal Flores had united with other fandango musicians in Seattle earlier in the New Millennium to launch a series of workshops. Meanwhile, various cultural centers and educational institutions in Seattle such as El Centro de la Raza, Raices Culturales, the Ethnic Cultural Center, the University of Washington, and various primary and secondary schools have supported the Seattle Fandango Project. Cultural heritage politics, community activism, and amateur as well as professional music production coincide, as Martha Gonzalez and Flores Quetzal are also the head of the professional folk-rock-jazz fusion band Quetzal, whose fifth album *Imaginarie* was rewarded the Grammy Award in 2013 for the Best Latin Rock, Urban, or Alternative Album. Their creation of syncretistic music and community activism is one of the propelling forces behind the grassroots politics of *Fandango Sin Fronteras*.

The fact that grassroots movements as one of the contemporary manifestations of Appadurai’s global flows have finally achieved global presence has become visible in the worldwide media coverage of the Occupy Wall Street / Occupy Oakland / Occupy Frankfurt protests against laissez-faire capitalism in metropolises around the globe (Appadurai 1996). While this protest movement responds to the global crisis of money and market systems that seem to have lost all aspects of transparency and control, other grassroots movements with diverse social concerns but less

media attention have increasingly crossed national boundaries in recent decades. As Batliwala points out in “Grassroots Movements as Transnational Actors: Implications for Global Civil Society”:

The past two decades witnessed the emergence of a new range of transnational social movements, networks, and organizations seeking to promote a more just and equitable global order. With this broadening and deepening of cross-border citizen action, however, troubling questions have arisen about their rights of representation and accountability—the internal hierarchies of voice and access within transnational civil society are being highlighted. The rise of transnational grassroots movements, with strong constituency base and sophisticated advocacy capability at both local and global levels, is an important phenomenon in this context. These movements are formed and led by poor and marginalized groups, and defy the stereotype of grassroots movements being narrowly focused on local issues. They embody both a challenge and an opportunity for democratizing, legitimizing, and strengthening the role of transnational civil society in global policy. (2002: 393)

Fandango Sin Fronteras represents an expanding recent grassroots movement in the New Millenium that is contributing to the making of a transnational civil society that transports the idea of border crossings rhythmically as well as geopolitically. The movement links musical actors and performances in cities such as Veracruz, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Vancouver and demonstrates a continuous presence at the US-Mexican border literally overcoming the fence through music and dance. What we can see and hear are people joining in a musical interaction on both sides of the fence celebrating a trans-border communal spirit and at the same time protesting against and mocking the attempts by US border control agencies to prevent illegal immigration. As Pacheco points out in “Sixth Fandango Fronterizo Tijuana-San Diego” in May 2013,

On May 25th 2013, many people gathered together at the Tijuana-San Diego border to play and dance *son jarocho*, celebrating the Sixth Annual Fandango Fronterizo. The meeting point converged on two locations: the Friendship Park on the US side and the Faro in Playas de Tijuana on the Mexican side. For three hours the *jaraneros* gathered to sing poetry, dance on the *tarima*, play *jaranas*, *guitarras de son*, *leonas*, violins, donkey jaws, and other percussive instruments. [...] The *jaranero* communities arrived at the border from Tijuana, Mexicali, Veracruz, Zacatecas, Seattle, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, Santa Ana, San Diego, and Texas, to name a few of the places. Well-established musicians of *son jarocho* and other genres from southern California also joined the fandango. Among them were Martha Gonzalez and Quetzal Flores of the group Quetzal, and Cesar

Castro, Xochitl Flores, and Jesus Sandoval of the group Cambalache. Andres Flores, invited by the *jaraneros* from San Diego, also joined the fandango. (2013)

Frequently at the Tijuana-San Diego border so-called *Fandango Fronterizo* events take place. Announced on the internet, in local radio, and newspapers as well as in community centers south and north of the border, these get-togethers draw hundreds and thousands of people to celebrate “*convivencia*” a communal spirit of belonging together. On both sides of the fence musicians from different regions join to practice, share and teach fandango as a way of “jamming together” without the politics of exclusion.

Those who travel to the border are musicians who embrace different regional styles at times coming all the way from Veracruz and Seattle to transport the communal spirit they hold in their respective communities to the dividing line separating not only nations but individuals and families south and north of the border. Numerous photographs and video clips with shots taken directly at the border have captured the spirit of these events showing people playing music, singing, dancing, and communicating through the fence. While this is a grassroots politically organized happening with a focus on temporary, translocal community building, it at the same time represents a mockery of US-American border politics. The dynamics of the musical and communal performances involved include physical touch through openings in the fence, the musical joining the sounds and rhythms on the two sides, and conversing with one another about this experience and its translocal significance. Most recently these events have also functioned as a matrix for exchange of information about missing family and community members at one of the most militarized borders in the world today.

What happens at the border is a local event with reverberations related to various diasporic links connecting cities and villages in Mexico with Latina/o communities in urban centers north of the border. The underlying political project is one of community building throughout the US-American diaspora. Frequently activities revolve around urban planning and the creation of place within this diaspora. As Gonzalez explains:

Manifesting through many artistic, cultural, and political events, *Fandango Sin Fronteras* activities resolve around the commitment to share, and participate in fandango practice all over the U.S. and Mexico. There are

many collaborative grassroots efforts throughout the U.S. that engage in dialogue with different communities in Veracruz. (2011: 65).

Put simply, the grassroots movements share a common impulse to overcome the national container and its politics of exclusion. On the one hand, they reveal the transcultural roots of musical tradition that have falsely been claimed to be a strictly national tradition; on the other hand, they enrich and expand the tradition by adding new instruments such as the *cajón*, a box-shaped percussion instrument originally from Peru, and by expanding the tradition in terms of gender. What still is an almost all-male domain in the Mexican *pueblos* (villages) has now, in the transnational diaspora movement, been invaded by women musicians and composers, who add new expressions to the traditions in lyrics and style. While musicians from the LA group Quetzal travel south, musicians of the Cojolites from the Veracruz region travel north to share, teach, learn, and practice fandango as a new communal force for building new diasporic communities. Ideas for new instrumentation and orchestration travel back and forth between various cultural centers in the Veracruz region, Santa Ana, Washington, Seattle, and Chicago, to name but a few. Hence local, regional, and transnational trends meet, clash, and exist side-by-side mirroring different approaches toward heritage, culture, and tradition but sharing the ritualistic power of fandango performance as a community building force, as Guevara, a Ph.D. candidate in sociology and a fandango musician from the Los Tuxtlas region pointed out in an interview at the CIAS in Bielefeld on November 14, 2013. And Munro points out:

Rhythm [...] plays a fundamental role in bonding societies and groups and in structuring the collective experience of time [...]. A society's notion of time becomes "second nature" to its people through collective, rhythmic interactions. People learn how to keep together in time through various forms of movement socialization, and these movements are mediated by rhythm (2010: 5).

Fandango Sin Fronteras builds on participatory cultures and, as I would like to emphasize, goes beyond what is considered classical resistance in colonial and postcolonial discourse. In the 1960s and 70s the African American sound of freedom associated with soul music in particular became a symbol of liberation as well as of resistance and reached from black communities within the US to Afro-Latina/o groups in countries like Brazil and Columbia. *Fandango Sin Fronteras* shares the transnational outreach, but is less concerned with politics of difference. Rather *Fandango Sin Fronteras* chooses a distinct transnational, diasporic

paradigm of communitarian politics, which is oriented toward dialogue and integration. While songs by groups like Quetzal contain messages of cultural criticism, I want to stress that their choice of location for performances like community centers and bus terminals follow a pragmatist understanding of politics and aesthetics (Dewey 1934) that locate the idea of community building through music in the realm of the culture of everyday life. Accordingly, the agenda of *Fandango Sin Fronteras* fuses cultural politics with direct local activism, such as the redistribution of urban and public space. Kun rightly warns us that we should not “romanticize popular music as a safe-house for revolution and resistance” (2005: 17). But he is also right when he states:

Popular music is one of our most valuable tools for understanding the impact of nationalism and citizenship on the formation of our individual identities. And second, it is also one of our most valuable sites for witnessing the performance of racial and ethnic difference against the grain of national citizenships that work to silence and erase those differences (ibid.: 11).

As the reception and condemnation of jazz by totalitarian regimes and the recent move of the Chinese government to officially support music festivals show, national politics are quite aware of the potential of popular music to create highly individualized and unpredictable “*audiotopias*,” to borrow the title from Kun’s book. In his *The New York Times* article “Rock Music Festivals in China Obtain the Government’s Blessing” of November 8, 2010, Jacobs reports the following:

A curious thing happened in October at the Midi Music Festival, China’s oldest and boldest agglomeration of rock, funk, punk and electronic. Performers musically criticized the country’s leaders, tattooed college students sold anti-government T-shirts and an unruly crowd of heavy metal fans giddily torched a Japanese flag that had been emblazoned with expletives (2010: 14).

He expresses surprise, as he continues, “Curious, because the event, a four-day-free-for-all of Budweiser, crowd surfing and camping, was sponsored by the local Communist Party, which spent \$2.1 million to turn cornfields into festival grounds, pay the growling punk bands and clean up the detritus left by 80,000 attendees” (ibid.). Jacobs’ report demonstrates how complex the net between music and politics has become in our age of globalization. One way to read it is to conclude that the Chinese government is attempting to co-opt youth culture, especially if we take into consideration that China has witnessed an explosion of music festivals

in recent years. Another way to evaluate the government action is expressed by one of the festival attendees: “The government used to see us as dangerous. Now they see us as a market” (ibid.)

Different from Chinese rock festivals *Fandango Sin Fronteras* does not need festival grounds to perform. On the contrary, performances often take place within local communities and also in public spaces such as plazas and squares directly south and north of the border. Precisely in these nationally demarcated spaces, marked by fences, walls, and border control, the performance of *Fandango fronterizo* temporarily occupies public areas for the performances of trans-border communities. Professional music groups engage in these performances, in which market interests in spreading the music seem to be only of secondary nature whereas community building is of primary importance. While the link between music, market, and politics in contemporary society is undeniable, I see this grassroots musical movement as an attempt to open up new venues that can spread music and ideas of community along horizontal lines. *Fandango Sin Fronteras* contains an element that connects the individual and the local with the transnational. Both aesthetically as well as spatially *Fandango Sin Fronteras* seems to locate itself in the border zone between ethnic, racial, and national identities. As Fluck reminds us in his reflection on resistance:

If systematic power is all-pervasive, the hope for resistance can only be placed in the margins of that system, and even if the margins can no longer possess a quasi inbuilt oppositional, then only a flexible identity can function as a resort of last hope. This new utopia is often space- or territory-based, for example in the emphasis on border zones, diasporas, or intermediate spaces, because, as the argument goes, such spaces force their inhabitants to adopt several identities and thus seem ideally suited to create models of resistance (2007b: 70).

Fluck expresses certain doubts about the border zone as a creative zone of resistance since for him the national power structures also absorb the margins. *Fandango Sin Fronteras*, however, does not confine its activism and outlook to the borderlands. Working toward providing a sense of relocation in community for migrants from a variety of Latin American backgrounds, the movement’s communal and artistic work perpetuates newly emerging communities within the national space. As a migratory and intermediary grassroots movement *Fandango Sin Fronteras* challenges national music histories and national myths of identity. Beyond

resistance, though, it embodies the agency and channeling that lies behind the community-building concept of this grassroots movement.

Fandango sin Fronteras represents a dialogue between professional musicians and bands from various local community centers in Mexico and the US. The *Fandango Project* riffs on music's pivotal role in processes of nation-building but also music's potential for the performance of difference and the expression of cultural criticism. And it takes us beyond ethnic and national communities to a transnational vision. With a nod to the recent shift to post-national and post-nationalistic studies of the Americas I consider the study of popular music as paradigmatic for the shift from purely national to transnational American Studies. After all, sounds travel fast, cross national and cultural boundaries constantly, and feed on cultural exchange both in processes of production and reception.

The study of music offers a unique lens with which to focus [on] various debates in cultural studies, media studies, literary studies, history, sociology and anthropology that try to come to terms with issues of shifting identities, new ethnicities, shifting agency, ... (Rausser 2011: 1).

While the *Fandango Project* and the musical activities of groups such as Quetzal rebuild collective memory, it bears mentioning that their understanding of *latinidad* fuses Spanish, indigenous, Arab and African elements and opens a venue for new transnational identities thus challenging a monolithic *latinidad* north and south of the Rio Grande. Critics such as Caminero-Santangelo have repeatedly emphasized the intellectual debates between Latin American thinkers about *latinidad* since the nineteenth century.⁶ She refers to Latin America's post-independence period as well as to Simón Bolívar's vision of a unified region when she mentions "the possibility of transnational latinidad," (2007: 19) which is circulating among Latin American intellectuals of diverse national backgrounds. She also points out that empire-building manifestos such as the 1823 Monroe Doctrine and the 1904 Roosevelt Corollary "effectively constructed all of Latin America, from the point of view of the United States at least, as a single entity" (18). For the fandango grassroots

⁶ For a detailed discussion of *latinidad* see Kirschner (2012). Put simply, *latinidad* has historically functioned as a politically charged signifier to create patterns of transnational Latin American identities. Frequently Afro-Latinas/os but also Jews and Muslims still feel excluded from this broader and transnational understanding of Latina/o belonging.

movement the *Son Jarocho* becomes an aesthetic means to expand *mexicanidad* as well *latinidad* and reveal its native, Arab, African as well as Spanish elements of rhythm and performance. As Dudley and Gonzalez point out in “The Seattle Fandango Project” (2010):

To avoid creating a new orthodoxy of their own, professional groups in the grassroots movement, including *Mono Blanco*, *Son de Madera*, *Chuchumbé*, *Los Utrera*, *Los Cojolites*, *Estansuela*, *Relicario*, and *Los Negritos* continued to organize and participate in community fandangos, where they took part in a collective dialogue about the future of the tradition. This practice continues today, and many musicians in the movement contribute part of their earnings to the community centers that host free workshops and fandangos. This vibrant scene caught the attention of a new generation of community-oriented Chicano artists in Los Angeles who began making trips to Veracruz in the early 2000s. Chicanos shared their own experiences and techniques of community building through art. Back in Los Angeles they shared what they had learned about the fandango and brought up musicians from Veracruz.

The *Nuevo Movimiento Jaranero* took shape through a process of research and reclamation. This created a new interest in the living tradition of *Son Jarocho*, which most Chicanos had previously known through commercial recordings (or through Ritchie Valens’ 1957 rock-and-roll remake of a traditional *Son Jarocho* piece called “La Bamba”). As Dudley and Gonzalez tell us:

In 2002 *Fandango Sin Fronteras* was established as an informal musical dialogue between Chicanos and Jarochos. In 2004 members of Quetzal traveled to Mexico to help record and produce Son de Madera’s CD, “Las Orquestas del Día”. In 2005, Son de Madera, one of the premier *son jarocho* ensembles from Veracruz, came to Los Angeles to perform with Quetzal at a fundraiser for the South Central Farm, an inner-city farm that the community had reclaimed from industrial wasteland, and from which the authorities were then trying to remove them. Through these and many other exchanges, *Fandango Sin Fronteras* has taken shape as a transnational musical dialogue rooted in the spirit of *convivencia*. (2010: n.p.)

This music, *Son Jarocho*, is a fandango style specific to the Sotavento region in the state of Veracruz, emerging from the indigenous, Spanish, and African cultural influences on that society. The Mexican government canonized the music in the 1940s, moving it to the stage while taking out the culture and improvisation at the music’s heart. It was reclaimed in the

1970s, representing a return to community values. Martha Gonzalez, lead singer of Quetzal, explains it in the following way:

As a participatory music and dance practice *fandango* conceptualizes community as a central aesthetic principle. Veracruzans utilize *convivencia* as a collective production of auditory identity; a culmination of memory through sound. Spanish, African, Arab and Indigenous legacies are present in the multiple dialogues and musical inflections. This musical dialogue is achieved through the expressions of *son jarocho*'s multiple instruments, notably the heartbeat or pulse, of *la tarima*. *Bailadoras* (percussive dancers) are the drummers that produce the central pulse of the *fandango fiesta* through their footwork. In this sense they are percussionists. As percussionists these women dialogue with other instruments and singers in the *son jarocho* ensemble (2011: 65-66).

Despite the overwhelming historical evidence of an African presence in colonial Mexico, its presence was not recorded in the nation-state's official history of Veracruzano cultural tradition. Caught in an urgent obsession with modernizing the nation in the early 1900s, the Mexican nation-state created a Veracruzano cultural identity that emphasized the Spanish influence and reduced the Indigenous and especially the African elements within dance and music. In the United States today, *Son Jarocho* and Fandango is performed in Chicano communities as a way for members to connect with one another and, as we have seen in the beginning Fandango has once again gone transnational building new diasporic links across the boundaries of nation-states.

Tracing shifting and dialogical identity politics between south and north, one cannot help but notice that the intercultural dynamics and tensions behind the emergence and development Chicano/Latino popular music struggling for recognition and integration in the realm of US American popular music in earlier decades have shifted direction. Music now frequently claims its community building power in transnational diaspora Chicana/o/Latina/o communities. Looking at musical grassroots movements like decolonial *Fandango Sin Fronteras* and the music of groups such as Quetzal, it becomes evident that these new musical expressions and their communal contextualization pose a challenge to classical concepts of "America", "*Latinidad*", and "*Mexicanidad*" in both national and transnational contexts. In a truly inter-American dialogical perspective the transversal migration of musicians and sounds in the context of this movement illustrates that the process of transnationalizing Chicana/o Latina/o identity politics has also gained new momentum south of the border. Trans-border music performances by the Mexican actor Tin

Tan and the Mexican-American El Vez among others have served as a model of inspiration for a young generation of musicians in Mexico—think of Maldita Vecindad y Los Hijos del Quinto Patio and Café Tacuba—to define their music as rhythmic projects transcending essentialist concepts of ethnicity and nationality. Groups such as *Mono Blanco*, *Son de Madera*, *Chuchumbé*, *Los Utrera*, *Los Cojolites*, *Estansuela*, *Relicario*, *Los Negritos*, along with *Quetzal* have joined the grassroots agenda of *Fandango Sin Fronteras*, and use music as a transversal flow to overcome boundaries and create new communities. The new trans-border aesthetics developed by such sonic grassroots movements embrace the idea of thinking and acting transnationally both north and south of the border and challenging diverse forms of closure, be they aesthetic, communal, or political. Clearly *transfronterizo* aesthetics fuel these communal projects of fandango, and while Quetzal's songs such as "Die Cowboy Die" keep reminding us of national mythography, conflicted borders, border violence, and attempts at national closure, the transnational spirit of fandango expands *latinidad* in an audiotopian fashion in which sounds and rhythms build bridges between Chicana/o, Latina/o, and other communities in and between the US and Mexico.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE *MALAGUEÑAS* OF BREVA, ALBÉNIZ, AND LECUONA: FROM REGIONAL FANDANGO TO GLOBAL POP TUNE

WALTER AARON CLARK

Abstract

The *Malagueña* immortalized in renditions by Roy Clark, Liberace, and the Boston Pops was the creation of Cuban composer Ernesto Lecuona. Lecuona's work conveys much of the essence of the folkloric *malagueña*, a regional variant of the fandango first popularized by Juan Breva in the late 1800s and immortalized in the classical canon by Isaac Albéniz. It is clear that Lecuona was familiar with and influenced by Albéniz's pianistic *malagueñas*, and his *Suite Andalucía*, in which the famous "Malagueña" appears, owes an obvious debt to Albéniz's very similar collections of songs and dances. This paper explores the history of the *malagueña* from Breva to Lecuona, and then examines its impact in the realm of global popular culture.

Key words

Malagueña, Juan Breva, Isaac Albéniz, Ernesto Lecuona

Resumen

La *Malagueña*, conocida mundialmente por las interpretaciones de Roy Clark, Liberace, y los Boston Pops fue una creación del compositor cubano Ernesto Lecuona. La obra de Lecuona conserva bien la esencia de la malagueña folklórica, una variante regional del fandango popularizado por Juan Breva a finales del s. XIX e immortalizada en el canon de la música clásica por Isaac Albéniz. Está claro que Lecuona conocía y fue

influido por la “Malagueña” para piano de Albéniz y su *Suite Andalucía* donde aparece la obra. Este artículo repasa la historia de la malagueña desde Breva a Lecuona, para después analizar su impacto en el ámbito de la cultura popular global.

This paper is not the culmination but rather the beginning of a research project that I hope will give me a clearer and deeper understanding of the kind of Spanish music that, over almost five decades, has led my faltering footsteps to this point. This journey is not only musicological but also autobiographical; it is personal in a way that nothing else I have investigated is. If this seems self-indulgent, I beg your indulgence in return.

When I was twelve, growing up in Minneapolis, Minnesota, I wanted to play guitar like my heroes George Harrison and Chuck Berry. Chet Atkins soon became a favorite as well, and I took weekly lessons to learn to emulate these idols. My parents encouraged such musical ambitions but apparently preferred a slightly different outlet for them.

One day, in 1964, I urged them to buy me a pair of Jack Purcell tennis shoes, which my friend Valdimar Bjornson counseled me were *de rigueur* if I wanted to enter the ranks of the social elite at University Junior High School, where I was newly a student. My parents made a counteroffer: I could have the shoes if I committed to memory the names of the first twenty books of the Bible. This was a very worthwhile assignment, but since my mother and father were Freemasonic Unitarian Universalists and in no way pious, the invitation seemed a bit out of character for them. Anticipating my bewilderment, they were cunning enough to have an alternative at the ready: learn flamenco guitar. This was a *non sequitur* that gave my adolescent brain whiplash. I had no idea what this was and no clue how my parents, having long resided in the land of the *Beer Barrel Polka*, knew of such a thing. I was not interested and sadly concluded that life without Jack Purcell tennis shoes was conceivable after all, even at the expense of my already minimal social standing.

However, nearly two years later I had a Damascene experience when I arrived at my guitar lesson and witnessed my teacher playing what I soon learned was a *malagueña*. Then and there I determined to forsake all else and follow this, as I was utterly transfixed by these deeply stirring sounds. Unfortunately, that was the only such piece my teacher knew, and

I wanted more. As luck would have it, an apostle of flamenco was available nearby to initiate me into this sacred mystery, and his name was Michael Hauser.

Mike had a degree in forestry from the University of Minnesota and was working in West Africa when he heard the siren song of *cante jondo* and moved to Madrid to study with the legendary flamenco guitarist Luis Maravilla (1914–2000). He had recently returned from an extended residence in Spain when I contacted him for lessons. Over the next four years, Mike imparted to me a treasure trove of great music: *peteneras*, *alegrías*, *bulerías*, *sevillanas*, *soleá*, *tientos*, *tarantas*, *siguiriyas*, *granainas*, *danza mora*, *guajiras*, and more. Also living in Minneapolis at that time was a Spanish woman named María Fernanda, who had danced with Antonio's company before following her American husband to Minnesota. She performed locally with Mike and taught dance classes, which I had the good fortune to accompany.

I also studied flamenco dance, so that I could become a better accompanist; however, these classes I took with George Bonnarens, a U.S. Army veteran who had fought in the Battle of the Bulge and then stayed on after the war to study ballet and Spanish dance in Paris. At the same time, I took lessons in classical guitar with local virtuoso Jeffrey Van and developed a rapport with masterworks from five centuries of Spanish music (a fellow student of Van at that time was a gifted and promising young virtuosa named Sharon Isbin). Among the guitar transcriptions I learned was *Rumores de La Caleta*, a *malagueña* for piano by Isaac Albéniz.

This was a very enriching education and made the arctic winters of Minnesota bearable. Indeed, it never ceases to amaze me that there was this remote outpost of Spanish traditional culture in a land where winter punished with snowdrifts as high as an elephant's eye and summer tormented with mosquitoes the size of hummingbirds. The lure of flamenco was more powerful than any climatic or entomological adversity and attracted a following as dedicated as it was eccentric: mostly a diverse assortment of office workers, itinerant laborers, housewives, and students. Looking back, I now realize just how fortunate I was to grow up in such a place and time, with such fellow travelers—and with such parents.



Figure 1: Photo of the George Bonnarens Flamenco Dance Troupe performing *Sevillanas*, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1969 (author second from right).

Fast forward to the 1990s, after I had finished my dissertation on the operas of Albéniz and was immersed in writing a life and works of the great Spanish composer, for Oxford University Press. Now I had to come to real grips with his piano music, and this led me to a closer examination of his *Recuerdos de viaje*, T. 72,¹ a collection of salon-style nationalist piano pieces from the late 1880s in which “*Rumores de La Caleta* (*Malagueña*)” appeared. Of course, this was not the only *malagueña* Albéniz ever wrote. He also composed the hauntingly evocative “*Malagueña*” for his *España: Seis hojas de álbum*, T. 95, published in London in 1890, and several of his other Spanish essays clearly evoke the *malagueña*, even if they are not so labelled. His last great work, *Iberia*, T.

¹ T. numbers stand for Torres and derive from the magisterial work by TORRES MULAS, Jacinto, *Catálogo sistemático descriptivo de las obras musicales de Isaac Albéniz*, Madrid: Instituto de Bibliografía Musical, 2001, ISBN 8460728544. Two works by the current author may also be of interest: *Isaac Albéniz: Portrait of a Romantic*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, ISBN 0199250529; and *Isaac Albéniz: A Research and Information Guide*, New York: Routledge, 2015, ISBN 9780415840323. This latter book contains a catalog of works largely based on Torres’s research.

105, features a movement entitled “Málaga.” In fact, the eminent Albéniz authority Jacinto Torres believes that most of Albéniz’s Spanish-style essays basically reduce to the *malagueña*, whether so labeled or not. “Todo es una malagueña,” he once declared to me. But the question still looms: why?

One work I became familiar with at this time was his *Rapsodia española* for piano and orchestra, T. 16. The fourth of its five sections is entitled “Malagueña de Juan Breva.” It was composed in 1886 and premiered in Madrid the following year. Here was a vital clue to the wellspring of Albéniz’s *inspiración malagueña*, namely, Juan Breva. For Breva was from Vélez-Málaga, a few miles to the east of Málaga, where there is a monument to him today. No doubt Albéniz heard Breva perform in Madrid, but he may also have gained direct exposure to the *malagueña* and perhaps Breva himself during his youth and early adulthood, as Albéniz made concert appearances in Málaga in 1872, 1882, and again in 1886.² Málaga was actually a breeding ground not only for the *malagueña* but also for several important flamenco artists.

Juan Breva’s actual name was Antonio Ortega Escalona. Not a Gypsy, he was born in 1844 and died in Málaga in 1918. He is considered one of the great *cantaores* in the history of flamenco, and certainly one of the leading flamenco performers the province of Málaga ever produced. He was a popularizer not only of *malagueñas* but also *verdiales*, a related style of fandango that hailed from the *montes* north of the city. Breva not only sang but also wrote lyrics and accompanied himself on the guitar. In the opinion of Donn E. Pohren, “Initiated by Juan, the *malagueñas* swept the country, and soon there were more specialists in *malagueñas* than in any other *cante*.”³

The *malagueña* that Breva popularized among aficionados and that Albéniz first familiarized classical connoisseurs with was a type of fandango from Málaga, among the so-called Cantes de Levante. Like much of Spanish traditional folklore in the nineteenth century, it underwent a gradual transformation in the setting of the *café cantante*, where patrons heard their favorite types of song and dance interpreted mostly by Gypsies. Though once danced like other fandangos, especially

² Consult the *Albéniz Research and Information Guide*, op. cit., pp. 3, 5, 73, and 113, for more information on Albéniz’s connections with Málaga.

³ POHREN, Donn E., *Lives and Legends of Flamenco*, Madrid: Society of Spanish Studies, 1988, ISBN 8485042034, p. 51, part of a biographical portrait, pp. 50-54.

the *verdiales*, the *malagueña* gradually metamorphosed into a *cante* with guitar accompaniment. In a very loose triple-meter *compás*, it is a *cante libre*, and the voice features the sorts of melismas and microtones one expects in flamenco singing. It is in the E or “Andalusian” mode and emphasizes the chords E major, F major, and G major. The *copla* features excursions to C major, with subdominant and dominant chords, but the music always collapses back into the E mode. The sort of *malagueña* evoked by Albéniz and later composers clearly exhibits both *coplas* in free rhythm and sections in stricter rhythm meant to suggest a guitarist’s *falsestas*, or virtuosic solo passages, derived from the kind of music that would earlier have accompanied dancing in the folkloric fandango.⁴ In the twentieth century, the free-rhythm style of *malagueña* became dominant.

This is where we introduce another major player in this unfolding drama, and that is Ernesto Lecuona y Casado, who was born in Havana in 1895 and died in 1963, after fleeing Castro’s Cuba for the U.S. He was a virtuoso pianist and a prolific composer of over 600 works, among them the *Suite Andalucía* of 1928, which consists of “Córdova/Córdoba,” “Andalucía/Andaluza,” “Alhambra,” “Gitanerías, Guadalquivir,” and the immortal “Malagueña.” Listening to this suite, it seems clear to me that Lecuona was intimately familiar with Albéniz’s similar collections of pieces inspired by the Spanish south. Not only did Lecuona undoubtedly know Albéniz’s music, but he also traveled to Spain already in 1924, so he had direct experience of the regions and folklore he evoked in his music. Indeed, other Spanish-style piano works by Lecuona included *Ante El Escorial*, *Zambra gitana*, *Aragonesa*, and *Valencia mora*.

Now, one might be suspicious of a *malagueña* composed by a Cuban, but even ultra-purist Donn E. Pohren admitted that Lecuona’s little masterpiece conveys “certain faint traces of a flamenco style,”⁵ though he may have been damning by faint praise. We could argue about just what has made this piece so popular. Perhaps its modality has an appeal that is both exotic and passionate. Perhaps its lively rhythms are catchy. Perhaps its alternation of sections in strict rhythm with those in freer rhythm and suggestive of the *copla* provide attractive variety. Indeed, the composer himself fitted his piece out with lyrics in Spanish.

⁴ Pohren, op. cit., maintains that Brega’s *malagueñas* exhibited the liveliness of the *verdiales*, which would not only explain their accessibility but also the way they were mimicked in Albéniz’s music.

⁵ POHREN, Donn E., *The Art of Flamenco*, 4th rev. ed., Shaftesbury, Dorset: Musical New Services, Ltd., 1984, ISBN 0946570027, pp. 125-26.

One thing we cannot dispute is its popularity, whatever the reasons for that may be. It is virtually impossible for a sentient being to pass many years on this planet without hearing the sounds of Lecuona's *Malagueña*. For many decades now, it has proven to be an evergreen favorite with pianists, guitarists, jazz bands, marching bands, drum-and-bugle corps, and symphony orchestras. And it has been sung not only in Spanish but also English and even German! Pop performers who have popularized Lecuona's *Malagueña* include Liberace, Bill Haley & His Comets, Roy Clark, José Feliciano, Connie Francis, Carlos Montoya, and Stan Kenton—not to mention the Trashmen and the Bambi Molesters. Figure skaters Sasha Cohen and Kristi Yamaguchi have used this music in their routines, and Yamaguchi won Olympic gold with it in 1992.⁶

Clearly the basic musical ingredients of *Malagueña* have formed a sort museme, or musical meme, that has gone viral in representing Spain and Spanish culture, in a way rivaled only by Bizet's *Carmen*. We lovers of flamenco can only marvel that the most widely recognized and enduringly popular manifestations of this art form were composed by a Cuban and a Frenchman. But those manifestations could not exist without the real thing to begin with, and for me, at least, flamenco itself possesses an allure that even Lecuona's *Malagueña* cannot match.

However, this brings my talk not only to its conclusion but also back to where it began. Because the day I witnessed my teacher playing a *malagueña* in 1966, it was in fact an arrangement of Lecuona's miniature masterpiece. In fact, American culture in the 1960s was absolutely awash in Lecuona's *Malagueña*, a fascination that was part of a larger trend of flamencophilia evidenced by the popularity of Carlos Montoya, Sabicas, Juan Serrano, the Romero Guitar Quartet, and José Greco. This helps to explain why even my parents were familiar with flamenco. But Lecuona's *Malagueña* would be the portal through which I entered a wider and infinitely more varied world of flamenco itself.

⁶ See the remarkably informative Wikipedia entry on Lecuona's *Malagueña*, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malagueña_\(song\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malagueña_(song)) (accessed April 1, 2015).

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

FANDANGOS, FANDANGUILLOS AND FANDANGAZOS: FERNANDO EL DE TRIANA ON POPULAR AND FLAMENCO MUSIC

CRISTINA CRUCES-ROLDÁN
TRANSLATION BY K. MEIRA GOLDBERG

Abstract

Arte y artistas flamencos (1935) is an indispensable text with reference to the “Golden Age” of flamenco and its protagonists, according to the vision of flamenco guitarist and singer Fernando el de Triana (1867–1940). The book bears witness to a moment in which flamenco experienced a genuine morphological revolution, developing positions and applying patrimonial logic, and thus complicating the dichotomies with which flamenco was commonly viewed, as it sought to define itself in light of territorial, artistic, and personal dimensions of meaning.

Fernando el de Triana intuited the differences between popular fandango, flamenco fandango, and the then-fashionable *fandanguillo*; his exposition of these forms distills the influences of early-twentieth-century *andalucismo* (an Andalusian parochialism and populism). I argue there that conditions under which this book was published explain the oscillations between these popularist positions, and the degree of political accommodation between flamenco and Spanish nationalism, seen as a metonymic extension of “*lo andaluz*”—and foreshadowing the coming propaganda of the Franco regime.

Keywords

Flamenco, Fandango, Fandanguillo, Fernando el de Triana, Andalucismo

Resumen

Arte y artistas flamencos (1935) es un texto de referencia obligada para conocer la “Edad de Oro” del género flamenco y sus protagonistas, según la visión del guitarrista y cantaor Fernando el de Triana (1867-1940). Testigo de un tiempo en el que el fandango vive una verdadera revolución morfológica, despliega posiciones y razonamientos patrimonializadores acerca de este estilo que complejizan las dicotomías aplicadas al mundo flamenco, al afrontar sus formas territoriales, artísticas y personales.

Fernando el de Triana intuye las diferencias entre el flamenco popular, flamenco y el fandanguillo de moda, en cuya exposición se destilan las influencias del andalucismo de las primeras décadas del siglo XX. Sugerimos que las condiciones de edición del libro explican los vaivenes entre estas posiciones popularistas, y cierta asimilación política del flamenco respecto a “lo español-nacional” como generalización metonímica de “lo andaluz”, que anuncian el propagandismo por venir.

Introduction

In 1935, the Spanish dancer “La Argentina” travelled from Paris to Madrid for what would be her last performance in the capital. The following morning she left for Brussels. Her destination was to support the benefit performance that would take place on June 22 at the Teatro Español to raise funds for the publication of *Arte y artistas flamencos*, a book written by an elderly *cantaor* and guitar player, Fernando el de Triana (Fernando Rodríguez Gómez, Sevilla, 1867-1940). The small volume was a compilation of biographies, anecdotes, and tales of singers, dancers, and guitarists whom Fernando el de Triana had known from the late-nineteenth century up to the 1930s. Accompanied by a rich collection of photographs, this vivid portrait of flamenco’s “Golden Age,” published in Madrid in 1935, has since become an obligatory reference point for any researcher of the history of flamenco.

However, more often cited than scrupulously analyzed, *Arte y artistas flamencos* goes beyond a simple series of portraits. Beneath its apparent lack of pretense (Navarro, 1998), the book should also be understood as an evaluation and memoir of diverse aspects of flamenco from the author’s past and present. De Triana participated in flamenco’s past as a first-hand witness. And he evaluated the changes in the genre with a heavy heart. Part of this somewhat apocalyptic discussion is centered on the fandango, about which de Triana wrote an interesting

chapter: “In Defense of the Legitimate Fandango” (261–279).¹ De Triana situated this musical style at the center of the long-standing controversy over “authenticity,” in the historical, social, and theoretical context of the 1930s, which, we should understand, explains the fandango’s later vindication and reevaluation.

I present here a theoretical analysis of Fernando el de Triana’s view of the fandango, along with the historical, stylistic, and ideological reasoning which, in my judgment, guided him. In particular, de Triana’s view of the fandango reveals an andalucismo—that is, an Andalusian parochialism and populism—which, despite following in the footsteps of Blas Infante’s federalism, would nevertheless be contextualized and re-oriented toward notions of Spanish nationalism. I view the fandango as a case study in a wider series of categorizing mechanisms with which de Triana approached his book, as he found fandango in the midst of a fundamental aesthetic and morphological shift. This made it impossible for de Triana to judge the fandango according to the aesthetic categories of the late-nineteenth century regarding purity, authenticity, and the established dualisms used in the evaluation of other musical styles. It was necessary to develop a new theoretical model, whose structure we propose along these lines.

The Fandango as a Reflexive Object for Yet-Unborn Flamencology

Fernando el de Triana was a unique flamenco personality. Born a year before “La Gloriosa,” he appears to us as a flamenco guitarist, singer, popular poet, memoirist, as the creator of a personal taranta-malagueña (Ortega, 2009). He recorded the wake of the *salones de variedades* (variety houses) and the world of the *cafés cantantes*, where, in addition to fairs, *tabancos* (roadside stalls), working-class *tablaos*, theaters, and dancing schools, de Triana performed. Over the course of his long professional life he spent time in Sevilla, Madrid, Málaga, and Nador, finally returning to Sevilla, where he lived at first in Coria del Río, and later, in his final years, in Camas. In both towns he opened drinking establishments where guests such as his friends Manuel Torre, Pepe Torre,

¹ All citations are from the facsimile edition from Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas S.A. y Bienal de Flamenco Ciudad de Sevilla, Sevilla, 1986.

or “El Gloria,” could entertain, offering classes—without great success—in flamenco and classical guitar.²

At the then advanced age of sixty-eight, Fernando el de Triana wrote *Arte y artistas flamencos*. These were the final years of his life, when he was exhausted and characterized himself as physically incapable of continuing in the “exercise of the profession that for half a century I practiced with the applause of audiences all over Spain and even many outside of Spain” (262). This work, which in time has become indispensable, was published in de Triana’s sad twilight years: after his death, his widow, Paca “La Coja,” peddled the last remaining copies on the streets of Camas.³

There is still no consensus about whether, in fact, Fernando el de Triana was considered by his peers as the “Deacon of the *Cante Andalúz*,” as he referred to himself, or if he was perhaps nothing more than a second-tier artist known only within certain circles of the flamenco world of Sevilla. Little is known either about the fidelity and veracity of his “recollections,” which he insisted on qualifying as “rigorously historical” (58). Was he the sole author, or was this book a collaboration among several? Certainly, the writing has a cultivated touch which seems somewhat incongruous; some stylistic turns and even some of the book’s content raise doubts. But the literary abilities of the author of *Arte y artistas flamencos* are verifiable in other personal documents, and de Triana’s vital connections with flamenco, the art world, and poetry granted

² For biographies of de Triana, see Bohórquez (1993), and Antequera (2012).

³ Until the publication of de Triana’s *Arte y artistas*, flamenco had occupied a marginal place in historical accounts, memoirs, narrations, libretos, inspired song collections, manuals, essays, and the odd lecture. Only Antonio Machado y Álvarez’s *Colección de Cantes flamencos recogidos y anotados* (1881) and Guillermo Núñez del Prado’s *Cantaos andaluces. Historias y leyendas* (1904) compiled biographical information relevant to flamenco of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Machado had broad folkloristic aims, and Núñez del Prado was more concerned with deploying his bombastic writing style, heavy with ellipses and blurred lines between lyricism and reality. Not until 2001 was the splendid memoir of the era of the *café cantantes* (and other subjects): *Recuerdos y confesiones del cantaor Rafael Pareja de Triana*, which coincides in many ways—not only in its content—with Fernando el de Triana, published. Like de Triana, Pareja was also a singer, he also wrote flamenco verses, he was a nuanced critic of flamenco ways, and he supplemented his writing with a personal collection of photographs of artists.

him a unique stature among flamencos of his era. In any case, none of these questions are relevant here; let us turn to his entirely fabulous text.

Flamenco as a Category for Fernando el de Triana: A Differentiated Genre

De Triana conceived of flamenco as having its own unique identity, different from other musical forms, other dance styles, and other protocols for art making. He saw flamenco as centrally situated within a series of binary oppositions that, naturally, he never articulated in a systematic way:

1. Firstly, flamenco is different from “music,” understood as legitimated by “elite culture,” a primarily instrumental genre notated and transmitted in musical scores. Flamenco dance, though he writes more often about the song than about the dance, is also for Fernando el de Triana a specialty distinct from its closest relative in terms of formal structure and presence on stage: the “*bailes de palillos*” (castanet dances), which “until the appearance of the *viejas ricas* (a popular group of the 1880s performing carnival dances, called “tangos,” from Cádiz), were the only dances performed in the flamenco *cuadros* (performing groups)” (210).⁴

2. Accurately, Fernando el de Triana defines flamenco as a localized art, associated with a particular geographic territory. The Andalusian provinces of Sevilla and Cádiz wove together the wicker of what was “*jondo*” (deep), delineating a relationship of “belonging versus exclusion” that affected the legitimacy that de Triana attributed to flamenco forms. De Triana viewed origin and birthplace as lucky circumstances that led inevitably to one or another path of music and repertoire (and that led him to label certain singers as “systematic flamenco singers,”) and described criteria for de Triana’s assessment of greater or lesser interpretive quality. The land, as an inheritance of nineteenth-century nationalism, is understood as a space of naturalized production, unique and inimitable: “Why is the town of Morón so important for this artform?” asked de Triana in remembering luminaries like Silverio, Niño de Morón, and Pepe Naranjo (256). The fandango, as we will see, also raised questions of geography, but postulated as an alternative to the fixed relationships

⁴ J.M. Sánchez Reyes, “Los tangos sevillanos de ‘Las viejas ricas’, en la Biblioteca Nacional,” *Diario de Cádiz*, January 1, 2014, <http://www.diariodecadiz.es/article/cadiz/1867288/los/tangos/sevillanos/las/viejas/ricos/la/biblioteca/nacional.html> (accessed June 14, 2016).

between music and land. In the fandango there was no geographic polarity between “insider” and “outsider”; its natural style, the basic “*chico*” (light, or small) fandango, was ratified throughout Andalucía, whereas the fandanguillo, an artistic creation, would be strictly the product of an individual.

3. A third duality that de Triana saw in flamenco has to do with the opposition between “femininity” and “masculinity.” This division flows out of the technical and sexual division of labor, the qualification of interpretive faculties and flamenco’s gender-classified repertory. This is noted in content, as, for example, the association of women with dance and men with song, the elimination of women playing the guitar from the cuadros of flamenco tablaos, and the separation of the descriptors of the feminine voice (clear, easy, soft) from those of the masculine (hard, *de garganta* [from the throat], *de pecho* [from the chest]). That which is “hard” is for de Triana close to that which is “masculine,” and as we will see, this quality is also close to “*lo viejo*” (that which is ancient) and, in consequence, that which is “authentic.” Dolores la Parrala “had a predilection for *cantos machunos* (macho songs),” he said (78). We note that, while the popular fandango is preferentially assigned to masculine voices (even though he does take note of some female singers), Fernando el de Triana discredits personal stylizations of fandanguillos because of their symbolic “feminization,” in terms of musical structure, execution, and in the professional identity of its singers (almost all were men).

4. All of the above-mentioned merits reach still greater heights when protagonized by Gitano artists. That which is “Gitano” is for our author the authenticized substrate of flamenco, and it is genealogically transmitted—it is part of nature. This quality of *pureza* (purity), combined with the label of primitivism, bloodline, inheritance, and other ineffable categories, construct de Triana’s thinking, imprisoned by an essentialized and racialized discourse. For de Triana it is not a question of whether the Gitanos have contributed this or that aesthetic or interpretive peculiarity: it is a question of their way of doing things, their ways of presenting themselves on and off stage, their rush of song, their stylistic patrimony: for de Triana the Gitanos *are* the essential flamenco. “The strangeness of such a melody with such a brusque aspect” (53), he said: tragedy, vocal power, disconcerting gesture, and effort all function as racialized signs that are exalted in ways of describing flamenco song—“*grande*” (great, large, grand), “primitive,” “*viejo*”—all synonyms of the sublime.

5. Finally, the dualism between that which is “viejo-primitive” and that which is “new-modern” becomes an essential vector of artistic work. The difference lays between flamenco which is venerable, and arcane, and that which is daily labor for new, professional interpreters. The orthodoxy of flamenco *cantaores* and repertories, the autobiographical comparisons between the past and the present, the classificatory models of songs and styles... these questions are extended to the authenticity of flamenco in the face of its evolution into a commercial art, and the criticism directed towards “*flamenquismo*”: flamenco-ness. “Modernist gray” contrasts with “*cante cumbre*”—the peak of flamenco song—and the school of modernity contrasts with the “*escuela antigua*” (the old school). Speed and ornamentation on the guitar contrast with the old ways of accompaniment. The author alludes to an era that is “*desgraciado*” (unfortunate, shamed), and to a “condemned” flamenco—he affixes blame for this folly on the audience. A theological tone, a sensation of loss, of the inexorable disappearance of an era that will never return, runs throughout the book. Seen in this light, the *cantes nuevos* (new flamenco songs), spurious and adulterated, are placed in opposition to the genuine, old, and classic songs: *seguiriyas*, *soleares*, *caña*, *polo*, *serranas*, and “*malagueñas* of those who sang when people knew how to sing” (204). In this last group would figure, each in their turn, two distinct eras: the foundational moment of Silverio, and the era of the malagueñas of Chacón (84). Fernando el de Triana’s model scales both chronologically and in terms of classification: the initiation of flamenco pioneers anticipates the later appearance of Chacón and Fosforito, whom de Triana describes as the “first revolutionaries of the cante andaluz.”

Fandangos, Fandanguillos, and Fandangazos

In light of de Triana’s polarizing and evolutionary conceptualizations of flamenco, the fandango is theorized in *Arte y artistas flamencos* as an entangled complex of contemporary forms, categorized on three levels: according to their popular origins, according to whether or not they are personal creations, and according to their relationships to the flamenco aesthetic. The fandango is a heterogeneous style, necessitating a plural theoretical approach based on three basic principles:

- a) The “legitimate” fandango is not really a flamenco style.
- b) In its most modern state, that of the present time and its contemporary artistic context, the fandanguillo is a deformed style.

- c) Between these extremes, the flamenco fandango, in the hands of certain “modern cantores (flamenco singers),” is elevated, and becomes larger, grander.

These three levels, reordered according to socio-stylistic criteria, in turn limit three musical forms which lie on a gradient between authenticity and degeneration, as seen above: popular fandangos; noble, flamenco fandangos; and the fandanguillo. The first contrasts radically with the third, which the author calls the “new way of singing,” and the fandanguillo is the adversary of the *cante grande*—deep song. Yet some artists somehow manage to establish a liminal space between one another, where the flamenco fandango wisely nests.

The Popular Fandango

Considered to be the “natural” fandango (de Triana calls this its “legitimate name”), the authenticity of this first musical form is ratified not from a flamenco perspective, but rather in view of its territorial diversity, its poetic simplicity and directness, its age, and its non-professional character.

1. The locality of the popular fandango is expressed through what Fernando el de Triana calls “systems”: the system of Almería, of Málaga, of Alosno, etc. Here, the land as artistic resource does not function in the same way that it does in flamenco; rather, it becomes part of a multiplicity of musical manifestations signifying local identity. “This is my fandango!”—These popular fandangos represent not only an artistic genre, not only ethnic or professional identity, but are sung as an ode to local identity (261).

The paths of these folkloric fandangos (which de Triana sometimes also calls “fandanguillos”) crisscross the entire map of Andalucía, with special qualities for different provinces: the fandangos of Lucena are simple and sweet; those of Málaga are luminous, rhythmic, accompanied by finger cymbals and guitars, and are danceable; the *cantes de besana* from Herrera are precocious: there a certain “Currillo” turned their local fandango into a *cante grande*.

We touch here upon one of the central ideas of de Triana’s exposition: the interpreter is the actor who elevates this minor song which, in the absence of said intervention, would remain a popular and amateur form. África la Pezeña sang the hard “fandangos de la Peza” in the Café de Silverio “creating a furor with his cante,” and the fandangos of Granada

sung by “Calabacino, Paquillo el del Gas, and El Tejeringuero” became *cantes grandes* through the voice of Frasquito Yerbabuena (271).

Fernando el de Triana saw the *fandangos de Huelva*, which he called “not grandes,” as expressing the ideal purity of the popular (268). In contrast, he qualified the *fandangos* of Alosno as “grandes”; for him, the *fandangos* of Alosno were the greatest popular *fandangos*. De Triana’s devotion to Huelva was neither simply theoretical, nor was it objective. The province of Huelva was on his professional touring route for years.

2. Other virtues of the *fandango* natural are simplicity and straightforward poetry: “*¡Yo soy chico, pero soy completo!*” (I am small, but I am complete!) (261). In this, the *cante* verse and music were molded together. It is *coplero*,—sung not by professionals, but by villagers with a talent for verse—“a light song, yet sublime in its rhythmic simplicity and unique style” (261). In this rustic “village style”, the music is revolved around “the *casticismo* (pure traditionalism) of its verses” (262). De Triana highlights the rural and popular foundation of these *fandangos*, eschewing the bourgeois theatrical values of other musical forms. *Fandangos “arrieros”* (*fandangos* of the muleteers), *fandangos* of the roadways, of transport, of zones historically identified with the Moriscos (Christianized Moors expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in 1609), *fandangos* of “lungs of bronze” and of “throats of metal,” *fandangos* “with a clear voice and pure village style” (272)—these descriptions are symbolically masculine: these village songs are “*valiente*” (brave) and “*machunos*” (macho), sung with a “chest voice”: with strong lungs, these *cantes de pulmón* are “honorable” and serious.

3. Antiquity is tied to geography as a third variable which for Fernando el de Triana accredits this “basic” *fandango* as flamenco: “it has great value and supreme importance because of its antiquity and because of its air, so difficult for *cantaores* (flamenco singers) from outside of Andalucía, where this song was born and where it evolved, to execute” (261). The requisite for singing this form well is not professional, but rather collective and social. It is a style that holds great social value, but little market value. De Triana describes a day at the fair of Güéjar-Sierra, where the young men

according to local custom go out every year on these fair days to serenade their beloved (...) Each young man in the group sings just one verse at the window of his betrothed; and I confess that I had never heard, nor have I ever heard since, voices like those, or such country verses (272).

The popular fandango is ancient, and yet still living. It is under assault, this is true, and at risk of disappearing, but it is preserved in the voices of Rengel, Isidro, Antonio Garrido, Manuel Blanco, and Marcos Giménez. It is “a light song, yet sublime in its rhythmic simplicity and unique style” (261).

4. Governed by *compás*, or rhythm, Fernando el de Triana sees the fandango as related to malagueñas, *rondeñas*, and *granaina chica*, which in his day were measured by their rhythmic and folkloric nature. Gay and festive, these social dances were just developing a commercial dimension: de Triana describes groups of professional, itinerant “*verdiales* singers who start singing at the fair in Molinillo and finish in that of La Trinidad, from spring to fall, passing through all the Málaga neighborhoods” (274). And he tells how, on a stage honoring the Prince of Almería, couples prepare to dance, sometimes to the accompaniment of singer-guitarist duos, sometimes “with the voice of just one singer I have seen more than a hundred couples dance in a beautiful promenade; all the women have castanets ... (all the dancers are amateurs)” (274).

This description furnishes an important detail: in these fandangos the singers tended to be men and the dancers women. Nonetheless, in indicating that this fandango natural was sung with guitar accompaniment, he also mentions a woman: Dolores la de la Huerta, “who accompanied herself with her small guitar, without adornments nor variations, as a fandango should be” (268). De la Huerta played the guitar, de Triana emphasizes, “without *falsetas* (guitar melodies) nor variations”—that is, with popular as opposed to flamenco techniques.

The Fandanguillo

On the other extreme we find what Fernando el de Triana considers the “fashionable” fandanguillo, to which he devotes a good deal of discussion throughout the text and whose dissonances with the fandango natural are summarized in the table below:

Fandango	Fandanguillo
Popular	Professional
Territorial diversity	Personal creation
Ancient	Modern, “modernist cante”
Collective/individual expression	Individual expression
Danceable	Singable
Coplero: sung by non-professionals	Artist

Elevated by individual interpreters	Spoiled
Lyrical	Melodramatic
Of the village	Artistic
Precise measure	Disarranged
Rhythmic	Without rhythm, or with reconstituted rhythm
Natural	Forced, contrived
Of chest, lungs, and throat	Of the lips and jaw
Masculine (<i>valiente, machuno, serio...</i>)	Feminine (<i>bonito, small</i>)
Basic: a model with local variants	Promiscuous
Primitive, of pure blood	Contaminated
Performed “ <i>sin trampa ni cartón</i> ” (without gimmicks)	Adulterated
Sentimental, lyrical	Melodic
Legitimate name	Illegitimate name
Poetic directness	Coarse and vulgar
Oriented toward popular daily life	Oriented toward undiscerning audiences
<i>Quintilla</i> – original, five-line verse	Romance, ballad
Sincerity	Foolishness
Kings of the cante	“ <i>Niños más o menos cuajaditos</i> ” – more or less fully formed boys
Attentive audiences listening with “religious silence”	Passive audience
Authenticity	Falsification
Proper names of artists, pieces, and flamenco <i>palos</i> (forms)	Erasure of proper names, reference to fashionable pieces and <i>palos</i>

Qualified as an “illegitimate name,” the fandanguillo is for de Triana the contradiction of all the values he articulates pertaining to the popular—understanding this term not in its concrete local geography but rather as a social and cultural value, a marker of a collective ethos—fandango. If the fandango is territorial, simple, primitive, and popular, the fandanguillo is personal, complex, modern, and professional. In de Triana’s words, “it is the only style that opposes itself.”

1. Developed within the modern context broadly known as the *Ópera Flamenca*, the fandanguillo, or artistic fandango, is a creative, personal

form. Far from esteem, de Triana considers this origin a demerit, judging the fandanguillo not only as out of rhythm, but also as “*chabacano*” (coarse, vulgar) and “adulterated,” unnatural. Among the elements that, for de Triana, contribute to the fandanguillo’s “dishevelment” are its excessively elaborate vocal, musical, and lyrical styles. Traditional techniques, such as the natural and throaty styles of the popular fandangos, become in fandanguillos a play of lips and jaw. Which introduces a new critical element: while the popular fandango is executed “sin trampa ni cartón” (without gimmicks), the fandanguillo the result of “profanity.” The fandanguillo’s falsification would reach its greatest heights with the fashions for “*cantar de pie*” (singing standing up), the fandanguillo accompanied by an orchestra, and “flamenco duets.”

2. On various occasions Fernando el de Triana criticizes the copla (the “*cantares*,” or songs) of the new fandango. Like their flowery vocal lines, which he calls “tragic and funereal soap operas” (262), the new verses are oriented toward “undiscerning audiences”:

The foolishness of today is unheard of. The other night I heard
one of the top singers of today sing the following:

*A mi me habían sorteo con el hijo de un millonario,
y a los dos nos había tocao a Melilla,
y como el otro tenía dinero
se había quedao a serví en Sevilla.
¡Qué desgraciao es el hijo del obrero!*

*(I was drafted along with the son of a millionaire
and we were both sent to Melilla
but because he had money
he stayed to serve in Sevilla.
What a terrible life is that of a workingman!)*⁵

Is it possible to say anything more ridiculous? (277).

⁵ This verse refers to the draft for the wars fought in the Rif Mountains of North Africa between 1909 and 1926. This attempt to reassert Spanish imperialism in the wake of the 1898 defeat in the Spanish-American War was a bloodbath for Spanish troops, especially because of inept military command, as in the terrible 1909 “Barranco del Lobo” massacre on Mount Gurugú on the northern coast of Morocco. The verse denounces the fact that in those days anyone who had enough power or money could obtain a safe post, such as Sevilla, for his children to complete their obligatory military service. On the other hand, the children of the poor and laboring classes had to confront their fate in the war of Melilla.

The author seems to challenge the reader to compare this verse with the traditional verses of the popular fandangos. In his dedication of the book to famed flamenco singer Manuel Vallejo (1891–1960), de Triana defines other censurable elements of the *fandango artístico* (artistic fandango), such as the elaborate relationships, the ridiculousness of the verses, or the lack of sincerity on the part of the artist:

In addition, I respect this artist because he doesn't abusively employ the Crime of Cuenca, which is what I call those ballads that almost all modern singers sing in place of a well-measured *cuarteta* or *quintilla* (four- or five-line verse). Just the other day I heard a modern professional sing this story as a fandango:

*Pa toitos los difuntos doblaban las campanas,
y pa la pobre de mi mare no lo hicieron:
no fue porque no se confesó,
fue porque no tenía dinero
y sin que a la pobre de mi mare le doblaran las campanas
se enterró.*

*(For all the deceased the bells toll,
and for my poor mother they did not:
it was not that she didn't confess her sins,
it was because she had no money
and without any bells tolling
my mother was buried.)*

Is that singing? Can things continue in this way? Is there no cultural organization that can come to the defense of the divine art of poetry and protest the many foolishness things that the immense majority of bad so-called artists sing today?

The coplero (writer of the verse) may have better or worse luck in developing an idea, but the copla must be just so, and in many cases the coplero sings so as to make the verse come out right, but the so-called artist takes the verse and squeezes the ideas out of it, dresses it in a mask and ends up claiming it as his own and claiming himself as a poet, just because he spoiled something that was never his to begin with and [before he got his hands on it] had been well done (38).

In other words, this negligible, “so-called” artist claims the right to appropriate the original fandango, snatch away its idea, take it away from the people with whom it originated, disguise, and spoil it. De Triana's

condemnation (not by chance, of course, as he himself was a recognized author of coplas) is overwhelming. It is true that some of the affirmations of our protagonist contradict his own autobiography, in which he highlights his dexterity in adapting *tangos* (what we would today call “*tanguillos*”) verses, delighting his audiences with more or less complacent blandishments and fashionable stage themes, from a complement to Barcelona to an exalted chronicle of a family crime (176–182).

3. A different and distinctly human problem appears with the fandanguillo: the *gray nueva* (new gray) of professional flamencos, which supported and reproduced modern, bloated styles. The fandanguillo is critiqued not only in comparison to the fandango natural, but also with respect to the cante grande: “The fandango is a routine! And I ask: —Why does the paying public not obligate this legion of machos, bolstered, by no right, with the title of artists, to learn to sing first before exploiting the cante professionally?” (16). We should underline the disdain for these false artists in de Triana’s assertion that these types of fandanguillos are performed with ignorance (without knowledge of the cante) and in a repetitive, almost industrial exercise. The true professionals—those of the cante machuno of the fandango natural, and of the cantes grandes—are different. The sin lies at the feet of the artistic fandango, a commercial genre that, in addition, will never be Gitano.

4. Throughout the book we can also track another aspect linked to the assessments discussed: de Triana’s harsh criticism of the “indigestible” *Ópera Flamenca* of his day. Already on the first pages of *Arte y Artistas* the prologue’s author, Tomás Borrás, ticks off this theatrical form as “staged in one of those ‘monumental’ cement coliseums” where one must “listen to the petulance of the *milonga*, the *colombiana*, and gramophone fandanguillos one after another, insults to poetry in the form of pedantic verses and an absolute lack of tradition, artistic sincerity, and taste” (7). Nor does Fernando el de Triana bite his tongue in parting company with the popularity of the fandanguillo on stage; he denounces bankrupt interpreters in the same breath as conniving audiences.

Often at a show of the badly named *Ópera Flamenca*, the first to appear onstage are a handful of *niños más o menos cuajaditos* [more or less fully formed boys] (among them some are so bad that they cry out for the reappearance of Herod). We already know what to expect from these niños: fandangos and more fandangos, but all of them are the same fandangos; and if the audience has the poor taste to ask for an encore, they

follow with [popular songs such as] “Sordao herío” or “Juan Simón.” And so we have said passive public, greeting [these songs] with the same enthusiasm and happiness as that with which they receive an excellent session of soleares or seguiriyas (16).

In another text de Triana repeats his condemnation of this repertory almost word-for-word, although in this case he saves the fandango from the fire: “We must work,” Fernando el de Triana writes, in a lecture delivered in Coria, “for the resurgence of the primitive songs, leaving aside the ‘Soldao herío’ and ‘Juan Simón,’ because these two ballads (as they are sung today) completely steal the virtue of the delicious airs of the Cante Andaluz.” In an interview with Irish musician and folklorist Walter Starkie given at about the same time, de Triana roundly repeats his repudiation of these *Ópera Flamenca* artists for not being well rounded and for not being knowledgeable of the “authentic” styles:

Times have changed, and with them the cante, which a handful of characters who have no more lungs than a *señorita* (maiden) does sing today. They are all children. Herod should take them all away. They all sing fandanguillos in the same way, and nothing else (Starkie, 1944, 402).

In contrast to the cantes machunos, the fandanguillo is a cante of “niños”: “pretty,” and apt for the “lungs of a señorita.” A “spoiled” “mask,” an adulteration of machunos and *serios* cantes flamencos, these are small, contaminated, “modernist” cantes. They are, according to de Triana, “mercantilist [expressions] of these *cantes machunos* which gave such a glorious name to (...) an infinity of great singers” (263). We note here a certain demagoguery more fitting to the context of class struggle (within which this work was written) than to a literary essay: “as my child is my art, I suffer seeing him handed over to the many exploiters who steal his virtue and annihilate him to the point that he is now practically homeless” (ibid).

For even greater derision, Fernando el de Triana does not even name the new singers in the way he names legendary flamenco singers Silverio Franconetti (1831–1889) and Antonio Chacón (1869–1929). The fandanguillo singers are erased, alluded to as no more than “children,” “un puñado de niños más o menos cuajaditos.” They are cited only indirectly (those who “call themselves the stars of today,” 277) as de Triana defends his harshly critical stance (“I hear that there are some modern singers who censure my attitude against the fandango” 263). The reader can infer names and styles within this lachrymose and stigmatized *corpus*: the songs

popularized by the Niño de la Huerta (Francisco Montoya Egea, 1907–1964) in 1929 with the guitar of Manolo de Badajoz (Manuel Álvarez Soruve, 1892–1962), and the popular drama *La Hija de Juan Simón* which, brought to the theater in 1930, would have its cinemagraphic premiere in 1935 with Ángel Sampedro “Angelillo” (1906–1973) as the singer and protagonist.

This invective of dishonor and humiliation is extended to audiences: “Would someone go today from one theater to another to hear these niños... of the *milongas*?” (18). Definitely not. Evoking flamenco legends Pastora Pavón “La Niña de los Peines” (1890–1969), Vallejo, and Paco Mazaco (1898–1949), he affirms:

... these three luminaries of the cante andaluz always justify their artistic caliber, and the serious cantes of these three powerful singers are never sung by kids on the street, nor by the maids sweeping doorways, as happens with the cantes of other singers, who rummage for a *cuplé* (ballad) or just any kind of little song, they offer a verse that sticks in the ear, they make recordings and in three days everyone, from three-year olds to Englishmen, is singing them, and that’s the end of the artist” (266–267).

We find ourselves before an opposition between the masses and elite art. The milonga and the fandanguillo are popular songs, yes, but not in the vein which de Triana understands as “traditional.” Traditional songs, for de Triana, fall into only two categories: either the anonymous songs of festive villagers, or the erudite and passionate devotion of flamenco’s earliest interpreters. Fandanguillos are “fashionable” songs from “fashionable” artists—they are passing fads. For de Triana, vain fashion is one thing, and true fashion, epitomized for de Triana by Pastora Pavón, is another. Never mind that Pastora managed to launch a career and win over audiences first with the tango, then, with bulerías, then, the “*Paternera*” and, after that vogue had passed, the *taranta*. All of these trends were received with great acclaim, but “she never finished any performance without the audience demanding her cante *por seguiriyas* (...) and despite many years spent selling records, the cante of La Niña de los Peines always triumphs” (267–268). Another of several internal contradictions within the book: Pastora was the only example of the world that Fernando el de Triana and others criticized. She sang fandanguillos, she sang duets, she bowed to (or set) the latest musical trends, she mixed flamenco with the *cuplé*, she recorded and sold records like nobody’s business. Yet, for Fernando el de Triana none of this gave offense to the pure flamenco style that she represented.

The Fandango Flamenco

Neither did de Triana question the flamenco of some modern cantaores, whom our chronicler accepts because of their ability to sing flamenco in its noble form, even though they took liberties and made concessions to young aficionados. Fernando el de Triana conceived of a third modality for the fandango: the “fandango flamenco.” With their stylistic diversity, Pepe Marchena (then known as the “Niño de Marchena,” 1903–1976), Manuel Vallejo, and Manuel Ortega Juárez “Manolo Caracol” (1909–1973) make the case for a fandango favored and admired by he who has shown himself to be a savage critic of the artistic fandanguillo.

Of the 313 artists chronicled in his book, with the exception of those included in the chapter “In defense of the legitimate fandango,” Fernando el de Triana named only these three singers as being significant in the world of the fandango. In an interview with Manuel Alarcón for the magazine *Estampa*, de Triana discussed the legendary flamenco singer Manuel Soto Loreto “Manuel Torre” (1878–1933):

Q: Didn’t he also sing fandangos, even though they are a modern song?

A: In answer to that question I will tell an anecdote which speaks to [Manuel Torres’s] temperament. One day the two of us were in a tavern in the [Sevilla neighborhood] the Macarena, and I asked him, speaking of cante: “Do you like the fandango, Manuel?” He returned the question, until I gave my opinion, and then, as if pronouncing judgment, he said, “*Pues eso pa mí está en inglés*” [well, for me this is unintelligible]. And in spite of his aversion to this cante, from one moment to the next he began singing the fandango “de la paloma,” which is now set in stone:

*A un arroyo a beber
bajó una pobre paloma.
Por no mancharse su cola
se fue sequita de sed.
¡Qué paloma tan señora!*

(A beautiful dove
Came to a stream to drink.
In order not to wet her tail
She flew away still thirsty.
What a womanly dove!)

Which we would call a fandangazo (a great fandango). A fandango for all time, although this terminology may be flexible and confusing (in the

sense that “fandangazos” might also refer to those employed by those seeking only the dramatic effect so well-received by audiences). The fandango flamenco is a new, free cante, susceptible to becoming the new standard. This is what de Triana says of Pepe Marchena:

Supported by the freedom which modern aficionados have granted the fandango, Marchena makes real filigrees of the fandango, and as he gives it more sauce than others, it turns out that Marchena’s fandangos are the most classical and difficult. Besides, when he wishes, he does such beautiful things that even the strongest contrarians of modernism are pleased (32).

Manuel Vallejo is a different case, as he stands out not for his ornamentation, but rather for the quality of his singing, which goes across styles:

He is very precise in his singing. His *media granáina* is very well done, and even though his execution is not extremely difficult, his cante is very moving and very in *compás*; he sings fandango and bulerías very well, and por siguiiriyas he is very precise and moving” (38).

Manolo Caracol, that great Gitano artist, is the object of particular praise for his syncretic capacity. De Triana tells an anecdote, in which the colossal singer from [Seville’s] Alameda [de Hércules, a center of flamenco life in the first decades of the twentieth century], *a palo seco* (with no guitar accompaniment), began to sing in a *fiesta* (flamenco party). He did a *temple* (opening intonation) por siguiiriyas and the first part of a verse of El Viejo de la Isla: “solera añeja.” When he deviated toward the fandango in these first musical phrases, far from being offended, our author was admiring. He reasoned that a song like this could not possibly be a fandanguillo, as that denomination was synonymous with spoiled cante and this, clearly, was not spoiled. Although it was not a fandango, either. Caracol called it “*caracolera*,” and so his reasoning leads to a question of denomination: “This is what they all should do: don’t call something which is not a fandango a fandango; thus, each singer will have his own version, called what he will, and the best and luckiest ones will be the most applauded and in demand” (276).

Permit me one final note to this section. Fernando el de Triana included himself within the group of artists who dignified the fandango. Not the fandango flamenco, not the fandanguillo, but the fandango natural. A devotee of the “authentic” fandango, he claims to be “the first person to sing a fandango from Alosno on stage” (264), even though Rafael Pareja

also claimed that credit. The fame of the *fandango de Alosno* was due, we are told, to the outward expansion of people of that town as tax collectors on consumer goods. Aficionados of the *cante* and of the *café*, gathering in their leisure hours, they demanded the presence of the person they called “our own Fernandillo” (264). That is, the *fandangos de Alosno* of Fernando el de Triana were not only popular but also popularized: our author always included them in his repertory, contracted to be performed onstage as “the idol of the people of Alosno”—yet another contradiction to his condemnation of commercialized *fandangos* (264).

Three Notions about the Fandango and a Hypothesis about andalucismo popular

I view the three *fandango* modalities, that can be read in the writing of Fernando el de Triana, as related to the questions of flamenco authenticity and Andalusian identity that emerged soon after the birth of flamenco, as a genre in the mid-nineteenth century, and especially in the first decades of the twentieth century. Due to limitations of space, it is not possible here to compare them thoroughly, nor can we examine here the relationships between de Triana’s artistic colleagues, whom he partitions into defenders of edgy, obscure flamenco, heir to the Golden Age of the *café*s, versus partisans of flamenco renovation and reinvention. But we should briefly note the theoretical context of what I call the “*andalucismo popular*”—Andalusian populism—of the first decades of the twentieth century, out of which flow, I argue, the most important ideas shaping de Triana’s book.

As we know, *Arte y artistas flamencos* was published during a historic and transitional moment for flamenco. Still in the future were the theoretical renovations of the 1950s and 60s, spear-headed by Antonio Cruz García “Antonio Mairena” (1909–1983), on the basis of race, territory, genealogy, the impulse toward classification and renewed concepts of “purity.” But in 1935 the Golden Age of the *café*s was but a memory. At the brink of Civil War, mass spectacle moved with the *Ópera Flamenca* into the narrative and folkloric scenes that lent picturesque flavor to minor theatricals. On the other hand, small-scale flamenco—intimate flamenco—oscillated between what Miguel Frías de Molina “Miguel de Molina” (1908–1993) remembered of the bars of Seville’s Alameda as “second-rate flamencos, *cantaors*, and *bailaoras*, waiting to see if some rancher or feisty *torero* would land and organize a *juerga* (flamenco fiesta) to earn a few *pesetas*” (1998, 64), and the unlikelihood of hearing “*cantes*

grandes in a moment when they had almost disappeared until their resuscitation in the 1950s" (ibid, 69).

But from the perspective of social and political movement, the frame within which we should situate this moment is that of the resurgence of an Andalucía that rejects nineteenth-century exoticism and aspires to a newly minted regionalism. Blas Infante was, as is widely recognized, a fundamental protagonist of this movement, and his relationship with Fernando el de Triana is well-documented: they both resided in the municipality of Coria del Río, Blas Infante transcribed a lecture by our author, if not the entire book (Manuel Barrios, by comparing the manuscript with typeset spelling errors, argued that this was the case), and wrote an epilogue for the book which was never published. Why doesn't this citation appear in *Arte y artistas flamencos*? Why wasn't the epilogue included? This ellipsis has only one possible explanation: it must have been political.

Let's proceed step by step. I sense the literary and ideological aroma of the "father of the *patria andaluza*" in many of the essentialist concepts that form the backbone of the relationships between flamenco and the *pueblo andaluz* in de Triana's book, with inconsistencies, of course. Blas Infante, who would be vilely murdered for his ideas just days after Francisco Franco's *coup d'état*, did not focus precisely on the social marginalization of the Spanish Roma, nor did he focus on artistic bohemianism. For Blas Infante, flamenco's artistic subject is the people, the soul of all Andalusians. He sees, on the road to virtuosity, that the professional loses something of flamenco's mysterious freedom.⁶

From this expansive viewpoint, Blas Infante said of *Arte y artistas flamencos* that "among the ideas that its reading suggests is the pure sense of Andalucía, which one experiences in reading these pages. An intense emotional comprehension of Andalucía will be the norm that every reader will place before the verb 'Fernando de Triana'" (Infante, 1980, 183). And it is within this conception of "lo andaluz" that we find indisputable theoretical connections between de Triana and Blas Infante. "The pueblo andaluz, pure and authentic, is one found in rural zones:

⁶ José Carlos de Luna set forth many of these ideas in 1926, presenting an idealized vision of how, along the streets of Andalucía, "your steps will be surrounded by sonic vibrations that recall the *siguiriya*, the *serrana*, the *fandango*, the *malagueña*, and the *martinete*" (2000, 9). On Blas Infante's concepts of flamenco, see Cruces, 1998.

landed or landless peasants, among whom, relatively, there is no admixture of Andalusian with foreign blood, such as was common in the great urban centers,” wrote Infante (1980, 90). The admiration of the rustic, country enclave, the collectivity, the escape from the urban world, form the basis for Fernando el de Triana’s theories of the fandango popular. Race, Gitano essence, the venerable past, and cante grande constitute the conceptual marrow of flamenco seen as a popular, autochthonous, and collective expression of its “natural” enclave: Andalucía.

Certainly Blas Infante went further. In some of the writing in *Orígenes de lo flamenco y secreto del cante jondo*, we sense how from his metaphoric arguments about flamenco and the “*tragedia informativa*” (informative tragedy) it contains, we slip toward an arena of greater political engagement: the history of the subjugated pueblo andaluz, and its cry for dignity. Flamenco’s historical proscription, its supposed inferiority and the oppressive stereotypes of “local color” are transmuted into a metaphor for Andalucía, appealing to the “discourse or subterranean flow of the true Andalusian style—persecuted, condemned.” This leads to its “moving creation of unique forms, confounded or identified in their manifestations with lowly manifestations of the picturesque,” and its ability to “please tourists from superior and more civilized nations as to shame the servile Spaniards, of whom Europe made an archetype.” Blas Infante reclaims, to the contrary, the “buried remains of that marvelous culture of Al-Andalus; persecuted to the death by hostile, utilitarian, materialistic culture, that of conquering and self-important Europe” (ibid, 184–185).

Of course, this last assertion wades into murkier waters. In fact, although Infante did not direct a truly nationalist movement, he elicits in his associates the most important political project of identity construction for Andalucía in the first half of the twentieth century. In his essays he included essentialist notions, and many historical ambiguities and theoretical shortfalls. But his is also an egalitarian project, which earned him not a few enemies. His qualification of Andalucía as a “land of laborers,” his central idea of land as constituting culture, his call for Andalusian rebirth or “regeneration” seen through the lens of Georgism and physiocracy, and his goal of lifting the laboring classes into a rural middle class, able to pay land rent, quickly alienated him from the dominant classes. Above all, after the publication of *La verdad sobre el complot de Tablada y el Estado Libre de Andalucía* in 1931, the question

of labor's starvation wages and the problems of land, engendered a real political reevaluation. We must add here Blas Infante's support of the anarchist vote during the Second Republic, his participation in the *Anteproyecto de Bases para el Estatuto de Autonomía de Andalucía* and his leadership of the *Juntas Liberalistas de Andalucía* in 1933, among other things.

When *Arte y artistas flamencos* was published, a movement toward Andalusian autonomy was emerging, that, as we know, was impelled forward by the victory of the *Frente Popular* in 1936, but whose implantation was aborted by the Civil War. And this is no small thing. I don't think that many of the names cited as contributors in *Arte y artistas flamencos* would have shared these ideas. The sequence of events seems clear. Initially, de Triana obtained miscellaneous support from writers, artists, and intellectuals of the agitated worlds of the performing arts, literary ambitions, and Andalusian regionalism. But in the end only one party would emerge victorious: the "poets of the day," those who benefited from the event at the Teatro Español and sponsored the book's publication. The notable group included the above-mentioned Tomás Borrás, Máximo Díaz de Quijano, and José Rico Cejudo, all mentioned in *Arte y artistas flamencos*. Blas Infante's name never appears.

We know that Tomás Borrás was the one who interceded with La Argentina to support the elderly artist with a festival that, not by chance, would include a large number of literary figures, who were "flamenco adherents," such as Manuel Machado, Antonio Quintero, César González Ruano, Fernando Villalón, José María Pemán, Manuel Dicenta, and Tomás Borrás. The cohort leaves no doubt of its nationalist and reactionary political tendencies—which troubled later Andalusian autonomists. Borrás was a declared Falangist, and González Ruano was a Nazi collaborator. After General Franco's coup, however, all of these figures would demonstrate their sympathies for the fascist regime, although without abandoning their populist Andalusian inclinations.

Here is where flamenco pulls away from Blas Infante's "informative tragedy." There is nothing about misery, hunger, sickness, poverty, and class divisions in Borrás's prologue to *Arte y artistas flamencos*. On the contrary, Borrás contrasts cante flamenco with [songs that are] "funereal, of cemetery and cypress, of the dead body abandoned by the side of the road and the dying mother" to the verses of Rodríguez Marín where "there is almost nothing lugubrious." And he raises, against the standard of flamenco's longed-for past, the figures of Falla, Turina,

González Marín, and Argentina who, although flamenco, we know represent the polar opposite of Gitano roughness (10–13). “If we once spoke about the *copla andaluza*,” Borrás writes, what rose to the surface was the *probesita mare* (poor mother), *el pare ajustisiao* (executed father), *el cimiterio* (the cemetery), prison, *la puñalaita* (stab wound); all of this is grotesque if taken seriously. It is ridiculous that ‘refined invention’ should draw caricatures” (2000, 10). Borrás prefers to concentrate on the “the village folk beneath everything, blacksmiths, drivers, farm workers, fishermen, wives and mothers of humble means...”—he sees these characters as the negation of any association with the “theater districts” (11).

A new epic and paternalistic discourse is here engendered. It is the germ of what would be adopted just a few years later, after the defeat of the Republic, as a dominant propagandistic formula of Francoism. It envisions a new nation in which any trace of dishonesty had to be erased; invoking, in regional diversity, the vision of an innocent people within an organic and self-determining community, and a vision of flamenco as political metonymy for the nation as a whole. In Borrás’s prologue, “flamenco is the quintessence of Spain.”

Thus, Fernando el de Triana’s proclamations circulate within a swirl of concepts and ideas. Some sections of his book adopt an idea of “*lo andaluz*” which, as it is for Infante, is distinct from the Spanish Roma and which directly applies to the fandango, using such terms as “Andalusian genre,” “Andalusian art,” and “Andalusian cante” (280, 284). But in other passages, de Triana proudly claims, with nationalist pride, the symbolic rewards that flamenco brings to Spain. For example, in the forward, our author speaks of the audience as being the “only caretakers of what we might call the natural and untranslatable glory of Andalucía, and therefore the undisputed and honorable prize of Spain” (16). Fernando el de Triana closes his text advocating for the consideration of flamenco as a national treasure (of Spain, as opposed to Andalucía, which he euphemistically describes as the “South”)—this position is very different from those taken in other sections of the book:

... it is well known that there is a literary and artistic renaissance oriented toward the poetry, music, and character of the South, besides the enthusiastic interest in the dance and the guitar. All of these are indications that we Spaniards are returning to our own, disdaining foreign modes and seeking true gold in the font of our own soul (280).

Whether de Triana was actually the author of this passage or not is something we will probably never know.

Conclusions

Arte y artistas flamencos is a testimony to a transitional moment, recording past ways of thinking about flamenco and presaging the imagery of later eras. The architecture of Fernando el de Triana's arguments chronicles the tensions that revolve around the still-untold story of ideas about flamenco of the 1930s, an era of constant and tumultuous upheaval for both Andalucía and Spain.

The book takes positions and outlines interests in a musical system which found itself in a moment of great uncertainty, and of which various factions claimed ownership. In the case of Andalucía, the value placed on regionalism aimed to reclaim the past and validate the authenticity of the region's unique historical experience. But we should see this impulse, influenced by its contemporaries, its "friends," as a "patriotic and artistic" labor slipping toward the coming nationalism of the Franco regime.

The objectives of *Arte y artistas flamencos* were to classify, interpret, and in a certain sense to patronize flamenco. Nonetheless, the fandango's awkward fit within that genre obligated the book's author to reconcile old concepts of tradition with the new processes of hybridization that would open the door to modernity for music and for flamenco. De Triana attempts this reconciliation out of admiration ("I like the fandango more than they do," he said of its critics, 264) but also out of paternalistic melancholy: "I find myself in the circumstances of a father whose child is ill and whose only thought is to save his life. My art is my child, and I am its father" (263).

We must attend to the historical context in which this book was written; in 1930s Spain, modernity had already produced flamenco for the mass market. We should remember that *Arte y artistas flamencos* was published a year before the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. When the war ended, extinguishing the hoped-for end to the "*las dos Españas*"—the hoped-for end to deep societal divisions of class, religion, and politics—the Franco regime would utilize this form of modernity in service of its national interests. But in 1935, flamenco was still a distinct genre that, although shaken and looked down upon by the well-to-do, produced forms

that de Triana saw as legitimate. Furthermore, he was a poet, a singer, a guitarist, and connoisseur of the anonymous and folkloric versions of Andalusian cantes.

Within his literary limitations, Fernando el de Triana was an able and wise interpreter of these expressions. He adopted an evolutionary and comparative approach to flamenco, contrasting past with present, and an apocalyptic view of the future with a redemptive tone. He classified the fandango into three coexisting, living forms, while expressing his predilection for the first: he uses the word “fandango” in reference to a “completely pure” style—untouched and unadulterated—without even artistic admixture. For Fernando el de Triana the fandango was a regional and local musical form free of ethnic references, extended across the broad Andalusian countryside as a sentimental and lyrical style, in whose execution we find neither tragedy nor the darkness of flamenco Gitano. For de Triana the fandango was an ancient and popular—and thus genuine—song.

The fandango typology in *Arte y artistas flamencos* exemplifies a polymorphous solution, an intelligent and more nuanced framework than that of the binaries underlying the terms “cante grande,” “jondo,” or “flamenco.” The dualistic construction of the flamenco world has no place here: the fandango demands that we problematize the conceptual schema of flamenco of the past, present, and the dark, jondo, future. In chapters providing biographies of artists, Fernando el de Triana substantiates flamenco as a professional and distinct genre, shaped by Gitano greatness; and he defends the “legitimate fandango,” thus characterized with the aim of reinvesting this form with popular and Andalusian character. In some parts of the text, this “Andalusian-ness” is considered to lend the music a “local” essence, but finally, the fandango is considered to be a “national” music, thus generating a certain semantic confusion about identity, and gesturing toward the ideological rifts laid bare by the political vicissitudes of 1930s Spain.

Although the concepts de Triana uses are not the same for the fandango as for flamenco, in which he only participates from the sidelines, they share a common enemy: the new cantes of the *Ópera Flamenca*. In service of this argument, the author takes up a doubled play of distinct yet comparable authenticities (“popular” vs “flamenco”), in order to oppose what he considers a degenerate expression: the “artistic” fandango. Their essential values—in the popular: territoriality and the straightforwardness of the people; in flamenco: race and lineage—oppose the spurious modern

fandanguillos, contaminated, governed by fashion, fame, and commerce, and confined by false professionalism (as if the professionalism of the elder artists of the caf  s were not equally false).

This ideological construction, which was not unique for its era but is clearly delineated in *Arte y artistas flamencos* would not disappear with Fernando el de Triana's death in 1940, in absolute misery, and buried, as he feared, "in who knows what cemetery" (263). The work endures, though perhaps its complexity is not always recognized, as an essential part of the ideological armature of flamenco in the second half of the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SOUNDS OF SPAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY USA: AN INTRODUCTION

KIKO MORA

Abstract

This paper analyzes the introduction of Spanish popular music in the USA during the nineteenth century, using newspapers, magazines, and scores released by North American publishing houses of the era as primary sources, and with special emphasis on the New York area. With this historiographical research, I aim to lay the groundwork for a later understanding of the particularities of Spanish music in its contact with North American culture. This paper focuses primarily on Spanish popular music, not only anonymous pieces of popular origin but also those produced and distributed for a wide audience by the music industry, highlighting what I consider to be the cornerstones of the Spanish presence in U.S. music and dance. In particular, the consecutive waves of dancers of the *bolero* (balletic) and flamenco schools, the arrival of Spanish guitarists during the first half of the nineteenth century, the introduction onto U.S. stages of Spanish art song, the opera *Carmen*, *zarzuela* (Spanish light opera) and *cante flamenco* (flamenco song), and the performances of Spanish guitar ensembles on the vaudeville circuit.

Keywords

Spanish popular music, 19th century, American theatre, art song, Spanish guitar, flamenco.

Resumen

Este artículo analiza la introducción de la música popular española en EEUU durante el siglo XIX, utilizando periódicos, revistas y partituras de

las editoriales de la época como fuentes primarias, y atendiendo especialmente al área de Nueva York. El carácter historiográfico de esta investigación tiene la intención de servir como un trabajo preliminar que permita una posterior comprensión de las particularidades de la música española en su contacto con la cultura norteamericana. El artículo se centra fundamentalmente en la música popular española, que aquí se refiere no solamente a piezas anónimas de origen popular sino también a aquellas producidas y distribuidas por la industria musical para una amplia audiencia. En este sentido se acentúan lo que considero las piedras angulares de la presencia de la música española en aquel país. En particular las sucesivas oleadas de bailarinas y bailaoras de escuela bolera y flamenca, la llegada de los guitarristas españoles durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX, la introducción de la canción de salón, de la ópera *Carmen*, de la zarzuela y del cante flamenco en los espectáculos escénicos y las actuaciones de The Spanish Students en el circuito del vodevil.

The Introduction of Spanish Dance on the North American Stage: The First Two Waves

Although Spanish music and dance have been present since the sixteenth century in the conquered regions that would later form part of the southern territory of the United States, not until the nineteenth century did these artistic manifestations really begin to spread to the northern part of the country.¹ In 1795, a “Fandango Dance” was already prominently advertised as a grand finale to a pantomimic dance titled *Le Tuteur Trompe* at the New Theatre in Baltimore.² A year later, an operatic piece titled *The Mountaineers* was performed at the John Street Theatre in New York. A “Spanish Fandango” danced by two couples was interpolated into the opera, which was based on the adventures of Cardenio, a character from Miguel de Cervantes’ novel *Don Quixote* (Figure 1).³ Proof that the

¹ For a comprehensive trajectory of Spanish dance and Spanish dancers in the city of New York during the 19th century, see Bennahum 2013. For particular Spanish dancers in US of that era, like Pepita Soto, La Cuenca, and Carmencita, see Ortiz Nuevo 2010; Mora 2011; Navarro y Gelardo 2011; Mora 2013 and Mora 2016.

² *Federal Intelligencer*, November 28, 1795, p. 3.

³ *The Argus*, April 8, 1796, p. 3. On the influence of the fandango on the origin of the blues, see Obrecht 2010. In 1866 the guitarist Henry Worrall (1868-1902) published some arrangements for the instrumental guitar piece titled “Spanish Fandango” in St. Louis (Missouri). Worrall had an enormous influence on the development of guitar styles played by southern folk musicians and also on music styles such as country and blues. About the influence of the fandango on North

bolero, for example, already enjoyed certain popularity in 1814 is that it was performed by amateurs at social dances and balls.⁴

T H E A T R E

By the OLD AMERICAN COMPANY.

THIS EVENING, April 3, will be presented,
A Dramatic Piece (for the 3d time, and last)
The Mountaineers.

Music by Dr. Arnold, Accompaniments by Publisher.
Octavian, Mr. Hodgkinson
Bulcazin Muley, Mr. Tyler
Sadi, Mr. Jefferson
Ropey, Mr. Johnson
Viulet, Mr. Haffan, jun.
Kilmallock, Mr. King
Ganem, Mr. Cleveland
1st Muletter, Mr. Fugmore
2d Muletter, Mr. Woods
3d Muletter, Mr. Munro
4th Muletter, Mr. Lee
1st Gauthier, Mr. Roberts
2d Gauthier, Mr. Des Moines
Gauthier's son, Mr. Darling
Other Gauthiers, Messrs. Tomlin, St. Knight, &c.
Peregrillo, Mr. Leonard
Abel, Lupe Tocho, Mr. Hallam

End of Act 2d.

A SPANISH FANDANGO,
By Miss Frawley, Mds. Fals, M. Durang,
and Mlle. Gaudin.

Vocal Parts by Miss Brett, Miss Harting, Mrs.
Munro, Mrs. Dupang, Mrs. Tompkins, &c. &c.
Agnes, Mrs. Hodgkinson
Flora, Mrs. Cleveland
And, Zoraida, Mrs. Johnson
To which will be added, a Contrary, in two Acts
(never performed here) called,

B O N T O N :
Or, High Life above Stairs.
The Prologue to be spoken by Mr. Hallam.

Sir John Trotley, Mr. Fugmore
Lord Minikins, Mr. Cleveland
Colonel Tris, Mr. King
Jeffery, Mr. Haffan, jun.
And, Duvy, Mr. Jefferson
Lord Minikins, Mrs. Cleveland
Gump, Mrs. Munro
And, Miss Titary, Mrs. Johnson

At the particular request of a number of
ladies, on Saturday evening will be presented, the
Comedy of the CLAUDEYNE MARRIAGE,
and the Entertainment of LA FORET NOIRE.

Figure 1. Advertisement. “A Spanish Fandango” at the New York Theatre (*The Argus*, March 4, 1796, p. 3).

Later, fandangos and boleros, other dances like la jota, la cachucha, el zapateado, el jaleo, la manola, la madrileña, el olé, el vito and la segoviana

American guitar and banjo players of this period and later, see Wade 2012: 213–218.

⁴*New York Evening Post*, March 29, 1814, p. 2.

were introduced not only in operas, but also, at times, in variety shows.⁵ These popular Spanish dances were mainly introduced by European artists whose arrival in the United States was preceded by irrefutable fame: Armund and Madame Vestris, Madame Celeste, Madame Achille, Fanny Ellsler, Paul and Madame Taglioni, and Fanny Cerito. The development of an American school of Spanish dance in the USA and the establishment of private academies capable of cultivating an audience for the genre were made possible by this first wave of European artists, none of them of Spanish origin. Between 1828 and 1860, there were at least four academies in New York City where Spanish dance styles, mainly Andalusian, were taught. There were also three in Philadelphia, two in Baltimore, three in Boston, and one in Albany. It is also very likely that other dance academies that broadly advertised “the latest European dances” in their program included some of the Spanish dance styles as well.⁶ The exception to the preeminence of non-Spanish Spanish dance artists in US theatres is a Spanish dramatic company led by Bernardo AVECILLA. This company, some of whose members had performed in Havana months before, presented the tragedy *Orestes* by Vittorio Alfieri at the Orleans Theatre (New Orleans) in April 1831. The dramatic cast, mainly from Cádiz, consisted of Rafaela García, José González, Diego María Garay, Bernardo AVECILLA and Luisa Martínez. After the tragedy, “a bolero between Doña Louisa Martínez and Dn. Tiburcio López” was announced.⁷ Therefore, although the Llorente Family was the first Spanish dancing troupe to present bolero dances in the USA in mid-nineteenth century

⁵ In the first decade of the 19th century, an acrobat company directed by Mr. Manfredi already offered Spanish dance numbers performed on a tightrope or over eggs in Baltimore and New York. Manfredi himself and a dancer nicknamed “Little American” was in charge of these acts. *New York Evening Post*, November 19, 1805, p. 6; *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, January 30, 1807, p. 3.

⁶ “Announcements”, *New York Evening Post*, November 1, 1828, p. 1; “Announcements”, *New York Evening Post*, October 6, 1831, p. 1; “Dancing”, *New York Evening Express*, November 15, 1848, p. 1; “Schools”, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 27, 1850, p. 3; “Dancing School”, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 1, 1841, p. 1; “Amusements”, *Baltimore Sun*, September 30, 1841, p. 3; “Art of Dancing”, *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 21, 1846, p. 3; “Dancing School”, *Columbian Centinel*, March 24, 1832, p. 1; “Amusements”, *Boston Herald*, January 29, 1853, p. 3; “Music and Dancing”, *Boston Herald*, September 29, 1857, p. 3; “Miss Shaw’s Annual Soiree”, *Albany Evening Journal*, April 13, 1848, p. 3.

⁷ “Orleans Theatre”, *L’Abeille*, April 6, 1831, p. 3.

these members of the Avecilla troupe had actually introduced bolero dances on the US stage twenty years earlier.⁸

Nevertheless, Spaniards who were professional Spanish dancers would not disembark in North America until the mid-nineteenth century. At the time, the most renowned bolero dancers began to tour northern Europe, but lesser-known Spanish dancers were obliged to expand their horizons across the Atlantic. For the first time the Llorente Family, Pepita Soto, and Isabel Cubas arrived to perform the romantic and orientalist ideals that had left European theatergoers speechless. This second wave, now of Spanish artists, would import to the U.S. a new type of performance that was starting to become fashionable in Spain. It was called the “*bailable español*,” advertised in the British and US newspapers as “Spanish Divertissement” or “Grand Spanish Ballet.” In the *bailable español*, the dance was no longer, as in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, a more or less exotic independent act interpolated between the acts of an opera or sometimes a burlesque embedded in a variety show. Now it was completely integrated into a longer, independent pantomimic act (Mora, 2015).

The Spanish Guitarist in U.S. exile

As musicologist Louise Stein has pointed out, the scarcity of research on the presence of Spanish music in the Northeastern United States does not prevent one from considering the possibility that the Spanish guitar, because of its manageability and ease of learning, may have travelled northward from the southern states of the U.S. in the same way that it travelled from Europe to the Hispanic New World from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, this instrument seems to have become more visible in the northeastern press only at the end of the eighteenth century. The earliest notices are of music professors offering guitar lessons, and occasionally recitals as a strategy to advertise their classes.⁹ Throughout the first two decades of the nineteenth century “the emblematic ‘genuineness’ of Spanish guitar music,” writes Stein, “brought the instrument ‘into the circle of fashion’ in Europe, especially in France, and this fashion spreads to the United States” (2009, 196). This meant that this vernacular instrument also began to infiltrate into circles of the

⁸ “Amusements,” *Daily Alta California*, October 4, 1851, p. 3,

⁹ Some examples include Mr. Capron in Philadelphia, Mr. Luby in New York, Mr. St. Armand in Newport (RI) and Mr. Dubois and Mr. Mallet in Boston.

cultural elite, who were more interested in the classical repertory and salon pieces. This created a demand for European musicians, some of whom not only offered interpretations of their personal arrangements of other people's works, but also of their own compositions. The arrival of these artists, like that of other immigrants, was also driven by an improvement in the organizational system of shipping companies since, as Roger Daniels has noted, "there were no regularly scheduled transatlantic sailings until after the Napoleonic Wars" (2002, 49). Between 1813 and 1820, the first foreign-born Spanish guitar soloists would appear on tour along the Eastern Seaboard: Signor Pucci, Francis Masi, Charles Thieneman, George K. Jackson, and Luke Eastman.¹⁰

In the summer of 1818, a guitarist who at first anonymously and solely advertised himself in the Boston newspapers as "A patriot of South-America," went on tour in the state of Massachusetts.¹¹ He was accompanied by two other guitarists: Antoine Mathieu and Mr. Scott. The trio's vocal and instrumental repertory was composed of French, Italian, Scottish, North American, Hispanic American, and Spanish pieces.¹² Mathieu would end up settling in Boston where he would give classes and open a musical instruments store. The "patriot of South America" would continue his concert tour, performing in Maryland, Georgia, and South Carolina under the name "Mr. Bruguera."¹³ The "South American patriot"/"Mr. Bruguera" is none other than the virtuoso creole guitarist of Catalanian paternal kinship, Celestino Bruguera.

The bohemian and hazardous life of Bruguera, who as far as I know is universally disregarded in the history of the Spanish guitar, cannot be told in this article. On his North American journey, he always presented himself as an amateur guitarist, according to the press "obliged to appear in public on account of some particular circumstances."¹⁴ However, he had a large concert repertory with which he toured various cities in Great

¹⁰ For more on topics related to the Spanish guitar in the US that cannot be dealt with in this article, see Gansz 2013a.

¹¹ "Amusements," *Boston Intelligencer*, July 11, 1818, p. 3.

¹² "Concert", *Salem Gazette*, July 28, 1818, p. 3.

¹³ "Musical Performance on the Spanish Guitar," *Augusta Chronicle*, June 7, 1819, p. 3; "Grand Military Concert," *Charleston City Gazette*, January 15, 1820, p. 3; "Grand Military Concert," *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, February 25, 1820, p. 2.

¹⁴ "To The Lovers of Harmony," *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, February 2, 1820, p. 2.

Britain and Germany between 1824 and 1829. An enthusiast who signed as “A *connoisseur*” and saw him play at some private *soirées* in the city of Baltimore, days before his last concert in the country in February of 1820, explained that Bruguera was more than just a simple amateur:

This Spanish gentleman possesses a talent the more to be admired...Before I heard him, I considered the guitar as only fit to accompany songs, but I never thought that sounds such as this gentleman draws could be expected from an instrument composed of six strings and that all other instruments could be imitated with the perfection this gentleman attained to.¹⁵

When Bruguera returned to Great Britain in 1824, critics were no less enthusiastic, stating that his performance “surpassed anything of the kind that ever came under our observation,” and that he exhibited “surprising skill and execution.”¹⁶ Thus, when guitarist Trinidad Huerta performed in New York in 1824, he was not, as musicologist James Radomski’s essential study concludes, the first Spanish virtuoso concertist to perform in the United States (Radomski, 1996).

On his US tour, Huerta executed some pieces for the guitar composed by his teacher, Fernando Sor, and a potpourri of popular pieces that included fandangos, folías, cachuchas and boleros.¹⁷ Under the sponsorship of the Philharmonic Society, he often performed at the City Hotel and at Washington Hall, both in New York.¹⁸ His concerts were

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ *Coventry Herald*, August 27, 1824, p. 2; “Guitar Concert”, *Caledonian Mercury*, March 31, 1825, p. 3.

¹⁷ Trinidad Huerta y Caturla (Orihuela, 1800 - París, 1874) arrived in New York on April 26, 1824 on the ship *Stephania*, which came from Le Havre (“Marine List,” *New York Evening Post*, March 26, 1824, p. 2). Huerta was registered under the name “Antonio,” one of his sixteen given names. In the USA, he held concerts in the Northeast, including New York, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, Albany, Washington, Saratoga and Orange Springs. In New York, Huerta earned a living by giving guitar lessons, advertised in the store owned by Mr. Meucci, a painter of miniatures, who had just become his father-in-law. His program also included some pieces performed on the piano by his wife, Sabina Meucci, with whom he would have a daughter, and whose relationship would eventually end in a contentious divorce at the end of 1825 (*Independent Chronicle & Boston Patriot*, December 7, 1825, p. 3). For a biographical account on the life and works of Huerta, see Bone 1914: 153-155, and Suárez-Pajares and Coldwell 2006: 8-51. On Huerta’s stay in the USA, see Radomski 1996.

¹⁸ “Mr. Huerta’s Concert,” *New York Evening Post*, May 15, 1824, p. 3; “Mr. Huerta’s Concert,” *The National Advocate*, June 1, 1824, p. 2.

always attended by members of high society, who could afford the price of a dollar to listen to a repertory that, apart from the aforementioned pieces, primarily included guitar arrangements for operatic arias and other vocal and instrumental pieces performed by singers and musicians who had settled in the city (Figure 2).

DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK—PORT OF NEW-YORK.

I, *John A. May*, do solemnly, sincerely and truly *swear* that the following List or Manifest of Passengers, embarked with my name, and under my name in the *Ship of War* of the *United States*, continues, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a just and true account of all the Passengers received on board the *Ship of War* *John A. May* to *help me God*.

Sworn to, in the *25th* *April* 1864.
Before me, *John A. May*, Notary Public.

WITNESSETH, That all the Passengers taken on board the *Ship of War* *John A. May* in *March* 1864, were

NAMES.	AGE.		SEX.	OCCUPATION.	The Country to which they severally belong.	The Country in which they are said to become inhabitants.	Died on the Voyage.
	Years.	Months.					
<i>J. G. Graves</i>	23		<i>male</i>	<i>alcohol</i>	<i>England</i>	<i>England</i>	<i>None</i>
<i>John Taylor</i>	20						
<i>A. T. Calhoun</i>	25						
<i>J. M. Gentry</i>	23				<i>France</i>	<i>France</i>	
<i>C. Lawrence</i>	21				<i>France</i>	<i>France</i>	
<i>A. B. Boncourt</i>	27						
<i>Elizabeth Boncourt</i>	22		<i>female</i>				
<i>Salome Marba</i>	18		<i>female</i>	<i>Musician</i>	<i>Spain</i>	<i>Spain</i>	
<i>G. J. Kohn</i>	45			<i>Musician</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>France</i>	
<i>George Smithers</i>	21			<i>landman</i>	<i>England</i>	<i>England</i>	

J. A. May

Figure 2. Passenger list of the ship *Stephania* (April 24, 1824). Trinidad Huerta was registered as “Antonio Hurtea” (line 8). National Archives and Record Administration, Washington DC.

The press was quick to praise the refined esthetic taste of his arrangements, pointing out “his superior excellence,” “the delicacy of his touch, the rapidity, and at the same time, the accuracy of his execution.”¹⁹ All confirmed by “real connoisseurs and respectable editors” and warning that “to those who only know the guitar from hearing it touched by ordinary performers may not disdain so humble an instrument, that under the fingers of Mr. Huerta it speaks delicious harmony.”²⁰ Although, in terms of his repertory and musical training, Huerta continued the academic tradition and techniques of the classical guitar, musicologists F. Núñez (2012), N. Torres (2014) and G. Castro Buendía (2015) have noted that he may have introduced some elements of flamenco guitar technique, as for

¹⁹*Baltimore Patriot*, July 1, 1824, p. 2.

²⁰*The American*, June 5, 1824, p. 2.

example the *rasgueo* (strumming) in folkloric-influenced pieces such as the jaleo and the fandango, strength in left hand for *ligados* (making the strings sound by hammering down the fingers), and percussive finger-work on a tap plate.²¹ What seems to be clear is that his ability would exceed the expectations of the demanding audience with respect to what was considered at the time a virtuoso guitarist: Huerta would play “The Hymn of Riego,” attributed to him by some sources, “with the imitation of the Trumpet, Bugle, Drums and several other instruments.”²² This gimmicky technical display, which was also employed by Huerta’s contemporaries such as Bruguera, seems more appropriate to the realm of variety shows than to the refined and serious surroundings of classical music.

Musicologist and guitarist Norberto Torres wrote about this sort of guitar piece:

Another technique used by classical guitarists of the Romantic era to jolt and excite upper-middle class audiences was to play a variation using only the left hand. This effect turned out to be amazing. While the right hand remained still, the left hand moved all along the neck of the guitar like a spider, inexplicably producing sound. For these great achievements two things were needed: instruments with low action as nineteenth-century classical guitars were constructed, and good technique and strength in the left hand for *ligados*. Flamenco guitar would inherit these organological and technical features, while classical guitar abandoned them, because they were thought to be in poor taste. Huerta, who wanted before all else to show off his virtuosity, used this technique very often... (2014, 133).

Antonio B. Martínez, another Spanish guitarist who arrived in the US at the end of the 20’s, played a solo “holding [the guitar] behind him”, and “a duet with two guitars, one in each hand.”²³ Tadeo Lacárcel performed his most sensational act, a “Finale a la Paganini,” with “one hand and on one string only.”²⁴ These examples, and Torres’ description may remind us of

²¹ To listen to some of the pieces by Huerta that we refer to here: http://mvod.lvlt.rtve.es/resources/TE_SGUITAR/mp3/2/7/1364753933272.mp3 (accessed June 17, 2016).

²² “Grand Concert”, *Daily National Intelligencer*, December 11, 1824, p. 3

²³ “Grand Concert, Vocal and Instrumental”, *Daily Commercial Bulletin*, December 27, 1838, p. 2; “Signior Martinez”, *Milwaukee Weekly Sentinel*, February 1, 1843, p. 2.

²⁴ “Baltimore Museum and Gallery of the Fine Arts”, *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, March 21, 1844, p. 3.

the showy stage techniques of the Rock “guitar hero.” Hyperbole perhaps, but the question remains: Were these Spanish guitars involved with the development of the slide guitar technique in American folk music?²⁵

Lacárcel gave concerts in Albany, Baltimore and New York in 1843 and 1844. His repertory, which included pieces of his own composition, consisted of guitar solos like “Grand solo on the Spanish Guitar,” “Guitar Overture,” Fernando Sor’s “Celebrated Waltz,” “Grand Fantasía,” “Spanish Retreat,” “Variations on an air of *La Cenerentola*,” and two operatic songs, “Los sepulcros de Atala” and “Corinna,” which he sang while accompanying himself on guitar and piano.

Musicologist Celsa Alonso states that “the guitar gained considerable success in Europe, due to the activity undertaken by a numerous generation of Spanish guitarists, Frenchified liberals in exile: [Fernando] Sor, Salvador Castro de Gistau, Trinidad Huerta, and Dionisio Aguado” (1997, 163). Such is also the case of Antonio Bartolomé Martínez (Zaragoza 1805 – Detroit 1857) who, according to Charleston’s *The Southern Patriot*, was “formerly an officer of the Spanish Liberal Army, and obliged to leave his country for political causes.”²⁶ Martínez gave concerts in New York, Washington, Baltimore, Richmond and Charleston between 1827 and 1835, when he announced his retirement.²⁷ But, as guitarist Douglas Back states, “Martínez, like Huerta, seems to have been somewhat of a wandering minstrel type” (2003, 5) and between 1837 and 1841 he was announced in New Orleans and St. Louis. He married in 1841, and had settled in Cleveland by 1847, giving occasional concerts in Ohio and Michigan. Announced as “pupil of the celebrated Sor,” at the beginning of his US career Martínez often shared the bill with Spanish violinists Joan Comellas and Toribio Segura.²⁸ Also a violinist himself, Martínez’s repertoire included “Riego’s March” (attributed to Huerta on the announcements), a solo entitled “A la Spagniole”, composed by Henry Bishop, a “Fantasía” and a “Spanish Retreat” of his own. In 1850 he opened an academy of music and foreign languages in Cleveland and died in an accident in Detroit, when he was returning home after visiting a friend.²⁹

²⁵ For more on this topic, see Payne 2000.

²⁶ “Charleston”, *The Southern Patriot*, March 7, 1835, p. 2.

²⁷ “Communicated”, *Charleston Courier*, March 20, 1835.

²⁸ “Grand Soiree Musicale”, *Baltimore Patriot*, February 19, 1834, p. 3.

²⁹ “Announcements”, *Plain Dealer*, September 6, 1850, p. 2; “Signor Martínez”, *Plain Dealer*, April 18, 1857, p. 3.

In addition to Bruguera, Huerta, Lacárcel, and Martínez, the factor of political exile, along with the progressive decline of the guitar in Europe in the following years brought several other outstanding Spanish guitarists to the US: Mariano Pérez, Francisco Benedid and, above all, Dolores de Goñi.

Writing about African American guitarist Justin Holland, Phillip J. Bone devotes a line to Mariano Pérez: “In 1833 [J. Holland] went to Boston where he remained for a short period only...It was in Boston that he met Signor Mariano Pérez, a Spanish musician, who was a clever performer on the guitar, and young Holland immediately studied this instrument under Pérez” (1914, 149). Douglas Back mentions that Pérez “published one known work, a lengthy and challenging although perhaps somewhat mediocre in quality, arrangement of the overture to the opera *Caliph of Baghdad*” (2003: 5-6), probably a Boldieu work adapted by Spanish composer and tenor Manuel García in 1813. Back places Pérez at Boston’s Lion Theatre during the early 1830’s, but William W. Clapp mentions the Spaniard at this theatre’s opening night as late as January 11, 1836 (1853, 420–421).

Probably one of the sons of Josef Benedid, a renowned guitar luthier from Cádiz, Francisco Benedid arrived in New York from Havana in 1839. He debuted with a guitar solo at New York’s City Hotel on November 7th, in a program that included pianist Rudolph de Fleur as the principal artist.³⁰ Composer M. Soriano Fuertes wrote,

He has a remarkable ability to remember and repeat on the guitar the music he hears. He plays a lot, knows harmony and has transposed to the guitar a lot of instrumental and vocal music. Luck calls on Benedid to make our instrument be heard with dignity in the United States of America” (1859, 27).

But Soriano Fuertes referred to him as “José” instead of Francisco. So, it is possible he was christened as “José Francisco” or “Francisco José”? One thing is clear: there are no notices of a José Benedid in the US press. In 1841 and 1843-44, Benedid played frequently in New York’s Niblo’s Saloon and Apollo Rooms. His standard repertory included Fernando Sor’s “Los dos amigos” (duo for guitar with guitarist John B. Coupa), a fantasia on “La Cracovienne,” and *Semiramide*’s overture arranged for twelve guitars.

³⁰ “Grand Concert”, *New York Evening Post*, 7-11-1839, p. 3.

Mass Culture, The Spanish Guitar, and the Feminine Voice: Dolores De Goñi

Maria Dolores Esturias y Navarrés de Goñi (1813–1892), “one of the most prominent and talented guitarists of her time”, according to American guitar authority Dick Boak, arrived in New York on November 2, 1840 (2014, 17; Figure 3).³¹ She came from the port of Liverpool with Juan Goñi, her husband and also a guitar player, having spent three years in France and England. Dolores de Goñi debuted the following month, giving two concerts at the City Hotel.³² Her opening repertory included “a Fantasia from the opera *La France*”³³, a “cachucha”, a “poutpourri” of popular tunes, the American song “Hail Columbia,” and two pieces which pay an obvious tribute to Trinidad Huerta: “Riego’s March” and the “Overture” for guitar of Rossini’s *Semiramide*.

Since the introduction of the Spanish guitar in concert halls, musical reviews from Western Europe and the US press reveal the prejudices critics had about the guitar as a solo instrument. Further, these reviews also bring to light the Romantic ideology that made of the guitar a metonym for an ambivalent image of Spain. This image held in tension notions of “primitive” Spain as seductive and charming on one hand and as base, unsophisticated, irrational, and incapable of the highest artistic merit on the other. A newspaper announcement of De Goñi’s first performance in New York City echoed a review published in the London *Morning Post* six months earlier that articulates the strict and severe limits for this instrument:

Madame de Goni [sic] is a performer of the highest order upon that most difficult instrument, the guitar, which in her hands becomes the medium of transferring to the senses of her pleased auditors a correct notion of the romantic and most charming music with which the loves and lovers of Spain are traditionally connected. We recognized with much pleasure that

³¹ *Registers of Vessels Arriving at the Port of New York from Foreign Ports, 1789-1919*. Microfilm Publication M237, rolls 1-95. National Archives at Washington, D.C.

³² De Goñi’s performances took place in December 10th and 29th (“Concert of the Spanish Guitar,” *New York Herald*, December 11, 1840, p. 2; “Concert of Madame de Goni,” *New York American for the Country*, December 28, 1840, p. 2; “Dona Dolores Nevares de Goni,” *New York Morning Courier*, December 29, 1840, p. 2.

³³ An opera with such title does not exist. It must refer to *La Fiancée*, by Auber, as noted later by other newspaper’s announcements.



Figure 3. Daguerreotype. Madame Dolores Navarrés de Goñi with Spanish Style guitar. Circa 1850-1855. Courtesy of C. F. Martin Archives.

no attempt was made at a display of outrageous execution, which is altogether opposed to the nature and construction of the instrument. The guitar is only pleasing when it becomes the interpreter of sentiment or the support of the voice, for which latter its illimitable powers of modulation peculiarly adapt it. Madame de Goni [sic] appears to be fully aware of this, for her performances on the instrument were marked throughout by her

confining herself of its legitimate application. But this application was characterized by a tone of deep pathos, such as, we believe, a woman only can feel and express. This lady played three airs of her own composition, which were very beautifully written as well as executed. She also accompanied señor [sic] Echarte in a characteristic Spanish song by Gómez, in a way to induce us to listen more to the instrument than to the voice.³⁴

Another review of a concert held by Madame de Goñi in Washington DC half a year later would note that “in her fair hands...[the guitar] becomes the breathing organ of various passions, but more especially of the tender sentiments.”³⁵ Therefore, as can be inferred from the above quotes, if the guitar was only suited to interpret sentimental feelings as a solo instrument, then the “natural” “deep pathos” of women would make her the fittest player. This fragment is pure bourgeois ideology: it naturalizes a social convention in which, as Roland Barthes has explained, a whole nation (Spain) is associated with a musical instrument (guitar), then with a particular mood (the sentimental), and eventually with a specific sex role and gender (the feminine woman). From the male-oriented point of view that dominated cultural discourses of the time, Spain was the (dangerous and suspicious) Other.

But there is something else in the first quote that, in my opinion, should not be overlooked. It is the reference to the “legitimate” use of the Spanish guitar as a mere supporter of the voice. In his seminal article on gender and modernism, Andreas Huyssen stated that “the political, psychological, and aesthetic discourse around the turn of the [twentieth] century consistently and obsessively genders mass culture and the masses as feminine, while high culture, whether traditional or modern, clearly remains the privileged realm of male activities” (1986, 47). But the traces of the mass culture’s feminization already started to become apparent at mid-nineteenth century. The conflation between the guitar and the voice in art songs is an illustrative example. The rise of the sheet music trade beginning in the late 1820s, and the burgeoning growth of the entertainment business in the US in the following decades were favored by a pervasive demand for popularized songs and operatic arias arranged for a sole instrument. In this context, music publishers left a wide berth for the Spanish guitar, among other instruments like the violin, the piano and the

³⁴ “Musical-The Spanish Guitar,” *New York Herald*, November 7, 1840, p. 2.

³⁵ “Madame de Goni [sic]-Mr. Knoop,” *Daily National Intelligencer*, May 17, 1842, p. 3.

harp. Among the roots of mass-market music can be found these art songs, which were salon pieces intended for the consumption of the middle classes, primarily women. Therefore, by mass music here I refer not to working class music or other residual forms of rural musical tradition. Rather, I refer to popular art songs, authored or anonymous pieces with modern arrangements—popular music not as a living tradition of the people but in the “passive” sense of being an object of widespread consumption.

Significantly, the critical discourse intending to circumscribe the Spanish guitar as purely an instrument for accompanying the (woman’s) voice in art songs is also an attempt to reduce the guitar to the realm of the emergent mass culture, chiefly disregarded by the cultural elite. But in their arrangements, the Spanish guitar players also enhanced the voice, creating some space for the guitar to shine on its own merits. Therefore, when *The Morning Post* review says of De Goñi’s interpretation of the song “El Beso”, a regular piece in her US repertory, that she made the accompaniment “in a way to induce us to listen to the instrument than to the voice,” it should be read, I think, rather as reproach than as a description of a simple fact.

Madame de Goñi toured the United States from 1840 to 1844. After a year of being assisted by her husband, De Goñi began a romantic and a professional relationship with George Knoop, one of the most prominent cellists of the day.³⁶ From then on, the number of her performances increased significantly. She played throughout North America east of the Mississippi, from Quebec to New Orleans. President John Tyler went to see her in Madison, Wisconsin and Charleston, South Carolina.³⁷ A collection of her works titled *Flowers of Andalusia* was published in the early fifties and signed by Madame Knoop (Figure 4). According to guitar historian David Gansz, De Goñi settled in Cincinnati between 1844–1847, married Knoop, and retired.³⁸

³⁶ Of Juan Goñi, Dolores’ husband, it has been written that “by the fall of 1842, the last recorded mention of him suggests he was a member of the Rainers, a touring of North European folk singers, who would be the immediate inspiration for the homegrown Hutchinson Family Singers in New Hampshire” (Gansz 2013b: 133).

³⁷ “Senora [sic] de Goni and Mr. Knoop’s Concert,” *Daily Madisonian*, February 28, 1843, p. 2; “A Chapter on Music,” *Charleston Courier*, May 9, 1843, p. 2.

³⁸ When the couple broke up, she made a living by giving guitar lessons and probably traveled to Havana and South America. In 1849, a letter from guitarist John Coupa to the luthier C. F. Martin stated that De Goñi had gone to Mexico

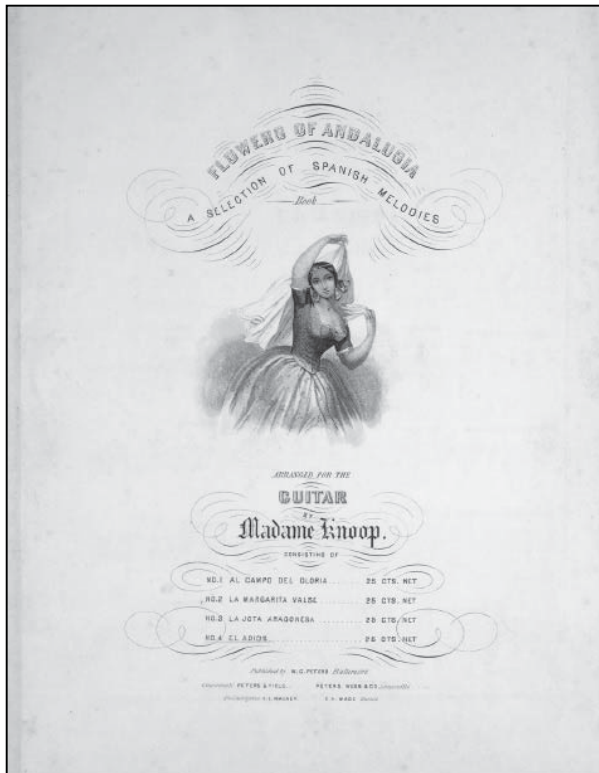


Figure 4. Sheet Music. *Flowers of Andalusia. A Selection of Spanish Melodies.* Book arranged for the Guitar by Madame Knoop. Several publishers, 1852. Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection, John Hopkins University.

When De Goñi performed in upstate New York in December, 1842, preconceptions about the Spanish guitar seemed to have softened. At least this is what can be inferred from a Utica’s press note:

Madame de Goni has taught us, for the first time, that the guitar may become a delightful solo instrument: that instead to be confined to

“abandoning her children and 4-month old baby.” Other sources report that she later married Juan Ignacio Laborde, interim Spanish consul in New Orleans, where she died in 1892 (Gansz 2013b, 135–136).

accompaniment, by moonlight, of sentimental singers, it can be made, independent of such associations, to “discourse most eloquent music.”³⁹

The introduction of the guitar as a suitable solo instrument in concert halls and its overwhelming presence in twentieth-century popular music in the US grew out of the work of these exiled Spanish guitarists, *liberales* who crossed the Atlantic between 1818 and 1840. In 1843, American guitar manufacturer C. F. Martin delivered a line model (the S1) with De Goñi’s signature, the earliest X-braced guitar ever documented (Boak: 2014, 17). The guitar player had penetrated silently into the ranks of the rising star system.

Art Songs

Art songs by Spanish composers, performed in their native language, translated into English, or arranged by foreign composers, would not become widely popular until mid-century.⁴⁰ However, already by the second decade of the nineteenth century “the vogue for Spanish guitar in the United States coincided with what was happening in Europe, where Spanish popular songs and dances had become quite the rage in easy arrangements as salon pieces” (Stein 2009, 196). In 1815 a “Grand Concert & Ball” was advertised at New York’s Washington Hall, where an artist called Mr. Perrosier “will sing a Spanish volero [sic], accompanied with the Spanish Guitar.”⁴¹ And in 1819, Celestino Bruguera would also present Spanish songs such as “Qué bonito” and “Yo soy de amor la victima.”⁴²

It is very likely that the presence of Trinidad Huerta in New York paved the way, at least in musical terms, for the arrival of his friend, Manuel Garcia, in November 1825; “by including [the previous month]

³⁹“Mr. Knoop and Madame de Goni,” *Utica Daily Gazette*, December 12, 1842, p. 2.

⁴⁰ In 1818, the Bolognese pianist and composer Stefano Cristiani (1768 – ca. 1823) went on tour around the US performing Spanish songs in Virginia, Georgia, and Maryland (“Mr. Cristiani’s Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert,” *Baltimore Patriot*, September 24, 1818, p. 3). In the first decade of the 19th century, Cristiani had performed some of his operas in Spanish for the first time in the Caños del Peral Theater in Madrid, until he later settled in Cuba, being one of the first promoters of the opera in that country.

⁴¹ “Grand Concert & Ball,” *Commercial Advertiser*, February 10, 1815, p. 3.

⁴² “Musical Performance on the Spanish Guitar,” *Augusta Chronicle*, June 7, 1819, p. 3.

Italian arias on his programme, among them ‘Di tanti palpiti’” (Radomski, 2000, 189).⁴³ García’s daughter, Maria Felicitas, among other members of his family, was in the cast of the opera company that he directed. Known in the USA as “The Signorina”, she would become the country’s first singing star, just a few years before Europe would rechristen her with the name by which she would become world famous: Maria Malibran. After the Garcia family left for Mexico in 1826, Malibran decided to extend her stay in New York, where she would perform regularly at the New York Theatre. On occasion, she would introduce songs composed by her father, like “*Bajelito Nuevo*” and other Spanish songs “accompanied [herself] on the guitar.”⁴⁴

From the list of Spanish songs that sprang up in the USA between 1840 to 1900, those by Sebastián de Iradier are without a doubt the ones that were performed the most.⁴⁵ However, works by other authors from the Iberian Peninsula were also sung by Spanish and other foreign artists, such as Rosina Picó, Pepita Soto, Marietta Gazzaniga, Fortunata Tedesco, Adelina Patti, Mrs. W. J. Florence, Gaetano Braga, Juliana May, Giovanni Tagliapietra, Drusilla Garbato, Marie Aimée, Nellie Cunningham, Selina Dolaro, Linda Bambrilla, and others. These modern songs, intended for

⁴³ “Grand Concert,” *New York Evening Post*, October 12, 1825, p. 1. Other Rossini excerpts performed that night were the overture of *La Gazza Ladra*, and the cavatina of *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*.

⁴⁴ “Concert,” *Commercial Advertiser*, October 23, 1827, p. 3. Celsa Alonso (1997: 174-184) and James Radomski (2000: 6, 10-11) have pointed out the diversity of musical trends and literary references, both cultivated and popular, in Manuel García’s work. “Bajelito Nuevo,” lyric by Francisco de Quevedo, was included in a song collection entitled *Caprichos líricos españoles*, published in Paris in 1830. Mexican operatic soprano Rita González de Santa Marta would also sing it in New York’s Sacred Music Society (“Amusements,” *Commercial Advertiser*, June 12, 1832, p. 3). On the life and work of Manuel García, see Radomski 2000.

⁴⁵ Iradier’s songs performed in the US include “La colasa,” “Juanita,” “El jaque,” “La cachucha,” “La naranjera,” “El charrán,” “Ay, Chiquita,” “La poderosa,” “El suspiro,” “La flor de la canela,” “A la luna,” and “La Paloma.” Other songs by Spanish composers include “El juicio final” (Miguel Albelda), and “La seguidilla” (Soriano). Other songs, whose authorship is unknown to me, or their titles are shared by pieces of different composers are: “La Criada” (Carnicer or Iradier), “El beso” (Sanz Torroba or Sánchez-Allú), “La Macarena” (Oudrid, Soriano or Iradier), “La Pepa” (Iradier or Soriano), “La calesera” (Iradier or Soriano), “Tu sandunga,” “El pandero,” “canción española,” and “Hijos de las Españas.” For a comprehensive view of the art song in nineteenth century Spain, see Alonso 1997 and Draayer 2009.

entertainment, and adorned “with picturesque elements and, in some cases, with feats of vocal virtuosity,” were widely popular in Spain (Alonso, 1997, 223). Taken together, the Spanish songs most frequently performed in the US were influenced by Andalusian neo-populism and creole (mainly Cuban) exoticism. They exemplify musicologist Derek Scott’s statement about the nineteenth-century rise of an international market for popular music:

We find here ... [that] elements of European [and Hipanoamerican] national styles one might associate with attempts to establish musical identities contiguous with national borders actually appear to possess a wider appeal. The nineteenth-century commercial popular style managed simultaneously both to be local and to transcend the local, as did the styles marketed as “world music” in the closing decades of the Twentieth Century (Scott 2008, 44).

Thus, the artistic, geographic, spatial, and socio-cultural context in which these songs appear is fundamental to understanding some of the ways in which they may be experienced: inserted as interludes between operatic acts or as pieces of a repertory in music festivals and in instrumental and vocal recitals, they highlighted their populist orientation; included within a variety show, along with Scottish, Neapolitan, Irish, French, or Polish songs, they revealed their exotic and “ethnic” aspect; confined to parties in the Californian villas of the old Spanish families or of the few newly emigrated Spaniards, they fed a profound nationalistic and/or nostalgic sentiment; played at the little meetings of Spanish-Caribbean exiles in New York, they voiced a strong political commitment; performed in the parlors of the East Coast’s financial and industrial elite, they emphasized their novel and cosmopolitan character.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Writing about the first great wave of immigration to America in the nineteenth Century, historian June G. Alexander has written, “Basques...made their way to California in the 1850’s. Having first migrated from South America, these Europeans subsequently went North in search of gold. Once the early arrivals had established a foothold, emigration directly from the Basque country began and continued for several more decades. Instead of mining gold, however, Basques took up sheepherding. By the 1870’s they dominated sheepherding operations throughout California and were setting out for nearby states. They concentrated in California, Nevada and Idaho, but Basque sheepherders also moved into the other coastal and far western states. Because immigration statistics for this group were incorporated into figures for both France and Spain, it is impossible to determine how many Basques came to the United States” (2009, 18).



Figure 5. Carte de visite. Marie Aimée (Lyon 1852 – Paris 1887). Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library.

“La Paloma,” Iradier’s most famous habanera, deserves special attention. The US debut of the song is attributed by some sources to Marietta Alboni and Adelina Patti during the 1852–53 season, or to Adelina Patti in her 1857 tour of Cuba and Mexico, following her performances in the US the same year (Díaz Aguirre 1956, 39; Draayer 2009, 83–84).⁴⁷ (Both sources

⁴⁷ Díaz Aguirre wrote the following lines in a newspaper from El Paso (TX): “Iradier developed a close relationship with soprano Marietta Alboni, who was at the time putting together a theater company for an American tour, with nine-year-old prodigy Adelina Patti as the leading star. Upon Alboni’s invitation, Iradier joined the company, offering his services as organist, pianist, guitarist or, even if necessary, castanet player. Touring New York, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans and The Havane, Iradier delivered on his promises, enjoying resounding success,

place Iradier as a leading musician in both companies.) One thing is certain: it was surely the French actress and singer Marie Aimée (1852–1887) who began to make “La Paloma” popular in the 1870s (figure 5).⁴⁸

In 1874 Aimée, who probably learned the song on her Cuban and Mexican tours, premiered it at the California Theatre in San Francisco and, months later, at the Lyceum Theatre in New York, in the third act of Offenbach’s comic opera *La Perichole*.⁴⁹ A decade later “La Paloma” would become a regular act as much in private *soirées* as in philharmonic society recitals, open-air band concerts, and then nascent Vaudeville programs. In 1883, Aimée herself would captivate the audience at the New York Casino with this song “which she had to sing four or five times before they were satisfied.”⁵⁰ Vaudeville and music-hall singing star Maria Vanoni sang “La Paloma” as a regular part of her act at the beginning of her career, as did the famous Gilmore’s Band.⁵¹ In San José (California), a Hispano-North American quartet took the name “La Paloma Mandolin Club,” and in Chicago, the Mexican Band used it as a hook, announcing to newspaper readers that it would be performed “at each concert” (Figure 6).⁵² Surely it is no coincidence that from 1889–1901, before the Edison National Phonograph Company would significantly increase the quality

such that, with the approval of the entire company, he was promoted to orchestra director. In late 1852, while he was in Havana with Alboni’s company, Iradier composed that now immortal song. ... Alboni’s company returned to New York and later travelled to South America, but Iradier stayed on in New York for several months. He supported himself by giving guitar lessons to millionaire mercantilists’ daughters, who didn’t want to be less than the Countess of Montijo.” Unfortunately, I have not found any primary source that proves Iradier’s stay in the US. On the debate about date, origin and nationality of “La Paloma,” see Faltin and Schäfler, 2008.

⁴⁸ One of the first performances of “La Paloma” would be performed as a dance, “the celebrated danza cubana”, at New Orleans’ Variety Theatre in 1872 (“Amusements,” October 25, 1872, p. 1).

⁴⁹ “Amusements,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1874, p. 4; “Amusements,” *Commercial Advertiser*, October 16, 1874, p. 3. With a libretto written by H. Meihlac y L. Halevi and based on a novel by P. Merimée (*Le Carrosse du Saint-Sacrement*), Offenbach’s operetta premiered in Paris’ Théâtre des Variétés on October 6, 1868.

⁵⁰ “Concert at The Casino,” *New York Herald*, October 8, 1883, p. 10.

⁵¹ “Amusements,” *New York Herald*, September 19, 1882, p. 21; “From New York,” *The Capital*, June 10, 1877, p. 6.

⁵² “A Valentine Party,” *The Evening News*, February 15, 1893, p. 3; “Amusements,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, June 24, 1888, p. 15.

and quantity of its recordings, the US spectators had already had the opportunity to listen to nine different versions of Iradier's song on cylinder recordings produced by this company.⁵³ Nor is it a coincidence that audiences listened to it through a kinetophone while contemplating the turns of the Spanish dancer Carmencita in Edison's short films shot in 1894 (Altman 2004, 82).⁵⁴

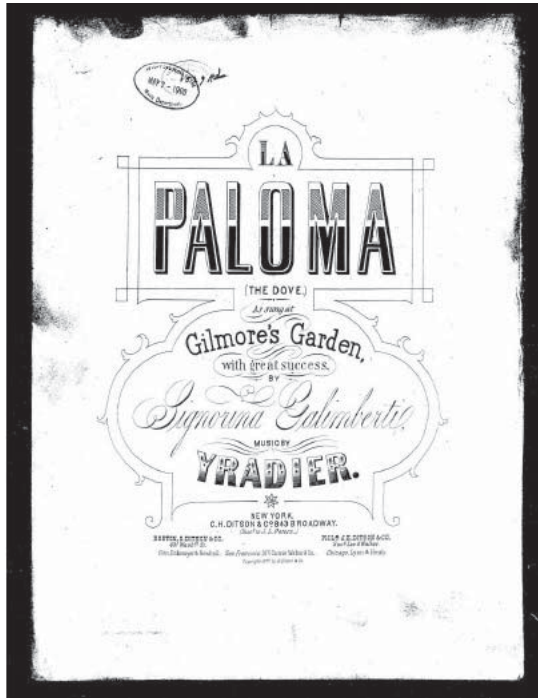


Figure 6. Sheet Music. *La Paloma. As Sung at Gilmore's Garden with Great Success by Signorina Galimberti.* Several publishers (US), 1877. Library of Congress, Music Division (Washington DC).

⁵³ “La Paloma” has been one of the most recorded songs in the history of the twentieth century pop music. Renowned US artists like Jerry Roll Morton, Jerry Lee Lewis, Elvis Presley, Perry Como, Bing Crosby and Charlie Parker belong to the list as well.

⁵⁴ For a detailed study of Edison's two brief motion pictures, see Mora 2014.

The Spanish Students and the Third Wave of Spanish Dance

The presence of the “estudiantinas,” known on North American soil as “The Spanish Students,” became a binding factor for the popularization of Spanish music. The first group debuted at Boston’s Park Theatre in early January of 1880.⁵⁵ That year, they would perform for nine weeks in Manhattan and Brooklyn.⁵⁶ The Spanish Students’ fifteen members were selected from the Estudiantina Figaro, formed two years earlier under the direction of Spanish composer Dionisio Granados for the 1878 Universal Exposition held in Paris.⁵⁷ Theatre manager Henry Abbey had contracted the group to perform at the Covent Garden Theatre in London, after a tour that had taken them to most of the countries in Europe.⁵⁸ In the United States they would form part of a huge pantomime and variety show titled *Humpty-Dumpty* that combined tightrope walkers, clowns, jugglers, harlequins, and magicians using complex scenographic tricks. Leading the ballet was the prestigious French ballerina Marie Bonfanti.⁵⁹

One article claimed that the instruments used by The Spanish Students were “five guitars, nine mandolins and one violin,” but added that “the guitars have fourteen and sixteen strings and the mandolins twelve strings.”⁶⁰ In other words, The Spanish Students were playing neither mandolins nor guitars, but rather two traditional Spanish instruments fairly

⁵⁵ “Music and the Drama,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January 3, 1880, p. 1.

⁵⁶ “Amusements,” *New York Herald*, February 3, 1880, p. 2; “Dramatic and Musical,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 29, 1880, p. 9.

⁵⁷ The passenger list of the steamer France departing from London includes the following names: J. [sic, Ignacio] Martín; G. [Gabino] Lapuente; V. [Valentín] Caro; L. [?] Lapuente; J. [José] Rodríguez; J. [José] Fernández; M. [Melquiades] Fernández [sic, Hernández]; M. [Miguel] Fustos [sic, Justos]; L. [Laureano] Fernández [sic, Hernández], E. [Enrique] Olibares [sic, Olivares]; A. [Antonio] Carmona; M. [Manuel] González; E. [Eugenio] Antón; J. [Juan] Ripoll; L. [?] Lapuente; and E. Fornés [?]. The latter two names do not show up in the press chronicles dealing with the arrival of The Spanish Students in the US. In their place, newspapers mention the names of Miguel López and José García, well-known members of the Estudiantina Figaro, who played regularly in their Latin American tour. (“Life in the Metropolis,” *New York Sun*, January 2, 1880, p. 1). See Martín Sárraga 2016.

⁵⁸ The list includes Portugal, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Prussia, Romania, Russia, Hungary, Italy, and Holland (Andreu Ricart 2014; Martín Sárraga 2014).

⁵⁹ “Humpty-Dumpty and The Spanish Students,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 30, 1880, p. 3.

unknown in the USA: the lute and the bandurria, although, according to what can be deduced from other newspaper articles and, above all, from the poster that advertised the group, it is possible that they also used several guitars and a cello (Figures 7 and 8).

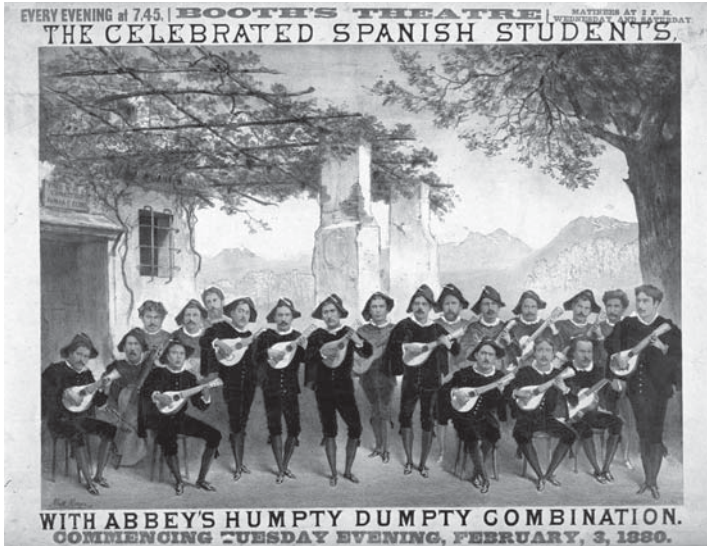


Figure 7. Theatrical poster. “The celebrated Spanish Students and Abbey’s Humpty Dumpty Combination”. Strobridge & Co. Lith., 1880. Library of Congress, Prints and Photograph Division (Washington DC).

The success of the student music group caused the immediate creation of other student music groups of the same name led by Italian American artists Carlo Curti and Domenico Tipaldi, this time indeed substituting the Spanish instruments for the Neapolitan mandolin (Sparks 2003, 24–29).

⁶⁰ “Life in the Metropolis”, *New York Sun*, January 2, 1880, p. 1.

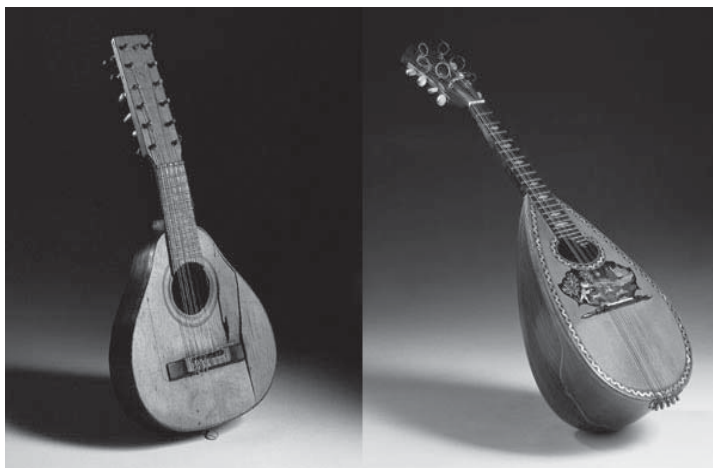


Figure 8. Bandurria (left) and Neapolitan Mandolin (right). Fundación Joaquín Díaz de Urueña, Valladolid, Spain.

Although the brand Washburn already manufactured bandurrias around 1893, at the end of the century a violinmaker named Orville H. Gibson was inspired by the Neapolitan mandolin.⁶¹ This instrument was more familiar to the many Italian immigrants who had come in the US, almost one million from 1881 to 1900 (Daniels 2002, 189). Gibson designed a new model “with a flat back and carved top, lengthening the scale and adding a cutaway to make the high positions more accessible” (Vollen 2013). By then, the mandolin had infiltrated numerous banjo clubs scattered throughout the country. Gibson’s design, together with the growing number of musical scores arranged for that instrument, greatly popularized its use in North American bluegrass and folk music.⁶² The

⁶¹ “Announcements,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, October 1, 1893, p. 20.

⁶² One of the first noted mentions of mandolins outside Italian or Spanish music was U. S. blues historian and songwriter W. C. Handy. In 1903, he wrote of a Cleveland (Mississippi) colored blues local trio he encountered: “They were led by a long-legged chocolate boy and their band consisted of just three pieces, a battered guitar, a mandolin, and a worn-out bass. (...) They struck up one of those over-and-over strains that seem to have no very clear beginning and certainly no ending at all. The strumming attained a disturbing monotony, but on and on it went, a kind of stuff that has long been associated with cane rows and levee camps. Thump-thump-thump were their feet on the floor. Their eyes rolled. Their shoulders swayed. And through it all that little agonizing strain persisted. It was

Spanish bandurria and the presence of The Spanish Students in the US can be found at the origin of this whole process.⁶³

After a yearlong tour, The Spanish Students' music became so popular that the press points out that "there is a great demand for pianoforte arrangements of their charming selections."⁶⁴ Their repertoire, instrumental and vocal, contained polkas, marzurkas, waltzes, boleros and pasodobles by Spanish composer Dionisio Granados, zarzuela songs and other pieces by Federico Chueca and Dámaso Zabalza, as well as European songs and medleys of popular Spanish and North American songs.⁶⁵ In sum, The Spanish Students popularized popular Spanish airs (songs in the Andalusian one-act farces and zarzuelas), as well as instruments like the bandurria, the lute and the Spanish guitar on stage, all of which were very unusual in North American vaudeville.⁶⁶

not really annoying or unpleasant. Perhaps 'haunting' is a better word..." (1991: 76-77).

⁶³ In 1888 the Bandurria Club was created in San Francisco, of Hispano-North American origin. The club announced its first concert at Odd Fellows' Hall. The music club was under the direction of the Valencian José Sancho, member of the Estudiantina Figaro in its Latin American tour. The rest of the Hispanic musicians were José Lombardero, also from the Fígaro, and Luis Toribio Romero, a Californian of Spanish parents ("Footlight Flashes", *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 2, 1888, p. 3). On the biographical information of J. Sancho and L. Toribio Romero, see Back 2003: 10-11. In 1894, José Sancho renamed the group as the Alhambra Bandurria Club ("Amusements," January 28, 1894, p. 13).

⁶⁴ "Personal Glances", *Watertown Daily Times*, March 27, 1880, p. 3.

⁶⁵ At the Cincinnati's Highland House, for example, they accompanied the members of the English Opera Company in songs such as "I love but Thee" (A. G. Robyn), "Turkish Patrol" (T. Michaelis), "Babies on Our Block" (D. Braham), and "Good bye, Sweetheart" (J. Hatton) ("The Spanish Students", *Cincinnati Daily Advertiser*, July 20, 1880, p. 6). They also presented in Boston "Teresita mía" (M. Nieto), "Me gustan todas" (J. Rogel), "My Mary Ann" (M. Tyte), "Hail Columbia" (P. Phile), and, in New York, the blackface minstrel song "Dixie's Land."

⁶⁶ According to Nicholas Tawa, the usual music instrumentation of this kind of show was as follows: "A pianist was mandatory; if two musicians could be afforded, a drummer was usually added; if three, a violinist or cornetist. If several instruments could be afforded, a clarinet, trombone and string bass were added to the four already named" (1990: 74). Famous American light opera singer Fay Templeton would become one of the few groundbreaking women playing the Spanish guitar in US vaudeville shows ("Amusements," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 26, 1884, p. 4).

Later, in the last third of the century, a new wave of Spanish dancers arrived on the East Coast: Trinidad Huertas “La Cuenca”, La Bella Otero, Carmencita, Rosita Tejero and Consuelo Tamayo La Tortajada” (Figure 9). They would introduce flamenco dance in North America, although this does not mean that the Spanish dancers who arrived in the mid-nineteenth century did not use certain techniques typical to this music and dance genre in their repertory.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, these late-nineteenth century artists would reinterpret styles already performed at mid-century, such as dance pieces of the zarzuela repertory, and dances in the contemporary flamenco and escuela bolera repertoires, such as peteneras, sevillanas, seguidillas, soleares, malagueñas, caracoles, and panaderos. The emergence of these new dances in Paris and, above all, Carmencita’s overwhelming success in New York caused the demand for Spanish dancers to skyrocket. It is Carmencita and the rest of Spanish dancers mentioned above to whom we must attribute the revitalization and the modernization of Spanish dance in the USA. Until then, the Spanish dancers that performed in this country had to settle for the accompaniment of Spanish music arranged for and played by North American orchestras. But now, the frequent presence of The Spanish Students, some of whose members had studied in Spain with flamenco guitar masters, provided music with an unmistakable “Spanish flavor.”⁶⁸

⁶⁷ In fact, it is in the last two decades of the twentieth century when the word “flamenco” began to appear in the US press, linked to a certain type of Spanish dance. In New York, besides the pantomimic dance of the bullfight that made her famous, La Cuenca presented a dance announced by the press as “el baile flamenco” (“The Theatres Waking Up,” *New York Herald*, July 22, 1888, p. 16). For more on La Cuenca in New York, see Mora 2016, 246–265.

⁶⁸ The Spanish Students’ line-up which assisted Carmencita in her 1891 American tour was made up of eleven musicians: Pablo Echepare (dir, and guitar), Juan Anzano and Eugenio A. Urraca (guitars); Valentín Caro, Alesandro Renesses [sic, Alejandro Meneses], Gonzalo Aparicio, Manuel Corredera, Pedro Celorrio, José Tassies [sic, Olagüenaga] (bandurrias); Juan Ripoll (violin) and Julián Fernández (cello) (“Next Week’s Play Bills,” *Kansas City Times*, September 13, 1891, p. 17). On Carmencita’s US tours, see Mora 2011.



Figure 9. Engraving. “‘La Cuenca’, the graceful Spanish dancer and bullfighter.” From a photograph by William H. Leeson. *National Police Gazette*, July 28, 1888, p. 4.

Opera and Zarzuela (Spanish Operetta)

Spanish presence in the opera was well established in US theaters of the nineteenth century; In fact, many scholars consider that it was the Spanish-Italian company owned by Sevillian Manuel García that truly brought European opera to New York. Thus, on November 29, 1825 Rossini’s *The Barber of Seville* premiered at the Park Theatre, “the first full-length, foreign language opera to be heard in New York City”, according to

theater historian Glenn Hughes (1951, 130).⁶⁹ This is not a coincidence given that the operas and operettas in the nineteenth century European repertory frequently included Spanish themes, characters or melodies.⁷⁰ Yet, even though the companies on tour in the United States performed this repertory because of its European origin, some of the most famous operettas in the autochthonous repertory also contained an Spanish accent (*Doctor of Alcantara* (1862) by Julius Eichberg, *Cassilda* (1870) by William Bassford, *The Smugglers* (1882) and *El Capitan* (1896) by John Philip Sousa, *Don Quixote* (1889) by Reginald de Koven, *The Triumph of Columbus* (1892) by Silas G. Pratt...etc.).⁷¹

Without a doubt, the first premieres of Bizet's *Carmen* by two separate companies, one in New York and another in Philadelphia in October 1878, constitute an important point of inflection, situated chronologically between the second and third waves of Spanish dancers mentioned above.⁷² After the Civil War ended in 1865, the years dedicated to Reconstruction (1865–1877) had left little margin, both financially and psychologically, for the performance of foreign grand operas. But, suddenly,

Americans saw an opera very different from anything they had seen before on an operatic stage. George Bizet's *Carmen* made a powerful impression. Harsh, brutal, shocking—contemporaries were correct in sensing its importance, for it marked the end of operatic romanticism and the appearance of an epoch-making kind of realism on the operatic stage (Dizikes, 1995, 214).

⁶⁹ "Amusements," *New York Daily Advertiser*, November 29, 1825, p. 2.

⁷⁰ Among them, Bishop's *John of Paris*; Strauss' *Don Quixote*; Beethoven's *Fidelio*; Auber's *Massaniello*; Donizetti's *La Favorita*; Massenet's *Le Cid* and *Don Cesar de Bazán*; Offenbach's *Don Quixote* and *La Perichole*; Kreutzer's *A Night in Granada*; Mozart's *La Nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*; Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and *Ernani*; Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*; Arrieta's *Marina*; Wallace's *Maritana*; Weber's *Preciosa*...etc.

⁷¹ Mid-nineteenth century musical comedy and melodrama theatre bills, mainly British and French, also included subjects, characters or music of the Spanish repertory (*A Bold Stroke for a Husband*, by Hannah Cowley; *Asmodeus or The Little Devil's Share*, by Thomas Archer; *Don César de Bazán* by Philip Dumanoir and Adolphe D'Ennery; *Columbus* by Henry Peterson; *Columbus*, by John Copeland; *De Soto*, by George H. Miles...etc.).

⁷² "Amusements," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 25, 1878, p. 5; "Amusements," *New York Daily Tribune*, October 23, 1878, p. 3.

From then on and during the following three decades, the Carmens, Escamillos, Don Josés, and Micaelas, whether in operas or in versions adapted for burlesque, whether respecting the original story or using similar motifs, characters, and sets, would be a regular ingredient in the New York theater programs (Figure 10).⁷³ An example of the last case is the comic opera *The Contrabandista*, by Arthur Sullivan. Performed in London in 1867, it debuted at the Broadway Theatre in New York just a few months after the debut of *Carmen* under the title *I Ladroni*.⁷⁴



Figure 10. Carte de visite. Minnie Hauk as Carmen, 1878. Photograph by N. Sarony. George Eastman House Collection, International Museum of Photography and Film (Rochester, NY).

⁷³ To cite only the most renowned, Clara L. Kellog, Minnie Hauk, Anna de Belocca, Zelia Trebelli, Lilli Lehmann, Adelina Patti, Zèlie de Lussan, Emma Calvé and Mira Heller embodied the protagonist in New York in the late nineteenth century.

⁷⁴ "Amusements," *New York Herald*, February 27, 1879, p. 1.

CENTRAL PARK
BULL-FIGHT



ARENA.
 Cor 116th St & Sixth Ave.
 Between the Two Stations of the Third and Sixth Avenue Elevated Railroads.

The Celebrated (Torero) Spanish Bull-Fighters will give

3 GRAND BULL-FIGHT
PERFORMANCES ONLY.
On SAT. JULY 31st.
WED. AUGUST 3d and SAT. AUGUST 6th.

Three Grand Bull Fights will be given by a first-class company of Spanish Bull-fighters under the direction of the famous Spanish

Espada--Angel Valdemoro.

This professional has been very successful in all his performances, and was one of the three chiefs who took part in the bull fight, given on the occasion of the throne of Spain of the present King Alfonso XII. He was also leader in the Royal Bull-fights which took place at the marriage of said King.

All the artists are among the most celebrated and applauded in all the Spanish cities, and they will play most difficult and risky feats with the bulls, avoiding the rage of the animals by their great skillful intelligence with the aid of the CAPE.

They will perform all the feats used in Spain, except that of the **PIE A TORER**, without consulting ANY CHIEF OF THE ANIMALS. The operators will be very exciting and extremely agreeable for the ladies and other persons who will go to these performances.

NO INJURY will be met, causing any injury to the animals, only such as is in the excitement--the bull, the man with the cloak and **BAQUILLAN**, and the **ESPADA** or swordsmen, without any risk.

A Large Arena has been built of great expense, expressly to accommodate 10,000 people, enabling the manager to accommodate the audience and give to the performance the required splendor.

SIX WILD TEXAS BULLS!

Will perform. In case of one not being wild enough, it will be replaced by another. The bulls will be from Texas, as the fights in Havana have shown their excellent qualities for this sort of sport.

Wagon to take you to the performance, from 40th Street, N. Y. City, to 116th St. Broadway, the Fifth Street, N. Y. City.

The sale of Tickets will commence Tuesday 27th inst at the above places.

At THREE performances ONLY will take place at present the sale of Tickets will be open at the said offices for any of the three performances as the demand will be so great that it will be impossible to accommodate all at the first performance.

General Admission \$1.50. Seats in Amphitheater 50c.
 Seats on First and Second Rows \$4. Private Box (6 chairs) \$12.
 Children Under 5 Years Half-Price.

Doors Open at 5. Performances to Commence at 6 P. M.

A First-Class Wagon has been engaged for the occasion.

ANGEL FERNANDEZ.
 Charles Leach, Painter, 65 Clinton Street, New York.

Figure 11. Poster. A Bullfight in Central Park. July 31, 1880. Museum of Modern Art, NYC.

And the influence of Bizet's opera was not limited to theater. Just two years after *Carmen's* US debut in 1878, it is difficult to attribute to chance

the celebration of the first bullfight in New York in the summer of 1880 (Figure 11). During the first season of that year, *Carmen* was performed on numerous occasions at Booth's Theatre, under the direction of Max Strakosh and with the Russian mezzo-soprano Ana de Belocca in the lead role.⁷⁵ Later, the opera performances would be repeated at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn during the fall season.⁷⁶ Thus, the bullfight constituted a very appropriate interpolation, given that it offered the New York spectator a real experience, although softened, of the story line and the scene of an opera that would be very much present in the billboards throughout the entire year. The event, amply covered by the city's press, was held on July 31 in Central Park in a portable bullring big enough to hold nine thousand people, and featured the Spanish bullfighter Ángel Fernández "Valdemoro."⁷⁷

Regarding the zarzuela (announced as "Spanish operetta"), the turning point in relation to this genre is considered to have occurred at the end of 1917, with the premiere of *The Land of Joy* by Quinito Valverde at the Park Theatre in New York (Sturman, 2000, 60). But already in 1880, the Orrin Brothers & Co. already included Subira's Zarzuela Troupe in its lineup.⁷⁸ It seems, however, that the Zarzuela Troupe met with little success, because surely language constituted a significant obstacle for US audiences. During the 1880s, when zarzuela music was performed, it would be only instrumental, or included as independent songs within a varied musical program. At the end of 1889, violinist Pablo de Sarasate would interpolate at the Metropolitan "some habaneras that he himself arranged on motifs from the zarzuela *El hombre es débil*."⁷⁹ Nonetheless, due to the ever-growing presence of exiled Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, zarzuela slowly penetrated in New York from the beginning

⁷⁵ "Record of Amusements," *New York Times*, January 25, 1880, p. 7.

⁷⁶ "Dramatic and Musical", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 19, 1880, p.

⁷⁷ Ángel Fernández Pérez "Valdemoro" (1840-1915) debuted in the Plaza de Toros de Madrid in 1872; the bullfighter Cayetano Sanz Pozas was the *padrino*, and Salvador Sánchez Povedano "Frasculo" witnessed the event (Cossío, 1995: 436). But Central Park's bullfighting experience was not completely real. Henry Beigh, president of The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, forbade the lances of the *picadors* and the killing of the bull section. No iron was used for the *banderillas* and the horns of each bull were carefully tipped with leather-covered pads ("Torreros [sic] in Many Colours", *New York Sun*, July 31, 1880, p. 1; "The Bullfight", *New York Sun*, July 31, 1880, p. 2). Michael A. Ogorzaly devotes some lines, not always accurate, to this event (2006: 52-53). See Mora 2016, 215-238.

⁷⁸ *New York Clipper*, May 22, 1880, p. 71.

⁷⁹ "Tercer concierto", *Las Novedades*, November 28, 1889, p. 8.

of 1890. That year the Criterion Theatre in Brooklyn presented an entire zarzuela performance that could have well been the first of its kind offered in the city (Figure 12):⁸⁰

A performance of a novel character will be given at the Criterion Theatre, under the direction of Toledo, Delgado and Cairo, next Monday night, when of the four parts into which the programme is divided three will be given in the Spanish language. One of this is the one-act comedy, “Asirse de un cabello” (clinging to a hair) in which Mme. and Prof. Toledo will take part. Another is the one-act Spanish operetta “Música Classica [sic]” (classical music), with señora De Ors, Senor V. Toledo and Senor Gimens [sic, Jimeno] in the cast. The one-act comedy “Tom Noddy’s Secret” will be presented in English, and the one-act operetta “El Hombre Es Débil” (Man is Weak) in Spanish. On this occasion Senora De Ors will make her first appearance before an American audience. She is well spoken of. During the interim between the acts Senora De Ors will sing some Spanish songs and Senor Arencelia [sic] a ballad.⁸¹

Two years later, in October 1892, a similar meeting on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the European discovery of America had reunited a Cuban cast at New York’s Chickering Hall for the premiere of *Las ventas de Cárdenas*, an Andalusian one-act farce by Tomás Rodríguez Rubí. The show, which was repeated two more times, included the presentation of “the great novelty of the day, the genuine Andalusian songs, presented for the first time in New York by the famous Andalusian cantaor, Antonio Grau.”⁸² The *New York Herald’s* announcement is wrong about his Andalusian descent since he is an artist from Callosa del Segura, a village in the province of Alicante. Known in flamenco circles as “El Rojo el Alpargatero”, he accompanied himself on the guitar that night, as was also usual in his performances in Spain, Portugal, and France. Months before he had toured the Southern states with his sister-in-law Carmencita and The Spanish Students, with whom he also performed in Boston, Rochester

⁸⁰ Until now, references about the first premiere of a zarzuela in NYC are dated by Janet Sturman in December 1895 (2000: 165).

⁸¹ “The Stage,” *Brooklyn Standard Union*, April 19, 1890, p. 5. “Arencelia” may refer to Enrique Arencibia, a Cuban tenor. The zarzuela *El hombre es débil* would be performed again in 1894 at the Columbus Hall, in this case complemented with operatic songs such as *Carmen’s* “The Toreador Song.” The leading roles were performed by soprano María Godoy and tenor Ramiro Mazorra, both from Cuba, and baritone Emilio de Gogorza, born in the U.S. of Spanish parents (“Señor Mazorra’s Concert,” *New York Herald*, January 7, 1894, p. 10).

⁸² “Amusements,” *New York Herald*, October 6, 1892, p. 13. For more on this topic, see Mora 2011.

and Buffalo. El Rojo was one of the greatest exponents of the “cantes de Levante” and is considered by critics to be the creator of a form of fandango referred to as “cartagenera.” Therefore, it can be said that the introduction of flamenco in New York, now completely codified for its use in theatrical productions as much for song as for guitar and dance, happened in the last decade of the nineteenth century.⁸³



Figure 12. Photograph. Payton's Theatre (former Criterion Theatre) in Brooklyn, NYC, ca. 1900.

When the Edison Phonograph Works published its *Catalogue of Musical Records* between 1889 and 1892, it included a “Spanish fandango” and the “Santiago Waltz” performed by the First Regiment Band of New York. From then up until 1901 the Edison National Phonograph Company would release more than four hundred pieces related to Spain. The majority of them were those disseminated through scores, opera performances, promenade concerts, and vaudeville shows in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the USA. The rest of them were zarzuela songs widely known in Latin-American countries, intended mainly for Spanish speaking people of the southern states, the few immigrants starting to settle in the north, as well as the most cosmopolitan members of the

⁸³ See Mora, 2011. For a biographical account of “El Rojo el Alpargatero,” see Gelardo Navarro 2007.

middle classes.⁸⁴ The role of Spanish music in the nineteenth century USA must be studied in depth. This may also help us to see the first years of the American music industry's history in a new light. This article reveals just the tip of the iceberg.

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⁸⁴ These preliminary results are part of a collective research project under my direction on Spanish music and the phonograph industry in the USA between 1889-1914.

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III.

MESTIZAJE AND HYBRIDIZATION

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE FANDANGO AS AN EXPRESSION OF CULTURAL CIRCULATION IN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN¹

RICARDO PÉREZ MONTFORT

Abstract

This work explores the fandango as a representation of the fiesta and ritual of a mestizo tradition in nineteenth and twentieth century Mexico, the Antilles, the southern states of Central America, and the Atlantic Coasts of Colombia and Venezuela. Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, when the regional stereotypes—of the Mexican “*jarocho*,” “*abajeño*,” and “*costeño*,” and, in the hinterlands of the insular Caribbean universe with its coastal boundaries, the “*huasteco*,” “*jibaro*,” “*guajiro*,” “*paisano*,” and “*llanero*”—took shape, this presentation begins with a descriptive and critical analysis of regional characteristics, with supposedly unique details specific to regional cultures. Often contradicting reality and more aptly considered a product of the assumptions and imaginings of those who describe the fandangos, I attempt to identify the elements that make up the fiesta and perhaps prove that we are seeing a circulation of cultural values that manifests in multiple vectors. At the same time, I will review the diverse iconographic

¹ Some ideas expressed in this paper appear in several articles that have been published previously. See the Introduction of the book by Freddy Ávila Domínguez, Ricardo Pérez Montfort and Christian Rinaudo, *Circulaciones Culturales. Lo afrocaribeño entre Cartagena, Veracruz y La Habana* (Mexico: Publicaciones de la Casa Chata, CIESAS-IRD-ANR-Universidad de Cartagena-El Colegio de Michoacán, 2012), Ricardo Pérez Montfort, “El fandango veracruzano y las fiestas del Caribe Hispanohablante,” *Anales del Caribe* no. 12, Cuba: Centro de Estudios del Caribe, Casa de las Américas (1992), and “El jarocho y sus fandangos vistos por los cronistas extranjeros de los siglos XIX y XX,” *Eslabones* [a weekly magazine of regional studies] no. 9 (June, 1995).

representations that accompany the texts of these chronicles, with the goal of establishing how they generate a set of assumptions that will eventually serve as a resource for traditional and regional identity. In this way my presentation focuses on the growing distance between representation, lived experience, and the circulation of central elements imposed and revitalized in the territories and areas studied here.

Keywords

Cultural circulation, Caribbean, cultural stereotypes, tradition, regional identity

Resumen

Este trabajo explora al fandango como representación de la fiesta y el ritual de la tradición mestiza durante los siglos XIX y XX en el territorio mexicano y en el área del Circuncaribe. Partiendo de la idea de que es en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y la primera del XX en que se irán conformando los estereotipos regionales del “jarocho”, el “abajero”, el “costeño” y el “huasteco” en México, pero también del “jíbaro”, el “guajiro”, el “paisano”, y el “llanero” en los *hinterlands* del universo insular caribeño y las costas que lo delimitan, la idea central de esta presentación parte de la descripción y crítica de las características y supuestas especificidades culturales regionales. Muchas veces contrastantes con la realidad y más bien producto de los prejuicios e imaginación de los autores que describen los fandangos de lo que se trata es de identificar los elementos que componen la fiesta y tal vez comprobar que se trata de una circulación de valores culturales que muestra múltiples vectores. Por otra parte también se revisan las diversas representaciones iconográficas que acompañan los textos de estos cronistas con el fin de establecer cómo se va generando un “deber ser” que eventualmente servirá como recurso de tradición e identidad regional. De esta manera la ponencia recorre el paulatino distanciamiento entre la representación, las vivencias concretas y la circulación de elementos centrales impuestos y revitalizados en el territorio y el área estudiadas.

I: The Afro-Indo-Mestizo Circulation in the Caribbean

The main idea of this paper is prompted by the following questions:

How are the multiple cultural elements, constructed and/or identified as “Afro-Indo-Caribbean”—specifically the cultural complex known as the Fandango—circulated, produced or

relocated in the Caribbean region? Is it a phenomenon that arises from a widespread blend or *mestizaje*? Or is it instead a mixture with particular qualities that depend on the region in which it is expressed? Or is it both?

To attempt to answer these questions one must begin with a particular, somewhat unorthodox, perspective that is based on a threefold approach: a) observing the phenomena of circulation and the logical outcome of the cultural connections that have occurred in various periods of contemporary history in the Caribbean region, b) taking into account the multiple interactions generated by the processes of production, institutionalization and commodification of cultural elements, specifically of the fandango or the *fiesta* and its rituals, in which lyrics, music and *zapateado* dances are the essential part, and c) focusing on the vast area of the Caribbean region and closely analyzing it from various locations that have played a central role—either because they had a pre-Hispanic past with some population density or because they were conquered and colonized by specific peoples from the Iberian peninsula and Mediterranean basin, or because of the arrival of certain African populations during the colonial era—and which continue to be important centers of dissemination, transformation and local redefinition in terms of the construction of the cultural resources in the region.

As has been shown in local and transnational studies during the past thirty years or longer, many regions in and around the Caribbean share historical roots and structural configurations, such as Hispanic colonialism and their condition as ports of entry for enslaved Africans and other migrations, which have become natural settings for the birth of a specific Hispanic-Indo-Afro Caribbean mestizo culture. Ever since, these have been places of intense commercial and cultural exchange. They are areas of great mobility of people and ideas, and they also show their importance in the elaboration of identities themselves. At the same time, these processes follow different paths, depending on the local and national contexts. Even when these places share a certain manner of describing themselves—such as “costeñas,” “*porteñas*” or “*caribeñas*,” “festive,” “touristic,” and even “patrimonial”—most have different ways of articulating their local, national, transnational, ethnic and racial dimensions from which they are constructed and fabricated.

This situation has prevailed, especially as a result of the nineteenth century independence movements when each locality sought to

differentiate itself not only from the European metropolis, but also from each other, in achieving an archipelago of many nationalities and identities. That is, every area has tried to define itself and acknowledge its own originality, with its own features and cultural elements. While there was a similar mixed origin in many of these localities, those features, which tended to emphasize their individual character, were mainly linked and recognized through paradigms that were established by the Western world. Many institutions sought to blur the indigenous cultural features and, above all, the African ones, which contributed considerably to the building of their identities and nationalities. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a tendency to “whiten” or “Hispanicize” the cultural elements involved in this construction permeated much of the regionalist and national discourse. It was not until the late twentieth century, when a need to recognize the marginalized elements, appeared on the horizon.

It has been noted, as Livio Sansone writes, that “...the symbols and objects associated with black or indigenous culture have become more visible than ever in the past 20 years...”² Now if these important elements often go beyond local borders and arouse considerable interest in the many indigenous or African cultures in several regions of the world, these are also the subject of local reinterpretations, constructions, expressions and contextualized staging. From this point of view, what was originally raised consists in studying simultaneously the transnational or global dimensions together with the local expressions in the political-identity dynamics that are involved in the construction and description of a cultural complex such as the fandango. Therefore, using various scales of analysis, this study tries to understand the phenomenon of the circulation and appropriation of cultural elements that are clearly *mestizo*, inscribing them at the same time in specific social, political, economic contexts, in order to evaluate the systems of logic inherent in national construction and its local development.

In this sense, through exploring the fandango as a representation of the fiesta and ritual, not only does this essay propose to present some elements that allow for the restitution of each of these regions in their national and local context, but also to put together a collection of elements that will allow us to relate them to each other, under the premises of

² Livio Sansone, *Blackness Without Ethnicity. Constructing Race in Brazil* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

similar analysis that naturally respond to the attempt to give some collective answers to the central questions raised above.

II: Hispanic-Indo-Afro Caribbean Cultural Circulations

The topics of the permanence of Hispanic and indigenous cultures and the so-called “black diaspora,” or “transnational circulations,” have been the subject of numerous theoretical works from several intellectual traditions.³ Today it is very common to speak of the cultural processes of “globalization,” “deterritorialization,” “transnationalization,” “creolization,” or “hybridization.” However, if one were to proceed to study such phenomena from a historical point of view, it is clear that these are not new processes. The anthropologist Arjun Appadurai has suggested that conceptual vocabulary tends to define a boundary between a “pre-” and a “post-” in the global cultural economy from very general and abstract formulas.⁴ Thus, the notion of “dislocation” used to treat the transformation of the world into “a single place”⁵ or “global ecumene” bound by the increasingly intense flows of human movements, trade, cybernetic connections and financial transfers, assumes a “before”—characterized by the existence of cultures that were different from each other or were closed societies.⁶ Similarly, when Appadurai describes the cultural forms of the “modern world” as fundamentally “fractured,” and when he speaks of flows that are “disassociated,” per se, or cultural dynamics that are “deterritorialized,” one may think that *before*, such phenomena were somehow different.

³ On “black diaspora:” Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” in Jonathan Rutherford (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence and Wishart Press, 1990); and Christine Chivallon, *La diaspora noire des Amériques. Expériences et théories à partir de la Caraïbe* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 2004). On “transnational circulations”: Stefania Capone, “A propos des notions de globalisation et de transnationalisation,” *Civilisations (Revue internationale d'anthropologie et de sciences humaines)*, vol. LI, no. 1-2 (Religions transnationales) (2004): 9–22.

⁴ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

⁵ According to Anthony Giddens, “the world is becoming a single place.” *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity, Cambridge, 1990).

⁶ Ulf Hannerz, “The Global Ecumene,” in Ulf Hannerz, *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

However, as already mentioned, in the Caribbean basin, and in matters of identity, the very notion of border or territory has gone from a kind of atomization typical of emerging nationalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to a general approach of interaction and interrelation that is equally constant and intense. As much as one may want to insist on fragmentation, there are thousands of contemporary examples in the Caribbean environment of a clear recognition of the dynamics of interculturalization and daily transformation. A classic quote from the Cuban novelist Antonio Benítez-Rojo confirms that "... the Caribbean is much more than a binary system of opposition. Instead, it can be seen as a cultural ocean without borders... in which there is an articulated admixture between the magical and the scientific, the metaphysical and the epistemological, the mythological and the historiographical, Ochún or Changó and Karl Marx, Mackandal and Michael Foucault..."⁷ In somewhat more parochial terms, the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz tried to define the culture of that same region comparing it with a "melting pot,"—an *ajiacó*—"the most typical and most complex stew, made up of several vegetables... and pieces of various kinds of meat, all of which are boiled in water until very thick to make a succulent broth ..." ⁸ Thus, the idea of intermixture has remained as an enduring element throughout centuries in the Caribbean region until the present. While today this cultural matrix is recognized as a kind of social and cultural melting pot, the tendency to identify it with multiple mixed or "*amestizados*" components has particular complications.

As the Africanist anthropologist Jean-Loup Amselle describes it, and as, in the same manner, issues of cultural globalization and transnationalist theories are laid out in other scholarship, this way of conceptually opposing the idea of "Creole cultures" or "composite" ones to that of "ancestral cultures" that refer to "primitive," "exotic," and "closed" societies has hindered the recognition in these societies of the phenomena of continuous mixing and creolization.⁹ Amselle describes it quite clearly:

⁷ Cited in Nettleford Rex "Ideology, identity, culture" in Bridget Berenton (ed.) *General History of the Caribbean* Vol. 5, Unesco Publishing, Paris. 2004

⁸ Ortiz Fernando, *Orbita de...* Selection and prologue by Julio Le Riverend, Union de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba, Havana, 1973

⁹ Jackie Assayag, "La culture comme fait social global? Anthropologie et (post)modernité," *L'Homme*, vol. 38, no. 148 (1998): 201–224; and Nina de Friedemann, "Negros en Colombia: identidad e invisibilidad," *América Negra*, no. 3 (June, 1992).

Great care should be taken when dealing with the idea of *mestizaje* or blending in the world, or of its creolization, as has been advocated by Hannertz, in his concept of the “global ecumene,” for example. Based on the premise of the existence of cultural entities contained under the ambiguous name of “cultures,” it can be concluded that there is a conception of a post-colonial, or post-cold war world that is viewed as hybrid. To escape this idea of mixing by homogenization and hybridization, one must postulate, on the contrary, that every society is a mixture, given that *mestizaje* is the product of entities that are already mixed, infinitely weakening the idea of original purity...”¹⁰

Taking this criticism into account, the subject of interest here goes somewhat beyond the analysis of the formation, expansion or modes of expression of a “cultural Hispanic-Indo-Afro diaspora” viewed as hybrid or transnational, reducible to any specific ethnic or national tradition. The main objective is instead to study some glimpses of the circulation of cultural elements—whether they are symbols, emblems, stereotypical images, practices, ideas, speech, productions and products, etc.—that in one way or another may be associated with the contemporary or historical presence of individuals or collectives that are auto and/or exo-identified as “Hispanic,” “Latino,” “Indian,” “black,” “African,” “Afro-American” or “Hispanic-Indo-African.”

In other words, rather than suggesting the existence of any cultural “unity” in order to study it on its own, I propose we begin examining the cultural circulations in the Caribbean region, to analyze the multiple meanings that such units receive, and bringing together a wide variety of cultural forms that are identified by terms such as: the “white” culture, the Indian culture, the *mestizo* culture, the “black” culture. Such an analysis requires a constant reference to the transnational Afro-American imaginary and a multiple comparison of perspectives and stereotypes.

¹⁰ Following is the original text: Il convient d’observer la plus grande prudence face à l’idée de métissage du monde, ou de créolisation, telle qu’elle est défendue par Hannertz par exemple dans sa conception de l’ ‘écumène global’. [...] C’est en partant du postulat de l’existence d’entités culturelles discrètes nommées ‘cultures’ que l’on aboutit à une conception d’un monde post-colonial ou postérieur à la guerre froide vu comme être hybride. Pour échapper à cette idée de mélange par homogénéisation et par hybridation, il faut postuler au contraire que toute société est métisse et donc que le métissage est le produit d’entités déjà mêlées, renvoyant à l’infini l’idée de pureté originelle” Amselle, Jean Loup, *Branchements. Anthropologie de l’universalité des cultures*, Flammarion, Paris. 2001

In this context, the notion of circulation is understood in a fairly broad sense. It can mean circulation of cultural elements “from below,” among actors, namely artists, intellectuals or activists who maintain trans-local family relationships, on a social or work level; or circulation “from above” as, for example, when it comes to the large-scale promotion and dissemination of commercial productions carried out by the culture industry, or by international programs, and aimed at promoting cultural policies.

Moreover, the notion of circulation raised in both directions may also refer to the metaphor of the “connection” as conceived by Amselle himself, i.e., that it deals with “...a derivation of specific meanings from a significant planetary network.”¹¹ Thus, it is possible to identify an approach that views the world in the process of globalization as the product of admixture of cultures that are seen as hermetic universes. By pushing aside such assumptions, this approach places the circulations, connections, and cultural ramifications—out of which cultural meanings associated with or without the “Caribbean world,” or the Iberoamerican world in general, are constantly re-articulated—in the center of the reflection.

From this point of view, and throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, it is possible to identify at least four different periods of cultural circulations associated with the Spanish-speaking Caribbean region:

The first one spans from the last half of the nineteenth century to the late 1920s. In this period, along with important major internal migrations that took place within the area, mainly for economic reasons—such as the construction of railways, ports and the Panama Canal, and the intense movement of labor to work on plantations and in public works—there was also an important circulation of artists, intellectuals and political activists. During this period, there was an emphasis on nationalistic and regionalist tendencies that synthesized nineteenth century customs and manners with a certain naturalism coming from Europe and the United States—thus strengthening local fragmentation. Literary movements that identified national and regional cultural expressions tended to differentiate each country and each region from one another. Stereotypes such as the “jíbaro,” “el jarocho,” “el guajiro,” “el llanero” or “el paisano” arose,

¹¹ *ibid.*

which reinforced distinctions between the three major Caribbean groups: white-European, Indian-native, and black-African. In some cases, such as in Mexico, the Dominican Republic or Colombia, there was an attempt to recover indigenous roots by resorting to mythology and certain folklore that was fashionable at the time. However, in general terms it was the white-black dichotomy—whose direct product was the Creole, the mestizo or the *mulatto*—that was present in the majority of the above-mentioned cultural movements, which all looked to popular culture as a central resource of their nationalist leanings.¹² It is noteworthy that many of these cultural aspects originated in aristocratic intellectual circles or middle class sectors that felt identified with and acknowledged in these localisms and folklore.

A second stage of this process occurred around the years 1930–1960. This period saw the development of a cultural market that, as a consequence of the emergence of the media (especially radio, film and the recording industry) and the promotion of international tourism, reaffirmed representations of local types and tended toward the fragmentation of Caribbean basin cultural elements. The mass media generated much of its commercial success from the “exoticism” of blackness, indigeness, and the local Creole, but also made ample use of the Caribbean universe’s specificity of cultural expression. Music, dance, ways of speaking, dressing, or expressing sensuality, were exploited by these industries, effectively attracting native and foreign audiences alike. Cinema and music made particularly prolific use of the images and sounds of Caribbean mestizos, mulattoes, and Afro-Caribbeans, expressing their “Otherness” in an explicitly sensual and rhythmic way. “Tourist paradises” took advantage of these circumstances to promote the idealization of the tropical world by supporting the idea that Hispanic—as opposed to African—origins created the Caribbean basin’s special identity—even though the African was clearly presented as a signifier for the liberalization of customs, and the subversion of strict moral standards.¹³ This was also the moment when writers, anthropologists, sociologists, and other essayists generated ideas and suggestions that sought, with greater depth, to explore the specificity of local cultural

¹² Pérez Montfort, Ricardo “Folklore e identidad. Reflexiones sobre una herencia nacionalista en América Latina,” *Avatares del nacionalismo cultural. Cinco ensayos* (Mexico D.F.: CIESAS-CIDEHM, 2000).

¹³ Nahayeilli Juárez Huet, *Un pedacito de Dios en casa: transnacionalización, relocalización y práctica de la santería en la ciudad de México*, Ph.D. thesis in social anthropology, Colegio de Michoacán, 2007.

heritage. From Fernando Ortiz, Nicolás Guillén, and Alejo Carpentier, to Aimé Césaire or Jean Casimir, just to mention a few, all engaged with issues of Caribbean identity by emphasizing the virtue of racial and cultural exchange and intermixing.

A third period began in 1959, with the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. During this era, the polarization of positions in political and economic matters impacted cultural environments. While the recognition of indigenous and African roots was emphasized by revolutionary ideas, both the differentiation and the specificity of indigenous and African originality was diminished, vehemently replaced by a kind of “essence” that touched many parts of the Caribbean, but particularly Cuba. National pride seemed to take on new vigor every time “*mexicanidad*,” “*colombianidad*,” “*jibarismo*” or “*cubanía*” were held up as examples of phases in a positivistic process of human evolution and classification.

The anti-imperialist struggles and the example of the Cuban Revolution itself radiated toward other countries of the basin, as they tried to erase differences and emphasize the existence of a great Caribbean and Latin American brother and sisterhood. From the decade of the 1980s, with the emergence on the world stage of multiculturalist liberal thought and the invention of “cultural tourism,” the situation took a new turn. Several events influenced the redefinition of identity and cultural policies, helping to fuel the circulation of “Indo” “mestizo” or “Afro” cultural elements in the Latin American and Caribbean countries, with a significant impetus in the search for essentialist examples.

Globally, the success of multiculturalism, the policies of recognition, and the political management of difference regarding ethnic or racial identities, characterized this period. Multiculturalism promoted new options in the struggle against marginalization and discrimination historically suffered by ethnic, racial, cultural, and national minorities.¹⁴ Thereafter, in Latin America, the authorities of several countries such as Mexico, Nicaragua, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela, began the political-institutional processes of recognition of the claims of “ethnicization” of peoples of indigenous and African descent.¹⁵ In Mexico,

¹⁴ Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and “The Politics of Recognition,”* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), and Will Kymlicka, *Ciudadanía multicultural. Una teoría liberal de los derechos de las minorías* (Barcelona: Paidós, 1996).

¹⁵ Peter Wade, *Raza y etnicidad en Latinoamérica* (Quito-Ecuador, Ediciones ABYA-Yala, 2000).

“... from 1970 to 1982 the indigenous discourse, which spoke of integration, was modified, giving way to ideas related to the respect of cultural diversity.” And if there were no multicultural policies in which the appreciation of cultural differences were expressed, “...recently, in certain regions such as the Costa Chica and in the center of Veracruz, Mexican cultural institutions promoted the recognition of an Afro-mestizo culture or identity, giving rise to a process of reconstruction and identity recognition that is beginning to have an impact on the management of public and social spaces.”¹⁶

In a general way, the last period, the years from 1980 to 2000, was characterized by a significant change in the interpretation of the local notions of culture, particularly with the development of theories that served as a point of reference for international institutions—including those dedicated to culture like UNESCO as well as those devoted to tourism like the World Tourism Organization that began to speak of “universalism,” “cultural relativism,” and cultural diversity. The differences between communities acquired greater importance once again, and the notion of heritage was integrated into the identities and cultural features presented as attractions in the doctrine of “cultural tourism.”¹⁷ In this regard, in many patrimonial localities—such as San Juan de Puerto Rico, La Habana and Santiago de Cuba in the Greater Antilles, Cartagena, Barranquilla, and Santa Marta on the Caribbean coast of Colombia, Veracruz and the Sotaventina Coast on the Gulf of Mexico, to mention a few—the promotion of cultural tourism was accompanied with a strong appreciation of “Indian” and “African” themes. Such is the case, for example, of the new cultural festivals like the Caribbean Festival of Santiago de Cuba created in 1981; the carnival of Barranquilla and Palenque de San Basilio in the Colombia Caribbean since the 1990s; the French Tumba in Santiago de Cuba; or the Afro-Caribbean International Festival, first in Cancun, and then in Veracruz organized, in 1994 to emphasize the African and indigenous roots of Mexican mestizaje; which since then has promoted new circulations and exchanges of artists and intellectuals who work in the area of the Caribbean and are involved in its

¹⁶ Odile Hoffmann and María Teresa Rodríguez, “Introducción,” in Odile Hoffmann and María Teresa Rodríguez (eds.), *Los retos de la diferencia. Los actores de la multiculturalidad entre Mexico y Colombia* (Mexico D.F., Publicaciones de la Casa Chata, 2007).

¹⁷ Saskia Cousin, “L’Unesco et la doctrine du tourisme culturel,” in *Civilisations (Revue internationale d’anthropologie et de sciences humaines)*, vol. LVII, no. 1-2, (2008).

heritage. It is in this context that the fandango has been reclaimed as a phenomenon of the cultural circulations in the Caribbean, at least since the mid-nineteenth century to today.

III: The fandango as a cultural complex circulating in the Caribbean

As we know, the fandango is a popular festive event that brings together music, verse and dance. It usually takes place on an important date, such as the local saints day, a birthday, Easter, or a wake. But fandangos may happen suddenly, with the simple pretext of wanting to celebrate. They many happen at dusk, around a space that may be defined by a *tarima* (wooden platform), under the light of a lantern, a gas lamp or an electric reflector, where couples, the elderly, bachelors, and single, marriageable girls, adolescents, and children learn and practice their rhythmic, musical and lyrical talents, learning the ways of love, or simply finding relief from the tedium of work and everyday life.

The formal activities that come together in a fandango have two central elements. One is the musical interpretation of the *sones*, or musical styles, accompanied by rhythmic poetic language, which is almost always sung, by the *versadores* (poets). And the other is the *zapateado* dance. The stringed instruments dominate the musical accompaniment. In the lyrics, intimately associated with the music, there are frequent references to love, nature, wildlife and local flora, fashion, morality, and regional legends. The dance is performed mainly by women, although the involvement of opposite-sex couples is also accepted.

Around the fandango, skill levels are established in playing an instrument, dance talent, and sensuality of the poetic language. And there are also levels that designate power, although this, as we know, is hardly absent from the festival call. It seems that some magic or supernatural elements also come together at the time of celebrating the fandangos. People often talk about goblins, devils, *chanecas*, *copleros* of infinite wisdom, the transformations of some of their participants into certain animals and half men/women-half animals (*mitad hombres o mujeres y mitad animales*) in mythologies and local syncretisms. The fandango has many individual categories. Certain hierarchies are established via the fiesta, but others fade away because of their uselessness. A good instrumentalist, a good versador (poet) and a good dancer are recognized in the fandango, often regardless of class prejudice or origin, although it is

also fair to acknowledge that the fiesta is occasionally a pretext for confrontation. The fandango is a moment when male dominance is possibly on display, although feminine talent is also rewarded.

Like most festive Caribbean events, the fandango, as it is called today, has remote indigenous, black, and Hispanic origins.¹⁸ One only needs to point out that it has elements that take it to the ritual and mythical dimension of the pre-Hispanic world—through images, characters and magic that appear in the verse, as well as in certain choreographic, rhythmic and musical references that are present even today in the tarima dance; through the strumming of stringed instruments and the metaphors of its lyrics. There are many examples: from animal-characters that are common in *sones* and origin legends—such as the woodpecker, a participant in some mythical stories as the divine messenger in the jarocho world, or the telluric dimension of the devil that may appear in the Colombian and Venezuelan llanero (from the plains)—or the binary rhythm that is danced while mimicking the stature of the dwarfs or imitating the colonizers and their coercive and authoritarian zeal.

African ancestors are also present in certain musical, choreographic and lyrical elements close to the fandango. From the name of *La Bamba* to the antiphonies of the *Ñau-Ñau*, but especially in the cross rhythms and in the magical dimension—or if you like the “diabolical” or supernatural world—that is occasionally invoked during the fiesta. Several references to the eighteenth century may show the criminal persecution of certain regular participants in the fandangos in which their color as mulatto coincides with their condition as “a call to the devils.”¹⁹ However, this magical experience associated with the fandango, or the fiesta in general, also shares its roots with the indigenous and Spanish pagan lineages.

Of course, a dominant feature in the fandango is the Hispanic tradition. But we cannot forget that the Hispanic element itself consists of a multiple heritage, to which European, American, and African cultures undeniably contributed. While the fundamental richness of the fandango can be considered, above all, Andalusian—the seat of the closest links between Moorish and Castilian cultures—we must recognize that the

¹⁸ Ricardo Pérez Montfort, “Fandango: fiesta y rito,” *Revista de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*, no. 478 (Nov. 1990): 45–49.

¹⁹ José Luis Melgrejo Vivanco, *Los jarochos* (Xalapa, editor of the government of Veracruz, 1979), 328.

general Hispanic component of the fandango is decisive. Its language is primarily Spanish, its choreography is very similar to that of certain Spanish peninsular dances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a good percentage of its musical and literary forms can be traced to at least the early Middle Ages in Europe.

The use of sung jousting, the verse forms which constitute the bulk of the coplero repertoire (the *décima*, or ten-line verse, the quatrain, the *sextilla*, or six-line verse, the hendecasyllabic octet, the *cordel* verses “in row” or “in a straight line”), the open position dance, the predominant musical instruments, and even some choreographic and lyrical “rules”, are all almost closely related to the fiestas of the Andalusian and Mediterranean coasts.

That said, what happens today on an Andalusian stage or in a festive gathering in the Canary Islands seems very different from what occurs on a Veracruz tarima, at a gathering of Cuban son, or at a llanera fiesta. Nonetheless, the distance is perhaps less great as we move away from the past and approach present-day regional relationships. That is: considering what the fandangos were like in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the great contrasts perceived between Caribbean Creole or mestizo fiestas and those of the Iberian Peninsula, the Caribbean fiestas of today seem closer to those of Spain and Portugal, despite the fact that comparative studies of Iberian and American fiestas seek to establish and define local particularities.

If one explores the content and form of the word fandango and dwells on some of its more distant appearances in time, a disputed paternity between the Latin *fidicinare*, which means to “play on the lyre,”²⁰ and the Mandinga *fanda*, accompanied by the derogatory *ango*, meaning “a fiesta where food is served,”²¹ appears with some clarity. There are those who are more inclined to favor this second African etymological origin,²² taking into account that already in previous

²⁰ *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, vol. XXIII (Madrid, 1984).

²¹ Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII* (Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1922).

²² Gabriel Saldívar y Silva maintains that it deals with the Guinean word that comes from *fanda*: fiesta and the phoneme *ng* possessive. In other words, “what is typical of the fiesta and the fiesta par excellence.” Saldívar y Silva, Gabriel

references, specifically of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fandango is mentioned as “a dance introduced in Spain by those who have been in the kingdom of the Indies.”²³

However, if we look, even superficially, at the state of popular Spanish music and its link to the performing arts during the eighteenth century, it is possible to find an unquestionable presence of a so-called fandango next to the *contradanza* (quadrille), and the minuet in entremeses, one-act farces, and in the *mojigangas* (masquerades) of theater. Some experts even go so far as to affirm that it is in the late seventeenth century, when “...black Cuban, Creole, Caribbean, Brazilian and Florida coastal songs and dances had crept into the heart of popular Spanish music with canarios, chaconnes, zarambeques and fandangos with suggestive names like *El Malbrú* or *Los negros*....”²⁴

By the mid-eighteenth century, for example, the Catalan author and businessman Pablo Esteve y Crimau, who was highly successful in Madrid, sponsored a singer named Pedro Villa, whose merit, according to his publicists, was that “he had just returned from the West Indies where he had learned tangos, *habaneras*, *mangendoys*, fandangos and guajiras.”²⁵

The existence in Spain and in the Americas of fandangos during those periods, as both specific musical and danceable forms, but also as a festive genre, was a theme and title of a farce that premiered in the capital of the Spanish Empire on July 11, 1768, called *El Fandango de candil* whose author was none other than the popular Ramón de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilli, who incidentally was also known in the Americas for his comical theatrical plays.²⁶ A year before its premiere in Madrid, in 1767, there was a search in New Spain for a man named José Domingo

Refranero musical mexicano (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 1983).

²³ *Diccionario de Autoridades* of 1770, cited in Otto Mayer-Serra: *Música y músicos en América Latina*, vol. I (Mexico: Ed. Atlante, 1947), 366.

²⁴ Mary Neal Hamilton, *Music in Eighteenth Century Spain* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1932), 57.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²⁶ Ramón de la Cruz, and Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, “Sainetes de don Ramón de la Cruz,” *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*, volúmenes XXIII and XXVI (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1917); cf. Luis Reyes de la Maza: *Circo maroma y teatro (1810- 1910)*, Mexico, UNAM, 1985.

Gaytarro, a mulatto accused of polygamy, and “who is known for his songs in the fandangos and who is very *fandanguero*.”²⁷

Thus, by the late-eighteenth century, the fandango seems to have been quite naturalized in both Europe and the Americas, an indication that its origin may be said to be more in the Caribbean than in the Old World. However, it is fair to say that in the Americas, the fandango, like many other local festivities, was not welcomed by church authorities, who prohibited it and imposed sanctions against it, not only because it violated Christian morality, but also because it appeared to them as defining resources of emerging local nationalisms, the ideological engines of many claims to independence. Whereas in Spain, it seems, the fandango was characterized and defined with the permission of the authorities. In the early nineteenth century in Spain, it would be a point of reference that the women from Granada, Málaga, and Ronda sang and danced the *soleares*, *javeras* and *peteneras* whose music, song, and dance was thought to belong to the family of the fandango, whose “... 6/8 characteristic rhythm is widely acclaimed for the amusement of our people...”²⁸

Without being quite sure that this is entirely true, one might venture to say that in late-eighteenth century Spain, the fandango acquired certain connotations that were far more precise than in the Americas. While on the Iberian peninsula, “fandango” was named with more specificity as a form that moved from the theatrical stage to a festival space, closely tied to flamenco song and *tablao*,²⁹ in the New World, the fandango was instead the name of an event that in addition to fiesta, had the connotation of a wild festival, and not always welcomed by the authorities. This separation of the European fandango from the American version would also appear to favor the local fiestas of Caribbean and American peoples, as they endeavored to define their own rules and conditions, reassessing their own particular contributions.

Well into the nineteenth century, the word “fandango,” in practically the entire embattled Mexican Republic, would have a meaning that was somewhat pejorative. This would also occur in many Latin

²⁷ Cited in Melgarejo Vivanco, José Luis: *Los jarocho*, Xalapa, editor of the Government of Veracruz, 1979.

²⁸ José Fons y Quadras, *Lo popular y lo culto en la música española* (Madrid, Ed. Lajas, 1946).

²⁹ Ángel Alvarez Caballero, *Historia del cante flamenco* (Madrid Alianza Editorial, 1981).

American countries: from the Antillean Islands to Chile. In his writings, Ignacio M. Altamirano spoke about the existence of a funny phrase that said “Como la muerte de Apango, ni come, ni bebe ni va al fandango...” (like the death of Apango, it doesn’t eat, it doesn’t drink nor does it go to the fandango...) ³⁰ and in his *Diccionario general de americanismos* Francisco J. Santamaría mentioned the expression “...to get involved in a fandango...” meant “to get involved in a mess or in an unwanted situation....” ³¹

But especially on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, in some areas of the Pacific, in the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán, in the interior of the Bajío and the south of Oaxaca, the fandango was the fiesta of sones, dance, verse and *tarima* par excellence. The fandango was what writers and painters such as Claudio Linati, Aviraneta e Ibargoyen, Luis de Bellemare, Edouard Pingret, Lucien Biart, José María Esteva, Salomón Heggi, Francis Erskin, also the well known Madame Calderón de la Barca, Carl Sartorius, Antonio García Cubas, Enrique Juan Palacios, and many more, wrote about, and in many cases, painted. Fortunately, they dedicated their writings and pictures to a great number of descriptions and portraits of that fiesta during the past century in the Mexican Republic. ³²

During the eighteenth century, the same fandango, as a fiesta of blacks and Spaniards, was also present in other parts of the Caribbean. This is known because Argeliers León and Antonio García de León have unearthed references to the fandango in travelers’ accounts by Pere Labat in Puerto Rico and Moreau de Saint- Méry in Santo Domingo. ³³ Fernando Ortiz and Alejo Carpentier in Cuba, and Renato Almeida, in Brazil, also mention it as an old fiesta where the people dance and compete, and has been present for at least the past two centuries. Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera, for his part, said that in Venezuela, “the term used to name the

³⁰ Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, *Paisajes y leyendas, las tradiciones y costumbres de México* (México, Imp. y Lit. Española, 1884).

³¹ Este diccionario dice basarse en información proporcionada por Joaquín García Icazbalceta en el año 1889.

³² Pérez Montfort, Ricardo “La fruta madura: el fandango sotaventino del siglo XIX a la Revolución,” *Secuencia*, no. 19, nueva época, México, Instituto Mora, (ene-abr. 1991).

³³ Antonio García de León, “El Caribe afroandaluz: permanencias de una civilización popular,” *La Jornada Semanal*, no. 135 (México, 12 de ene. De 1992), and Argeliers León, *Del canto y el tiempo* (La Habana, Ed. Pueblo y Educación, 1974).

peasant dance, with stringed instrumental music and song, up to 1860, was the Spanish fandango....”³⁴ However, not everywhere was the word “fandango” used to designate its Hispanic, Peninsular or Canary Island equivalent.

This fiesta of sones, dance, and poetry acquired other names, in the same way that certain beats and genres, which are very alike, changed their names—not only during the process of colonization and fragmentation of the diverse Latin American regions in the late eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, but especially after the independence processes expressed in emphatically nationalist and regionalist terms. Even when their similarity was evident, their own particular names seemed to point in different directions. However, nineteenth century paintings, which depicted the *zapateo* in Cuba, the *joropo* in Venezuela, and the *mejorana* in Panama, were very similar to those that depicted the fandango in Mexico.³⁵

Independently of what it may be called, certain types of music, dances with specific rules and poetry, existed in those fiestas where the copla, cuarteta, sextilla and décima—rooted to the native land to such a degree that they had become compulsory local references—stood out. The *pasajes*, the *joropos* and the beats identified the festive event of the Venezuelan plains, while the sones guajiros, the *puntos* and the *tonadas* were the essential part of the Cuban zapateo. The *seis* and *la plena* were intimately linked to the jíbara fiesta; the *mejorana* and the *mesano* were associated with the Panamanian *jolgorio*, and without *jarabes* and without sones, it would be difficult to put together the jarocho fandangos, the tarima dances from Tierra Caliente and the Huasteco zapateados.

In all these fiestas, the predominant thing in the dance was the freedom of movement. The men played their instruments, since women very rarely participated in the interpretation of the music or in the song itself, and the choreographic evolution corresponded to couples, who moved freely, and to the women. When a couple performed the dance, generally there is a simulated courtship, which also contributed to

³⁴ Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera, *La música folclórica en Venezuela* (Caracas, Monte Avila editores, 1969), 191.

³⁵ Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera, *El joropo, baile nacional de Venezuela* (Caracas, Ed. del Ministerio de Educación, 1953); and Narciso Garay, *Tradiciones y cantares de Panamá; ensayo folclórico* (Bruselas, Presses de L Expansion belge, 1930).

strengthening the similarity between these fiestas, whether they were celebrated in the Caribbean or other Hispanic regions. However, certain motifs or figures in the choreography—such as the *galas*³⁶ or the elaboration of bows moving ribbons with the dancers' feet during the zapateo, or the interruption of the dance and the music in order to give way to the so-called *bombas*, which were common in Cuban fiestas, as well as those in Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Veracruz and Yucatán during the nineteenth century—speaks to the likeness of these forms, perhaps with more emphasis in the Caribbean region than in other parts of the American continent.

For example, in 1871, Samuel Hazard, a U.S. traveler that visited Cuba with “pen and pencil,”³⁷ described and painted a zapateo that was practically no different from the fandango that Antonio García Cubas described in his texts entitled *De Teziutlán a Nautla*, written precisely between 1870 and 1874.³⁸ In both, the women's dance, the sewn ribbon on the tarima platform, the poetry improvisation, and the presence of musicians with harps and guitars, seemed to come from a spectacle of a common trunk with its many diverting branches. For his part, Ramón de la Plaza in his *Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela*, published 10 years later, in 1883, also described a dance of joropo or fandango with all the elements mentioned above.³⁹

Figures as noteworthy as Otto Mayer-Serra, Alirio Díaz or Alejo Carpentier, focused on the organological likeness, and the musical and literary structures characteristic of the genres that are an essential part of the American, and specifically the Caribbean, regional fiestas.⁴⁰ In any

³⁶ The *gala* consists of a kind of tribute that the male spectator or dancer makes to the good female dancer. He places a hat on her head during the dance. And when she finished, she returns it in exchange for a coin or a gift. There were times when good dancers had to dance with several hats on their head and even holding them with their hands or their shoulders.

³⁷ Samuel Hazard, *Cuba with Pen and Pencil* (Hartford, Conn: Hartford Publishing Co., 1871), 540–541.

³⁸ Antonio García Cubas, *Escritos diversos de 1870-1874* (México: Imp. De Ignacio Escalante, 1874), 211–217.

³⁹ Ramón de la Plaza, *Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela* (Caracas, Imp. Cumplido, 1883).

⁴⁰ Otto Mayer Serra, *Música y músicos en América Latina*, volumes, I and II, (Mexico: Ed. Atlante, 1947); Alirio Díaz, “Vestigios artísticos de los siglos XVI y XVII vivos en nuestra música folclórica,” *Música*, Boletín no. 42 (Havana: Casa

event, it is important to insist that it was not by chance that in most of those festivals the basic instruments were chordophones, with different forms and likenesses, but altogether not so different.

The guitar plucking and chords may have served to differentiate one regional genre from another. But they were also capable of demonstrating their likenesses. There were the cadences of the Venezuelan musical passages that were very similar to the Veracruz jarabes and the Cuban guajiras. The use of the *tresillo* (a sort of guitar with three double strings), the *requinto* and the mandolin, were also similar as guiding instruments in the interpretation of such local genres. The presence of the diatonic harp in those same genres, until at least the middle of last century, may also be proof of a common matrix.

And if the similarity between the instruments and the music is clear, it is even more so when the lyrical element is examined. The presence of identical literary forms, as well as the very same images and metaphors, would also be proof, not only of a common origin, but also of their very similar local focus. Quartets, sextillas and décimas prevailed in the nineteenth-century festive spaces bathed by the Caribbean Sea and continue to do so today.⁴¹

The *lelolays* of Puerto Rico and the Mexican *ayayays*, together with the Venezuelan *laralays* or the *carambas*, also seem to date back to the eighteenth century theatrical *tonadillas* that were so abundantly preferred by those who traveled back and forth between Spain and America. References to people like *las morenitas*, and the *negritos*, *las chinitas*, *las peteneras*, or the *lloronas*, and expressions like *mi vida*, *mama*, or *cielito lindo*—so prevalent in the Caribbean verses—also

de la Américas, 1973), and Alejo Carpentier and Zoila Gómez, *Ese músico que llevo dentro*, volumes I, II, III (Havana: Ed. Letras Cubanas, 1980).

⁴¹I refer the reader to the following studies: Carlos H. Magis, *La lírica popular contemporánea, España, México, Argentina*, (México: El Colegio de México, 1969); Margit Frenk Alatorre, *Cancionero Folclórico de México*, volumes 1–5 (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1975–1985); Yvette Jiménez de Báez, *La décima popular en Puerto Rico* (Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 1964), Antonio García de León, *El mar de los deseos. El Caribe hispanomusical. Historia y Contrapunto* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 2002); Aurelio Gonzalez (ed.), *La copla en México* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2007); Jesús Orta Ruiz (ed.), *El jardín de las espinelas. La mejores décimas hispanoamericanas. Siglos XIX y XX. Antología* (Sevilla: Consejería de la Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, 1990).

demonstrate a close relationship with these tonadillas.⁴² From there, it may not seem so adventurous to suggest, that the popular fiestas fed themselves then, as they continue to do today, with that which could be called the “popular musical style” of the moment. The theatrical examples mixed with those of the popular fiesta, and for that reason, it would not be unrealistic to say, that between the farces and tonadillas that circulated through the Caribbean region, there was an exchange of songs and dances that formed part of the musical and choreographic repertoire of that lyrical-dance-musical current.

But one could also assume that this style may not have been imposed necessarily from the metropolis, but, that it was shared to such a degree, that permitted a relatively indiscriminate circulation of musical, literary and choreographic elements among the multiple regions that made up that Caribbean universe. Each one was capable of contributing their own elements, although perhaps the distances and the ruptures in the communication processes, beginning with the independence movements of the nineteenth century, made many of these cultural manifestations emphasize the local differences in an increasingly insistent manner. It seems that each new space tried to recuperate its own originality according to what was thought to be closer and more recognizable. The tendency to build a differentiated archipelago, based on what was identified as local culture, and that which made one people different from another, seemed to prevail. And the political and cultural atomization undoubtedly contributed to the rupture of the multiple bridges by which those previously shared elements circulated.

However, the presence of a common festive origin, as a framework of reference, as a means of identity, did not allow a very pronounced dispersion, while a free popular cultural exchange in the region existed. Rather, this dispersion was a consequence of the particular processes that each one of the regions experienced during the nineteenth century and large part of the twentieth century. Evidently, the productive activities and the ethnic groups that formed the social base of each one of these regions, intervened directly in the formation of both that common origin and its local variations; and, above all, in its constant circulation. Thus, the likenesses between the regional music, the lyrical forms, and the dances of places as distant from each other as Venezuela and Mexico, or

⁴² Vicente T. Mendoza, *Panorama de la música tradicional de México* (México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM, 1956).

Cuba and the southern coast of Brazil, continue to surprise those who insist on the originality of their local cultural expressions.

Nevertheless, the local identities formed in festive spaces, whether they are called fandango, zapateo, joropo, mejorana, or punto—all created in this part of the Indo-Hispanic-Afro-American world that we might call the “Caribbean Mediterranean”—wove together their multiple black and indigenous elements with Creole traditions, peninsular forms with mestizo games. Through the language of the stage, through the dance, poetry, and music that constitute the fiesta’s cultural ensemble, we appreciate the likeness that today evidences this shared festive culture.

This circular Caribbean is set on terra firma, yet culture flows as between islands—each retaining their own regional features—within the same ocean. This maritime basin nurtured a dimension of popular culture that, in addition to providing language for matters of production, commerce, or even the military, could simultaneously define a similar festive space. A cultural space, that gave solace to its inhabitants, as it gave them a platform on which to display their artistic skills. A cultural space that simultaneously allowed recognition of what was its own and what was foreign. In other words, the fandango, the zapateo, the joropo, the mejorana, the fiesta of the tarima, or however you want to call it, bequeaths the paradox of a cultural ensemble that still circulates among us, making us, the inhabitants of this region, like all human beings, different but equal.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

FANDANGO: A SPACE FOR RESISTANCE, CREATION, AND FREEDOM

NUBIA FLÓREZ FORERO

Abstract

This article shows how an American cultural matrix was built around fandango; a matrix that includes musical, dance, and festive aspects as the result of a strong cultural exchange encouraged by the meeting of different original cultures in America: the African, the enslaved, and the colonizers. As a cultural matrix, fandango gave rise to many musical and dance rhythms throughout the Americas. They give the same name to the dance, the music, and the celebrations in the places where it survives. The fandango was the first cultural matrix created in America and it is much more than dance and music; it comprises a festive space and a ritual time that allowed the oppressed and dispossessed people to resist and create.

Keywords

Fandango, drum, Native American, slave, conqueror, cultural exchange, music, dance, *fiesta* (celebration), Conquest, colonization.

Resumen

Esta ponencia muestra como en torno al fandango se construyó una matriz cultural americana que incluye: lo musical, lo dancístico y lo festivo, esto como resultado de un intenso intercambio cultural que fue propiciado por el encuentro de las diferentes culturas en América, las culturas originarias, las culturas africanas esclavizadas y las culturas de los colonizadores. El Fandango como matriz cultural dio origen a muchos ritmos musicales y dancísticos, a lo largo de toda América, en cada región en dónde subsiste, el nombre suele ser el mismo para la danza, la música y la fiesta. Como matriz cultural fue la primera de este género creada en América a partir de

intensos intercambios culturales, es más que danza y música, comprende un espacio festivo y un tiempo ritual y permitió a los pueblos oprimidos y despojados en medio de condiciones adversas, resistir y crear.

*To my great-grandmother Fermina Bustamante
A potter by profession and fandango dancer by choice*

Introduction

Migrations are not exclusive to human species. Every living being moves in search of water, sun, food, other species, and gold. Who were the conquerors that arrived in America, really? They, as well as the conquered, were multiple and diverse: Jewish, Moorish and Gypsies. The latter arrived in Spain in the fifteenth century from the East and settled in Andalusia, while the Moors, originally from North Africa, inhabited the Peninsula from the eighth to the fifteenth century. Despite their defeat and expulsion in 1492, they left an indelible mark with their cultural imprint and their descendants. Many of them decided to stay and renounced their beliefs and their Muslim faith, while others chose to emigrate to unknown destinations. The Jews that lived in Spain were also expelled and persecuted by the Catholic Monarchs and the Tribunal of the Inquisition; in consequence, American lands became an excellent destination for those who would go anywhere to escape. They arrived in Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, Colombia, Costa Rica, Panama, Cuba, Chile, and Peru accompanying Spanish and Portuguese conquerors. Unbreakable bonds were woven between victors and vanquished that later were protected with pacts of silence, licenses and omissions that would allow them to join ships' crews. Boarding a vessel was the surest way to escape. The ships that came to the New World brought in them a sword, a cross, and many diseases, as well as a great variety of people, each with their own music, instruments, songs and dances. People arrived to stay, to mix with others and to transform the face and the soul of three continents: Europe, America and Africa.

The navigators' routes and adventures, their urge to move and to launch themselves into the ocean as into the void, to follow their dreams of a new life, their encounters and misadventures in a new world, are all stories yet to be told. And I want to make a small contribution to these stories here. Little do we know about the real reasons that propelled sixteenth-century men such as Rodrigo de Bastidas, Pedro de Heredia,

Pedro de Vadillo, Pedro Fernández de Lugo, and Sebastian de Belalcázar to reach the coasts of what we know today as Colombia and less do we know about their crews who, certainly, were not as White or as Spanish as history has made us believe. The empire of the Catholic Monarchs unified and united in its bosom a great variety of people, languages, music and dance; in sixteenth-century Spain, the Jews, Moor and Gypsies were already living with subjects of the crown: Andalusians, Aragonese, Asturians, Castilians, Galicians, Basques, and people from the Canary Islands, Extremadura, and Murcia, among others.

People often talk about the meeting of two cultures in America: the Spanish and the Native American. But reality is much more complex than what we have been taught. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were times of intense cultural exchange between the people from the three continents (Africa, Europe and America). That exchange was marked by strong social exclusion, violation of every human right, and constant religious persecution. Those were difficult times in a world divided between the owners and the deprived.

The Festive Universe of the Dispossessed: A Place of Resistance

I have always been interested in festive space and in its liberating and creative power, and I often think about the New World ports in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. I think about the large number of people from different corners of the world loading and unloading ships in which they sold and bought goods, and I also think about their leisure times when they exchanged games, songs, laughter and dances that helped them bear and withstand the exhausting working hours. When slavery arrived to our continent at the end of the sixteenth century, the activity of its ports intensified and the cities of Veracruz in Mexico and Cartagena de Indias in Colombia were chosen as headquarters for slave trade. Most of the slaves were sent to work in gold mines; others were used in domestic work (preferably women) and a large number of them were sent to work as *bogas* (rowers) in vessels that transported merchandise to the interior of the country going up the Magdalena River, the main route in Colombia for commerce and transportation.

By the end of the sixteenth century, Cartagena de Indias, founded in 1533 and initially inhabited by Spaniards and Native Americans, saw how the face of its population had transformed due to slave trade. The city

was filled with African people and Mestizos and we can state, without a doubt, that it was the first city in Colombia that witnessed an intense intercultural exchange. Beyond the well-worn expression of the three cultures (White, African and Native American), today we know that there were more ingredients to that recipe: Moors, Gypsies, Jews, Castillians, people from the Canary Islands and Extremadura, Asturians, Angolans, Guineans, Tayrona, Zenú and Mokana, among many others. However African and Mulatto prevailed.¹ The “mulatization” process, as historian Antonio Vidal calls it, can be explained by the fact that their own women accompanied few of the conquerors. It was usual to find men alone in the ports, not surrounded by White, but by Native American and African women, who in spite of their religious prohibitions finally met one day: “ultimately, as Veracruz and Portobello, Cartagena de Indias was a port of an amazing racial intertwining.”²

The cultural miscegenation the city was about to live, and that would be replicated in towns and cities all along the Colombian coast, is remarkable. African population worked in households, mainly in domestic activities such as cooking, cleaning, and animal and childcare. They also were engaged in agricultural activities, harbor labors, and fortress, house and track construction. Thanks to the contact they had with their masters, they learned artistic and handicraft professions, blacksmithing, jewelry, carpentry, shoemaking, dressmaking, painting and music. Below is the story of Mr. Juan Méndez Nieto, quoted by Vidal, who in 1607 tells us:

In the times in which I came and went in the *Nombre de Dios* (God’s Name) fleet, I carried my black woman for my service: “*la cantora*” (the singer). She was the most expensive and skillful in Indias and I still believe that in the whole world because besides being *criolla* (Native), and intelligent and well-spoken 25 year-old, a great seamstress and washerwoman, cook and canner, she had a voice that was more than human, and became so skilled in singing with the organ that the *seises de Sevilla* did not beat her.³

The reference of Mr. Méndez Nieto to the “*seises de Sevilla*” gives us very valuable information regarding pathways of cultural exchange in music, particularly in singing. He refers to the *seises de Sevilla*, a commonplace

¹ Antonino Vidal Ortega, “El mundo urbano de negros y mulatos en Cartagena de Indias entre 1580 y 1640,” *Barranquilla. Revista Historia Caribe. University of Atlántico*, volume II, n° 5 (September 2000): 87.

² Vidal Ortega, “El mundo urbano de negros y mulatos,” 88.

³ “El mundo urbano de negros y mulatos,” 96.

practice after Seville's Reconquest (1248) in which *mozos de coro*, choir boys and altar boys, sang organ songs (written chants) during the liturgy. Where and why does a female African slave learn those songs?

Cartagena's everyday life revolved mainly around two activities: work and religion. Since work was such an exhausting activity for African, Native American and Mestizo populations, religious celebrations became a space that offered them relief and rest. It was in that religious space and time where the cultural mechanism of resistance to oppression on the part of the dispossessed would begin to deploy.

Michel Foucault talks about how power is not an institution or a structure, but rather, the name we lend to a given situation, a mechanism on display. He says that where there is power there is also resistance.⁴ Following Foucault, we intend to study the mechanisms of power and resistance, of domination and control, that lead to the emergence of a festive space for the dispossessed.

In the conquest of the New World, the oppressor activates a power mechanism from the moment he comes face to face with the Native American people. With the help of religion he makes sure that the vanquished know they must subject themselves and that not doing so, will likely cost them their lives.

In these islands, in these Calvaries, those who choose death by hanging themselves or drinking poison along with their children are many. The invaders cannot avoid this vengeance, but know how to explain it: the Indians, "so savage that they think everything is in common," as Oviedo will say, "are people by nature idle and vicious, doing little work. For a pastime many killed themselves with venom so as not to work, and others hanged themselves with their own hands."

Hatuey, Indian chief of the Guahaba region, has not killed himself. He fled with his people from Haiti in a canoe and took refuge in the caves and mountains of eastern Cuba.

There he pointed to a basketful of gold and said: 'this is the god of the Christians. For him they pursue us. For him our fathers and our brothers have died. Let us dance for him. If our dance pleases him, this god will order them not to mistreat us.

⁴ Michel Foucault, *Historia de la Sexualidad*, volume I (Editorial Siglo XXI, México, 1977), 113.

They catch him three months later.

They tie him to a stake.

Before lighting the fire that will reduce him to charcoal and ash, the priest promises him glory and eternal rest if he agrees to be baptized. Hatuey asks: "Are there Christians in heaven?"

"Yes."

Hatuey chooses hell, and the firewood begins to crackle.⁵

The colonization process cannot be understood without evangelization, because subjection meant to accept victors' laws and the law of the White man's God. In order to deploy his power mechanism in his colonies, the White man destroyed, tore and burned down temples during the first phase of the Conquest. Those times would be followed by more complex ones in charge of Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian and Jesuit missionary orders utilize every possible strategy, including intimidation and fear, to attract and convince Native Americans to embrace Christian faith.

For the Conquerors, Native Americans, in general, were inferior beings and thus they justified the use of violence. On the other hand, the ecclesiastics censored and questioned that vision since they granted them certain levels of social skills and culture.⁶

Faced with Native Americans' resistance to converting to Christianity, missionaries skillfully and successfully used some elements of their rituals, such as their songs and dances, and merged them with their regional festive traditions, for the sole purpose of replicating in America the Spanish religious festive calendar, and of convincing the vanquished to actively participate in it. In exchange, they would be offered the opportunity to enjoy no-work spaces, to sing, dance, play an instrument, represent mysteries and paint altars and images—all of which was better than working the mines, plantations or the haciendas. That was how a merging of virgins and saints began to appear all over America, virgins and saints to worship, but mostly to celebrate. There was no struggle between symbols. The dispossessed were aware that any battle would be

⁵ Eduardo Galeano, *Memorias del Fuego*, tomo I: *Los Nacimientos* (Editorial Siglo XXI), 67.

⁶ Edgar J. Gutiérrez S., *Fiesta de la Candelaria en Cartagena de Indias* (Medellín: Editorial Lealon, 2009), 33.

useless and they chose to accept the ploy: to assimilate their gods to the oppressors' was part of their resistance mechanism to religious power.

The Tribunal of the Inquisition was established in Cartagena in 1610. It would use the new enforcement mechanism of the Catholic religion that coincided with the moment when the resistance mechanism of the oppressed was activated with the purpose of hiding and camouflaging any trait of their Native American or African ancient religious cults. The transmission processes had an impact and many of the rites disappeared while others transformed to go unnoticed to the Inquisitors' eyes.

Where does memory keep what it must... but does not want to forget?

Resistance mechanisms are the other side of power and their distribution is irregular: the resistance points, knots and focal points are spread with more or less density in time and space, in a collective and individual way, awakening some parts of the body, certain moments in life and particular behaviors.⁷

Without question, the body becomes a repository for the memory and a dangerous territory, something that priests were aware of and the reason why they have always feared it. Petrarch already wrote it in the 14th century:

The body covers and uncovers the spirits because the waving of the hands and the wandering and lewd eye reveal the existence of something in the spirits that is not seen on the outside ... the moving, the sitting, the gesture, the laughter, the pacing and the chatting, are signs of the spirits.⁸

But that was not the only worry that priests had in the New World. Some of them were permissive regarding dancing practices, and others restrictive, because in spite of having a strong power and repression mechanism, it was impossible for the Church to eradicate dance. Therefore they decided to use it and to, somehow, regulate it.

Dance was more dangerous than rebellions. But, where was its power? What could be so dangerous for Colonial order? What threat could

⁷ Ibídem. Foucault, 1997, 117.

⁸ Rancesco Petrarca, *De Rimedi de l'una et l'altra fortuna* (1356-1366, en latín), ed. It. Venecia, 1549.

a worn out, mistreated and almost naked body that moved to the sound of a drum embody? The risk was that that body communicated without speaking and together with other bodies, it built what Nietzsche called a “collectivity of numerous souls”, the true essence of dance.⁹

Dance is part of non-verbal languages. By means of it, oppressed people communicated and connected, something they could not do in other contexts. Besides, they could collectively return to mythic times through the communion found in rituals, which allowed them to escape from of a world of oppression and go back to the time of no-time, to the sacred time, to the time of origin.

Native American dances blended with the representation of the *autos sacramentales* (“sacred acts”: religious plays of early modern Spain) in order to survive. They were Spanish representations that came to America with the missionaries who organized presentations in churches, monasteries and convents. They were celebrated during certain Catholic feasts such as Corpus Christi, Nativity and Easter. Those holidays served as an excuse for the staging of holy texts using altars, platforms, processions and carriages. They played native musical instruments and performed native dances all at the service of an exemplifying religious text and plot in which good triumphs over evil. The vanquished, besides being defeated, were converted to the Christian faith. Almost always, the act closure involved a big dance held at the Church atrium.

Religious holidays also offered Mestizo and African populations a lenient space for dance and music. When the holiday was over, after the representations and processions, they were allowed to perform a fandango such as it was described in Cartagena in 1770:

The dances or fandangos about which Your Majesty’s Royal Charter of October 25 asks information about, come down to a circle half of which is made up of men and the other half of women. At the sound of a drum and the singing of verses, like the performances in Biscay, Galicia and other parts of those Kingdoms, a man and a woman dance in the center of the circle. Then they go back and take their designated places and so on they go alternating with each other until they are pleased with the dance. There

⁹ Andreella Fabrizio, *El cuerpo suspendido* (México: Editorial INBAL, 2010), 20.

is no awkward or dishonest situation about it, because men do not come across women and the verses are not indecent.¹⁰

A space of freedom and resistance began to emerge between the sacred and the profane, which brought together the dispossessed, heart of the world of those in bondage—the “forced,” as Antonio García de León calls them.¹¹ During the Colonial period they gathered around African drums to forget about the sorrows of their daily life and exchange songs, wiggles and drumbeats. That was where the cultural hybridization originated and where the cultural matrix of fandango was born; the first festive, musical and dance form created in America as a result of cultural exchange. Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals Borda explains the social implication of that matrix as follows:

The anti-solemn, lively, honest, direct and noisy nature, characteristic of the *costeño* (people from the Caribbean region of Colombia) and their culture is not a new heritage. It comes largely from public celebrations of fandangos, *bundes* (dances), farces, *mojigangas* (theatrical farces), *maromas* (acrobatic stunts), *bolas*, *boliches* (games) and bullfighting that *costeño* people organized since the Colonial times in small villas, haciendas and in the smallest villages. The festivities lasted days and were organized under any pretext: the arrival of a prominent visitor, the birth of a prince, the signing of a peace treaty, mayoral elections, the 25 days of obligation. Those were wild celebrations; they were almost bacchanalias that in fact did not attune with the lineage and rigidity of the classic European gentry.¹²

Fandango: A Space for Creation

The cultural forms that were brought from the Peninsula were copied in the colonies; *criollos* and Mestizos imitated the music and dance from European courts ballrooms’ in order to attain social recognition. To dress, speak, and dance as people did in Spain, were all synonyms of social acceptance in colonial ballrooms. Wealthy criollo youth took music and dance lessons with teachers coming from Spain, and the goal was to learn courtly manners and make them part of their education. What was going

¹⁰ Jaspe Generoso, “La Candelaria Fiestas y Bailes,” *Boletín Historial de Cartagena*, vol. III, n° 22, (1917), 411.

¹¹ Antonio García de León, *Fandango el ritual del mundo jarocho a través de los siglos* (México: Conaculta, 2006), 21.

¹² Orlando Fals Borda, *Historia doble de la Costa*, volume 1 (Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores, 1979), 154B.

on with the Mestizo, the African and the Native American in the meantime? We have stories of the Governor of the Cartagena province who thoroughly describes both universes:

The big ballroom that was set up just for dancing was filled up every night without the need of sending personal invitations. The following was well known: First dance: ladies dance, that is, pure white women called *blancas de Castilla*. The second dance included brownish mixes of primitive races. The third dance belonged to free blacks. But it is clear that men and women from each particular social class who held a certain relative social position and could dress up were the ones who attended... There was no ballroom for the poor, the slaves, free slaves, brown and black people, those in bare feet, farmworkers, charcoal burners, carters, fishermen. Nor would have they stood the politeness and circumspection that were rigidly practiced during the meetings of somewhat educated people of all colors and races.

They [the latter group] preferred their freedom and danced in the open to the deafening sound of an African drum, which is played with the hand, that is to say banged, on the drumhead. Men and women in pairs danced around the drummers in a big circle without holding hands; women with many flowers on their heads, shiny hair by the use of tallow and soaked in orange-blossom water, accompanied their beaus in the circle, swinging in rhythm and upright; in the meantime men made pirouettes, jumped and skillfully capered about all to the beating drum, trying to warm the finicky black or zamba girl, their partner, to the dance. About a dozen women together, next to the drummers, accompanied them in their drumrolls; they sang and clapped in such a way that hands other than theirs would swell. They replaced musicians (I mean, drum smackers), songstresses and dancers when they got tired with no etiquette at all. The circle would rarely stop its spinning and the two or three drums would not give up their disturbing noise during the whole night.¹³

The story of General Posada Gutierrez takes us into the cultural matrix of fandango, the first festive, musical, and dance form created in America. It was an open and free space for the exchange and expression of the cultures that gathered there. Social blending and spontaneity made the difference between the two celebratory spaces that Posada described: the

¹³ Joaquín Posada Gutiérrez, *Memorias Histórico–Políticas*, volume II (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1929), 195–197. Editor's note: for a discussion of this c. 1830 text in English, see Peter Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 276–277.

one in rigid ballrooms where the body was bound by courtly manners, and the one in the fandango, in which body and soul were freed to communicate with their memory, and where many verses must have been heard and exchanged.

Rhythm comes from deep within; it is intimate, physical, it is experience and memory at the same time. It is a mix of multiple feelings transmuted into an extraordinarily rhythmic music. The oral strength and the way of saying the song show deep melodies.

Es tanto lo que me gusta (I like so much)
er fandanguillo esijano (that little fandango)
que al oír erparmeteo (that when I hear the clapping)
solita me despampano (I shatter my own self)

The previous verse belongs to Andalusian folklore; a feminine voice takes over the song where it refers to clapping; they double their singing in their clapping in order to be faithful to the deep African panache. The music of Andalucía is bursting with African echoes from the past.¹⁴

The preceding quote reads an exchange between the cultural forms of Andalusian and enslaved African people. It is interesting to study how the exchange between Native American and African slaves took place in the long periods during which both groups were “forced” to row along Colombian waterways. During the Colonial period, navigation along the Magdalena River became intensive that *sampans* replaced the native canoe. Sampans were larger vessels and required a greater number of rowers. Navigating the river became necessary to transport people and merchandise from coastal cities to those located in the interior of the country. That practice decimated the Native American population and required the presence of slaves to replace them. However some Native American kept working, piloting canoes and sampans, and training the African novice rowers.¹⁵ The long journeys along the river became spaces for intercultural learning in which Native Americans taught Africans about the river and its environment, its animals, plants and their by-products. Enslaved Africans began to recognize in the New World elements they thought were forgotten, and that would allow them to rebuild their cultural material and make use of their ancient knowledge.

¹⁴ Luis Enrique Muñoz Velez, *El Bullerengue ritmo y canto a la vida*, *Revista Artesanías de América*, n° 54 (Cuenca, Ecuador: Jul, 2003).

¹⁵ Op. Cit. Fals Borda, 1979, 45^a.

In his double history of the Caribbean region of Colombia, sociologist Orlando Fals Borda recalls the testimony of Prudencio Vidales, a 92 year-old *zambo* (a person of mixed Native American and African ancestry) drummer who was a rower and tells the following story:

...It was not that sad being a rower; we had fun with the stories we told, and while we drank rum, we sang verses and ten-line stanzas.

...In the ports where there were parties, that were and still are frequent, the rowers stopped to dance *bunde*, *berroche* or *mapale* at the sound of the *gaita* or the *caña'e millo* with candles in our hands. (The *gaita* and the *caña'e millo*, cane of millet, are Colombian wind instruments used to play *cumbia* and other local rhythms).¹⁶

As a result of the multiplicity of names that are used to refer to fandangos, scholars have grouped them in a genre they call *Fandango de Lenguas*, *Bailes Cantados* ("Sung Dances") or *Tamboras*. In all cases, they refer to the first musical and dance form that was born in America and that has been passed on from one generation to the next through oral tradition. It has similarities and differences according to the region of study.

According to Carlos Franco there are sixteen variations of the *Fandangos de Lenguas* in the Caribbean Coast region, within a geographical area that includes the Mompos Depression, Cesar and Cordoba departments, the Northern Coast of Antioquia, the Canal del Dique area, San Basilio de Palenque, the Bajo Magdalena banks in Bolivar and Magdalena departments and the Ciénaga Grande located in the latter department. The variations are: *bullerengue*, *lumbalú*, *chalupa*, *zambapalo*, *rosario cantao (chuana)*, *tuna*, *fandango cantao* or *fandanguito*, *pajarito*, *baile negro* or *son de negro*, *congo*, *tambora*, *chandé*, *berroche*, *guacherna*, *mapalé* and *son corrido*.¹⁷

Franco also took inventory of the festive calendar in which those musical expressions were performed. Occurring throughout the year, from January to December, they included local, regional and national religious celebrations such as patron saint festivities, like the *Virgen de la Candelaria* on February 2, the *Virgen del Carmen* on July 16 and *San*

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, Fals Borda, 1979, p. 48 A

¹⁷ Carlos Arturo Franco Medina, "Bailes cantados de la Costa Atlántica," *Nueva Revista Colombiana de Folclor*, volume I, nº 2 (Bogotá: Patronato de Artes y Ciencias, Tercera Epoca, 1987): 58.

Martin de Loba on November 11. They also included Christian days of obligation like Easter, Christmas, Epiphany, Corpus Christi, and national holidays such as Cartagena's Independence Day on November 11, or Colombia's Independence Day on July 20.



Map of Colombia - Colombian Caribbean Coast Region

Further research, such as that of musicologist Guillermo Carbo, has shown that the names fandango and tambora not only refer to a form of baile cantado, but they also give name to the room where they take place and even to the performing group. In the case of the tambora the word is also used to name one of the drums they use to play it.¹⁸ It is therefore assumed that it was in our region, the Colombian Caribbean, where the first

¹⁸ Guillermo Carbó, "A ritmo de tambora," *Revista Huellas*, n° 39 (Barranquilla: Universidad del Norte, 1993): 27.

American cultural matrix was built around the performance and the dance of fandango. Further, this matrix includes music, dance, gastronomy, and fiesta, the result of a strong cultural exchange, growing out of the meeting of different original cultures in America: Africans, enslaved First Peoples, and colonizers.

A Backbeat Dance

The circle is a constant in fandango performance; pairs surround the instrumental ensemble and turn counter-clockwise. According to William Fortich, a researcher who has studied a fandango variant that originated in Cordoba and Sucre departments in the nineteenth century, with the arrival of the wind instruments, known as Fandango Sinuano, there is a strong symbolism in the dance that is unknown and has not yet been decoded.¹⁹

When Amparo Sevilla, a Mexican anthropologist, talks about this dance, she says that its corporal designs respond to socially introduced movement patterns containing codes that integrate into normative and value systems, which give meaning to the experience of the body, and assign roles and social hierarchy.²⁰

We know that the drum calls for the dance, that it is the voice of the slaves' ancestors, slaves that came from Africa. It is important to say that men almost always play the instrument and that fathers teach their sons how to play it and how to make it. The *tamborero mayor* (drum major) is always a person who has a high social recognition within the group, a master teacher for many generations and an important man within his community.

The same is true for fandango *cantadoras* (female singers), *tamboras* and other varieties of the bailes cantados. The cantadoras are preferably women, although there is no restriction for the involvement of men in the choirs. The leading cantadora is the oldest woman in the community and the one with the higher social status. This knowledge is also passed on from mothers to daughters. In the Caribbean region of Colombia, dance and music are knowledge and practices that are carried

¹⁹ William Fortich, *Con Bombos y Platillos* (Bogotá: Edimulticolor S.A.S., 1993).

²⁰ Amparo Sevilla, "Cuerpo y Ciudad: El baile en la era global," (México D.F.: Master's thesis, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana. 2000).

out along with productive activities such as agriculture or food preparation and sale.

“You learn while threshing corn, washing clothes or doing nothing”... — says the wise Rosario Berrío Cogollo (*bailadora* [dancer] of the *Palmeras de Urabá* group [Urabá Palm Trees])... “Unexpectedly you hear the music and ¡ajá! the movement begins and the voice goes out.”²¹

In a fandango, a couple enters into a rhythm, into a ritual space and time set by the drum and delimited by the choirs of *cantadores* (male singers) with their clapping and shaking. Rhythm here is much more than a temporary construction; it is a way to understand the world. Understanding rhythm is a complex process. One must not simply be carried away, but must also connect to the inner rhythm with the instruments’ rhythm, whether it is accompanying or syncopated. That is what musicians call beat and backbeat. Once the performer makes that connection the dance starts and the dancer begins to transmit his/her emotions.

The beat or pulse is directly related to our heartbeats while the backbeat is related to our mother’s heartbeat. The instrument, the drum in this case, guides us through the adventure of entering into the rhythm. The syncopated African rhythms were created on the basis of a liberating movement pattern; dancing liberated people from the work that slavery imposed on them. That was the reason why they turned counter clock-wise and went in the opposite way of the working time, which always goes forward. They spin backwards as if the endless repetition of the movement allowed them to turn back time, go back to the origin, to the mother’s womb, to mother Africa.

By way of conclusion, I want to insist that for Colombia, fandango as a cultural matrix was the first created in America as a result of strong cultural exchanges that happened in its territory. That cultural matrix is much more than dance and music and comprises a festive space and a ritual time that allowed the oppressed and dispossessed people to resist and create.

²¹ Edgard Benítez Fuentes, “Huellas de Africanía en el Bullerengue, la música como Resistencia.” In *Actas del III Congreso Latinoamericano de la Asociación Internacional para el Estudio de la Música Popular* <http://www.iaspmal.net/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Benitez.pdf> (accessed June 19, 2016).

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

MUSICAL ASPECTS OF THE *JOROPO* OF VENEZUELA AND COLOMBIA

CLAUDIA CALDERÓN SÁENZ

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Abstract

The word *Joropo* encompasses a Colombian and Venezuelan tradition that includes village fiestas, poetry, singing, music, and dance in a form of popular expression that is constantly evolving. Improvised creativity flourishes within existing structures and defined patterns of style. Joropo's origins can be traced to the Iberian music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as the many *Fandangos*, *Folías*, *Peteneras*, *Jotas* and Andalusian *Malagueñas*. These roots were flavored with the influence of eight centuries of Arabic occupation, and then transformed in America by the mixing of African and indigenous elements under the burning sun of the Orinoco Basin, against a backdrop of the infinite largeness of its horizons and savannas. Joropo's roots include the music of sailors and troubadours who arrived in Spanish galleons, taking root in Caribbean and South American soil and developing into a powerful and vigorous tradition. Over time, Joropo even became a symbol of national identity in Venezuela, and in eastern Colombia. There are three regional styles of Joropo defined by instrumental and stylistic differences: eastern Joropo and central Joropo from Venezuela and *Joropo Llanero*, from the plains along the Orinoco River, which is found in both Venezuela and Colombia and is very popular, due to its many recordings, extensive radio airplay, and its frequent appearances in festivals and competitions.

Keywords

Joropo, contrapunteo, copleros, parrando, Entreverao, relancino, Guafa, leco, capachos, Orinoquia, Pajarillo, Seis por Derecho, Quirpa, Zumba que

Zumba, Periquera, Gaván, Gavilán, Guacharaca, Carnaval, San Rafael, Merecures, Chipola, Perro de Agua, Catira, Paloma, Seis Numerao, Quitapesares

Resumen

El Joropo es una expresión de arte popular en permanente evolución, originalmente una fiesta campesina o pueblerina que integra poesía, canto, música y danza en un sistema de creatividad improvisatoria sobre estructuras establecidas y parámetros definidos de estilo. El Joropo se caracteriza por un sistema de estructuras cristalizadas a lo largo de la historia a partir de canciones y danzas tradicionales que se erigieron en formas musicales, sirviendo como base para a variantes en la letra, o convirtiéndose en formas puramente instrumentales. El Joropo es una tradición que abarca casi la totalidad del territorio venezolano y al menos la cuarta parte del territorio colombiano. En Venezuela el Joropo es considerado el baile nacional por excelencia y existen tres tipos de Joropo clasificados por regiones con importantes variantes de instrumentación y estilo: el Joropo Oriental, el Joropo Central y el Joropo Llanero. Solamente el Joropo Llanero, extendido alrededor de la cuenca central del Orinoco, es común a Colombia y Venezuela, siendo el más difundido de todos, tanto por la amplia discografía y radiodifusión como por la abundancia de festivales, concursos y torneos que involucran a ambos países. Además es notable el auge y desarrollo urbano que ha tenido esta música en los últimos años en las respectivas capitales. Sus orígenes se remontan a las músicas ibéricas del Siglo XVII y XVIII, tales como el múltiple Fandango, las Folías, Peteneras, Jotas y Malagueñas andaluzas, sazónadas con la influencia de ocho siglos de dominación árabe y posteriormente transformadas en América con el mestizaje de elementos africanos e indígenas, bajo el sol abrasador de la Cuenca del Orinoco y la vastedad infinita de sus horizontes y llanuras. Los antecesores del Joropo incluyen la música de marineros y trovadores que llega en los galeones provenientes de España, transformándose en música arraigada en el suelo americano y dando lugar a una tradición vital y poderosa que se expresa en un alto desarrollo musical y poético convirtiéndose en emblema de la identidad nacional.

*Hoy canta alegre el Llanero
cabalgando sin cesar
a la luz de los luceros
en sueños sin despertar...*

Introduction: What is Joropo?

The word *Joropo* encompasses a Colombian and Venezuelan tradition that includes village fiestas, poetry, singing, music, and dance in a form of popular expression that is constantly evolving. Improvised creativity flourishes within existing structures and defined patterns of style. Joropo's origins can be traced to the Iberian music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as the many *Fandangos*, *Folías*, *Peteneras*, *Jotas* and Andalusian *Malagueñas*. These roots were flavored with the influence of eight centuries of Arabic occupation, and then transformed in America by the mixing of African and indigenous elements under the burning sun of the Orinoco Basin, against a backdrop of the infinite largeness of its horizons and savannas. Joropo's roots include the music of sailors and troubadours who arrived in Spanish galleons, taking root in Caribbean and South American soil and developing into a powerful and vigorous tradition. Over time, Joropo even became a symbol of national identity in Venezuela, and in eastern Colombia. There are three regional styles of Joropo defined by instrumental and stylistic differences: eastern Joropo and central Joropo from Venezuela and *Joropo Llanero*, from the plains along the Orinoco River, which is found in both Venezuela and Colombia and is very popular, due to its many recordings, extensive radio airplay, and its frequent appearances in festivals and competitions.

Joropo music has become a genre for great solo virtuoso performances on the leading melodic instruments, the harp, and the *bandola* (four-string lute), while the accompaniment is played by the *cuatro* (four-string strummed small guitar) and the *maracas*. The double or electric bass has been incorporated into this typical ensemble since the 1940s. The llanero musician strums and plucks his instrument in a fierce and percussive manner and prefers lyrics that are strongly rooted in the poetic elements of his province, often in a proud nationalist gesture.

The instruments offer a surprising palette of harmonic and percussive textures wrapped around the voices and the harp or bandola. Couplet singers improvise rhymed verses that refer to historical or daily events, and even to people present at the party; the instrumentalists search

for new percussive sounds and textures through constant variations, improvisation being at the heart of Joropo music. The typical *canto recio* singing has a strong declamatory style and an epic character, featured by a long note called *tañío* at the beginning of most songs.

The main forms of Joropo are *golpes* (fast dances,) *pasajes*, and *tonadas* (slow songs). Their names often refer to birds, such as *Gabán*, *Gavilán*, *Guacharaca*, *Periquera*, *Pajarillo*, etc. The musical forms may be vocal or purely instrumental, but the real Joropo classic is the vocal joust, an improvised, rhymed duel between two singers called *contrapunteo*.

Born at full gallop with an incredible speed and powerful rhythmic vitality practically shouted out at the immense savannas, the brisk and fiery Joropo Llanero is known as the “untamed” Joropo.

An Outline of Joropo Music: Definition: Ethnicity and Region

Sabana de Sol Quemao...
...me huele a tierra mojada
me huele a llanto en el cielo
me huele a lluvia encantada...

The Joropo, from Venezuela and Colombia, is undoubtedly one of the Fandango's most illustrious American offspring. This intense expression of popular art, in permanent evolution today, was originally a peasant fiesta integrating poetry, song, music, and dance, in an improvisational tradition, following predefined structures and established parameters of style.

Joropo traditions cover a vast geographical arc stretching from the Andean foothills of Colombia, Villavicencio, and the plains of San Martín, to the Eastern borders of Venezuela; in other words, the entire central Orinoco basin. In Venezuela, Joropo is considered the national dance *par excellence* and there are three main regions with varying Joropo instrumentation and style: *Joropo Oriental* (Eastern Joropo), Central Joropo, and Joropo Llanero (Joropo of the Plains). The latter is common to both Colombia and Venezuela. It is the most widespread, due to its extensive discography and broadcasting, the abundance of festivals and performance competitions involving both Venezuela and Colombia, as

well as the remarkable growth of this genre in the urban areas of both of these nations.

Joropo music consists of a system of fixed structures, a treasure of songs and dances that gradually turned into stable generic forms during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The melodic gestures and harmonic patterns of some of these songs became the root of fixed instrumental forms harboring infinite variation. It has a ternary dance structure characterized by the *simultaneous* presence of binary and ternary subdivisions of the measure, as well as a hemiolic grouping (6/8, 3/4 and 3/2). This poly-metric feature is exposed in the instrumental and vocal Joropo genres, in simultaneous structures or underscored and heightened in successive variations (see the rhythmic types discussed below).

The constant variation of motives and patterns in the melodic material and in the accompaniment is an outstanding feature of the genre. Creativity and unbridled imagination is essential in this type of performance based on rhythmic morpheme variation. The *copleros* (improvising singers) extemporize rhymed poetry (on pre-existing melodic patterns and gestures) which recall historical or legendary events, directly mentioning and involving in their songs the people present at the fiesta, or members of the community (as in some cultures of Central Europe, Africa or the Middle East). Instrumentalists invent endless variations on the established accompanying patterns, developing new gestures and sounds that transcend the boundaries of tradition. The art of Joropo is therefore permanently evolving, in spite of keeping the structural frames that define the genre.

Joropo is reaching historic and continental importance today, as it incorporates elements and instruments from other musical cultures and reaches worldwide recognition, mainly through the diaspora of Colombian and Venezuelan performers.

Origins: Tradition and Cultural Crossbreeding

The origins of Joropo can be traced back to seventeenth and eighteenth century Iberian music, to the great spectrum of multiple Fandango-related forms: Folías, Peteneras, Andalusian Jotas and Malagueñas, seasoned by eight centuries of Arab rule, and later transformed in America as these forms incorporated African and Ameridian musical elements, and a fundamental native instrument of the Orinoco basin: the maracas.

Comparative musicology has linked the Joropo to Mediterranean sources, and historical documents have spotted precise Spanish settlements where the harp was introduced. Ethnomusicology has studied the diffusion and circulation of the harp throughout Venezuela, tracing a path that goes from the central mountains of Caracas to the plains of the Andean piedmont all the way into Colombian territory. Joropo is not necessarily tied to the presence of the harp, but the instrument is predominant in the genre.

This galloping music, designed for outdoor performance under the scorching suns, facing the infinite vastness of the horizons and plains of the Orinoco basin, was nevertheless the product of individual performers, sailors and minstrels who came in galleons from Spain, who sometimes sailed back with the new American genres and styles (*Chacona*); musicians who planted their roots in American soil, giving rise to a vital and powerful tradition which has now reached great virtuosity and a broad range of styles.

Instrumentation and Key Stylistic Features

Joropo singers are typically accompanied by a traditional trio of harp, cuatro and maracas. The singer can sometimes be one of the three players, although singing is usually a specialized role. The harp can be replaced by other melodic instruments such as the mandolin, the bandola (a guitar-size, four-stringed lute, tuned in fifths) and even a small accordion (known as *cuereta* on the eastern coast of Venezuela).

The double bass was added in the 1940s, when the first commercial recordings were made, but it was undoubtedly present in many popular ensembles as early as the late 1800s. The electric bass was naturally incorporated in the 1960s when television and commercial audio recording became widespread in Venezuela. Today the classic Joropo ensemble always includes either one, sometimes both electric and acoustic basses, alternating. In urban instrumental and vocal ensembles the melodic role has also often been given to the flute (now considered a typical accent in many Venezuelan and Colombian genres), the violin, the clarinet, and many other soprano instruments.

The classic trio of harp (or mandolin, or bandola, the three are all considered to be “major instruments”), cuatro and maracas are the emblems of Joropo music. *Arpa, cuatro y maracas* (harp, cuatro, and maracas) is a typical metonymy for Joropo.

A particular manner of singing called *canto recio* (tough singing) with a strong declamatory style introduced by a prolonged, very loud call, is used in the *Golpes Llaneros*, the quick and often exalted genres of Joropo. In contrast, there is a sweeter and delicate way of singing in the *Pasajes*, the romantic song forms with typical melodic structures. The softest vocal genres are the songs with marked indigenous traits, the *Tonadas*, often sung *a cappella*, with typical descending melodic minor third *appoggiatura* ornamentation, and soft downward glissandos at the end of most phrases.

Improvised rhymed singing, alternating between two or more *copleros* (rhymers) in a vocal joust called *contrapunteo*, is quite impressive due to its speed and poetic creativity. The singers are usually men, but a male vs. female clash is also frequent; the theme of the song is always a conflict, and the singer who is unable to rhyme on time loses face. The content is not always gentle, as singers seek to offend each other with elaborate reciprocal mockery. Similar vocal tournaments, or jousts, are frequent in other Latin American regions such as Veracruz in Mexico, Colombia's Atlantic Coast and Argentina's Pampas, suggesting a distant, common origin, confirmed by rhythmic structures and content.

Choreographically speaking, Joropo is a dance of couples holding hands throughout most of the piece, stomping on dirt floors wearing leather sandals called *cotizas* in a sort of intense tap-dance. The women wear ample cotton skirts, the men usually a simple T-shirt and long khaki shorts.

The Central Joropo (of Venezuela), better known as *Golpe Tuyero* is accompanied by arpa, maraca y *buche* (harp, maracas, and jawbone), where the harp is the soloist accompanied only by a singer who also plays maracas. This Joropo is also performed on a mandolin or a guitar, the latter characterized by a staccato, percussive, polyphonic picking style, very articulate, with a dry timbre, and maracas with voice. The singer in the *Golpe Tuyero* has a marked nasal timbre, and often delivers humorous texts. This style is never performed with a cuatro accompaniment in its original, pristine form.

The principal instrument in Eastern Venezuelan Joropo (*Joropo Oriental*) is the mandolin or the "Guyanese bandola," with its characteristic four metal double-strings. The *cuereta* (small accordion) is also frequently used. Oriental Joropo has amazing rhythmic features both

in its vocal and instrumental forms: a constant shifting between ternary and binary subdivisions in melodic improvisation, with hints of Caribbean Antillean flavor. The Oriental style of the maracas is also remarkable; it's an extremely scattered yet amazingly controlled rhythmic sweep that is very hard to master, in total contrast with the westernmost styles, which are noted for their sharp, neat staccato riffs.

The Genres of Joropo Llanero

Joropo from the plains of the Orinoco Basin, known as Joropo Llanero, is characterized by its cyclic forms based on repetitions of a harmonic loop, often quite short. Some are just 4 bars long, like the *Gabán*, which has two chords (I-V); others span 32 bars, like the *Carnaval*, with brief episodes in relative tonalities. These *Golpes*, as they are known, come from a trove of song forms that became standard repertoire for improvisation, both vocal and instrumental. Some of these, the longer ones, were probably just songs which became fixed forms, keeping some of their original melodic material as they evolved into harmonic and rhythmic molds. Others, like the famous *Pajarillo*, were certainly ancient forms of *Fandango* strumming, as well as popular songs that stuck to their molds, those centuries-old standard accompaniments for verse and dance. There is no shortage of evidence tying the harmonic cycles of traditional Venezuelan and Colombian music to renaissance and baroque Mediterranean examples.¹

Harp improvisation itself is certainly a surviving practice that disappeared in Spain but lived on in Central and South America. Some of the forms listed here were very likely imported with the instrument, and were probably already popular on the Iberian Peninsula.

¹ Some examples are Antonio Soler (1729–1783) “Fandango” for harpsichord, Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757) “Fandango Indiano” for harpsichord, Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805) “String Quintet with Guitar in D Major” has a Fandango at the end—all of these Fandangos repeat the same harmonic cycle we find in many Joropo *Golpes*, such as *Catira*, *Pajarillo*, *Gabán*, *Cascabel*. The same holds true for Spanish *Folías* by Frescobaldi, Geminiani, Tartini, Corelli, Marin Marais, Alessandro Scarlatti, Vivaldi, Handel, and Bach: we find these harmonic cycles in Polo Margariteño and many other genres from Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico. Zarabandas, Gallardas, Canarios and Peteneras have also their derivations in America such as Joropo *Golpes*: *Chipola*, *Gabán*, etc.

Each of the “Golpes,” identified by a particular harmonic cycle, a relatively constant melodic introduction, and a stylistic profile, has its specific name: *Zumba que Zumba*, *Chipola*, *Gabán*, *Gavilán*, *Pajarillo*, *Seis por Derecho*, *Merecures*, *Seis Numerao*, *Catira*, *Guacharaca*, *Periquera*, *Nuevo Callao*, *Carnaval*, *San Rafael*, *Quitapesares*, *Quirpa*, etc.

The *Entreverao* (suite of Golpes) is a medley of several successive cycles. The *Chipola*, a three chord cycle in two bars (I / IV-V), displaces and repeats the same structure several times on several degrees of the diatonic scale. This creates up to five sections (on I, II, IV, V, VI) in the piece, allowing several singers to participate in the joust. To play the cycle on all degrees of the diatonic scale, harpists either tune different octaves of their instrument with the required accidentals for each dominant, or simply omit sharpened leading tones, creating special harmonic coloring using minor dominants.

Joropo’s History, Evolution, and Present

As Joropo music began to spread in urban environments, semi-professional rural performers who originally played in country fiestas (*parrandos*), but also worked in cattle ranches and agriculture, progressively became full time musicians. There suddenly was more money in good Joropo performing than in the fields.

A wide gap started to form, roughly after the 1950s, between amateur peasant musicians and professional performers, the latter playing under contract at parties, clubs, or recording sessions. The autonomous development of Joropo, extracted from its original rural environment, enriched by a widespread recording experience, opened a new chapter in its history. New languages sprouted within the boundaries and parameters of Joropo, with the same traditional instruments in the 60s, and later in the 70s and 80s, with guest players from the realms of symphonic music or jazz.

The endless improvisations of rural fiestas had to be compacted into media-ready, shorter formats. The three-minute song, the live TV show (with its dreadful sound quality), the jukebox, microphones, amplification, were reshaping traditional music in Colombia and Venezuela as in other parts of the world. The impact was not all negative: constraints are powerful agents of creative evolution. The refinement of

the new musical productions of the urban era of Joropo, such as those of singer-songwriter Simón Díaz and many others, laid the tracks for new generations of virtuoso performers and remarkable producers.

This shift left a deep footprint in the history of Joropo. The original pastoral, bucolic themes became an object of nostalgia, remembrances of a rural past, rather than the expression of an agrarian reality. The power of the genre also became a vehicle for protest when the social upheavals caused by rural migration appeared as new and terrible problems in the poverty stricken areas, both in cities and in the abandoned countryside.

Likewise, the ethnic image of the Llanero as an emblem of primeval nationality, as a standard of rooted regionalism, was seriously disturbed by the new aesthetic trends. The barefoot Llanero soldier's heroic and courageous character in the armies of Paez, challenging the Spaniards in the final stages of the wars of independence, was diminished, becoming a trait of picturesque, outdated, almost comedic character.

The giddiness and the impatience of modern times are certainly leaving scars on this ancient, telluric music; the influence of transnational, commercial genres is being felt in the new incarnations of Joropo. Urban sensitivity, under the spell of commercial trivialization is not the same as the peasant's sensitivity, immersed in natural environments. Interaction with commercial diffusion, local show business, broadcasting and explosive urban sprawl has given birth to a new breed of Joropo, totally disconnected from its roots.

We observe therefore two basic directions in Joropo today:

1. Composed, commercial Joropo songs, which are often slower tunes in the style of the *Pasaje*, a genre that is, at its best, a traditional setting for romantic poetry. These seek monetary success above all, with their numerous crooners, carbon copies of one another, singing a stream of unbearably cheap, artificial, insipid songs with the poorest intonation, which, due to the lack of artistic criteria of mass marketing, record companies are pushed to become local commercial successes.
2. Joropo art-music: the new, erudite contemporary forms of Joropo transcend the traditional structures, delving into aesthetic explorations that are not devoid of the artistic risk of

denaturing a genre which is flexible yet well defined. But these explorations are the only creative, vital leads for the evolution of Joropo (which is, by the way, also defended by purists who keep the original formats alive). Innovation is not strictly the lot of large urban contexts; many experimental groups have sprung up in rural areas or small towns too. We find original compositions with traditional instruments (such as the ones played by harpist Carlos Orozco and his group); numerous fusions involving unusual instrumental combinations (Ensamble Sinsonte, Bogotá; Ensamble Arcano, Caracas; Ensamble Gurrufio, and many others); extreme virtuosity in traditional harp, cuatro, bandola, maracas and bass performers, expertly mixed by creative producers such as the late Alejandro Rodríguez, who made one of the most interesting CDs of new Joropo: “Cuatro Arpas y Un Cuatro,” nearly 20 years ago. These various creative fronts run in different directions, stressing one aspect or another of the immense potential of Joropo; they don't often have the commercial success they deserve, but are appreciated among educated listeners, musicians and connoisseurs, and considered the true musical vanguard. Some notable Joropo musicians include Fulgencio Aquino (tuyero harp), Ignacio ‘Indio’ Figueredo (harp), Juan de los Santos Contreras, el ‘Carrao de Palmarito’ (singer), José Romero Bello (singer), Joseíto Romero (harp), Ricaurte Chirivico (mandolin), Anselmo López (bandola), Pedro Flórez (bandola), Elda Flórez (singer), Cheo Hurtado (cuatro) and many others.

Tools for studying Joropo

The study of live performance naturally leads to field recording, which can later be transcribed to musical notation. The genre, being tonal and measurable in common time signatures, is perfectly compatible with simple transcription. The written structures can thus be analyzed, the borders of genre, and style within the genre, can be traced; a history and a technical compendium can be established. For instance, the evolution of harp styles, one of the most fascinating aspects of Joropo music, from the traditional old fashioned playing to the unbelievable new approaches, can be properly mapped: the Bandoleao, where the harp imitates the bandola (the lute of the Orinoco plains), which is like a tight rhythmic picking

similar to the banjo, creating textural melodies; the diverse *Bordoneos*, which are bass and tenor register, cross-handed virtuoso passages with exciting rhythmic patterns and remarkable creative freedom.

The subsequent performance of transcribed material on a keyboard can reveal unexpected traits that were sometimes hidden in the softer timbre of the diatonic gut or nylon harp strings. The transcription of *cuatro* accompaniments and maraca rhythms is also extremely useful to understand the rhythmic modes and how they function in their tight interactions. Starting from the analysis of particular Joropo pieces, it is possible to formulate the general rules of a musical system from these transcriptions.

The Dialectic between Golpe Corrido and Golpe de Seis: Rhythmic Modes and Harmonic Structures in the Golpes Llaneros

Joropo Llanero, which includes dance, poetry and music, has two major musical sub-genres: the Golpe and the Pasaje; the former is generally quicker, the latter slower.

In the musical terminology used by llanero musicians, and concretely in the musical structures it refers to, we can observe two clearly opposed rhythmic modes: Golpe Corrido, and Golpe de Seis. These modes, since they are defined by microstructures within the smallest units in each measure, precede the formal distinction between Golpe and Pasaje, as well as the distinction between the great variety of Golpes. These opposite rhythmic modes define the microstructures on which higher levels of musical architecture depend to fuel their array of motifs and their broader formal construction. Within the rhythmic typology that we describe as the Corrido mode, we will include the Pasaje, a genre that has a freer, variable song-based formal structure.

The Golpes, built on repetitive fixed harmonic cycles, use both the Corrido and the Golpe de Seis modes, which are interestingly two versions of an identical rhythmic pattern obtained simply by shifting the anchor of the first beat of each measure from one point of its loop to another. This simple shift can occur during certain pieces that include it. Generally, the fast Golpes are in one mode or the other, strictly.

It is necessary to describe these microstructures of Joropo music to see the striking similarities between its system of opposite rhythmic modes and similar systems in the Andean music of Colombia and Venezuela. The opposition between the strumming of the Colombian *triple* in the genres of *Bambuco* and *Pasillo* can be described in identical terms, suggesting a common ancestry, significant in breaching the theoretical divisions between Andean and Llanero music, often described as unrelated neighbors.

It is surprising to see that this dialectic opposition of two rhythmic modes deriving from an identical strumming sequence, starting on one point or another of its loop, can be observed identically in regions as far apart as Eastern Venezuela and Southern Colombia. We can safely say that there is a large family of traditional genres distributed along a geographic arc which goes roughly from Trinidad to Ecuador, sharing very similar deep microstructures, regardless of organology, harmony, general form and style. It is important to understand how these rhythmic microstructures work, and how they build the rhythmic characters of the various genres.

We will learn more about the dialectic opposition between the two modes at work in all Colombian and Venezuelan Joropos by looking at the strumming of the *cuatro*. The *cuatro* contains all the elements required for bringing a Joropo to life: chords and rhythm; it also clearly determines the rhythmic mode of each piece. It is seen as a harmonic *and* percussive instrument; together with the *maracas* and the bass it constitutes the rhythmic and harmonic Joropo foundation. This small, four-stringed relative of the Renaissance guitar is tuned exactly like the four highest strings of the guitar, but a fifth above, with the first string tuned an octave lower: A3-D4-F#4-B3.

The *cuatro* is strummed in an incessant movement of the right hand, playing a continuous 6/8 sweeping of free ringing chords which are punctuated by a dry muffled strike every 3 sweeps. The *cuatro* therefore produces two basic types of sound:

- a) Open: lets the strings resonate freely.
- b) *Trancado*: muffled strike, where the strings are muffled with the rear of the palm while the fingers strum the muted chord.

The open sound can be executed quickly, producing a tight chord, or with separated fingers, as a slightly arpeggiated strum. The *trancado* sound is purely percussive and occurs every two open intercalates, marking groups of three eighth notes in 6/8 meter. The result is a rhythmic punctuation of the harmonic material. Each measure of 6/8 has therefore six of these sweeps, one per eighth note, like a constant metronome. The order of the muffled or open sweeps is invariable, but their place in the measure determines the rhythmic mode of the entire structural pyramid. In the *Golpe Corrido*, the muffled strikes are placed on the third and sixth sweep. In the *Golpe de Seis*, they are on the first and fourth.

This dialectic based on the location of the muffled sweeps of the accompanying guitars in the 6/8-3/4 meters of the entire geographic region mentioned above is a unifying trait pointing to a common musical ancestry.

As we have said above, the *Golpe Llanero* is built on the repetition of a fixed harmonic cycle, with a certain rhythmic mode that is clearly visible in the strumming structure of the *cuatro*. This harmonic cycle identifies each type of *Golpe* and has a precise number of measures, multiple of four (4, 8, 16 and 32). Within this circular structure, there are short introductory or bridge elements that behave as identity markers of each *Golpe*; these can be exact or approximate *melismas*, melodic strands, short themes or rhythmic motifs.

Yet, as Colombian musicologist Samuel Bedoya has often stressed, harmonic and rhythmic structures are the distinctive markers of Joropo genres, not melodic features. The melodic stratum has a variability that belies the relative rigidity of rhythm and harmony. "It is the unchangeable harmonic scheme which defines the condition of genre identity" (Bedoya, unpublished manuscript on Joropo). Rhythmic stratification in the *Golpes* is the result of interacting, *simultaneous* binary and ternary subgroups. The upper register of the harp (also called "*tiples*": treble), the stopped *cuatro*-strums and the maracas accents usually express the binary structure of a 6/8 meter, while the lower register of the harp, the open-strums of the *cuatro* and certain maracas riffs deliver a 3/4 meter. Frequently used hemiolic figures in the harp or the bass are clearly establishing a 3/2 meter. The stacking of these simultaneous meters produces an exalting effect of colliding and overlapping patterns in what I have called the "Rhythmic Pyramid." The harp's frequent use of hemiolic figures in melodic motifs (groups of four eighths or two eighths and a

quarter) over bass motifs in half notes creates a floating, broad measured element in a tight grid of 6/8 in the other accompanying instruments.

Golpes Llaneros come in several lengths: single, double or three part structures. The single-cycle ones, such as Gabán, Pajarillo, Seis por Derecho, Corrido, Guacharaca, etc., are more suited for instrumental or vocal improvisation. In a shorter 3-chord cycle longer melodic structures seem easier to achieve, weaving longer developments without the rigid clauses of the longer two or three part forms. Short cycles also tend to give an impression of greater speed, with a quicker spin on which a series of fleeting patterns and textures can extend at leisure. Bipartite Golpes such as the Carnaval, Quirpa, San Rafael, Gavilán, etc., have a longer, slower harmonic discourse, which is generally tied to specific melodic content. This tends to limit the freedom of improvisation, forcing it into stiffer diatonic molds. (For example, the Carnaval has a 32-bar cycle, consisting of two sections). Recently a medley of Golpes, the *Entreverao*, has become very popular, especially as a showcase of instrumental virtuosity.

Golpes are sung in eight-syllable verses narrating the challenges faced by the the Llaneros, expressing the warrior ethos; heroic, patriotic themes, traditions of cattle ranch life, expressing love of the native land and its roots, the defense of identity; descriptions of traditions and regional elements, using the local names of animals or plants. The Bolivarian epic and the Colombian-Venezuelan brotherhood in the wars of independence are also important themes, since the Orinoco basin spans both countries, in one big Llanero nation of ethnic identity. The character of the Golpes is often ardent, even inflaming; a constant *acelerando* from beginning to end of each song or instrumental piece is typical.

Contrapunteo, The Vocal Joust

Golpes can be either instrumental or vocal, and there can be several traditional names for the same harmonic cycle. Short cycles are ideally suited for improvising couplets in vocal duets. The *contrapunteos*, duels between two or more competing singers, one of the main forms of Joropo music, are always delivered in a brisk tempo. The rule of the game is to repeat the last verse pronounced by the first singer and improvise a stanza beginning with that exact verse, challenging the idea he or she left, literally, in the air, and matching the proposed rhyme, of course. Failing to do so is tantamount to losing the challenge.

The preferred *Golpes* for this contrapunteo or vocal joust are Periquera, Zumba que Zumba, Guacharaca, Seis Corrido, San Rafael and Pajarillo *Chipoleao*, a relatively new form combining two *Golpes*. In most of these *Golpes*, we can observe a characteristic instrumental motif called the llamado (a “call”), a cue for the singer to come in; each *Golpe* has its classic, fixed cue. *Golpes* are also characterized by fixed homorhythmic chord phrases played simultaneously by all instruments, like cadential riffs making *cortes* (cuts) or *paradas* (stops), signaling transitions or marking the end of the piece. Totally exotic, composed instrumental introductions are also frequent, during which modulating phrases are suddenly introduced, triggering the unexpected *Golpe*, typically a Pajarillo or Seis por Derecho.

The Pasaje Llanero, A Lyrical Form

Pasaje Llanero, mostly a vocal genre, has a slower, lyrical character. Structurally similar to the binary song or European *lied*, its construction (ABA or AABA) is based on symmetrical periods with repetitions and alternating instrumental sections. The purely instrumental Pasaje, usually derived from the sung version, is typically played by harpists who reproduce the melodic line of the song in a characteristic, often elaborate flourish of arpeggios, octaves and ornaments, also used when accompanying singers in an underlying heterophony. The most common form is as follows (lower case: instrumental section)

bb-AA-BB-aa-bb-AA-BB + Coda (sometimes repeated).

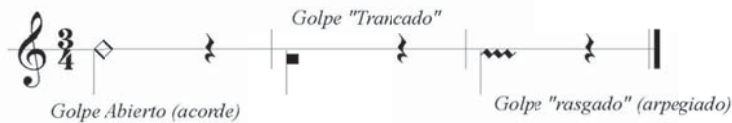
The harmonic structure of traditional Pasaje is almost a fixed form: the typical instrumental introduction, in major tonalities, opens modulating to the subdominant, and to the relative major key in minor tonalities. The Pasaje uses the same rhythmic mode as the *Golpe Corrido* in a moderate to slow tempo. No major surprises or sudden contrasts in the quiet, predictable modern Pasaje. Its interest lies in the beauty of its melody and the poetic content, which can be quite refined, bucolic or passionately romantic. This genre has been widely exploited commercially, reaching untold degrees of tackiness and cheapness.

Formerly, Pasajes were richer in their vocal rubato as well as in their frequent use of archaic modal scales. With the recording era came the homogenization and standardization of the form, stiffening the singing,

making it a trivial genre. However there are very famous recorded Pasajes of great beauty and originality, among which we highlight:

- “Romance en la Lejanía,” by Pedro Emilio Sánchez
- “Guayabo Negro,” by Ignacio “Indio” Figueredo and Germán Fleitas Beroes
- “La India Maria Laya,” “Los Caujaritos,” and “Los Diamantes,” by Ignacio “Indio” Figueredo
- “Pescador del río Apure,” by José Vicente Rojas
- “Apure en un viaje,” by Genaro Prieto
- “Fiesta en Elorza,” by Eneas Perdomo
- “Caballo Viejo,” by Simón Díaz, etc.

Los tres tipos de Golpe en el Cuatro

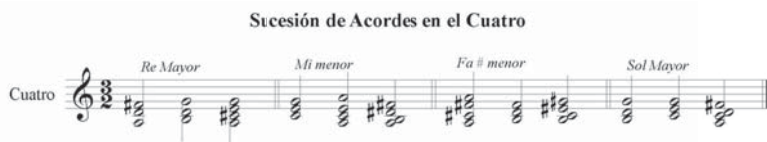


Example 1: 3 Types of Strumming on the cuatro.

The *trancao* muffled or percussive strum, punctuating the regular sweep of the chords, can be replaced by various types of strums:

- by a “silent” strum, an elision of the first or the last eighth note of the measure, depending on the rhythmic mode. The first eighth on the Golpe de Seis, on the last eighth in the *Golpe Corrio*.
- by various kinds of arpeggio strum styles, obtained by “fanning” the fingers at various speeds
- by rhythmically redoubling, ringing effects.

The left hand changes chords at the beginning of each measure. Some Golpes, such as the Chipola, even have measures with two chords. The voice distribution of the cuatro chords is usually very narrow, chord perception is definitely global, no individual strings stand out; it’s like a rhythmic, harmonic hum with a clear beat subdivision accented by the muffled or percussive strokes. Let’s look at a succession of chords in a typical sequence (Ex. 2)



Example 2: Chord Sequences in the *cuatro*

The two different ways to place the right-hand rhythmic loop of open and muffled strums in relation to the beginning of the harmonic measure determine the two opposite modes. These two modes correspond to two types of harp structures, bass motifs and maracas accompaniment. These, the Golpe Corrido mode and the Golpe de Seis mode, also known as *acostao* (lying), and *parao* (standing), can be observed in all llanero Golpes.

These two modes, the Golpe Corrido and *Golpe de Seis*, can be used in the exact same minor harmonic cycle, for instance (V - I - IV - V); therefore the two opposite Golpes shall bear different names: Catira in the first case, Pajarillo in the second.



Example 3: Golpe Corrido

In the Golpe Corrido, the trancao cuatro strums are invariably placed, as we have seen, on the third and final eighth notes of the harmonic measure. This mode implies a certain bass motif per measure (half note- quarter note), as well as a precise step executed by the dancers, a specific accent in the maracas and a typical structure of rhythmic distribution in the harp. This mode, or “rhythmic key,” is the foundation of a specific musical character. (In Salsa music the famous *clave* establishes rhythmic backbone and character of the piece, and similarly this Salsa “key” has indeed two positions in relation to the measure, named 2-3 and 3-2)

Clave Rítmica del Golpe Corrido

Golpes "Trancados" del Cuatro y Maracas

Bajo

Example 4: The Corrido Mode

In the Golpe Corrido, the muffled strikes are placed on the third and sixth sweep.

The Golpe de Seis mode has a completely different accent, *the muffled strikes are placed on the first and fourth sweep*. The elision of the first beat is frequent, performed as a totally silent muffled strum. (Ex. 5):

Golpe de Seis

Golpes "Trancados" del Cuatro y Maracas

Bajo

Acento de los bailarines

Example 5: Rhythmic Structure of Golpe de Seis

The continuous, perfectly regular strumming of the right hand on the cuatro is not altered when performing the silent (or even the percussive strums); The hand is simply lifted. This elision is a slightly modified trancado strum. The rhythmic pattern of the corresponding bass figure is what we are looking at here. On the second quarter note of the bass, the eighth note is just a dynamic accent, in a 3/4 time. The rhythmic key of Golpe de Seis is: (Ex. 6)

Clave Rítmica del Golpe de Seis

Golpe completo del Cuatro

Golpe del Cuatro con elisión del primer tiempo

Bajo

Example 6: Golpe de Seis Rhythmic Key

We can observe, in both rhythmic modes, how the accentuation of the cuatro, along with the maracas and the harp's high register, invariably fit into a 6/8 meter, while the low harp register clearly marks a 3/4 meter. Later we will see how the polyrhythmic stack is even more complex when we factor in the hemiolas, with their broad overarching 3/2 meter. In addition to the metric subdivision produced by the cuatro with the 6/8 tranco strums, we note that performers also add emphasis to the open ringing strums on the third and fifth eighth notes, in sync with the corresponding bass or harp low register figures, the two last quarter notes of each measure. (Ex . 7) :

**Acentuación suplementaria del Cuatro
en coincidencia con el Bajo respectivo**

Golpe Corrido Cuatro

Bajo

Golpe de Seis Cuatro

Bajo

Example 7: Complimentary Accentuation of the cuatro in Sync with the Bass Figure

This way, the cuatro condenses both the 6/8 and 3/4 meters. Thanks to the dialectic between Trancao (percussive or muted) and open strikes, the cuatro forms, along with the song, a self-sufficient musical core. This synthesis of elements places the cuatro at the heart of the classic llanero group; it is in fact the only instrument that exposes the harmonic sequence while constantly expressing the rhythmic mode in detail, complete with percussive accents. Moreover the cuatro oftentimes provides the alterations which cannot be played on the diatonic harp.

However, the harp has a much freer and more creative role, as a solo instrument, since it is not forced to provide a constant, stable and basic accompaniment. Harmonies are often only partially expressed, while phrasing often uses silences and surprising structural or timbre effects: capricious bordoneos, swift interlocking patterns in both hands, displacements or ostinato figures, dwelling stubbornly on common notes of the harmonic cycle while the cuatro marks the changes and guarantees the structure. Thus performance and improvisation on the llanero harp relies entirely on the rhythmic-harmonic base given by the cuatro.

This difference between two rhythmical keys is extremely important in the llanero Golpes. Not only does it create variations in the set of pieces performed at a party, it can also be used as a means to mark the formal divide between two or more sections of a song, with alternating, competing singers. This is the case of the Pajarillo Chipoleao, mentioned above, where the piece transitions from Chipola (in the Corrido key) to Pajarillo (in the Golpe de Seis key). The famous arrangement of Alberto Arvelo Torrealba's epic poem *Florentino y el Diablo* ("Florentino and the Devil") by Jose Romero Bello, is a great example of this form. It's a vocal joust between Florentino singing the Chipola and the Devil singing the Pajarillo, both rhythmic modes alternating quite dramatically in one song.

Let us see the scheme of overlapping rhythmic modes, to understand this gap of "rhythmic keys" (Ex. 8):



Example 8: Overlapping of the Rhythmic Modes

We note that in both modes the continuous, standard bass figure, consists of a quarter note rest followed by two quarters; the continuous sequence of muffled or percussive and open, ringing strums, in the cuatro consists of two groups of three eighths, spanning two dotted quarter notes. What determines one mode or another, as we already pointed out, is the harmonic anchor: where the chord changes occur in this sequence of events. Each of these modes conveys its own musical mood: the Golpe Corrido produces a sense of stability due to the stress on the first beat in the low register of the harp and the bass. It is more waltz-like in character, the bass marking the first and last beats of the 3/4. By contrast, the Golpe de Seis is fleeting, syncopated, conveying a sense of floating, since the cuatro and basses frequently omit the first beat, creating a void on that crucial point of each measure.

The exact same harmonic cycle of the famous Pajarillo, played in Corrido mode bears a different name, Catira, and is considered much a softer and more gallant than its harmonic twin in Golpe de Seis mode. The Pajarillo is indeed one of the fastest and most powerful Joropos.

The rhythmic mode dictates the character and the type of syncopations and motifs in both the melodic and the accompanying parts. Each llanero Golpe has a specific harmonic cycle and rhythmic mode. The modes are not optional, and not all Golpes have twins in their opposite mode.

The Corrido Mode is the most common in llanero Golpes, and is also the one used in the Pasaje. The Golpe de Seis mode type is used in fewer Golpes, but it happens to be the most intense one, played at the climax of singing and dancing.

Finally we show an example of the polyrhythmic pyramid produced in the Golpe de Seis, by interwoven hemiolic figures in the high register (Tiples) of the harp and their respective bass notes. (Ex.9):

**Pirámide polirrítmica del Golpe de Seis
con imbricación hemiólica**

Example 9: Golpe De Seis Polyrhythmic Pyramid With Hemiolic Overlapping

When the mode change occurs in the middle of the piece, the Llaneros say that the rhythm “turns over.” This is one of the most interesting moments in llanero music, a subtle boundary, yet this effect can go unnoticed by untrained ears. Shifts are common both from Golpe Corrido to Golpe de Seis and vice versa.

These occasional, spontaneous shifts can happen in the middle of some Golpe, capriciously, as a two-way diversion, back and forth. As we have pointed out, these shifts are also official in some of the composite Golpes (Pajarillo Chipoleao).

It is curious to note, stressing what we have said in the general introduction, that this type of oscillation or dialectic between opposing rhythmic modes is both present in Eastern Venezuelan Joropo as in the *Bambuco Cruzado* (flipped Bambuco) of the Colombian Andean region. This permutation of 6/8 and 3/4 meters, a rhythmic shift shared by geographically distant genres, highlights the probable existence of a common ancestor that used this musical versatility. To notate these shifts

it is necessary to introduce a bar of 2/4 to go from Golpe de Seis mode to Corrido mode, and then a bar of 4/4 to return to the Golpe de Seis mode.

The Llanero says this change is made by “swallowing” the first beat and then “spitting it back out.” At the time of the shift, the cuatro introduces a new harmonic cycle without changing or stopping the ever flowing, sweeping motion of the right hand; it simply anticipates or delays the chord change, the strumming goes uninterrupted, hence the rhythmic shift. This change of *acostao* (lying down) to *parao* (standing), or vice versa, is also common during certain Golpes that have a twin in the opposite mode.

All classifications should be handled with subtlety. Joropo, as we have said above, is a constantly changing language. We've seen that these rhythmic modes are only the very basic structures of cuatro, harp and maracas performance; starting from there we can understand the variations produced today by performers of all sorts. This outline only intends to serve as a guide, a tool to understand the rich and complex material of Joropo music.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE FANDANGO AS A *FIESTA* AND THE FANDANGO WITHIN THE *FIESTA*: *TARIMA*, CANTE, AND DANCE

JESSICA GOTTFRIED HESKETH

Abstract

What is the implication of saying that the fandango is *fiesta*? When is the fandango a fiesta and when is it not? The starting point of this paper is a reflection on the fiesta itself as the subject of research, to observe several different forms of the fandango as a fiesta, and to differentiate these occasions from the fandango when it plays a ceremonial role. The fandango as a fiesta is usually the *fiesta de tarima* (the wooden platform upon which dancers do percussive footwork) of which there are many examples in México, such as the *fandango jarocho*, *fandango tixtleco*, *huasteco*, *de tierra caliente*, *de artesa*, among others. Other fiestas de tarima are also called “fandango,” such as the *fandango caiçara* of southern Brazil. There are fandangos that are fiestas, referring to the entire festivity, including food, cooking, drink, the place, the setting and more. But other fandangos are festive in a different sense, the word referring not to the entire fiesta, but rather to a musical, singing or dance event that occurs within the ritual structure of the fiesta. In those cases the fandango is an indicator of a particular moment of the fiesta: a beginning, an end, or an ode to a Virgen. Examples used to illustrate the fandango in this second sense are: *Fandango Tehuano from San Juan Guichicovi* in Oaxaca, México; the *Fandango Parao* of Alosno, in the Province of Huelva, and the *Fandango de Almonaster* or *Santa Eulalia*, also in Huelva, Andalucía in Spain.

Keywords

Fiesta, fandango, tarima, ritual, festive.

Resumen

¿Qué implica decir que el fandango es fiesta? ¿Cuándo es fiesta y cuándo no lo es? El punto de partida de este trabajo es que es necesario y pertinente desarrollar un estudio sobre la fiesta como objeto de estudio. El texto se centra en las diversas formas que tiene el fandango cuando es fiesta, marcando una diferencia a cuando es festivo. El fandango como fiesta suele ser la fiesta de tarima, en México hay abundantes ejemplos, entre otros el fandango jarocho, tixtleco, huasteco, de tierra caliente, de artesa, u otros. Otras fiestas de tarima también son llamadas fandango, por ejemplo el fandango caiçara del sur de Brasil. Entonces hay un conjunto de variantes del fandango que son la fiesta en si misma, lo cual incluye la comida, la bebida, las cocineras, el lugar, el entorno, y más; y parece que generalmente fiestas llamadas fandango son *fiestas de tarima*. Pero aparte, hay fandangos que son festivos en otro sentido, la palabra fandango no alude a la fiesta como tal sino a un momento de la fiesta o a un evento musical o de danza que ocurre dentro de la estructura de la fiesta. En estos casos se puede ver que el fandango marca un momento particular de la fiesta, el inicio, el fin, como oda a una Virgen; se toman como ejemplos el Fandango Tehuano en San Juan Guichicovi en el estado de Oaxaca en México, el Fandango Parao en Alosno, Provincia de Huelva y el Fandango de Almonaster o de Santa Eulalia en la misma provincia de Huelva, en Andalucía, España.

Introduction

What is the implication of saying that the fandango is a *fiesta*? When is the fandango a fiesta and when is it not? The starting point of this paper is a reflection on the fiesta as a central research subject to then observe the different forms the fandango may take when it is a fiesta, and to mark a difference from when it is festive— a distinction that seems confusing, and which gestures toward the need to analyze and define this notion of the fiesta. The fandango as a fiesta is usually the *fiesta de tarima*, of which there are many examples in México, such as the *fandango jarocho*, *fandango tixtleco*, *huasteco*, *de tierra caliente*, *de artesa*, among others; and there are also examples in South America, like the *fandango caiçara* of southern Brazil. In all of these cases, the word “fandango” refers to the *fiesta*, meaning the entire fiesta, including food, cooking, drink, the place, the setting, the music, the dance, the dancers, the poets, the instruments and more; when this is the case it seems it is always a fiesta de tarima. On the other hand there a different sort of fandangos that are part of a fiesta, and so we can say they are festive, but calling them “fandangos” does not

include the entire festive event. In these cases the word does not refer to the entire fiesta, but rather it describes a musical, singing or dance event that occurs at a predefined moment of the fiesta, as part of the structure of the fiesta, like an element of the ritual, and in those cases the dancing or singing or playing of fandangos seems to indicate a specific moment within the fiesta: a beginning, an end or as ode to a Virgen. Examples used to illustrate the fandango when it is festive, meaning it is one element of the fiesta (vs. the entire fiesta) are the *Fandango Tehuano from San Juan Guichicovi* in Oaxaca, México; the *Fandango Parao* in Alosno in the Province of Huelva, Spain, and the *Fandango de Almonaster* or *Santa Eulalia*, also in Huelva, Andalucía in Spain.

In the social sciences, we can find abundant descriptions and references to fiestas of all sorts and from all lands; the fiesta has been an important subject in anthropology and ethnomusicology. The notion of fiestas requires definition and analysis because it includes a wide range of rituals, ceremonies, social events, and their preparations and organization. We know the importance of the fiesta as part of social and cultural organization, understood from diverse angles and perspectives (Van Gennep, 2004; Turner, 1989; Durkheim, 1991; Malinowski, 1993) but even in ethnomusicology there are few studies of the entire fiesta phenomenon of a culture or society in musical and dance terms, or even regarding the soundscape. Much music has been studied in context, but considering only the music while ignoring the sonic structure, landscape, as well as the social organization (Blacking, 1973). There are scarce but relevant approaches where the many aspects of social life represented, expressed, and resolved in the fiesta have been the objects of study (González Pérez, 2007, 2011, 2012; Steingress, 2006; UAM Azcapotzalco). Latin American culture is *fiestero*, *pachanguero*, *parrandero*, and the fiesta has played an important role in staging resistance, transmitting culture, cohesion, representation, conservation of symbols, and more. But still the fiesta as a productive topic for scholars of Latin cultures has yet to be fully investigated. This paper intends to reflect upon the notion that “fandango is fiesta,” exploring the fandango both as a type of fiesta and as specific moments within the fiesta. For purposes of clarity, I will refer here to the fandango as an entire festive occasion as “fiesta,” while I refer to the fandangos that are played, danced or sung as a predefined moment of the fiesta as “festive.”

The term fandango has been used to refer to the general fiesta, and “*fandanguero*” refers to someone who is *always* in some party, or as a

word to depict something like “festive chaos,” or craziness and fun, or anything made exciting by Latin passion and intensity. But a starting point in this article is that these definitions, and the use of the word “fandanguero” in such contexts, is a misunderstanding. It derives from the stereotype of Spanish character dating from the eighteenth century in which many sorts of fandango dances were popular in Spain and Portugal (Swinburne, 1787). And from that time on, there have been many fandangos composed as classical and romantic musical pieces, usually representing Spanish character, mainly in minor tonalities and 3/4 meter. One of the earlier pieces is by the German composer Christoph Willibald von Gluck (1714–1787), who includes a fandango in his pantomime-ballet *Don Juan* (1761) in the second part of the Suite.¹ Twenty-five years later Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) based on Gluck’s work, wrote a Fandango for Act III of the *opera buffa* *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786)², although not all copies contain the fandango dance because it was torn out of the script in Vienna in 1786 (Link, 2008, 69, 73, 92).

This text reveals an important moment in the generation of a stereotype: the manner in which the fandango was staged in these works bore little or no resemblance to the fandangos being played, danced, and sung in Spanish folklore. In these staged fandangos, a festive context was mistaken for general chaos, violence, and passion. In these staged fandangos, a certain scale, rhythm, instrumentation, and timbre were utilized to represent national characteristics, be they Turkish, Chinese, Russian, or Spanish. Stereotypes take one or two elements of complex cultures and repeat them continuously over time until the complexity of live cultures are reduced to those few elements (Pérez Montfort, 2007, 10–11). Stereotypes are wonderful for tourism promotion but terrible regarding awareness of cultural diversity. The result now is that fandango is thought of as a passionate, intense Spanish dance, causing all sorts of confusion about the Latin American fandangos and their origins.

The musical elements of the typical fandango staged in classical music and dance are mainly based on the *Fandango* composed by the

¹ Suite del Ballet Don Juan del compositor Gluck, Camerata San Angel, Luis Sergio Hernández director. Partes de la Suite: I. Andante Gracioso II. Fandango III. Aria-Leicht bewegt IV. Piccicato V. Danza de las furias.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V8yY38BCUQk&> (accessed June 22, 2016).

² las bodas de Figaro, final del III Acto

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uk8c1leADXw> (accessed June 22, 2016).

Padre Antonio Soler (1729–1783) in D minor (1766), rediscovered in 1958 and identified since as the typical fandango as dissonant, syncopated, colorful, and rhythmic dance music (Speer, 1958). Aside from those mentioned above, other classical composers have also written Fandangos, modeled after *mazurkas*, *waltzes*, *sonatas*, *boleros*, *minuets*, *fugues*, *rondos*, among others. Barbieri, for example, in the nineteenth century composed fandangos in the mode of popular forms such as *boleros*, *caleseras*, *habaneras*, *jácaras*, *jaleos*, *jotas*, *muñeiras*, *paso dobles*, *seguidillas*, *tangos*, *tiranas*, *villancicos*, *vitos*, and *zapateados*. Did any of these terms mean “fiesta” in their original contexts?

Still today there are many dances called “fandango,” some of them listed in this article, but there are many more. For example, here we make no reference to the Portuguese fandangos, but we can say that there are such varieties of fandangos that stating that there is one meter, key, or harmony to define fandangos in the entire world is mistaken. There may be similarities between them and elements that could point to some sort of genealogy, but actually tracing them all back with precision and understanding of what fandango or fandangos were originally, or stating that one variation was the first to be played or danced is very difficult, unless it was based on written music which would imply that there were already fandangos in living culture before they were written down.

On the other hand, it is very possible that the word “fandango” was used to describe a multiplicity of musical, poetic, dance and festive manifestations from the very beginning. One of the pending doubts is whether in Spain and Portugal the word “fandango” was ever used to refer to a fiesta. So far, it seems the dimension of fiesta is abundant in México and Latin America and expressly absent in Spain and Portugal. Some authors may consider that if the fandango is a fiesta in Latin America, that this must have held true for ancient Spain (Castro Buendia, 2007), but this could imply a very lineal conception of the fandango genealogy—it could, on the other hand, be supported by the complexities of transatlantic circulation). Here it is important to note that while there are fandangos as fiestas in at least seven regions in México, there are also many written music pieces titled “Fandango” or considered to be of the fandango genre, and in these cases there is no doubt that the form is based on the classical and romantic musical conceptions of fandangos. Furthermore, these formal musical versions have also seeped into local cultures, and there are localized fandangos whose authors are unknown but which are played

over and over in pretty much the same way, year after year, like the example from San Juan Guichicovi that we will describe further on.

The Fandango as a Fiesta

The fandango jarocho (Veracruz, México), fandango tixtleco (Guerrero, México) and fandango caiçara (Southern Brazil) are some examples of fiestas de tarima: a social, musical, poetic and dance gathering around a tarima or dance board on which dancers play percussive rhythms with their feet to the *sones* or *marcas* played by stringed instruments of diverse sizes and tunings.³ The singing part of the festive ensemble may vary as to who sings, how, and when, but there is a standard verse structure that all fandangos (as in fiesta type of fandangos) share: 4, 5 or 10 eight-syllable stanzas with particular rhyming possibilities (abab, abba, abbaa, ababa, abbab, abbaaccddc). The tarima plays such an important role that the entire fiesta revolves around it; there is no amplified music all night, afternoon, or evening, and the tarima is open to anyone who wishes to go on and dance.⁴ Dancers are the main percussionists in the three traditions we are referring to here: In Veracruz and Tixtla the dancers go on the dance board and make the percussive sounds until a verse is sung, at that point a new couple of dancers may go on the tarima to replace the first ones, and so on. In Paraná, southern Brazil, a group of dancers follow a *mestre*, who follows the musicians who are playing *marcas*.⁵ There are

³ A tarima is a wooden platform which may be anywhere from 2 to 10 or 15 inches off the ground. There are no standardized tarima sizes; in the Veracruz tradition and also in Tixtla, Guerrero, they are usually long on one side and short on the other for the *sones de montón* and they are intended to be mobile: they can be carried from one house to another by two men, ideally. In the Brazilian caiçara tradition they are large platforms that are not mobile, they are mostly built over the hole that was dug to cook the meat, and remain in place the entire fandango. In other traditions of México, for example in Tierra Caliente in Michoacán or Jalisco, the tarima, dance board is made by putting boards over a hole dug in the ground with large clay vessels that amplify the sound (Paraíso, 2015).

⁴ Sometimes amplified music is brought in to entertain those who do not dance, sing, or play fandango. When the cumbia, reggaeton or other amplified music sounds the fandango usually comes to an end. There may be exceptions of fandangos that try to keep going in spite of the noise, or the tarima may be taken away from the loud music. But generally, the fandango is acoustic and requires an acoustic environment to be enjoyed fully.

⁵ *Marcas* may be understood as songs, but they are distinctive in both their origin and musical structure, just as in the Veracruz and Tixtla traditions (and other

two large categories of Brazilian *marcas*: those that are danced as zapateado,⁶ or more correctly *tamaqueado*,⁷ and those that are danced as *valseado*.⁸ In the fandango caíçara no one is spontaneously invited to dance the *tamanqueado* which is danced only by the predefined group of dancers, but everyone is welcome to join in the *valseado*, in which the group of dancers interact with the public and get as many people dancing as they can.

Though perhaps obvious, it must be stated that the footwork in these three fandango traditions varies; what is similar is that in each case the dancing is percussion following the musical and rhythmic phrases of that particular tradition. In addition, within each tradition there are stylistic variations. What is notable about these three footwork traditions is how different they are from flamenco, Spanish, or Portuguese dancing; their technique, style, type of sound, and the social and musical organization around the dance board are so different that there can be no unconditional evidence of genealogical or historical ties.

Any similarities between the Mexican and Brazilian traditions can be seen in the general *fiesta* structure they share, a *fiesta* not found in Spain. In particular, these traditions seem related regarding the use, treatment, and location of the *tarima* or dance board; the *fiesta de tarima* called “fandango” does not exist on the Iberian Peninsula. In the caíçara tradition, the *tarima* is not mobile—it is not small enough to be transported as it is in Veracruz and Guerrero—but it is built especially for the occasion of a fandango, and the place it is built determines the place the entire *fiesta* will take place, always around the *tarima*. Although the flamenco *tablao* is similar, one of the main differences is that the occasion is not called a fandango, and in the three American examples they are all known now as *fandangos*, and we have supporting historical evidence that

Mexican examples) *sones* differ from songs in their musical and lyric structure, history, origin, etc.

⁶ Called *tamanqueado* in Brazil because the dance clogs are called *tamancas*, and zapateado in México because the Spanish word for shoe is *zapato*.

⁷ The dance makes a sound and is one of the main percussion instruments of the ensemble. In the fandango caíçara the sound of the clogging is integrated with clapping the rhythmic phrases of the music or *marcas*.

⁸ In the *valseado* the dancers do not intend to make any specific sound or rhythm with their feet. It is called *valseado*, or waltz, because the dancers hold on to each other in couples, and do waltz-like movements.

they were referred to as fandangos from at least the eighteenth century (Antonio García de León, 2006, 20; Antonio García de León, 2002, 11; Pimentel & Gramani, 2006).

In Veracruz and Tixtla, although everyone is invited to spontaneously go on the tarima and have a dance, not everyone does so, because not everyone is competent to do so (Gottfried, 2005; 2007). In any case, when someone does go onto the tarima, the same rules apply. A verse must be sung for the dancer to relay him or her to the following dancer. Whether virtuoso or beginner, the basic relay of dancers and the essential rhythms are *always* followed.

The relevance of pointing out the tarima and its importance in the three fandango types is because the fandango as a fiesta is highly spontaneous, and this is one of its characteristics as a fiesta. In all three cases the fandango is not the dance, the verses and the music, but the entire occasion, the fiesta as such. This fiesta is a musical occasion in which there are many possible ways of participating in the singing, the dancing, and the playing, but for each of the three options there is a basic musical structure for each son or marca, which all musicians and dancers know. Within these limits and rules, fiesta participants play, dialogue, communicate, defy, express, conquer, compete, and so on. The verse, music, and percussive dancing allow spontaneous participation of anyone who has the basic knowledge to do so. When learning any of these musics, dances, or verse forms it is essential to understand the festive context as a practice; a dancer who dances *bailes regionales* as in staged folkloric music of México, even if they have danced La Bamba a million times, must leave his or her choreographic training behind when on a tarima in a fandango, drawing only upon his or her ability to enter the music of the sones in a spontaneous rhythmic phrasing, which is only contained by the musical structure of the sones themselves.

While we are aware of abundant prohibitions of the fandango in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was not the dance per se that was prohibited, but rather this festive structure that needed nothing but a platform to dance on and a group of skilled musicians to have fiesta and entertainment for hours, days, or more. Seen at a distance the fandangos are a chaotic crowd of passionate people who are completely absorbed in and centered around the tarima and everything that goes on there. But upon closer observation, the musical encounter contains dozens of stories being told at once, and dancers and musicians and poets interlocked in

rhythmic *sones* and *marcas* that envelop their full attention leading to trance-like states. This is what was prohibited in many cases: not only the verses—which were quite daring and outrageous—but the self-organized *fiesta*, the *fiesta form*, a very powerful way of passing the time in social interaction.

Here are two examples of very outrageous verses:

En la esquina está parado
un fraile de la Merced
con los hábitos alzados
y enseñando el chuchumbé.

*On the corner
is a priest from La Merced
with his robe lifted
and showing his chuchumbé.*

Cuando estaremos mi vida
como los pies del señor
el uno encima del otro
y un clavito entre los dos.

*When will we be, my love,
like the lord's feet
one on top of the other
and a nail between us.
(!!!)*

A variety of reasons were given to explain the various prohibitions of the fandango, but often the accusations are for carrying out a fandango, as a context where prohibited verses were sung and prohibited dances were danced. Some of the common dances that were scandalous in México were the *Pan de Jarabe* and *Panaderos*, both played frequently at fandangos. Though the prohibitions of fandangos are not the central theme here, it is relevant to point out that many references to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fandangos in México are preserved for the historical record in these prohibitions or complaints; and these citations are not only for dancing a danced called “fandango,” but for dancing AT a fandango, for participating IN a fandango (Ochoa Serrano, 2002, 138; Santos Ruiz, 2002, 53, 112, 125).

As seen in the verse quote above, many references to the dance called “Chuchumbé” take note of the “festive conduct” associated with it, or point out that the strict and abundant prohibitions of such dances were probably related to the illicit acts themselves, as opposed to their danced representations (Deanda Camacho, 2007, 54). Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the coming together of musicians, poets and dancers for hours or days in passionate festive encounters must have seemed a threat to church as well as secular authorities. The *fiesta* itself, as much or more than the dances or the poetry therein, was and is subversive.

In the 1970s and especially in the 1980s, when the *peña* music knocked on the door of Mexican and other Latin American musicians and ethnomusicologists, it helped them turn to the local traditions of their countries and regions. In the most fortunate cases they were sensitive to the fiesta contexts in which musics were played and so the promotion and revival of those musics occurred with the entire festive tradition. In some other cases the music was beautifully staged but in the long run the traditions were lost because the fiesta was not to be staged, could not be staged and needed recognition as such, as a fiesta, as an integral musical event, spontaneous, tradition, the complete tree, root and all, not only its branches, not only the notes, not only the instruments or the isolated dance steps. Though the promotion of Mariachi started long before *peñas* of the 1970s, it is a clear example of a well-known music tradition that became a stereotype and element to revive Mexican culture. However, because it was promoted without the tarima, away from its festive context, the fandangos and fiestas called *mariache* are almost extinct (Ochoa Serrano, 2000). An entire tradition of dancers, and social and musical organization around a tarima may now be worked on for its revival, but it will be difficult for it to become a live fiesta tradition for people of all ages, in and out of the region; the son jarocho tradition was lucky and is now known around the world as a fiesta, and as such is reproduced and enjoyed by people of many nationalities in and out of Veracruz. The mariachi was a fiesta, a group of musicians with guitar-like instruments singing eight-syllable verses around a tarima where the percussion was danced by men and women, and it was called fandango (ibid). There are more examples of festive traditions promoted and staged away from the root fiesta, with or without tarima, but it is interesting to note that in México the tarima tended to be lost in the staging of music, the dancing was staged in a different context, away from the live music, what was lost was the improvisation, the spontaneity and that very particular organized type of festive chaos.

The son jarocho revival since the 1990s has now led to the possibility of carrying out fandangos in Toulouse, in Montreal, Seattle, L.A., Phoenix, Argentina, and many cities in México. The son jarocho revival is strong, because of beautifully staged, powerful, ancestral music, and also due to the recent recordings of virtuoso musicians mainly from Veracruz⁹ and other places.¹⁰ But son jarocho's popularity also derives

⁹ Mono Blanco, Son de Madera, Chuchumbé, Cojolites, among many others.

from the fandango as an alternative way to have a fiesta, because it is a fiesta which is accessible to people of all ages and all cultures. The key is to learn the music, to know the sones, know them very well, and then have fandangos, which require simply a place, an invitation, a tarima, and group of skilled musicians, dancers, and poets—of course if they are fed and have something to drink, then the fandango may go on for longer and will be much more merry.

So the fandango jarocho¹¹ has been exported¹² and is now practiced in many lands, and hopefully gradually getting a better understanding of the sones and therefore having more virtuoso fandangos. In the case of Tixtla, Guerrero, the fandango tixtleco¹³ is often staged: the musicians sit and play in front of the tarima which is placed on stage and there are stairs for the dancers to go up and down; the tarima is off the ground indicating to the public that only some dancers are allowed on. In the fandango as a fiesta in Tixtla the tarima may be more open, and placed at floor level, as in the fandango jarocho, but one main difference between these two types of fandango is that in Tixtla all sones are to be danced by couples, man and woman.¹⁴ Another difference is that the musical ensembles are defined groups composed of defined instruments; musicians from outside the group don't spontaneously join in as is common in son jarocho, but tend to wait until there is a pause before giving the sones a try. Still, the tarima is the center of the fiesta, the spontaneous character of the performance is central, and there is a relay between dancers; the

¹⁰ Toro Zacamandú, Cambalache, Semilla, Quetzal, among many others.

¹¹ In the fandango jarocho *jaranas*, *requintos*, *guitarras de son* (all string instruments), *quijadas* (jaw-bone, used as a percussive instrument), *marimboles* (a small "thumb piano," related to the African mbira), and harps play sones jarocho.

¹² It is relevant to note that the son jarocho was promoted in the 1980s in a very intelligent way. The historians, musicians, writers and musical groups that participated in its revival had a vision, and as a result, the fandango is alive, as a fiesta, in and out of Veracruz. Much of the promotion and revival was done by the Mono Blanco group, and the contributions, in music and in promotion, organization and general vision were also considered essential by the group Toro Zacamandú and Tacoteno, and Antonio García de León, Ricardo Pérez Montfort, Ricardo Perry, among others.

¹³ Sones de Tixtla are played with a guitar, *vihuela* (a string instrument), *cajón de tapeo* (box drum), and violin.

¹⁴ In the fandango jarocho there are *sones de montón*, to be danced by couples of women dancers, and *sones de pareja*, to be danced by man and women; there are also mixed types.

structure and theme of the sones determines the choreographic evolution on the tarima, the verses, and the playing of the music.

The notion of son or sones is central to understanding the Mexican variety of fandangos. In each type of fandango a specific type of son is played: in southern Veracruz the music played in the fandango is called son jarocho; in the *huapango* or fandango from the north part of Veracruz *sones huastecos* are played; in Tixtla, Guerrero, on the Pacific side of the county *sones tixtlecos* are played; in Jalisco and Michoacán, the sones are called *sones de mariachi tradicional*, or *sones de tierra caliente*, *sones planecos*, or other local names. A son is different from a song. First, it is played differently each time. The verses that are sung may and should vary in each interpretation. The beginning and the end may often be announced:

En fin voy a comenzar
a ver si puedo o no puedo
a ver si puedo trovar
o a medio verso me quedo
sin poderlo declarar¹⁵.

*Now I'm ready to begin
let's see if I can or I can't
if I can jam (trovar)
or if I stop in the middle of the verse
without being able to say it.*

And to end the son there are many possibilities:

Ya con esta me despido
porque aquí no tengo herencia
si me voy ¡Ay qué dirán!
si me quedo, qué vergüenza
para no quedar así
partimos la diferencia.

*With this I say goodbye
because I inherit nothing here
if I go, what will they say!
if I stay what an embarrassment
so I am not left like this
let's split the difference.*

Una despedida anciana
de tiempos de la conquista
me despido de la jarana
y también del requintista
y como no hay violinist
señores hasta mañana.

*An ancient farewell
from the times of the conquest
goodbye to the jarana
goodbye to the requinto player
and since there is no violinist
gentlemen, until tomorrow.*

The musical structure of a son is a musical phrase that is repeated over and over with infinite possibilities of variations. Generally, they may be

¹⁵ *Declarar* is a very interesting category, which sums up the basic theory of how to play sones: they have to be declared, as in spoken clearly, not mumbled.

written in 6/8, or alternating 2/4 and 6/8, and to understand the notion of son the musical phrase is harmonic and rhythmic, with a variety of melodies that define it and the accents of the phrase. The *marca* from Southern Brazil follows the same sort of logic in musical terms; both forms are insufficiently defined if translated to purely western musical notation. The fandango is cyclical, the *sones* are cyclical, the *marcas* are also cyclical.

This is a very general and brief description of some fandangos, which are fiestas. In this manner we find this type of fiesta, with a *tarima* at the center of the festivity, in many regions of México and some in Latin America, as in the example of the fandango *caicara* in Brazil, as well as other examples from Colombia and Bolivia, though there is no confirmation that there is the use of *tarima* or that the word fandango describes the fiesta.¹⁶ These examples may be analyzed at another moment.

All of these forms have the same basic elements, although the music and dance vary. But we cannot say that this type of fiesta defines “fandango”—there are many more types of fandango. Fandango does not mean chaos and fun in a general way, although it is a very attractive and sticky word which is now used to name bars, restaurants, video games or more. When the word “fandango” does not refer to the fiesta as an entire occasion as described above, it refers to specific dances with specific music. This is the case in all traditional contexts, as we will consider presently.

For now, let us return to the fandango as a fiesta, when the word refers to the entire event and not only the music or dance of such an event. If we say fandango is a fiesta, does this then provide us with an adequate definition of fiesta? Are all festive occasions to be called fiestas? What categories are there in English and in Spanish to distinguish the many fiesta types? Adding to the confusion, in Santiago Tuxtla, for example, a town in one of the regions where fandango *jarocho* was born and has been part of social and musical occasions for centuries, the word “fandango” is thought of in opposition to the word “fiesta.” The traditional musicians of the fandango refer to the fiesta as festive occasions with amplified sound,

¹⁶ For more on the fandangos of Colombia, see Nubia Flórez Forero’s article in this volume.

disco music, to the music played on the radio, with the dances organized by the local government: a demonstration of hegemony of Spanish (as in Colonial Spain) identity and the groups still in power in the region. It is the polar opposite of the rustic fandango that was looked down upon, considered chaotic and unruly, for so long, and was prohibited by religious authorities. To this day someone might ask if you are going to the fiesta or to the fandango! Still, in academic terms, the fandango is a fiesta, and a consideration of the wide variety of categories and their contradictions remains a topic for further study.

Festive Fandangos

There is no doubt that one of the meanings of the word fandango is the Mexican and Latin American fiestas de tarima. But the word also depicts specific music pieces and dances from many lands. In present day Spain the word fandango does not mean fiesta, nor does it relate specifically to a tarima or to zapateado dances. In Huelva the fandangos are considered a folkloric *cante* (song), mainly to be sung by one person and one guitar but can also be interpreted with several voices, a chorus, other instruments or several guitars. There is a basic harmonic and rhythmic structure in all fandangos, and most are even played in the same key, notwithstanding there are more than 20 styles of fandangos, just in Huelva (Ramón Díaz, 2014).¹⁷ Fandangos can be heard on the street, on stage, in cantinas or in the homes of the population of Alosno during most fiestas, including the Cruces de Mayo, Romería, and San Juan Bautista. Fandangos (and seguidillas) are an essential part of the soundscape of the fiesta of San Juan Bautista, and *tonás de quintos, del pino*, and *de la trilla*, and also *villancicos* (Christmas songs), make up the soundscape of other seasons.

In the same town, Alosno, there is a very interesting fandango, the *Fandango Parao*, danced at the culmination and end of the dance of the *Cascabeleros*, at midday on the 24th of June. After they have danced intensely for San Juan Bautista since dawn, they gather in a plazuela, away from the church (because formally the ode to San Juan Bautista is over) and they stand in two lines that face each other and take turns doing a sort of inclination by bending one foot crossed over the other. It is considered to be a warrior dance and the music is played with the *flauta* (fife) and

¹⁷ Informal interview with Ramón Díaz, guitar instructor and representing the Culture Department of the Ayuntamiento de Alosno in Huelva Province, 2014.

tamboril (drum), the same as the *Danza de los Cascabeleros* accompanying San Juan Bautista when the saint was taken out of the church that morning. But the Fandango Parao music is a different *toque* (son) than the rest of the *danza*. In other words, the fandango of Alosno is a traditional *cante* of Huelva, and it is also a very special dance that takes place at an important moment, at the end of the *Danza de Cascabeleros*, the last *toque* that will be heard of San Juan Bautista until the next year: the Fandango Parao is a specific and key moment of the *fiesta*, the closure.

In the same province of Huelva in Almonaster La Real, a town about an hour away from Alosno but further up into the mountains, there are several fandangos, and in these cases the word refers to specific musical pieces with specific lyrics, and dances. There are three types of fandango in Almonaster La Real: *Fandangos de la Cruz*, Fandango de Almonaster (also called Fandango de Santa Eulalia) and *Fandango Aldeano*.¹⁸ None of the three fandangos in this case refer to the entire event, or the *fiesta*. The Fandangos de la Cruz are an essential part of the *Fiestas de la Cruz* celebrations, which take place the first Sunday of May. There used to be two crosses in Almonaster, but now there are three, and so there is one *hermandad* (religious fraternity), per cross.

When a family belongs to a cross they usually live on that side of town and everyone in that family belongs to that cross; there is friendly rivalry between fraternities. Each cross has a fandango of their own: *Fandango de la Cruz del Llano* and *Fandango de la Cruz de la Fuente*. (The new cross implies a new *hermandad*, and a new fandango, which will be the topic of another study.) Preparations for the *fiesta* begin in April: making paper flowers, arches of *chubarba* (a local bush), cleaning jugs and flower pots, making and fixing *mantones* (shawls), and in the midst of all the activities the verses to some fandangos are gradually written. The words change each year and reflect the present context, always playfully mocking the opposite cross group, and especially showing total devotion to their respective cross. During the month of May there are several days in which fandangos are sung, but the Fandangos de la Cruz have not changed in many years and are sung in chorus by only women's high

¹⁸ Interview with Miguel Angel Barroso Trujillo, President of the Ayuntamiento de Almonaster la Real in 2014. Barroso is also author of the texts published in the Ayuntamiento webpage [<http://www.almonasterlareal.es/pagina.php?item=75>] where there is a section on fandangos.

pitched voices, accompanied by *panderetas* (tambourines), flauta, and tamboril.¹⁹

Among many other traditions, singing, processions, and dances, the Fandangos de Santa Eulalia (or Fandango de Almonaster) take place in May. This fandango is for singing and dancing. When the procession arrives at the plaza and hermitage of Santa Eulalia, it is played and danced. Everyone dances this fandango in the same way, with the same steps, and with a predefined choreography (albeit with room for individual stylistic variations), in pairs, wearing lovely and colorful summer dress. Flauta and tamboril, plus guitar, castanets, and both male and female voices accompany this fandango. This fandango is particularly interesting because it brings together all the elements of a Latin American “fandango as a fiesta,” and yet the event itself is not called a “fandango”: “fandango” in Almonaster refers specifically to the music, the dance, and the singing.

Now we may ask, are there fandangos—that is, specific music, song, and dance—in the Americas? Yes, indeed there are many. They fall into two basic categories: 1) with a defined author and played as a written piece of music, and 2) as a specific piece of music that is played during a specific moment within the fiesta, as essential to that moment. The Huelva fandangos of Almonaster (the Fandango de Santa Eulalia and the Fandangos de la Cruz), as well as the Fandango Parao are all fandangos that play an important role in the fiesta. The moment they are heard means something, such as signifying the end of the danza as the case of the *Fandango* Parao, or signaling that the hermandades are all together around their cross as in the Fandangos de la Cruz, or that the procession in ode to Santa Eulalia has reached its culminating moment and it is time to dance the traditional fandango in the case of the Fandango de Santa Eulalia. There are also fandangos that are always and traditionally the first piece to be played during traditional fiestas; this is the case of the *Fiesta de San Juan*, which takes place in a mixed indigenous and mestizo town in the northern hills of Oaxaca in México: San Juan Guichicovi. San Juan Guichicovi’s tradition of starting any *baile*²⁰ with the *Fandango Tehuano* comes from the Isthmus, Juchitan and many *zapotec* lands or places strongly influenced by the

¹⁹ The tamboril is a drum made of wood and leather; the flauta is made from reed. The pandereta is quite a large tambourine.

²⁰ As in an event where there will be music for dancing.

zapotec culture. So in most *zapotec bailes* (dance parties), the first piece the bands play will be the *Fandango Tehuano*.

Conclusions

As we have seen, the word “fandango” can be used to describe a wide range of musical, danced, and festive manifestations. To take things a step further, Antonio García de León has found that in the Caribbean the common element of fandangos was the composition and improvisation of *décima espinela* (the ten-line octosyllabic verse form named for Golden Age writer Vicente Espinel) (García de León, 2002). Is the fandango related to the *décima espinela* of Spain? What are the common elements of fandangos in Portugal and the Americas? Portugal and Spain?

One clear difference between the fandangos of border areas between Spain and Portugal, such as Extremadura, compared to the fandangos of the Americas, is the dances’ emphasis on zapateado versus jumping. Although it is correct to say that they are all passionate and intense dances, around the Extremadura region in Spain and the frontier with Portugal there is complex footwork with a lot of jumping—that is nothing like the complex footwork of the Mexican zapateados. The genealogical, historical, and aesthetic relationships between these rich fandango cultures await comparative study.

And what is the etymology of the word “fandango”? When referring to this word, it is indispensable to at least mention the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, written between 1726–1739, known as the first Spanish language dictionary, which, in 1732, defined “Fandango” for the first time, as a “Dance introduced by those who have been in the Kingdom of the Indies, done to the sound of a very happy and festive music.”²¹ The *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico* de Joan Corominas and José Pascual also defines “fandango” as related to Portuguese *fado* (1980: 848). Although the inquiries and discussion on the origin and definition of the word “fandango” in Kimbundu and other Bantu languages is still in process, there are now two very plausible possibilities, both pointing to the original meaning of the word as

²¹ “Baile introducido por los que han estado en los reinos de las Indias, que se hace al son de un tañido muy alegre y festivo.” RAE 1732, 719.

“fiesta.”²² On one hand Antonio García de León has argued, citing Alejo Carpentier, that it may come from “*fanda*” which in Kimbundu refers to a banquet or festive occasion (García de León Griego, 2002, 103). On the other hand, Rolando Pérez Fernández has taken the inquiry in a complementary but different direction, using a Portuguese-Kimbundu dictionary to gloss the word in reference to a complex concept of chaos as applied to the festive context chaos (Pérez Fernández, 2011). Both proposed etymologies are similar and complimentary, and both are congruent with the present day use of the word “fandango” when referring to a fiesta.²³

When the word fandango refers to a specific musical piece, particularly when it has specific lyrics and/or a specific dance, I have chosen to write it with capital letters: Fandango de Santa Eulalia. On the other hand, when referring to the *fandangos de Huelva*, a musical and lyrical genre which is part of the flamenco musical system, then I have written them with a lower-case *f*: fandangos. And in the case of the fandangos that are fiestas, celebrated as part of a wide range of occasions, I have chosen not to capitalize the word “fandango.” Any musical piece titled “Fandango” will be different from the genre of fandangos and different from the fandango as a fiesta.

Considering the many variations of fandangos scattered throughout the globe, I argue that an exhaustive compilation of fandangos from many lands may not help us to understand the fandango as a global phenomenon unless we organize the different types, according not only to formal characteristics but, as essayed here, in terms of context and socio-cultural meaning. Here is a list of all the possible types of fandango. Based Mireya Martí’s proposals for the organization of musical genres, they are grouped according to their function in context and in a particular society, how they are *used*, whether for listening, dance, signing (Martí, 2002).

1. Fandango as a fiesta: so far there is no example of this type of fandango without tarima.
2. Festive fandango, they can be of two types:

²² Kimbundu is a language of the Bantu, or Niger-Congo family of Central and South Africa, spoken in what is now Angola.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bantu_languages (accessed June 23, 2016).

²³ For more on these topics please see Gottfried Hesketh, 2012.

- a. one that indicates that it is festive season, as in the fiestas of Alosno;
 - b. and the other as in those that take place in specific moments of the fiesta and therefore their function is to emphasize that moment.
3. Fandango as a music genre with dance function.
 4. Fandango as a music genre with singing function.
 5. Fandango as a musical genre for listening.
 6. Fandango as the title of specific musical pieces.
 7. Fandango as a specific dance that needs its corresponding specific Fandango musical piece.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

RE-CONTEXTUALIZING TRADITIONS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITIES THROUGH MUSIC AND DANCE: A FANDANGO IN HUETAMO, MICHOACÁN

RAQUEL PARAÍSO

Abstract

From the 1920s onwards, the post-revolutionary Mexican state supported intellectuals and artists in their quest to discover, describe, and catalog expressions of Mexican popular culture. Music, dance, and poetry were among such expressions that suffered from a process of selection and de-contextualization as the state aimed to create prototypical regional traditions to represent Mexico and Mexican identity, thus narrowing the country's actual cultural diversity. Now, with a renewed interest in both the study and performance of these traditions, some are trying to bring them back to the social contexts in which they originated and were once performed, authenticating their popular nature in shared spaces. At popular fiestas—and in more formally organized events—Mexican *sones* have become the center of attention as practitioners, cultural promoters, and audiences reclaim the original context of their production and performance, embracing their music, dance, and poetry to reflect a way of understanding life. Thus, the *fandango* has become a statement of roots, identity, and ownership of one's culture in various parts of Mexico. The revitalization of the *son* experience entails a connection with the past, which brings a powerful element into the practice. My paper deals with a fandango in Huetamo, Michoacán, as an example of re-contextualizing traditions and the construction of social identities through music and dance.

Keywords

Music and dance, identity, re-contextualization of traditions

Resumen

“Recontextualizando tradiciones y la construcción de identidades sociales a través de la música y el baile: un fandango en Huetamo, Michoacán”:

Desde la década de 1920, el gobierno postrevolucionario mexicano apoyó a intelectuales y artistas para que llevaran a cabo la tarea de encontrar, describir y catalogar distintas expresiones de la cultura popular. Música, baile y poesía fueron algunas de las expresiones que sufrieron un proceso de selección y descontextualización en ese afán gubernamental de crear expresiones regionales típicas que representaran un México y una identidad mexicana determinada, lo cual dio como resultado una invisibilización de la diversidad cultural del país. En la actualidad, con un renovado interés por el estudio y el *performance* de diversas tradiciones musicales, se está intentando recuperar contextos sociales más cercanos a aquellos en que estas tradiciones musicales se originaron y ejecutaron, resignificando su carácter popular en espacios compartidos. En fiestas populares—e incluso en eventos un poco más formales— los sones mexicanos se han convertido en el centro de atención de músicos, promotores culturales y públicos que reclaman los contextos originales de producción y ejecución, contextos que entrelazan música, baile y poesía, lo cual es reflejo de una forma de entender la vida. Así, el fandango se ha convertido en una manifestación de identidad, raíz y reclamación de “cultura propia” en varias partes de México. La revitalización de la experiencia del son conlleva una conexión con el pasado, lo cual incorpora un poderoso elemento cultural e identitario a la práctica actual. Mi trabajo presenta un fandango en Huetamo, Michoacán, como ejemplo del proceso de recontextualización de tradiciones musicales y la construcción de identidades sociales a través de la música y el baile.

Re-contextualizing Traditions and the Construction of Social Identities through Music and Dance: A fandango en Huetamo, Michoacán

As a popular fiesta, a community-rooted celebration that incorporates music, dance, and poetry, the *fandango* in Mexico is particularly associated with the festive experience and expression of the Mexican *son*.¹ Over the last twenty years, fandangos have gained momentum throughout Mexican regions. As fandango practices date back more than three centuries, they are an important vehicle for collective memories and practices. In this paper, I present the fandango as a means for the construction of social identities and a collective sense of community. I review some factors that contributed to the near extinction of some regional son traditions in the second half of the twentieth century, and I also examine the idea of re-contextualization of musical traditions that is taking place across Mexico. Through this paper, I understand re-contextualization as the process in which actors (musicians, audience, and so forth) draw on existing traditions and practices, and relocate such practices (in time and space). In such processes, identities are articulated in a constant selection of elements that get re-signified in a process of redefinition, such that the sense of “belonging” to a collective or to a social group is linked to an ideology that legitimates that belonging.²

At present, fandangos are being framed as events where all aspects of the Mexican son—dancing, singing, playing music, and poetry—are lived and experienced along with food, attire, language, verbal interactions, and a myriad of other cultural expressions. The Mexican son is a musical style that contains specific musical, lyrical, and choreographic components. Son can be understood as a generic term that describes the various regional traditions, each type associated with certain instrumental ensembles, dance styles, performance practice nuances, and texts, as well as the complex they form. Embedded in the son are the musical heritage of the regions, a social history, a worldview, and a way of living. Son is an individual and collective musical and social experience,

¹ Throughout this paper, I use the singular (*son*) or plural (*sones*) of the term interchangeably. In either case, the semantics and contextual meaning do not change and are dependent on context.

² This statement is founded on the notion of identity as the representation of selected habits that function as a way “to define self to oneself and to others by oneself and by others” (Turino, 2004, 8).

which shares particular ways of production and circulation, ideologies and affections.³ Sones establish a link between past and present and provoke a sense of belonging to a time and place and to a group of people that for many is fundamental to their existence. The music making and human interactions that sones convey are key to the resulting sonic and affective experience.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the son spread in popularity in rural areas and flourished as regional styles that synthesized formative elements into original forms. These sones (vocal and instrumental pieces common to several regional repertoires) crystallized over time into a tapestry of regional musical cultures, each more strongly identified with its particular region (and even locality) than with the nation as a whole. At the beginning of the twentieth century, sones reached their peak, serving as a means of musical and political expression for the masses and conveying the nationalistic feelings inspired by the Mexican Revolution. A great number of popular musicians endowed the genre with specific regional and local stylistic nuances.

By the late 1950s, many of the original rural contexts in which sones were performed had disappeared, including the fandango. Since the end of the 1980s, sones have been gaining social and cultural relevance as they are consciously embraced as an embodiment of identity and community. At present, the very nature of the *tarima*,⁴ a catalytic element within the tradition and the symbolic center of the fandango, is being re-appropriated as a cultural product able to articulate cultural meaning, and retaining cultural and social memory.⁵

Fandangos have a ritualistic aspect that is made explicit through conventions learned by participating in them. In this sense, we can understand fandangos as “a product of a *habitus*” and discern how

³ In the same line of thought, Madrid and Moore consider the *danzón* as a “performance complex” in order to emphasize the music making and human action involved in the *danzón* experience rather than categories of terminology (2014, 11).

⁴ A *tarima* is the wooden platform atop which dancers showcase their patterned steps while dancing sones.

⁵ According to Regula Qureshi, musical instruments have a dual capacity as both a physical body and its embodied acoustic identity. Thus, musical instruments offer a special kind of material memory and function as both cultural products and tools to articulate cultural meaning through sound (2000, 811).

participants' roles and behaviors are produced as a result of habitus or, according to Bourdieu, the "disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions" (1984, 170). Practices, meanings, structures and perceptions are shaped by those of the past, or at least by our perception of them. Within the organizing and perception of practices that habitus presupposes, the perception of the social world, peoples, symbols, and behaviors within the fandango are the product of internalization: they are defined by their intrinsic properties and by the relational properties determined by the habitus.

The festive occasion transcends the notion of a mere celebration by linking culture with formative social behaviors. Although fandangos vary across regions, common to all of them is the fandango as a shared experience that connects past and present through collective memory, which is closely related to all kinds of group identity.⁶

As mentioned earlier, the fandango lost momentum during the second quarter of the twentieth century and particularly at the turn of the century, regaining strength towards the end on the 1980s not only in the Jarocho, Huasteca, and Tierra Caliente regions, but also in other Mexican regions such as the Costa Chica, Tixtla (Guerrero), and the Sierra Gorda de Xichú, where the fandango or *huapango* is called *topada*. Its rebirth runs parallel to the revival that some Mexican son traditions have been experiencing since the end of the 1980s: musicians, audiences, promoters, and researchers, among others, are reclaiming both the text and context of sones as roots music. Music, dance, and poetry are being re-contextualized around the tarima in fandangos where the musical tradition is brought back to the community.

The fandango revival also runs parallel to redefinitions of notions of identity. Although the sense of self and selves and the notion of belonging that identity implies are not new concepts, it has been since the mid-1980s, and even more so the end of the 1980s, coinciding with sweeping changes wrought by globalization processes, that the notion of

⁶ My take on collective memory is informed by Halbwachs' work on collective identity. For Halbwachs, the way an individual socially interacts with the members of his or her group determines how experiences are remembered and what is remembered. It is the particular nature of the group and its collective experience that shapes its collective memory. Groups reconstruct past experiences collectively and the particular nature of these experiences creates a shared memory of the event and identity. See more on Halbwachs in Russell 2006, 796–800.

identity has been subject to relentless discussion across academic disciplines and other social circles. Essentialist notions of identity have been reconsidered and the situational characteristics of the fragmented and modern conception of identity (have been and) are being grasped in the midst of globalized contexts. Current views of individual and group identities (ethnic and social) consider them as negotiated, fragmented, multiple, fluid, relational, and in constant formation and reformulation. Identities are situational and are constructed within discourse.

In Mexico, the construction of identities through musical traditions is taking place across regions, and traditional music forms are being redefined to incorporate more inclusive ethnic discourses as well as new discourses of Mexicanness. Certainly, the sonic and social experience of the Mexican son is part of a larger phenomenon of musical communities grappling with social mobility, musical change, globalization, and representation of social, ethnic, class, regional, cultural, and collective identities from constructivist positions, that is, identities constructed “from cultural resources available at any given moment,” rather than from essentialist and seemingly immutable qualities (Rice 2007, 24). We can understand the aforementioned redefinition of discourses and identities partly, as a response to Mexican cultural politics as well as various social and economic conditions during the twentieth century that were decisive in the outcome of Mexican cultural expressions.

Post-Revolutionary Nationalism and Music Industry from the 1920s to the Present

Cultural policies through the history of colonialism, nationalism, and liberalization have determined cultural processes and the deployment of particular cultural expressions to represent a nation, a region, a locality, a people. Such representations are constructs, imaginings created by official discourses to fit particular agendas.

The history of Mexican traditional music is intertwined with the social and political history of the country. The son is a clear example. The genre was associated with a nascent Mexican identity and was considered a national symbol during the Independence movement in the early nineteenth century. Towards the end of that century, the son was thriving in different regions and its regional variants were consolidated. Then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the son peaked in terms of both reach and popularity, coinciding with a significant reconfiguration of the

country's mindset: the nationalist and revolutionary fervor that culminated in the start of the Mexican Revolution in 1910 and that would give the country a sense of pride in "lo mexicano" (that which is Mexican), a reassessment of its own culture (Gradante 1982, 43; Jáquez 2002, 168).

The nationalist movement in post-revolutionary Mexico set out to construct a nation, and emphasized a common past that could help agglutinate a heterogeneous group of people into an articulated nation. Mexican nationalist discourse appeared as a fundamental resource for the political, economic and cultural elites as well as for the urban and rural popular classes.⁷ Politically and culturally, it attempted to define the particular racial and historically "core" characteristics of that Mexicanness.

Though the Mexican government's educational and cultural programs aimed to acknowledge the country's cultural diversity, the "cataloguing" of this diversity proved difficult. National stereotypes were useful in reducing that diversity into something more manageable to represent Mexico and Mexican identity. Post-revolutionary nationalism promulgated stereotyped images of folkloric music practices and genres. While music genres and ensembles from Jalisco were established as representative of Mexicanness, various Mexican son subgenres went into decline. The late Monsivais harshly criticizes the creation of stereotypes, arguing that what is called "popular culture" is the result of the will of the ruling classes, a development of film and radio, and is largely responsible for the recreation and creation of "lo mexicano" (1978, 112). Thus, post-revolutionary nationalism was built stereotypes and identities that film industries, radio, and record companies commercialized. Folkloric ballets also contributed to creating and consolidating stereotypes of regional folkloric expressions. Musically and contextually speaking, *sones* were transformed on those stages.

Mexico's emergence in the late 1920s into the era of mass media (radio, phonograph, and cinema), the intense migration of rural populations to urban areas, and a strong post-revolutionary nationalist sentiment rapidly transformed the cultural and social fabric of the country. The 1930s saw the triumph of *ranchera* songs, evoking love and the rural life that was quickly disappearing. Its success coincided with the flowering of radio and movie industry. Films such as "Allá en el Rancho Grande," "Rayando el sol," or "Pajarillos" created stereotyped images of

⁷ See more in Pérez Montfort 1994.

rural life, always accompanied by mariachi music.⁸ Ranchera singers such as Lucha Reyes, Jorge Negrete, Pedro Infante, Lola Beltrán, Vicente Fernández, Jose Alfredo Jimenez and many others, articulated sensibilities and experiences of an audience that, in turn, idolized and identified with the songs and singers they loved (Broyles-Gonzalez 2002, 184). Music and singing style were transformed and were part of the marketing in this new commercial process.

If the Golden Age of Mexican cinema shaped the sound and visual image of the modern mariachi and consolidated the ensemble as a symbol of Mexican identity,⁹ radio broadcasts of the powerful XEW (Mexico's first nationwide radio broadcasting system which began broadcasting in 1930) and record companies were responsible for creating stereotypes of not only ranchera songs, but of other musical styles including sones: length, number and content of stanzas were standardized, and playing techniques were adjusted to recording and broadcasting needs.

Moreover, musicians who moved to Mexico City during the 1930s and 1940s looking for performing opportunities introduced changes into their performances to fit urban scenarios and public demands. They transformed renditions of sones, created new musical styles, and came up with new musical instruments and performance practices.¹⁰ Like other musicians, when they returned to their places of origin, they brought with them musical practices already transformed.

⁸ See more in Gradante 1982, 43–44, Nájera-Ramírez 1994, and Sheehy 2006, 32.

⁹ See more in Jauregui 2007, 105–137.

¹⁰ A well-known case is that of Huasteco musicians Nicandro Castillo (1914–1990) and Elpidio Ramírez (1882–1960). They played an important role in creating the *neohuapango* or *canción huapango* (*huapango* song). These compositions, with fixed music and lyrics, are in *cuarteta*, and occasionally *quintilla*, form; lyrics often praise the beauty of the Huasteca region and the people, and features such as long falsetto sections are used as a catchy performance element. The neohuapango genre was extremely popular in that period and remained a favorite as it was later popularized by ranchera singers such as Vicente Fernández, David Záizar, and Linda Ronstadt, as well as mariachi groups. Another well-known case is that of Jarocho musicians Lorenzo Barcelata, Andrés Huesca, and Lino Chávez, who transformed their renditions of *son jarocho* by playing faster, reducing the number of stanzas, and using a larger harp that allowed the musician to play standing.

Another important element affecting the selective and transformative process of traditional music during the first half of the century was the folkloric ballet. Under the nationalistic banner, the government sponsored festivals that featured regional folk dances. Choreographers in dance companies begin to experiment with incorporating indigenous and folk dances into their ballet presentations (Nájera-Ramírez 2009, 279). They sought to promote Mexican culture by creating staged performances of dance and music, informed by anthropological as well as historical research of the people and customs of ancient and contemporary Mexico.

Although concerned with notions of authenticity, it is difficult to overlook the manipulation and de-contextualization that these dance performances brought to the stage, ripping Mexican musical cultures of their contextual and musical richness in order to create a suitable product for audiences. They selected specific characteristics to distinguish one ethnic group and one region from another, creating strong symbols of identification to be discerned from within and outside the group. Folkloric ballets performed a selective process between the broad spectrum of Mexican traditional dances and created stereotypes and representations of cultural expressions that, in the long run, affected the development of folkloric traditions in their regions of origin.

Mexico's urbanization occurred along with industrialization (1940–present) and the opening of its economy to foreign investment and trade (1986–present). Migration to urban centers transformed ways of living, kinship and social processes: family's function as personal and economic support disappeared, along with the idea of community and traditional values of solidarity. As can be easily imagined, social contexts, occasions, and ways of performing and experiencing traditional music changed rapidly.

At present, the revival of musical traditions throughout Mexican regions is trying (at times not very successfully) to move away from those stereotypes and de-contextualization. Although different regions have undergone different phases, common denominators permeate the process: the re-appropriation of the tradition as a community expression with the fandango at its core is one of them. The fandango is considered the social and communitarian platform where regional *sones* are lived and performed. It is shared knowledge. It brings together music, poetry, and dance into a creative space in which symbiotically, these three elements are meaningful. Dancers dialog with musicians and poets, musicians bring

their energy into a renewed performance, and poets recite or improvise verses. If one of those elements is not present, the musical tradition suffers a de-contextualization process it suffered in the past, weakening and losing its social, cultural, and symbolic meaning.

Re-contextualizing the Tradition and the Appropriation of Social Identities through Music and Dance

In an attempt at re-contextualizing the tradition, or at least, bringing back as many elements as possible (dance, music, and poetry around the tarima), the fandango has become a statement of roots, identity, and ownership of one's culture. A critical consciousness about regaining control of cultural practices and the conception of the cultural expression as a whole signals a turn towards cultural politics. Reclaiming cultural practices also signals the appropriation of social identities along with the collective agency social identity implies. Social identity is a symbolic construction and depends upon evolving categories that are not naturally given. Individuals play an active role in shaping their social identity through membership in (a) social group(s). According to Brewer, collective agency implies a deliberate sense of group agency and emphasizes common characteristics shared by the groups and around which the identity is forged (2001, 117–119).¹¹ I like to refer to these shared attributes as Belinda Robnett does, as “cultural capital” (2002, 267).

Following Linell's ideas, re-contextualization can be broadly described as a dynamic process, in which there is a transfer and transformation from one interaction to another (Linell 1998). Re-contextualizing musical traditions transforms the meaning of the various elements involved into the “act:” music, dance, musicians, actors, repertoires, audiences, etc.

¹¹ Key to my understanding of social identity is Brewer's definition of social identity as “aspects of the self that have been particularly influenced by the fact of membership in specific social groups” (Brewer 2001, 118). He distinguishes between four types of social identity, out of which, person-based identity is relevant to my study case of the fandango in Huetamo. Person-based social identities emphasize the content and acquisition of customs, beliefs, and ideologies associated with the belonging to a particular group. Person-based identification, then, refers to the importance that a particular group membership has for a person's sense of self and the meaning that results from such identification (ibid.).

The act of re-contextualizing creates a connection with the past, which brings a powerful element into the setting. Three generations of musicians may be playing or dancing together at a fandango. The oldest dances with the youngest, and vice versa. If you ask, everyone says that the tradition belongs to them, that they are part of the tradition, they carry it out, and will pass it on to future generations. Moreover, they are the actors of this re-contextualization, which feeds meaning to new contexts and exercises the power that appropriation gives to these new actors of Mexican traditional music cultures.

Bauman and Briggs¹² argue that both meaning and context emerge from ongoing social practice, performance being a mode of social production (1990, 77). Thus, re-contextualizing a tradition embodies the power of social production and exercises the power of “an act of control” (*ibid.*, 76). It legitimates the tradition and validates our present, creating a sense of continuity and connection with the past that relocates our sense of community and cultural identity. It challenges other musics imposed by mass media marketing, and signifies the musical experience as owned culture.

In the past, the dancing was one of the aspects of the son that suffered the most in the de-contextualization processes. In my recent fieldwork in different Mexican regions I have witnessed how the dancing of sones becomes the core of the fiesta. Sones’ dance use mostly zapateado or footwork, a syncopated, rhythmic stomping and tapping of the feet on the tarima. The zapateado is an essential percussive element in the musical ensemble. The dance codifies and negotiates social identities and ideologies: it truly is a marker of cultural, social, and regional identity as well as a powerful means to ideological re-appropriation of the tradition. It also signals to the importance of dance expressions as a powerful force in the construction and negotiation of class, race, gender, and nationality, and their power structures.¹³

When dances are de-contextualized, they often go through a process of standardization and stylization, losing spontaneity and more

¹² Bauman and Briggs deal with the study of verbal art in the social interaction between performers and audiences. They are concerned with the study of language as indexical meaning—rather than solely referential or symbolic—as it occurs at discourse, and the assumption that speech is heterogeneous and multifunctional. I am applying their ideas to musical performance.

¹³ See more in Desmond 1997, 39–41.

importantly, improvisation capabilities. Mexican musicians and practitioners are aware of the fact that every transmission is not without transformation, losing or gaining something in the process. When re-contextualizing takes place, the new habitat brings new conditions and elements that are incorporated into the musical tradition. In this case, re-contextualizing implies not only introduction to a form or style to a different context in time and place, but to infuse meaning into this particular experience through musical and dance particulars, as well as meaning and social structural constructions. As Hanninen argues, both sonic and contextual criteria are key to the process and the essence of re-contextualization (2003, 63).

An Example of Re-contextualization: The Planting of the Tabla for the Fandango

In the past, in the Tierra Caliente region of Central Mexico (see figures 1 and 2), fandangos used to take



Figure 1. The Tierra Caliente region © CONACULTA

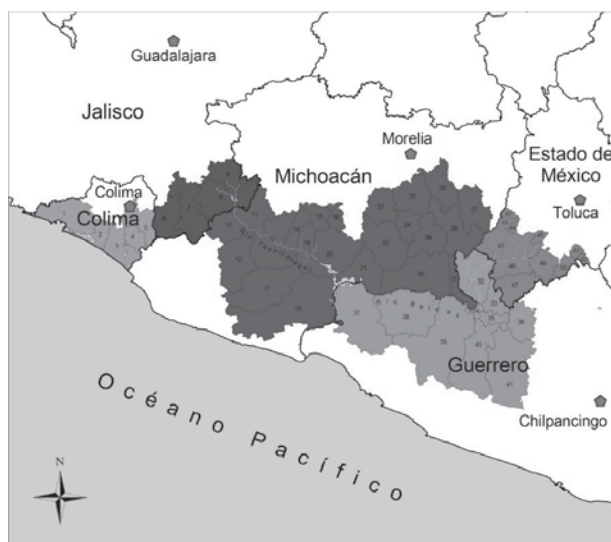


Figure 2. The Tierra Caliente close-up (© CONACULTA. Regionalization [2003] by Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de Tierra Caliente)

place where there was a tarima or a *tabla*—as the tarima is called in this particular region—or in its absence, where it could be planted, that is, to make a hole in the ground to place the tabla on top of it.¹⁴ Lost over time, this custom is one of the elements that at present is being reclaimed in a renewed effort to bring back as many elements as possible into a given performance. The video “The Planting of the Tabla”¹⁵ is an example of an attempt to reclaim and recontextualize musical practices from the past. In this video you will see how a particular group of musicians from the Tierra Caliente, Los Jilguerillos del Huerto, carry a tabla and nearly

¹⁴ Tablas used to be planted under a tree, which is very much needed in the extreme high temperatures of the Tierra Caliente region.

¹⁵ “The Planting of the Tabla” was recorded in Huetamo (Michoacán), June 11, 2011. The video may be viewed at <<https://vimeo.com/133244148>>. Epifanio Merlán Granados, “El zurdo de Tiquicheo,” plays violin accompanied by Alanís Figueroa Ziranda (guitar) while the tabla is being planted. Members of Los Jilguerillos del Huerto are Huber Figueroa Ziranda, violin; Martín Dagio Almonte, guitar; Alanís Figueroa Ziranda, guitar; and David Durán Naquid, tamborita. Dancers are Flor Dalia Barajas Cerbín, Elizabeth Avendaño Sayawa, Xochiquetzal Durán Barrera, and Xaren Yunuen Durán Barrera. Young boy dancing is David Durán Barrera.

ritualistically, plant it in the ground, under the shade of a tree, where the fandango will take place (see figures 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8).



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8

This group, Los Jilguerillos del Huerto, performs music (sones in particular) from both Michoacán and Guerrero. They are part of a bigger collective of people that gathers researchers and music lovers who believe in traditional music as a way to re-establish social values and identities through music. The group's cultural capital is traditional music and cultural heritage. Many of their shared values sprung from activities centered around the learning, transmission, and performance of traditional music.

The tabla, properly tuned and expertly played, delivers a fantastic interplay with the little drum called tamborita. In the past, two pots were placed in the hole to achieve different sonorities. Even if the pots are not placed, a well-planted tarima could offer great depth to complement—rather than substitute—the tamborita. Men and women get differentiated pitches as the woman keeps the basic beat, by marking either on- or offbeats, and the man does intricate footwork, combining different steps, and improvising. If the tabla is not placed over the hole in the ground, there is not adequate depth of sound, and the instruments' function and connection to the dance gets lost. The tamborita, for example, loses function and meaning if dancers cannot achieve the sound quality and pitch differentiation that complement its playing. The tabla on the hole brings back the dance as part of the ensemble. (See Video-The Planting of the Tabla).

The planting of the tabla speaks of place as meaningful and central to the performance of these traditions: place as a symbolic recall for the community and as the core of the fiesta where the tabla is located. In it, audience, musicians, and dancers constitute meaning (Duffy 2005, 678). According to Cohen, music produces place as “a concept or symbol that is represented or interpreted” (1995, 434). Pertinent to my work is the idea that both music and dance produce a “place” that is addressed symbolically, connecting past and present. Actors deliberately choose a place in which the tradition is meant to be recreated as faithfully as possible. In urban settings, for example, I have seen how the choice of a place to hold a fandango is a way to deliberately re-appropriate public spaces for the “musical tradition” (e.g., 4th Décima Festival at the Revolution Monument in downtown Mexico City, October 29, 2011; a two-day Fandango Central at Mexico City's Main Square on November 19 and 20, 2011; and weekly workshops and fandangos in public parks and plazas, among others). It is within this ideological mindset that the musical experience is gaining momentum and strength. It is community building as well.

Coda

One could say that the identity (national, regional, cultural, etc.) constructed through this process of re-contextualization refers to a certain aesthetic that connects past and present, giving practitioners a sense of their roots. A musical experience is able to recreate a memory, a sense of belonging. Cultural memories are evoked through the sonic experience as well as an idiom of feeling, what for William would be a “structure of feeling” (1977, 129). Without a doubt, the re-appropriation of performance contexts for these traditions, and the dancing as the center of the fiesta, are seen as a vehicle for a performance of identity, as well as a means through which identity is built and defined.

In this process, past and present become connected through music. Music, poetry, and dance feed upon spontaneity and are grounded in an interaction among dancers and musicians, allowing individual freedom and creativity, which is something that hardly takes place when songs are de-contextualized.

I believe that musical traditions that incorporate dance as a symbolic center carry a strong connection to the past. Community and continuity are present in songs through audience participation, music, poetry, and dance, which bridge time and space and reinforce a sense of belonging while expressing and experiencing culture. For musicians and audiences I have been in contact with, music and dance is a language that functions as an avenue for the creation of social identity. When performed for commodification or mass production, music lifts meaningful idioms from their contexts. If disembodied from its context, the fandango loses its important social dimension within a community. If music is bound up with identity and memory, so is the fandango and the re-contextualization process that attempts to bring back to the community what once belonged to it.

The aim is not to reproduce something “authentically.” The very idea of “authenticity,” the mechanism to reproduce a cultural product as it has been imagined that could have been, does not exist. Each musical performance, each musical event (re)creates something that is both new and renewed. It is a constant transformation that each performer/participant brings to life and sets in motion through his/her interpretation of cultural material. Each (re)interpretation adds fluid and

multiple cultural meanings that make up the cultural product. Some elements from the past remain. Others do not.

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IV.

POLITICS AND POLICIES

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THE *FANDANGO* IN MOZART'S
THE MARRIAGE OF FIGARO:
THE PRISM OF REVOLUTION
IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

CRAIG H. RUSSELL

Abstract

From the Renaissance onward, Spanish culture had developed two highly differentiated strands of dance styles, which reflected completely different societal contexts—the *baile* reflected the peasant, commoner, and ruffian, whereas the *danza* depicted royalty, nobility, and high society. During the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, however, several new genres arose that held that each person was inherently worthy, regardless of class, ethnicity, gender, or social status. No dance better encapsulated this new egalitarian philosophy of the time than the fandango. This new genre was a sort of “audible photograph” of “natural law”—a musical depiction of the “natural laws” articulated by Newton and Leibniz in physics and by Adam Smith, Jefferson, and Voltaire in government. When Jefferson stated it was “self-evident ... that all men are created equal,” the fandango proclaimed it on the dance floor. In crafting their first opera together, *The Marriage of Figaro*, librettist Lorenzo da Ponte and composer Wolfgang A. Mozart drew upon these dance genres and their cultural associations to perfectly reflect the conflicts between characters and class structures in their drama. Based on the Beaumarchais play of the same name, the entire opera is a clash between servant and master, and to tell their tale, da Ponte and Mozart adeptly use the historical divisions between *baile* and *danza*. Using a rigorous examination of structural symmetries in *Figaro*, I will argue that one of the first things the creators did when sketching out their narrative was to place the fandango at center stage, using it at key moments to proclaim the triumph of intellect and of a transparently worthy servant over the artificial “worth” of an abusive count (an encapsulation of

the Enlightenment's essence). Both Susanna and Figaro sing egalitarian messages, and it is significant that they both use the fandango at these key moments as their musical vehicle to convey their message.

Keywords

Natural law, The Marriage of Figaro, Lorenzo da Ponte, Wolfgang A. Mozart, baile, danza, egalitarianism

Resumen

Del renacimiento en adelante, en la cultura española se desarrollaron dos estilos de danza muy distintos, que reflejaban contextos sociales también completamente opuestos—el baile reflejaba al campesino, al hombre de la calle, al jaque, mientras la danza representaba la realeza, la nobleza, la alta sociedad. Pero durante el siglo XVIII ilustrado, salieron géneros que representaban al individuo como ser que vale por sí solo, independientemente de su rango, raza, género, o clase social. Ningún baile encarnaba la filosofía igualitaria de esta época mejor que el fandango. Este género nuevo era una especie de “fotografía sonora” de derecho natural—una representación musical de las “filosofías naturales” descubiertas por Newton y Leibniz en la física, y por Adam Smith, Jefferson, y Voltaire en el gobierno. Como dijo Jefferson que “sostenemos como evidentes estas verdades: que todos los hombres son creados iguales,” el fandango proclamó este sentimiento en la pista de baile. Montando su primera ópera juntos, *Las bodas de Figaro*, libretista Lorenzo da Ponte y compositor Wolfgang A. Mozart utilizaron el fandango y sus connotaciones culturales para reflejar a la perfección los conflictos entre personajes sobre los cuales se edificaba la estructura dramática. Basado en la obra del mismo título de Beaumarchais, la ópera presenta un choque entre sirviente y amo que se expresa por la división entre baile y danza. Con un análisis riguroso de las estructuras simétricas en *Figaro*, propongo que una de las cosas primeras que hicieron los creadores cuando esbozaron la narrativa fue dar un papel protagonista al fandango, utilizándolo en momentos claves para proclamar el triunfo del intelecto y de un sirviente claramente valioso sobre el “valor” artificial de un conde malvado (o sea, la esencia de la Ilustración). Tanto Susanna como Figaro cantan mensajes igualitarios, y es un hecho significativo que los dos utilicen al fandango en estos momentos claves como vehículo musical.

Introduction

Between 1785 and 1791, the composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and his librettist and lyricist, Lorenzo da Ponte, crafted three astounding operas that perfectly encapsulate the musical, cultural, philosophical, scientific, and sociological trends of the late-eighteenth century. Their first opera together, *The Marriage of Figaro*, premiered in Vienna in 1786; *Don Giovanni* followed on its heels the following year, opening in Prague in 1787; and their third collaboration, *Così fan tutte*, was staged in Vienna in 1790, just a few months before Mozart's untimely death. Although several authors (such as Wye Allenbrook, Tim Carter, and Daniel Heartz), have explored the role of dance and dance rhythms in these operas—revealing how Mozart's choice of dance served as a tool to further the plot narrative and to convey characters' personalities and social class—no author to date has made more than passing mention of the *fandango* in these works, in spite of the critical role that it played in these operas.¹ In this present essay, then, I propose to examine the critical importance of the *fandango* in the creation of Mozart's and da Ponte's *The Marriage of Figaro*, using the following road map. First, I will dig through writings by first-hand observers of the *fandango* in eighteenth-century society in an attempt to ferret out its important artistic and social features; second, I will scrutinize the recurring structural patterns in *Figaro*, arguing that Mozart and da Ponte developed an entirely new approach in drafting their operas, one that emphasized symmetry—and thus perfectly embodied the balance of nature as explained by Newton, Leibniz, and Bernoulli; and third, I will examine the *fandango* in the context of these structured patterns, showing how Mozart placed the *fandango* at center stage, using it at key moments to proclaim the triumph of intellect and of a transparently worthy servant over the artificial “worth” of an abusive count (yet another encapsulation of the Enlightenment's essence).

¹ Three very excellent and perceptive books that provide much insight into Mozart's use of dance include: Wye Jamison Allenbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze di Figaro & Don Giovanni* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Tim Carter, *Le Nozze di Figaro*, Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Daniel Heartz, *Mozart's Operas*, edited with contributing essays by Thomas Bauman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). Two other laudable contributions include the older but still discerning book by Edward J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1913, rptd by OUP, 1975), as well as Andrew Steptoe, *The Mozart-da Ponte Operas: The Cultural and Musical Background to Le nozze di Figaro, Don Giovanni, and Così fan tutte* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

Part 1: The *Fandango* and its Symbolic Associations

From the Renaissance onward, Spanish culture had developed two highly differentiated strands of dance styles, which reflected completely different societal contexts—the *baile* reflected the peasant, commoner, and ruffian, whereas the *danza* depicted royalty, nobility, and high society.² During the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, however, several new genres arose that held that each person was inherently worthy, regardless of class, ethnicity, gender, or social status. No dance better conveyed this new egalitarian philosophy of the time than the *fandango*. This new genre was a sort of “audible photograph” of “natural law”—a musical depiction of the “natural laws” articulated by Newton and Leibniz in physics and by Adam Smith, Jefferson, and Voltaire in government. When Jefferson stated it was “self-evident ... that all men are created equal,” the *fandango* proclaimed it on the dance floor. Padre Martí of Alicante communicates this point in his account of the *fandango* that he jotted down in 1712:

I became familiar with this dance of Cádiz—famous after so many centuries for its voluptuous steps—that one sees it performed even today in all of the neighborhoods and houses of this city; and it is cheered in the most incredible fashion by the spectators. It is not just a big to-do among Gypsy women and people of low social stature, but is celebrated as well by prim and proper ladies of high society....

This dance's steps are performed in the same way by both the man and woman, grouped into pairs, and the dancers follow the measure of the music with suave undulations of the body.... Noisy laughter and happy shouts break out everywhere, and the spectators—possessed with the greatest enthusiasm as with the ancient Atellans—hurl themselves into the

² For a thorough treatment of the differences between the *baile* and *danza* genres, consult: Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras, y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI á mediados del XVIII*, vol. 17 of Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, under the direction of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, tomo 1, volumen 1 (Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly Bailliére, 1911); Maurice Esses, *Dance and Instrumental 'Diferencias' in Spain During the 17th and Early 18th Centuries*, 3 vols., Dance and Music Series, no. 2 (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1992); Christina Rodrigues Azuma, “Les musiques de danse pour la guitare baroque en Espagne et en France (1660-1700), Essais d'étude comparative,” 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2000; Eloy Cruz, *La casa de los once muertos: Historia y repertorio de la guitarra* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México & Escuela Nacional de Música, 1993) and my own study *Santiago de Murcia's "Códice Saldivar No. 4": A Treasury of Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico*, 2 vols. (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

thick of things, taking part and teetering about, following the movements of the dance.³

The famous scoundrel Casanova (a gigolo of the time who was to befriend da Ponte and Mozart in 1787, the year after *Figaro's* premiere) provides a similar description:

Each couple, man and woman, never move more than two or three steps as they click their castanets with the music of the orchestra. They take a thousand attitudes, make a thousand gestures so lascivious that nothing can compare with them. This dance is the expression of love-making from beginning to end, from the desire to the ecstasy of enjoyment. It seemed to me impossible that after such a dance the girl could refuse her partner.⁴

Dozens of similar accounts crop up all through the 1700s, all summarizing that the *fandango* was a sensual couples-dance projecting uninhibited, ecstatic, even lascivious passion. The *fandango* (accompanied by the clatter of castanets) clearly popped up at social gatherings where raucous onlookers would chime in with shouts of gleeful excitement. And Martí tells us that *anyone* was welcome, whether the dancer be a lowly Gypsy or a prim-and-proper lady.

Part 2: The Structure of Mozart's and Da Ponte's *Figaro*

At a time when scientists were using intellect and applied reason to unlock the secrets of nature, finding intelligible ways to explain nature's secrets with rational, lucid "rules," music was reflecting those same transformations in a parallel movement toward an appeal to the "natural" ... and toward an expressed desire for rational, transparent, and clear structures. In the same way that Newton's theories in the *Principia Mathematica* eventually brought us such "balanced equations" as $F = ma$ (force = mass times acceleration), so Mozart and Haydn provide us a sense of "natural balance" as well, in between the exposition and recapitulation of their sonata forms. Leibniz (with his theories on

³ Aurelio Capmany, "El baile y la danza," in *Folklore y costumbres de España*, F. Carreras y Candi, Director, vol. 2, pp. 167-418 (Barcelona: Casa Editorial Alberto Martín, 1943-1946), quoted on p. 248, translation by Craig Russell.

⁴ Curt Sachs, *World History of Dance*, Trans. by Bessie Schönberg (New York: Norton, 1937), quoted on p. 99. For Casanova's memoirs, including passage of Fandango, see Giacomo Casanova, *The memoirs of Jacques Casanova de Seingalt*, <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/c/casanova/c33m/book6.3.html> (accessed June 24, 2016).

conservation of energy) and Bernoulli (with his views on fluid dynamics) both explained dynamic systems in which motion was governed by balance: likewise, each of Mozart's and da Ponte's three operas is a dynamic structure churning with characters, events, and musical themes—always set in motion by the expectations of “natural principles” such as balance, symmetry, and the rational reestablishment of equilibrium. That is to say, eighteenth-century society had its roots in Empirical science and natural law, and culturally, Mozart's and da Ponte's operas grew in that same soil.

To better understand Mozart's and da Ponte's creative process, let us first examine the artistic world in which they were working. Up until the 1780s, almost all *opera seria* and *opera buffa* librettos were drafted in three acts: Act 1 presents all the characters and sets up a predicament; in Act 2, confusion abounds, and the problems become seemingly intractable. Act 3 (much shorter than the previous acts) provides an “unexpected solution,” usually provided by magnanimous forgiveness by a wise ruler. In France, staged musical works were usually in five acts, and they tended to be episodic and somewhat unrelated in nature. When Mozart and da Ponte got together at the local coffee shop to draft the outline for any new collaboration, they adopted an entirely new scheme, for they gravitated towards the number “four”—either crafting four distinct acts (as is the case for *Figaro*); or two large acts with clearly demarcated mid-points, thus creating four divisions as well (as is the case for *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*). If one maps out the symmetries, one can observe the grand, overall scheme of *Figaro* with its recurring four-sided symmetries: it is just one enormous square.⁵ This “four-ness” is not to be taken for granted, given that *Figaro* is based on Beaumarchais's 5-act play of the same name that met with spectacular success after its premiere in 1780, and much of *Don Giovanni* is based on Tirso de Molina's 3-act *El burlador de Sevilla*. In both cases, the 4-quadrant scheme had to have been entirely Mozart's and da Ponte's idea.⁶ It is

⁵ For best legibility of these examples, please consult the appendices to the online version of this article in *Música Oral del Sur*, vol. 12 (2015), <http://www.centrodedocumentacionmusicaldeandalucia.es/export/sites/default/publicaciones/pdfs/mos12-apendices.pdf> (accessed June 24, 2016).

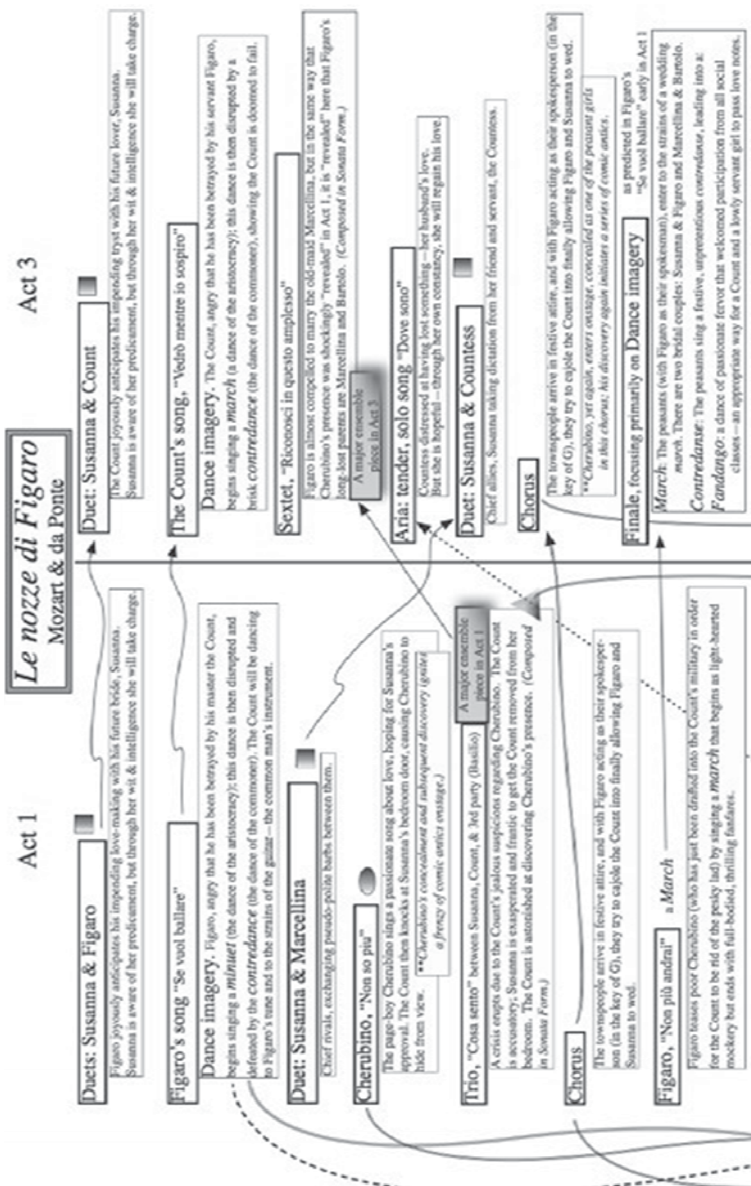
⁶ Daniel Hertz and Tim Carter have observed symmetries in Mozart's *Figaro*, as have scholars R. B. Moberly in *Three Mozart Operas: Figaro, Don Giovanni, The Magic Flute* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1968); Siegmund Levarie, *Mozart's Le Nozze di Figaro: A Critical Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952) with its reprint (New York: Da Capo, 1977); William Mann, *The*

almost as if the creative team, from the outset, took a sheet and folded it in two halves lengthwise—making the two acts—and then folded the sheet again, this time from top to bottom, with the crease becoming the “midpoints” for each of the larger acts. (Figure 1.) Once the sheet is divided in columns, it is a rather straightforward task to start placing items

Operas of Mozart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977). Carter, in particular, acknowledges that there were precedents for the 2-part division of comic operas in the 1780s and that Mozart would have known these creations. That being said, when I see 2-act works such as Paisiello’s *Il barbiere di Siviglia* or any others from that decade, there may be a binary division of acts—but without any noticeable attempt to have similarities or reflections between them. Mozart, on the other hand, carves out symmetries at every opportunity—that is where he sets himself apart from his contemporaries.

With regard to Beaumarchais and the actual structure of *his* version of *Figaro*, consult: Edna C. Fredrick, *The Plot and Its Construction in Eighteenth Century Criticism of French Comedy: A Study of Theory with Relation to the Practice of Beaumarchais*. Published initially as a doctoral dissertation at Bryn Mawr College, 1934. Rpn. in New York: Lenox Hill (Burt Franklin), 1973.

For other scholars who delve into Mozart’s symmetries (some with *Figaro* and others with *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*), it is well worth the effort consulting: James Webster, “The Act IV Finale of *Le Nozze di Figaro*: Dramatic and Musical Construction,” found on p. 91 onward, of Sergio Durante, Stegan Rohringer, Julian Rushton, James Webster, *Collected Writings of the Orpheus Institute: Drame Giocoso: Post-Millennial Encounters with the Mozart/Da Ponte Operas* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012); James Webster, “Mozart’s Operas and the Myth of Musical Unity,” in *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990), pp. 197–218; Jessica Waldoff and James Webster, “Operatic Plotting in *Le Nozze di Figaro*,” in *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart: Essays on His Life and his Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Bruce Alan Brown and John Rice, “Salieri’s *Così fan tutte*,” in the *Cambridge Opera Journal*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 17–43; Alan Tyson, “*Le nozze di Figaro*: Lessons from the Autograph Score,” in *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 114–24; Julian Rushton, *Don Giovanni*, Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981); and Bruce Alan Brown, *Così fan tutte*, Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995). With regard to accessing the actual music, the critical edition from the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* is available through their splendid “Digital Mozart Edition,” found on the website <http://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/main/>. The facsimile of Mozart’s original score is also easily available through the elegant 3-volume edition published through the generous support of the Packard Humanities Institute. See Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Le nozze di Figaro*, K. 492. *Facsimile of the Autograph Score*. 3 vols., introductory essay by Norbert Miller and musicological introduction by Dexter Edge (Los Altos California: The Packard Humanities Institute in conjunction with Bärenreiter Kassel, 2007).



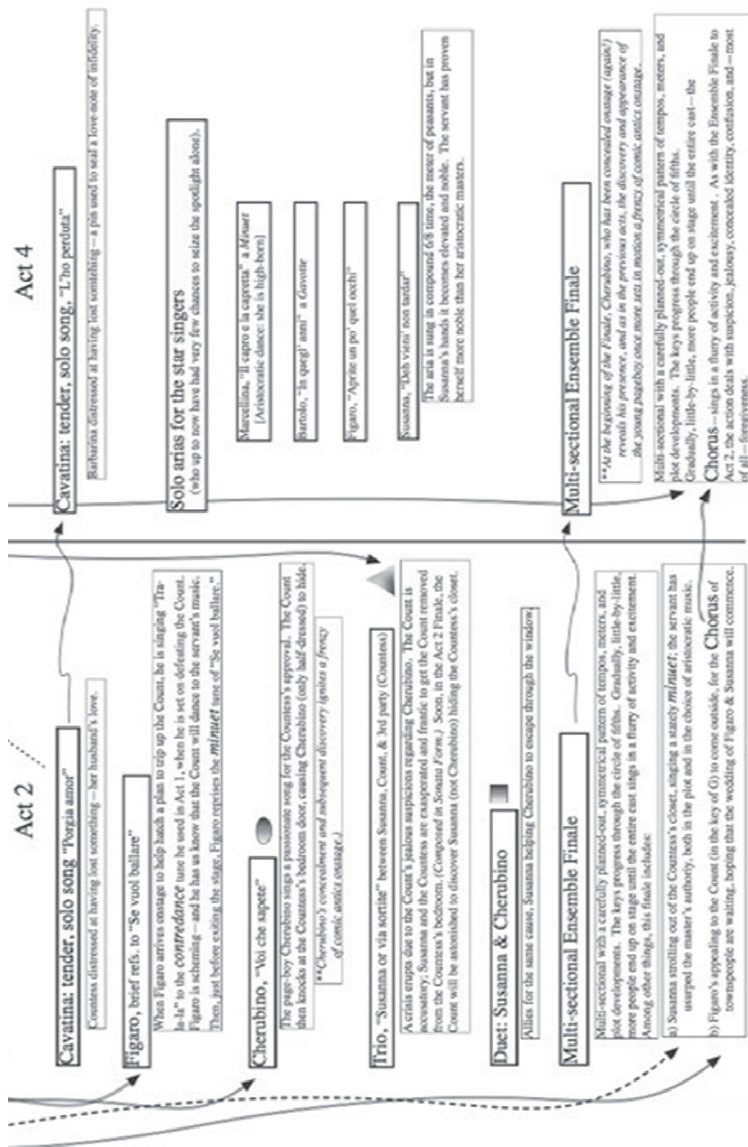


Figure 1

across from each other, either as near replications of the same event, or—just as useful—as near *opposites* of each other, making symmetrical events that are “mirror reflections” of each other. It is this four-ness of the structure over which Mozart and da Ponte apparently obsessed and which I have drawn out in the figures 1 through 6.

If we focus on a few recurring elements, the 4-sided symmetry becomes even more apparent. For example, we see that Mozart and da Ponte set up the same sequence of events for plot development in each act. At the beginning of each act, they first present a strong female character who is the focal point of dramatic action and for explaining the disturbing dilemma that will need to be solved in the coming scenes of the act. (Figure 2). Shortly thereafter, we get a bit of plot exposition regarding the scheme to entrap the Count; and this is always followed by the unwelcome appearance of the love-struck, teenaged pageboy Cherubino who is forever making advances on a principle female character (Susanna, the Countess, or Barbarina).

The young boy repeatedly shows up as a “guest” in Susanna’s or the Countess’s private bedchambers where—in each act—he first hides (sometimes half dressed, changing into women’s clothes). His subsequent discovery by the quick-tempered and jealous Count then initiates a series of confusing but hysterically funny antics. (Figure 3.) Interestingly, Cherubino’s cross-dressing develops as we move from act to act. In Act 1, Cherubino (wearing his *own* clothes) is caught hiding *underneath* Susanna’s dress in an armchair in her private chambers. In Act 2, Cherubino is in the process of disrobing and is changing *into* Susanna’s dress at the moment that the Count nearly finds the half-naked page hiding in the Countess’s private chambers. In Act 3, Cherubino has discarded his military attire completely and is now *fully dressed* in women’s attire in order to blend in inconspicuously with the crowd of peasant girls. And in Act 4, Cherubino is back in uniform but is completely fooled *by* Susanna’s dress in the final garden scene (The Countess is dressed in Susanna’s garb as part of their plot to trip up the philandering Count). The same pattern is rigorously maintained here as in the previous three acts, for it is Cherubino’s physical presence—combined with bewilderment surrounding a dress that is on the “wrong person”—that become the catalysts for the flurry of consternation and confusion that is about to unfold before our eyes.

Strong female characters to begin each act in *Figaro*

Each act has the same pattern: establish a strong female character in the opening number whose virtues and intellect make her superior to her male counterpart, have a bit of plot exposition regarding the scheme to entrap the Count, then have Cherubino arrive and set things in frenetic motion, and have the act conclude with a flurry of activity and large ensemble numbers. The four acts have the following female character dominate the action.

Act 1

Susanna (duets with Figaro)

Act 1 begins with Susanna and Figaro anticipating their upcoming wedding—and it is Susanna who understands the true situation in the palace, especially regarding the Count's illicit intentions. Figaro—as smart as he is—is no match for his beloved Susanna.

Act 3

Susanna (on stage with the Count)

Act 3 begins with the Count joyously anticipating his impending tryst with Susanna (but it's actually a ploy). In their banter, they engage in a game of wits, but the Count is outmatched by Susanna's clever intellect. The servant girl will outwit the powerful male aristocrat.

Act 2

The Countess

Act 2 begins with the Countess initially mourning the loss of her husband's fidelity and love: The Countess is grief-stricken at the loss of her husband's love: "either return my love to me or let me die."
[One of the most gorgeous moments of the opera]

Act 4

Barbarina

Act 4 begins with the gardener's young daughter, Barbarina, distressed for she has lost the pin that she was instructed to deliver to the Count.

Figure 2

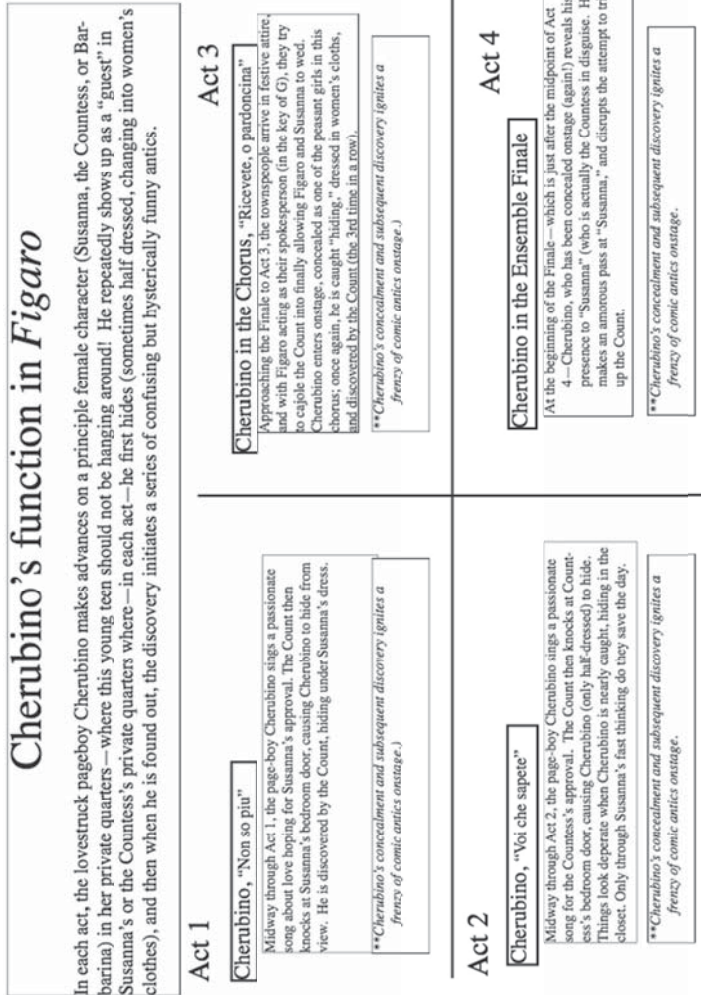


Figure 3

In *Figaro*, the two female protagonists provide the most substantial “moral fiber” to the drama. Susanna, the servant girl and fiancé to Figaro, finds herself in a horribly difficult situation, for she must deflect the lecherous Count’s unwelcome advances, yet she will need the Count’s permission and blessing if she is to marry Figaro.⁷ (Figure 4.) Truly, in eighteenth-century society, she is at the bottom rung of society’s hierarchy—since she is young, poor, unmarried, a servant, and female. In a word—POWERLESS. But in each act, Mozart and Da Ponte place Susanna in duet settings—symmetrically placed—where she invariably becomes the one “in charge,” the character calling the shots, due to her wit and quick thinking. Even with her fellow protagonists (the Countess and Figaro), she is always one step ahead. By drama’s end, her brilliant mind allows her to “win” in every respect. She evades the Count’s abusive coercion to have an affair, successfully trips him up and holds him accountable, and finally is allowed to marry her love, Figaro. Thus, Susanna’s function is an artistic manifestation of the Enlightenment’s most prized virtue—superior intellect.

Similarly, the Countess has unimpeachable virtues, towering over all other personages (with the possible exception of Susanna). (Figure 5.) Without question, she is the most noble spirit of the drama and as such is the perfect antithesis of her brutish, shallow, and hormone-crazed husband, the Count. Her loyal virtues are the mirror reflection of the Count’s shallow nature. In a sense, then, it is Susanna’s supreme intellect that *entraps* the Count and the Countess’s supreme magnanimity that *saves* him. And those virtues are displayed in actions that are symmetrically balanced, as if they were quadratic equations of sung drama.

Part 3: The *Fandango* and its Role in *Figaro*

The finales to the acts also have parallel features in “Mozart’s square,” for Acts 1 and 3 belong together as a matched pair, and Acts 2 and 4 constitute the other couple. (Figure 6.) Mozart places ensemble finales at the ends of Acts 2 and 4 in which characters come onto stage in dribs and drabs until the whole cast is gathered in full, sonic

⁷ Most of the opera sources cited previously delve into Mozart’s treatment of his female protagonists. To this list, we can also add Charles Ford’s recent book that approaches this singular issue in considerable detail: see Ford, *Sexuality and the Enlightenment in Mozart’s Figaro, Don Giovanni and Così fan Tutte* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2012).

Susanna's function in *Figaro*

In each act, the servant girl Susanna is in a horribly difficult situation where she must deflect the lecherous Count's unwelcome advances. In eighteenth-century society, she is at the bottom rung of society's hierarchy—since she is a young, poor, unmarried, servant girl. In a word—"POWERLESS." But in each act, Mozart and DaPonte place Susanna in duet settings where she invariably becomes the one "in charge," the character calling the shots, due to her wit and quick thinking. Even with her fellow protagonists (the Countess and Figaro), she is one step ahead. Her brilliant intellect allows her to "win" and achieve her goals by drama's end.

Act 1

Duet: Susanna & Figaro

Act 1 begins with Figaro joyously anticipating his impending love-making with his future bride, Susanna. Figaro is distracted and doesn't realize the Count's duplicitous intentions (wanting to bed his servant Susanna). It is Susanna who understands their predicament and explains it to her clueless fiancé, Figaro. Through her wit & intelligence she will take charge.

Duet: Susanna & Marcelina

Chief rivals, while pretending to be polite and courteous with each other, they exchange pointed barbs. Susanna can think on her feet, and Marcelina is easily outmatched in this cat-fight.

Act 2

Duet: Susanna & Cherubino

Immediately before the Finale, Cherubino—who is only half-dressed and hiding in the closet of the Countess's boudoir—must escape before the Count returns with the key to the locked room. Things look impossible, but Susanna's fast thinking (in this duet) helps the page escape through the window.

Ensemble Finale with Susanna

The Count, upon his return to his wife's bedroom, finds himself flummoxed when it is Susanna (and NOT that pesky Cherubino) who scrolls out of the closet. Once again, Susanna's wit and intellect rescue the situation from imminent disaster.

Act 3

Duet: Susanna & Count

The Count joyously anticipates his impending trysts with his future lover, Susanna (but it's actually a ploy). For her tricky plot to work, she must lead the Count on in order to ensnare him. Susanna is aware of her predicament, but through her wit & intelligence she will take charge.

Duet: Susanna & Countess

Chief allies, Susanna taking liberation from her friend and servant, the Countess.

Act 4

Ensemble Finale, begins with the pair: "Susanna" & Cherubino

Actually, it is the Countess disguised as Susanna that is the object of Cherubino's middlesex advances in the garden.

Ensemble Finale, continues with the pair: Susanna & Figaro

Susanna sings her lilting and sensual love song—"Deh vieni" to an unmarried lover, but she is fully aware that Figaro is actually nearby, hiding in the bushes, and within earshot. He becomes jealous, not understanding the situation. She is only teasing him a bit, but singing her passionate song for him. Once again, it is Susanna who understands the situation better than her sometimes clueless fiancé.

Figure 4

richness, singing away in full force to a flurry of excited orchestral exclamations and rapidly-racing scale passages that make a mad dash to the finish. In a similar way, Mozart drafts a *march-to-fandango* combination to pull together the closing moments of Acts 1 and 3. Notably, it is here (at the conclusions of Acts 1 and 3) that the *fandango* plays its defining role in establishing a cultural context in furthering the dramatic action.

Act 1 pulls to a close as Figaro sings the comic march “Non più andrai” to tease poor Cherubino who has just suffered the misfortune of being drafted into military service by the Count (a necessary step, from the Count’s perspective, since Cherubino had just witnessed the lecherous nobleman’s failed attempt to bed the servant girl Susanna). It should be noted that this scene is nowhere to be found in Beaumarchais’s original play; this comical scene is entirely Mozart’s and da Ponte’s invention. In the midst of this tongue-in-cheek march, Figaro pokes fun at the poor youth, observing that the page will have no more time for flirting with young maidens because he’ll be surrounded instead by smelly warriors with moustaches! And to drive home the point, Figaro taunts the poor teenager further, singing, “you’ll have helmet or a headdress, and you’ll get loads of honor—but very little money! And instead of dancing the *fandango*, you’ll be marching through the mud, over mountains, through valleys, in icy snow and sweltering heat—and all to the sound of muskets, gunfire, and cannon shots.” (Figure 7.)

In the parallel location at the end of Act 3, Figaro calls the tune for the rest to dance, all to a march.⁸ The common folk parade up to the

⁸ Due to the limited space allowed in an article, full quotations of this scene are not included here. The relevant passages, though, easily can be found in the following locations: Beaumarchais’s *Figaro*, the complete play in the original French, especially the latter part of Act IV, in [Pierre-Augustin Caron de] Beaumarchais, *Théâtre de Beaumarchais: Le Barbier de Seville, Le Mariage de Figaro, La Mère coupable*, with an introduction by and notes by Maurice Rat (Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères, 1964), p. 297 following, and on the web site http://bacdefrancais.net/mariage_de_figaro.pdf, esp. on p. 109 following, accessed on May 21, 2015; and the English translation of Beaumarchais’s play can be found in Pierre Agustin Caron de Beaumarchais, *The Figaro Trilogy: The Barber of Seville, The Marriage of Figaro, The Guilty Mother* (New York: Oxford World’s Classics, 2008) as well as in Beaumarchais’s *Figaro complete play in English translation* (by Thomas Holcroft in late 18th century), found on the web site Online Library of Liberty, <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/1563>, accessed on May 21, 2015; Da Ponte’s and Mozart’s libretto for *Figaro* can be found on “DM’s

Count's doorstep (at Figaro's urging), as Figaro is trying to hurry up the wedding date for his impending union with Susanna. Two young girls step forward to sing a duple-meter contredanse (a jaunty tune intended for peasant-folk, not nobility), thanking the Count in advance with the hopeful expectation that he finally will grant permission for Figaro's and Susanna's nuptials to proceed. They are trying to force the Count's hand, who has been trying to delay or derail that marriage at every turn so that he might have the unwed Susanna all to himself. This spritely contredanse proceeds without

Opera Site," especially Act III, Scene IV, and in English translation of their libretto on the web site

http://www.murashev.com/opera/Le_nozze_di_Figaro_libretto_English_Italian, accessed on May 21, 2015.

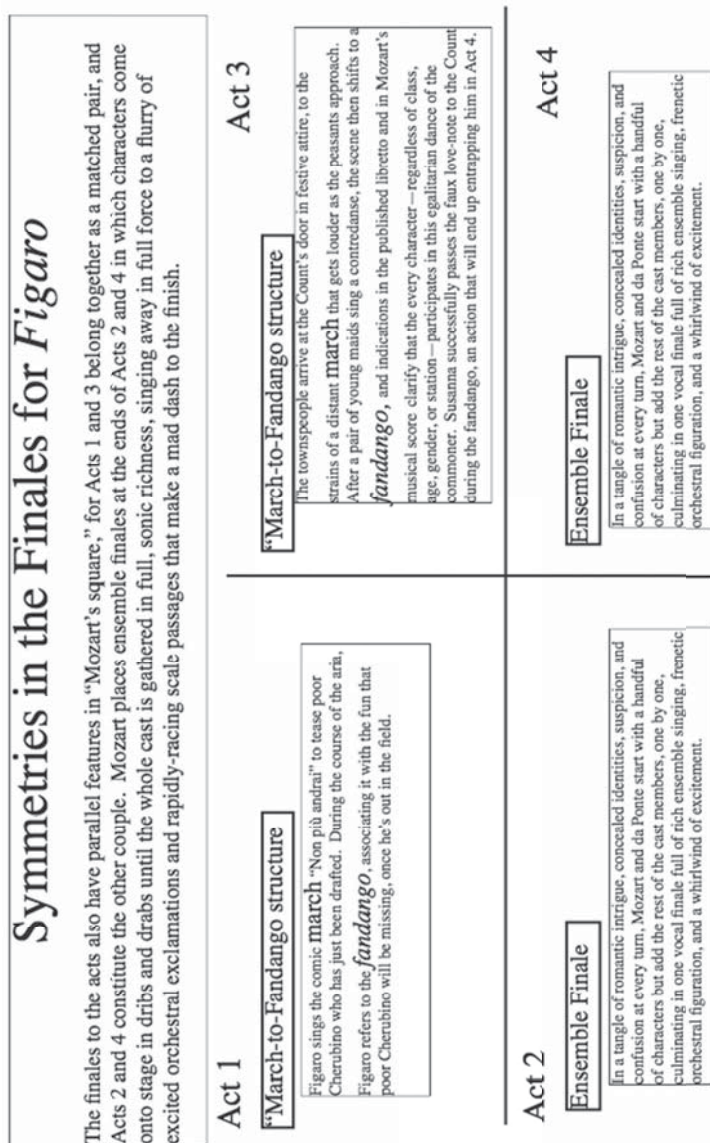


Figure 6

Non più andrai

N° 9: Aria by Figaro to conclude Act 1

Non più andrai, farfallone amoroso.
 Notte e giorno d'intorno girando,
 Delle belle turbando il riposo,
 Narcisetto, Adoncino d'amor.
 Non più avrai questi bei pennacchini
 Quel cappello leggiere e galante,
 Quella chioma, quell'aria brillante,
 Quel vermiglio, donnesco color.
 Tra guerrieri, poffar bacco!
 Gran mustacchi, stretto sacco,
 Schioppo in spalla, sciabla al fianco,
 Collo dritto, muso franco,

Un gran casco, o gran turbante,
 Molto onor, poco cantante,
 Ed invece del *fandango*,

Una *marchia* per il fango.
 Per montagne, per valloni,
 Con le nevi e i sollioni.
 Al concerto di tromboni,
 Di bombarde, di cannoni,
 Che le palle in tutti i tuoni.

No more, you amorous butterfly,
 Will you go fluttering round by night and day,
 Disturbing the peace of every maid,
 You pocket Narcissus, you Adonis of love.
 No more will you have those fine feathers,
 That light and dashing cap,
 Those curls, those airs and graces,
 That roseate womanish color.
 You'll be among warriors, by Bacchus!
 Long moustaches, knapsacks tightly on,
 Musket on your shoulder, sabre at your side,
 Head erect and bold of visage,

A great helmet or a headdress,
 Lots of honor, little money,
 And instead of the *fandango*,

[You'll be] *marching* through the mud.
 Over mountains, through valleys,
 In snow and days of listless heat,
 To the sound of muskets,
 Shells and cannons,
 Whose shots make your ears sing.

Translation by Lionel Salter, included in the liner notes to Mozart: *Le nozze di Figaro*, London Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Sir George Solti, on Decca (of London Records), 1982.

Figure 7

interruption into the more sensual *fandango*, which becomes the audible soundtrack as Susanna (and to a lesser extent, Figaro) sets in motion her plan to ensnare the adulterous Count, all to the strains of the *fandango*. The use of the march and the *fandango* are faithfully drawn from Beaumarchais's precise stage directions and dialogue in his play. Beaumarchais uses the *fandango* during this scene, as the servants Figaro and Susanna successfully fool the Count and trip him up in their plan. The peasants and even the gardener's daughter (Barbarina) are dancing at the same time as Don Bartholo and other aristocratic nobility. The *fandango*, then, symbolizes the equal status between *all* the characters on stage (a view that fits hand-in-glove with Padre Martí's description that we examined earlier in this essay). And of course, Mozart and da Ponte eagerly adopt this same symbolism to full effect in their opera.

At one point in the scene, Figaro comes to take Susanna's hand as she rises from her kneeling position before the Count. As the two

lovebirds return across the room, the stage directions state in the printed libretto state, "During this time, another reprise of the *fandango* is danced." Although that statement is ambiguous as to whether or not Figaro and Susanna are participating, Mozart's autograph score clarifies the issue with the annotation scribbled over the vocal staff, "*Figaro balla* (Figaro dances)." Importantly, Figaro is no bystander here but, on the other hand, is in the thick of the action, orchestrating the tune and dancing to the music of the commoner—the *fandango* that will trip up his "noble Lord."⁹

It also is worth noting that the Count does not remain seated during all of this commotion but instead rises to seek out the pin that he has dropped but will need to retrieve as part of the secret signal to Susanna that he's ready for their illicit tryst that evening. In the previous century, when aristocrats or townsfolk danced before their ruling lord and his spouse, the royal couple would be seated at the end of the room and were seen as "The Presence," for whom the dancers performed.¹⁰ Everything visually (and socially, for that matter) was directed toward the position of privilege, the seat occupied by "The Presence." But this new-fangled *fandango* rejected all that nonsense. There was no singular point from which the steps were to be viewed. *Anyone* could dance a *fandango*, and *all* spectators had equally valid viewpoints for observing it. Thus in the aforementioned scene, when the Count chooses to leave his "throne" during the *fandango* in order to scurry about on the dance floor, looking for that blasted pin that he had misplaced; he no longer is controlling the pageantry of the dance as the event's "Presence." Now, he is on a level playing field with the rest of humankind. There he was, the *Count*, suddenly "unseated" and unsettled, hobnobbing around, bumping elbows with peasants, servants, gardener's daughters, and the riffraff of the world. I have to think that Tom Jefferson would have been right at home in this culturally democratic setting where it was the common man who was

⁹ For a facsimile of Mozart's statement "Figaro balla" in his autograph score, please consult: Mozart, *Le nozze di Figaro*, K. 492. *Facsimile of the Autograph Score*, vol. 2, p. 450 (but with the page number "118" written in brown-red ink on the actual manuscript in the upper left corner and the page number "451" written in pencil or black ink in the lower left corner of the manuscript page).

¹⁰ See Wendy Hilton, *Dance of Court and Theater: The French Noble Style, 1690-1725*, ed. by Caroline Gaynor, with labanotation by Mireille Backer (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Book Company, 1981) pp. 85–87, 262, 282, 284–85.

calling the tune, while the ruling lord seems to be out of place and out of step.¹¹

One last point, before I move to musical examples. That Mozart and da Ponte *originally* had planned on ending Acts 1 and 3 similarly with marches is clear when one examines the printed libretto for the first performance; Act 1 closes with the stage instructions, “partono tutti al suono di una marcia / Fine dell’ Atto primo” (All exit the stage to the sound of a march / End of Act 1)¹²; with nearly identical guidelines Act 3 draws to an end, “Il coro, e la marcia si ripete e tutti partono. / Fine dell’ Atto terzo” (The chorus and the march are repeated, and all exit the stage / End of Act 3).¹³ Interestingly, sometime after sending the libretto to the printer for duplication, Mozart and da Ponte changed their minds, for in the final score Mozart actually ends Act 3—not with the march as was initially planned—but with the lovely contredanse that the two peasant girls had introduced earlier in that same scene. Perhaps they felt it wiser to end more concisely by simply tagging on a reprise of the contredanse and then dropping the curtain, instead of having the whole cast departing in pairs, marching off two-by-two (in the same way that they had entered) until the stage was vacated. For whatever reason a change was made, we nevertheless can state with certainty that their *first* plan was to end these two acts symmetrically, both making references to the *fandango* and polishing things off with an actual march.

A few words regarding Mozart’s musical models for his *fandango* are in order. Otto Jahn, Mozart’s first biographer, revealed that Mozart mines most of his musical material for the *fandango* straight from the “Moderato” movement in Gluck’s ballet *Don Juan* that had been

¹¹ Significantly, Beaumarchais was actually an ally of the Colonists in the Revolutionary War. He put his egalitarian views into action. See: Harlow Giles Unger, *Improbable Patriot: The Secret History of Monsieur de Beaumarchais, the French Playwright Who Saved the American Revolution* (Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2011); and Cynthia Cox, *The Real Figaro: The Extraordinary Career of Caron de Beaumarchais*, especially Chapter 12, “Beaumarchais and the American Colonies” (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1962).

¹² See the facsimile of the original da Ponte libretto, as reproduced in Mozart, *Le nozze di Figaro*, K. 492. *Facsimile of the Autograph Score*, vol. 1, p. 59 (but p. 24 of the actual libretto).

¹³ See the facsimile of the original da Ponte libretto, as reproduced in Mozart, *Le nozze di Figaro*, K. 492. *Facsimile of the Autograph Score*, vol. 1, p. 73 (but p. 78 of the actual libretto).

mounted in Vienna in 1761. In both Gluck's *fandango* and Mozart's slight reworking of it, we hear the descending tetrachord in a Phrygian mode upon which the *fandango* is built, the alternating *E major-to-A minor* chord progressions that volley back and forth, and the distinctive *fandango* rhythm.¹⁴ Neither Gluck nor Mozart can resist the desire to insert those inevitable *V-to-i* cadences that tonicize A-minor as opposed to the E, the actual tonal destination of the Phrygian mode, and in that respect the ephemeral allusion to Andalucía is momentarily dispelled as we are yanked back, musically speaking, to the context of Italian *opera buffa* in Mozart's and da Ponte's Vienna of the 1780s. This misstep, however, almost doesn't matter, for the rest of the cultural context they absorb and then project to perfection.

To close, I would like to examine once more the *fandango* in the late eighteenth century and its *meaning* in *Figaro*. What did the Viennese public actually hear in 1786, and why might it have mattered? I would propose that when Figaro and Susanna took the stage at the end of Act 3, the *taconeo* of the characters' heels and clatter of their castanets became as much premonition as entertainment. The French Revolution was but three years away—and I suspect that *some* of the audience members were cognizant that they were experiencing more than enchanting melody, jocular humor, and silly antics in this opera. In truth, Mozart's and da Ponte's *The Marriage of Figaro* resonates with the dynamic structures of empirical science and with the ideals of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality" made manifest on their dance floor—and it was all made possible by the *fandango*.

¹⁴ For a description of the *fandango*'s musical features in the eighteenth century consult my own study *Santiago de Murcia's "Código Saldivar No. 4": A Treasury of Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico*, vol. 1, pp. 50–52. For Santiago de Murcia's setting of a *fandango*, consult that same publication, vol. 2, pp. 138–42. Jessica Waldoff and James Webster, "Operatic Plotting in *Le Nozze di Figaro*," in *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart: Essays on His Life and his Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Heartz, Daniel. *Mozart's Operas*, edited with contributing essays by Thomas Bauman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Figures

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Figure 3 Cherubino

Figure 4 Susanna
Figure 5 Countess
Figure 6 Symmetry in Finales
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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE REVELS OF A YOUNG REPUBLIC: REVOLUTIONARY POSSIBILITIES OF THE FANDANGO IN TIMOTHY FLINT'S 1826 *FRANCIS BERRIAN*

PAUL D. NAISH

Abstract

Timothy Flint's 1826 *Francis Berrian*, the first novel written in the United States with a Latin American setting, features a young Massachusetts native who rescues a Conde's daughter from a band of Comanches and participates in Mexico's war for independence. A fandango at the woman's estate forms a pivotal set piece where "old and young, parents and children, masters and servants" mix in a giddy dance that anticipates a future happy union between Mexico and the United States. Yet the fastidious American recoils at this display of cross-class informality, and the titled Mexican woman chastises him for his snobbery. Perhaps inadvertently, *Francis Berrian* suggests that American ideas of equality might be better practiced on the dance floor of aristocratic Mexico than they are realized in the Republic of America.

Keywords

Fandango; republicanism; democracy; Timothy Flint; *Francis Berrian*

Resumen

Francis Berrian por Timothy Flint (1826), la primera novela escrita en Estados Unidos con un marco Latinoamericano, presenta a un joven de Massachusetts que rescata a la hija de un Conde de una banda de Comanches, y llega a participar en la Guerra de Independencia de México. Un fandango en la hacienda de la mujer forma la escena central, donde

“ancianos y jóvenes, padres e hijos, amos y sirvientes” se entremezclan en un baile lleno de posibilidades que anticipa una futura unión provechosa entre México y los Estados Unidos. Sin embargo, al norteamericano escrupuloso esta exhibición de familiaridad entre clases le da repugnancia, y la mexicana aristocrática le reprocha su esnobismo. Quizás sin que sea a propósito, *Francis Berrian* nos sugiere que la igualdad y fraternidad idealizadas se ponen en marcha mejor en una pista del México aristocrático que en la Republica de los Estados Unidos.

In the summer of 1826, Ohio writer and editor Timothy Flint published *Francis Berrian, or, the Mexican Patriot*, the first U.S. novel with a Spanish-American setting.¹ Ostensibly a celebration of the exportability of American ideals and the universality of republicanism “in the fifty-first year of the Independence of the United States of America,” as the publisher noted, the story features as its titular hero a U.S. native who assists in the deliverance of Mexico from its Spanish colonial overlords and promises, through his marriage to a Mexican noblewoman, an amicable future of pan-Americanism (Flint 1826, vol. I, 2). Through the benign influence of the United States, Mexico is bound to throw off the shackles of absolute rule and crippling superstition, her citizens learning to think and act for themselves as free people. But *Francis Berrian* never entirely trusts those people—or indeed the unwashed masses of any society, whose inclinations are seen as shortsighted and often base. Like the United States itself at the dawn of the Jacksonian period, the novel cannot quite resolve the tension between republicanism and democracy.

Author Timothy Flint’s recurring set piece of the fandango—which receives thirteen mentions in the text—serves as a metaphor for this tension. From the perspective of the novel’s hero, a prim and buttoned-up native of Massachusetts, the fandango is associated with riotous excess, giddy triviality, the proclivity for sport and amusement supposedly typical

¹ Frederick S. Stimson, “‘Francis Berrian’: hispanic influence on American romanticism,” *Hispania*, 42, 4 (1959): 511. *Francis Berrian* went through two U.S. editions (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, and Company, 1826 and Philadelphia: Key and Biddle, 1834) and two English editions (London: A.K. Newman and Company, 1834 and London: J. Cunningham, 1841). Upon the publication of the first English edition, the *Monthly Magazine, or, British Register* noted approvingly, “In plain words, these are three exceedingly original and entertaining volumes” (Anon., “*Francis Berrian; or the Mexican Patriot*,” *Monthly magazine, or, British register*, 17[98], (1834): 226.

of the Spanish-American character, contrasting strikingly with the diligent application of the Yankee. But Flint allows his Mexican heroine a defense of the fandango that offers a sharply different reading. In her praise of the dance, the fandango represents a plea for toleration and a commitment to equality that humbles the American hero's pretenses. Her remarks suggest that American ideas of equality might be better practiced on the dance floor of aristocratic Mexico than they are realized in the Republic of America.

While the character of Francis Berrian is presented as the heir to the tradition of the Marquis de Lafayette, a foreign visitor inspired by the vision of independence and singularly efficacious in its achievement,² he is also the first literary example of a type who will dominate American interference in Latin American affairs in the 1850s—the filibuster. Berrian regards it as his special mission to make over the regions south of the U.S. border after the pattern of the United States. In the case of the novel *Francis Berrian*, that model is republicanism. Republicanism is a label that has been stuck on numerous political identities and agendas over the last two millennia, but in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it referred to a political system based on the consent of the governed rather than imposed by the fiat of a hereditary hierarchy. In direct contrast to monarchy, an illegitimate form of government, republicanism rejected inherited privilege and celebrated freedom and civic virtue. What republicanism did not guarantee was democracy—the rule of the people.

² Both *The North American Review* and *The United States Review and Quarterly Gazette* were dubious about Flint's fictional hero playing such a leading role among actual historical figures (Anon., "Critical Notices: *Francis Berrian* [Review]," *North American review*, 24[54], (1827): 210-212; Anon., "*Francis Berrian; or the Mexican patriot* [Review]," *The United States review and literary gazette*, 1[2], (1826): 94). In fact, Flint based his character on the historical Henry Adams Bullard, the "patriotic soldier of fortune" to whom he dedicated his novel (Flint 1826, vol. I, 3). Bullard, whom Flint had met in Louisiana, responded to an appeal by Don Jose Alvarez de Toledo to revolutionize Texas in 1813. Unlike Berrian, Bullard was not successful as a revolutionary, but he became a Louisiana legislator (Dora J. Bonquois, "The career of Henry Adams Bullard, Louisiana jurist, legislator, and educator," *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, 23[4] (1940): 999-1106). Joel Poinsett, later U.S. Minister to Mexico, took a similarly active, if less central, role in Chilean independence (Fred Rippy, *The rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America, 1808-1830*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1929, 10).

Eighteen twenty-six, the year *Francis Berrian* was published, was a pivotal one for both Latin America and the United States. Simon Bolivar called a congress of the new states of Latin America, having recently won their own independence and formed republics along U.S. lines, and the United States was invited to participate. President John Quincy Adams accepted the invitation but vetted it before Congress—at which point a contentious debate ensued, some of it spontaneous and some engineered by his political rival, Martin Van Buren.³ At its conclusion Congress approved the mission to Panama, but of the two delegates sent, one died on the way and the other arrived too late to participate.⁴ In the process of debate, a sizeable contingent of legislators made very public racist and anti-Catholic statements—eagerly picked up by the press—that left no doubt that republicanism was not a political baptism that would wash away the original sins of racial or religious difference.

Meanwhile the United States, celebrating the fiftieth jubilee of its own independence, was confronting its own social revolution, the dawn of Jacksonian democracy. Andrew Jackson would not be elected president for two more years, but the values he stood for—expanded access to the franchise, privileges for white men at the expense of Native Americans, African Americans, and women generally—were already mobilizing camps of supporters and critics. In some ways democracy was the natural outgrowth of republicanism: if inherited privilege was to be scuttled, why was the simple farmer not the equal of the wealthy planter or merchant? But for those who fancied themselves composed of finer clay, the leveling prospects of democracy were terrifying.

Timothy Flint's novel partakes of this ambivalence and anticipates the way new understandings of race and new conflicts over

³ Robert V. Remini, *Martin Van Buren and the making of the Democratic Party* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1951), 104–113. See also Jeffrey J. Malanson, "The congressional debate over U.S. participation in the Congress of Panama, 1825–26: Washington's farewell address, Monroe's doctrine, and the fundamental principles of U.S. foreign policy," *Diplomatic History*, 30, 5 (2006): 813–838, and Robert Pierce Forbes, *The Missouri Compromise and its aftermath: slavery and the meaning of America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

⁴ See for example Andrew R.L. Cayton, "The debate over the Panama Congress and the origins of the second American party system," *The historian*, 47, 2 (1985): 219–238; James Lewis, Jr., *The American union and the problem of neighborhood: the United States and the collapse of the Spanish empire, 1783–1829* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

class would be discussed—and masked—in the 1830s, '40s, and '50s. In a fashion familiar to readers of fiction of the Romantic period, Flint nested his tale within a series of mediated narratives. Berrian relates his life story to an unnamed author onboard a southbound steamboat in 1825, with the author's meditations framing the story. Despite the fact that the author enthuses about Berrian's bewitching attractiveness—there is something almost homoerotic in his descriptions of his hero's features and accomplishments—both the author and Berrian himself appear to the modern reader remarkably arrogant and narrow-minded. Both share a contempt for any assembly of people not composed exclusively of the beautiful, well-educated, and gently bred. Shuddering at the "customary samples and assortments of all climes, characters, ages, and conditions" that comprise the passenger list of the typical steamboat, the author singles out his hero, whose "dress and . . . servants indicated wealth" but who seemed to be "deriving his resources from himself, and not drawing upon the feverish stimulants of display" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 6–7; 7).

Berrian shares with the author a distaste for the "empty and boisterous character" of the other passengers, and the two men become intimate friends (Flint 1826, vol. I, 8). When Berrian shares his life story, he displays his own prejudice against the men who staff keel-boats, who appear to him "an order of beings as different from any with which I had yet been acquainted, as though they had descended from another planet" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 25). Scarcely more familiar as members of his own species are the wood cutters who erect precarious habitations on the "greasy banks" of the Red River and who "laugh and shout, and drink and blaspheme, and utter their tale of obscenity, or, it may be, of murder, with bacchanalian joyousness . . . look upon the laughers, and see the strange fire of their eye, and you will almost believe the chilling stories of Vampyres" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 29–30).

This is contempt for social inferiors, in other words, that reaches the level of pathology. That it should be expressed by a self-appointed missionary of American values seems particularly unfortunate. Interestingly enough, this classism far exceeds the hero's xenophobia, racism, and anti-Catholicism. Although the reader is treated to scorn for credulous Papists, clownish Irish servants who talk in dialect, and "copper-colored savages" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 55), these Others are not so much individualized for particular censure as they are covered with a blanket contempt for being part of the low-born rabble.

Early in the novel, Berrian, who has decided to seek his fortune in Mexico, bravely saves Dona Martha, a Conte's daughter, from a villainous Comanche. Martha's grateful parents introduce him to the luxurious world of the Mexican nobility, establishing him in their household as a tutor of English. In conversations with his hosts, Berrian defends the superiority of the United States, where rank is based on merit rather than birth: "It is true, we have no nobility, no titled and privileged class But if you imagine we have no scale by which to estimate the difference between the wise and good, and the ignorant and vile, you deeply mistake. The homage which we pay to talents, virtue, and public services is heart-felt, and paid so much the more cheerfully, as it is not levied as a tax, and is very different from the forced observance which is awarded to titled rank on the claims of prescription" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 107). But he exhibits the inclinations of a monarchist and pays willing fealty to position. Indeed so natural does American-born Berrian consider the privileges of hierarchy that he dares not dream of marriage with Martha until he has carried out several more heroic rescues and won countless military honors. Only then does Berrian decide he is indeed worthy to court her.

The novel makes the fictional Berrian instrumental in winning Mexico's independence through his instinctive understanding of military strategy—not an easy task given what is presented as the improvidence and lack of discipline of the Mexican soldiers. Flint presents the fandango as typical of the indolent, shortsighted approach of the Spanish and native-born Mexicans. When the first stirrings of patriotic sentiment arise, Berrian is sickened to observe that it unites "children, servants, negroes, mulattoes, samboes, Indians, domestics, and wives, of all nations and colors . . . [producing] a whole medley of sounds . . . in which reckless gaiety was the key note" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 258–9). There is no order or discipline among the Mexican Patriot forces: "Almost every night brought its ball and fandango" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 273). When orders arrive to engage with the royalist troops, many of the Patriot volunteers, having overindulged in dancing the night before, fail to show up for the call of the muster roll (Flint 1826, vol. I, 279). The fandango that celebrates Patriot victory culminates in violence between Spanish officers and their American allies (Flint 1826, vol. II, 18). Disorder, laziness, unseemly fraternization: these follow on the heels of the fandango.

While the republican Berrian heaps scorn on the shiftless citizenry, it is Martha, the daughter of a Gachupin (Spanish-born)

nobleman, who turns out to have the more democratic inclinations. She instinctively understands and appreciates the ideals Berrian takes for granted. When Berrian delivers her from captivity to her parents' estate, she is not disgusted to be surrounded by "[d]omestics, Indians, negroes, mestizos, samboes, male and female, old and young, [who] crowded round the restored daughter" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 97). She is not too proud to declare she "dearly loves the fandango" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 169). A dance to which all are invited celebrates her rescue. While Berrian turns his nose up at the Conde and Condesa and their daughter share the dance floor with Martha's corpulent duenna and the family's ill spoken Irish servant, Martha explains, "'Our national manners call for all this, and allow strangers' privileges here, which would not be tolerated in any other place. . . . Will you have the goodness to walk this dance with me?'" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 152). The unbending Berrian declines her invitation, but later regrets his refusal (Flint 1826, vol. I, 152).

Berrian pays lip service to the idea that the United States is exceptional because of the access to opportunity it provides all its people. But it is Martha who is truly captivated by the idea of economic equality when she visits the United States at the end of the novel. "Accustomed as she had been to see such multitudes of beggars and *leperos*" in her native Mexico, she relishes the sight of "multitudes of fine-looking and well-dressed people of both sexes, that were thronging the streets" of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore (Flint 1826: vol. II, 269). Her enthusiasm echoes the remarks of other foreign visitors and immigrants who acknowledged the industry of the American people, and the laws that let them keep what they earn.⁵ Martha is quite willing to see life as a dance in which all people can take part.

⁵ See for example Francisco de Miranda, *The new democracy in America: travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84*, translated by Judson P. Wood; edited by John S. Ezell. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963, 178: ". . . such is the industry and spirit which liberty inspires in these people that from a small portion of the lands they obtain enough to maintain their large families, pay heavy taxes, and live in comfort and contentment, a thousand times happier than the proprietaries of the rich mines and fertile lands of Mexico, Peru, Buenos Aires, Caracas, and the rest of the Spanish-American continent." See also J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York: Fox, Duffield & Company, 1904), 49-50: "The rich and the poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe. . . . We are all animated with the spirit of an industry with is unfettered and unrestrained, because each person works for himself." English visitor Frances Trollope, who met Timothy Flint in Cincinnati and admired *Francis Berrian*, shared his scorn for the *hoi polloi*. But she too

Berrian, on the other hand, seems to believe equality is all very well as long as the preeminence of the truly exceptional is acknowledged and rewarded. He makes sure that his future father-in-law's estates are restored after their confiscation by an interim Mexican government, and accepts a huge estate himself as a reward for his service to the new nation. He relishes his return to the United States where he can show off his new-found wealth and noble bride. "Democratic . . . as we are in New England, no little importance is attached . . . to rank and family," he remarks (Flint 1826, vol. II, 271).

When Flint's hero takes Martha home to meet his parents at the end of the novel, he sends his servant Bryan ahead of the bridal party "with a good round sum of dollars" to be invested in redecorating the family farm and making over his family (Flint 1826, vol. II, 271). The estimable Bryan invests in both actual and figurative whitewash, and Berrian comes home to find his mother fitted out with "false 'everlastings,' false teeth, and every thing false but her maternal heart" and his father unrecognizable in a "long-tailed wig" (Flint 1826, vol. II, 274). He then treats the whole village to "invitations, and dinners, and parties without number" where the inhabitants are allowed glimpses of Berrian's bride in order to "catch her air, walk and manner" and argue about whether to address him as "Don" or "Duke, but the greater part fairly dubbed me General" (Flint 1826, vol. II, 275; 277; 275).

Berrian's extended celebration in the United States, characterized by jealousy and bewigged pretension, where "merits" are equated with dollars, contrasts jarringly with Martha's fandango in aristocratic Mexico, where "old and young, parents and children, masters and servants. . . join in the same dance" (Flint 1826, vol. I, 151). Though author Timothy Flint validates the narrow-minded perspective of his hero, he allows Martha a challenge that haunts the novel and, indeed, the future American republic, where equal rights and opportunities for all people can never be taken for granted. When Berrian recoils at the ideal of taking part in a dance with

acknowledged that the United States set few obstacles in the path of acquiring wealth: "During nearly two years that I resided in Cincinnati, or its neighborhood, I neither saw a beggar, nor a man of sufficient fortune to permit his ceasing his efforts to increase it . . . this unity of purpose, backed by the spirit of enterprise, and joined with an acuteness and *total* absence of probity, where interest is concerned, which might set canny Yorkshire at defiance, may well go far towards obtaining its purpose." (Frances Trollope, *Domestic manners of the Americans*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1949 [1832], 43.)

his social inferiors, Martha retorts: “I should think it would be conformable to your republican notions to see the rich and the poor mixing together in the same sports” (Flint 1826, vol. I, 152). The inclusive community formed by the fandango is hardly a sustainable democracy. But through the dance, *Francis Berrian*’s author, Timothy Flint, suggests, perhaps without intending to do so, that Latin America may have something to teach the United States about creating a space where all people can participate on an equal footing.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

FANDANGO IN THE FRANCO ERA: THE POLITICS OF CLASSIFICATION

THERESA GOLDBACH

Abstract

The fandango occupied a precarious position in the pantheon of flamenco rhythms during the Franco dictatorship. Flamenco was transitioning from the theatrical flamenco and the *ópera flamenca* era, of which the fandangos and fandanguillos were seen as symbols for many purists. The era referred to as *nacionalflamenquismo* began as *ópera flamenca* ended, and an authoritarian dictatorship brought its love of categories and classification. A renewed government tourism campaign searched for nationalist forms and local arts to sponsor. I will examine the trajectory of the fandango through the government sponsored “Festivales de España” campaign in the fifties and sixties. I will analyze how its roots as folk rhythm and flamenco *palo* provided a bridge between the *franquista* use of Andalusian imagery for tourist purposes and the orthodoxy of flamenco purists like Antonio Mairena. I will also consider the importance of fandango specialists like Paco Toronjo in assuring its survival as part of the flamenco canon.

Keywords

Nacionalflamenquismo, *ópera flamenca*, Franco, “Festivales de España”

Resumen

“El fandango en la época de Franco: las políticas de clasificación.”

El fandango ha ocupado un lugar muy precario en el panteón de palos flamencos durante la dictadura de Franco. Mientras que el flamenco estaba en vías de transición de la *ópera flamenca*, de la cual los fandangos y los fandanguillos eran emblemáticos, discursos sobre la pureza y proyectos de

clasificación ordenaron los palos entre flamenco gitano y formas populares. En los primeros tiempos del franquismo, la censura escudriñó las formas populares por laxitud moral o influencias extranjeras. La campaña turística subsiguiente del gobierno franquista buscaba formas nacionalistas y artes locales para patrocinar. Este artículo examina a la trayectoria del fandango en la campaña turística “Festivales de España” de los años cincuenta y sesenta. Además, analiza cómo las raíces folclóricas del fandango funcionaban como puente entre el uso de la imagen andaluza por el gobierno y el ortodoxia de puristas flamencos. Este trabajo considera también la importancia de especialistas como Paco Toronjo para asegurar la supervivencia del fandango como parte del canon flamenco.

The fandango occupied a precarious position in the pantheon of flamenco rhythms during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain from 1936 to 1975. As flamenco transitioned from the theatrical flamenco and ópera flamenca era, of which the fandangos and fandanguillos were emblematic, discourses of purity and classificatory projects sorted *palos* (rhythms) into flamenco or *gitano* (Gypsy) and popular or folk forms. Early *franquista* censorship scrutinized popular forms for potential moral laxity or non-Spanish content. The subsequent *franquista* government tourism campaign searched for nationalist forms and local arts to sponsor. I will examine the trajectory of the fandango through the government sponsored “Festivales de España” campaign in the fifties and sixties. I will analyze how its roots as folk rhythm and flamenco *palo* provided a bridge between the *franquista* use of Andalusian imagery for tourist purposes and the orthodoxy of flamenco purists. I will also consider the importance of fandango specialists like Paco Toronjo in assuring its survival as part of the flamenco canon.

As a foundational act, the Franco regime in set up a rudimentary system of censorship in 1937. A law on April 22, 1938 refined this system (Payne 1987, 181). Censorship laws revolved primarily around strict control of the press and promotion of propaganda. Themes of nationalism and xenophobia initially guided the propaganda strategy of early *franquista* censorship as much as the religious based morality of later eras. Stanley Payne cites the example of the required addition of an “e” at the end of the word “restaurant” in Spain to differentiate it from the French and English spelling of the word to demonstrate this strategy (188). Another example employed by Payne is the legislation passed in 1938 “requiring that all newly christened Spanish children receive appropriate

Spanish names not identified with foreign cultures or religions” (188). Satire and musical comedy particularly concerned the censors, who considered these potentially dangerous forms. A November 1940 letter by the head of the national Theatre Department to a local censor, Manuel Sanz from Castellón de la Plana, attempts to provide “requested clarification” as to what constitutes musical comedies as they “have special regulations” (“Letter from the National Chief of the Department of Theatre to the Provincial Chief of Propaganda of Castellón de la Plana (Manuel Sanz) on 7 Nov 1940”).¹ Per censorship regulations, all theatrical shows needed a censorship paper (*hoja de censura*) that should be presented upon request to the local censor (per Circular quoted in the letter). In addition to the censorship paper, musical comedies also needed to have extra documentation and corresponding registration not only with the Section of Censorship but also with the Society of Authors and Companies (“Circular of 24 March 1940”). The Chief wrote to Señor Sanz that:

[T]he measures to which the circular of the past 24 of April refers, are only applicable to shows technically known as musical comedies that should not be confused with the operettas or zarzuelas of a certain level that in any case exempt the genre from review when it is developed with the needed dignity. (“Letter from the National Chief of the Department of Theatre to the Provincial Chief of Propaganda of Castellón de la Plana (Manuel Sanz) on 7 Nov., 1940”)

By declaring the potential “dignity” of *zarzuela*, the Chief of the Department articulates the implied hierarchy that places *escuela bolera* and *zarzuela* (native Spanish “classical” forms) on a higher moral as well as cultural level than the popular entertainments derived from “foreign” sources such as the American Vaudeville or Hollywood musical comedies.² Another bulletin (from September 1940) further illustrates the association of Vaudeville (or *vodevil*) with questionable morals stating that: “With these [extra] measures, the Department of Theatre is trying to stimulate the substitution of the *vodevil* [sic] genre by shows of an analogous structure, but of a certain moral level” (“Bulletin Number 193

¹ All translations from Spanish by Theresa Goldbach unless otherwise noted in citation.

² Despite the strict Hays code enforced in Hollywood at the time, many American movies and movie stars (such as Bette Davis, Joan Crawford, Paul Robeson, Burgess Meredith, and James Cagney) were considered too scandalous for Spanish audiences and their films were banned from presentation in Spain (“List of Banned Artists” Box 21/50).

of the Spanish General Society of Show Impresarios, Sept., 1940”). Vaudeville represented not only a foreign threat to Spanish nationalism but also a moral threat to Spanish Catholicism. In this alignment, the forms of fandangos popularized in the *ópera flamenca* genre would have had an advantage over American music and dance. The perceived “Spanishness” of the fandangos and other flamenco or Spanish folk forms allowed them to escape the xenophobic scrutiny. In addition, their “Spanishness” also lent an aura of “tradition” to the forms that would have appealed to the conservative sensibilities of censors and bureaucrats.

As early *franquismo* segued into National Catholicism (1943–1951), censorship became more standardized, though not necessarily eased. Reports from provincial censors no longer arrived in terse telegrams (per records in (3)49.1 21/45 and 21/46 dated March - November 1942). Instead reports from all provinces arrived once per annual quarter and were divided into three sections by genre: Theatrical Shows, Variety Shows, and Films (per records in (3)49.1 21/2341, 21/2003, and 21/2334 dated 1948–1951). *Escuela bolera* and *zarzuela* usually came under the heading of “Theatrical Shows” while flamenco performances typically fell into the category of “Variety Shows” unless performed in a mixed program with Spanish Classical and other Spanish forms. The variety show format required individual listing of the names and titles (dancer, singer, musician, etc.) of all performers, of each musical number, and the names of composers. The sheet music and lyrics needed to be pre-approved as well. For flamenco performances, the composer was normally listed as either “traditional” or the name of the singer or musician performing the piece.

Over time, a few evolutions took place in the way that flamenco performers were classified. First, flamenco dancers and singers moved from the generic Spanish classifications of *bailarín* or *bailarina* (for dancer) and *cantante* (for singer) to terminology more specifically associated with flamenco: *bailaor* or *bailaora* and *cantaor* or *cantaora*. This shift signified recognition of a fundamental difference in flamenco that set it apart from other popular “Variety Show” genres. Other terms joined the list as well: *baile flamenco* (flamenco dance), *cancion andaluza* (Andalusian singing), *cancion flamenco* (flamenco song), *baile gitano* (Gypsy dance), *cante gitano* (Gypsy Song), *cante jondo* (deep song), and *baile jondo* (deep dance). From the documents, it is unclear whether or not the terms *baile gitano* or *cante gitano* referred only to Gitano performers or to anyone performing flamenco. Also, the use of these terms is notable

for three reasons: 1) because the *jondo* designation does not refer to all of the flamenco family of song, 2) the labels are used even when the program includes non-*jondo palos*,³ 3) the appellation *baile jondo* was not as commonly used in flamenco scholarship or colloquial terminology as the more typical term *cante jondo*. Concurrent with this incorporation of exclusively flamenco terminology, a trend towards exempting flamenco performers from the extra scrutiny of lyrics and music occurred. As in the report from the province of Valladolid dated 9 October 1950, the listing for the Compañía de Raimundo Blu contains a roster of performers (using the term *cancion flamenco*),⁴ such as guitarist Antonio Reyes, but a list of musical numbers in the performance is omitted (“Report from Valladolid 9 October, 1950”). In contrast an earlier listing from the same province of the company of Juanito Valderrama not only fails to use the flamenco terminology but also requires a listing of the individual numbers, which included a *pasodoble*, albeit with a note saying that the “libretto” has previously been seen by the Inspector (“Report from Valladolid 6-7 May, 1950”).

Besides flamenco, the other performances labeled as “Variety Shows” tended to include Latin-American styles (Cuban, Mexican *boleros*), American swing, jazz or popular music, and Spanish popular music. As with the *fandangos*, certain *palos* like the *garrotín*, *pasodoble*, *malagueña*, and *sevillanas* migrated between the Spanish popular genre and flamenco. However, for performers whose repertory revolved around Latin American or American (especially swing or jazz) styles, additional scrutiny was consistently applied. It would appear that at the time it was more convenient to be categorized as a flamenco performer than as a performer of other “Variety Show” genres.

With the influx of international tourists in Spain in the 1950s, more social and cultural influences from foreign countries did enter Spain. The United States formally re-established diplomatic relations with Spain through the Pact of Madrid signed in 1953 (Payne 1987, 418). Throughout the next decade, the Ministry of Information and Tourism began to shift some resources to the marketing of Spain to the rest of the world and away from the policing of popular entertainments. Sasha Pack suggests that the

³ It may be that certain performers would only perform *jondo* numbers as sometimes the *cante* or *baile jondo* appellation would be used in the same roster as *bailarina* or *cancion andaluza*. This is not clarified in any of the documents.

⁴ The document actually reads “cnacion” but that is an obvious typographical error (21/2003).

Spanish propaganda machine advertised the surge of tourists to Spain back to the Spanish population in an effort to foster an image of prosperity despite a still struggling economy (Pack 2010, 53). The structure of censorship had evolved from a volunteer force of political believers to a web of career bureaucrats by the end of the 1950s (“Proposals for the Remuneration of the Inspector Personnel” 1959–1960, Box 42860). One major nexus of the tourism and propaganda imperatives was the campaign of festivals known as the “Festivales de España”. Each festival on the official calendar featured various *ciclos* or “cycles”: music, theatre, dance, and Ballet Español. The Ballet Español genre grew out of the move of flamenco from cafés and parties to the concert stage, prompted by dancers trained in classical Spanish forms. These artists formed companies and toured internationally, supplementing the flamenco repertoire with classical Spanish pieces, *escuela bolera*, Spanish folk dance (especially *jota* from northern Spain), and even folk dances from Mexico and South America.⁵ The use of the French word “ballet” emphasizes a cultural aspiration towards classicism and high culture and also the presence of a corps de ballet. The term Ballet Español was most associated with dancer Pilar López and her company, her name occasionally serving as a synonym for the term in government documents. The inclusion of this flexible category of Spanishness in motion in the festival campaign allowed for the incorporation of seemingly diverse forms under the mantle of Spanish dance hegemony.

In the region of Andalucía, an additional cycle supplemented the local festival circuit typically referred to as “Baile y Cante Andaluz” or “Cantes y Bailes Andaluces.” As standard for the format, the “Baile y Cante Andaluz” from the Festivales de España’s 1954 Sevilla series included in its program a *cuadro* of *sevillanas* and a section of *fandangos* performed by Paco Isidro, “El Cojo de Huelva”, and el Piripi. The performance progressed through *bulerias* (featuring La Paquera de Jerez, Terremoto, Paco Laberinto, and Moraito) and *soleares* (featuring Fernanda and Bernarda de Utrera). After a section of *alegrías* that included *mirabras*, *serranas*, and *verdiales*, the show culminated with *seguiriyas* and *martinete* lead by Antonio Mairena. The next year the lineup retained much of the same structure beginning with different styles of *sevillanas*.

⁵ La Argentinita’s company performed the *Baile de los viejitos* from Michoacán as well as folk dances from Perú as part of their repertoire while on tour in the United States. (John Martin “Argentinita Wins a Wild Welcome.” *New York Times*: 24. Feb 13 1942. and “The Dance: Argentinita.” *New York Times*: 1. Mar 30 1930).

The *fandangos* section that year featured singers the “Hermanos Toronjo” as the cantaor Paco Toronjo built his name as an expert in interpreting forms of *fandangos* (“Program from ‘Cante y Baile Andalucía’ Festival Internacional de Sevilla 1955.” (3)49.9 38169). In the Ballet Español shows by the large companies of Pilar López, Antonio “el Bailarín”, “Mariemma”, and Luisillo, *fandangos* were typically grouped in with the flamenco portions of performances, as opposed to folk or classical portions. A 1955 performance by Antonio’s company ended the flamenco part of the show with a *fandangos por verdiales* by Antonio and the company. Several 1957 performances by the company retained this number as finale after the *cuadro flamenco* section ((3)49.9 38169).

By 1966, the official Festival calendar lasted from April through October, included sixty-four festivals, homages, and *certámenes* or contests, and took place in sixty different cities and towns across Spain (“Plan nacional de Festivales de España 1966” (3)49.9 38124). The early stirrings of the Flamenco Renaissance and the rise of flamencology shifted flamenco preferences away from more popular forms in favor of forms like the *solea* and *siguiriyá*. However, *fandangos* did not fade into temporary obscurity as other *palos* did. The seventies *Rito y geografía del cante* documentary series even devoted an entire episode to the *palo*. So, why did the *fandangos* survive in the flamenco canon?

There are many potential reasons for this. One possibility is the existence of the more flamenco iterations of the *fandangos* appellation (sometimes called *naturales*) that are not danced. Since much flamenco discourse, both popular and academic, implicitly equated dance with the inauthentic already one step removed from the real flamenco, the *fandangos naturales* met the prevalent standards for purity. Another reason could be the appeal of the multiple geographic forms of the *fandangos* for flamenco structuralists seeking to organize flamenco geography and rhythmography. The presence of *fandangos* in both folk and flamenco traditions could provide fodder for anyone seeking to prove the dominance of Andalusian folk forms in foundations of flamenco. Perhaps more importantly, however, the flamenco *fandangos* were blessed with an advocate and specialist in the person of Paco Toronjo. The organizers of flamenco shows (whether government bureaucrats or flamenco aficionados) would be more inclined to include performers who were already known to flamenco audiences. As proven by Toronjo’s inclusion in previous government sponsored performances, bureaucrats were familiar with the singer’s work as were general audiences. While

trends in flamencology definitely influenced and guided the Flamenco Renaissance of the sixties and seventies, flamenco does not live by scholarship alone. It is the performers who are ultimately responsible for the content of their performances. Perhaps because of all of these reasons, the *fandangos* survived the paradigm shift of the Flamenco Renaissance.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

BRAZILIAN FANDANGO: TRADITIONALISM, IDENTITY, AND POLICIES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

ALLAN DE PAULA OLIVEIRA

Abstract

This talk will present a framework of the Brazilian fandango as it is played today. Traditionally related to communities that live in coastal areas of two Brazilian states (São Paulo and Paraná), the fandango, as a complex that integrates dance and music, has a great importance to these communities as an element of traditional cultural practices. In this way, it is an important element in any discussion of place and identity. Further, it has a central role in the internal social dynamics of these communities, operating as a leisure practice and, at the same time, regulating social relationships. This article will also examine the place of fandango in political debates about cultural heritage in Brazil for the last ten years. Public policies have been created in order to regulate its changes and its traditional role in the communities in which it is played.

Keywords

fandango, caçara, gaúcho

Resumen

Esta ponencia presenta un esbozo del fandango brasileño tal y como se toca hoy. Relacionado tradicionalmente con comunidades ubicadas en las zonas litorales de dos estados brasileños (São Paulo y Paraná), el fandango, en tanto actividad compuesta de baile y música, tiene una gran importancia para estas comunidades como elemento de las prácticas culturales tradicionales. En ese sentido, el fandango brasileño constituye un elemento destacado en cualquier discusión sobre las relaciones entre el

lugar geográfico y la identidad. Además, juega un papel central en las dinámicas sociales internas de estas comunidades, funcionando como una práctica del ocio y, a la vez, como mecanismo de control de las relaciones sociales. Este artículo también se centra en el papel del fandango en los debates políticos de los últimos diez años sobre la herencia cultural de Brasil. Políticas públicas que se han creado para regular sus cambios y su papel tradicional en las comunidades donde el fandango se sigue tocando.

Introduction

In Brazil, *fandango* denotes two different musical and dance practices. The word is used in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul to denote traditional balls, in a general sense. The other use is made in the coastal portions of the states of São Paulo and Parana and, there, it denotes a specific kind of musical and dance practice. It is very difficult to establish links between these different fandangos and any effort to do so is hypothetical. What we can say is that *fandango* and its range of meaning gestures toward issues of history and contemporary conceptual frameworks in Brazilian music and society. In other words, we can say that *fandango* offers challenges to the study of history of Brazilian music and to the study of political and social questions (Oliveira 2014). In this article I present these practices described by the word *fandango* and the questions that they raise.

The *Gacho* Fandango

Rio Grande do Sul is the southernmost state of Brazil. It is bordered by Uruguay and Argentina and had a great cultural contact with these countries. This is evident by the cultural element used as identity marker in the state: the *gacho*. The *gacho* is a very important transnational symbol used both in Argentina and Uruguay. The constitution of the *gacho* mythology, central to Argentinean and Uruguayan national discourses, occurred in the nineteenth century and it was a good example of which Eric Hobsbawm called “the invention of traditions.” It was imposed as opposite to the urban culture that began its development in that century. The *gacho* was transformed in a symbol of rural and traditional style of life against the urban and modern one. So, the *gacho* culture is profoundly traditionalist and presents an idealist vision of the past and the traditions. This is important here because the music and dances called by the word *fandango* in Rio Grande do Sul are seen as old and traditional

practices, related to that time when life in the state was marked by rural costumes and values (Lucas 2000).

Fandango, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, means any traditional *gaucho* ball in a general sense. It encompasses many couple dances, in binary and ternary rhythms, where couples do specific choreographies. The musical accompaniment is made up of ensembles of guitar, frame drums and *gaita*, a kind of accordion. There are songs that are sung, with lyrics about romantic love or natural life, and instrumental pieces. The dances of *gaucho* fandango are close to the ones that in Argentina are described as *folklore* and some of them are played in both countries. This is the case, for example, of *chamame*, that is one of *gaucho* fandango dances and, at the same time, a very popular genre of song in Argentina, Southern Brazil and Paraguay.

The history of *gaucho* fandango is related to influences of Hispanic culture in Brazilian practices. It happens because, until around 1850, Rio Grande do Sul was a land in contest: First, in colonial times, between Spain and Portugal; after the independence of Iberian colonies in America, between Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. So, the Hispanic elements in *gaucho* fandango are very important and this is evident chiefly in choreographies. Otherwise, the weight of the *gaita* in the musical accompaniment—against the importance of the guitar in Hispanic fandango—is a typical element of *gaucho* fandango in Brazil.

The *Caiçara* Fandango

Caiçara is a Brazilian word, of indigenous origin, that denotes the inhabitant of coastal areas of states of São Paulo and Parana. There, practiced by poor people related to fishing activities, we have the *caiçara* fandango, very important to the production of a sense of place in these communities. Here, the fandango is a group of dances that is divided into two types: *batidos* and *bailados*. Both are danced in couples, but the *batidos* present specific choreographies where men do movements around women. Because of this, only few couples can dance. In this dance, men use wooden clogs and, dancing, they beat them. This produces a very impressive percussive effect. The *bailados* are fandangos where couples dance together, without specific choreographies. So, in this one, all couples can dance and the fandango becomes a general ball (Setti 1985).

The musical accompaniment of *caičara* fandango is made by ensembles that gather *rabeca*, a kind of fiddle; *fandangueira viola*, a kind of guitar with five or six strings; and *adufe*, a circular two-headed frame drum (Gramani 2003; Marchi, Sanger and Correa 2002). The pieces are called *marcas* and some of them are sung, while others are instrumental pieces. If the *gaucho* fandangos alternate binary and ternary rhythms, the *caičara* fandangos are played only in binary rhythm.

The *caičara* fandango has its history profoundly related to contacts between Europeans and indigenous people of the Brazilian coast. The *caičara* area was one of the first areas to be colonized by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. It is very interesting to observe that in *caičara* fandango we can see a European ball structure, typical of court dances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, it is danced in a way that reminds us of the indigenous dances. This can be seen in the way that men flex their knees in the *batido* variety of fandango. This bending is visible in many indigenous dances.

The Links between the Brazilian Fandangos

It is an extremely difficult historical question to consider the links between the Brazilian fandangos. What shared features do they have? How was the word fandango maintained to indicate two such separate practices? Of course, there is a common historical background between these uses of the same word. It refers to the Portuguese colonization of Brazil, when many dances and musical practices were introduced during colonial times. The word *fandango* to denote general balls, where many couples dance or do specific choreographies, is a heritage of these times. This suggests two important questions: where are there references to fandango in important areas of colonial Brazil, like Bahia or Pernambuco? And why was the word maintained in only two areas? A great deal of historical research is needed to answer these questions.

There is another common element here. Both fandangos, the *gaucho* and the *caičara*, have a structure related to European court dances, typical of post-Renaissance times. The ring-shaped gathering, the intertwining line movement of dancers and the couple choreographies are indicative of this historical element. It is obvious that the meanings of these structures are contemporary, but their shape or form is related to older times.

However, the historical developments of fandangos are different. In Rio Grande do Sul fandango, its Iberian “flavor” is more evident. This is explained by the weight of Hispanic culture in the history of Rio Grande do Sul. As I said before, the dances gathered there within the title of fandango are closer to those that in Uruguay and, chiefly, Argentina, are known as *folklore*. Moreover, in Rio Grande do Sul, the development of fandango must be sought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the cultural fluxes between that Brazilian state and Uruguay and Argentina were very intense.

If in Rio Grande do Sul the fandango invites us to observe the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—a time when this area was incorporated within Brazilian territory—the *caiçara* fandango points to older times, in the beginnings of Brazil’s colonization. The areas related to *caiçara* fandango—coastal areas of Paraná and São Paulo—were the first places to be occupied by the Portuguese. So, the *caiçara* fandango sends us to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In these centuries, music and dance were used by Europeans to convert indigenous people, chiefly through the work of the Jesuits. In such way these dancing and music practices were called fandangos in these areas. However, it is important to observe that the sacred characteristic of these practices was, step by step, being left. There are many dances in Brazil that originated through this process of the religious conversion of indigenous peoples.

This relationship between Europeans and indigenous people helps us understand some elements of *caiçara* fandango: the prominence of a ring-shaped form to dance the *batidos*, for example. Concerning this point, there is a confluence of elements, because many indigenous dances used this form before the European arrival. As cited earlier, the knees’ inflection in the *batidos* is also related to the indigenous influence.

Cultural flux and indigenous influences: these are some historical issues we can raise from the fandango practice in Brazil. Of course, these questions are also related to other practices, but fandango can be a good way to answer them. However, it would be a mistake to look only to historical questions in a fandango ball, wherever it happens. There are some political questions also, very actual and denotative of important processes in Brazilian society.

Cultural Heritage and Social Agency

In the last twenty years, the fandango has been involved in discussions about cultural heritage and has become, in some places, a symbol of cultural identity and a means of social development. In this sense, the fandango is, to use a current expression in the discourse of the social sciences, a means to social agency for many communities—its political value today is undeniable.

Cultural heritage has been a very important concept in discussions about Brazilian culture since the 1920s and 1930s. Despite the fact that politically Brazil has been a nation since 1822, it was only in the 1920s and 1930s, arising from intellectual debates influenced by the Modernism, that an intense discussion arose about the idea of Brazilian culture. The political regime created by Getúlio Vargas, between 1930 and 1945, was very important in this process, because it embraced the cultural debates of Modernism. The idea of cultural heritage idea was one of them. Since 1937, there have been public policies to preserve what is seen as cultural heritage. Such policies have always been matters of discussion because they use specific concepts of tradition and culture.

Until the 1990s, the idea of cultural heritage in Brazil was linked to material culture. In this sense, monuments and buildings were rated as objects of heritage. In the same way, handicraft and artisanal skills were valued. These elements were, and still are, involved in the idea of heritage, and they are protected such that their material and monumental characteristics are very important. This question is significant to us because this material idea of heritage was influential in further developments.

However, since the 1990s the concept of heritage has changed. The idea of an immaterial culture became dominant. Practices which until then were seen only as folklore—and not shielded by heritage policies—began to be protected as well. This is the case for musical and dance practices. Since then, the concept of immaterial heritage became the core of many debates and of great interest to the government (Gonçalves 2005; Pimentel, Pereira e Correia, 2009). Public funds have been allotted to promote cultural groups working with practices seen as immaterial heritage. For many communities these funds have become a matter of internal struggles and they have changed their life dynamics, because they are an important source of income. In addition, most of these policies link

the fandango to tourist activities. This is very common in the *caiçara* fandango area (Diegues and Coelho 2013). As in this area, the fandango is played, chiefly, by poor people, we can imagine the importance of these policies to these communities (Martins 2006).

But, most important for us is the fact that these policies stress a specific vision about the idea of fandango tradition. In consequence, the changes—inherent to social life—are seen as a loss. Whenever the fandango changes, something is lost. Here, we have the matter of authenticity, which has been discussed by many researchers in relation to many cultural practices around the world (Moore 2002). As it is throughout the globe, in Brazil authenticity is a contentious matter. This fact invites us to see how the fandango holds not only a key to historical issues of the Brazilian society, but is today a political question as well.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

FANDANGOS IN VOICES OF WOMEN: ENACTING TRADITION, AFFIRMING IDENTITY

LOREN CHUSE

Abstract

This article presents a brief overview of the key role of women performers in the creation, the diffusion and the innovation of the flamenco *fandango*. Beginning with theoretical concepts of music as an important expression of both Andalusian and regional identity, and as a site, both physical and conceptual, of the negotiation of these concepts of identity, this essay begins highlighting the contribution of women singers and guitarists of the period of the *Cafés Cantantes*. It continues with an analysis of the contributions of contemporary women performers such as singer Carmen Linares and guitarist María José Matos, as well as the singers of the Peña Feminina de Huelva. It concludes with the creativity of younger singers, who continue the tradition of the fandango while at the same time innovating new traditions.

Keywords

Fandango; flamenco; cantaora; Cafés Cantantes, Huelva

Resumen

Este artículo presenta un breve resumen del papel clave de la mujer en la creación, la difusión, y la innovación del fandango en el flamenco. Comenzando con los conceptos teóricos de la música como señal importante de la identidad andaluza y regional, y como expresión cultural de la negociación de esta identidad, este ensayo empieza señalando el trabajo y la importación de las cantaoras y tocaoras de la época de los cafés cantantes. Sigue con un análisis de las contribuciones de cantaoras y mujeres guitarristas contemporáneas, como Carmen Linares, María José

Matos, y las cantaoras de la Peña Femenina de Huelva. El trabajo considera además la creatividad de unas cantaoras jóvenes, las cuales siguen la tradición del fandango a la misma vez que la innovan.

Introduction

Music as emblematic of and crucial to a sense of cultural identity is central to recent scholarship in ethnomusicology. Music is acknowledged as an active agent in the affirmation of cultural identity and, consequently, musical practice has been studied as a site, both physical and conceptual, where multiple social identities, of ethnicity, region and gender, are constructed and enacted. Flamenco performance has been key to the creation and maintenance of Andalusian as well as national identity. In truth, flamenco is a continuum of practices: musical, physical, verbal and social, that has served as a site for the negotiation of complex, multi-layered, and often conflicting identities of nation, region and ethnicity. Musical performance often functions as a rich site of memory that is central to processes of self-definition both for the individual and the collective (See Cowan 1990; Loza 1993; Stokes 1994). Flamenco is one such musical practice, for it is deeply imbued with a traditional legacy that serves as a sustaining core of identity for its performers. Much recent scholarship in the social sciences studies flamenco from the perspective of the social construction of identity (See Cruces 2003, García Gomez 1993, Ortiz Nuevo 1990, Steingress 1991, and Washabaugh 1996). Women act within flamenco at complex and sophisticated levels, as individual agents who both maintain tradition and engender transformation.

While conserving tradition, flamenco *cantaoras* also transform and enrich the genre with their creativity and innovation, making flamenco meaningful and compelling to contemporary audiences. This is certainly true in the genre of the fandango, whether regional variants from Málaga, forms of fandango from Lucena in the province of Córdoba, or the many and diverse regional variants of the fandango throughout the province of Huelva. The focus of this article is on the contribution of women flamenco singers, or *cantaoras*, to the fandango. I begin this article with a brief discussion of the historical contributions of cantaoras of an earlier era. I will discuss the valuable contributions of famed cantaoras of Málaga and the province of Córdoba to the genre of the fandango. I then focus on Huelva and its women *fandangueras*. In both the historical and contemporary examples, I seek to highlight the central role of some of

these women singers in the creation, transmission and innovation of the fandango.

Cantaoras from the Era of the Cafés Cantantes

Despite the fact that women have been essential in the transmission and conservation of so many forms of *cante*, or flamenco song, their role in professional flamenco was severely limited for a great deal of the twentieth century. Since the beginning of flamenco women were respected as singers within the context of family fiestas, and many a singer credits having learned *cante* from a mother or grandmother. However, women were marginalized in the professional arena, stigmatized by notions of ill repute or “*mal vivir*.” Beginning with the decade of the 1970’s and reflecting the social and political changes in Spain since then, women began to become prominent on the professional flamenco stage.

However, as recent scholarship has revealed, women as key figures in professional flamenco have a long history. In the earlier era of the *cafés cantantes*, women were renowned as artists and creators of flamenco. This period from roughly 1860 to the 1920s was one in which women played a significant role as singers, dancers and guitarists. Not surprisingly, the family of fandangos was greatly enriched by women performers of the *café cantante* era. Women were highly regarded as interpreters of the *malagueña*. La Bocanegra, a nineteenth-century singer from Málaga was known for her renditions of coplas of El Canario. La Rubia de Málaga was considered an expert in *malagueñas* and one of the first singers to record flamenco on wax cylinders. Another singer, La Trini, Trinidad Navarro Carrillo, owned a *venta*, a bar in Málaga which welcomed singers such as Chacón, La Niña de los Peines. It is generally agreed among flamenco historians that La Trini was unequalled in her interpretation of *malagueñas*. Trinidad was well known for her composition of *coplas*, or verses, was dubbed the “female Chacón of the Malagueña” and, according to José Luque Navajas in his *Málaga en el Cante*, developed three different styles of *malagueña*. We owe much of our knowledge of the women artists of this period to the work of Fernando de Triana, whose invaluable compendium of these singers of the Café Cantante era, *Arte y artistas flamencos*, provides a treasure trove of information about the flamenco of this period.¹

¹ Fernando el de Triana, *Arte y Artistas Flamencos* (Madrid. 1935), 64, 70, 90.

The province of Córdoba was the birthplace of Dolores la de la Huerta, another famed interpreter of the fandango. Born in Lucena in the late nineteenth century, she became known for her fandangos de Lucena. Ricardo Molina recounts that she was held in high regard throughout Andalucía and many *aficionados* went to Lucena to hear her sing. Fernando de Triana referred to her fandangos as marvelous and noted, “the great merit of her cante, that she herself accompanied on guitar, without *falsetas* (melodic passages) in the style of the fandangos” (See Figure 1).²



Figure 1: Dolores de la Huerta, photo in Fernando el de Triana, *Arte y artistas flamencos*

² Ibid, 99

Contemporary Cantaoras as Interpreters of Fandango

Although no recording of the fandangos de Lucena exists sung by Dolores de la Huerta, her work has been carried on in the voice of a contemporary singer, Carmen Linares. Carmen Linares, born in the province of Jaen in 1951, is one of the most respected cantaoras of her time. Considered one of the finest flamenco singers in Spain, she is known for her vast knowledge of the many flamenco *palos*, and for her work both as a classic singer and as an innovator. She has been especially interested in bringing recognition to the contributions of women in the creation of flamenco. Her Anthology *La Mujer en el Cante* which was released in 1996 to critical acclaim, is an outstanding collection of cante created and sung by women. This two CD recording was the first project of its kind in flamenco circles, as an attempt to bring together the work of women in *cante* flamenco. In this project Carmen collaborated with the best known flamenco guitarists of her day, among whom are the late Moraito Chico, Vicente Amigo, Pepe Habichuela, and Tomatito. In this recording Carmen Linares chose several fandangos attributed to women. One of these is the *copla* for which Dolores de la Huerta was famous and which is quoted by Fernando de Triana:

Yo Te abrí mi Corazón:

“Abre la flor su capullo
la besa el sol con sus rayos
up te abrí mi corazón,
tus ojitos lo marchitaron”³

While there are numerous *fandangos de comarca*, or regional fandangos throughout the province of Huelva, the most frequently performed are the fandangos of Alosno. In her groundbreaking anthology, Carmen Linares featured *coplas* from legendary cantaoras from this emblematic town in Huelva: La Juana Conejilla, María Limón and Juana María Felipe de Julián. On the recording she interprets *A La Virgen de la Bella*, a fandango sung in honor of the Virgen in this the popular religious fiesta, or Romería. Accompanied by Rafael Riqueni on guitar, Carmen Linares recorded her interpretation of these well known *coplas* attributed to La Juana Conejilla, Juana María Felipe and María Limón:

³ Fernando de Triana as quoted in Loren Chuse, *The Cantaoras: Music, Gender and Identity in Flamenco Song* (New York, London: Routledge Press, 2003): 76.

A La Virgen de la Bella

“Para que vienes ahora
a redoblar mis tormentos
dirá la gente que estoy
falta de conocimiento
si mi palabra te doy

Hay una niña en Alosno
que se parece a una estrella
hay una niña en Alosno
no la hay mas guapa que ella
solamente se parece
a la Virgen de la Bella

Ni mujer como Maria
no hay un hombre como Dios
ni mujer como Maria
ni amor como el de una mare
ni luz como la del dia
y sombra la de un buen padre

Que quidao se me da a mi
cuando pasas y no me hablas
que quidao se me da a mi
si yo no como ni bebo
con buenos dias de nadie
y con los tuyos mucho menos”⁴

Fandangueras from Huelva

The *Peña Flamenca Feminina* was founded in Huelva in response to discrimination and exclusion of women from the rest of the city’s *peñas* (clubs). This *peña* began in 1983, at a time when women were prohibited from entering the *peñas* in Huelva. From its inception, the *peña* provided a place for women aficionados to hear, to study and to perform flamenco. The *peña* specializes in the regional *fandangos*, with a performing group of women, accompanied by two guitarists, which performs both in Huelva and throughout Andalucía.

⁴ [www.flamencotalk.com/Fandango/s la Virgen de La Bella](http://www.flamencotalk.com/Fandango/s%20la%20Virgen%20de%20La%20Bella) (accessed June 24, 2016).

The *peña* also includes an academy in which the fandango tradition of is taught. One of the guitarists who teaches in the academy associated with the *peña* is Maria José Matos. She was one of the original *socias fundadoras* or founding members of the *peña*. The experience of Maria José Matos provides a thought-provoking example in the recent shifting attitudes towards women guitarists. She began studying guitar at age twelve with one of the guitarists from the *peña* and was active for years in performances there. But when the troupe decided to record and perform more widely, there was strong sentiment against including María José, invoking the stereotypical arguments that women were not as strong players as men and that it would look better for a male guitarist to accompany the group. The attitude of the women of the *peña*, reinforcing prevailing stereotypical notions of gender, was a terrible blow to Maria José, though she has continued to participate with the educational branch of the *peña*.⁵

The *Peña Femenina*, considered to have contributed much to the diffusion of flamenco in the province of Huelva, recently celebrated its thirtieth anniversary with a special performance entitled *Recuerdos de Ayer Hoy*, a project which presented a musical and historical review of this organization.

(For a performance of these singers see *Peña Femenina de Huelva*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGmpyNCVAqo> accessed June 24, 2016.)

The New Generation of Cantaoras from Huelva

Younger cantaoras continue the lineage of fandango women in Huelva. Two of these are Rocío Marquéz and Argentina. Argentina, a 23-year old singer from Huelva, is beginning to make a name for herself. She began to perform at an early age with the group *Niños de Huelva* and participated in a recording of *villancicos* and fandangos. Since then she has specialized in styles from Huelva. Argentina decided to pursue further training in cante at the Cristina Heeren Foundation in Sevilla. There she studied with singers José de la Tomasa and Paco Taranto who, according to Argentina, greatly aided her development in cante.

⁵ Eulalia Pablo Lozano, *Mujeres Guitarristas* (Sevilla: Ediciones Signatura, 2009), 179–181.

This young singer has been honored by Huelva with the Medal of Honor for her representation of the region's cultural heritage and was also chosen to represent Spain in the *IV Congreso Iberoamericano*. Argentina has performed throughout Andalucía with her production *Un Paseo por el Cante* which has now been produced as a recording entitled *Un Viaje por el Cante*. Intended to highlight traditional cante, her recording includes a tribute to creators of fandangos de Huelva: among them Juan Blanco, Rebollo. When asked in a recent interview why she did not include the fandangos of Paco Toronjo, the most famous of all fandango singers from Alosno, she replied "Toronjo is a major task, his delivery is so personal and complex. I'm still very young."⁶

Commenting on her relationship with the fandango in this same interview Argentina noted

For me the fandango is a lament, both its words and its music This is as it should, just in all flamenco *palos*. In all of flamenco one has to transmit, to express something different. I tell you, I carry the *aire* of Huelva within me and this is expressed through the fandango. This is the cante that I have lived with all my life and the one that I feel most strongly.⁷

A featured performer in the flamenco festival *La Noche Blanca de Córdoba* in June 2013, Argentina performed this fandango. (See youtube .com/watch *Argentina / Fandangos de Huelva y Alosno / Noche Blanca Córdoba 2013*)

Rocío Marquéz is also a young singer from Huelva. Born in 1985, she began singing at age nine when she took classes at the Peña Femenina and soon began winning prizes in contests of fandangos. At age eleven she began to appear on local television programs and at age fifteen, moved to Sevilla. She too studied at the Cristina Heeren Foundation where, like Argentina, she had the opportunity to study with José de la Tomasa and Paco Taranto. She has since become a faculty member and teaches cante at the Foundation. In addition to her command of the fandangos of her "*tierra*" she has also become highly regarded as a singer

⁶ Elena Oliveros, From interview "El Fandango es Huelva, es mi tierra y lo siento porque lo llevo en la sangre," *Onubenses del Año* (February 2, 2008), www.huelvainforamcion.es/article/onubenses/57357

⁷ Ibid.

of the *cante de las minas*. She participated in the recording *Lámparas de las Minas* in 2009 and in a recent anthology of fandangos de Huelva.

In an interview from May 2011, while performing in France in the Festival Flamenco de Toulouse, Rocio made the following comments about the fandango tradition: “I think there was a period in which Huelva was more *fandanguera* and less flamenco. But thanks to new technologies, it is easy to listen to music of all sorts. So it seems to me that Huelva has become more flamenco, in addition to its fandangos.”⁸ She points out that, in contrast to the notion that the fandango is a *cante chico*, or light genre,

...there are no cantes that are either light or serious, rather it is the form of one’s interpretation that is important. I don’t know why we have conceptions such as a voice that is deep or more *ronca* (hoarse) is better for *siguiriya*, while a lighter finer voice best for *guajiras*. What matters is that each one expresses him or herself in a unique way that transmits great feeling.⁹

Like her early predecessors from the *café cantante* era, Rocio Marquéz has become well known in a number of flamenco venues, from peñas, to theaters to festivals. And like her nineteenth century predecessors Dolores la le Huerta, La Conejilla, and Juana María Felipe, she composes her own lyrics to her cante. The fandango *Aquita Bendito de Cielo*” composed and sung by Rocio Marquéz can be found at: www.youtube.com/watch Rocio Marquéz. *Aquita Bendito del Cielo*.

As I hope to have shown in this brief essay, there is a direct lineage of women singers and composers of the fandango that goes back to the earliest days of professional flamenco. That women have played a crucial role in the creation and transmission of the fandango is beyond doubt. The creativity and individual agency of these singers represents a continuum firmly rooted in the tradition of a valued heritage, a cultural legacy whose articulation is constantly being both affirmed and negotiated. This lineage continues with cantaoras of every generation, from the work of Carmen Linares in collecting the cante of women; to the ongoing professional and educational activities at the *Peña Femenina de Huelva* to the recent emergence of young singers like Argentina and Rocio Marquéz.

⁸ Manuela Papino, “Entrevista con Rocó Marquéz Limón” (May, 2011), www.flamencoweb.fr/article 364

⁹ Ibid.

These cantaoras, steeped in the fandango tradition, articulate a shared sense of cultural identity and a sense of regional pride while they enrich the genre with their personal and individual creativity. Both as creators and interpreters of the fandango, female singers engage in a sophisticated layering of identity and subject positions and a skillful manipulation of expressive forms, forms which continue to take on new meanings in the twenty-first century.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

FANDANGO AND THE RHETORIC OF RESISTANCE IN FLAMENCO

TONY DUMAS

Abstract

On June 25, 2014, three flamenco singers from the guerrilla protest group Flo6x8 interrupted proceedings of the Provincial Parliament in Andalusia. Their goal was to draw attention to a ballooning two-thirds unemployment rate, oppressive austerity politics, governmental corruption, and a drastic rise in corporatocracy. Their vehicle of protest: the fandango. In this paper, I examine the fandango as an example of how flamenco relies on a veiled language of resistance to express opposition to culturally and economically oppressive regimes. Working from R. Serge Denisoff's model of protest music, I will show how flamenco 1) encourages activism (magnetic protest) and, 2) identifies the marginalizing social conditions of Andalusia's working-and-underclass (rhetorical protest). I suggest that flamenco exemplifies a broad range of protest music, one that demands attention away from the status quo and toward effecting socioeconomic change. In the words of a Flo6x8 dancer, "flamenco captures perfectly how we feel about the crisis. You can use it to express desperation, rage, pain, and the desire to change things."

Keywords

Protest, resistance, fandango, flamenco, Denisoff, Diego del Gastor, Flo6x8

Resumen

El 25 de junio, 2014, tres cantaores del grupo de arte-guerrillero Flo6x8 interrumpieron los procesos del Parlamento de Andalucía. Su meta fue llamar la atención al desempleo creciente, una política de austeridad

opresiva, corrupción en el gobierno, y un crecimiento drástico de burocracia empresarial. Su vehículo de protesta: el fandango. En este artículo, examino al fandango como ejemplo de cómo el flamenco emplea un lenguaje de resistencia solapada para oponer a regímenes opresivos tanto en sentido cultural como económico. Basándome en el modelo de música de protesta de R. Serge Denisoff, sostengo que el flamenco 1) fomenta el activismo (“*magnetic protest*”) y, 2) nombra las condiciones sociales que dan lugar a la marginalización de las clases laborales y lumpen de Andalucía. Propongo que el flamenco incorpora un amplio abanico de música de protesta, un punto de vista que desvía la atención del público del statu quo y hacia el efectuar cambio socioeconómico. Como dice una de las bailaoras des Flo6x8, “flamenco captures perfectly how we feel about the crisis. You can use it to express desperation, rage, pain, and the desire to change things.”

A Flamenco Parliament

We want to end this old system of privileges for the few and misery for the masses. We want to free Andalusia from the dictates of capital, vulture funds, and vulture bankers.

—Flo6x8 Manifesto¹

On June 25, 2014, Spain’s government officials met for a plenary session of the Provincial Parliament in Andalusia. As the measured voice and strategic rhetoric of the Socialist Senator, Mar Moreno² echoed through the cavernous chamber, a shrill and powerful voice abruptly interrupted the proceedings with a contemporary *fandango*: *Begging is how you want to see me or that I emigrate. Begging for a shit job while you all get fat off layoffs. And you all are lackeys of the Troika!*³ Still singing as she was escorted out of the room, the singer’s melismatic melody snaked its way

¹ accessed 4/11/15.

² As of the date of this publication, Senator Mar Moreno is one of five government officials being investigated for a billion dollar misappropriated funds scandal in which public money, earmarked to compensate those who had lost the jobs during the economic crisis, was funneled to dozens of people who never held the job for which they were compensated. Senator Moreno is scheduled to appear before the Supreme Court on April 27, 2015.

³ An edited video of this event is available on Flo6x8’s channel on youtube.com: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC6LVQXKnuvuBrZrJuDwsSzw>. Last accessed on 4/13/15.

downward to a somber resolution as the word “Troika” lingered in the air. Shocked parliamentarians reacted by shaking their heads in disapproval and the Prime Minister announced that there were to be no more interruptions by the attending public.

Once the protester was no longer audible, Senator Moreno continued her report but she was only able to say a few words before she was again interrupted, this time by a male singer: *Let the whole world listen. Andalusia is a rich land. Let the whole world listen and you all hand over money to everyone who has sold us out because we work for the Troika.*

Again, Senator Moreno paused and allowed the authorities to escort the protester from the room, and, once again, she spoke. This time, she was able to get through a portion of her prepared statement before being interrupted for a third time. Interestingly, if not ironically, her statement foreshadowed the protester’s main idea, that is, that Spain’s current politico-economic system does not adequately meet the needs of everyone for whom it represents: “As I was saying there’s no system we can call the very essence of democracy because the quality of democracy is the capacity it has to deal with the problems of the people.”

After this statement, Senator Moreno paused momentarily to clear her voice and take a sip of water. Seizing this opportunity, a third protester, centrally seated among other citizens, stood with her right arm extended outward and her chin raised. Commanding attention away from the government officials, she filled the silence with her formidable voice and proclaimed: *And finally do it right. Let there be no one worth more than anyone else. And finally do it right. Confront the capital and a new law of laws.*

Although their unscheduled appeal to the Parliament was brief, the protesters accomplishments were considerable. They identified a central problem (economic disparity), they recognized a root cause (corrupt officials), and they offered an equitable solution (a new constitution).

All three singer-protesters are members of Flo6x8, a group of activists who intend to “converge with emerging political movements” and

demand a new democratic government reconstructed “through a collective and shared creation of a new Constitution.”⁴ According to various statements available to the public via an active social media presence, Flo6x8 aims to draw attention to a critical unemployment rate, exceedingly oppressive austerity economic tactics, widespread governmental corruption, and a drastic rise in corporatocracy. The vehicle for this message is flamenco and one *palo* (style) of flamenco seems particularly apt for conveying it, that is, the fandango.⁵ In the words of a Flo6x8 dancer named La Nina Ninja, “flamenco captures perfectly how we feel about the crisis. You can use it to express desperation, rage, pain, and the desire to change things.”⁶

In this article, I examine how flamenco relies on the use of an indirect, somewhat veiled language of resistance to express opposition to culturally and economically oppressive regimes. I hope to show that flamenco is not only deployed by politically-minded contemporary performers, such as Flo6x8, but that sentiments of resistance and dissent indeed form the core of flamenco’s ethos. Flamenco’s rhetoric and style of performance can temporarily distract observers from the status quo, briefly drawing their attention toward an alternate reality, toward the common pains and joys that are experienced by the masses living beyond the sheltered lifestyles of the elite.

Acts of protest, such as Flo6x8’s interruption of Parliament, have fueled debate recently within the flamenco community as to whether or not flamenco is, or ever has been, a form of protest music or if such events amount to a forcible and potentially unsustainable misappropriation of the genre by a fanatical few. In response to flamenco’s recent activism, William Washabaugh writes,

...rarely did such politically charged art arise in flamenco circles in the last half of the nineteenth century or the first half of the twentieth. Artists back then focused their energies on survival, aiming for personal success rather than social transformation. And audiences for their part were too fractured

⁴ <http://www.flo6x8.com/node/78>. Accessed on 4/12/15.

⁵ The name of the activist collective, Flo6x8, derives its name, in part, from the musical meter of the fandango, an 18th-century song form with Moorish origins whose underlying meter is in 3/4 or 6/8.

⁶ See <http://dw.de/p/1ASBE>. Last accessed 4/15/15.

into mutually competitive cities, towns, villages, and barrios to ally themselves with each other in pursuit of social change.⁷

Moreover, there is a popular viewpoint that flamenco's endemic fatalism and highly personalized introspection preclude it from being a true genre of protest. I suggest, however, that a close look at different styles of protest music will help us understand flamenco's long struggle to manifest itself as a protest genre. By examining musical examples that date to the 19th century, I contend that flamenco's cleverly indirect language of resistance is an essential aspect of what I will refer to as a form of rhetorical protest.

Since the late twentieth century, there has been, among social researchers, a growing emphasis on the representative value of individual events, rather than organizations or movements, as units of analysis.⁸ This study also aims to add to the growing discourse regarding the collective protests of austerity programs and neoliberal reforms (Auvinen, 1996, 1997; Walton & Ragin, 1990; Walton & Seddon, 1994; Williams, 1996) and attempts to integrate with a broader sphere of social movement theory.⁹

On the Question of Protest

The maintenance of hegemony depends upon the continual reproduction of dominant interpretations of social reality as cultural truth (Buchanan 1995: 393).

⁷ Washabaugh contends that flamenco as protest, although not surprising, is a recent phenomenon: <http://www.deflamenco.com/revista/mas-flamenco/flamenco-protests-now-and-then-1.html>. Last accessed 4/13/15.

⁸ See Susan Olzak (1987, 1989, 1992), Sarah Soule (1997, 1999; Soule, McAdam, McCarthy & Su, 1999; Soule & Zylan, 1997), Myers (1997, 2000; Myers & Buoye, 2001)

⁹ For example, Marco Giugni (1998) examines how protest movements might affect regimes and distinguishes among *incorporation* (when movements become part of routine politics), *transformation* (a changing power structure that fundamentally changes society), and *democratization* (a shift in power that modifies the mutual rights and responsibilities between the state and its citizens). In fact, Máté Szabo's study of the post-communist countries of the Slovak Republic shows that political protest is central to regime change and the consolidation of new systems (1996).

"There are no relations of power without resistance." (Foucault, 1980)

Flamenco emerged in the nineteenth century as an improvised genre that blended the musical aesthetics and emotional sentiments of Andalusia's culturally marginalized and politically oppressed Gitanos, Jews, Muslims, and underclass. As a result, the dispositions of hardship and fatalism are indelibly marked on the flamenco ethos. It is a genre that is tied, Michelle Heffner Hayes writes, to "real people who lived in a world shaped by colonialism, class, race, regional competition for resources, repressive gender and sexual codes, and the international struggle for power" (2009: 2). This expression of lived experience is all too often lost among a flood of romantic tropes, such as intense (if not pathological) passion, femme-fatale sexuality, unwavering devotion, perpetual tragedy, and death that dominate both popular press and scholarly discourse. But, does such essentialism obfuscate flamenco's potential to affect positive sociopolitical changes in the lives of Spain's working class?

Shortly after the death of Pete Seeger in 2014, Brook Zern wrote a reflection on the apparent difference between flamenco and the affective protest music of the Civil Rights and Labor movements in the United States.¹⁰ In it, Zern argued that "the great corpus of flamenco song verses are not expressions of protest [even] though they reflect the desperate situation and the feelings of a deprived underclass which spent centuries without power and often on the verge of starvation." Admittedly, flamenco's penchant for fatalistic lyrics seems to be at odds with the "tacit assumption that the protester can make a difference" (Zern 2014). Zern, who has shared both wine and song with the late Seeger and who recalls the power of the civil rights marches of the 1960s, offers an example of a flamenco lyric about incarceration: *They put me in a cell so dark/I could not see my hands*, and asks "can we march to this?"

Zern's point is well taken. With the possible exception of Camaron's iconic song, "Soy Gitano," which has been compared to James Brown's "Say it Loud" as an anthem of ethnic pride, flamenco does indeed lack a tradition of songs aimed at "rallying the troops" toward a common cause.¹¹ There are few flamenco equivalents to Seeger's "We

¹⁰ <http://www.flamencoexperience.com/blog/?cat=305>. Last accessed on 4/13/15.

¹¹ I credit flamenco producer and performer, Nina Menendez for drawing the comparison between "Soy Gitano" and "Say it Loud" (Personal communication 2014).

Shall Overcome,” Bob Marly’s “Get Up, Stand Up,” or Public Enemy’s “Fight the Power.” Instead, flamenco lyrics are snapshots of personal struggles and celebrations. They are vignettes that briefly paint a picture in one’s mind of a common human emotion or experience. Authors of flamenco songs become interpreters in that they express, not only the emotions stemming from their own experiences but, they become translators of another’s circumstances. To quote a contemporary poet, “flamenco can tell a million stories at once” (Henares, 2015). Some are uplifting, some are tragic, but all are meant to evoke in the listener a visceral and immediate understanding of a performer’s emotional being.¹²

On Censorship

Since flamenco’s inception, political censorship and oppression have always weighed heavily on the minds of its performers. The years leading up to the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s and the subsequent Franco dictatorship that followed proved to be an especially difficult time to publicly express dissent and opposition. Performance venues, which were frequently subjected to surveillance, encouraged and produced artistically serious, yet largely de-politicized flamenco, “detached,” as Loren Chuse writes, “from any real concerns” (2013: 108). Theatrical events, including amateur plays performed on private stages, had to be approved by governmental censors.¹³ Outspoken performers such as Manuel Gerena

¹² Felix Grande, a flamenco poet and scholar, explains that writing flamenco lyrics “is a process of whittling down the essence of human experience. Thinning, stripping the abundance to a minimum, until all you have to say can be said in 30 or 40 syllables.” To illustrate, Grande provides the following examples of anonymous flamenco poetry:

...on suffering:	...on love:
“You tell me if I am wretched.	“When I die I ask you one favor:
I long only for death	With a braid of your black hair
In order at last to rest	May they bind my hands together.”
Under cover, protected.”	

Grande’s discussion of flamenco poetry is available through Public Radio International at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OXtLXpYGTiM>. Last accessed on 4/13/15.

¹³ See Ramos López (2013: 248) for a description of Franco’s bureaucratic, three-phased censorship process in which every detail of a theatrical event, from wardrobe to gestures to the complete script, was subject to the highest scrutiny, either accepted (often with suggested revisions) or denied, and evaluated after a performance in order to assure adherence to the governmentally sanctioned

were often blacklisted and even jailed for speaking out against a notoriously repressive regime. Due to such strict censorship laws, performers across the arts avoided overt allusions to even slightly contentious political issues, much less outright criticism and protest (see Pilar Ramos López 2013: 248).

For the forty years of Franco's dictatorship, regressive politics kept Spain disconnected from the rest of the developing world. Guitarist, Juan del Gastor remembers North American students who took guitar lessons from his uncle Diego in the 1960s: "We were kept ignorant under Franco, and they [the Americans] exposed us to a new way of thinking" (Nagin 2008: 10). Mica Graña was one such student who arrived on the eve of America's Sexual Revolution:

...it was the only place in Europe where you could actually live in a pre-industrial world and so it was an amazing experience. As I said, nobody had TVs, nobody had phones, very few people had cars, so living in a pueblo was so different from anything that one would experience here (personal communication, July 21, 2009).

Given flamenco's repressive history and its proclivity toward individual fatalism, it is understandable that some would dismiss flamenco as an ineffective form of protest music. How then, do we reconcile this with the fact that flamenco is increasingly deployed by activists as a voice of protest? To begin with, we must first gain a better understanding of protest music.

A Typology of Protest Music

In a 1968 article entitled "Protest Movements: Class Consciousness and the Propaganda Song," R. Serge Denisoff offers a functional model of protest music in which he categorizes two kinds of protest song or "songs of persuasion." *Magnetic songs*, Denisoff explains, persuade the listener, both emotionally and intellectually, into supporting or joining a movement and subsequently strengthening social cohesion and solidarity among supporters of a movement or ideology. Alternatively, *rhetorical songs* effectively highlight and describe a condition without necessarily offering any ideological or organizational solution. In short, magnetic songs

performance. Due to this censorship, playwrights during the Franco regime did not directly allude to political issues.

persuade while rhetorical songs reveal. For example, the 1931 song, “Which Side Are You On?,” written by Florence Reece, asks the listener to choose a side in the labor union debate: union v. scab. Its language sends a clear message that favors one side over the other and, like a literal magnet that pulls objects close, this song aims to increase union membership and support workers’ rights.

Alternately, Bob Dylan’s 1963 song, “Masters of War,” represents a different kind of protest song. This song is a personal condemnation of international armament deals that, for Dylan, simply perpetuates war and violence rather than offering any real promise for political stability and peace:

*You fasten the triggers
For the others to fire
Then you set back and watch
When the death count gets higher
You hide in your mansion
As young people’s blood
Flows out of their bodies
And is buried in the mud*

*And I hope that you die
And your death’ll come soon
I will follow your casket
In the pale afternoon
And I’ll watch while you’re lowered
Down to your deathbed
And I’ll stand over your grave
’Til I’m sure that you’re dead.*

“Masters of War” Bob Dylan (1963)

Although Dylan’s stern judgment is clear, his rhetoric falls short of recruiting membership to a cause or to incite action. Yet, how else would we categorize this song if not as one of protest? As Denisoff explains, rhetorical songs primarily emphasize the dysfunction of a societal situation and “may point to an event which is specific or endemic to a geographical or historical space in time and require little commitment on the part of the listener or the composer” (1966: 584). Thus, rhetorical songs may dissent from a dominant ideology without advocating any clear action be taken to change anything. Change may be desired or even deemed necessary but the function of a rhetorical song is simply to draw attention to a problem, not to offer a solution. The following *fandango*

from the Spanish Civil War reflects such a tactic. It refers to Fermin Galán García Hernández, a firebrand captain in the Republic who was fiercely committed to bringing an end to the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Galán led a hasty revolt in 1926 that, in the end, failed. He was court marshaled, imprisoned, and eventually executed on December 14, 1930:

*Por la libertad de España
murió Hernández, y Galán.
Un minuto de silencio
por los que ya en gloria están,
suplico en estos momentos.*

*For Spain's liberty
Galán Hernández died
A minute of silence
For those who are already in
glory
I beg/pray right now*

Similar to Bob Dylan's rhetorical protest song, this song articulates a clear position: a moment of silence for Galán is a powerful statement against the dominant regime and in support of revolutionary politics. It accomplishes this despite the fact that the strongest active verb in this verse, *suplicar* (to beg or pray), is hardly a way to inspire united, mass protest.

The technique of the rhetorical protest is not limited to *fandangos*, of course. *Triana*, a *tangos* popularized by La Niña de los Peines, relies on a similar technique:

*Triana, Triana
Qué bonita está Triana
Cuando le ponen al puente
las banderitas Republicana.*

*Triana, Triana
How beautiful is Triana
When its bridge is decorated
with Republican flag*

This verse, of course, does more than express an aesthetic appreciation for a flag's color scheme. It is a tacit endorsement of the democratic regime (i.e., the Second Spanish Republic) that represented the people in the years between General Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923-1930) and General Francisco Franco's Fascist regime (1939-1978). The significance of the reference was clear to Franco's censors who used the restrictive censorship laws to alter the original lyric to refer to the less contentious (and more exotic) Gypsy flag which had yet to be fully recognized internationally: *las banderitas gitanas*/with *Gypsy banners*.

Another example includes a traditional 19th-century *Alegrias* from Cadiz, Spain. It expresses dismay over the Napoleonic War but admits to having no solution:

*Although they may put canons and artillery at your door
I have to pass through it even though it may cost me my life*

*Lets go lets go to the cafe of La Unión
Where Curro Cuchares El Paco and Juan Leon are*

*I have no more solutions
but to lower my little head
and to say that what is white is black*
Alegrias (Traditional)¹⁴

We can see in these few examples, an approach toward lyrics that expressed opposition to oppressive regimes but without the explicit bravado characteristic of a magnetic protest song.

Two Protest Events

1) Camelamos Nequerar

Toward the end of Franco's rule in the 1970s, conditions softened slightly and the flamenco world breathed a sigh of relief. In the year Franco died (1976), the flamenco duo Lole y Manuel released the album *Nuevo Dia* (A New Day) with the lyric: *The people awake/the morning is here*. Indeed the tide was beginning to turn and some performers found room to express their discontent openly. The Spanish novelist, J.M. Caballero Bonald recalls that in the late 1970s, flamenco singers such as Jose Menese, Enrique Morente, Carlos Cruz, Manuel Gerena, El Lebrijano, and others, began to adapt the themes of flamenco to their own historical and social reality.

One such performer was Mario Maya, a Gypsy dancer from Granada, Spain. Maya, who briefly lived in New York City, was deeply influenced by the Civil Rights protests of the 1960s, creating what is considered to be flamenco's first protest theater: *Camelamos Naquerar* ("We Wish To Speak"), a piece that dramatizes the unrelenting

¹⁴ The original lyric:

*Que con las bombas que tiran los fanfarrones/Se hacen las gaditanas tirabuzones
Aunque pongan en tu puerta cañones y artilleria/Tengo que pasar por ello
aunque me cueste la vida.
Vamonos, vamonos al café de La Union/Donde paran Curro Cuchares El
Paco y Juan León yo no tengo mas remedio/que agachar la cabecita y
decir que lo blanco es negro.*

persecution of Gitanos by the Spanish government. Maya's production includes dance, music, poems, flamenco songs, and legal texts since the fifteenth century.¹⁵ Alternating the reading of government edicts with short flamenco performances, Maya used flamenco as a form of sociopolitical critique and commentary, criticizing a long history of "surveillance, control, imprisonment, and death" (Sevilla 1979:10). The piece was first staged three months following Franco's death and the still-active right wing officials came down hard on participating theaters.

2) Bodies Against Capitalism

It's mid day and a plain-clothed man stands at the top of the stairs in a bank. No one notices him until he begins to sing: *The attitude and the will, my friend, has changed*. Suddenly, everyone in the bank stops what they are doing and looks at the man. Some smile, some laugh, some exchange puzzled glances, and some look concerned. One person chooses not to look at all and merely stand with his back to the singer. After all, who sings loudly in a bank? Again, he sings: *Oh, since you have the money, it makes you unbearable*, and as he draws out the word unbearable, cascading the vowels slowly downward, an unamused-looking bank employee picks up the phone to call the authorities. The singer finishes his first verse: *These are the things of the nouveau riche*. Several people respond to the singer by clapping...in unison...with a specific rhythm! These are performers! The singer is not alone. This is a flashmob in a bank lobby!

A woman dressed all in black makes her way to the center of the lobby across from a baby in a stroller. *You have lowered my salary and raised the price of everything*, the gentleman sings, and the woman-in-black raises her arms above her head while rubbing her thumbs against her fingertips in the universal sign for money. The singer continues his verse while the dancer punctuates his every word with the fullness of her body:

¹⁵ One 1499 law called for the "Egyptians" to give up their nomadic lifestyle or risk receiving one hundred lashes, banishment, and even bodily mutilation:

Los egipcianos y caldereros extranjeros, durante los sesenta días siguientes al pregón, tomen asiento en los lugares y sirvan a señores que les den lo que hubieren menester y no vaguen juntos por los reinos: o que al cabo de sesenta días salgan de España, so pena de cien azotes y destierro la prima vez y que les corten las orejas y los tornen a desterrar la segunda vez que fueren hallados.

For a detailed analysis of Camelamos Naquerar, see José Daniel Campos Fernández's article available here:

http://ayp.unia.es/dmdocuments/alcms_tu_inv03.pdf. Last accessed 4/15/15.

her hands, her feet, her shoulders, her rear end. The singer continues: *To hold my own, I've had to pawn the parrot and I've even had to sell my house*, and the dancer ends with a flurry of movements: feet stomping, hands clapping, elbows bent and arms jabbing. Her final punctuated movement erupts from her core as her hands flick violently in a man's face – the performers have his full attention now, his back is no longer turned away from the spectacle.

The singer, still perched at the top of the stairs, forcefully sings two more verses as more and more dancers join the woman in black, perfectly in synch. Some are wearing all black, some are dressed casually while some are in business attire. If not for the choreographed movements, it would be difficult to tell who is a performer and who is just caught up in the moment. The dancers all turn to face a bank employee who is sitting behind a desk and talking on a phone. The singer ends: *I do not love you, Bankia*, and the dancers, wiping their hands as if to rid themselves of dirt, turn their back to the employee, and walk away.¹⁶

¹⁶ The complete song's lyrics are:

The attitude and the will, my friend, has changed
 Ay, Bankia, Bankia, Bankia
 The attitude and the will
 Oh, since you have money it makes you unbearable
 These are the things of the nouveau riche

You have lowered my salary and raised the price of everything
 To hold my own, I've had to pawn the parrot and I've even had to sell my
 house payments

Don't mess around with me anymore, Rodrigo Because of your bad
 leadership, we'll end up on the run and because of your "bad head,"
 Rodrigo We'll end up on the run

For you, six lungs for me, not even a few fish gills
 Bankia, Bankia, Bankia
 For you, six lungs for me, not even a few fish gills
 I'm not going to love you even though you may cancel my interest

I do not love you, Bankia (4x)

In the final verse, the singer singles out former International Monetary Fund

In 2012, Flo6x8 began disrupting the flow of business in banks throughout Andalusia. Staging flashmob events in lobbies and on the streets, these activist-performers used body and song to express frustration over a \$23 billion public bailout of Spain's third-biggest bank, Bankia. Nothing about the above performance overtly encouraged strangers to participate in a group act of protest in a way that one would expect from a protest song. Yet, this was nothing less than a protest. The language of the verses leave no doubt about the singer's dissatisfaction; nor did the gestures of the dancers. "We're fighting back against capitalism with our bodies," one protester says. "The body is an element that we all have; it's what makes us human. But capitalism on the other hand is totally the opposite. It's an arbitrary construction, one that's so far from anything that makes us human" (Kassam, 2013).

Banks, like all financial and retail institutions, writes Jill Lane, have "no place—literally and figuratively—for individuals to act in any way other than as consumers" (2012: x). The physical space of both banks and Parliament are defined by clear boundaries that predict orderly appearance. Usurping this construct, Flo6x8 engages in what Lane calls a *situated freedom*, in which performers mark out a "temporary space through embodied practice that both claims and enacts an alternative social economy" (ibid.). The stomping, unrestrained flamenco bodies rupture the institution's semblance of order and command attention away from the status quo while the singer's forceful accusation of corruption is left for all to ponder.

Flo6x8's contempt for the fiscal mismanagement that led to the economic crisis, the group's accusation of widespread governmental corruption, and their mistrust of corporate influence are all sentiments that have a long tradition in flamenco. This contempt and mistrust is endemic to flamenco's rhetorical style and to the disposition of many of its celebrated performers. In the 1950s, Diego del Gastor, a guitarist who many feel epitomizes non-commercialized flamenco, was admired for possessing what a close friend of his called "a complete disregard, even scorn, for money and material possessions" (Pohren 1979: 22).

managing director and former Partido Popular finance minister, Rodrigo Rato, who has been accused of misleading Bankia customers into purchasing shares in the bank shortly before its collapse. This resulted in a financial windfall for bank executives but financial ruin for the masses.

This ambivalence toward capitalism can be found in many verses similar to this 1930s fandango entitled: *Por No Haber Tanta Mentira* (To Rid The World of Lies):

*Dios, que es tan poderoso
debía de hacer un mundo nuevo
pa no ver tanta mentira
porque tan mala es la vida
que solo impera el dinero
se diga lo que se diga*

*God, the all-powerful
should have made a new world
to get rid of all the lies
because life is so cruel
that only money rules
no matter what you say to the contrary*

Another fandango, sung by José Cepero, addresses labor issues:

*A la mujer del minero
se le puede llamar viuda,
que se pasa el día entero
cavando su sepultura.
¡Qué amargo gana el dinero!”*

*A miner's wife
you could call a widow,
who spends the whole day
digging her grave.
How bitter the money earned!*

Diego del Gaster's ambivalence toward capitalism seems amplified with Flo6x8. On the same day as their Parliamentary protest, Flo6X8 published a manifesto that accused banks, specifically Bankia, of promoting a “system of debt bondage” that was responsible for Spain’s economic crisis. Furthermore, they blamed the legislative and executive powers, especially on the Andalusian regional level, for their “facilitating role” in capitalism. Thus, Flo6x8’s criticism is twofold, that is, they intend to 1) draw attention to the economic disparity caused by capitalism and to 2) replace the system that perpetuates this disparity with a more equitable framework. This new framework would rebuild “the foundations of a democratic state through collective creation of a new Magna Carta” that repeals labor reforms, promotes labor rights, ends job insecurity, to end colonialist attitudes toward Andalusia, and to reverse exceedingly stringent austerity measures imposed on Andalusia by the Troika (i.e., the European Commission, International Monetary Fund, and the European Central Bank).

Conclusion

In the hallowed chambers of Parliament and within the delineated and orderly spaces of banks, the normative rules of corporeal engagements, that is, of gestures, locomotion, physical interactions, and overall bodily decorum, are followed, without question. By extension of this normative corporeality, the standards of ideal speech and rational discourse follow.

In short, the architecture of space is an efficient disciplinarian of the docile bodies within. As such, reasoned debate and rational interactions are favored over other forms of communication.¹⁷ In her study of the performance of political ideologies, Jessica Kulynych points out that, “persons whose speech is richly colored with rhetoric, gesture, humor, spirit, or affectation could be defined as deviant or immature communication” (1997: 325). But it is exactly this spirited discourse, she shows, that “can effectively disrupt the culturally commonsensical and actually provide new and compelling alternatives to disciplinary constructions” (ibid.). Flo6x8’s disruptions, provide a break from the normative patterns of behavior and being that have been established by the vary institutions that pose the greatest threat to the socioeconomic stability of the people.

When compared to the magnetic protest music of the Civil Rights or Labor movements, flamenco, seems to lack a certain spirit of activism that is apparent in many popular protest songs. However, when viewed through the framework of rhetorical protest that Denisoff provides, and taking into account the disposition of its performers, flamenco exemplifies a broader range of protest music. It is an efficient and powerful form of protest that gets to the heart of a problem in such a way as to leave the observer entertained and intrigued. Rhetorical protest cleverly engages both the senses and the mind, the emotions and the intellect. From this perspective, it should be clear that flamenco’s recent activism arises from a genre whose resistance has been denied for far too long. In the June 1978 edition of *Jaleo*, a periodic newsletter dedicated to flamenco, J.M. Caballero Bonald (a Spanish novelist, lecturer, and poet) writes that “Flamenco, which has always been a sort of undirected protest, has lately begun to search for direction” (1978: 1). What we are witnessing from the Flo6x8 activists is a fine-tuning of flamenco’s voice of resistance after a long history of that voice being censored and silenced. Now, in a post-dictatorship Spain, flamenco performers are able to build on a history of a clever rhetoric that is endemic to flamenco’s ethos and work toward changing the socioeconomic landscape for Spain’s working class and its historically oppressed peoples.

¹⁷ See Iris Young, “Communication and the Other: Beyond Deliberative Democracy,” in *Democracy and Difference*, 1996: 120-135.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

SPACES OF AFFECT: THE POLITICAL ANATOMY OF CONTEMPORARY FANDANGO PERFORMANCE IN MEXICO

ALEX E. CHÁVEZ

Abstract

This paper discusses the little-known Mexican music of *huapango arribeño* with attention to its *topada* performance in Xichú, Guanajuato. There, two ensembles engage in both poetic dueling and musical flyting in the town central plaza from dusk until dawn while thousands of spectators ring in the New Year. The poetics that emerge in this space, it is argued, animate stories and affective desires of connection and recognition that grow sharply political in relation to the present fraught political context in which its audience and practitioners are positioned. In pursuit of this claim, this paper directly links the poetic and musical anatomy of the *topada* space of vernacular performance to the necessary invocation of (counter) publics that ultimately receive and absorb the circulation of situated knowledges—a reflexive poesis of enactment and reception that sustains the space of fandango performance.

Keywords

Mexico; Huapango arribeño; Affect; topada

Resumen

Este artículo examina la tradición musical del *huapango arribeño* con atención especial a lo que se denomina la *topada* en Xichú, Guanajuato. Allí, dos conjuntos participan en un duelo poético y musical en la plaza central del pueblo desde el atardecer hasta el amanecer mientras que miles de espectadores celebran el Año Nuevo. La poesía que surge en este

espacio, se argumenta, anima historias y deseos afectivos de conexión y reconocimiento que adquieren un sentido politizado y que se relacionan con el contexto político en el que su público y músicos están ubicados en esos momentos. Investigando estas ideas, mi artículo relaciona directamente la anatomía poética y musical del espacio de la topada con el esfuerzo por atraer el público (o un contra-público) recibe y absorbe la circulación del conocimiento, estableciéndose una poética de creación y recepción, que alienta el espacio del fandango.

Introduction

In the post-NAFTA era of accelerated out-migration, the spread of narco-violence, and increased calls for indigenous autonomy across Mexico, the growing perception of a waning Mexican state has taken hold in both the local and global imagination. Here, the recent events of Iguala, Guerrero and the forty-three students of Ayotzinapa come to mind, as does the politically divisive issue of undocumented migration in the United States amidst the cultural and demographic realities linked to expanding transnational economic ties with Latin America—the often-cited majority-minority question playing itself out in places far from the border like New York, as Robert Smith’s (2005) work has demonstrated.

Given the materiality of this political reality, this paper explores how particular social imaginaries are aesthetically voiced, to invoke Bakhtin. What stories are being told? How do they exist as sites of cultural struggle and connection? For the question of Mexico and its people—and necessarily their identity as so many of the Mexican literati have ruminated upon—has turned and returned to an iconicity of *Mexicanidad* whose master symbols are so surrounded by the palaverous scaffoldings of a circulation of discourses concerned with offering essentialist accounts of the Mexican character—either monolithic or *detailed labyrinths*—most often distant from people themselves. This self-referential loop—to draw on Kathleen Stewart (1996) and Brian Massumi (1992)—encircles and animates a mythologizing cultural discourse. The challenge, then, is to consider Mexican personhood in a way that does not source material from a distance or lean on assumptions about “culture” and “identity,” but rather, draws on people and their own technologies of transmission, their own arts of living. Rendered neither disembodied data set, nor seen as once-removed subjects of cultural translation, the challenge is to consider the voices of ethnic-Mexican and how they speak of lived subjectivities and cultural geographies beyond the facile scriptings of nation,

nationalism, and the nation-state, expressing alternative ways of belonging.¹

This paper peers through this tensive social landscape and attends to a grassroots politics of culture (Briggs 2012) with specific focus on the New Years Eve ritual huapango arribeño performance in the town of Xichú, Guanajuato. There, two huapango arribeño ensembles face across from one another in the central plaza, engaging in a marathon musical and poetic duel that begins at midnight on December 31st and lasts for hours. One of the music's most salient features is the use of the Spanish *décima* as poet-practitioners use the form to assemble dialogic narratives. Audiences expect to witness a florescence of ritual poetics guided by the performative axiom referred to as *fundamento*, or the foundational ground upon which thematic elaborations arise and which allows poet-practitioners to stake claims and debate them. And as of late, the topics of contemporary Mexican politics, activism, and social unrest have emerged with greater frequency. And so, my comments today are undergirded by the concept of circulation, a concept implicit in much of what is being discussed at this gathering. Indeed, the originary sociocultural space of the fandango is syncretic; it was made possible by diverse groups of people coming together across places and times—often under extreme pressures and circumstances—assembling embodied communicative practices, an expressive complex of music, poetry, and dance traveling and transforming along routes through which the material and immaterial aspects of lived experience were negotiated, social relationships created, and subjectivities formed. And while we inherit the expressive form—the fandango as practice, its formal features, instruments, syntax—the space of performance is one of bundled relationships to be disarticulated. Tracing the entanglement of aesthetics, politics, memory, and sensate experience moving through space and time is paramount. I am particularly concerned with how this thicket of connections is emplaced within the context of a 21st century Mexico with particular focus on how huapango arribeño's own circuits of circulation contribute to the voicing of a post-national public.

¹ Renato Rosaldo (1994) and Adelaida Del Castillo (2007) provide frameworks for understanding such forms of belonging in the guise of cultural citizenship and social citizenship, respectively.

Postnational Perspectives

Recent music scholarship has tasked itself with tracing how flows of music take shape in the social reality of globalization. Drawing on Arjun Appadurai's (1996) theorizing in the wake of what he suggests is a crisis of modernity and a collapsing of hegemonic national identities, scholars contend that music shared across the boundaries of nation-states not only reveals how identities are forged and performed in a context of transnational economies (or the complicated relationship between the local and the global), but also how borders themselves are ultimately "fluid, give-and-take areas where complexity, negotiation, and hybridity are everyday constants" (Madrid 2008: 3-4). In his work on Nor-tec electronic dance music, Alejandro Madrid (2008) makes a case for understanding localized music-making from Tijuana, Mexico as a postnational project of territorial resignification, writing:

As the experiences of many citizens at the border suggest, a postnational condition should not refer to the viability of the nation-state as a political entity but rather to its necessary restructuring according to the real needs of its citizens. Such re-signification entails recognition of the local diversity that is often homogenized by nationalist discourses. This type of reevaluation is necessary if the nation-state is to be reconsidered a feasible form of political organization within the globalized postnational constellation. (*ibid*: 197)

To imagine postnational identities amid the crisis of contemporary Mexican politics is to necessarily account for the types of subjectivities fashioned beyond the exclusionary practices of the nation-state, subjectivities that gesture toward its re-imagining so that it may be more inclusive. Embedded in this point is a critique of what is perhaps a common meaning postnationalism has taken on in Latina/o music scholarship, which at times operates as a gloss for transnationalism. Within the purview of contemporary processes of globalization, people and identities are constantly moving, crossing borders, as are practices of music-making. However, to account for the ways in which musics are geographically diffuse (some might argue increasingly) is not necessarily the same as providing an understanding of how these practices go beyond the politics of the nation-state. For instance, current flows of Mexican folk-derived popular musics across national boundaries are in reality cultural articulations of the transnational growth of their respective markets for production and consumption, given labor migration between both countries. But how do these musics speak to the politics of illegality

as a racialized identity engendered by the nation-state and the expressive needs people have to fashion practices of self-valorization within this context? How do everyday practices of music-making *play* a part? Extending this to a Mexican national context, how do spaces of vernacular musical performance enable forums for the public expression of connections constitutive of alternative imagined communities? Therefore, a more politicized reading of postnationalism is a consideration beyond transnational sonic flows and toward the ways in which vulnerable and marginalized communities fashion identities beyond the nation-state through embodied aesthetic acts in contexts where their bodies are subject to dehumanizing forms of violence. The space of fandango performance, I argue, is one such space of performance, one capable of meeting everyday needs of intimacy and belonging, particularly within the huapango arribeño genre, which I introduce next.

Contemporary Fandango Performance

Huapango Arribeño

The term huapango is typically invoked as a reference to its signature galloping 6/8 rhythm. Indeed, most appreciators of Mexican music know huapango when they hear it in all of its variations, whether it be the accordion-based stylings of Mexico's *música norteña* or rendered in dramatic *bel canto* flare by the immortal stars of the "Golden" era of Mexican cinema. This latter image often stands in the minds of many as a type of classic or authentic huapango. And while the popularity of this music outside of its region of origin—the overlapping northeastern Mexican states of Guanajuato, Hidalgo, Puebla, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Tamaulipas, and Veracruz—owes much to the silver screen, this stylized representation is one that lays bare the complicated relationship between music and nationalism in the twentieth century, and subsequently sheds light on huapango arribeño's relative absence from this cannon. The related huasteco variant of huapango—which is practiced in the *huasteca* cultural region home to the Téenek (or Huastec) Indians—is one of many regional string-musics popularized in the years following the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) as new circuits of electronic media emerged as powerful commercial vehicles for embedding regional musical practices within a broader discourse of Mexican musical nationalism. While deemed an emblematic sound of assumed national tradition during this period, the historical origins of huapango, more broadly, as a regional music parallel that of adjacent styles such as the son jarocho from Veracruz. These musics are at their core *mestizo*, the product of centuries of culture

building. The narrowly formulated popular style of huapango has engendered its share of stereotypes. Images of huapango-crooning seductive *charros* intent on winning over women's favors loom. Indeed, in the first "Golden" era pastoral drama, *Alla en el Rancho Grande* (Out There on the Big Ranch) (1936), the most emblematic performances are huapango duels that display a near cartoon-like *machismo*.

Nevertheless, a music relatively unknown outside its region of origin in the states of Guanajuato, Querétaro, and San Luis Potosí, huapango arribeño takes its name from the *nahuatl* word *cuauhpanco*—signifying the expression "atop of the wood" which is a reference to the *tarima* atop which people dance *zapateado* to various styles of vernacular Mexican music. The term *arribeño* (highlander) is a reference to the mountainous region of the states of Guanajuato and Querétaro (known as *La Sierra Gorda*) and also to the mid-region of San Luis Potosí (*La Zona Media*), which sits higher in altitude than the *huasteca* portion of the state, home to the more *huasteco* style. Given its musicological features, huapango arribeño may be linked to an abstracted model of music, *son* in this instance. Doing so without critical reflection, however, is to passively accept the modernist distantiation embedded in the sonic iconography of *Mexicanidad*. In other words, the *son* paradigm is complicit in domesticating vernacular expressive practices, that is, in mapping them "*alla*"—both heralding them as the essence of the national character while necessarily reifying them as unmodern.

Think of huapango arribeño as an elaborate musical architecture. It has jagged edges in structure, timbre, and tone and there is gravity behind the sudden drops and shifts that lift you up and down in between verses and melodies. The prototypical huapango arribeño musical piece follows this format: (1) *poesía*; (2) *decimal-valona*; and (3) *jarabe* or *son*. Its tonal cadence is the familiar I–IV–V (root, subdominant, dominant) diatonic three-chord circle progression and is nearly always played in major keys, D, A, G. The term *poesía* refers to the lyrical content of the first portion, which follows the *pie forzado* format. In the decimal-valona section, the poet glosses a base quatrain with four corresponding *décimas*. Valona refers to the music that accompanies the gloss—specifically the violin interludes played in between each *décima*—the actual poetic glossing is the decimal.² The third and final section is the *jarabe* or *son*,

² Vicente Mendoza (1947) defines the valona as the act of glossing a base quatrain with four corresponding *décimas* such that the final verse of the first *décima* mirrors the first verse of the base quatrain, the final verse of the second *décima*

which is always played in 6/8 and showcases the violinists. This portion most resembles the commonly recognized huapango rhythmic style.

Huapango arribeño is best expressed during topada performances, which are organized for celebratory occasions including birthdays, weddings, patron saint festivities, Mexican independence, the New Year, and so on. The name topada comes from the verb *topar*—to collide with—and signifies the heightened reciprocity and intensity of such encounters. When musicians dig into the topada performance, they become engaged in the focused act of listening: listening to the musicians sitting at one's side, to those situated across the way, lending an ear to the audience, observing the performance space as it blossoms. With each passing moment, a detailed code of etiquette guides this flow, which is referred to as *el reglamento* (the performative protocol), such that ensembles are responsible for bringing to bear an array of musical and poetic resources. In fact, one ensemble *lleva la mano*, literally “has the hand.” Far more than “an advantage,” *la mano* refers to an accountability of taking the initiative, for said ensemble is entrusted with a detailed set of responsibilities including: (1) commencing the engagement, that is making the first musical intervention of the evening; (2) deciding when and what types of sones and jarabes are to be played; (3) establishing the topic of poetic debate; (4) initiating different portions of the topada; and (5) shifting between musical keys, and setting the general musical pitch. Musicians strategize and demonstrate their competence according to these rules of musical engagement. The topada “winner,” so to speak, is never formally announced, although audience applause, cheers, and zapateados may offer an indication of who has come out ahead.

mirrors the second verse of the base quatrain, and so on. Valonas also exist in the states of Michoacán, Guerrero, and Veracruz. Both Gabriel Saldivar (1934) and Socorro Perea (1989) suggest the name valona comes from the Spanish word *valedor* (meaning worthy comrade) thus referencing its possible laudatory role in showcasing improvisatory skill. Vicente Mendoza (1947), on the other hand, claims the term is a referent for soldiers whom arrived in New Spain from the Valona region of Belgium where the glossing of décimas was commonplace. The evidence to support this is rather thin. Whatever its origins, the valona seems to have enjoyed great popularity in the first half of the eighteenth century throughout New Spain, however by the time Mendoza is researching in the first half of the twentieth century, he only locates its practice in the states of Jalisco, Michoacán, Guerrero, and Veracruz. He makes no mention of its presence in the highlands of the states of Guanajuato and Querétaro or in the mid-region of San Luís Potosí.

Xichú, Guanajuato

Every year in the mountains of northeastern Guanajuato, Mexico, the town of Xichú celebrates the coming of the New Year with a festival surrounding a climactic *topada* performance. There, two huapango arribeño ensembles face across from one another in the central plaza, engaging in a marathon musical and poetic duel that begins at midnight on December 31st and lasts through noon the following day. During the performance, both groups—made up of two violins (a lead and second fiddle, or *primera* and *segunda vara*), a *guitarra quinta huapanguera* (eight-string bass-guitar), and *vihuela* or *jarana* (both small five-stringed chordophones)—tower above the audience atop *tablados* (raised benches), one at each end of the plaza, physically facing each other while a sea of people dance rhythmically up and down below them. The intense back-and-forth that unfolds reaches a fever pitch, fueling the thousands who stomp their feet through the dawn to the point of exhaustion. With every patterned dance step, waves of energy prompt shouts of excitement despite the bitter cold as everyone is entranced by the music and improvised poetry. This is how minutes become hours, darkness transforms into morning, giving way to a sense of vertigo that feels eternal before it's suddenly over.

The *topada* is the climax of the huapango arribeño festival that surrounds it, which has been going on for just over thirty years now. The very first festival, initially a one-day affair, took place on December 31st, 1983, the date upon which Xichú already hosted one of its two annual *topadas*. This is still the case, yet the festival now begins on the 29th and concludes on the 1st and close to six thousand people attend. Now, the yearly festival is part of life's rhythms for its residents, something to look forward to. It rose in significance beginning in 1983, as Guillermo Velázquez—a prominent huapango arribeño practitioner and founding member of the group Los Leones de la Sierra de Xichú—and his brother Eliazar developed two projects aimed at revitalizing the spaces of huapango arribeño in Xichú. The idea wasn't to "rescue" tradition, so much as to fortify the connection between veteran and younger practitioners. Through a chance meeting with Leonel Durán, director of the Dirección General de Culturas Populares, the brothers garnered financial support with which to organize huapango arribeño workshops throughout the Sierra Gorda of Guanajuato and a festival in Xichú to honor veteran practitioners, both as a way to facilitate intergenerational

dialogue.³ The workshops were centered on both transmitting the rudimentary musical skills required to play the ensemble instruments and also familiarizing students with the poetic forms utilized. As of late, workshops have been incorporated into the programming and outreach activities of municipal *casas de cultura* in varying degrees throughout Guanajuato, Querétaro, and San Luís Potosí. There is an aspect to these workshops that might be considered “invented tradition,” an idea famously introduced by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger in reference to the innovation of symbolic and ritual practices “which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (1983: 2). While this idea is usually in reference to types of historical forgery (typically in the service of nation-building), the situated re-enactment of practices and carving out of social spaces concerned with dignifying cultural resources by non-hegemonic groups, can also be a type of empowered innovation that likewise seeks to establish a sense of contiguity between present-day expressions and their antecedents.

For a number of years the festival was principally organized as an homage to veteran practitioners, known as the *Festival de Homenaje a los Viejos Maestros Huapangueros*. To this end, elder musicians were publicly recognized, given a modest token of appreciation, and were invited to participate in a public forum to speak about their experiences and their art. In 1983, Pancho Berrones, Tranquilino Méndez, Antonio García, Antonio Escalante, Agapito Briones, Tomás Aguilar, Ceferino Juárez, Román Gómez, Pedro Carreón, and Lorenzo López were the first to be honored. The festival is now known as the *Festival del Huapango Arribeño y de la Cultura de la Sierra Gorda* and each year attends to a thematic focus. And to this day, the apex of the festival remains the topada. Close to six thousand people ring in each New Year, dancing in Xichú’s

³ After completing the first recording in 1982, they were given the opportunity to formally present the material in the *Museo de Culturas Populares* in Mexico, City, where they subsequently met Leonel Durán and began to develop the workshop and festival projects. Furthermore, chance encounters also thrust *Los Leones* into the world of Latin American protest song in the 1980s, of which some of the more emblematic figures include Víctor Jara of Chile; Mercedes Sosa and *Atahualpa Yupanqui* of Argentina; Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés of Cuba; and Amparo Ochoa, Oscar Chávez and *Los Folkloristas* of México. As a consequence, they have traveled to Europe, Japan, and throughout Latin America, introducing huapango arribeño as an expression of Xichú, Guanajuato to people and artists all over the world.

central plaza to the oscillating performance of two huapango arribeño ensembles, an all-night encounter that begins at midnight and lasts roughly ten to eleven hours. In addition, the organizing committee has been and continues to be composed of Xichú natives (musicians, campesinos, migrants, local residents, etc.) and is funded primarily independently of official institutions and municipal monies. The committee relies on grassroots fundraisers and modest donations from Sierra Gorda natives. And while the festival is an event rooted in Xichú and its history of topadas at the start of each New Year, it is by no means isolated from other places. In fact, the vectors that attach Xichú to Chicago and other sites in the U.S. also exist when organizing and fundraising, for example. These connections play out through personal relationships and necessary transnational flows of resources, much like what happens through the sorts of binational civic efforts on the part hometown associations (Bada 2010).⁴

Precarity, Publics, and Ritual Poetics

Circulation seems an apt analytic in the present discussion. Linguistic anthropologist Benjamin Lee, in commenting on Greg Urban's work on the topic writes, "circulation is not simply the movement of people, things, and ideas within or among societies. Instead, it is a process with its own types of abstraction and constraints produced by the semiotic nature of the circulating forms" (Lee in Urban 2001: ix-x). Here at least is a starting point for my conceptual mapping of how "metacultural judgments form the normative core for the creation of community and the reproduction of culture" (*ibid*: xi). For a highly public and cooperatively enacted space of discourse emerges in Xichú. With each passing moment, with each alternating performative intervention, listening and reception increase in intensity, as décimas and melodies braid themselves to build a loud and felt inter-affective dialogue that, I argue, textualizes intersubjective desires for recognition.

At the most recent topada in Xichú, poet-practitioners Nicacio Lopez and Tobías Hernandez faced off and there emerged between them a circulating dialogue concerning Mexico's political present and the role they hope youth will play in the country's social and political transformation. Here is an excerpt from one of Nicacio's poesías:

⁴ Bada's (2010) work is Chicago-based, though focused on the connections between that city and Michoacán, Mexico.

Quieren desviar la atención
 No nos **quieran** ver la cara
México ya se dispara
 Contra tanta corrupción

Ya basta de impunidad
 No podrán tapar el sol
 Se les salió de control
 Y la luz de la verdad
 Alumbro la oscuridad
 De toda **gobernación**
 Si saben bien que ellos son
 El crimen organizado
 Que a México han lastimado:
 Contra tanta corrupción

Ayotzinapa ya no es
 Aquella voz temerosa
 Escondida silenciosa
 Sometida en timidez
Se paró sobre sus pies
Puso el dedo en el renglón
 La sangre del corazón
Tiene coraje enraizado
 Que el **mal gobierno** ha
 sembrado:
 Contra tanta corrupción

They want to divert attention
They don't want to look us in the face
México has risen up
 Against so much corruption

Enough already with impunity
 They cannot block out the sun
 They have lost control
 And the light of the truth
 Illuminated the darkness
 Of all form of **governance**
 It is well known that they are
 The organized crime
 That has damaged Mexico:
 Against so much corruption

Ayotzinapa is no longer
 That fearful voice
 Hidden, silenced
 Crouched in timidity
It has stood up on its feet
It will not budge
 The blood in the heart
It has a deep-rooted anger
 That **bad government** has sown:
 Against so much corruption

Consider Nicacio's language as he positions the people of Mexico—embodied in the figure of Ayotzinapa—as citizens the subject of state violence, but who stand up against such transgressions vis-à-vis the official and corrupt Mexican state. Similarly, a year earlier, Vincent Velázquez—a young hip-hop MC, Guanajuato native, son of poet-practitioner Guillermo Velázquez, and active member of the Xichú festival organizing committee—burst into a décima-inspired flow in full-throated MC cadence as Los Leones de la Sierra de Xichú performed for the thousands in attendance. Vincent, who as of late has become part of the group as a dancer, proclaimed the following décimas in between vigorous fiddle remates as the musicians strummed out a valona on that cold December night, offering both a critique of power and a message of hope:

Lo que llaman democracia
tan solo nos causa asco
la política es un fiasco
es una burda falacia;
gobierna una aristocracia
torpe, voraz, corrosiva
que autoritaria y lesiva
no nos deja florecer
y al México del poder:
NO LE GRITARÉ: ¡QUE VIVA!

What they call democracy
only causes us nausea
the political system is a fiasco
it is a gross fallacy;
a clumsy, voracious, corrosive
aristocracy governs
authoritarian and harmful
it impedes us from flourishing
so to the Mexican powers that be:
I WILL NOT SHOUT: MAY IT
LONG LIVE!

Pero nuestro país si resplandece
en cada son que se toca
en cada beso en la boca
y en el sol cuando amanece
en la lluvia que humedece
la tierra que se cultiva
en la música festiva
o en un alegre bailable
a ese México entrañable:
YO SÍ LE GRITO: ¡QUE VIVA!

But our country does shine
with each son in the offing
with each kiss on the lips
and with each sun of a new day
in the rain that dampens the earth
in the land that is cultivated
in our festive music
or in a joyful dance
to that endearing Mexico:
I DO SHOUT: MAY IT LONG
LIVE!

Soy cantante y bailador
un sociólogo rapero
soy un MC huapanguero
saltimbanqui y trovador
en un indignado amor
mi canto a México estriba
y en esta hora decisiva
a pesar de los abrojos
con dulce llanto en los ojos:
YO SÍ LE GRITO: ¡QUE VIVA!

I am a singer and a dancer
a sociologist rapper
I'm a huapanguero MC
an acrobatic troubador
my song to Mexico lies
in an indignant love
and in this decisive hour
despite all of the obstacles
with sweet tears in my eyes:
I DO SHOUT: MAY IT LONG
LIVE!

These décimas consider the existential question of what the jingoistic chant “Qué Viva México!” actually means. Spurred by the fraught political atmosphere and everyday violences experienced by many throughout Mexico in the present moment, Vincent implored the audience to imagine what a “Mexican” identity could be in the face of history and structural violence, beyond cultural tropes, and inspired by movements for autonomy that give many hope of a brighter future. Indeed, he punctuated this hip-hop décima mash-up with a resounding, “Desde la Sierra Gorda,

estas décimas van para el Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional por veinte años de lucha!” (From the Sierra Gorda, these décimas are dedicated to the Zapatista National Liberal Army for twenty years of struggle!), a shout out that resonates now more than ever as transnational Canadian mining interests have returned to Xichú and its surrounding areas. Although the area has been deemed a protected biosphere, this has not stopped lobbyists from influencing local municipal politicians to scale back certain environmental protections. In the post-NAFTA era, free trade trumps all. This conflict is just now beginning to play itself out, but it represents the type of neoliberal exploitation around the country that the Zapatista National Liberal Army (EZLN) has denounced.

Poetics are contingent on a dialogic exchange between public and individual lives. They are made legible and connective in this way, through the space of a shifting social imaginary. And caught within this dramatic dispersal are the people themselves, those that simultaneously produce and receive this “narrated world” (Stewart 1996: 181), their lives addressed and placed inside the story itself: a vertigo of narrative, encounter, and embodiment. And it is this very corporeality that authoritative discourses (of national culture, for instance) so disembody. I return to Benjamin Lee:

The ritual performativity of traditional societies has been replaced by the mass performativity of nationalism. The key transformation is that the ritual performativity that creates the image of social totality in traditional societies has been relocated from a unique, indexical experience to shared, mass-mediated individual performative epiphanies that are aggregated into a social totality created by the act of reading under a metaculture of newness. (Lee in Urban 2001: xv)

In other words, the liberal political model that posits the polity as an aggregate of individuals engenders a certain atomization integral to bracing facile and de-contextualized authenticities—from invented tradition to political discourse. However—and perhaps this is the crux of the major claim I am making here (and indeed perhaps an absurd claim because it might seem so obvious)—if there is one idea that we can all agree on in our varied discussions and exploration of the fandango at this conference is that it creates a public, dare I say it necessitates one. The fandango is a communicative space; it is legible because it generates a centripetal force that convenes. And the work of huapango arribeño poet-practitioners is that of voicing this polyphonic connectivity, generating a new shared experience (through performance) where everyone present is

bound up in the same interpretational space of living in that moment (of performance)—a reflexive dialogics of self-authorization that (within the context which I have described) emplaces lives in relation to others, indeed coaxing a counter-public against the grain of national scriptings. Once more, this attunement erupts in intense moments of composition and creative exchange.

The Space of Affect

Think of huapango arribeño as an act in-the-making, a vigorous assemblage of poesías, decimales, valonas, sones and jarabes coaxed into harmony, communicating a sense of high drama. For performers, this means exercising a level of virtuosity in the moment for all to witness. One may succeed or fail creatively in the act of improvisation, for there is no safety valve to contain the commitment to the aesthetic belief that one will get from “here” to “there,” from embryonic thought to emotive poetic, all of which involves both technique and feeling. This is an aesthetic risk. Many dancers and musicians in this room have felt this: answering the call of a verse; improvising a patterned step; jumping wholly into what you’re doing musically—“do I know the chords?” Within the context that I have laid out, however, for Nicacio, in particular, to publicly voice a critical perspective regarding the events of Ayotzinapa also constitutes a very real social risk; people are being murdered for expressing dissent in Mexico. Now, I don’t mean to romanticize huapango arribeño poetics as some resistive thrust, but I do want to take seriously how its narrative circulations invoke inter-affective states of sociality. Guillermo Velázquez, poet-practitioner from Xichú, Guanajuato, explains:

El trovador es un condensador de la colectividad, es una antena que concentra en sí lo que en la comunidad es inquietud, es anhelo, es sueño, es memoria, es necesidad de expresión. En ese sentido, el trovador expresa los intereses de la comunidad y los suyos propios, que muchas veces pueden ir más adelante o más atrás de la comunidad. No por el hecho de que yo sepa hacer un verso quiere decir que ya soy capaz de expresar el interés de la comunidad—eso se logra a través de mucho tiempo, de mucha dedicación, de mucho deseo de llegar a traducir en los versos lo que la gente quiere decir. Eso tiene que ver con la responsabilidad que tiene el poeta, el trovador para estar permanente atento—“¿qué sucede aquí, qué sucede allá?”

[The poet is a conduit of the collectivity, he is an antenna that absorbs what in the community is uncertainty, is desire, is what is dreamt, is memory, is in need of expression. In that sense, the troubadour expresses

the interests of the community as well as his own, which many times may be ahead of or lagging behind those of the community. Merely because I know how to craft a verse does not mean that expressing the interests of the community is a given—that is attained across a great span of time, of committing oneself, of desiring to translate through verse what the people want to say. That has much to do with the poet's burden of responsibility, for the troubadour must be permanently attentive—"what is happening here, what is happening over there?"]

This highly developed vernacular theorizing is emergent from practice wherein the seemingly innocuous process of entextualizing situated knowledges, lived experiences, and social commentary both emerge and constitute a collectivity.

Charles Briggs (2008) asks us to consider, seriously, practices of vernacular theorizing—"metadiscourses that are excluded from the communities that are created . . . by academic theorizing" (101)—yet always careful of uncritically positioning them in opposition to (academic) "theory." Instead, how can we understand situated knowledges emergent from arts of living in ways that make apparent how the "immediate experience of community is in fact inevitably constituted by a wider set of social and spatial relations" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 7). In other words, we ought not place the vernacular in opposition to the cosmopolitan, but rather trace the "intersections and exchanges that take place between them" and thus consider vernacular analysis as "practices for producing, circulating, and receiving knowledge" that bring to bear a critical politics of integral belonging rather than peripheral existence (Briggs 2008: 101). Such an understanding requires that we pay close attention to the embodied experience of "being there," which is admittedly difficult to measure, or quantify, yet undeniable, unavoidable even.

In her work on the cumulative aspects of affect, Megan Watkins (2010) moves beyond the notions of affect as preliminal or ephemeral, but rather insists on its lasting and building in capacity (269-270). She writes, "it is this capacity of affect to be retained, to accumulate, to form dispositions and thus shape subjectivities . . . whereby a sense of self is formed through engagement with the world and others and the affects this generates" (*ibid*). Her conceptualization of "accumulating affect" aligns well with the theory of Georges Bataille, particularly in her explanation of "interaffectivity," the changing sense of self in relation to that which is perceived as external. From a more directly and philosophically Bataillean perspective, Alphonso Lingis (1998) describes the same internal-external

interaction as intimacy with the alien amidst coexistence. This speaks to how the intersubjective desire for recognition is realized through interpersonal relationships and transactions of all kinds.⁵ These general states of interaffectivity, however, are always “articulated and contextualized” *in place*, or emplaced, as Gregory J. Seigworth (2010) suggests (21).⁶ Seigworth turns to the cartographic thinking of Lawrence Grossberg (1992a), particularly his concept of the *matting map*—“a socially determined structure of affect which defines the things that do and can matter to those living within the map”—in making this claim that place matters for interaffectivity (398).⁷

Matting maps, in this regard, come into being as contexts of sociality part of a larger politics and poetics of place. Interestingly, Grossberg braces his discussion of identity—as built around people’s matting maps—by drawing on Stuart Hall’s conception of ethnicity as a “political agenda” congealed by “points of attachment which give the individual some sense of ‘place’ and position in the world”—thought of in terms of locality, culture, language, etc. (1996: 236). This intellectual linkage provides a way for speaking of modes of attunement that come together in everyday life and erupt in extraordinary moments of intensity as transcendent of social differences—as spaces of desire where the political act binding personal experiences of violence and marginalization into larger public meanings of belonging that map out a future “not quite in view from the present, a future that scrambles any map in advance of its arrival, if indeed the moment (as a demand on the social) ever fully arrives” (Seigworth 2010: 21). These ideas of interaffectivity and matting maps are significant to understanding the context of huapango arribeño space of fandango performance because they open up another way of imagining publics that do not rely on fixed or primordial notions of *lo Mexicano*.

⁵ Watkins focuses specifically on the pedagogic relation between teacher and student in building her argument around the ways in which acknowledgement plays into notions of self-worth.

⁶ Lingis also writes, “the other’s body is not first a material mass stationed before us and exposed to our inspection . . . From the first, we find ourselves accompanied, in our movements down to the levels of the field, by other sensibilities, other sentient bodies.” (1998: 37).

⁷ While Grossberg focuses on the power of popular culture in his analysis—specifically the invested passion, energy, and emotional involvement so much a part of what characterizes fandom—he nevertheless makes a case for how these “affective alliances” exist as “sites of investment” within the structuring of everyday life atop which specific identities are constructed in the company of others, in the midst of shared moments and experiences (1992: 59-60).

That is, taken on their own terms, the communities in question, while objectively considered “Mexican,” exercise agency in subjectively configuring who they are, much of which has to do with struggles in daily life, cultural memory, relationships and intimacies amidst a fraught political reality. Neither the Mexican nation-state and its jingoistic excess, nor the disparaging *ranchero* chronotopic figurations of Mexican nationalism that condemn Mexicans in rural areas like Xichú, Guanajuato to the “savage slot”—to invoke Trouillot (2003)—have a monopoly on who these communities are, for they actively engage in configuring their own Mexicanness, for lack of a better word, through the adverbial ways they go about living. The lives of the people in question are unavailable for metaphor: too much real, not enough symbolism. And this, I think, matters, for the authoritative voice of the state projects itself in a reified way—an object that naturalizes its own discourse, establishing a single ethical worldview—“the voice of the people”—which ultimately positions modes of sociality that mediate the absorption of its politics at the distal edges of those very politics. However, while the state attempts to claim its communicable cartography as authoritative, vernacular discursive social relations can reflexively enact another collectivity.

Conclusion

Nationalism in the contemporary Mexican context is highly problematic, for attached to it is the tacit acceptance of state violence enacted with total impunity. In the fandango space of Xichú, Guanajuato, however, we find a ritual poetics that re-affirms a unique indexical experience of a certain Mexican political subjectivity beyond officialized scriptings, in turn invoking a counter-public against the floating signification of a certain tropic national folklore. In this way, huapango arribeño—as an indispensable meeting ground for the aesthetic and highly public elaboration of experience—takes hold as an element that contributes to the shared stories of Mexican lives, those stories then taking on a life of their own in the moment of their aesthetic voicing, touching those present. Stories—now a bundle of music and poetics—tremble beneath the skin as layers of tone and timbre build and fold in on themselves, pulling back tightly, spreading out, only to build and release again, like so many waves stirring senses of elation, an embodied, present-tense connection (however momentary) constituted by overlapping forms of sociality. And here we arrive at the resonance of music and poetics, this is to say, that which makes performance *moving*—the density of lived life. It is the shared and aesthetically voiced experience of daily struggles and the desire to belong.

Our task, as cultural analysts, is to locate the fandango within the purview of such lived circumstances and political realities in order to more deeply understand the collectivities and intimacies enacted, or rather, the political anatomy of the fandango as a form of living exchange, beyond mere aesthetic emblem.

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V.

THE EXOTIC AND THE OTHER

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

EMERGENCE AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE FANDANGO

ALAN JONES

Abstract

As it filtered into every level of Spanish society, the fandango underwent surprising changes not only in style and technique but also musical structure and even meter. The voluptuous, spontaneous and nearly unstructured dance described by Casanova and others was subjected to rules, ornamented with courtly steps and recast in the mold of the English country-dance and French contredanse. An unlikely hybrid of the fandango and minuet, the *minué afandangado*, briefly found favor, while the alternating *copla/estribillo* structure typical of the *seguidillas* durably marked the regional fandangos danced in Spanish villages even today. We end with a glimpse at the little-known fandango fever that seized the straight-laced town of Boston in the 1790s. Musical examples and a wide-ranging selection of texts are included.

Keywords

Minué afandangado, contredanse, seguidillas

Resumen

Depurándose por todas las capas de la sociedad española, el fandango sufrió cambios imprevistos, no solo de estilo y técnica pero también de estructura musical y hasta en la métrica. El baile voluptuoso, espontáneo y poco estructurado descrito por Casanova y otros fue sometido a reglas, adornado con pasos del baile cortesano, y moldeado de nuevo al modo de un *country-dance* inglesa o *contredanse* francés. Una híbrida improbable del fandango y el minuetto, el *minué afandangado*, llegó a favorecerse por un momento breve, mientras las *seguidillas* típicas, con su estructura de *copla/estribillo* marcaron de manera duradera los fandangos regionales de

los pueblos españoles hasta hoy. Concluimos con una mirada breve hacia la locura por el fandango que se apoderó de la sociedad “recatada” de Boston en los noventa del siglo XVIII. Se hacen referencia a un gran número de ejemplos musicales y de textos.

Between its appearance at the turn of the eighteenth century and its decadence toward the mid-nineteenth, the fandango abandoned its original “obscene” aspect, disguising itself in the cloak of several other dances. Relying on dance manuals, correspondence, travel diaries and musical sources, I hope to provide a few clear answers to the most basic question: What did the fandango really look like during the course of these transformations? From time to time, in search of supporting evidence, we will abandon the ballroom for the professional stage, the fairground or the public square.

First, we should put certain legends into perspective, beginning with the fandango’s reputation as a “forbidden” dance. Casanova leads us to believe that it was banned by the Spanish Inquisition and permitted once again by the Conde de Aranda, head of the Council of Castile. In fact the “ban” most likely was introduced by the Marqués de Esquilache two years before Casanova’s arrival. Today this statesman’s economic reforms would be considered “austerity measures.” Until a study clarifies the question, we may assume that costly balls and wasteful banquets were the main target, and that the fandango was merely an indirect victim, and only for a short time.

Another persistent anecdote is the “trial” of the fandango. Threatened by condemnation by the Pope (presumably Clement XIII, known for his prudishness), the offensive dance was performed before a council of cardinals. Discovering that they could not resist stamping and swaying from side to side, they decided that such a naturally infectious dance must be harmless. Until evidence is presented to the contrary, this episode should be considered an amusing fabrication.

However, if the fandango had been perfectly chaste it never would have inspired such legends. How exactly did this dance appear “lascivious” in its earliest phase?

The fandango was immortalized by several writers for its sensuality and provocative allure. Three sources stand out: a letter of 1712,

in Latin, by Manuel Martí, a clergyman of Alicante passing through Cádiz; a 1764 letter by Beaumarchais, author of the “Figaro” comedies; and, finally, Casanova’s account of a public ball in Madrid during his travels of 1767–68. These narratives tend to be more evocative than technical, yet they provide a surprising amount of concrete information. All three sources pose problems. Casanova and Beaumarchais intended to entertain and even titillate their readers. Their accounts are therefore subject to circumspection. As for Martí, his letter has long been cited in contradictory translations that did not inspire confidence.

A quite recent study by José Francisco Ortega Castejón answers many questions but raises a new controversy: Martí never once mentions the word “fandango”! Nevertheless, his letter coincides exactly with the fandango’s spread across Andalucía, a fact that cannot be underestimated. Taking into account Ortega’s paper and a fresh approach to the original Latin (for which I am indebted to the French Latinist Tanguy Neveu), let us essay a new rendering of the familiar passage in simple English:

Now I ask you to consider the licentiousness of ancient customs and censure them, while praising the modesty of our own customs. You have already heard of this dance of Cádiz, which has always been known for its obscenity. Nowadays you would see this very dance performed in every public square and in every room of every home in this town. Applauded beyond belief by everyone standing about, it is performed and appreciated not only by dark-skinned folk and people of low station, but also by respectable ladies of noble birth.

This is how it is danced. A man and a woman dance together, sometimes one couple, sometimes more. They move to the music, arousing lust in every way imaginable: by curving their arms in extremely soft gestures, moving their buttocks again and again, twitching their thighs, and provoking each other suggestively. They engage in all kinds of unbridled sexual mimicry with the greatest skill and fervor. You can see the man thrust his hips while the woman moans and writhes. She does this with such grace and elegance that the trembling hindquarters of the maiden Photis, as described by Apuleius, would seem graceless and crude by comparison. In short, this is exactly how one might imagine Hercules and Omphale dancing together.

While they dance there is laughter and joking all around. What is more, the onlookers themselves, seized with the fury of the satyric dance, are drawn into this representation of desire, and they sway gently and nod their heads.

Numerous details remain open to interpretation. The words usually translated as “voluptuous undulations” literally indicate an extremely soft bending of the “members,” which might imply the arms or perhaps the whole body (a “harmonious convulsion” of the entire body was later observed by the Italian traveler Giuseppe Barretti). The good father’s eyes were drawn to the hips and hindquarters, particularly those of the woman. The movement of the buttocks, sometimes rendered as “swaying,” does not necessarily imply motion from side to side; the pelvic thrusts of the man logically should be forward and back, and yet a certain ambiguity remains, as the term in question was also used for a dog wagging its tail. Martí does not in any way imply that the couple performed identical steps, as La Meri claimed in the 1940s. He mentions moaning on the part of the woman, one of the details formerly omitted for reasons of decency, while the “stamping” found in some translations appears in fact to be some kind of throbbing or twitching movement originating in the thighs. Martí makes no mention of castanets or finger-snapping, but the word for “applause” just might suggest rhythmic *palmas*. The “Gypsy women” or “black women” found in some translations are in fact *Aethiopes*, which indicates dark-skinned people, perhaps African, perhaps Gypsies, but not exclusively of the female gender. The people found alongside these “Ethiopians,” described as *oscuros*, were not necessarily dark-skinned but merely common or vulgar.

For foreigners like Casanova and Beaumarchais about a half-century later, the fandango was a dance of voluptuous poses. The words “posture,” “gesture” and “pantomime” crop up regularly in their accounts. Casanova saw it as an erotic spectacle in which the man expressed desire and ecstasy and the woman, consent and sexual contentment. It provoked confusion and frenzy among dancers and spectators alike. Beaumarchais recalled the woman taking her place on the dance floor with her gaze cast modestly down, then extending her arms sensuously and snapping her fingers in a mocking, defiant way, as if to say, “I’ll never give in to you.” This contrasts with Casanova’s impression of male conquest and female submission. According to Beaumarchais, it was common for the man to bow out of the dance from fatigue, and his place would be taken by another, and then another. A similar custom was observed by the Englishman Richard Twiss in Portugal, except when exhaustion overcame one or both partners a new couple would take their place.

Beaumarchais mentions an advancing and retreating motif. The man is described as “turning” his partner, sometimes rendered in English

as “spinning.” It is more likely that the two partners merely changed places and turned about to face each other with one or several revolutions.

Beaumarchais also speaks of the man as a performer of “bold leaps.” A clue is found in Pablo Minguet’s *Arte de danzar a la francesa* and *Breve Tratado de los pasos de danzar a la española*, which describe no fewer than forty-seven different Spanish steps in current use in the fandango as well as the seguidillas. Many of these involve vigorous jumping, and, in particular, kicking: a forward kick (*puntapié arriba*), a backward kick (*coz arriba*) and combinations of the two (*floreo*, *cargado* and others). Similar kicks are still found in several regional fandangos. Minguet’s text is an expansion of a much earlier treatise by Juan de Esquivel Navarro, *Discursos sobre el arte del dançado*, which dealt with a school of court dance practiced under the Habsbourgs and theoretically extinct. Yet he continued reprinting it as late as the 1760s, always mentioning the fandango and seguidillas.

Minguet even states that *French* steps can be introduced, the first of many indications that the fandango absorbed foreign elements very freely. He also offers a hint to the use of the arms. The cover illustration of the 1764 edition of his *Breve tratado* was in fact recycled from *Arte de danzar a la francesa*, where it illustrated a couple performing a minuet (see Figure 1). The quaint image is hardly voluptuous, but it would suggest that the level of the arms, nearly shoulder-height, was just as appropriate for the fandango and seguidillas as it was for the minuet.

Minguet neglects percussive footwork, though Giuseppe Barretti specifies that both the heel and the *punta* (either the toe or the ball of the foot) were struck on the floor and that *taconeo* sequences were extremely varied and precise, attracting the eye even more than the gestures of the arms. Bartholomé Ferriol y Boxeraus avoids all mention of the fandango in his lengthy *Reglas útiles para los aficionados del danzar* of 1745, but he describes several stamping steps that would suit the fandango well: a simple traveling step called the *paso de canarios*, and the flashy *paso de Indias*.

Barretti describes the finger snapping of the dancers as a double snap using the thumb and middle finger but offers no details on castanet rhythms. In one edition of *Arte de danzar a la francesa* Minguet translates verbatim a rudimentary castanet notation invented by the Frenchman Raoul Auger Feuillet at the turn of the century. Its most surprising trait is

the rolling of the castanets on the left hand and right hand, as well as on both hands, despite the absence of any instructions on how to roll. Whether Feuillet's system was really practiced in Spain—or even in France—is open to debate, for a mere half-century after Minguet's time, castanet technique resembled modern playing in every respect.

FIGURAS PARA DARSE LAS DOS MANOS.



Figure 1. Pablo Minguet é Irol, *Breue tratado de los passos del danzar a la española* [Texto impreso] : que oy se estilan en las seguidillas, fandango, y otros tañidos. Madrid: Imprenta del autor, 1764. Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Musical examples of fandangos from the time of Casanova and Beaumarchais were a great rarity until recently. New manuscripts are coming to light every year, and while we wait for this new evidence to be played and analyzed, we can signal certain points that relate specifically to dance.

First, nearly all sources describe the fandango as a rapid dance, though it may be that its infectious, driving rhythm created the illusion of

velocity. Second, it was common for the composer or copyist to neglect writing out a final cadence. The intention was not to leave the dancers hanging in the air. Since the guitarist needed to keep playing as long as at least one couple was still dancing, he would certainly have brought the fandango to a finish at the appropriate moment. Finally, the instrumental fandango did not necessarily consist of symmetrical phrases, but often featured repeating motifs of unpredictable length: sometime eight or four measures, sometimes seven, five, or only three. When performed at private assemblies and on street corners, the fandango must have been free and spontaneous, or even entirely improvised. The man and woman most likely responded to each other, and to the rhythms and emotions in the music, without attempting to execute identical step sequences.

In 1772-73 the English traveler Richard Twiss remarked upon the existence of *two* fandangos. The “gallant” fandango created a tableau of never-ending hedonism, while a “decent” fandango found its way into proper society. Joseph Townsend, another Englishman, decried the common fandango as “disgusting” when danced by the vulgar. The upper classes performed it in a different style, affecting a veneer of respectability—which made it all the more dangerous. Eventually the fandango was even considered chaste enough to figure in religious processions.

The first attempts to apply rules to the fandango no doubt helped set it on this course toward social respectability. According to legend, a certain Pedro de la Rosa came to Madrid in the 1740s equipped with a pedagogical method to teach the fandango. Whatever his rules may have been—and whether or not he really existed—the fandango was already practiced as a “school dance,” as it still is in the Escuela Bolera. The *fandangos antiguos* preserved in this school are slow and repetitive, belying their late-nineteenth-century origins, yet they may provide a distant link to the older “decent” fandangos. Twiss makes the surprising claim that all fandangos in Spain, whether “decent” or “gallant,” are based on the same melody, in 6/8.

Even Casanova’s voluptuous fandango was “respectable” in the sense that it was subject to rules and conventions, just like any ball dance of the time. Perfect decorum reigned in the ballroom. This was the Teatro de los Caños del Peral, used for public balls during Carnival, as was the better-known Teatro del Príncipe. The dancers, costumed as Turks, Harlequins, and the like, filled the boxes as well as the dance floor. The

accompaniment was provided not by guitarists, but an orchestra. The Barcelona theater, for example, boasted not one but two twenty-four-piece bands replete with strings, oboes, clarinets even trumpets. The musicians were divided into two groups so that one could rest while the other was playing.

According to Casanova the fandango was scheduled at a specific time, the second half of the evening, after ten o'clock. By then the minuets and contredanses were finished, and the dancers had had the chance to refresh themselves with biscuits, fruit and wine. The fandango did not simply start spontaneously; it was announced by a master of ceremonies. The couples did not fling themselves wildly into the dance; they arranged themselves in two orderly columns, one for men and one for women. A curious coincidence needs to be pointed out here. The double column was the hallmark of English country dances, which were quite popular at Spanish balls. This opens up new questions about the fandango's transformations.

On the surface, the country dance is the antithesis of the fandango. Repetitive, predictable and bound by strict geometrical rules, it encouraged polite social interaction among groups of four, eight, or sometimes many dozens of dancers. Yet it possessed a certain exhilarating power and invited flirtation. There were two types. The French variety was usually performed by four couples arranged in a closed square, called the *contradanza cerrada* or *contradanza de ocho* in Spanish. The English country dance, on the contrary, could accommodate an almost unlimited number of couples, with the men and the women facing each other in parallel lines. Outside England and its colonies this "longways" country dance rarely offered any serious competition to the French contredanse, with the noticeable exception of Spain, where it was known as the *contradanza inglesa* or *abierta*.

Dancing masters throughout Europe enlivened their country dances by incorporating elements of whatever couple dance was most fashionable at the moment: first the minuet, later the allemande, and finally the waltz. The fandango was not neglected. "La Miscelanea" is a *contradanza de ocho* known from collections published in Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia from the 1750s through the 1780s. The dance begins in the conventional French fashion but shifts to a "grand chain" danced to a seguidillas tune, then continues with a six-measure fandango during which the dancers return to their places in *pasos de fandango*.

Interestingly, the ladies face in toward each other while the gentlemen are back-to-back to their partners, facing out. An early version by Minguet entitled “Los Presumidos y las Presumidas” has the dancers return to their places in the *seguidillas* and dance the fandango with their partner. This perhaps implies six measures of improvisation, or may be a step sequence so well-known that he saw no reason to describe it. Fandango steps are called for in another *contradanza* of the same period, “La Fandanguera.” It begins with bows to one’s partner and corner and continues with traveling *pasos de fandango* with the ladies and gentlemen back-to-back, as in “La Miscelanea.” The triple-metre section in question is identified a “minuet.”

In the case of the *contradanza inglesa* we should mention a longways dance popular in London in the 1770s, whose title, “The Fandango” seems to be purely fanciful. Another questionable longways dance is “El Babau.” Found in the Eleanor Hague Manuscript at the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, it is the work of a certain Joseph María García of Chalco, Mexico. The name “Babau” is perplexing, as is its subtitle, “fandango cathalan,” for the Catalans, unlike their neighbors in nearby Valencia, have never been particularly celebrated for their fandangos. At first glance its figures and 6/8 melody seem quite English, but this manuscript has not yet begun to yield all its secrets, and “El Babau” may well derive from a genuine Iberian source.

One longways fandango *contradanza* certainly performed in Spain is found in an anonymous collection at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, identified only by the owner’s name (“*Soy de don Balbino Serrano*”). The piece lacks choreography, but the music shows that it opens with a brief fandango of nine measures and then continues with a conventional gavotte-like tune. If it was danced in public balls it could have involved thirty or more couples, implying about thirty repetitions.

Is it by chance that Casanova’s fandango adopted the form of a *contradanza inglesa*? It remains possible that it was nothing other than an English-style country dance consisting partly or wholly of a fandango melody, or even a longways reworking of *La Miscelanea*, which is known to have existed by the time of Casanova’s stay and was performed *de ocho* in that very theater during the Carnival season of 1770.

Unfortunately, the *pasos de fandango* of these *contradanzas* were never described, but one striking detail does stand out: the motif of couples traveling back to back. It is possible that this formation also

occurred in the fandango as performed by a single couple as it did in Carlo Blasis's *Manuel complet de la danse* of 1830. The male dancer's pose is very close to what Blasis calls an *arabesque*. It does not correspond to a modern balletic arabesque, but was so called because the dancer gestures with the same arm as leg, a characteristic supposedly inherited by the Spaniards from the Moors (see figure 2).



Figure 2. Carlo Blasis *Manuel complet de la danse*, 1830.

It was perhaps a brief love affair between the lascivious fandango and the respectable minuet that resulted in the birth of the *minué afandangado*. This was in the final decade of the eighteenth century, which also saw the appearance of the “strathspey minuet” in Scotland and even the “Congo minuet” in the Caribbean. The *minué fandango* inspired instrumental variations by various Romantic composers and was danced in theaters of Seville, Madrid and Barcelona. Outside Spain, it served as a final pas de deux in the ballet *Les Noces de Gamache*, which premiered at the Paris Opéra in 1801 with choreography by Louis Milon. Based loosely on Cervantes, it is the indirect forerunner of the familiar *Don Quixote* by Petipa and Gorsky. The critic Julien Geoffroy was disappointed by most of the ballet, but notes that the *menuet fandango* received much applause. He describes it as “a sort of Spanish minuet, much quicker and high-spirited than the ordinary minuet.”

A snippet of choreography to the melody of the *menuet fandango* is found in a nineteenth-century manuscript at the Paris Opéra. It

originally served as a simple introduction to an elaborate bolero, and the choreography is by none other than Louis Milon. The two dancers point their feet behind, then before, pivot around three-quarters to face each other and bow twice, then travel downstage with a soft *jeté* and *pas de bourrée* and repeat the whole sequence, for a total of sixteen measures. The brief but precious fragment is found among the notebooks of Léon Michel, who is remembered as the father of Arthur Saint-Léon. The latter also choreographed a ballet entitled *Le Procès du fandango* at Vienna's Kärntnertortheater in 1858, with music by Pugni. It was inspired by the now-old story of the "trial" of the fandango.

A costume sketch at the Musée Carnavalet in Paris depicts a French comedy based on that story, shedding light on how the French performed the fandango in the early 1800s. A lively young widow and her Spanish dancing master are pictured in the middle of a fandango, rising high onto the ball of one foot and extending one arm well over the head. They seem to be holding each other at the wrist, an un-Spanish detail, especially considering that they are using castanets.

In the same period the fandango was transformed in a far more enduring way by assuming the musical structure of the seguidillas, specifically the *seguidillas boleras* or bolero, the most popular dance of the time. The word "seguidillas" implies a sequence, namely the alternation of verse and chorus, also known as *copla* and *estribillo*, terms stemming from vocal music but also applied to instrumental dances. The *copla-estribillo* structure is so familiar that it is often assumed to date from the very dawn of time, but in the case of the fandango the change appears to be relatively recent. By the 1770s vocal fandangos with *copla* and *estribillo* coexisted with seguidillas in various theatrical works, and by the 1790s we find an instrumental fandango intended for social dance, bearing the enigmatic title "Fandango aleore," from an anonymous late-eighteenth-century manuscript at the Biblioteca Nacional. From this point on the fandango was more formal and predictable, unlike the earliest examples, where a short melody was repeated *ad infinitum* until the dancers dropped from fatigue, or the somewhat rambling free-form instrumental pieces of the next generations.

We are fortunate to have at least a partial indication of how the fandango was danced in this period thanks to Antonio Cairón's *Compendio de las principales reglas del baile* of 1820. The author was a professional specializing in the bolero, which in his view is, "to a degree,

an imitation of the fandango.” In fact, a bilateral exchange existed between the two. The fandango freely adapted step combinations from the aerial bolero, taking care to perform them gracefully and close to the ground, often with the effect of sliding or gliding. Thus, the change in musical structure was accompanied by a dramatic abandonment of the famous “bold leaps” of the previous century. Nevertheless, the music retained a quick tempo, as well as the old custom of dancing for as long as the dancers wished.

The “Fandango aleore” begins with a short *entrada* leading into the *paseo*, better known today as a *pasada*, which corresponds to the *estribillo* music. This step is documented by Cairón as an open *pas de bourrée* beginning with a stamp of the foot and continuing with a turn in place to put the dancers face to face. After each *paseo* the dancers perform a relatively long *mudanza* or *diferencia*.

In addition to the bolero steps described by Cairón there are still others documented in a satirical work published in Philadelphia in 1807, *Bolerología*. These include *matalaraña* (a gliding to the side with a stamp, as if to kill an imaginary spider), *taconeo* (perhaps a specific step rather than a whole category of beaten footwork) and *avance con retirada* (advancing and retreating, mentioned by Beaumarchais). The composer Fernando Sor, who was married to a French ballerina, tells us that the basic *paso de bolero* was essentially a variant of the familiar opening step from Sevillanas.

Crotalogía, a satirical work of 1792 that presents itself as a treatise on castanets, confirms that castanets of this period had two pitches, deeper for the left hand and higher for the right. Rolls were executed on the right hand exclusively, as they are today. Beats were rarely if ever performed on both hands at once, and the *choque* or crash of the castanets was avoided, at least in the bolero. The most typical rhythm cited is the two-measure phrase *ririrá-ririrá-ririrá-ririrá-ti-tá-ti-tá*. This rhythm does not conform to that of surviving boleros but lends itself to the fandango.

In this period we also find the earliest depictions of the fandango, beginning with an illustration from Christian August Fischer’s *Voyage en Espagne* from the late 1790s, where the dancing couple, normally face to face, is depicted facing the viewer (see figure 3). We see both dancers inclining slightly back and opposing the pointed left foot with an arm gesture over the head. A pointing of the foot is often found in Spanish



Figure 3. Christian August Fischer *Voyage en Espagne*, 1801.

classical and regional dances, as well as in the *minué afandangado*, not to mention Spanish entrées of the Baroque age. The left arm is held out to the side, and the lady holds one corner of her apron.

Alexandre de La Borde tells us that by 1800 a great variety of arm gestures were used, and he makes the first timid attempt to describe one: the arms were generally held out away from the body, sometimes with the elbow slightly bent, and they were constantly raised and lowered during the dance. This description, summary as it is, seems to correspond to Fischer's engraving and to Cairón's rules.



Figure 4. Pierre Chasselat, "Le Fandango." Watercolor drawing, early 1810s

An engraving from about 1810 by Pierre Chasselat (see figure 4) shows two arm positions: one couple holds their arms high in the general stance for popular dances, but with the hands pronated, while another couple curls one hand over the shoulder, crossing the other in front of the chest. This over-the-shoulder position was also employed in the bolero. But the most characteristic *port de bras* of the early bolero was a diagonal arm position, which is ironically never used in the Escuela Bolera. Considering the constant cross-pollination between the fandango and the bolero at this

time, diagonal arms are very likely to have been used in the fandango as well.

To conclude, we will take a very brief look at one of the most peculiar transformations of the fandango, which occurred in the United States in the last years of the eighteenth century. Music publishers furnished “fandangos” to amateur musicians of Boston, New York and Philadelphia from the 1790s well into the nineteenth century. Not surprisingly, they grew more and more waltz-like with each decade. Among the earlier examples we find an undated romantic reverie which in fact is nothing other than the 6/8 fandango that Richard Twiss had claimed in the 1770s to be the basic fandango performed throughout Spain. The American version was published in Baltimore sometime before 1797 by the English-born composer Benjamin Carr, who fleshed it out as a rondo.

The fandango was also danced in the United States. Most of the fandangos performed on the American stage seem to have originated in London. A “signor Cortez” is known to have been demonstrating the “Spanish hornpipe” and other dances in American towns, but it is feared that this was a stage name affected for the occasion by an actor of the time, “Mister Curtiss, of London.” A touring production of *Don Juan* from the 1780s, thought to have included Gluck’s famous fandango, gives every sign of being based on a London version of Gasparo Angiolini’s ballet *Don Juan*, adapted by Charles Le Picq. In a 1795 revival the child prodigy Louis Duport performed a fandango “with variations,” which suggests that a local musician furnished the music. *The Mountaineers*, a comedy with music by Samuel Arnold, was also performed in American towns. Advertisements in American newspapers specify that the concluding “Spanish feast,” danced by Andalusian goatherds, was performed “with Castinets.”

Gil Blas, or The Cave of the Robbers was a comical pantomime ballet performed in New York and other towns on the East Coast by Monsieur Francisquy, a former dancer of the Paris Opéra and the Grand Théâtre of Bordeaux. Monsieur Francisquy’s Parisian training and stage experience were certainly on a high level, but nothing indicates that he had any direct knowledge of Spanish dance or that he had traveled to Spain. He did, however, spend several years in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, modern Haiti. This is pertinent, because it was at this very period that French writers began drawing comparisons between the fandango and Afro-Caribbean dances, to the point that Moreau de Saint-

Méry, another refugee from Saint-Domingue to the United States, claimed that the fandango was nothing more than another name for La Chica, a Caribbean dance of seduction in which the woman entices her partner in a sort of erotic pantomime, expressing coquetry, tenderness, fright, hope and other emotions. The music furnished by the Franco-American composer Victor Pelissier, on the contrary, could not have been more European. Written in 3/8 with hemiolas, it resembles nothing more than a *passepied*, a Breton folk dance that became popular at the court of Louis XIV.

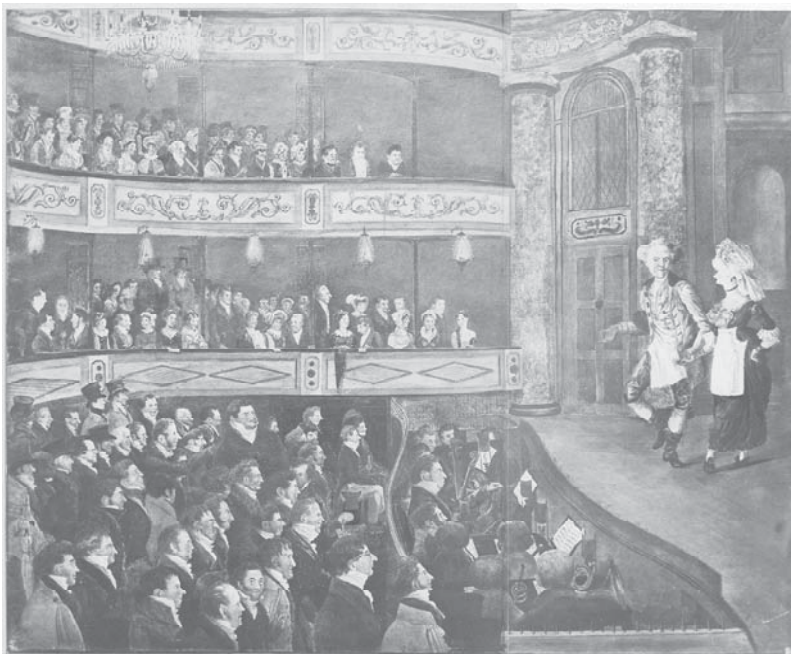


Figure 5. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library. "Interior of the Park Theater, New York" *The New York Public Library Digital Collections*.

<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47da-28d9-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

The fandango of *Gil Blas* must have been a strange amalgam indeed; and yet with its tropical touches it may have helped bring the fandango back to its roots, reintroducing the soft arm gestures and pelvic movements that had so astonished Father Martí in Cádiz. Lovers of old New York will be interested to learn that it was performed at the old Park Theater, within sight of City Hall and Saint Paul's Chapel in downtown Manhattan (see

figure 5). Theater Alley long remained as a souvenir, but this final vestige of early American theater, and of the fandango's brief New York adventure, has sadly disappeared from view.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

LIKE SALAMANDERS IN A FLAME: THE FANDANGO AND FOREIGN TRAVELLERS TO SPAIN

LOU CHARNON-DEUTSCH

Abstract

European travellers' perceptions of the fandango evolved from the early eighteenth century to the late-nineteenth century. Beginning in the late 1700s, and especially during the nineteenth century, male travelers became enthusiasts of the dance that they often compared with similar works performed by Cadiz maidens many centuries earlier during the Roman Empire. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, French travelers especially became enamored of the sensuousness of fandango dancers whose performances they described in detail for their readers. Gradually however, other dances, such as the *Olé* and the *Vito*, came to be favored by male travelers seeking the most exciting revues. In 1889 Spain sent a group of dancers to the Universal Exposition in Paris. Writer Catulle Mendès, waxing poetic about the excitement produced by “exotic” human displays at the Exposition dancing the fandango and other dances, described their movements “like salamanders in a flame,” echoing decades of stereotypes that European travelers associated especially with Spanish gitanas.

Keywords

Fandango, travellers, evolution, women dancers

Resumen

La apreciación de viajeros españoles por el fandango evolucionó desde principios del siglo dieciocho hasta finales del diecinueve. Empezando con la segunda mitad del dieciocho, y especialmente durante el diecinueve,

viajeros masculinos se entusiasmaron por el baile que con frecuencia comparaban con los bailes presentados en Cádiz durante el Imperio Romano. Hacia finales del siglo diecinueve los viajeros franceses especialmente se enamoraron del sensualismo de las bailaoras, cuyos movimientos describieron en gran detalle para sus lectores. Poco a poco, sin embargo, otros bailes, por ejemplo el *Olé* y el *Vito* se favorecieron por viajeros masculinos buscando espectáculos más apasionados. En 1889 España mandó a un grupo de bailaoras a la Exposición Universal en París. El escritor Catulle Mendès, entusiasmado con la pasión de la exótica exhibición, describió sus movimientos “como salamandras en el fuego,” haciendo eco de viejos estereotipos que a lo largo del tiempo los viajeros europeos asociaban especialmente con las mujeres gitanas.

One of the most difficult obstacles in assessing travellers’ perceptions of the fandango is the imprecise descriptions and nomenclature they often assigned to Spanish dance. Most accounts prior to the mid nineteenth century either failed to name the dance travellers witnessed or assigned Spanish dance a general name without distinguishing among variations. This was the case with Antoine de Lalaing’s visit accompanying Phillip the Fair in 1501, Lorenzo Vital’s account of his travels during Emperor Charles V’s first visit to Spain in 1517, and, nearly a century later, 1603, that of Bartolomé Joly, counselor to the king of France. These early travellers described what they saw as a spirited dance “a la morisca,” or “a la egipcia,” devoid of sexual innuendos that would later creep into descriptions of Spanish dance. Vital welcomed it as a pleasant “diversión,” the dancers “*componiendo un corro para bailar, sin agarrarse de las manos, porque la una tenía su tamboril y la otra tocaba en él repiqueteando con sus dedos encima*” (making a circle to dance, without holding hands, because one hand held a tamborine and the other played it with tapping fingers. Vital 1952, 89). The women, Joly noted, danced to the guitar while marking the rhythm with thumb and third finger to which were attached castanets made of wood or marble resembling conch shells (Joly 1909, 526).

Later in the seventeenth century, however, writers began to name the fandango as the most lively among several Spanish national dances, omitting mention of any Moorish style. It was during the eighteenth century, especially, with the influx of curiosity-seeking Enlightenment travellers, that the fandango became the source of considerable interest, in some cases an avowed disgust, but a disgust tinged with fascination. It was

then the adjective “lascivious” crept into some descriptions and was echoed by numerous travellers. By the second half of the century the fandango was generally considered one of two national dances together with the *bolero*, beckoning voyagers apprised of its unsavory reputation who were intentionally seeking it out for that very reason. In 1700, Bernard Martin (aka “M”), witnessing the fandango during a feast along the Manzanares river in Madrid, found its movements “*impúdicas*” (lewd) and declared that “*las mujeres de calidad cantan ese fandango de una manera que avergonzaria en París a las castas ninfas de la diosa del Roule*” (women of quality sing this fandango in a manner that would put the company of the nymphs of the goddess of the Roule to shame. Martin 1962: 501).¹ Writing in 1765, another anonymous traveler also described its movements as lascivious and indecent although “very expressive” (Anon. 1962: 566).

By the time Casanova made his sexual foray into Spain in 1768 a few years later, the fandango was associated closely with sexual mimicry, and this famous rake was not one to deny himself the experience of what he translated as the fandango’s orgasmic pleasure. In 1763 Prime Minister Aranda had ordered that the fandango be performed only during state-approved masked balls.² Captivated by the fandango as practiced in the Madrid Teatro de Caños del Peral, the libertine described it as the most seductive and voluptuous of the world: “everything is represented, from the sigh of desire to the final ecstasy; it is a very history of love. I could not conceive a woman refusing her partner anything after this dance, for it seemed made to stir up the senses” (Casanova 6 1894, n.p.). After witnessing it he set out to learn its steps, flaunting his skills three days later at another mask ball. Toward the end of the ball (that lasted until four in the morning), and after plying his dance partner Doña Ignacia with the best wines available, the two danced a fandango: “I asked her if she were content with me. I added that I was so deeply in love with her that unless she found some means of making me happy I should undoubtedly die of love. I assured her that I was ready to face all hazards” (Casanova 6 1894, n.p.). Casanova’s acquaintance and countryman Giuseppe Baretti also

¹ The author is possibly referring to the Avenue du Roule in Paris, but the allusion escapes me.

² The fandango was permitted in official “bailes de máscara” twice weekly between Christmas and Lent. These masked balls lasted between 1767 and 1773 until Bishop Manuel Ventura Figuera replaced Aranda as President of the Council of Castille (Rubio Jiménez 1994, 183). Because of the strict dress code and entry fees, these balls were entertainment for the wealthy, not the general public.

sought out a female dancer during his stay in Madrid in 1770, struck by the fandango's "harmonious convulsion of the whole body" (Baretti 1770, 30), and this seduction scenario involving a foreign traveller and a famous performer set the pattern for a number of future male adventure seekers.

Many travellers followed in Casanova's footsteps to seek out the fandango and in their descriptions sought to convey the sensual pleasure the dance afforded male spectators. Not everyone was like the prudish Townsend who deemed the dance "most disgusting" when danced by any but the best of dancers (Townsend 1791, 332). With their supple bodies, innate gaiety, brio and expressiveness, Peyron declared that Spanish dancers were born to please the spectator: their performance causes the spectator to cry out not in anger but "for the pleasure he experiences" (Peyron Vol. 1 1782, 248). Peyron's description is a translation of a Spanish text composed in Latin by José Martí in 1712 (Torrione 1992, 13) that Peyron included in *Nouveau voyage en Espagne fait en 1777 et 1778*. Taking a cue from Peyron, in 1797 his compatriot Jean-François Bourgoing expanded on Peyron's account with a detailed description of the fandango that future travellers would often cite, alluding to its vivacity and "drunken voluptuousness":

A male and female dancer spring onto the stage from different directions, both in Andalusian costume, typical of the dance; they fly to their encounter as if driven to it. The man extends his amorous arms towards the woman, who proceeds to abandon herself in his embraces; but suddenly she swirls and escapes him. In turn the dancer, as if incensed, retaliates by withdrawing. The orchestra pauses, the couple stops as if undecided, the music soon renews their movements.

Next the man expresses his desires with force and vivacity. The woman appears more eager to respond. A more voluptuous languidness is painted in her eyes; her breast heaves more violently, and her arms extend towards the object that beckons; but a new wave of sadness comes over her a second time; then a new pause again rouses one to the other.

The sounds of the orchestra rise persistently: the music soars to keep pace with their steps. Filled with desire, the male dancer thrusts himself again in front of the woman. The same feeling draws her to him. Their eyes devour each other; their lips nearly touch, she is once more weakly held back by a semblance of modesty.

The musical fracas accelerates, and with it the vivacity of their movements. A sort of vertigo, a drunken voluptuousness, seems to lock them together: all their muscles summon and express their pleasure, their gaze is confounded. Suddenly the music stops, the dancers relax in a languorous swoon: the curtain falls and the spectators revive. (Bourgoing 1797 2, 247–48).

The fandango was also increasingly associated with the Romany who Casanova had heard excelled at the fandango showing that by then the dance, or at least the most compelling forms of it, was acquiring a racial pedigree among foreigners. However, there was no general agreement on the provenance of the dance as reported by these travellers. Baretti, often cited as an authority, compared it to the Betic and Gaditan dances that Marcus Valerius Martialis (Martial) enjoyed in the first century and that later, in the fifteenth century, Julius Caesar Scaliger described in his *Poetica*. Writing a few years later, Jean François Peyron in *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne fait en 1777 et 1778* [*New Voyage to Spain Made in 1777 and 1778*] concurred, comparing it with the dances of the *puellae gaditane* (Cadiz maidens) described by Martial, Juvenal, and Pliny. In 1785, Vicomte Fleuriot de Langle agreed with Peyron that it was a Spanish invention, citing a letter of Pliny the Younger about Spanish dances. But other origins quickly surfaced. In 1775, Richard Twiss, although familiar with Baretti's account, quoted *Sobrino aumentado, o, Nuevo diccionario de las lenguas española, francesa y latina*, printed in Antwerp in 1769, that asserted that the fandango originated in the West Indies. Twiss further elaborated: "There are two kinds of fandangos, though they are danced to the same tune: the one is the decent dance; the other is gallant, full of expression, and, as a late French author energetically expresses it, '*est mêlée de certaines attitudes que offrent un tableau continuel de jouissance*'" (is performed with certain attitudes that offer a continual tableau of jouissance. Twiss 1775: 156).

Twiss's contemporary Henry Swinburne declared that the fandango was "of Negro breed" (Swinburne 1779: 228) that originated in Africa and was imported to Spain via Havana along with the *manguindoy*, but he also noted that by his day every Spaniard was "born with it in his head and heels." (Swinburne 1779: 228). Pierre Beaumarchais, author of the exuberant *The Barber of Seville* and *The Marriage of Figaro*, wrote to a friend in 1764 that the fandango resembled the *calenda* danced by American slaves, as repellent and indecent as it was irresistible. Its charm, he concluded, "consists in lascivious gestures and steps" that made him blush "up to his eyeballs" (Beaumarchais 1873, 506). Still, it seems that Beaumarchais was not above allowing a fandango number in the premiere of the stage production of *The Marriage of Figaro*, although as Dorothea Link notes, the dance was eliminated for unknown reasons after the first

few performances (Link 2009, 73).³ For his part, the Mayor of Gibraltar, Sir William Dalrymple, speculated in 1774 that the dance originated in Africa:

El fandango...es una danza lasciva que viene de las Indias occidentales...Creo que esa danza procede de la costa de Guinea, porque he observado que en Tetuán los soldados negros del emperador de Marruecos bailan un baile muy semejante, con castañuelas en sus manos...

The fandango...is a lascivious dance brought from the West Indies ... I imagine this dance originally came from the Coast of Guinea: I have observed at Tetuan, the Emperor of Morocco's black soldiers dance, with castanets in their hands (Dalrymple 1962: 667).

On the other hand, Gustave Philip Creutz insisted in a letter to his friend Marmontel that its lascivious gestures were "*inventada en los serrallos*" (invented in the seraglios. Creutz 1910, 320). Lantier, like Joseph Townsend, reported in 1809 that it was of Moorish origin, and he was amused by reports that the fandango was recommended as an anti-inflammatory cure by Arab doctors, although in Spain doctors recommended it for people "*picadas por la tarántula*" (bitten by the tarantula. Lantier 1962, 1152).

Given its seductive pleasure that Peyron, Bourgoing, Lantier and later French travellers like Dumas and others were advertising for their readers, it is not surprising that male travellers began paying for performances as well as instruction. The anonymous travel account appended to Richard Bright's European travelogue provides evidence of the increasing professionalization of the fandango. "The fandango and bolero, —he wrote— when performed in the most modest manner, may be deemed exceptionable, at least according to the rigid ideas of our northern climes; but, when Gitanos are the performers, this term becomes far too mild" (Bright 1818: lxx). By mid century the private party would become a source of bragging rights among male travellers especially in Andalusia where the Roma population all but dominated dance. The pride men took in being invited to these parties in Andalusian settings led to competition among men to seek out the most exclusive venues. In 1846 Alexandre

³ *Le Nozze di Figaro*, with music by Mozart and libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte, debuted in Viena in May of 1786. In Act I, scene 8, Figaro sings "Ed invece del fandango / una marcia per il fango." According to Link, a special group of dancers were hired to dance the fandango.

Dumas père, accompanied by a veritable troop consisting of the artists Eugène Giraud, Adolphe Desbarolles, and Louis Boulanger, the writers Auguste Maquet and Amédée Achard, and an African servant named Paul, descended upon Granada to soak in the local color and afterward transmit their adventures to their French correspondents. Dumas regarded a dance recital arranged for by his local guide, M. Couturier, as an incestuous and repellent, but at the same time, mesmerizing spectacle. Compared with Bourgoing's 1776 version, the imaginary Gypsy had evolved into a symbol of decadence and sexual deviance by the mid-nineteenth century. Dumas's colorful descriptions would have a substantial influence on later writers and artists, both for their sensual appeal and for their suggestion of the incestuous nature of Gypsy sexuality, a common belief among missionaries, ethnologists, and even contemporary encyclopedists. His description of the fandango performed by a girl and her brother is charged with incestuous innuendo:

The first clicks of Castanets began to be heard and the strumming of the guitar commenced. The father broke into that monotone Gypsy song one hears everywhere in Spain, but that I have not managed to teach to any musician; a music that accompanies everything, work, sleep, dance; then one of the girls began to sway in unison with her brother.

At first, the steps were simple and monotone, a slow swaying of the hips that sought in vain to kindle lascivious looks in the eyes of brother and sister. But then their glances grew more and more provocative. The dancers approached and passed each other, slightly touching not just hands but lips. *Trepignements* that resembled a battle between lasciviousness and modesty emanated from these two nearly joined mouths, and the boy and the girl remained suspended thus, their glances locked together, ready to abandon themselves to their desire that burned in their eyes and pushed them one towards the other. Meanwhile, their father mingled with his song obscene exclamations that convulsed the audience and seemed designed to excite the boy still further and snatch the last shreds of modesty from the girl. At last the brother removed his hat and with it in hand circled his sister two or three times. Without moving from her spot, the girl arched her head backwards like a drunken bacchante and curved her torso with the most provocative suppleness; then suddenly the hat fell, the dancer emitted a sharp hiss like that of a serpent, the expression of a desire about to be satisfied; he became more ardent, his sister more impassioned, and he pursued her until, to the last notes of the guitar and the singer's last cries, she collapsed in a crumpled heap. (Dumas 1846, 211–12)

What is striking in many travellers' accounts is the analogy of the dancers with animals that had become a common way of charging them with an increasingly exaggerated exoticism or sensuality. Twiss compared them to

impatient Italian racehorses chomping at the bit at the start of a race (Twiss 1775, 156). A more prudish Swinburne said the women were “wriggling like a worm that has been cut in two” (Swinburne 1779, 46). Later in the century, Catulle Mendès would compare the Romany fandango and alegría dancers to salamanders writhing in a flame (Mendès: 1889, 5), from whence the title of my paper. The tendency to devise metaphors such as this follows a long European tradition even predating the Romantic era to animalize and exoticize the female Gypsy (Charnon-Deutsch 2004, 18; Margarita Torrión 1992, 11).

At the dawn of the Romantic era gradually some travellers associated the “frenzy” and “excess” of the Andalusian Spanish performers with the Spanish character in general or what Edgar Quinet called the “génie espagnole” (quoted in Hoffmann 1961, 112). French travellers especially came to enjoy the South’s “inauspicious” climate after the newly established postal routes from Madrid to Andalusia made travel more convenient. Some tourists were inspired by descriptions of performances that Chrétien-Auguste Fischer witnessed during his 1797–1798 voyage to Cadiz. Fischer, like others before him, equated Spanish dances performed by Andalusian women with sexual ecstasy, reporting that owing to their vivacity, beauty and agility, Andalusian women were naturally adept at the fandango and bolero.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the fandango and other Spanish dances like the *cachucha* were a hit on Paris and London stages that confirmed the British and French association of Spaniards with voluptuousness (Hoffmann 1961, 115) and also inspired foreign travellers to search out more authentic versions performed *en place*. Bourgoing, for example, had seen Spanish dances performed in Paris prior to his stay in Spain. In his travelogue he passed along an anecdote circulating at the time that later would be transformed into a musical interlude called “Le procès du fandango ou la fandangomanie” (The Case of the fandango, or fandangomania 1810)⁴ and then the short story “The Triumph of the fandango” that Louis A. Godey published in his magazine, *The Ladies Book of Fashions and the Arts*, in 1833, and finally a play entitled *La comédie du pape Pie V* in 1868. In Bourgoing’s version, the earliest one I

⁴ This musical interlude by Jean-Baptiste Radet, Pierre-Yves Barré, and François-Georges Desfontaines was first performed in the Vaudeville Theatre in Paris in 1809.

have found, a suit is brought against the dance in Rome.⁵ The attending judges insist they cannot condemn something without seeing it, and so the dance is performed before them, whereupon “The severity of the judges could not withstand this proof. . . they stood up, their knees and arms gaining their former flexibility. The courtroom was transformed into a ballroom and the fandango was absolved” (Bourgoing 1797, 521).

In “Le procès du fandango ou la fandangomanie” Jean-Baptiste Radet, et al, transferred the scene to France and introduced a love triangle. In this version a French rival for a woman’s affection accuses a Spanish dance instructor of lewdness. The happy result is the same and a judge, after seeing the dance performed, allows the Spaniard to continue instructing the merry widow in the art of the fandango. Godey’s “The Triumph of the fandango” takes place in the south of France and also involves a merry widow and a Spanish dance instructor. This anecdote will resurface in many forms, in some cases even pedaled as historical event. Richard Ford, for one, claimed that the judgment took place in Toledo and the magistrates, “as if tarantula bitten” (Ford 1855, 103), threw off their robes and joined in the dance after it was performed in court. On the contrary, Alexander Slidell Mackensie placed it in Rome where the College of Cardinals were so seduced by the fandango that they flung off their hats and skullcaps and “began to caper over the floor, in delighted imitation of the fandango” (Mackensie Vol. II 1835, 197). Finally, in his *Souvenirs*, the Baron Charles-Henri de Gleichen mentioned that he saw a comedy in the court of Carlos III entitled “La comédie du pape Pie V” that also places the anecdote in Rome with Pope Pious V presiding. One by one the cardinals are seduced into joining in with the boisterous dances until finally the “Holy Father, who resisted a long time, at last joined them” (Gleichen 1868, 16).

Some of the most fascinating descriptions of the fandango involve novelized accounts tinged with romantic tropes. French soldier Etienne Lantier constructed his description of the dance around a romance gone sour. After seeing the “voluptuous” Angélica dance the fandango Lantier offered her a ring in tribute to her skills after which he is arrested and brought before a magistrate who orders him to wed the aggrieved dancer. Refusing, he is jailed and only released with the help of the French

⁵ Bourgoing’s is the first version of this anecdote that I have found, but he prefaces his account with the words “on raconte...” (it is said...) (Bourgoing 1797: 521) and so it may be assumed that the anecdote was in circulation by this time.

ambassador. Fictional accounts such as this together with elaborate descriptions of late night entertainment in the Albaicín district of Granada or in Seville kept the “romance” of the fandango alive for foreign travellers. But with the growing popularity of fictional or semi-fictional accounts of intercourse between Spanish dancers and foreign admirers, in the mid-nineteenth century more serious travellers began providing comprehensive descriptions of Spanish culture meant to serve as a practical guide to fellow travellers. In the 1840s Richard Ford’s *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* and *Gatherings from Spain* became the guides of choice for over fifty years for hundreds of British and American travellers. Ford helped to decenter the fandango, bolero and seguidilla by singling out the more exciting examples of “gipsy fare” performed by Andalusian Romany, especially the olé and the *romalis*, declaring it was impossible to describe them (although he dedicated long paragraphs to them), because they had to be seen (Ford 1855, 104). Americans Severn Treackle Wallis and Slidell Mackensie, among many others, took Ford’s advice, and like him declared that it was impossible to describe the olé that “like the pyramids, must stay forever where it was planted” (Wallis 1849, 188), especially in Seville, where guides were increasingly helping foreigners experience authentic Gypsy dancing in the Triana district for the right price. By suggesting the names and even addresses of gentleman guides (“laqueys de place”) ready to help foreign travellers arrange entertainment, *A Handbook for Travellers* helped men to experience “the real thing”, or what Ford called the “unchanged exhibition of the Improbable Gaditanae” (Ford 1855, 166).

Late nineteenth-century travellers continued to allude to performances of the fandango even as other dances were becoming more popular. The proof is Gustave Doré’s skilled engraving that illustrates one of the most prominent French travel guides of the 1870s, Baron Charles Davillier’s *L’Espagne* (1874). Davillier included in his guide one of the fullest accounts of Spanish dances witnessed by a foreigner in the nineteenth century. In it he claimed the fandango “was known since the seventeenth century” (Davillier 1874, 396) and asserted that whenever Spaniards hear this, their “national music”, it acts like an electric spark that strikes the center of every heart: women, girls, young men, old men, everyone seems to resuscitate, so powerful is it to the ears of the Spanish soul. Still, although he apparently witnessed together with Doré the famous fandango that Doré sketched for *L’Espagne* (see figure 1), Davillier seems to have been more impressed by other, more titillating dances. The long passages dedicated to descriptions of an actual *baile de*



Figure 1. Gustave Doré “Le Fandango” in Jean-Charles Davilliers, *L'Espagne*

candil and another evening spent in a dance academy in Seville focus on other dances. Enumerating the dance repertoire he witnessed in the Seville Dance Academy Davillier mentions seguidillas, boleros, *manchegas*, *mollares*, *boleras de jaleo*, *jácaras*, olés, *polos del contrabandista*, olés de la Curra, *jaleos de Jerez*, *malagueñas del torero*, *boleras robadas*, *jotas*, and vitos, but no fandango. Travelling a decade later, Frances Elliot, in her *Diary of an Idle Woman in Spain*, attended the same dance academy in Seville and also failed to mention the fandango. It was the olé that was danced by the prettiest and youngest of the dancers, and that left the strongest impression on the “idle” tourists of the day.

By the 1880s, spotters would approach tourists in hotels or on the streets of Seville and Granada and invite them to private “Gypsy balls”. Héctor France reported that a “gitanillo” offered his services as a “cicerone” (France 1888, 217) for a private dance with “select dancers” in the Albaicín district of Granada. The show included the olé, vito, *mosca* and, finally, a *baile del sombrero*. After this last dance, in which the dancer placed her partner’s hat on her bottom as she writhed seductively (France 1888, 221), France and his entourage had had enough: “This passes the limits of naturalism . . . We, whose prudery does not surpass that of a den of dragons, ended up disgusted with these indecent priapismic displays and we demanded the curtain be lowered” (France 1888, 221). France estimated that four duros and a bottle of whiskey would be payment enough for the “disgusting” show, but was charged a hefty fifty francs. The tourists escaped with a bill of only twenty francs after arguing with the “Prince of Gypsies” and flashing their pistols in front of the group of menacing Roma. Accounts such as this rather than discourage tourists further promoted the professionalization of Roma dancers since foreign tourists wanted to experience the same exciting, “exclusive” and slightly daring, experience.

The dance review American lawyer Samuel Parsons Scott paid for on his visit to Seville made an equally lasting impression. Scott was thrilled when his friend “Pancho” (the artist Francisco de la Cuesta) gave him the “good news” that there was to be a Gypsy ball in the Triana that night: “Here was an opportunity as rare as it was unexpected, for the assemblies of these semi-outlaws are very difficult of access, and there alone are danced, in their perfection, the ‘Olé’ and the ‘Jaleo’ against which the edicts of royal councils, and the anathemas of the Church have been levelled in vain.” (Scott 1886, 185). In his description of the olé he witnessed in Seville Scott emphasized the “passions that lurk beneath the

usually impassive exterior of this singular, semi-barbarous people” (Scott 1886, 194). It is clear from Scott’s account that the analogy of dances that the “depraved patricians of Rome” long ago witnessed had become associated with other dances, especially the olé, rather than the fandango. By the end of the nineteenth century the Roma of Seville were actively fine tuning their performances so as not to disappoint foreign men in search of sensuous experiences that were available only to a privileged few. Scott concluded: “It is not possible, in print, to convey a just idea of these dances. . . Suffice it to say, that every voluptuous motion, every subtle allurements, that grace and beauty can command to depict the pantomime of love, are employed to stir the blood, and inflame the imagination” (Scott 1886, 195). In short, the olé, vito and other dances that Parsons, France and others described had replaced the fandango as the dance to watch, pay money for, and imagine themselves Roman patricians being entertained by slaves. Héctor France concluded that the traditional fandangos and cachuchas paled by comparison and others agreed.

The year 1889 marked a surge in interest in the Spanish Gypsy in the Parisian press. In the Universal Exposition that gave birth to the Eiffel Tower, Ferdinand Dutert’s “Palace of Machines,” and other evidence of Europe’s obsession with the machine age, a group of human expositions reminded the twenty-eight million visitors of world treasures that were magically immune to human progress, or perhaps on the verge of disappearing and therefore worthy of a last glimpse. The Spanish exhibit was among the most popular with its daily show of flamenco dancers and musicians who helped to coalesce in the minds of the French the identification of Spain with exotic Gypsies. This is evident from the curious set of texts by Catulle Mendès written in collaboration with Rodolphe Darzens, entitled *Les Belles au monde: Gitanas, Javanaises, Egyptiennes, Sénégalaise* (The world beauties: Gypsies, Javanese, Egyptians, Senegalese; 1889) that attempted to capture all the excitement of the women who counted among the more “exotic” human displays at the Exposition. Mendès understood perfectly both the exotic attraction of the Roma dancers for the Fair’s public, and his role in collapsing Gypsy and Spanish identity for a generation still clinging to Romantic visions of Spain that were the product of the dozens of travelogues still so popular: “What draws us to these savage daughters is our enduring love for the unknown, the distant, the imaginary” (Mendès 1889, 5). The imagery Mendès used to sketch the Spanish dancers ranges from the more conventional: demons, cats, birds of prey, savage beasts, and others appropriated from earlier travellers to the more exotic such as salamanders

(an image probably borrowed from Victor Hugo) and monkeys, for, as Mendès put it, “it is from their animalism that springs their strange and brutal charm” (Mendès 1889, 30). For Mendès as for many travellers the Gypsy was the epitome of Spain that travellers in the Romantic era had forged in their travelogues: “The mysterious amorous and violent Spain, the Spain that plays the guitar and the knife, The Spain of bloody bullfights, whose swords awash with the blood of bulls reflects the eyes and hearts of its beautiful daughters,” (Mendès 1889, 9). Mendès’s description joins the enduring orgy of clichés applied to Spanish Roma dancers that he and other travellers bequeathed to the twentieth century.



Figure 2. *Le Fandango* Jan 15 1846: p. 209

Inevitably Spaniards, never short on spoofery, parodied travellers who sought out, commented on, and even imitated their more iconic cultural practices. One need look no further than the entertaining parodies in a humor magazine entitled *El Fandango*, a monthly periodical founded by Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco in 1845 that ran for two years. The goal of the magazine, besides reporting on the fandango and bullfighting, was to advertise Aygual’s novels and those of his friends, and make sport of foreign visitors to Spain, especially the British, Germans and the “franchutes”, the French, who as we have seen were especially enamored of Spanish dance. *El Fandango* included numerous images of what purported to be authentic *jaleos* or dance fests demonstrating the fandango. In the first issue the editor begins by saying that in Spain as in

every nation there are good and bad things, and of the good the bullfight and the fandango deserve honorific mention. Spain's enemies deplore them as uncivilized but, Ayguals insists, Spaniards could care less about their opinions, and remain incorrigible in regard to their favorite pastimes. Old and young men like to do it, children do it, even monks do it, but the magazine depicts foreign Imitators of the fandango as ludicrous. It seems fitting to give the last word on the fandango to a Spaniard writing in 1845 about foreign fandango imitators. Beneath an image of two "franchutes" attempting to dance the fandango (see figure 2) Ayguals wrote:

Bailan por ventura el tango

Este par de majaderos?

--No, que son dos extranjeros
que ensayan nuestro fandango.

Fiasco! Fiasco!..., uf... qué mal!...

Pobretes, quién os engaña?

Para los bailes de España

Solo hay en España sal.

Do they by any chance dance the
tango

Around these parts?

--No, those are two foreigners
practicing our fandango

Fiasco! Fiasco!..., oh...how bad!...

Poor things, who's deceiving you?

To dance the dances of Spain

Only in Spain is there enough salt.

If the foreign love affair with the fandango seems ageless, Spaniards, it is clear, had become equally adept at capitalizing on travelling clichés.

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CHAPTER THIRTY

CORRAL, CAFÉ, AND CONCERT HALL: ENRIQUE GRANADOS'S "EL FANDANGO DE CANDIL" AND MANUEL DE FALLA'S "DANZA DE LA MOLINERA"

ADAM KENT

Abstract

The Fandango has been an internationally recognized “trope” in European classical music since the early eighteenth century. Spanish-born and Hispanicized composers such as Domenico Scarlatti, Antonio Soler, and Luigi Boccherini created a tradition of the fandango as a virtuoso keyboard or chamber music work, featuring increasingly frenzied variations over a simple harmonic formula, while Mozart famously alluded to the genre as a courtly dance in the third act of his *Marriage of Figaro*. Enrique Granados and Manuel de Falla, Spanish nationalist composers of the early twentieth century, treated the Fandango to postromantic and impressionistic harmonic vocabulary and the outlines of sonata form. In “El fandango del candil” from his *Goyescas* suite for solo piano, Granados employs a full arsenal of late-nineteenth century piano techniques, much as Falla utilizes the resources of the Debussyian orchestra in the “Danza de la molinera” from the ballet *El sombrero de tres picos*. My paper examines the idiosyncratic ways these composers employ contemporary mainstream compositional approaches to evoke the earthy spirit of the dance’s folkloric origins.

Keywords

Falla, Albeniz, Granados, Turina, folkloricism, synesthesia, *El sombrero de tres picos*, *Goyescas*

Resumen

Desde principios del siglo XVIII el Fandango ha sido reconocido al nivel internacional como “tropo” en la música clásica de Europa. Compositores españoles residentes en España como Domenico Scarlatti, Antonio Soler, o Luigi Boccherini crearon una tradición del fandango como obra virtuosa para tecla o para conjunto de cámara, caracterizada por animadas variaciones, mientras que Mozart aludió a la danza en el tercer acto de su *Nozze di Figaro*. A principios del siglo XX, compositores españoles nacionalistas como Enrique Granados o Manuel de Falla han adaptado el fandango a un vocabulario armónico posromántico o impresionista, y a los contornos de la forma sonata. En “El fandango de candil” de su suite *Goyescas* para piano solo, Granados emplea todo el arsenal de técnicas pianísticas de finales del siglo XIX. Falla utiliza los recursos de la orquesta debussiana en la “Danza de la molinera” de su ballet *El sombrero de tres picos*. Mi ponencia estudia pues las maneras idiosincrásicas empleadas por estos compositores para evocar el espíritu de los orígenes folklóricos de la danza con las técnicas de composición del momento.

Introduction: Popular and Classical

It is tempting for classically trained musicians to enter the domain of musicology via the works of ethnically inspired composers. The music of Béla Bartók, Antonin Dvořák, Frederic Chopin and many other nineteenth and twentieth century composers is supposed to provide glimpses into the indigenous music of various European regions.

It's useful to remember, however, that composition is a matter of choice, whereas ethnomusicology is a science. The creative artist may be inspired by indigenous materials, but (s)he chooses the examples which suit a particular artistic profile. Charles Rosen writes insightfully in *The Classical Style*:

There are composers (Bartók is perhaps the most famous of them) who have used research into folk music for the specific purpose of forming a style...Bartók treats the folk music of entirely different cultures very much alike...They provided him with non-diatonic modes, which was what he was looking for in the first place (Rosen, 1997, 332).

The ethnomusicologist collects data. As a scholar, (s)he must be prepared to discard or revise preconceived notions and report the evidence (s)he finds. To put it another way: the ethnomusicologist is uncritical, while the composer is selective.

To complicate matters further, in the classical repertory there exists a rich tradition of tropes, or received gestures, which signify “folkloricism” in the broadest sense. The pedal point or drone, the use of unpitched percussion instruments, modal inflections of melody—are among the numerous gestures routinely understood to convey rusticity, peasantry, and the pastoral in repertory from Bach to Bartók and beyond. The great nationalist composers of Spain were no exception in resorting to such devices. And, of course, the tropes are far from arbitrary, in that they replicate or imitate widespread characteristics of much orally disseminated music. Where they become “tropes”, though, is in their automated, short-handedness—the way they signify folkloricism to auditors without having to prove their provenance.

On occasion, the classical repertory also assimilates folkloric influences into codified practices. The *mazurka*, for example, lives on not because of “field research” into the *mazurek*, the *kujawiak*, and the *oberek*, but because of Chopin’s inimitably subtle, personal integration of these strands into an harmonically adventurous, contrapuntally rich genre. The *fandango* of Spain, too, became a stock figure in European art music, immortalized in orchestral garb by Mozart and Gluck, and enshrined as a virtuoso keyboard form in the hands of Soler, Scarlatti and others.¹

Enrique Granados and Manuel de Falla both turned towards Spain’s past and to her indigenous traditions in their most important works. Both composers sought to evoke a vanished Spain of traditional types. In the case of Granados, the paintings and etchings of Francisco Goya—especially the *cartones*, or tapestry designs, which depicted the societal intrigues of late eighteenth-century Madrid—were a preoccupation in the *Goyescas* for solo piano. For Falla, the Spanish novelist Pedro de Alarcón’s *El sombrero de tres picos*, written in 1874 but set in an early nineteenth-century Andalusian village, furnished the inspiration for a musical pantomime, which would quickly be reworked as the celebrated ballet score.

To some extent, both composers sought to simulate the effects of folkloricism in these works, even though Granados expressed himself through nineteenth-century pianistic virtuosity, and Falla employed a lavishly equipped concert orchestra. At the same time, the composers saw

¹ Boccherini’s celebrated example from the Guitar Quintet seems most closely related to the tradition of the above mentioned keyboard variations.

themselves in an ongoing historical light, both in terms of the classical traditions of their own country, and also vis-à-vis the tonal and structural innovations of mainstream European classical music. The phrase “Spanish music with vistas towards Europe”—widely attributed to Albéniz as advice to his younger colleagues Falla and Turina—is the perfect embodiment of their achievement (Jorge de Persia, 1999, 50).

The synesthetic composer seeks to stimulate diverse sensory and cognitive impressions through sound. It might be argued that listeners have always imposed their own associations on the music they hear, frequently resorting to visual or narrative analogies in attempting to describe their auditory experiences. From ancient times, theorists have insisted on music’s ability not only to describe emotion, but to engender it as well. Nevertheless, many composers of the so-called Romantic and Impressionistic periods—composers active in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in particular—tended to advertise their synesthetic intent in the wealth of explicitly programmatic or evocatively titled instrumental music they produced. Debussy, for example, baldly claimed to find a sonorous representation for the fluctuating formations and colorations of clouds in *Nuages*, while Schumann reported to posterity on the personalities of his intimates in his *Carnaval*.

The Spanish nationalists of the period often shared a similar mindset with their mainstream European contemporaries. Their music sought not so much to preserve the actual sounds of local indigenous music, but to communicate the impressions it made upon auditors, conjure the scenery of its origins, and suggest the history which might have engendered it. Albéniz, Granados, Falla and Turina—the great composers of Spain’s *Generación de los maestros*—presumed to describe the sights and sounds of their native land by inventing a language of equivalencies, a language where a universally understood musical grammar was used to new artistic ends.

In their treatment of the traditional Andalusian *fandango*, Granados and Falla employed long-standing harmonic and structural norms from the classical realm in novel contexts. Composed by Granados between 1909 and 1911, “El fandango de candil” from *Goyescas* is a virtuoso piano work meant to evoke a nostalgia for the intrigue of late eighteenth-century Spanish romance among the *majos* and *majas* of the era, a feeling the composer imbibed from the canvasses and etchings of

Goya.² Less than a decade later, Falla would turn to the same dance form to characterize the flirtatious, mischievous Miller's Wife (*molinera*) in *El sombrero de tres picos*. Both composers were mindful of the traditional guitar accompaniment and stylized footwork of the dance, but their objective was not to reproduce them literally: they sought unique techniques to approximate the sensations elicited by a performance of a traditional *fandango*.

“El fandango de candil”

Granados might be characterized as the most romantically inclined of the *Generación de los maestros* composers, in the sense of seeking compositional models in the great European composers of the earlier nineteenth century. The music of Schumann was his most frequent inspiration, although the waltzes of Schubert exert their sway in the *Valses poéticos*, and the Mazurkas and *Andante Spianato* of Chopin are lovingly parodied in the *Escenas románticas*, for example.

The composer's preoccupation with Goya's world bespoke a similar quest for an idealized bygone time, and a *sainete* by the eighteenth-century Spanish playwright Ramón de la Cruz furnished the actual title for “El fandango de candil.” Moreover, the latent drama of the *Goyescas* as a whole would lead Granados to heed the counsel of colleagues to prepare an operatic version, in collaboration with the librettist Fernando Periquet. At the same time, Granados was intrigued by harpsichord technique, and prepared his own idiosyncratic edition of twenty-seven of Domenico Scarlatti's keyboard sonatas.

Granados's immersion in the culture of earlier times finds especially rich expression in “El fandango de candil.” The piano writing is full of lacey ornamentation and embroidery, technically related to the extravagant feats of his immediate nineteenth-century predecessors, but stylistically more closely allied with the decorative frills of much Baroque keyboard music. While the piece does not unfold as a tightly controlled set of variations over a ground-bass, as with the traditional eighteenth-century keyboard *fandango*, variation technique plays major role on the local level, as simple harmonic progressions are doggedly ornamented with static fascination.

² For online access to the score, visit <http://web.media.mit.edu/~mike/scores/granados/goyescas/3-fandango/index.html>

Granados and his Spanish contemporaries all felt the tensions between the traditional tonal idioms inherited from their classical forbearers and the modal language they encountered in popular traditions. Specifically in the realm of Andalusian music, the ubiquitous Phrygian mode often creates confusion among classically trained listeners, who cannot help hearing a Dominant function within a harmonic minor scale. Commentators often allude to the prevalence of half-cadential endings in much Andalusian folk music, when they encounter the Phrygian mode within a Westernized harmonic context.

This ambiguity is often tellingly exploited by the *maestros*, who use it to create tension and large-scale drama. For example, in *El Albaicín* from Book III of his *Iberia*, Albéniz sets up a duality between Bb minor and F Phrygian at the outset in a sonata structure. Here, the recapitulation finally reveals Bb as the true Tonic. On a smaller scale, Falla creates pulverizing tension in the *Danza del molinero* from *El sombrero de tres picos*, where an insistent E Phrygian practically explodes into an A Minor Tonic in the frenzied *accelerando* which caps the dance. A similar game plan informs the A Phrygian/D Major dichotomy of Turina's *Orgía* from the *Danzas fantásticas*. In all these works, the composers were not merely reproducing the harmonic language of popular Andalusian music; they found a means within traditional tonality to simulate the excitement and incertitude engendered by hearing an exotic scale-type.

This Phrygian/Harmonic Minor dichotomy functions on several levels in "El fandango de candil." In the largest sense, the piece presents the harmonic quandary of whether it should be heard in A Phrygian or D Minor. The opening eight measures function as an introduction, seemingly alternating V7 and Tonic triads in d minor over a Dominant pedal point. With the entry of the sustained top line in measure 9, the first theme makes its appearance, resolving the V7 harmony to the Tonic on the downbeat of measure 10. By the conclusion of the four-bar unit, however, the harmony has returned to A, and the bass line seems to trace a clear descent within the Phrygian mode. The reprise of the insistent triplet introductory figure in measure 13 reinforces the ambiguity. Will A Phrygian win out through sheer repetitive doggedness? The failure of any phrase before measure 133 to cadence in D only heightens the confusion. The piece ends on A; some listeners will perceive it as a decisive affirmation of the Phrygian mode, and others will hear it as a conclusion on the Dominant.

Although Granados's tonal organization is well beyond eighteenth-century Tonic/Dominant or minor Tonic/relative major polarities, the listener will recognize at least one common classical-era trope in the resolution of the initial theme to F Major at measure 25 and the subsequent introduction of a lyrical idea in that key in the following measure (repeated with ornamentation at m. 121). At this point, though, the d minor/A Phrygian tonality quickly returns (by m. 29), without the firm establishment of F as a secondary key. Such fleeting allusions to the relative major are present in the celebrated *Fandangos* of Soler and Boccherini mentioned above, and represent the natural tendency to resolve minor keys to the relative major in much traditional tonal music.³ The key of F in fact returns more tellingly at m. 56 and then again at 70, in what might be heard as cadential extensions on the Dominant of Bb minor, or fleeting allusions to F Phrygian. The *Goyescas*, after all, are a late romantic's nostalgic glance back at the late-eighteenth century. Granados may not actually adhere to truly classical tonal relationships, but he knows the gestures well enough to give his listeners a retrospective view of a vanished musical era.

Of the traditional signposts of the *fandango*, Granados preserves a wealth of guitar approximations, evocations of *taconeo* (heel stomping), and an occasional rhythmic ambiguity between 3/4 and 6/8, on the hypermetric level. Many of these traits are apparent right from the introduction, where the harmonic rhythm accentuates the downbeats in a triple meter, but the bass line emphasizes every second quarter note. The recurrent staccato articulation recalls the *punteado* technique of guitar playing, while, later in the piece, *rasgueado*, or strumming, is recalled in the rapid arpeggiated figures in measures 81–83. A coloristic use of dissonance—freer than Granados's norm and perhaps more typical of Albéniz in his *Iberia*—characterizes the writing here as well. *Acciacaturas* abound, as in measures 18, 105, and 107. These simultaneous soundings of dissonances against the harmonies to which they resolve—so essential in the keyboard sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti—serve an evocative purpose, heightening the experience of percussive heel clicking and rapid footwork. By contrast, legato lines are clearly understood to represent the *cante* element of the dance.

³ Walter Clark also alludes to the convention of tertiary relationships between instrumental interludes and *coplas* in the traditional *fandango*. Walter Aaron Clark, *Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 132.

Ambiguities of phrase structure are widespread in the piece as well. The introductory triplets recur throughout the work's outer sections as a sort of interlude related to the guitar *falsetas* of traditional Flamenco. At the outset, Granados establishes a regular eight-bar scheme on an A pedal, over which Dominant, diminished (implying sub-Dominant) and Tonic harmonies alternate in a predictable 2+1+1 bar scheme. In the first recurrence of this "vamp" in measures 13-21, however, Granados extends the pattern by an additional bar. Elsewhere—at 34 and 37, for example—the composer allows a single bar of the pattern to stand in for the entire gesture, leaving the listener to choose between hearing the preceding phrases as three-bar units, or assimilating the triplet "bridges" as a fourth bar—they function both as parts of the previous phrases as well as independent transitions.

While "El fandango de candil" traverses a wealth of tonal areas and presents a diversity of themes, an overall impression of unity—to the point of obsessiveness—pervades the outer sections. The recurrent triplets no doubt serve a programmatic intent: the instrumentalists persist in the rhythmic element, as dancing couples whirl by, intrigues unfolding in the heated ambience.⁴ The themes, too, are all closely related intervallically, each beginning with a stepwise ascent of a third, and generally peaking on a written-out sixteenth-note ornament (compare measures 9–10, 26–27, and 40–41).

The structure of "El fandango de candil" can be analyzed from several perspectives, much as with the case of Chopin's large-scale single-movement works. Perhaps the most convincing summary is provided in Walter Clark's *Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano*, where the musicologist describes the work as an ABA form, in which section A extends through measure 80, section B from measure 81 to measure 103, and the reprise of A from measure 104 to the end (2006, 132–133). Such an overview is well supported both tonally as well as thematically. At the same time, a wealth of ornamental passagework embellishes the work's highly repetitive motivic material, at least an allusion to the ongoing variation form of eighteenth-century concert *fandangos*.

Many of the hallmarks of traditional sonata form are evident as well, especially in the reworking of much material presented in Bb minor/Db major in measures 40–55 of the exposition in the Tonic D in

⁴ The triplets also recall *Los requiebros*, the opening number of *Goyescas*, where they reflect the traditional *jota* rhythm of Aragón, Goya's native region.

measures 146–151 of the recapitulation. The resolution to the Tonic is in fact still more apparent in a comparison of bars 61–70 with 162–170. The operatic text by Periquet for this theme (“Una gran dama gentil tanto quiso ver y vió que en un baile de candil se metió”) is identical in these two spots, further supporting the connection.⁵ The hearing of measures 104 onward as a sort of recapitulation is further supported by the digressive passage starting at m. 125, in which Granados’s sequential meandering culminates in a reference to the introductory phrase of “Los requiebros” in m. 132, before an emphatic cadence in D major on the following downbeat.

Granados’s “Fandango” also functions as part of a larger cyclical unit in the *Goyescas* suite. The point is often made that Granados’s *magnum opus* differs from the *Iberia* of Albéniz by virtue of the thematic connections among the various movements, and the point is well evidenced in the “Fandango.” Apart from the above-mentioned reference to “Los requiebros,” measures 59 and 60 include a melodic anticipation of *Quejas, ó La maja y el ruiseñor*, and the entire central episode in E-flat minor develops a motif first heard at bars 43–44 of *Coloquio en la reja*. Moreover, measure 89 of the “Fandango” echoes a thematic fragment of *Coloquio* first articulated at bar 80 of that work. The *Goyescas* also include suggestions of other “Goyesque” works by Granados, including several anticipations of the *Tonadillas* song cycle. Although the resemblance is faint, the ornamental theme in sixths at bars 93–100 bears a spiritual connection to *Las currutacas modestas* from the song cycle, for example.

The point of the quotes is less about finding hidden messages than about an ongoing treatment of motivic development evolved out of nineteenth-century opera. The music of Wagner was very much in vogue in the Barcelona of Granados’s day, and an *Associació Wagneriana* had been founded in the city in 1901. The German composer had been cited by Granados’s mentor Felip Pedrell as an icon in the development of musical nationalism, and the desire to create a uniquely Spanish music of

⁵ According to adherents of the Granados/Marshall Academy, the composer authorized a cut in this recapitulatory material from m. 141–161. The tradition is observed not only the various recordings of Alicia de Larrocha, but also in a 1953 recording by Magda Tagliaferro. In its operatic incarnation, Granados himself makes an even more drastic reduction to the piano original, excising m. 112–161. The impact of these curtailments tends to place even greater emphasis on the return of 61–70 at 162.

comparable depth and breadth was a goal Granados shared with the other composers of the *Generación de los maestros*.

“Danza de la molinera”

El sombrero de tres picos was a collaboration between Manuel de Falla, Sergei Diaghilev and his Ballets Russes, and Pablo Picasso, based on a novel by Pedro de Alarcón.⁶ Alarcón’s tale is set in early nineteenth-century Andalusia, but the main characters—the miller and his wife—hail from Murcia and Navarra, respectively. Whereas his slightly earlier *El amor brujo* had celebrated the acerbic gypsy culture of Spain’s south, in *El sombrero de tres picos*, the composer evokes the colorful Andalusia full of the same stock village characters Goya immortalized in his *cartones*. The work is retrospective in much the same vein as Granados’s *Goyescas*, providing a stylized, fanciful early twentieth-century composer’s view of a remote past. On the other hand, Falla pulls out all the stops in using the full resources of the contemporary orchestra available to him. To a full complement of strings, winds and brass, Falla adds a percussion section consisting of castanets, triangle, cymbals, tam-tam, xylophone, glockenspiel, tubular bells, and snare and bass drums. Piano, harp, and celesta also add a wealth of plucked and hammered sonorities to the sonic fabric, as do off-stage voices.

In Part I, the comely miller’s wife (*Molinera*), mocks the pompous town constable (*Corregidor*), breaking into her signature *Fandango*. The dance is interrupted by more highjinx between the blissful couple and the *Corregidor*, only to be resumed at the conclusion of the section.⁷

Falla displays a knack for evoking guitar technique with the full orchestra no doubt informed by Debussy’s orchestral *Iberia*. The *rasgueado* which opens the dance is approximated by rough double-stops in the strings, busy alternating thirds in the clarinets, and percussive touches from timpani and piano. Rapid *crescendi* and accents contribute as well to the energetic impression. The most subtle detail, though, in capturing the sheer noisiness of strummed guitar strings, comes through

⁶ The reader is referred to Manuel de Falla, *The Three-Cornered Hat* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1997). All Rehearsal numbers refer to this edition.

⁷ When performed as a concert piece or in its piano reduction, the two parts of the *Fandango* are simply fused, omitting the intervening episodes.

the clash of B-flat and B-natural in the piano and strings, making for a superimposition of G minor and major. This has nothing to do with the “Blue Note”, so memorably used by Ravel, Gershwin, and others. This has more to do with the *acciaccaturas* of Scarlatti as revived in the vibrant pages of Albéniz’s *Iberia*. This is synesthesia, where the boundary between music and noise is blurred. Dissonance functions less as a means of creating harmonic tension than as a stand-in for the percussive effects of fingers against guitar strings or heels clicking against a tiled floor.

Falla blends traditional large-scale tonal operations with localized modal colorations. However, modality influences not only top-line melodic materials, but frequently bass-line motion as well.

The work opens in G Phrygian, a modality established by the lowered leading tone and flattened second degree of the cadences at the ends of each of the first three bars. Here, and throughout the dance, these cadences are further emphasized by Falla’s directive in an explanatory footnote in the score to expand the last quavers of these bars. By the tenth bar, the bass line has descended stepwise to E, where Falla establishes the Phrygian mode as before. A further stepwise descent to D Phrygian two bars before Rehearsal 19 leads to the reprise of the opening G Phrygian, a V-I progression, in spite of the relentless modal inflections. The shrill flourishes in the woodwinds at this juncture can be heard either in G or D Phrygian: Falla seems to be playing with the common pitch set shared by G and D Phrygians.

Strings intone the lyrical line at Rehearsal 20. The melody is readily understood as tracing the VII-III tetrachord in G Phrygian, although the harmonic insistence on Bb recalls a traditional tonal move to the relative major. The drop to A eight bars later, however, is facilitated by reading Bb as a common tone in both G and A Phrygians. The harmony settles in A Phrygian, in fact, with a sequential reworking of much of the previous material in the new key.

Starting a bar after Rehearsal 21, both top line and bass move in parallel motion from C, to Bb, A, and G, presumably in preparation for a decisive cadence in A Phrygian. The progression is thwarted, however, by the intervention of the oboe line at Rehearsal 22, supported by a whole-tone glissando in the harp. The top line, which incorporates material from 2 and 3 bars after Rehearsal 18, traces the E Phrygian mode, although the harp flourish confuses the sense of tonal center with a decidedly

Impressionistic atmosphere. Eight bars later, at Rehearsal 23, Falla arrives at an A7 harmony, which he sustains for another eight bars, before the expected resolution to D at Rehearsal 24. The A7 is a traditional secondary Dominant—a V/V in the context of the dance's prevailing tonality of G. Viewed from a linear perspective, though, the sequential elaboration of melodic material from Rehearsal 21 in the strings and flute outlines C# Phrygian. In retrospect, in fact, the entire motion towards A Phrygian starting seven bars after Rehearsal 20, is understood as a large-scale secondary Dominant preparation. Once again, modal coloration collides with tonal operations.

A new theme is introduced at Rehearsal 24, with a punchy dotted rhythm initially articulated by the timpani as an approximation of *taconeo*. The solo oboe line, which enters on the upbeat to 4 bars after Rehearsal 24, bears an uncanny resemblance to the main theme of Granados's *Fandango*, in its terminating figure of four sixteenth notes. The obsessive repetition of this concluding ornament throughout this section recalls the melismatic style of much *cante jondo* vocalizing. The c-natural initially suggests a Mixolydian inflection, but the addition of Eb three bars after Rehearsal 25 ultimately situates this secondary thematic area in D Phrygian.

Starting at Rehearsal 25, the bass line traces a stepwise descent from D, to C, Bb, Ab, and finally G at Rehearsal 26, where the opening material recapitulates. G Phrygian is affirmed in this mid-level linear progression. In the orchestral ballet score, the recapitulation is interrupted one bar after Rehearsal 28, following a progression marked “*sempre affrettando poco a poco*”. Once again, Falla arrives at a secondary Dominant at this point, an A-4/3 chord, which resolves to D in the solo bassoon line, which follows at Rehearsal 29, a depiction of the waddling *Corregidor*.

A series of fleeting episodes ensues in the ballet, including the *Corregidor*'s bassoon melody, a brief minuet depicting the *Molinera*, a playful interlude entitled *Las uvas*, an ominous trumpet statement based on the popular song “Con el capotín”, all leading to a reprise of the *Molinera*'s “Fandango” at Rehearsal 48.

A large-scale sonata form—or rondo-sonata form—can be readily grasped in the entire episode, where the G Phrygian material at the outset of the “Fandango” serves as a primary thematic area, the D

Mixolydian/Phrygian oboe theme articulates a secondary section, and the succession of vignettes between Rehearsals 29 and 48 functions as a development section.

The return to the opening material at Rehearsal 49 does indeed share many hallmarks with traditional sonata recapitulations. There is a move towards B Phrygian at Rehearsal 50, which complements the descent to E Phrygian at Rehearsal 18. This sort of tonal symmetry with respect to mediant relationships was already developed by Beethoven in his piano sonatas Op. 31, No. 1 and Op. 53. Moreover, the tendency towards “telescoping” material from the “exposition” in this final section—truncating phrases and compressing harmonic events—is a common feature in classical recapitulations. Finally, the coda at Rehearsal 54, marked “*animando, ma gradualmente sino al fine*”, includes many of the unifying and summarizing traits of classical codas. G Phrygian is resoundingly affirmed here, and Falla affects a quick-paced fusion of the lyrical line first heard in the strings at Rehearsal 20 with the woodwind flourishes initially introduced at Rehearsal 19. After two bars of insistent B-flat chords, the dance ends with an assertion of the Tonic G in the concluding five bars. The final chord is all the more impactful for re-establishing the downbeat, after a six-bar syncopated hemiola. In this context, the metrical play of the traditional *fandango* serves to drive the piece to a triumphantly “classical” climax. In its impact, the coda seems as close to one of Beethoven’s hammered endings as to the frenzied excitement of the popular Andalusian dance.

Corral, Café, and Concert Hall

Popular music was frequently incorporated into Spanish dramatic productions, which were often performed in converted courtyards, or *corrales*, in the era of Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca. Several centuries later, the gypsies of Andalusia brought their unique fusion of musical and poetic idioms known as *Flamenco* to the *cafés* of the time. The concert hall is a long way from the *corral* and the *café*, and the music composed for it often has very different aspirations. The popular music of Andalusia, of which the *fandango* is an archetype, calls for a participational, intimate mode of delivery: the line between audience and practitioner is sometimes blurred. Spain’s musical theater, whether in the *corral* of seventeenth-century dramatic productions or the *zarzuela* halls of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was also a local

phenomenon, reproducing the mores and popular traditions of the day with little regard for posterity or universality.

It was left to composers like Enrique Granados and Manuel de Falla to transmit the sensations and impressions of these insular performance practices to an international audience, and to convey their essence in a universally intelligible notation. Neither “El fandango de candil” nor the “Danza de la molinera” offers a faithful recording of oral traditions, or recreates a past style. In a BBC documentary on Manuel de Falla entitled *When the Fire Burns*, Spanish-American composer Joaquín Nin-Culmell put it well in using the metaphor of the butterfly to stand for popular music (Weinstein, 1993). The ethnomusicologist, he suggested, pins the butterfly for examination. Falla—and by extension, the other great *maestros* of his generation—allows the butterfly to live, by bending indigenous materials to his artistic will. In their free, personal treatment of Western musical harmony and form, the Spanish nationalist composers revived the *fandango*, investing the time-honored conventions with new relevance and appeal. The essence of the *corral* and the *café* endures in the concert hall because of their creative synesthesia.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

FANDANGO IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY THEORY AND ON EUROPEAN STAGES

CLAUDIA JESCHKE

Abstract

Dance theory discussed the Fandango as part of the Hispanomania in nineteenth-century Europe; choreography displayed the use of this cultural hype on dance stages. “Spanishness” was considered to broaden the movement vocabulary used so far for theatrical dancing. Furthermore, it allowed the dancers to develop more expressive and personal performance modes. The ballet masters, thus (or as well), included a great number of Spanish dances into their works. Henri Justamant (1815–1886), one of the most prolific choreographers of his time, left over 100 ‘livrets de mise en scène’, i.e., notations and descriptions of his many stage productions. These manuscripts present the documentation and dramaturgic usage of a great number of Spanish dances; a Fandango, notated in the ballet *Les Conscripts Espagnols* of 1850/51, will be the topic of a close reading in this lecture that intends to exemplify some concepts as well as practice-based programs of the Fandango in European (dance) culture.

Keywords

Henri Justamant, Hispanomania, Fandango, *Les Conscripts Espagnols*

Resumen

Teorías coreúicas trataron al *Fandango* como parte de la “hispanomanía” de la Europa del siglo XVIII; coreografías de esa época demostraron el uso de ese bombo publicitario sobre las escenas de danza. ‘Lo español’ fue considerado como ampliación del léxico coreúico utilizado hasta ese momento en la danza teatral. Es más, permitió que los bailarines desarrollaran formas más expresivas y personales de bailar. Así (o

también), los maestros de ballet utilizaron un gran número de bailes españoles en sus obras. Henri Justamant (1815–1886), uno de los coreógrafos más prolíficos de su época, dejó más de 100 ‘livrets de mise en scène’, es decir, anotaciones y descripciones de sus producciones teatrales. Esos manuscritos contienen la documentación y uso dramático de un gran número de bailes españoles. Un Fandango, escrito en el ballet *Les Conscrits Espagnols* de 1850/51, será objeto de un análisis detallado; intento aquí demostrar algunos conceptos y también dar muestras de programas de práctica del Fandango en la cultura europea dancística.

Introduction

As one aspect of nineteenth-century Hispanomania, contemporary dance theory became concerned with Spanish dances and especially with the fandango; choreography (= the arrangement of dance movements) and choreo-graphy (the notation of dance movements) displayed the use of the Hispanic hype on the dance stages. The Spanish elements seem to have been considered to broaden the movement material that had been used for theatrical dancing up to that point. Furthermore, they allowed the dancers to develop more expressive and personal performance modes. As a result, the ballet masters included a great number of Spanish dances into their works.

One of the most prolific choreographers/choreo-graphers of his time was the French Henri Justamant – who left behind over 100 ‘livrets de mise en scène’, i.e., notations/descriptions of his stage productions. These manuscripts include a great number of Spanish dances, among them a Fandango in the ballet *Les Conscrits Espagnols* (*The Forced Recruitment*) from 1851.¹ Relating the extensive theoretical discussion and the less numerous staging information on the Fandango will allow me to highlight some stereotypical as well as particular aspects of the concept and the practice-based program of the fandango in nineteenth century European (dance) culture.

¹ *Les Conscrits Espagnols ou le recrutement Forcé*. Ballet Comique en un acte Par Mr Justamant / Musique de Mr. Tozet / Représenté pour la première Fois à Lyon sur le grand théâtre en mars 1851. The manuscript is located in Theaterwissenschaftliche Sammlung Schloß Wahn, Cologne.

Fandango Performances: Texts and Images

In nineteenth-century central Europe, the reception of the Fandango seems to have occurred primarily through the theatre. In 1820, Spanish dance theoretician Antonio Cairón classifies the Fandango as an “old dance” which was (only) in use in the theatre – as “*Baile antiguo español, y el que se ha conservado mas tiempo en uso sobre el teatro.*” (Cairón 1820, 110). According to Cairón, the theatricality made necessary a stylization both in Fandango music and Fandango movement.

The concept of Fandango movement is also of central concern in an 1828 treatise by the Italian author Carlo Blasis, distinguishing between two forms of the Fandango – the theatrical one and the socially popular one:

[The Fandango] was formerly danced much more generally by persons of quality, after the regulations enacted for the theatre, which introduced more dignity, more formality, and unaccompanied by the slightest movement that could give offence to modesty, or shock good taste. The lower orders, amongst whom this dance is in high request, accompany it with attitudes which savour of the vulgarity of the principal performers, and their extravagant movements never slacken, never cease, till they are fairly tired out (Blasis 1828, 33).

Carlo Blasis and his German colleague Theodor Hentschke (1836, 206) base their discussions of the fandango on a poem in which a poet by the name of, alternatively, Marino or Marini, describes what is – in their opinion – a typical fandango, or at least a precursor to the dance. If this is the famous Italian poet Giambattista Marini, who lived from 1569 to 1625, then the fandango has a long history; this, in any case, is Blasis’ and Hentschke’s interpretation. According to Blasis’ translation, Marini’s poem brings up the following characteristics:

A young girl, of ardent temperament, places in her hands two *castagnettes* of sonorous wood. By the aid of her finger, she produces a clattering noise, and to that she keeps time, with the graceful movements of her feet. The young man, her partner, holds a tamboureen, or tambour de basque, which however is not now much in use. He strikes the little bells of this instrument, shewing a wish to invite his companion to accompany him in gesticulation. While dancing, both alternately play the same air, and both keep good time to the measure. Every description of lascivious motion, every gesture calculated to offend decency, or corrupt innocence, is represented by these dancers, to the life. They salute alternately, and

exchange amorous looks; at times they give to their hips certain immodest motions, then meet and press their breasts together, their eyes appear half closed, and they seem, even while dancing, to be approaching to the final consummation (Blasis 1847, 27).

In order to justify the lively reception of such unusual dancing action – charged in narrative and eroticism, Blasis traces the fandango not only to the renaissance (by means of reference to Marini, as mentioned above) but also to antiquity, positing it as a kind of archetype; this strategy is frequently applied in eighteenth and nineteenth century dance theory as a justification for presenting and codifying unassimilated dance forms.²

Following Blasis and his writing colleagues, the actual aesthetic of the fandango is charged with eroticized narration and indebted to its execution by a particular type of woman. We observe an overlap of the image of Spanish women with the de-aristocratized beauty ideal of the period; thus, ambivalently received erotic activity is controlled by shaping it stereotypically.

When [the Fandango] is completely and perfectly performed, and the head, arms, feet and the whole body all contribute to its extraordinary movements, we are alternately struck with admiration, astonishment, fear, delight, and desire. [...] Upon seeing Spanish women in the Fandango, we are ready to remark that they seem made expressly for such a dance; their peculiar shape adds greatly to the attraction of the dance. They have a dark complexion, their feet are handsome and small, their hair black and shining like ebony; large eyes full of fire and expression; their mouth is small and well formed, with lips of vermilion between which appear their white teeth. They are slender about the waist, and every part of the body well proportioned, while every movement is graceful and picturesque. [...] Spanish dancers [...] accompany themselves with castanets, and very frequently with tambourines. They can also dance while playing the guitar, which is their beloved instrument: [...] (Blasis 1847, 29).

Beyond his focus on the beauty of Spanish women, Blasis considers the fandango as a partner dance. There are several similar or identical descriptions by his contemporaries—a German version by Paul Bruno Bartholomay reads as follows:

² Blasis 1847, 29. “The Fandango is [...] of ancient origin. [...] The Spanish dance of which we are speaking now made the tour of the world, and is well known in other countries as well as in Spain; the Fandango, in fact, is danced in every country in Europe; [...]”

Beside himself with desire, he approaches her once more; she advances towards him with the same feelings. Their glances devour each other, their lips seem to open, only sweet shame feebly restrains them; but the strings begin to sound more powerful, fiery and vehement, and the dancers' movements become more impetuous. Intoxication, delirium, voluptuousness seem to unite the couple, every muscle to yearn for indulgence, every moment to flee toward the last one. Suddenly the music stops! The dancers disappear in sweet fatigue, and the audience wakes from a sympathetic feeling or a pleasant dream. Everything which may spoil a pure mind is executed without restraint by this dancing pair. Now the one, now the other sends kisses to the other, and both make tender signs to each other. They let their hips make undulating movements, their bodies nearly meet, their eyes are half closed and it seems as if they would reach the highest embraces even while dancing (Bartholomay 1838, 222, translation Lisa Jeschke).

To summarize: nineteenth-century dance theories concentrate on mentioning two central aspects as constitutive of what is attractive in the aesthetic of the fandango: on the one hand, the relation between the erotic narration and energetic execution—as conditioning each other and pointing to the potential of personalized performance; and, on the other hand, the significance of the rhythm as produced and made audible by the dancers themselves in using stomping and playing the castanets. Both aspects lead to an intensification of vigor and energy testing the limits of the period's socially accepted behavioral norms.

While the dominant French dance tradition emphasizes the formal components of dance by means of the geometric and two-dimensional in the way it makes use of the space and the body, the fandango as well as other Spanish dances are more interested in narrative, multi-perspectival interaction with either dance partner or audience; the body as a whole becomes an instrument.

The agitation of the body, the footing, the postures, the attitudes, the waverings, whether they be lively or dull, are the representations of desire, of gallantry, of impatience, of uncertainty, of tenderness, of chagrin, of confusion, of despair, of revival, of satisfaction, and finally of happiness (Blasis 1828, 33).

I have in a different context referred to the specific qualities of the body orientation and the dynamic and mimic movement repertoire of the

Spanish dances³; these can also be observed in the fandango. Arm and leg movements model the body less two-dimensionally than three-dimensionally, in a sculptural manner. There is great scope for the arms, which bend and stretch in all directions, which move both close to and distant from the torso, and go across the center of the body. The actions of the legs, too, generally support the body movement and show less virtuosity than traditional dance. The torso can bend along the body center and be brought into twisted positions; as a consequence, it becomes possible not only to define the body's environment as its own space, but also to posit personally differentiated relations with regard to partner, space and audience members.

In terms of stage dance, the personalized and narrative performance style associated with Spanish dance is received positively, as innovative and varied; in terms of social dance, however, it is rejected. The erotic interaction between man and woman is considered as immoral; hence another German, Eduard David Helmke, suggests the following in order to ban the danger of indecent behavior:

If you know the fandango, you will not want to get to know it, for even the desire to do so makes you blush with shame; and even so, certainly no lady would forget herself to the point of dancing it with a gentleman in public. If it is to be danced, this can only occur between two ladies; [...] then it will appear as [expressing] the rapture of reunion, reconciliation and warm sisterly affection (Helmke 1829, 119, translation Lisa Jeschke).

Fandango Performance: Choreo-Graphy – The story of *Les Conscrits Espagnols*

The ballet is set in a Spanish village in the season of the hay harvest. Two men, Béplo and Nigodo, are courting a young woman, Inès. Inès wants to marry the worker Béplo, whom she loves; she dislikes the laziness of her cousin Nigodo, the mayor's son. The two men start a quarrel which is followed by a pas de deux of Ines and Béplo. The first part of the ballet ends with a fandango for four couples.

The second part tells the story of the village's young men who expect to be conscripted soon. Béplo makes the mayor promise that he will give Inès to him and not to his son Nigodo if he manages to prevent the recruitment. The young men disguise themselves as pseudo-invalids in

³ Jeschke 2003, 120–121.

order to prove that they are unfit for service. However, the ruse fails. In the scenic version, the wedding between Ines and Béplo is celebrated nevertheless. In the libretto version, there is no wedding; however dances take place (three more Spanish dances)—motivated by an atmosphere (not narration) of reconciliation concluding the story's confrontation between generations and of state and citizen.

In Justamant's livret de mise en scène, the fandango appears as a rural, popular dance. Placed right after the pas de deux between Inès and Béplo, and concluding the first part of the ballet, it takes up the positive man-woman relation conveyed through the pas de deux while weakening the closed unity of its communication by expanding the structure to four dancing couples. However, the reverse interpretation is just as thinkable: the expanded set-up of four couples (and it remains unclear whether Inès and Béplo are one of them) might intensify the ecstatic dimensions of the action. The fandango-typical, spatially closed couple figurations rendering possible the eroticized interaction remain stable throughout the action; only in the last two parts of the choreo-graphy do the dancers form a row.

In the context of this presentation, there is not enough time to describe the dance in detail, but I can at least provide an initial gloss of Justamant's fandango-notation: In the top right, 3/4 is given as the time signature—but there are no further indications of what the music composed by 'Mr. Tozet' is like⁴; underneath, the number of bars for the individual dance figurations (11 in this dance) is noted. You can see male performers sketched in black and female performers sketched in red, and their movement across the dance floor (figure 1 shows the figurations 8 to 10 of this fandango). While the shape of the stick figures is standardized, there are at least some hints of arm movement and body posture. Furthermore, the notation involves step designations taken from classical vocabulary – such as *brisé soubressau* [sic] or *jeté ordinaire* and is enhanced by specifications such as '*pas marché et traîné le pied*'; we also find a 'nationalized' indication which is a '*Cachucha*' step forwards and backwards.⁵ In general, the vocabulary favors multidirectional traveling and undulating steps.

⁴ The musical score of this ballet, which would also provide insight into the performance mode of this fandango, is yet to be found.

⁵ There is no information about the components of Justamant's understanding of the '*Cachucha*' step. However, Auguste Bournonville offers a description in his own notation which had been translated into Labanotation; cf. Jürgensen; Hutchinson Guest 1990, 168. Justamant's fandango inventory comprises the

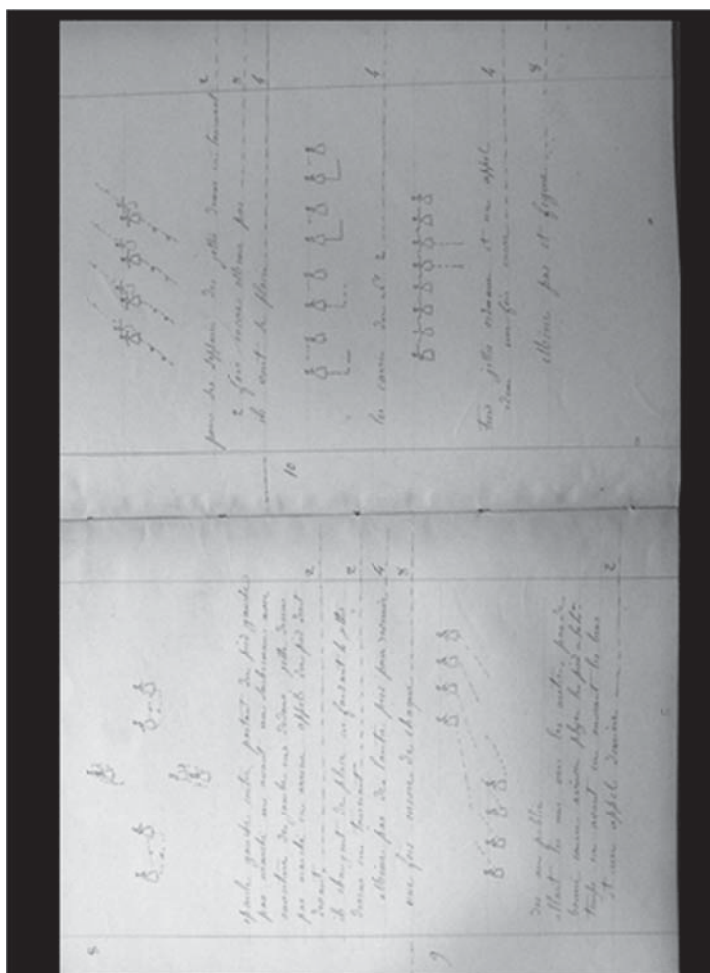


Figure 1. *Les Conscrits Espagnols ou le recrutement Forcé*. Ballet Comique en un acte Par Mr Justamant / Musique de Mr. Tozet / Représenté pour la première Fois à Lyon sur le grand théâtre en mars 1851. The manuscript is located in Theaterwissenschaftliche Sammlung Schloß Wahn, Cologne.

following steps (in Justamant's unregular spelling of the terms): brisé; soubressau; pas marché de coté, traine le pied à terre, temps levé; pas marché en tournant 2 ronds des jambs, sauter en dedans en tournant assemblé devant; sauts de basque naturels; temps de la cachucha; pas de tomber en balancant (tombé balancer); jeté ordinaire; pas de bourree desous, dessus.

In comparison to other notations of Spanish dances in Justamant's repertoire, the noted stomping movements and clapping ("frappant les mains")—which occurs only once—is unusual; there are, however, several allusions to an action which Justamant calls "appel", adding the remark "sur pied". I have preliminarily considered this as an auditory equivalent of "frappant les mains", in this case executed by the feet. This means: the dancers accompany their actions by means of rhythmical, audible accents and thus apply a fandango-typical element.

In the context of the ballet's dramaturgy, the fandango in Justamant's notation appears as model of an easily executed, variably applicable stage dance without reference to narration or emotional, eroticized interaction. The formal structuring of the movement in space is reminiscent of typical contredanse formations from the mid-eighteenth century, which were equally valid for Spanish dances. The notations of Pablo Minguet (figure 2) might be an example; this author combines seguidillas and fandango-formations.⁶

Justamant's fandango appears as a sketch, a structural model. As such it does not exclude the possibility of performers adding to the dance in expression and interpretation – on the contrary: it suggests as much. In none of the numerous Justamant 'livrets de mise en scène'⁷ is there a reference to a specific performance mode beside the implicit motoric and spatial characteristics of the steps themselves. In the case of this specific choreographer, it is not possible to answer the question of whether or to what extent the typical erotic or ecstatic features discussed in dance theory were exhibited by the dancers on stage and, furthermore, whether or to what extent these features were characteristic for the performances of the fandango in theatrical contexts at all. It might be possible, however, to somewhat stabilize the mobile relational fields between theory and practice by means of a comparative approach that includes more choreographic/choreo-graphic evidence of the stereotypes as well as particularities of "performing dancing" on nineteenth-century European stages.

⁶ Minguet 1758, n.p.

⁷ Cf. Jeschke; Vettermann; Haitzinger 2010, 15, footnote 5.

The image displays two pages from the book 'Arte de Danzar a La Francesca' by Pablo Minguet e Yrol, published in 1758. The left page is titled 'Los Pyramidos y Profus Mixolana nueva.' and features musical notation for a 'Contradanza' in 2/4 time, marked '2.ª vez'. The right page is titled 'Los Bailarinos Contradanza mixta y nueva.' and also features musical notation for a 'Contradanza' in 2/4 time, marked '2.ª vez'. Both pages include a grid of 12 diagrams (labeled I to XII) illustrating various dance steps and formations. The diagrams are arranged in a 3x4 grid. The right page includes a concluding text block at the bottom right, which reads: 'En la Affixta aprendida por mi liberto, lo que he de dar a conocer como no sea, Acuerden algunos hacer No q' el tiempo de la música sea de 16. y 18. y 20. y 24. y 32. y 48. y 64. y 96. y 128. y 160. y 192. y 256. y 320. y 384. y 448. y 512. y 576. y 640. y 704. y 768. y 832. y 896. y 960. y 1024. y 1088. y 1152. y 1216. y 1280. y 1344. y 1408. y 1472. y 1536. y 1600. y 1664. y 1728. y 1792. y 1856. y 1920. y 1984. y 2048. y 2112. y 2176. y 2240. y 2304. y 2368. y 2432. y 2496. y 2560. y 2624. y 2688. y 2752. y 2816. y 2880. y 2944. y 3008. y 3072. y 3136. y 3200. y 3264. y 3328. y 3392. y 3456. y 3520. y 3584. y 3648. y 3712. y 3776. y 3840. y 3904. y 3968. y 4032. y 4096. y 4160. y 4224. y 4288. y 4352. y 4416. y 4480. y 4544. y 4608. y 4672. y 4736. y 4800. y 4864. y 4928. y 4992. y 5056. y 5120. y 5184. y 5248. y 5312. y 5376. y 5440. y 5504. y 5568. y 5632. y 5696. y 5760. y 5824. y 5888. y 5952. y 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CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

CHANGING PLACES: TOWARD THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DANCED FANDANGO¹

THOMAS BAIRD, K. MEIRA GOLDBERG
AND PAUL JARED NEWMAN

Abstract

The fandango, as a dance craze adopted by the aristocracy of eighteenth century Spain and propagated in elite concert halls and salons, derived from the communal celebrations of the lowest rungs of Spanish and Spanish-American society. Indeed, its widespread popularity is inextricably linked to the great social, economic, and cultural shifts of the Enlightenment, with its elevation and representation of the popular. Yet the popular fandangos, interpreted in aristocratic settings and recorded in the *cifras* of court musicians, dance treatises, libretti of ballets, operas, and *tonadillas*, as by elite observers and foreign tourists, have themselves been lost to time. Therefore, we wonder, is it possible to reconstruct a danced fandango from the eighteenth century? What can primary sources tell us about the movement vocabulary, the choreography, and the rhythms of the fandango? Beyond that, how can we kinesthetically grasp the supposed lasciviousness that, along with the fandango's representation of the popular, universally characterizes this dance?

¹ Extracts (c.3000w) from “Almost Flamenco: Majismo, Urban Youth, and the Fandango Craze (1700-1849),” by K. Meira Goldberg from *Sonidos Negros: On the Blackness of Flamenco* by Goldberg, K. Meira (2018) are published here by permission of Oxford University Press, USA, www.oup.com.

Keywords

Juan de Esquivel Navarro, Juan Antonio Jaque, Pablo Minguet é Irol, Felipe Roxo de Flores, Antonio Cairón, pasada, cruce, llamada, carrerilla, campanela, bien parado, sostenido, cambio, pellizco, remate, fandango, seguidillas, sevillanas, folías

Resumen

El fandango, como baile de moda adoptado por la aristocracia del siglo XVIII y diseminado en salas de concierto y salones de la élite, tuvo sus orígenes en las fiestas de las clases más bajas de la sociedad española e hispanoamericana. Su amplia popularidad está ligada indisolublemente a las grandes tendencias sociales, económicas y culturales de la Ilustración, con su interés y ensalzamiento de lo popular. Sin embargo, aunque interpretados en ambientes aristocráticos y registrados en las partituras de los músicos de la corte, tratados de baile, *libretti* de ballet, óperas y tonadillas, así como en artículos de prensa y libros de viajes de aficionados intelectuales y turistas extranjeros, los fandangos populares se han perdido en el tiempo. ¿Es posible reconstruir un fandango bailado del siglo XVIII? ¿Qué revelan las fuentes principales acerca del vocabulario referido a sus movimientos, sus coreografías, y sus ritmos? Es más, ¿cómo podemos captar desde el punto de vista cinestésico la supuesta lascivia que, al igual que la representación de lo popular, caracteriza universalmente a este baile?

Introduction

The fandango as an eighteenth-century dance craze derived from communal celebrations of those inhabiting the lowest rungs in Hispanic society.² Introduced to the Iberian Peninsula by people returning from “the Kingdom of the Indies,” the fandango was perfumed by the boundless possibilities of the Americas, and soon became so popular and “so thoroughly naturalized” on the Peninsula that, as Henry Swinburne wrote in 1776, “every Spaniard may be said to be born with it in his head and in his heels.”³ The fandango rose with the great tidal shifts of the Enlightenment,

² We would like to thank friends, mentors, and colleagues Lynn Matluck Brooks, Alan Jones, Elisabeth Le Guin, Peter Manuel, Antoni Pizà, María José Ruiz Mayordomo and Aurèlia Pessarradona, Craig Russell, Paige Whitley-Bauguess, and Ana Yepes for their peerless research and seminal contributions to our work.

³ Real Academia Española (henceforth RAE), 1732, 719; Henry Swinburne, 1779, 354. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by K. Meira Goldberg.

reflecting the emergence of new nation-states and new political and economic systems, in innovative performances for changing audiences. The fandango fascinates, because this once renegade and exotic dance came to represent the quintessence of national spirit in Spain. In a further ironic turn, this symbol of the metropolis was adopted as an emblem of local identity, voicing resistance to colonial culture in a glittering variety of locations throughout the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking world.

There are references to parties of “black and white slaves” called “*fandangueros*” on the Iberian Peninsula as early as 1464, but although eminent theater and dance scholar Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (1911, ccxlv), and dance folklorist Aurelio Capmany (1931, 248) agreed that this dance must have been popular in Spain by the end of the seventeenth century, the fashion for the fandango among the upper crust is not documented until the early-eighteenth century.⁴ Once adopted by the upper classes, however, the fandango’s trajectory becomes clear. Along with other popular dances such as *seguidillas* and *jotas*, and newer variants like the *bolero*, the fandango found a firm foothold on the Spanish stage in the second half of the century.⁵ Along with these other dances, the fandango formed the basis for the *escuela bolera* (the bolero school, Spain’s school of classical dance), which in turn made the jump to middle-class dance academies and *cafés cantantes*, feeding into the vocabulary of present day flamenco dance.⁶

Beyond impressionistic tourist accounts, the eighteenth-century fandangos of street and plaza were not recorded. And yet, looking to contemporary dance practices such as flamenco and classical Spanish dance, we wonder not whether they hold traces of the eighteenth-century fandango—as formal continuities in movement, music, and representational tropes are well documented—but exactly what these traces are. Therefore, we endeavor here to engage with the question of how to reconstruct a fandango from the eighteenth century.

Meira and Tom move toward the eighteenth century from opposite directions: Tom as an historic dance specialist steeped in the ethos of Renaissance and Baroque courtly styles, and Meira, as a flamenco dancer and historian, grounded in the world of the present and the popular.

⁴ José Luis Navarro García, 1998, 59, 199, citing Municipal Archives of Jerez de la Frontera, September 14, 1464, folio 118.

⁵ See Twiss, 1775, 167; and Lantier, 1836, 253.

⁶ Cairón (1820, 110) says the bolero is an “imitation” of the fandango.

Jared, performer and scholar of both Baroque and flamenco guitar, straddles both worlds; as an accompanist moving fluently between music and dance, Jared helped us read and comprehend the musical sources. We seek here to explore and catalog the insights, intuitions, questions, and possibilities gleaned from our dialogue with the sources and with each other. We hope with our research to gather a body of possibilities to aid reconstructors in the future.

The Fandango as Lascivious

One question we were forced to confront immediately and continuously throughout our research is that of the fandango's supposed lasciviousness. Accounts of eighteenth-century fandangos danced in streets and plazas, on theater stages, and at aristocratic balls, beginning perhaps most notably with the often-cited 1712 letter by Manuel Martí y Zaragoza (1663–1737) comparing these dances to the “sweet tremblings” of the famously provocative *puellae gaditanae*, almost universally characterized this dance as licentious and lascivious.⁷ Henry Swinburne, who attended a ball in Barcelona in 1775, wrote that the fandango “exceeds in wantonness all the dances I ever beheld. Such motions, such writhings of the body and positions of the limbs, as no modest eye can look upon without a blush!” (1787, 70). Contemporary tourist accounts of fandangos on the theater stage were also seen in this light; for example, William Dalrymple's 1774 account of *Travels Through Spain and Portugal* recounts how in several visits to the theater he saw the fandango, “a lascivious dance, brought from the West Indies” (1777, 51). Casanova, describing the fandango danced by couples at a masked ball in Madrid in 1767, said “I had never seen anything wilder or more interesting” (1966, 317). Casanova had seen the fandango danced in theaters in France and Italy, but those dancers “did not perform one of the national gestures which make the dance truly seductive” (1966, 321). He continued,

Each couple danced face to face, never taking more than three steps, striking the castanets, which are held in the fingers, and accompanying the music with attitudes than which nothing more lascivious could possibly be seen. Those of the man indicated love crowned with success, those of the woman consent, ravishment, the ecstasy of pleasure. It seemed to me that

⁷ Ortega Castejón, 2014, 306. We are grateful to Alan Jones for sharing this reference. For more on the *Puellae gaditanae*, see Kathy Milazzo, “Ancient Dancers of Cádiz,” in Goldberg, Bennahum, and Hayes, 2015.

no woman could refuse anything to a man with whom she had danced the fandango (1966, 321).

Both Casanova and Swinburne voiced eighteenth-century tourists' interest in seeing the fandango in its native, vernacular setting. Casanova noted that "to have a true idea of the dance one had to see it performed by *gitanas* ("gypsy girls") with a man who also danced it to perfection" (1966, 317). Swinburne wrote, "The end of the carnival of Cádiz differed very little from the beginning; no public balls or masquerades being allowed ... There were however, many assemblies and balls of a lower class, where the fandango is danced *a la ley*, that is, in all the perfection it is capable of" (1787, 353–54).

For Martí y Zaragoza writing in 1712, part of the licentiousness of these dances involved their crossing class boundaries; they were danced not only by "dark-skinned folk and people of low station, but also by respectable ladies of noble birth."⁸ Half a century later, writer and critic Joseph Baretti, in a 1760 letter describing a fandango in Elvas, on the border between Portugal and Extremadura, noted that "shabby rascal[s]" danced with "gaudy women" without showing "the least partiality to age, to dress, or to beauty..."

This would not have been allowed in any of the countries I have visited, where the ill-dressed keep company with the ill-dressed, and the fine with the fine, without ever dreaming of such mixtures as are practised in this part of the world" (1770, 49–50).

This licentious intercourse between classes was a central trope of fandangos on the eighteenth-century theater stage as well, from Calderón de la Barca's *Entremés del novio de la aldeana* (1723) to Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro* (1786). These fandangos were uproarious—their tumult, as Craig Russell argues in his article in this volume on Mozart's fandango as a "prism of revolution," having a decidedly political bent. It seemed to us that the class tensions shaping the fandango represented an opportunity to explore its embodied realness, to crack the carapace of its supposed lasciviousness and find out what movement, what energy, what music, and what intentionalities lay beneath. How would the fandango have differed according to social context? Were we trying for a fandango

⁸ Alan Jones's new translation of Martí's 1712 letter from Latin to English is discussed in his article in this volume. An often-cited Spanish translation of this passage can be found in Capmany, 1931, 248.

of an aristocratic ballroom, of the theater, or of the street? Craig Russell, in his landmark study of the codex of Santiago de Murcia, personal guitarist and guitar tutor to Maria Luisa Gabriela of Savoy, consort of Felipe V and Queen of Spain, added another piece of the puzzle: dances on the stages of the eighteenth century were

...based upon the latest popular dances; the theatrical troupe merely transported the latest fad from street to stage ... Given the importance of dance in Spanish theater, one can assume that the variation-settings of *bailes* and *danzas* found in Murcia's "Código Saldivar" would be equally applicable to stage, street, plaza, or ballroom (1995, vol. 1, 17–18).

Tom and I decided not to decide, but rather to let the differences in our dance styles address this question.

Our Sources

We consulted a wide variety of primary sources in our research: dance treatises, sheet music, engravings and paintings, and tourist accounts.⁹ The earliest mentions of the eighteenth-century fandango are those of the 1705 *Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra*, which contains a "Fandango Yndiano" (Indiano means it comes from the Indies, that is, from the Americas) and a "Fandango" played with *rasgueado* (a strumming technique), and *punteado* (a plucking technique).¹⁰

Calderón de la Barca's 1723 *Entremés del novio de la aldeana* gives stage directions indicating that the main characters stop "singing and playing instruments, and together they raise the ruckus, the shouting, and other things that are used when singing uproarious fandangos."¹¹ This use of the word "fandango" to refer to both a raucous party and the dance and music presumably performed at those parties is constant, from the above-mentioned 1464 document castigating "black and white slaves" for raising a "scandal and a ruckus," to the present day; in his book on the *Fandango* of México, esteemed musicologist Antonio García de León Griego opens his chapter on "The Language of the Feet" with a magical description of a

⁹ For an overview of many of these resources, see Alan Jones, 2012.

¹⁰ Craig Russell (1995, vol. 1, 157) gives the location of these documents: "Madrid: 'Libro de diferentes cifras,' BN, M.811, "Fandango," pp. 112–13; "Fandango Yndiano," p. 140."

¹¹ "*Deja de cantar y tocando arman los dos la gritería, chillidos y otras cosas que se usan cuando se cantan los fandangos en bulla,*" Pedro Calderón de la Barca, 1723, 90; cited in Cotarelo, 1911, vol. 1, ccxlv-ccxlv.

nighttime fandango that can be heard from miles away (2006, 53).¹²

In 1732, the Royal Academy defined “Fandango” for the first time, as a “Dance introduced by those who have been in the Kingdom of the Indies, done to the sound of a very happy and festive music.”¹³ Also from 1732, Santiago de Murcia’s *Código Saldivar* contains a fandango—one of the earliest notated settings of this music (Russell, 1995, vol. 1, 16). Around the same time, and in Madrid, engraver Pablo Minguet é Irol (c. 1715–1801) published a series of dance manuals—early Spanish dance scholar María José Ruiz Mayordomo (2012, 132) says perhaps beginning as early as 1725, and continuing through 1774—which give instructions for 45 Spanish dance steps “used in Seguidillas, Fandango, and Other Musics” (Figure 1).¹⁴ This series of manuals was meant to instruct Minguet’s increasingly bourgeois readership on how to dance the French-influenced *contradanzas* of the day, but Minguet included this little treatise of Spanish steps, specifying that they may be used in French dances as well.¹⁵

Many of Minguet’s eighteenth-century Spanish steps were already described in Juan de Esquivel Navarro’s 1642 *Discursos sobre el arte del dançado*.¹⁶ This afforded us a sense of the continuities in movement vocabulary, as well as a perception of what had changed from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. Another source, and a reference point in considering these continuities was dance maestro Juan Antonio Jaque’s *Libro de danzar de Don Baltasar de Rojas Pantojah*, a dance manual written c. 1680 for his pupil, which contains

¹² “...se quejan de los esclavos negros y blancos, (para facer) fiestas se juntaban, é con panderos é tabales é otros estormentos—instrumentos—facian (escándalos) é bollicos...” Municipal Archives of Jerez de la Frontera, September 14, 1464, folio 118, cited in Juan de la Plata, “Esclavos, moriscos, y gitanos: la etapa hermética del flamenco,” *Revista de Flamencología*, año II, no. 3 (Cátedra de Flamencología de la Universidad de Cádiz: 1r semestre 1996): 45–53. We are grateful to Jesús Cosano for this reference.

¹³ “Baile introducido por los que han estado en los reinos de las Indias, que se hace al son de un tañido muy alegre y festivo.” RAE 1732, 719, cited in Cotarelo, 1911, vol. I, ccxliv–ccxlv.

¹⁴ We primarily used a 1737 version from the Library of Congress (henceforth LOC) and a 1764 version from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (henceforth BNE).

¹⁵ LOC, 1764, 6. For more on the circum-Caribbean circulation of the contradance, see Peter Manuel, 2009.

¹⁶ Our source for consulting Esquivel was Lynn Matluck Brooks, 2003.

choreographies—lists of steps, lacking any spatial indications for the most part—for six dances.¹⁷



Figure 1. Pablo Minguet é Irol, *Breve tratado de los passos del danzar a la española* [Texto impreso] : que oy se estilan en las seguidillas, fandango, y otros tañidos. Madrid: Imprenta del autor, 1764. Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Notwithstanding Minguet's descriptions of Spanish dance steps that can be used in the fandango, the floor patterns and choreographies that he provides are from French dance (he plagiarized liberally from French publisher and choreographer Raoul Auger Feuillet [1653 – 1709])—not

¹⁷ Our source for using Jaque was the transcription published by José Subirá in 1950. Jaque's original manuscript can be accessed through the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica of the BNE, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000068465&page=1> (accessed July 23, 2015). For more on Esquivel and Jaque, see Ana Yepes, "From the *Járaca* to the *Sarabande*," in Goldberg, Bennahum, and Hayes, 2015, 56–70.

the fandango (Russell, 1995, vol. 1, 23).¹⁸ The first detailed description of a fandango choreography from a dance manual did not appear until 1820, when bolero dancer Antonio Cairón published his treatise on Spanish dance, disseminated throughout European dance academies in the works of Carlo Blasis (1828 and later).¹⁹

Seeing the Pasada

In his article in this volume, Alan Jones has re-worked the translation of Martí's often-cited letter from the Latin original, and it turns out that it contains no reference to the fandango at all.²⁰ What the letter does describe is a dance party in Cádiz, with couple dances in public plazas, much like the flamenco *sevillanas* danced in Seville during the April Fair today. Aside from sounding the theme of lasciviousness, commenting that the couples' "bodies move reflecting everything that awakens desire," Martí's letter gives much valuable movement description:

A man and a woman dance together, sometimes one couple, sometimes more. They move to the music, arousing lust in every way imaginable: by curving their arms in extremely soft gestures, moving their buttocks again and again, twitching their thighs, and provoking each other suggestively. They engage in all kinds of unbridled sexual mimicry with the greatest skill and fervor. You can see the man thrust his hips while the woman moans and writhes...

While they dance there is laughter and joking all around. What is more, the onlookers themselves, seized with the fury of the satyric dance, are drawn into this representation of desire, and they sway gently and nod their heads.

In terms of movement, we glean from this passage:

- ☐ A man and a woman dance together, sometimes one couple, sometimes more
- ☐ curving their arms in extremely soft gestures
- ☐ moving their buttocks again and again

¹⁸ See Minguet, 1755, 6.

¹⁹ For more on the fandango in Blasis, see Claudia Jeschke, "Hispanomania in Nineteenth Century Theory and Choreography," in Goldberg, Bennahum, and Hayes, 2015.

²⁰ The following discussion is based on Jones's translation of the Martí letter from Latin to English.

- ☐ twitching their thighs²¹
- ☐ provoking each other suggestively
- ☐ sexual mimicry
- ☐ the man thrust[s] his hips
- ☐ the woman moans and writhes
- ☐ While they dance there is laughter and joking all around
- ☐ the onlookers ...sway gently and nod their heads

Despite this detailed movement description, Martí's 1712 account gives no indication of the choreography, the patterns in space, of the dances he observed. However, the following eighteenth-century tourist accounts—and it should be noted that they are all from the second half of the eighteenth century, and all of “fandangos”—do give such indications:²²

- ☐ ...men and women ... dance close to each other, then wheel about, then approach each other with fond eagerness, then quickly retire, then quickly approach again, the man looking the woman steadily in the face, while she keeps her head down, and fixes her eyes on the ground with as much modesty as she can put on (Joseph Baretti, 1760).²³
- ☐ ...a young Spanish girl ... begins by extending her arms, making her fingers snap; which she keeps up throughout the whole fandango to mark the rhythm; the man turns about her, he comes and goes with violent movements, to which she responds with similar gestures... (Pierre Agustín Caron “Beaumarchais,” 1765).²⁴

The fandango is danced only by two people, who never touch one another, not even with their hands; but to see them provoke one another, by turns retreating to a distance, and advancing closely again; to see how the

²¹ Alan Jones makes the very significant observation that “the ‘stamping’ found in some translations appears in fact to be some kind of throbbing or twitching movement originating in the thighs.”

²² The following sources, with the exception of Bourgoing, are included in Navarro García's appendix on the Fandango, 1998, 199–216.

²³ Baretti, 1770, 48–50.

²⁴ Thomas, 2006, 120–121.

woman, at the moment when her languor indicates a near defeat, revives all at once to escape her pursuer; how she is pursued, and in turn pursues him... (Jean-François Bourgoing, 1797).²⁵

- ...the two dancers approach each other, they run away from each other, they chase each other in succession.... The lovers seem just at the point of falling into each other's arms; but, suddenly, the music ceases and the art of the dancer is to remain immobile... (Étienne Françoise de Lantier, 1799).²⁶

Today's sevillanas are the only couple dance in the flamenco repertory, and the *pasada*—the sevillanas step with which partners change places—is part of the sevillanas choreography in all its variants. But sevillanas are seguidillas; they are not fandangos. Why then would these eighteenth-century tourist accounts describe a *pasada* in fandangos?

Fandangos and Seguidillas: Shared Dance Syntax

Perhaps partly due to their often-licentious reputation, Spanish dances have for centuries been notoriously fluid in name (Brooks, 2003, 34). And given the ambiguity of the word “fandango” itself, referring to both a dance music and to a party where a variety of popular dances might be performed, we should not be surprised to find this movement motif, like instrumentation, meter, and performance context, shared by these two old popular dances.²⁷ Seguidillas can be traced to medieval Andalusian verse, while fandangos, somewhat younger, perhaps relate to the *décimas*, ten-line stanzas invented by Vicente Espinél (1550–1624). Both dances are endowed with a scandalous reputation: according to lexicographer and grammarian Gonzalo Correas (1626), seguidillas are elegant, sharp, and sententious, as befitting the dance of the *gente de la seguida*—the people of the pursuit—“ruffians and their consorts,” so-called “because they

²⁵ Bourgoing, 1808, 300–301. See a discussion of this passage in Lou Charnon-Deutsch's article in this volume.

²⁶ Lantier, 1836, 253.

²⁷ In their article in this volume, Ruiz Mayordomo and Pessarrodonna describe a fandango step that is very similar to the sevillanas step. Also in this volume, see Miguel Ángel Berlanga's discussion of fandangos, jotas, and seguidillas as “fandango musics.”

pursue their taste and their pleasure, a free, lawless life...and even because they are pursued by the authorities” (1903, 272).²⁸

One formal characteristic that seems useful in differentiating fandangos and seguidillas is verse structure: fandangos have five lines, while seguidillas have three or four lines, often accompanied by a two- to three-line *estribillo* (chorus, tag). In sevillanas verses, the lines tend to alternate between 5 and 7 syllables:

Line 1:	Mi novio es cartujano (7)
Line 2:	pintor de losa (5)
Line 3:	que pinta palanganas (7)
Line 4:	color de rosa (5)
Estribillo line 1:	Así lo quiero (5)
Estribillo line 2:	Que pinte palanganas (7)
Estribillo line 3:	Color del cielo (5) ²⁹

In her award-winning study of the *Tonadilla in Performance*, musicologist Elisabeth Le Guin cites philologist and folklorist Margarit Frenk in defining seguidillas precisely by this uneven verse structure, ““combinations of “long” with short lines” that produce a ““limp” in the strophe” (2014, 109).

And yet, far from this sharp contrast in verse form (4-line “limping” verses in seguidillas, as opposed to 5-line octosyllabic verses in fandangos), in terms of dance, seguidillas/sevillanas and Huelva-type fandangos from Andalucía share an asymmetrical, limping rhythm:³⁰

²⁸ ... dicho sentenzioso i agudo, de burla ó grave, aunque en este tiempo se han usado mas en lo burlesco i picante, como tan acomodadas á la tonada i cantar alegre de bailes i danzas, i del pandero, i de la jente de la seghida i enamorada, rufianes i sus consortes, de quienes en particular se les ha pegado el nombre á las seguidillas. I ellos se llaman de la seguida, i de la siga, de la vida seguida, i de la vida airada, porque siguen su gusto i plazer i vida libre sin lei, i su furia, i siguen i corren las casas públicas, i aun porque son seguidos y perseguidos de la Justizia...

²⁹ For a performance of this verse, see Rocío Jurado singing in Carlos Saura’s 1992 film *Sevillanas*. Juan José Gallego Roldán, “Rocío Jurado – Sevillanas Corraleras,” *YouTube*, March 24, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Il4hhkvdKWk> (accessed July 20, 2015), 1:11–1:51.

³⁰ See Guillermo Castro 2013 for a discussion of adaptations of seguidilla meter to fandangos in both classical and flamenco contexts.

pam	rest	rest	pam	pam	rest	pam	rest	rest	pam	pam	rest
in flamenco counts:											
12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

If the verse above were being danced as a sevillanas, this would be the first *mudanza*, or movement phrase:

Mi novio es cartujano
pintor de losa

It would be sung something like this:

Mi novio es cartujano, mi alma,
pintor de losa
pintor de losa, mi novio es cartujano
Ay, ay, ay
Mi novio es cartujano, mi alma,
pintor de losa

The repeat of the first line would be danced something like this:

pam	rest	rest	pam	pam	rest	pam	rest	rest	pam	pam	rest
in flamenco counts:											
12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Mi novio es											
Car	tu	ja	no	mi	al	ma	pin	tor	de	lo	sa
pasada				change places					paseo (sevillanas step)		

The sevillanas step that closes the line of poetry on flamenco counts “9–10” also begins the next dance phrase. That is, having changed places, the partners greet each other with the sevillanas step, which serves musically as a *remate*, or punctuation at the end of the line, and also as the *llamada* (call), or opening for the new *mudanza*. (In flamenco terms, the sevillanas is danced in sixes, rather than in twelves, and thus the music simply resets back to the beginning of a new phrase following this *remate*.)

The *pasada* and the sevillanas step share a unique rhythmic impetus, launching forward on two consecutive beats (3–4, 9–10) instead of changing weight evenly. This asymmetrical rhythmic pattern is found in some of Spain’s oldest dance steps, like the *paseo* or sevillanas step

(Brooks, 1988, 201), and the jota step.³¹ This danced *pellizco*, or pinch, pulls on the underlying triplet; in that sense, it functions as a hemiola.³²

In dance terms this rhythm, which enunciates a change in section, step, phrase, or chord, serves the same syntactic function as marking alternate beats of the measure of 6/8 (12 – 2 – 4 etc. in flamenco counts)—some flamencos call this a *cambio*.³³ The *pellizco* (on flamenco counts 4 or 10), which in both the asymmetrical *pasada* rhythm and the even *cambio* rhythm is accompanied by a movement upward and/or outward, as if tossing a ball in the air, leads into the *llamada* on a strongly accented first beat (12 or 6 in flamenco counts).³⁴

The *llamada* may be followed by a pause lasting from two to five beats, a suspension replete with improvisational possibilities. Shared by all actors, this pause allows one participant or the other to take the lead, guiding the music toward resolution (as if catching and holding the falling ball) or, alternately, tossing it back up in the air, leading into another round of the improvisational game. This rhythm, a hemiola followed by a strong accent on the downbeat (a *cambio* followed by a *llamada* in flamenco terms), is a ubiquitous and essential element of flamenco syntax, found in *verdiales*, *jaleos extremeños*, *bulerías*, and other forms. It is also present in Baroque music, as for example in Jean Baptiste Lully's "Vaya de Fiestas" from *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670).³⁵ As we will explain

³¹ In his study of the jota, a popular dance in the northern provinces of Spain, Arabist Julián Ribera y Tarragó asserted that the Aragonese jotas derive from medieval Andalusian music, and returned there with the eighteenth-century fandango (1928, 66–67).

³² Hemiola is a rhythmic relationship, often an overlay, of threes and twos.

³³ Belén Maya calls this movement idea "*recoje*." For a further discussion of this rhythmic pattern in *pasada* and *paseo*, and in *bulerías*, see Goldberg, 2014, 102–4.

³⁴ See, for example, this snippet of Manuela Carpio dancing *bulerías* at the Festival de Jerez in 2012: in the first five seconds of this clip she pinches, throwing the gesture outward ("throwing the ball in the air"), on the 4 or 10 (in flamenco counts), followed by a *llamada* on 12 or 6 ("catching the falling ball") of each *compás* (measure) of six beats (roughly 00:08, 00:10), before "tossing the ball" back to the singer with a *pellizco* to begin a new line (roughly 00:12). FlamencoTV, "Manuel Carpio saca 'su esencia' en el Festival de Jerez, *YouTube*, March 6, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EZB87pcNVmw> (accessed July 20, 2015).

³⁵ In this recording of Lully's piece, see the phrase "de fantasia" from 00:50–00:56. Adriana Hernández Forcada, "Vaya de Fiestas, Jean Baptiste Lully, La Gallarda," *YouTube*, April 23, 2014,

in our discussion of *carrerilla* and *llamada* below, we think we may have found traces of this syntactic structure in Jaque's 1680 *Folias* as well.

In sevillanas, the *pasada* on the penultimate measure of the poetic phrase launches the dancers into the next *mudanza* on the closing six beats (sevillanas step).³⁶ It signals the coming end of the line of poetry even as it closes the dance phrase. Sung poetry and dance seem out of phase with each other, but, somewhat counterintuitively, the dancer grabbing ahold of the end of the phrase with this pinch may then control or guide it, extending the close to the limits of the participants' stamina, or bringing it to a witty or virtuosic conclusion. The sevillanas step ends on flamenco counts "3–4" with a *pellizco*, the lift in body and arms signaling that the "ending" will be the "beginning" of a new *mudanza*, on the following strongly accented first beat (12 or 6 in flamenco counts).

Today's sevillanas are quite academicized and, unlike most other flamenco dances, are usually taught and performed with a set choreography. But the eighteenth-century fandango would have been an improvised couple dance. This use of a *pellizco* or hemiola to close a phrase and open a new one in today's sevillanas illuminates complex syntactic relationships between dance, music, poetic structure, and meter, and hints at traces of improvised popular dance within the sevillanas' codified choreography. In fact, the motif of two pinched beats launching upward or outward as the dancer comments on or punctuates a verse is a fundamental element of improvisational syntax in flamenco dances such as *bulerías* today, as is the placement of the *cambio* on the penultimate six, followed by a *llamada* which both closes and opens up the phrase on the final six of the verse.³⁷

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eIppvf7eV6I> (accessed July 21, 2015). Meira presented part of her research on ties between Afro-Islamic-Andalusian verse structures and rhythmic motifs, and Baroque Spanish dance steps within *bulerías* in K. Meira Goldberg, "Celebration and Derision, Bulla and Burlarías: African and Gypsy Voices in *Bulerías*," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Congress on Research in Dance, Philadelphia, November 8–11, 2012.

³⁶ Fátima Elias, who learned sevillanas in her aunt's dance academy in her native town of Dos Hermanas near Seville, taught Meira this way of teaching sevillanas (thinking of the sevillanas step as beginning rather than ending the phrase). She also told her that she learned the sevillanas step as "*paseito*" and the *pasada* as "*cruce*"—this information was crucial to Meira's insight about the syntactic use of the *pasada* in sevillanas as applicable to the eighteenth-century fandango.

³⁷ This syntax can be seen in the Carpio video

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EZB87pcNVmw>) at 00:45. Carpio does a

Might we apply this poetic-rhythmic syntactic structure of flamenco improvisation, present in the sevillanas pasada, to our eighteenth century fandango?

Choosing music: Santiago de Murcia's Fandango (1732)

We thought of Murcia's fandango because his is one of the earliest transcriptions, and because, although this piece may be intended for listening, it is based on dance music.³⁸ It was particularly attractive in that, as Russell explains, it stands at the cusp of the Enlightenment's reinterpretation of the popular: "These new titles found in the 'Código Saldívar No. 4' are among the first 'modern' settings of those musical genres to be found in Spanish culture: the *fandango*, *jota* and *seguidillas*" (1995, vol. 1, 16).

But Murcia's fandango is a sequence of guitar variations (called *diferencias* or *ritornellos* in the musical lexicon, similar to flamenco *falsetas*) that are variable in length and which, Jared explained, were meant to be repeated, extended, and improvisationally embroidered upon. Meira was concerned about the music's asymmetry, because sevillanas choreography is rigidly codified; each *mudanza* (*tercio* in flamenco terms, *estrivillo* in Cairón, 1820, 106) always has the same length. That is, to consider the choreography of a sevillanas verse as opening with an *entrada* (introduction) followed by three *mudanzas*, each beginning with a sevillanas step and finishing with a *pasada* (except the last in which the

llamada at the beginning of a sung estribillo, a two-line verse with two sixes in each line. On the penultimate six (00:47), she does a *cambio*, and a *llamada* (00:48) on what would be the first beat of the last six of the verse. But, in response to this *llamada*, the singer repeats the second line, shifting the phrase over by six, and re-synching such that what would have been the end is now the beginning. This sets in motion Carpio's exit, in which this operation is repeated, singer and dancer trading "tossing the ball in the air," leap-frogging over each other in beginnings/endings that fragment the sung phrases beyond intelligibility, converting them into a kind of rhythmic scattering of voice and dance that builds to an intense close. See Goldberg 2014, 103–4 for more on this section in *bulerías*.

³⁸ Murcia's Fandango (MS Folios 16–18) is reproduced in facsimile and transcribed in Russell, 1995, vol.2, 20–22, 138–42. We used the guitar transcription from Conservatorio de Música Juan R. Pérez Cruz, "Murcia, S. – Fandango – Transcripción para guitarra de Isabelle Villey," <http://bibliotecaperezacruz.blogspot.com/2014/11/murcia-s-fandango-transcripcion-pa.html> (accessed July 23, 2015).

partners freeze in a *bien parado*, or held pose), each *mudanza* consists of a six-beat step repeated four times.³⁹

Murcia's Fandango is notated in 3/4, but Jared and Meira, thinking in flamenco terms, instinctively thought of this music in sixes. Some of Murcia's phrases fall into six "measures" of six, which could accommodate the length of sevillanas step + four six-beat steps + *pasada*. But not all of Murcia's variations were written in twelve measures. Russell comments on this as well:

Significantly, the phrases end suspended on the dominant harmony with no resolution to tonic. And cadences are conspicuously absent ... The resulting feeling [of the relentless triple meter] is one of melodic spinning and spinning; the chords seem to unravel, never quite tying themselves into a cadential close (1995, vol. 1, 52).

But then Tom made perceptive note of this passage in Cairón: "[the fandango's] duration is not precisely marked; and according to the caprice of whoever is dancing it may be longer or shorter" (1820, 100).⁴⁰

In other words, the length for the fandango phrases in Cairón's time was flexible and depended on the dancer(s). This made us realize that, though the sevillanas are clearly relevant to our reconstruction, the eighteenth-century social dances from which they derive may have been more like flamenco today: flexible in length, and communicating transitions between sections through movement and music signals. Tom also noted that, while Cairón makes much of the *bien parado* in both the bolero and the *seguidillas manchegas* (from which sevillanas derive), in the fandango he does not describe these stops (although in 1799 Lantier, who saw fandangos on a theater stage, did). This made us listen differently to the Murcia, which has an introduction that could work for our *entrada* or *paseo*, asymmetrical variations that could work as *mudanzas*, with melodic signals (*caídas* or *cambios* in flamenco terms) at phrase endings, but no obvious stops. For example, we thought of measures 9–10 as the melodic signal that the phrase was concluding (*pasada*, or *cambio*), and

³⁹ In the verse sung by Rocio Jurado discussed above (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Il4hhkvdKWk>), the *entrada* would be the declamation of the first line "Mi novio es cartujano, pintor de losa," 1:11–1:16, the first *mudanza* is 1:16–1:28, the second is 1:28–1:40, and the third *mudanza* is 1:40–1:51.

⁴⁰ Please see a transcription and translation of Cairón's description of the fandango at the end of this article.

measures 11–12 as the pause or suspension, reiterating the end of the phrase in order to begin a new one (sevillanas step or llamada).⁴¹

We also thought the intensification of the music in the final variation (measures 61–77) was evocative of the last mudanza of the first sevillanas, in which partners perform a sequence of four pasadas, chasing each other dizzyingly before coming to a sudden stop. If we agreed to use the pasada as the movement analog to the musical cues signaling phrase endings, that would be a way for a couple to spontaneously respond to the unfolding, asymmetrical music. Perhaps using the pasada to signal the end of Murcia's phrases reveals traces of the fandango as an improvisational dance.

Pasada

The fandango choreography described in Cairón clearly echoes the choreography of sevillanas today. It has three sections, each opening with a sevillanas step, and each closing with the partners changing places.

The dancers standing one in front of the other...begin with the paseo (sevillanas step) ...

Right afterwards there will be a mudanza...and the dancers begin to pass, changing places (*pasar mudando el puesto*) ... The aforementioned paseo always follows (*se sigue siempre*) until having passed (*pasado*) and completed a revolution, finishing one in front of the other from which place they begin again with the paseo...as each did earlier in his previous place, to which they return with a pasada (*vuelven de nuevo a pasar*) to execute for the third time two more paseos with their respective mudanzas, with one of which the dance concludes (1820, 111–12).

Cairón's pasada (1820, 111) is clearly recognizable as the step we do today:

⁴¹ The score that we used is included at the bottom of this article. Note in the Fandango Parao from Alosno in the province of Huelva, Spain, that a melodic motif signals the end of the phrase, announcing the beginning of the next one. In this example, the melody begins at 0:07, at 0:12 the melody descends in tone (a *caída* in flamenco terms), and at 0:13 this melodic descent is reiterated as a signal for the dancing to begin, at 0:15. Rafael Fajardo González, "Fandango Parao en Alosno, día 24 de Junio de 2007, festividad de San Juan Bautista, patrón de la localidad," *YouTube*, September 26, 2007, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=obKp9N6u8Pw&index=3&list=PLV8zAUL4Vic-Urmw09maoo1hyTwG_jPyr (accessed July 24, 2015).

This pasada is done with certain open pas de bourees (*pasos de burea abiertos*), beating the sole of the foot on the ground (*batiendo la planta del pie en tierra*), bending the knees a little, and keeping the body very straight, and lifting or lowering the arms (see Figure 2).⁴²



Figure 2. Marcos Telléz Villar, *Un Pasar en las Seguidillas Bolerias*. c. 1790, estampa aguafuerte y buril. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁴² We had originally read Cairón's word as "*bariendo*," and interpreted it as a typographical error for "*barriendo*" (brushing). We are grateful to María José Ruiz Mayordomo and Aurèlia Pessarrodona for the correct reading of this word as "*batiendo*."

Neither Esquivel (1642) nor Jaque (1680) lists a step called “pasada.” But Minguet (1737) does: a “*floreta pasada*.”

The Floreta pasada is composed of the same four movements as the Floreta natural...but this is different from that one, only in that the step that has to come close to the other foot, doesn't come close, but rather advances, and for that reason it is called pasada (1764, 3).⁴³

In his description of *Floreta natural* (1764, 3), Minguet explains that this step, which recalls a *pas de basque* in the ballet vocabulary, consists of four movements: “*bacio*” (*vacío*), a lift of the leg, “*rompido*,” described by Esquivel “as one foot ‘cuts to the back’ the other one does the same action to the front, ‘as if one were ripping a paper with both hands’ (this step is like the flamenco *chaflán*), “*passo*” (step), and “*arrimar*” (to bring close). Minguet’s explanation is a direct quote from Esquivel (Brooks, 2003, 113, 106–7, in Spanish, 220–21).

Spanish dance historian Lynn Matluck Brooks explains that the sevillanas step, or paseo, has been identified as “one of the most ancient and least altered” of Spanish dance movements (1988, 201). Cotarelo suggests that the pasada, or *cruce* (cross), is newer than the seventeenth-century paseo. Discussing the opaque allusions to popular dance in Esquivel, Cotarelo reveals the *cruzado*’s evolution from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries:

All the effort of Esquivel is applied to explaining, in very obscure language, the basic and elementary movements ... It is evident that none of this ... is what we would need to know; as ... the *cruzado* that men and women do on stage would be an organic evolution composed between them; and what Esquivel defines is the simple movement of crossing the legs, as a common element of all kinds of dance.⁴⁴

⁴³ “7 La Floreta pasada se compone de los mismos quatro movimientos que la Floreta natural, que queda explicada; pero esta se diferencia de la otra, solo en que el passo que ha de arrimar al otro pie, no le arrima, sino que le adelante, y por esse passo se llama pasada.”

⁴⁴ “Todo el esfuerzo de Esquivel se contrae á exponer, en lenguaje muy obscura, los movimientos elementales y comunes á toda clase de danzas, como eran los pasos, floretas...vacíos...y rompidos. Como se ve nada de esto (útil para el que quiera aprender á danzar) es lo que necesitábamos nosotros saber; pues aun las palabras como cruzados, carrerillas y vueltas, que se hallan en las acotaciones de los bailes, solo en parte tienen el sentido que les da Esquivel. Por ejemplo, el cruzado que hacían hombres y mujeres sobre el tablado era una evolución orgánica y compuesta entre ellos; y el que define Esquivel es el movimiento simple

For Esquivel (1642), the *cruzado* was “the simple movement of crossing the legs,” while in Cotarelo’s day (1911) the *cruzado* was an “organic evolution” composed between a man and a woman on stage. It appears that the paseo or sevillanas step has remained much the same from Esquivel’s time until now, whereas the *cruzado* of Esquivel is very different from the *cruce*, or *pasada*, which Minguet described in 1737.⁴⁵

Minguet’s *floreta pasada* is an open, or traveling *floreta*; the only difference being that the step that brings one foot close to the other in the *floreta natural* now advances. We found this to be significant in light of Cairón’s ambiguous use of the word “paseo” to indicate both the beginning of the *mudanza*, as it is used in *sevillanas*, and the traveling step with which the dancers change places. Thus, Cairón describes how “this *pasada*” is done, and then says “*el dicho paseo se sigue siempre*,” it is ambiguous here whether the afore-mentioned *paseo* always follows or is always followed. That is, does “the afore-mentioned *paseo*” refer to the *sevillanas* step, which always follows the *pasada*, or to the *pasada* itself, which is the topic of the sentence? Cairón uses the term “*pasada*” completely unambiguously in his description of the bolero: “the man changing places with the woman, which are called *pasadas*” (1820, 106). The next clause in Cairón’s fandango description, “*hasta haber pasado y dado un giro, quedándose uno en frente de otro; desde cuya situación se rompe de nuevo con el paseo*” (until having passed [*pasado*] and completed a revolution, finishing one in front of the other from which place they begin again with the *paseo*), might indicate that the same step, the *paseo*, is used to change places as to greet the partner on the other side. We thought that Cairón’s ambiguous use of the term “*paseo*” might be consistent with the evolution implied in Minguet’s *floreta pasada*, which seems to adapt an old step to a new choreographic intention. It is clear from eighteenth-century tourist accounts that the sensual *pasada* in which, while passing, both partners may lock gazes and even lean in toward one another, seeming “just at the point of falling into each other’s arms” (Lantier, 1799), was a key distinguishing element of the fandango, and central to its seductive power.

de cruzar las piernas, como elemento común en toda clase de danzas.” Cotarelo, 1911, ccxxviii–ccxxix. This passage is taken from Goldberg, 2014, 97–98.

⁴⁵ In their article in this volume, Ruiz Mayordomo and Pessarradona point out, as Tom did, that the choreographic motif of changing places in both Italy and Spain dates to the Renaissance. Which begs the question—what changed to make the *pasada* the signifier of sexy Spanishness during the Enlightenment?

Choosing Choreography: Jaque's *Folías* (c. 1680)

Once we had settled on Murcia's music, and the pasada as a structuring device, Tom suggested we look at Juan Antonio Jaque's *Folías* as our choreographic template. Jaque's date, c. 1680, made sense. Also, Jaque references a vocabulary of steps that stretch from Esquivel (1642) through to Minguet (1737), and so we considered Jaque's vocabulary appropriate to our 1732 music.

Jaque's manual contains six dances, which contain no indication of rhythm or space, and little indication of whether they are meant to be danced in a dancing school, in a ballroom or on a theater stage, by a soloist or by a couple.⁴⁶ But Jaque's *Folías* interested us because it begins with an entrada and then repeats it after each of four mudanzas. We thought Jaque's entradas could correspond to our use of the pasada as a structuring device. In other words, we took each mudanza as a line of the verse, and took the entrada as our pasada + sevillanas step (freely interpreted, we admit). Tom explained that the *Folías* is notable in that the only other of Jaque's choreographies to repeat the entrada is the *Villano* (villagers' dance); we interpreted this as further support for our contention that the vernacular dances reflected in eighteenth-century salon and theater fandangos might have been couples dances structured by the pasada.

Some scholars see fandangos as related to folías (Hurtado Torres, 2009, 103). And Le Guin notes that in 1626 Correas used the terms "seghidillas" (seguidillas) and "folías" interchangeably.⁴⁷ Perhaps, given the illicit reputation of seguidillas, the seventeenth-century folías, a "frenetic" and "noisy" dance of crazies (which was nonetheless one of the "school dances" described by Esquivel) was, like seguidillas, a plausible antecedent for the fandango's climactic sensuality and abandon (Brooks, 2003, 127, 138–39).

Our Process

Having made these decisions, we worked backwards. We identified six musical phrases in Murcia and began to choreograph Jaque's mudanzas to each phrase. We used measures one through twelve (six sixes) as our

⁴⁶ Jaque's "*Jácaras*" and "*Paradetas*" do contain clues as to spacing. Yepes, "From the *Jácara* to the *Sarabande*," in Goldberg, Bennahum, and Hayes, 2015, 59.

⁴⁷ Le Guin 109, cites Correas, 1626, 448.

entrada, mm 13–22 (five sixes) as the first mudanza, mm 23–34 (six sixes) as the second mudanza, mm 35–48 (seven sixes) as the third mudanza, mm 49–60 (seven sixes) to repeat the entrada, and mm 61–77 (eight and a half sixes) as the fourth mudanza. We fit Jaque's mudanzas into the music keeping in mind the “**pam** *rest rest* **pam pam** *rest*” pattern of contemporary sevillanas and fandangos.

As an illustration of this process, the second phrase of Jaque's Second Mudanza (1950, 195), is

... = floreta with the Right. Another with the Left, Salto backwards with the Right encaje with the Left. Reverencia cortada with the Right, Planta quadrada and Vuelta de Pechos to one side Reverencia Cortada with the Left Planta quadrada and Vuelta de Pechos to the other side =

We put this phrase, which we did on the left, into rhythm like this (Example 1):

Example 1. Jaque's second mudanza to Santiago de Murcia's fandango (measures 23–34).

The entrada in Jaque's *Folias* ends with a step to the right, a step to the left, and a turn.⁴⁸ Meira noted that this step is similar to that at the end of a copla of sevillanas. Dancer Elisabet Torras Aguilera pointed out its similarity to the opening step for folk dances like jota and muiñeira. Tom said it reminded him of the *continenza*, an Italian renaissance step meant to take in the continence of your partner. We decided to adopt this *continenza* as our "sevillanas step," placing it on the last two measures of each of Jaque's four mudanzas as a greeting of the partner before beginning the next phrase (it was already there at the end of his entrada, to be repeated after each mudanza). As the choreographic finish of the mudanza, and as a signal for this step, we inserted two floreata pasadas or a flamenco pasada on the penultimate six beats of each mudanza.

Steps

The decision to work with Jaque's *Folias* meant limiting our movement vocabulary, and there are several movement ideas which piqued our interest but which will have to await further research. One is the *mudanza del amolador*, the knife grinder's move. Ana Yepes has been working on this mudanza, which is listed in Jaque's *Jácara* and in his *Paradetas*. The step is described in Bartolomé Ferriol y Boxeraus, a disciple of Pierre Rameau and author of a theoretical dance treatise published in 1745:

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.⁴⁹

We were intrigued by the suggestive insinuation of this action (grinding), and this character (a man who would have travelled unaccompanied from home to home and town to town). We wondered whether this allusive grinding action might have any relationship to that of the mill, a trope casting an attractive and provocative glow over the miller's wife or daughter, immortalized in many flamenco verses, as in Léonide Massine's

⁴⁸ Paso a un lado con el derecho, otro a un lado con el Izquierdo, Buelta al Descuydo (1950, 195).

⁴⁹ "El amolador es dar vueltas con la mano, y el dedo indice, al mismo tiempo, que el pie del propio lado baxa, y sube, imitando tambien con la boca el sonido, que hace la piedra en este ejercicio." Ferriol y Boxeraus, 1745, 47 [p. 270 of the digitized document], cited and discussed in Yepes, in Goldberg, Bennahum, and Hayes, 2015, 59.

Three Cornered Hat (1919), and in the folk dance from Galicia called the *muñeira* or *muiñera* (which means both “millstone” and “miller’s wife”).

We decided against castanets in our reconstruction, simply out of practical considerations for the acoustics of the space where we would be dancing, although we know from sources such as Minguet (1755, 7) and Casanova (1966, 321) that castanets would have been entirely appropriate. Despite the fact that Cairón (1820, 110) says fandango steps are “*rastreros*,” or dragged (in contrast to the airborne steps of the bolero?) we also elected not to delve into *zapateado*, or footwork, which we thought would have required far more extensive research than that essayed here.⁵⁰

Carrerilla

For many of Jaque’s steps, such as *floreta*, we learned that Minguet had copied Esquivel almost word for word.⁵¹ This is true for the step *carrerilla*: “little runs,” or “little gallops” (Brooks, 2003, 228: Spanish, 280: English). Meira had long been interested in this step, which appears in both the third and fourth *mudanzas* of Jaque’s *Folias*, because a run forward with the body suspended over the balls of the feet is used as a *cambio* in flamenco. But as Brooks observes in her discussion of Esquivel’s *carrerillas*, the Spanish version of a related step called the *seguito scorso*, described in the treatises of Italian Renaissance dance masters Fabritio Caroso (1526–1600) and Cesare Negri (1535–1605), was done with one or the other leg leading; indeed, this alternation of the leading leg is implied in Esquivel’s description of *carrerilla* as “done with the left foot forward, or the opposite if they are reversed” (Brooks, 2003, 101-2).

In choreographing Lully’s “*Vaya de Fiestas*,” Yepes used this description to accentuate the music’s hemiola, placing a strong emphasis on the leading foot. In flamenco terms, the *carrerilla* became a *cambio*. In Jaque’s *Folias*, *carrerilla* is always preceded by a *llamada*, a mirror image of the *cambio* into *llamada* pattern common in flamenco, as of the *pasada*

⁵⁰ The next conference, *Spaniards, Indians, Africans, and Gypsies: Transatlantic Malagueñas and Zapateados in Music, Song, and Dance*, will be held at the University of California at Riverside on April 6–7, 2017. For more information, contact K. Meira Goldberg at fandangoconference.cuny@gmail.com

⁵¹ On *floreta*: Esquivel (Brooks, 2003): 220-21 (Spanish), 271-72 (English); Minguet (1764): 3. On *reverencia cortada*: Esquivel (Brooks, 2003): 227-28 (Spanish), 279 (English); Minguet (1764): 5.

to end followed by the sevillanas step to begin the mudanza in sevillanas.⁵² Flamenco dancers will recognize the llamada followed by cambio rhythm in the classic llamada: 1 – 2 – 3 (4) – (5) – (6) – tico-tico-tico-tan-tan.

A fascinating, and perhaps related, aspect of carrerilla in relation to flamenco is Esquivel's use of the word "*desmuñecando*," in Brooks's translation, "working flexibly," to describe the action of the leading foot. Although we did not make this choice, this articulation of the ankle could easily have been interpreted as sounding the ball of the foot and the heel separately, not only in the light of today's flamenco vocabulary, but also considering eighteenth-century sources such as Joseph Baretti, who says that in seguidilla and "the *Fandango* especially," men and women dance quickly "striking...their heels and toes on the ground" (1770, 48–49).

Llamada

Minguet described the *Llamada* as "a natural movement...nothing more than...a step backwards, or to the side."⁵³ But Brooks, noting how central this step is to the flamenco vocabulary, observes a discrepancy between Esquivel and Minguet's description of another step, *floreo*, in a llamada "done violently."⁵⁴ Minguet copied from Esquivel in describing "five movements of the Dance" as equivalent to those of fencing: "Accidental, Strange, Transversal, Violent, and Natural."⁵⁵ Brooks explains that "Natural" refers to the "movement of the sword downward," while "Violent" refers to the movement of the sword upward—the term "violent" therefore applies to "steps that require upward aerial movement of the body, executed with considerable force" (2003, 95–97). Brooks interprets the llamada in Esquivel's *floreo* "as a simple, crisp stamp, based on the combination of 'violent' and 'natural' actions that Minguet calls for" (2003 106). We decided to follow her interpretation of the llamada in our reconstruction.

⁵² In the third mudanza: "*llamada y paso atras y Carrerilla*" (1950, 195), in the fourth mudanza: "*llamada Carrerilla azia atrás*" (1950, 196).

⁵³ "*La Llamada es un movimiento natural, que no es mas que bolver un passo atrás, ò à un lado, conforme pide el tiempo que se ha de executar*" (1764, 8).

⁵⁴ Brooks, 2003, 106, 228: Spanish, 280: English; Minguet, 1764, 8.

⁵⁵ "Los movimientos del Danzar son cinco, los mismos que los de las Armas, que son estos: Accidentales, Estraños, Transversales, Violentos, y Naturales" Minguet, 1737, 49.

Bien parado/ sostenido:

In contrast to his framing of the fandango as an old dance, Cairón calls the bolero “the most celebrated, the most charming, and the most difficult Spanish dance,” and part of this qualification rests in the balance required by the bolero’s sudden stops, its *bien parados* (1820, 103). With grace and serenity, the dancer must suspend motion, revealing “with tranquility and pause the smallest gesticulations of the face” (1820, 104). Le Guin quotes dance folklorist and historian Juan Antonio de Iza Zamácola, “Don Preciso” (1756–1826) writing about this movement in 1799:

... at once, and as if spontaneously, the voice, the instrument and the castanets all stop, leaving the room in silence, with the dancers planted, unmoving, in various beautiful attitudes: which is what we call the *Bien parado* [Well stopped].⁵⁶

Tom observes that, like the pasada, this artful freeze seems to echo a movement idea from the Italian Renaissance. In her article on style and performance in the social dances of Renaissance Italy, including considerations of improvisation, Barbara Sparti discussed “*phantasmata*,” meaning “ghost” (Italian) or “image” (Latin), deriving from the Greek word for “to appear.”⁵⁷ The reference comes from Domenico da Piacenza’s c. 1455 *De arte saltandi et choreas ducendi*, who calls *phantasmata* “a body quickness” ...that consisted in the dancer making a pause at every step, ‘as if—as the poet says—he had seen the Medusa’s head; that is, having made the movement he instantly and completely turns to stone’ ... standing still as death for a tempo (the equivalent of a modern bar of music).⁵⁸

Cairón begins his discussion of the *Seguidillas manchegas* by saying that it “is exactly the same thing as the bolero, since it consists in the same pasadas...and *bien parados*” (1820, 113). He seems to imply that

⁵⁶ “...y al señalar el noveno compás cesan á un tiempo, y como de improviso la voz, el instrumento y las castañuelas, quedando la sala en silencio, y los bailarines plantados sin movimientos, en varias actitudes hermosas: que es lo que llamamos *Bien parado*” (Zamácola, 1799, xii; Le Guin, 2014, 121).

⁵⁷ Barbara Sparti, “Improvisation and Embellishment in Popular and Art Dances in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth- Century Italy,” in *Dance, Dancers, and Dance-Masters in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, Gloria Giordano and Alessandro Pontremoli, eds. (Biblioteca di Danza, Massimiliano Piretti, Editore, Bologna, 2015), 142.

⁵⁸ Barbara Sparti, 1993, 377, cites Domenico da Piacenza, *De arte saltandi et choreas ducendi*, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale f. ital. 972, fol. 2^r. See also Sparti, 1986.

the bien parado of the bolero comes from the seguidilla, but not from the fandango. And we have seen that, despite similarities in rhythm, vocabulary, and performance context, the verse structure of seguidillas and fandangos differs. Seguidillas verses are shorter—in the words of Correas (1626), “sententious.” Le Guin notes that in 1799 “B...n” observed that in seguidillas, the bien parado “was coordinated with the last syllable of the poetry” (as it is in flamenco today).⁵⁹ In contrast, fandangos seem perhaps more discursive and, at least in Murcia’s music, one phrase tumbles into another without a clear pause.

We nonetheless doubted that the bien parado could have been a hard and fast distinction between seguidillas and fandangos of the eighteenth century. For example, flamenco scholar Faustino Núñez lists *El celoso chasqueado y transformación de Peliche el estudiante, tonadilla a tres* (The Jealous Lover Disappointed and the Transformation of Peliche the Student, a lyric comedy for three voices) of 1787 by Pablo Esteve; this Fandango includes a bien parado (2008, 314). Lantier’s 1799 description of the fandango, “The lovers seem just at the point of falling into each other’s arms; but, suddenly, the music ceases and the art of the dancer is to remain immobile,” also clearly seems to describe a bien parado.

Both Esteve and Lantier’s bien parados are danced on the theater stage. Musicologist Javier Suárez-Pájares explains that the bien parado was a theatrical innovation of the late-eighteenth century. He cites Juan Jacinto Rodríguez Calderón’s satirical treatise on the bolero schools of Madrid in 1794 and 1795, listing the bien parado among the “new and scandalous steps introduced into the bolero,” in which the arms “rise symmetrically until reaching the position of a thief when he is caught.”⁶⁰ Suárez-Pájares quotes guitarist and composer Fernando Sor’s 1835 encyclopedia entry on the bolero: by 1835 the bolero, which had been adopted by the elevated classes and had moved onto the theater stage, was “marred by poses revealing excessive abandon.”⁶¹ In fact, Suárez-Pájares

⁵⁹ Le Guin, 2014, 121–22 cites Zamácola, 1799, 9–10; and “B...n.” “Etwas über den Zustand der Musik in Spanien.” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 25 (20 March 1799) 391–4; 26 (27 March 1799): 401–5, and Beilage, xxxv–xxxviii.

⁶⁰ “...que los brazos suban simétricamente hasta quedar en la figura con que pintan a un mal ladrón.” Suárez-Pájares, 1993, 11–13, citing Rodríguez Calderón, 1807, 45–46.

⁶¹ “L’origine de cette danse fut long-temps un obstacle à ce qu’on la reçût dans la bonne compagnie. Cependant, comme elle était noble, gracieuse, et que dans ses premières perfectionnemes on n’avait encore introduit aucune de ces attitudes qui marquent trop d’abandon...” Suárez-Pájares, 1993, 10, citing Sor, 1835, 92–93.

explains, during the French occupation of Spain following Napoleon's invasion of 1808, the pressures on Spanish dancers to exoticize their performance in order to attract French audiences had already lead to the incorporation in the bolero of "gestures," "contortions," and "sudden movements" from "certain dances of the *gitanas*, the Gypsies of Spain," "whom the public would scarcely have suffered formerly."⁶² It is clear in the eighteenth-century sources that these gestures, contortions, and sudden movements in the vernacular context were considered offensive because of their provocative sensuality. As Richard Twiss wrote in his account of *Travels Through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773*,

There are two types of fandangos, though they are danced to the same tune: the one is the decent dance; the other is gallant, full of expression, and, as a late French author energetically expresses it, "*est mêlée des certaines attitudes qui offrent un tableau "continue de jouissance"*" (is a scramble of certain attitudes that offer an array of "continual enjoyment") [Twiss's punctuation] (1775, 156).

Likewise, in his 1760 account of a mixed-class fandango in Elvas, Joseph Barette commented, "their gestures and attitudes are sometimes not so composed as one could wish" (1770, 48). Casanova's 1767 account also seems relevant here: "Each couple danced face to face, never taking more than three steps...and accompanying the music with attitudes than which nothing more lascivious could possibly be seen (1966, 321). When we considered Cairón's description of the proper attitude to strike in a bien parado (beautiful, graceful, serene), we started to wonder whether to read something akin to the bien parado, perhaps a folk antecedent to this theatrical innovation of the 1780s and 90s, in these descriptions of "attitudes" from the 1760s and 70s.

In his 1793 dance treatise, Felipe Roxo de Flores described a dance called "*Paradetas*...in which some brief stops in gesture and movement are done in consequence of the music playing, for which reason they were given the name *Paradetas*"—implying the dance's name comes

⁶² "*Des danseurs que le public n'aurait point souffert autrefois se présentèrent, et non-seulement ils ajoutèrent à cette danse tous les contorsions et les brusqueries dans les mouvements que Requejo avait prosrites, mais ils y introduisirent des gestes qui n'appartiennent qu'à certaines danses des gitanas, bohémiennes d'Espagne.*" Suárez-Pájaras, 1993, 16–17, cites Sor, 1835, 96.

from the word “*parada*” or “*parado*,” meaning “stop.”⁶³ But this dance was not new in the late-eighteenth century; Jaque includes it in his 1680 manual and, interestingly, it is one of only two (the other being his *Jácaras*) to give indications of space and choreography; in this case, Jaque indicates that this dance is performed by a Lady and a Gentleman, before an audience.⁶⁴

We decided to think of our fandango not in terms of bien parados, or full stops, but rather in terms of *sustenidos*, suspensions. Recalling Lantier’s 1799 “falling into each other’s arms,” we found Brooks’s discussion of this step in Esquivel fascinating. Brooks explains that *sustenido* was mentioned by Esquivel as characteristic of the courtly *danza del hacha* (torch dance), and may have been used to heighten the suspense of that dance’s lively chases (2003, 142). She adds that the movement idea of suspensions used to heighten a dance’s dramatic effect was used not only in the Italian Renaissance *La Caccia d’Amore* (The Hunt of Love), but also in folías.⁶⁵ In other words, there is a precedent for using the *sustenido* to heighten the drama of a chase between lovers in this courtly dance of the Renaissance.

Rather than articulating the sixth beat in a sequence of two floreata pasadas, we inserted a suspension, having changed places, which could accommodate a rotation of the bodies to face each other, and a long look between the partners before beginning the more formal continenza. We also danced the first mudanza completely on the first side (mm 13–16), then, after m 17, inserted a pasada (mm 18–19) and, having changed places, a three-count suspension (m 20), before the continenza (mm 21–22), which we found quite sexy.

⁶³ “Paradetas, que es otro Bayle de la misma Escuela, en que se hace unas breves pasadas en el gesto y movimiento a consecuencia del tañido de la Música, por lo que se le dió el nombre de *Paradetas*” (Roxo de Flores, 1793, 116).

⁶⁴ Jaque, 1950, 197–98. For more on this piece, see Yepes in Goldberg, Bennahum, and Hayes, 2015. In an email to Meira, Yepes says “the stops [in Jaque’s *Paradetas*] must be the *quiebro*s or *caídas* found throughout the choreography” (June 6, 2015). Yepes has reconstructed this piece, and has taught it at several workshops over the past year. For more information, see her website <http://www.donaires.eu/> (accessed July 27, 2015).

⁶⁵ Brooks 2003, 193, note 64, cites Negri’s description of *La Caccia d’Amore*, pp. 281–84; on *sustenidos* in folías: Brooks, telephone conversation with author, 10 October, 1994, and Lynn Matluck Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain’s Golden Age* (doctoral dissertation, Temple University, 1984) V44–45. For more on the love chases in the *danza de hacha*, see Esses, 1992, 664 – 67.

Campanelas

Both Esquivel and Minguet require the gesturing leg to be stretched in the *campanela*, which is “a hop on one leg while the gesture leg does a *rond de jambe*.”⁶⁶ But this involved too much elevation for Meira! And so, in light of how we knew this step would evolve in the flamenco vocabulary (toward a *cachucha* step, with the gesturing leg bent and raised higher), we decided to each do it in our own style.⁶⁷ In our research on the *campanela*, we came across Marcos Telléz Villar’s image (see Figure 3).

We adopted this image’s arms and slight lean away from the gesturing leg for our *campanelas*, and played with them in our *pasadas* as well. The lean seemed to clue us into a movement idea that, like the *pasada* and the *bien parado*, would come to signify the sensuality and exoticism of Spanish dance by the nineteenth century. Thus, in 1642, Esquivel equated a dancer’s deviation from corporeal as from moral rectitude: “with the effrontery that is here worked, it is permitted to tilt, lean, and let the body sag.”⁶⁸ In contrast, by 1845, Romantic dance critic Théophile Gautier saw in the leans and bends of renowned ballerina Fanny Elssler’s *Cachucha* the quintessence of Spanish sensuality: “Her wasp-like figure is boldly arched back...How she twists! How she bends! ... Her swooning arms flutter about her drooping head, her body curves back, her white shoulders almost brush the floor” (Gautier, 1845, 15).

⁶⁶ “The Spanish version of the *campanela* is a hop on one leg while the gesture leg does a *rond de jambe* tracing the circumference of the bell from the front around equally to the back, the gesture foot passing the toes of the hopping foot twice, once at the start and once at the end of the action...must be done with control, landing softly, keeping the ‘bell’ low, level, even from front to back, and the leg stretched” (Brooks, 2003, English: 100, Spanish: 222). “*La Campanela sola de por sí, y no acompañada, no es mas que un movimiento simple, y se hace bien redonda, de esta forma: saltando sobre un pie, y obrandola con el otro, de modo, que al acabar el salto, y executar la campanela, sea todo uno, y ha de salir el pie al comenzar por la punta del otro pie dos veces, haciendo un círculo redondo, cogiendo tanto circuito, y compás de atrás, como de adelante, llevando la punta del pie bien derecha, sin encoger la pierna, y executandola con mucha suavidad: llamase campanela, porque mientras mas redonda es mejor, y por un nivel, como un cerco de una campana*” (Minguet 1764 7).

⁶⁷ For more on this step in the nineteenth century, see Goldberg, 2014, 94–96.

⁶⁸ “*Con el desgarró que se obra, consiente el ladear, cargar, y bajar el cuerpo.*” Brooks, 1988, 199; Brooks gives a slightly different translation of Esquivel’s phrase in *The Art of Dancing in Seventeenth-Century Spain*, 2003, 280 (Spanish on p. 228).



Figure 3. Marcos Telléz Villar, *Campanelas de las Seguidillas Boleras*. c. 1790, estampa aguafuerte y buril. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Conclusion: Pasada Signifies lasciviousness and intercourse between classes

Should the entrada be a minuet-like greeting to the king or a sevillanas-like circling of the partner? How balletic, how folksy should the movement style be? How heavy? How light? How straight the leg? How big the arms? How many hips? How much bend at the waist? Tracing genealogical relationships between embodied ideas is always a delicate, subjective, and conditional matter. Within the shifting winds driving the fandango's cross-class and cross-cultural pollination, we decided to frame these questions as decisions to research and to articulate.

Proposing the pasada as a way for a couple to have improvisationally responded to music, we seek in Murcia's fandango traces of its vernacular roots. In the pasada, the rhythmic pinch marking two consecutive beats adds impetus and passion to the flirtatious exchange. The pasada speaks of desire, and its syntactic use speaks of agency as well—disrupting a stable walking rhythm, a dancer thrusts his or her weight into the musical stream, shaping its flow. (In flamenco terms, this is to *pellizcar el cante*.) Like the *sostenido/ bien parado*, we see in the pasada not only the eighteenth century's elevation of the popular, but also the revolutionary spirit of this era, the Enlightenment's yearning for cross-class mobility, for the freedom to invent one's self. Seen in this light, the fandango's expression of desire is an early manifestation of the development of modern subjectivity, elaborated in the act of recognizing, and changing places with, the Other.

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Cairón on fandango (1820, 100–13)

Baile antiguo español, y el que se ha conservado mas tiempo : el fandango, como la mayor parte de los bailes españoles, es de un tiempo ternario, alegre y vivo : no tiene marcada precisamente su duración; y según el capricho de quien lo baila, puede ser mas larga ó corta. El fandango tiene mucha gracia: no es un baile de tanta capacidad como el bolero, ni se requiere tanto arte para bailarlo, pues aunque el bolero sea en parte una imitación del fandango, con todo, este último es mucho más fácil, quiere decir que los pasos que le son característicos, son rastreros, y su compás precipitado y veloz, lo que no da lugar á que en el se puedan ejecutar pasos desplegados y majestuosos, como se pueden hacer en el bolero : á pesar de todo lo dicho, las mudanzas simples del bolero se

combinan muy bien en el fandango: la regla que se debe de observar en él es la siguiente. Colocados que estén los bailarines uno en frente de otro como en el bolero, principiarán con el paseo, el cual no se debe hacer más que cuatro veces alternativamente una con cada pie, pues las repeticiones siempre son molestas; en seguida se hará una mudanza, después de la cual se vuelve a repetir el paseo al que le seguirá otra mudanza, y principiarán a pasar mudando el puesto, bien entendido que el hombre dará siempre el derecho a la muger : esta pasada se hace con ciertos pasos de burea abiertos, batiendo la planta del pie en tierra, doblando un poco las rodillas, teniendo el cuerpo bien derecho, y alzando ó bajando los brazos : el dicho paseo se sigue siempre, hasta haber pasado y dado un giro, quedándose uno en frente de otro; desde cuya situación se rompe de nuevo con el paseo, haciéndolo dos veces intermediado de dos mudanzas, como antecedentemente hizo cada uno en su primitivo sitio, al cual vuelven de nuevo á pasar para ejecutar por tercera vez otros dos paseos con sus respectivas mudanzas, con una de las cuales se concluye. Ninguna provincia hay en España en que no se conozca el fandango; ya con el nombre de rondeñas, de malagueñas, &c. queriendo cada Reino ó provincia que se le deba la invención del referido baile; con efecto, es el mas característico de los bailes españoles; y el célebre don Tomás de Iriarte en su poema de la música, hablando del chiste y gracia que tiene el aire del fandango, dice así:

¿En qué bárbaro clima
al baile no se anima
con diversos tañidos
por costumbre heredados, no aprendidos?
dígalo solamente
el mas usual en la española gente,
que en dos compases únicos, ceñidos
á medida ternaria,
admitir suele exornación tan varia,
que en ella los primores
del gusto, ejecución y fantasía
apurán los mas diestros profesores:
el airoso fandango, ¡que alegría
infunde en nacionales y extrangeros
en los sabios y ancianos mas severos!
Canto 5, p. 113

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An old Spanish dance, and that which has been conserved for longest in use in theater, the fandango, like most Spanish dance, is in triple-time, happy and lively: its duration is not precisely marked; and according to the caprice of whoever is dancing it may be longer or shorter. The fandango has much grace: it is not a dance of such capacity as the bolero, nor does it require so much art to dance, because although the bolero is in part an imitation of the fandango, all in all, [the fandango] is much easier, which means that its characteristic steps are dragged, and its rhythm precipitated and fast, which does not allow within it the execution of unfolded and majestic steps, as can be done in the bolero, despite all this, the simple *mudanzas* of the bolero work very well in the fandango: the rule that should be followed is the following. The dancers standing one in front of the other as in the bolero, will begin with the paseo, which should not be done more than four times alternating between feet, because repetitions are always bothersome; right afterwards there will be a mudanza, after which is repeated the paseo followed by another mudanza, and the dancers begin to pass, changing places [*pasar mudando el puesto*]; it should be well understood that the man must always give his right to the woman: this pasada is done with certain open pas de bourees (*pasos de burea abiertos*), beating the sole of the foot on the ground (*batendo la planta del pie en tierra*), bending the knees a little, and keeping the body very straight, and lifting or lowering the arms: the afore-mentioned paseo always follows (*se sigue siempre*) until having passed (*pasado*) and completed a revolution, finishing one in front of the other; from which place they begin again with the paseo, doing it twice, broken up by two mudanzas, as each did earlier in his previous place, to which they return with a pasada (*vuelven de nuevo a pasar*) to execute for the third time two more paseos with their respective mudanzas, with one of which the dance concludes. There is no province in Spain that does not know the fandango; maybe with the name of rondeñas, malagueñas, etc., each kingdom or province wishing to claim credit for the aforementioned dance; in effect, it is the most characteristic of Spanish dances, and the celebrated don Tomas de Iriarte in his poem about music, speaking of the humor and grace of the air of the fandango says thus...

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Fandango

Trancipción para guitarra:

Isabelle Villey

Código Saldívar

$\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 106$

Fol. 16

CV CX CV CV CV CV CIII

p.

CX CVIII CVI CV

p.

CV CV CV CV

CV

Fol. 16v

②

CV

CV

CII

Fol. 17

C VI

Musical score for "Changing Places" (621). The score is written for a single melodic line on a treble clef staff. It consists of several measures, some of which are marked with "CV" (Cello Violoncello) and "Fol. 17v" (Fol. 17 verso). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings (p, f). The score is divided into sections by measure numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

CHOREOLOGICAL GESTURES IN IBERIAN MUSIC OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A PROPOSAL FOR HISTORICALLY INFORMED PERFORMANCE OF THE FANDANGO

MARÍA JOSÉ RUIZ MAYORDOMO
AND AURÈLIA PESSARRODONA

Abstract

Within the framework of this conference dedicated to the fandango, the team formed by choreologist María José Ruiz Mayordomo and musicologist Aurèlia Pessarrodona present a study of the gestural language of this genre, an aspect that has been almost completely omitted in the many studies of the fandango. Our proposal emerges from a cross-disciplinary methodology (music-dance and theory-practice) that analyzes the gesture of musical work gleaned from the “ideal” dancing body of the second half of the eighteenth century, establishing in this way a dialogue with the dance world of this era. In this project, our intention is to restore or reconstruct a fandango of the eighteenth-century theater. In view of the lack of written testimony, we take as primary sources the old danced fandangos conserved in the bolero tradition, transmitted from generation to generation orally, visually, corporeally, and through performance. That is, these pieces are passed down through an apprenticeship between transmitter—the rehearsal director and dance master—and interpreter, the dancer. In this study we focus on the dance known as the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*, whose choreography fits perfectly with the music of a theatrical fandango of the late-eighteenth century by composer Bernardo Álvarez Acero. The analysis of the relationships between musical and

dancerly gesture in these two works provides keys to understanding these and other fandangos of this era. In this way, our work attempts to bring theoreticians and interpreters closer to the fandango in a holistic way; to recapture, restore and interpret them from a *choreographically and choreologically informed point of view*.

Keywords

Fandango, siglo XVIII, baile bolero, baile de teatro, cuerpo danzante, Bernardo Álvarez Acero

Resumen

Dentro del marco que ofrece este congreso dedicado al fandango, el equipo formado por la coreóloga María José Ruiz Mayordomo y la musicóloga Aurèlia Pessarrodona quiere presentar un estudio de este género desde su gesto, un aspecto prácticamente ausente dentro de los múltiples enfoques de los que ha sido objeto. Nuestra propuesta parte de una metodología transdisciplinar (músico-coréutica y teórico-práctica) que analiza la gestualidad de la obra musical misma captada a través del cuerpo danzante “ideal” de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII, estableciendo a su vez un diálogo con el entorno coréutico de la época. Nuestro objetivo en este trabajo es restaurar un fandango de teatro del siglo XVIII. Ante la escasez de testimonios escritos, tomamos como fuentes principales fandangos coréuticos antiguos conservados en la tradición bolera, transmitida de manera ágrafa, oral, visual, corporal y artística, es decir, por aprendizaje directo entre transmisor —repetidor y maestro— e intérprete. En este caso partimos del baile conocido como *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*, cuya coreografía encaja perfectamente con la música de un fandango de teatro de finales de siglo XVIII compuesto por Bernardo Álvarez Acero. El análisis de la relación entre gestos musicales y coréuticos de ambas obras proporciona claves para entender estos y otros fandangos musicales de la época. Así pues, esta propuesta pretende acercar a teóricos e intérpretes al fenómeno del fandango de un modo más integral, de cara a restaurar e interpretar estas obras desde un punto de vista *coreográfico y coreológicamente informado*.

He who thinks, then, that he has left behind him any art in writing, and he who receives it in the belief that anything in writing will be clear and certain, would be an utterly simple person (...)

But, in my opinion, serious discourse about them is far nobler, when one employs the dialectic method and plants and sows in a fitting soul intelligent words which are able to help themselves and him who planted them, which are not fruitless, but yield seed from which there spring up in other minds other words capable of continuing the process forever, and which make their possessor happy, to the farthest possible limit of human happiness.

—Plato, *Phaedrus*, 370 BCE

Introduction and Objectives

It is clear that in the European context of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the fandango was considered a very sensual dance by the travellers who visited Spain (Etzion 1993). It also seems clear that in this same cultural scene, the fandango became a Spanish trope, as it appears in Gluck's *Don Juan* (1761) or Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786). Scholars have also speculated about its musical peculiarities, its possible “origins” and even some dancing aspects (for example, Manuel 2002; Pérez Díaz 2006; Torres 2010; Antón 2013). But the results are still inconsistent and unenlightening, because of a lack of specific research on practical sources and the inherent ungraspability of gestures, that, according to Gualandri, “*si prestano assai più ad una trasmissione diretta e visiva che non mediata dalla parola scritta*” (Gualandri 2001: 11).

At this state of the issue, the most basic aspect remained unknown: *who would dance the fandango* and, by extension, the relationship between body and sound or, in other words, between dance gesture and music gesture. Indeed, despite the interest that this subject arouses, up to this moment there had been a lack of research on the fandango taking dance and music as a whole.¹

Lack of interest? Certainly not.

Musicological curiosity came up time after time against the difficulties caused by a lack of communication with dance and choreological

¹ Thomas Baird, K. Meira Goldberg, and Paul Jared Newman's interesting chapter within this volume is worth mentioning.

studies and by the absence of coetaneous written sources with a detailed explanation of the choreography of the fandango, excepting the description—too brief and inexact—in Antonio Cairón's *Compendio de las principales reglas de baile* (1820).

In actual fact, there is a living stage tradition of the *bolero*, commonly overlooked by musicologists and choreologists but very much present in professional and skilled dance practice. Some eighteenth-century fandangos have lived on in this bolero tradition, in particular, three: 1) the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*; 2) the *Fandango Antiguo*, also known as *del Reto*; and 3) the *Fandango del Candil*, included in the *Trilogía del Candil* (seguidillas, bolero and fandango), which has two choreographic versions, Madrilenian and Andalusian.

These old fandangos, like the rest of the bolero repertoire, have survived to our days by *non-written, oral, visual, embodied and artistic transmission*, in other words, by direct training between transmitter—*répétiteur* or teacher—and performer.² In this sense, the work carried out by the Madrid-based ensemble “Coros y Danzas” is especially noteworthy, more so given their role as custodians of the legacy of María Esparza, one of the last bolero dancers to work at Madrid's Teatro Real prior to its closure in the early twentieth century. Thus, the *Fandango del Reto* and *Fandango del Candil* choreographies have been preserved.

It would be entirely reasonable to expect the original works to have undergone certain modifications over the centuries, but there are some features that prove their link to the eighteenth-century fandango, such as the peculiar steps and their concatenation or articulation or also the close relationship between these dances and music.

The aim of this article is to begin the study of eighteenth-century fandangos from these surviving bolero dances. Given the broad scope of this subject, we have chosen to focus on one significant case: the restoration of a late eighteenth-century stage fandango with music by Bernardo Álvarez Acero (1766–1821; full transcription is included in

² In Spain during the first half of the sixteenth century, the reliability of written transmission of dance works was already called into question, as can be seen from the title of the anonymous manuscript *Arte de danzar aunque mal se puede aprender con solo leer* (“Art of dancing although one cannot learn through reading alone”) held by the Royal Academy of History (Ruiz Mayordomo 2000), recalling the lines from *Phaedrus* that head this article.

Appendix 1), using the choreography of the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*. We were pleasantly surprised by the perfect match between the choreography of this *Fandango del Siglo XVIII* and Acero's music. For this reason, we consider that analysis of the relationship between music and dance gestures in both pieces can provide important tools to understand not only these pieces but also other eighteenth-century musical fandangos. We therefore leave the other early bolero fandangos—*Fandango del Reto* and *Fandango del Candil*—for further studies.

Our Starting Point: The Body of the Eighteenth-Century Spanish Professional Dancer

For this purpose we have adopted a transdisciplinary approach, encompassing not only choreology and musicology but also theory and practice, thanks to the dual—theoretical and practical—artistic profile of both members of the research team. In fact the basis of our investigation is the concept of “research in the arts” developed by Henk Borgdorff (2012; Pérez Arroyo 2012, 23–24), assuming no division between theory and practice or, in other words, the *researching subject* and the *researched object*, one and the same work of art.

In this case, *researching subject* and *researched object* come together in the eighteenth-century Spanish dancing body; in our essays we try to holistically analyze everything an eighteenth-century body would have assimilated, knowing what and how to dance by simply listening to the music. This is an innovative line of research, which we have been working on for some years. Following this approach we have studied the danceability of Boccherini's music, above all his minuet forms, including the synthesis with seguidillas achieved in his *Minuetto a modo di sghidiglia spagnola* (Pessarrodona and Ruiz Mayordomo 2013; Ruiz Mayordomo and Pessarrodona 2013).

But if in our previous essays we have focused on the aristocratic dancing body, in this one the starting point is the professional dancer's corporeality. That fact implies the study of a very different physicality, in particular of bodies specifically trained to dance, with all the technical and performative skills.³

³ The first reliable data about professional performance of the fandango as a dance indicates that in the Lent of 1772 12 *reales* were paid to the dancer of the fandango (“*al que baila el fandango*”) at the Teatro de la Cruz (Archivo de Villa, Secretaría

As usual in the European context of the period, various categories of dancers coexisted on the eighteenth-century Spanish stage, each of them with a specific role and also differentiated physical and performative requirements:⁴

- Noble dancers, with slender bodies, specialized in choreographical elements with control of balance and expression. They played roles of gods, demigods, heroes, kings and aristocratic characters in general.
- Demi-character dancers, with moderately slender bodies, the ability to turn and jump, and above all dramatic expressivity, because they assumed the main secondary roles in pantomimic ballets, as well as “national” characters with—more or less stylized—autochthonous elements from the corresponding countries, such as Spaniards, Italians, Turks or Hungarians.
- And, lastly, grotesque dancers, who were short in stature, aerial, virtuoso acrobats, specially trained for the difficulties of jump, batterie jump and turn, and endowed with the physical ability to cross a stage at full speed. They were also specialists in comic pantomime, responsible for playing *commedia dell’arte* roles in short ballets.

The corps de ballet of an opera house was composed of between 12 and 24 pairs of dancers called *figurantes*—extras—, depending on the capacity of the theatre. A dancer belonged generally to one specific category, for which he trained from the beginning. There were exceptions, like Onorato Viganò, Domingo Rossi or María Medina, who were able to perform both noble and demi-character roles. For example, at the Teatro de los Caños del Peral in Madrid at the end of the eighteenth century the noble dancers were Italians, and we can find Spanish dancers in the main demi-character roles and grotesque ones as well.

Regarding the Spanish case, most extras had Italian and Spanish surnames (Cotarelo, 1927), but the nationality of some dancers is uncertain. For example, despite his Italian surname, Josep [sic] Barbieri

1–353–2; 1–354–2; 2–459–27, apud Varey 1972, 84).

⁴ Harris-Warrick (2005) provides a very useful introduction for those who wish to read further on this structure, standard across Europe, setting out the specific characteristics of each rank of professional dancer in the second half of the eighteenth century. The dance source for this essay is Magri (1779).

was born in Terrassa, a city near Barcelona. In fact, this field still requires more research, but the documentation located at the Archivo de la Villa de Madrid and partly transcribed by Varey can lead us to know the biography of some dancers, as in the case of the siblings Paula and Manuel Luengo between 1790 and 1799 (Varey, 1972: 168 and others).

Therefore, in view of all the aforementioned possibilities, it is necessary to see which category the Spanish bolero dancers belonged to, because they simultaneously worked at opera houses (*ibid.*) and knew both choreutical languages. We consider that an excellent way to study it is by analysing their physicality, in other words, their features as Spanish bolero dancing bodies of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, both male and female. For this purpose the available iconography has proved extremely useful, above all to analyse physical and spatial aspects, from a choreological point of view missing from the plentiful studies of Spanish eighteenth-century painting in general and engraving in particular.

In the Municipal Museum of Madrid and the National Library of Spain, among other places, we can find a series of six engravings depicting the *seguidillas boleras*, drawn by Marcos Téllez Villar and datable to between 1790 and 1800.⁵ A comparison of these images helps us to determine the body types of the dancers depicted. As a complement we have also analysed other contemporary works of art about dancing, such as those by Ramón Bayeu (*Majos bailando*, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan), Goya (*Baile a orillas del Manzanares*, 1777), Camarón Bonanat (Espinós Díaz, 1982, 174) and Chasselat⁶, whose fandango image will be treated below (fig. 17).

In all these cases, the pictorial treatment of bodies and dance is almost identical. The position of the dancers in relation to the spectator is almost always the same: the men are seen from behind and the women from the front, with isolated exceptions, as in the engraving “Atabalillos de las seguidillas boleras.” Moreover, the transparency in women’s clothing that Téllez uses with aesthetic purposes in pieces such as these

⁵ A very active engraver in Spain during the second half of the eighteenth century. The collection of engravings of seguidillas boleras, in different formats in colour or black and white, is located in some libraries and archives in Spain, England and other countries; it is also available in the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/Search.do?> (accessed: July 2, 2016).

⁶ On the iconography of eighteenth-century Spanish theatrical dance see Salas 1992 and Lolo, 2003.

“Atabalillos” and the “Pistolees” [*sic*, “Pistoleas”] (Figs. 1 and 2) helps to show perfectly the outline of the lower body—hips and legs.

Male dancers are physically characterized by broad shoulders and a robust torso, and also a well-developed locomotor system—lower body: gluteus, quadriceps and calf muscles—typical of demi-character and grotesque dancers, specialized in acrobacy. Women have similar physical features, with an enhanced bust, narrow waist and well-developed locomotor system. Therefore, Spanish bolero dancers corresponded aesthetically to the standards of health and robustness of the time (Rodríguez Bernis, 2007–2008, 140).

The analysis of these physical features leads us to conclude that the bolero dancers depicted could perfectly assume both demi-character and grotesque roles. This aesthetic pattern will not change until the mid-nineteenth century, with Romanticism, but that is another story.



Figure 1: Marcos Téllez, *Atabalillos de las seguidillas boleras*. Biblioteca Digital Hispánica.



Figure 2: Marcos Téllez, *Pistolees [sic] de las seguidillas boleras*. Biblioteca Digital Hispánica.



Figure 3: Marcos Téllez, *Un pasar de las seguidillas boleras*. Biblioteca Digital Hispánica.



Figure 4: Ramón Bayeu, *Majos bailando*



Figure 5: Copy of José de Camarón Bonanat, *El Bolero* (Municipal Museum of Madrid)

The Fandango del Siglo XVIII

Some years ago, María José Ruiz Mayordomo was looking for works for the show *Majos y Petimetres* by the Compañía Esquivel (Danza & Música), composed of Spanish dance professionals specializing in bolero dance and directed herself for 20 years. Among the chosen repertoire, she wished to restore an eighteenth-century stage fandango with the choreography of the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*. She had learned this

choreography from Mercedes Zúñiga León, daughter of two Spanish bolero legends, Mercedes León and Albano Zúñiga, and granddaughter of the most legendary bolero dancer and dance mistress of the mid-twentieth century, “La Quica.” The original music had been lost, and the dance was instead performed to a simple musical accompaniment Albano could strum on the guitar, similar to the fandangos of Huelva common in private teaching of Spanish dance at the time. It thus became necessary to find matching musical sources coetaneous with the original work in order to reconstruct it for the staging of a show set in the eighteenth century.

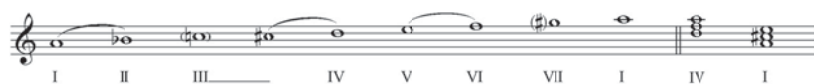
For this purpose, a search for music of eighteenth-century theatre fandangos was undertaken, taking as its main reference the musical collection of the Madrid public theatres located in the Municipal Historical Library of Madrid, which holds three fandangos for orchestra: No. 1 (Mus 627–5) is an anonymous fandango for band; No. 2 (Mus 627–6) is an orchestral fandango whose cover specifies that its author was “S^{or} Bernardo Acero”; and No. 3 (Mus 627–7) is another anonymous orchestral fandango including a “*minuet afandangado*” struck through. The most surprising aspect of this fascinating process of choreutical reconstruction was to verify, in an intuitive and embodied way, that Acero’s *Fandango* No. 2 is a perfect match for the choreography of the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*.

It is certainly the only one of the three fandangos in which the author’s name is specified: although the catalogue gives Acero as the composer of all them, this seems highly doubtful, above all in the case of the fandango for band. Nonetheless, bearing in mind that Acero worked at Madrid theatres between 1790 and 1809—Cruz, Príncipe, and Caños del Peral—(López-Calo 1999), we can suppose that at least fandango No. 2 was composed by him during these years, to be part of the so-called *bailes nacionales*: Spanish popular—but highly stylized—dances performed in the motley theatrical shows in Madrid and which would lead to the strengthening of the bolero dance. This fandango was a part of these dances, performed by professional dancers perfectly trained technically and stylistically in both foreign and “national”—bolero—dance, as we have seen above. This type of choreographic practice, transmitted from master to dancer, has lasted until our days, with the logical evolutionary changes.

These three surviving fandangos in the bolero tradition have differences that distinguish each one from the others. Momentarily leaving

aside the *Fandango del Candil*, whose music has no relation with known eighteenth-century fandangos, the *Fandangos del Siglo XVIII* and *del Reto* have a very similar musical accompaniment, although the second one was reduced to some simple chords. It is the “typical” music of the eighteenth-century fandango, with a juxtaposition of binary groups of measures that alternate the IV and I degrees of the *E-mode* or *Phrygian mode* with a raised third degree ascending, normally in A (Ex.1).⁷ This harmonic combination can to tonal ears sound like an alternation of the I and V degrees of A minor but without the consolidation of an authentic cadence.⁸

Musical example 1: A E-mode in eighteenth-century fandango



The main difference between both fandangos is the choreographic structure: the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII* presents a recurrent three-part structure, while the *Fandango del Reto* is *corrido*; in other words, the former is composed of three parts that are repeated successively while the latter is based on the mere juxtaposition of different sections without a concrete structure. This summative formula is only broken by the *subida* (“rise”): a totally different musical phrase with an acceleration of the tempo and, consequently, of the steps.

As we propose in Table 1 and as we will continue to analyse in further studies, it is very possible that both fandangos correspond to different dance contexts: the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII* would be more in keeping with a tradition of theatrical dance in which the three-part structure was very common; while the *Fandango del Reto* could be representative of one type of ballroom fandango, because its choreographical

⁷ In this essay we prefer the more neutral term E-mode instead of Phrygian mode according to the ethnomusicological terminology justified by Miguel Manzano as follows: firstly, the relationship between Greek and Gregorian systems and those on which popular traditional music is based is by no means fully proven; secondly, even though the theory of Greek systems is well known, there are only scattered and unreliable examples of how they worked out in the melodies; and lastly, the muddle in the nomenclature caused by the switch from the Greek system over to the Gregorian one leads to confusion (Manzano 2001, vol. I, 170).

⁸ Peter Manuel describes it as “a form of dual tonicity emerging from related traditions of modal harmony” (2002, 311), in which the Phrygian modal harmony is treated in an ambiguous tonal way.

structure coincides with the musical accumulative form of the instrumental fandangos by composers such as Scarlatti, Nebra, Soler and Boccherini.

Table 1: Fandangos in the bolero tradition and their relation with eighteenth-century examples

Bolero tradition	Choreographic form	Eighteenth-century scores	Performance context
<i>Fandango del Siglo XVIII</i>	Recurrent, three-part <i>mudanzas</i>	Acero's orchestral fandango	Theatrical dance ("bailes nacionales")
<i>Fandango Antiguo "del Reto"</i>	Discursive / <i>corrido</i> . Enjambed <i>coplas</i>	Instrumental fandangos by Scarlatti, Nebra, Soler, Boccherini, etc. (even Gluck or Mozart)	Possibly ballroom.
<i>Fandango del Candil</i>	Discursive <i>corrido</i> with sung stanzas. Madrilenian and Andalusian variants	?	Fandango sung and danced in different contexts (<i>candil</i> dances).

Three-part Mudanzas

The first fact that caught our attention regarding the coincident relationship between the choreography of the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII* and Acero's musical fandango was the three-part organization. The *Fandango del Siglo XVIII* presents the recurrent structure of *mudanzas* in *copla-pasada-paseo* (fig. 6), very common in Spanish dance since the sixteenth century, such as we can find in Siglo de Oro dances like the *españolita*, the *canario* or the *jácara*, and also in traditional dances (see Appendix 2).⁹

⁹ A term of Spanish dance that means a complete part of a dance, which in turn can be divided into sections.

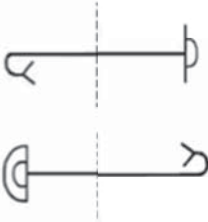
Copla	Paseo (“promenade”)	Pasada (“changing place”)
		
Face-to-face (squared) position. Little shift	Parallel walk	Passing of partners, exchanging places, with turn

Figure 6: Spatial distribution of three-part fandango

The copla is the section of a mudanza composed of a repetition of an enchainment of steps—understood as *articulated units*—with a defined structure for each type of dance. The choreutic copla generally corresponds to the musical copla (“couplet”) or also—in the case of sung dances—with the sung copla (“stanza”), but not necessarily so.

The paseo (“promenade”) is a mudanza section consisting of repetitions of one *enchainment* of steps with which the dancer moves laterally in space, although his individual direction can be forward.

According to Cairón's description of the fandango (1820, 111, Table 2) "*hasta haber pasado y dado un giro, quedándose uno en frente de otro*" ("having passed and turned to face each other").

The earliest example of a Spanish-like dance with these lateral enchainments is the *españolita* (Caroso, 1581, fol. 163r), specifically in the *mudanza* section. We also find them in the seventeenth-century *jácara*, described in two practice manuscripts that have survived until our days: the *Libro de Danzar de D. Balathasar de Rojas Pantoja compuesto por el Mtro. Juan Antonio Jaque*¹⁰ and *Escuela por lo Vajo* [sic] by Domingo González,¹¹ as well as the French theatre sarabandes, descended from the late seventeenth-century Spanish *jácaras* but published at the beginning of the next century (Ruiz Mayordomo 2003). Among the forms habitually related to the fandango, the *Folias de España* also display this type of sections, both in the French version published by R. A. Feuillet (1700, 93 and 1709, 37) and the Spanish one published in Madrid by Pablo Minguet e Irol (1758, figs. 7 and 8).¹²

Finally, the *pasada* is the section of a *mudanza* composed by steps whose function is for dancers to switch places. According to Cairón, "this switch is executed with some open *bourrée* steps, stamping the ground with the sole of the foot, bending the knees slightly, keeping the body straight, and lifting or lowering the arms" (Cairón 1820, 111; Table 2).¹³ Its earliest antecedent in a dance performed in Spain is the *contrapaso* and

¹⁰ Commonly known as "Jaque's Manuscript." In the description of "Xácara" (ff. 9v-11e) these sections are not detectable without knowledge of Spanish dance terminology of the seventeenth century. One lateral section can be seen in a variation, with one *rompido* and two *carrerillas* and a half (f. 11r).

¹¹ Recently digitized on the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (=RABASF) website: <http://www.realacademiabellasartessanfernando.com/assets/docs/noveli/noveli.pdf> (accessed June, 2015). It is part of a factitious volume with a manuscript version of Noveli's *Choreographia*. Nevertheless, its descriptions are terminological. The *jácara* is described in ff. 44r-47v.

¹² Pablo Minguet e Irol, engraver, dedicated a large part of his work to choreographic prints in different styles and formats to suit varied types of buyer, and using, among others, French dance sources for the Beauchamps-Feuillet notation (Ruiz Mayordomo 2012).

¹³ "*esta pasada se hace con ciertos pasos de burea abiertos, batiendo la planta del pie en tierra, doblando un poco las rodillas, teniendo el cuerpo bien derecho, y alzando ó bajando los brazos.*"

the canario, both described by Caroso.¹⁴

The written documentation about the eighteenth-century danced fandango, though scarce, allows us to assert the validity of this three-part structure in its choreography: indeed, Cairón's description of the fandango (1820, 110–113) includes the organization in three sequences, although this explanation reflects the choreography in a way incomprehensible even for scholars accustomed to this kind of texts (Table 2). Acero's fandango presents the typical musical structure of this dance in the eighteenth century explained above. It is organized as a succession of five four-measure (2 x 2, two equal groups of two measures) sections. Another common feature is the overlap of the beginnings and the endings of phrase in the downbeat, which creates a continuous flow of music over the described harmony in E-mode, without a tonal cadence. This sensation of constant flux is accentuated by the repeat of the ending, returning to the danced beginning in a *motu perpetuum* with apparently no end point.

Nevertheless, this musical structure is a perfect match for the three-part form of the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII* choreography (Table 3). The key was provided by an anomalous section of six measures, the D section. As will be explained later, a section divisible into three parts indicates the presence of the pasada, because an odd number facilitates the change of the beginning foot of the two-measure step of this section. The A, B, and C sections thus correspond to the copla with marking steps at the beginning; D is the pasada and E the *paseo*. However, the coincidences between Acero's *Fandango* and the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII* are not confined solely to the measures of each sections, but surprisingly extend to musical and dance gestures, as we will see below.

¹⁴ The oldest antecedent of this "switching places" ("*trocar puestos*") or passing to the other side ("*contrapasas*") according to Covarrubias, 1611, 806) in a dance in Spain appears in the *contrapaso* described by Caroso (1581, fols.173r–173v), already mentioned in Spain at the end of the fifteenth century in the "Momería Consertada de a seis" by Francisco Moner: "The swan split down the middle, the clowns emerged with a new *contrapás*" ("*Abierto el sisne por el medio, sallien los momos con un contrapás nuevo*") (apud Surtz 1992, 145).

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L'ART DE DÉCRIRE

Étude des pagnes

*Couplet de Folie d'Espagne
avec les bras et la batterie
des Castagnettes, pour faire
connoître comme on doit
pratiquer les regles precedentes.*

Figure 7: Feuillet, Folies d'Espagne (1700, 93)

Folias, primera diferencia.

Las Danzas Italianas, y Españolas, se deven escribir al simil de esta.

Figure 8: Minguet e Irol, *Folias* with castanets (1758)

Table 2: Fandango description according to Cairón (1820, 110–113, *emphasis added*)

Mudanza	Section
Introduction	Copla: “ <i>principiarán con el paseo [copla de introducción, el cuál no sé debe hacer más que cuatro veces alternativamente una con cada pie.]</i> ”
I	Copla: “en seguida se hará una mudanza,”
	Paseo: “ <i>después de la cual se vuelve á, repetir el paseo</i> ”
	Copla: “ <i>al que se seguirá otra mudanza</i> ”
II	Pasada: “ <i>principiarán a pasar mudando el puesto. Esta pasada se hace con ciertos pasos de burea abiertos, batiendo la planta del pie en tierra</i> ” “el dicho paseo se sigue siempre, hasta haber pasado y dado un giro , quedándose uno en frente de otro”
	Paseo: “desde cuya situación <i>se rompe de nuevo con el paseo, haciéndolo dos veces intermediado de dos mudanzas.</i> ”
	Copla: “Mudanza” (copla)
III	Pasada: “ <i>como antecedentemente hizo cada uno en su primitivo sitio, al cual vuelven de nuevo á pasar</i> ”
	Paseo: “para ejecutar la tercera vez otros dos paseos ”
	Copla: “ <i>con sus respectivas mudanzas, con una de las cuales se concluye.</i> ”

Table 3: Musical structure of Acero's fandango and its relation with the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII* choreography

Measures	Musical structure	Choreography section	Steps
1	Introduction without dancing		Without dancing
2–6 downbeat	A: 2 x 2	A: copla	4 marking steps of 6 beats
6–10 downbeat	B: 2 x 2		6 + 2 Copla: (6 sequences of 6 beats): 6 times, paseo step with a change of direction (attraction and rejection)
10–14 downbeat	C: 2 x 2 Measures 11 and 13: D minor + G minor in the third beat (IV–IV–VII)		Final turn, 12 beats (Beginning of Folias turn, broken turn)
14–20 downbeat	D: 2x3 with variations in odd measures: anomalous section of 6 measures c. 15: D minor + G minor in the third beat c. 19: pedal point-like in the bass (but in D).	B: pasada	3 x (2 sequences of 12 beats): 1 fandango step + 2 turning sustained steps
20–22 downbeat	E: 2+2 Pedal point in A in the bass (odd measures in second inversion of D minor).	C: paseo	2 sequences of 12 beats: 2 <i>sostenido con punteado</i> ¹⁵) + <i>sos</i> [1 long + 2 short, the last a half turn in order to change direction and be ready to return]

¹⁵ La Meri (1948, 163) describes this step in the olé dance as “Stamp R en place; point L to 2nd and take weight on half-toe; step R en place”. Matteo called this step the *llamada andaluza* (Matteo 1990, 280).

The Copla: The Fandango Step and the Paseo Step

The *copla* could have different steps, but there are two main ones in the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*: the fandango step and the paseo step (fig. 9), not to be confused with the choreographic section called “paseo” (“promenade”).¹⁶

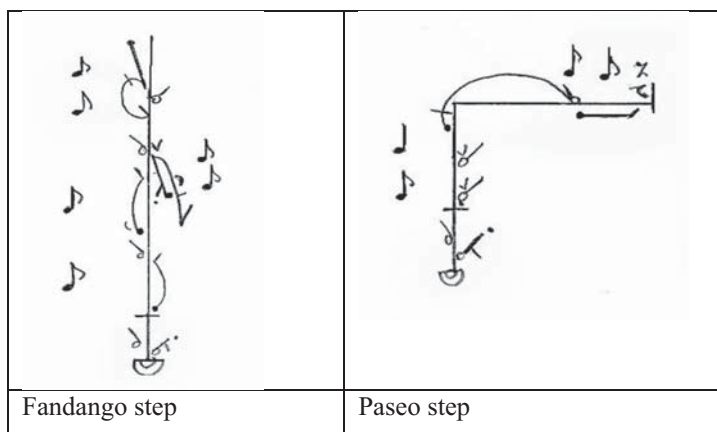


Figure 9: Copla steps in Beauchamps-Feuillet notation

The first one is, obviously, the step that characterizes the dance of the fandango in the bolero tradition. In fact, it also appears in the choreography of the *Fandango del Reto* in an ornamented way. We have found the oldest testimony of a fandango step in a manuscript located at the National Library of Catalonia, still inedited and without catalogue number, that consists in a dance—music and choreography—collection “Para uso del Dr Dn Felix Alejos de Valon en 7 de Marzo de 1798.” At the end of the description of the dance *La Miscelánea*, specifically on the verso page, one can read the following text: “Chain of seguidillas to the opposite side and draw back with fandango step to their place, the gentlemen facing backwards and the ladies facing forwards, promenade.”¹⁷ Although the document belongs to an amateur context—neither professional nor theatrical—it is very interesting to note the presence at the end of the eighteenth century of one characteristic step of

¹⁶ As with the sevillanas, the characteristic fandango step was called “paso” or “paseo,” interchangeably, from a moment we still cannot date.

¹⁷ “Cadena de seguidillas hasta el lugar opuesto y desde él en paso de fandango retirarse hasta su lugar; los caballeros de espaldas y las señoras de cara, paseo”.

the fandango, that could be the same one that has endured in the bolero tradition.

The fandango step can be described briefly as a three-part step in oblique forward and backward movement with change of angle, ornamented with a *topetillo* (“little touch”). This step is, essentially, the same as the seguidilla step, commonly known as *paso de sevillana*, as we have explained in our previous work on Boccherini’s *Minuetto a modo di sghidiglia spagnola* (Ruiz Mayordomo and Pessarrodona, 2013). La Meri describes the sevillanas as “step forward R; L point in 3rd behind; step back L; point R 3rd in front; *vacío* R; step R *en place*. Repeat alternating” (La Meri 1948, 165; see also Matteo 1990, 169).

The main difference between both steps is the change of impetus: the seguidilla step is crusic, because it begins at the first beat of the measure, while the fandango step is anacrusic and its initial impetus corresponds to the *encaje* (“fit”)¹⁸ on the last beat of the measure—the “step R *en place*” of La Meri’s description. In the seguidilla step, it was merely a way to end the step and begin the next one (Fig. 10).

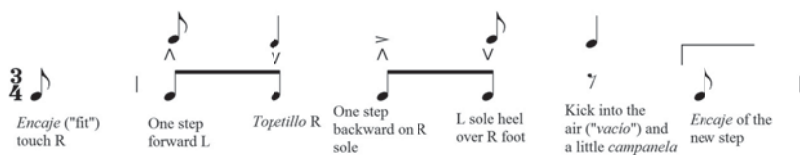


Figure 10: Rhythmic outline of the fandango step¹⁹

This anacrusic encaje as initial impetus of the fandango step is linked to the music of the eighteenth-century fandango. In order to illustrate it we have chosen the first danced measures of Acero’s fandango because they have the gestural impetus of the fandango step, although in the proposed reconstruction they would correspond to some marking steps as introduction of the copla. The musical gesture that best enables this anacrusic impetus are the semitones between the measures, caused by the peculiar modal harmony of the fandango. In its harmonic context, the semitones—particularly the descending ones—fulfill the role of leading

¹⁸ In the encaje the R foot closes into 3rd back to push the L foot crossed (*croisé*) diagonally forward.

¹⁹ *Campanela*: “left thigh forward, lower leg vertical; swing lower leg side-wise” (La Meri 1948, 161).

note. Miguel Ángel Berlanga explains it in commenting the relationship between the II and I degrees of the E-mode (F-E):

The tension between this second degree of the Phrygian mode and the first one is one of the characteristic features of this music (...). This important structural role of the second degree (in its dynamic tension towards the first one) is present in all the flamenco fandangos and many other *cantes* [flamenco songs], so much so that it could be considered of similar structural importance to the dominant function of the V degree in tonal music (Berlanga 1994, 159).²⁰

In Ex. 2 we can observe that the passage from m. 2 to m. 3 forms a series of descending semitones that functions as an element of dynamic tension to the harmonic resolution in the downbeat of m. 3. In this case this dynamic tension is accentuated by the presence of B $\flat$ in the bass as leading note of A in one G minor chord, and by the chromaticism of the G $\sharp$ in the first violin. The tension of this musical gesture leads the first encaje touch right in the last beat of m. 2 to impel the step forward touched from behind. The initial descending melody, very common in eighteenth-century fandangos, helps also to impel the fandango step as an amplification of the gesture of dynamic tension described.

The same gesture is reproduced in reverse in the downbeat of the next measure, resulting in a similar effect but much less dynamic harmonically and directionally because of the pass from the I degree to the IV degree. Nevertheless, Acero decided to reinforce the anacrusis

²⁰ “la tensión entre ese segundo grado de la escala frigia y el primero es una de las notas constitutivas de esta música (...). Este importante papel estructurante del segundo grado (en su tensión dinámica hacia el primero) está presente en todos los fandangos flamencos y en muchos otros cantes, tanto que podría considerarse como de importancia estructural similar a la función de dominante que desempeña el quinto grado en la música tonal.”

It is true that the alternation between IV and I degrees of A E-mode does not produce the appearance of B $\flat$, which would be the leading note in this context, and its resolution to A, but their triads cause other relations of descending semitone with the same effect of dynamic tension and resolution: D-C $\sharp$ and F-E (Ex. 1). Developing Berlanga’s idea, it could be said that in this harmonic context the II chord of E-mode functions as the seventh degree and the IV as the dominant. Therefore, the relationship between the IV and I chords presents another important coincidence with classical tonal harmony: as happens between dominant and tonic, there is one note common to both chords, which in the classical tonal context is the V degree and in E-mode is the I. As we will see later, this fact is related to some musical gestures of the paseo.

timbrically and the downbeat of m. 3 with chords and double strings in the violins in order to emphasize this initial encaje and step forward.

Musical example 2: Initial measures of Acero's fandango with indication of the musical gestures related to the dance ones of the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*

Another interesting feature of the fandango step in the copla is the *topetillo* (“little touch”): as we have seen in the *seguidilla* step (Ruiz Mayordomo and Pessarrodona, 2013), it consists in a light touch of the heel of one foot with the sole or inside of the heel of the other. It appears for the first time as a step, but without this name, in the sixteenth-century Castilian manuscript *Arte de danzar aunque mal se puede aprender con solo leer*, as follows: “and to touch the right foot with the left one and, seated on the ground, to kick with the right one.”²¹ It is explicitly mentioned in the mid-seventeenth-century *Libro de danzar* by Juan Antonio Jaque, specifically in the last variation of the *jácara* as “step forward with the right foot, *topetillo* and jump and *encaje* backwards with the left one.”²² In the beginning of the eighteenth century the *Choregraphie figurative* by Noveli includes choreographical notation of three variants with the indication of this *topar* (“touch”) of one foot with the other one; specifically in the steps *Tope encaxado*, *Paso con tope de grillos hecho y de Secho* [sic], *Tope con grillos hecho* and *Tope con Grillos desecho* [sic]” (Noveli 1708, ff. 17r and 23r). Later Pablo Minguet (1737, 46) calls it “*tropecillo*” (“little stumble”).

²¹ “y ir a dar con el pie izquierdo en el derecho y asentándose en el suelo dar una patadilla con el derecho.”

²² “paso adelante con el [pie] dere[ch]o, *topetillo* y salto y *encaxe* atras con el *Yzquierdo*” (Jaque, f. 11r).

As we have indicated in our previous article (2013), this topetillo could become an identifying element of the Spanish local *trope* to foreign eyes, because we find it habitually in theatrical dances of the Baroque repertoire as gestures to represent Spanish characters. This is the case of the “Entrée espagnole pour un homme et une femme” in *L’Europe galante* by Louis Guillaume Pecour and André Campra, the *Folias de España* noted by Raoul Auger Feuillet, reproduced by Minguet (ibid.) or the “Chacone pour une femme” in *Phaeton*, by Louis Guillaume Pecour (1704, 10–19; Fig. 11).

In our previous essay (Ruiz Mayordomo and Pessarrodona, 2013), we also noted that it is very common to find this gesture related to the rhythm of quaver and crotchet in triple metre or compound duple metre. In these cases the quaver corresponds to the step forward and the crotchet to the topetillo—syncopation—and the immediate backward movement of the foot.²³ In the fandango this rhythm appears implicitly in the dance step and also in the music, as we can observe in the viola and bass melody of m. 2 of Acero’s fandango (Ex. 2). Nevertheless, in contrast to the seguidilla step, the fandango step presents a strong support on the fourth beat, that is the downbeat of the second measure, the “one step backward on R sole” (Fig. 12). This oscillation of accents in the basic step helps to understand the variety of fandango musical rhythms.

Something similar happens with the other characteristic step of the copla, the paseo step. It consists of three steps with weight transfer and irregular rhythm: long-short-long. This step has survived in other bolero dances of the fandango family, such as the malagueña, and in some traditional dances—fandango, jota, rondón—still performed today in the cultural communities of Castilla, León, La Mancha, Navarra, Valencia, Murcia, etc. In the case of the fandango, it consists in a diagonal step forward, another step that crosses behind and a final one that goes back, with pointed anacrusis ornament after the third support (Figs. 9 and 12).

²³ In Fig. 12 we can see the presence of this rhythm only in the first topetillo, because the continuation of the rhythm can vary once the step is firmly in place. For more on the presence of this rhythm and other similar ones see Pessarrodona, 2015.

The figure displays a musical score and a corresponding dance notation. The top section features two staves of music. The first staff is labeled "10. Chacone de Phaeton" and "Chacone". It contains a series of notes with several measures highlighted by rectangular boxes. The second staff is labeled "Chacone pour une femme" and contains a continuous line of notes. Below the music, the dance notation is represented by a vertical line with various symbols and arrows. At the bottom of this line, there are four rectangular boxes, each containing a diagram of a dancer's pose or movement, with arrows indicating the direction of the movement. The entire figure is enclosed in a rectangular frame.

Figure 11: “Chacone pour une femme” in *Phaeton* by Pecour (1704, 10), with the *topetillos* indicated in both music and dance

Both in the fandango step and paseo step the advancing and retreating is constant: the members of the couple move towards and away from each other, in a dance of “attraction and rejection.”



Figure 12: Rhythmic outline of the paseo step

From the point of view of the relationship between musical and dance gestures, the combination of both steps in the copla is very interesting because of their different accents: as we have seen, the fandango step has one strong support on the fourth beat (Fig. 10), but its equivalent in the paseo step appears one quaver later, as “support of R with weight transfer” (Fig. 12). Although the dancers do not perceive this gesture as a strong support, the fact that it appears a quaver later indicates an inclination towards 6/8 time, instead of the 3/4 time of the fandango step. Therefore, the combination of these steps provides a choreutical explanation for the habitual polyrhythm of the fandango, which alternates passages in 3/4 time with others in 6/8 time (Ex. 2).

The Pasada Section

As we have already seen, the pasada in Acero’s *Fandango* corresponds to the musical section D (mm. 14–20; Table 3), with six measures that facilitate three changes of place, each of them two measures long. The pasada step consists in one fandango step and a bourrée step, which can be a *pas de bourrée ouvert* (Figs. 12 y 13), as Cairón indicates (Table 2). The fandango step has been explained above; the bourrée step is composed of three steps, *ouvert-fermé-ouvert*, in half turn with little ornaments as *punteo* (“step on ball”).



Figure 13: Step combination of the fandango pasada in Beauchamps-Feuillet notation²⁴

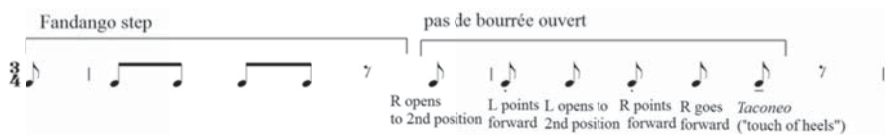


Figure 14: Rhythmic outline of the pasada step

In Acero's *Fandango* the pasada corresponds to a section with music very common in eighteenth-century fandangos: the main melody has been reduced to the broken chords of each measure in a series of semiquavers

²⁴ Turns have been omitted for clarity.

with a guitaristic and mechanical style we have chosen to call *maquineta* (“little machine”). In fact, this resource appears as an identifying feature of the fandango in *tonadillas*, as has already been pointed out elsewhere (Pessarrodona 2012).²⁵

In this “mechanical” passage the 3/4 time is prioritized, contrasting with the previous measures in 6/8. Its rhythmic uniformity facilitates the *pasada* step, above all its second part, in which the *pas de bourrée ouvert* is performed with simple supports in the first two quavers of each beat. The long notes in the wind instruments in the odd measures help to create the feeling of spinning needed to turn naturally. Into such regular music Acero introduced little descending melodies at the end of the odd measures that act as a cue for the dancer to change the step and begin the new sequence.

Example 3: mm. 8-13 of the *Fandango* by Acero with indication of the musical gestures related to the dance ones of the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*

The Paseo Section

In the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII* the paseo is repeated exactly three times and is composed of an articulated unit that consists in two *punteados* (“steps on ball”) and three walking steps (figs. 15 and 16).

²⁵ Recently we have discussed this subject in the paper “El fandango en la dramaturgia tonadillesca: el gesto en su contexto”, presented in the conference *Teatro musical español del siglo XVIII (teatro breve). Géneros y nuevas perspectivas* (Real Escuela Superior de Arte Dramático – Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, November 2015).

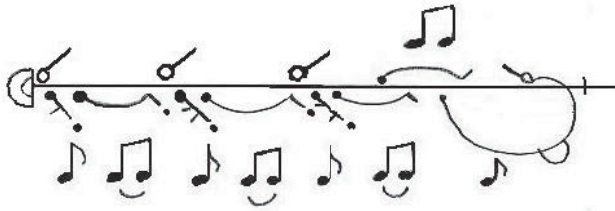


Figure 15: Fandango paseo in Beauchamps-Feuillet notation



Figure 16: Rhythmic outline of the fandango paseo

The paseo (“promenade”) corresponds to the last musical section of Acero’s *Fandango* (mm. 20–22 of the repetition, Table 3). As in the pasada, the step of the *paseo* lasts two measures, but unlike the cases commented previously, this section is acephalous, because it begins in the anacrusis of the second beat. The dancer can fill the intermediate time in with punteados or *sostenidos* (“steps on ball”). Acero’s music indicates the presence of this step with a musical gesture that does not appear at any time of the fandango: the explicit accent – a *staccato* in the manuscript – over the first note of the second beat in the violins (m. 20; Ex. 4). In this way the exact moment of the first step on ball is highlighted.

Rhythmically this step alternates a first section with encajes and punteos in quavers and crotchets and a second section with walking steps. Acero’s music fits perfectly with this rhythmic alternation: the walking steps take place in a melody that recalls the previous maquineta—also with the descending melody as cue—and emphasizes the 3/4 time. The long notes of the winds provide a basis on which the dancer slides these walking steps. But the main support is another musical feature that was very frequent in eighteenth-century fandangos: the A pedal point, in which the common note of both chords—A major and D minor—is held for some measures. In this case the A pedal point is written with quavers as a drum bass, creating a static uniform basis that facilitates the parallel movement of the paseo.

Example 4: mm. 20–23 of Acero's *Fandango* with the indication of music gestures related to the dance ones of the *Fandango del Siglo XVIII*

A Final Note: The Erotism of the Fandango

Once the gestural relationships between the bolero *Fandango del Siglo XVIII* and an eighteenth-century stage fandango have been analysed, we are in a better position to begin the study of the sensuality and erotism of this genre, an aspect that foreigners were most drawn to at the time.

In the fandango analysed we have seen that the members of the couple constantly move towards and away from each other. This occurs not only in the three-part structure, with the movements of *pasada* and *paseo*, but also within the *copla*, whose main steps—*fandango step* and *paseo step*—present a continuous back and forth movement very typical of “attraction and rejection” dances (Table 3).

Something very similar happens in the music. It is very possible that the harmonic construction of the E-mode was itself highly erotic for stable tonal ears—that is, within the canons of classical music. Susan McClary, in her book *Feminine Endings. Music, Gender and Sexuality* (1991)—one of the first musicological essays from a gender perspective—and more specifically in its third chapter “Sexual Politics in Classical Music,” comments on the power of seduction of chromatic excesses in the opera *Carmen*. McClary says about the *habanera* and the *seguidilla* sung by the protagonist:

While there is never any question on her tonal or melodic orientation in this phrase, her erratic means of descending through the tetrachord (...) reveals her as a “master” of seductive rhetoric. She knows how to hook and manipulate desire (58).

Carmen's death at the hands of Don José represents, according to McClary, the logical and *desired* conclusion, also for the audience, in a context in which the excess of dissonances and chromaticism demand the return to diatonicism:

Not only José but also the listener (...) longs for this flood of chromaticism to be stopped, for stability to be reestablished—even though we know that the triumph of tonal closure means the violent murder of Carmen. Bizet's musical strategies, in other words, set up almost unbearable tensions that cause the listener not only to accept Carmen's death as "inevitable", but actually to *desire* it (62).

According to McClary these "exotic" musical features represent Carmen's corporeality in such an evident way that it becomes intolerable. In line with this idea, in her later works McClary found the basis of Baroque musical erotism in the establishment of the leading note and the consequent development of large cadential processes that demanded—*desired*—the resolution in the tonic:

Composers in the early seventeenth century harnessed the leading tone in order to create extended trajectories of desire. If the leading tone heralds expected closure, then damming up that expectation can produce a long-term cadential effect. As soon as the leading tone appears, the ear (...) anticipates its implied resolution. A single pitch—the designated tonic, towards which the leading tone points—becomes an object of desire (8–9).

Therefore, in the process towards consolidation of tonality over the eighteenth century there was an expansion of the cadences to the stability of the tonic which, according to McClary, causes the intensification of the desire to arrive at this resolution.

In the music of the eighteenth-century fandango something similar happens: the oscillation between the I and IV degrees of E-mode creates to tonal ears the sensation of a minor mode—D minor in this case—never consolidated. The tonal listener waits for an authentic cadence to show the tonality, but it never arrives; tonal ears fail to process the A chord as a stable tonic.²⁶ In line with McClary's thought, this lack of tonal cadence implies its *desire*, which becomes the peak of erotism in

²⁶ In this sense we find Peter Manuel's collection of comments by scholars who have considered the music of eighteenth-century fandangos within the classical tonal canon and their logical perplexity by the lack of conclusion, to the point of proposing endings, to be most interesting (Manuel 2002: 316–318).

music: the musical fandango would be the main exponent of a seduction that never arrives to its conclusion; it would be the musical equivalent of what we colloquially know as “unresolved sexual tension” or, in choreological terms, a constant musical “attraction and rejection.”

The choreological analysis of the fandango iconography also provides interesting pointers of what could be erotic to foreign eyes. Here we will focus on the most emblematic fandango image: the picture entitled *Le fandango* by the Frenchman Pierre Chasselat (1753–1814), that was used to illustrate the album *Danses nationales de chaque pays* with songs by Gustave Dugazon (1821?). The choreological analysis will give “tridimensionality” to the commented stage fandango, the images of the dancers’ bodies, their clothing, their arms, and the attitudes displayed by members of the couples towards each other, providing the key to understanding the exotic erotism of the fandango for foreigners.

In this image (Fig. 17) two couples appear dancing the fandango, accompanied on the guitar by a fifth character. This is an idealized scene in a stylized bucolic setting, far from everyday reality. It might seem “normal” at first sight, but there is something that catches our attention: the significant disparities between the couples, regarding the clothing and the dance position. So much so that we consider it could be the iconographic representation of opposite dance stereotypes: one would be the genuinely hispanic stereotype—the couple on the right, which we will call B—and the other could be identified as two non-hispanic characters trying to dance in the Spanish style—the couple on the left, which we will call A.

Regarding the clothing, we can observe that couple A is dressed in cool colours and couple B in red, the representative colour of “Spanishness.”²⁷ This contrast of the colours is complemented by the feminine hairstyle and headdress: woman A’s hair is put up in two braids, while woman B has a headdress with shawl, another Spanish reference. As for the men, man A sports short hair and narrow sideburns, with man B preferring wide sideburns, according to the typical image of the *majos*.

²⁷ In the French dance iconography of the time, and even before then, there is a tendency to associate red to Spaniards and blue to the French (*Danseurs* 1988; Kirstein 1984).



Figure 17: *Le fandango* by Pierre Chasselat (Dugazon, 1821?)

In choreology, the main vocabulary of what could be called “the dance text” is largely determined by the locomotor system or lower body. An analysis of the physical constitution of the dancers as well as their positions from a choreographical perspective can also provide us with excellent information about the diametrical differences between the two couples. The dancers in couple B present the same directions, supporting foot and free leg features seen in the bolero illustrations analyzed at the beginning of this article. On the other hand, the dancers of couple A seem to be supported “ideally”, because their position is physically impossible to enact without reinforced footwear. Moreover, this couple displays a light and graceful moment of suspension more typical of French dance, as the iconography of the time shows (Pasi 1980; *Danseurs* 1988; Kirstein 1984).

The position of the arms, as one of the distinctive elements of Spanish dance, also presents important differences between the couples: couple A exhibits very closed positions, without amplitude, with right angles and proximity of the lower arm to the body; on the other hand,

couple B presents open positions in which the shoulder girdle and the chest can be freely contemplated, with no obstacle, and interact directly with each other. This open position coincides with those reflected by Téllez (Fig. 1, 2 and 3) and by Camarón Bonanat or Bayeu (Fig. 4 and 5), which is why we consider it inherent to the theatrical bolero dance of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century.

We also find important differences in the visual connection between the members of each couple. In this sense, the Spanish tradition that has survived until our days consists in maintaining a direct gaze in the same plane, and the exceptions serve to enhance this unwritten but always present rule. While couple A presents a sidelong glance, couple B maintains a direct, horizontal gaze, with equality between man and woman. This type of visual relationship has direct consequences on the position of the bodies and heads: rotation with tilting of the head and inclination of the torso in couple A, and upright position in couple B, taking into account that in both couples the heights of men and women are similar.

Gestural relationships between shoulder girdle and pelvic girdle are also opposed: in couple A they create parallel lines in continuity, but in couple B they are squarely face to face, heads, breasts, hips—and therefore pubes too—all aligned. Consequently the projected shadows of the dancers' bodies correspond to two opposite types of relationship almost symbolically: couple A traces two parallel lines on the ground while couple B creates only one.

Therefore, Chasselat's engraving is very useful to understand the attitude between the fandango dancers as opposed to other—more European—dancing styles. It consists in a more open corporeal relationship: frontal, direct and also equal, analogous to the attitudes of majos and majas in contemporary short plays, and certainly very daring for foreigners. If to this we add the steps and arms, the choreographical relationships between the couple and the suggestive E-mode, an explosive combination is created that explains why the fandango was so exotic and erotic for foreigner visitors.

Conclusions

In this essay we have proposed the first reconstruction of an eighteenth-century stage fandango from a choreologically and musicologically

informed perspective, from a dance preserved in the bolero tradition and also from the analysis of the dancing body in the corresponding historical context.

Employing a transdisciplinary and *in-the-arts* methodology we have been able to apprehend this typology of fandango as a choreutical and musical phenomenon, in which dance gesture and music are articulated together. For this reason this study enables musicians and musicologists to understand the musical features of the fandango—form, rhythm, harmony, melody—related to the dance gesture; and choreologists, choreo-authors and dance performers to go beyond the sensory dimension to integrate the rational one.

This first choreologically and musicologically informed restoration of a fandango is also crucial to begin to overcome the clichés and prejudice associated with this genre, caused above all by lack of knowledge about the bolero theatrical tradition as a kinetic and spatial aspect of the choreutical-musical phenomenon. In this way this study also allows us to understand the meaning of the fandango—for example, its eroticism—within the Spanish context of the time.

Certainly this study is still a work in progress which we will continue to develop. We are aware that much remains to be done in the field of eighteenth-century Spanish dance research, not only regarding the recovery and restoration of works and data—for example, biographies of dancers, context of the theatres, etc.—, but also from a methodological point of view in order to establish transversal parameters of analysis. In any case, we hope that this study will lead to further transdisciplinary research on, for and in the art, with a real dialogue among choreologists, musicologists, artists and specialists in other disciplines.

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APPENDIX 1: Transcription of the *Fandango* for orchestra by Bernardo Álvarez Acero (Historical Library of Madrid, Mus 627-6)

Oboes I-II
Trompas I-II en Re
Violines I
Violines II
Violas
Bajo

5
Ob.
Tp.
Vl. I
Vl. II
Vla.
B.

11
Ob.
Tp.
Vl. I
Vl. II
Vla.
B.

Ob.
Tp.
Vl. I
Vl. II
Vla.
B.

16

20

a 2

a 2

This musical score is for a chamber ensemble consisting of Oboe (Ob.), Trumpet (Tp.), Violin I (Vl. I), Violin II (Vl. II), Viola (Vla.), and Bass (B.). The score is divided into two systems, measures 16-19 and 20-23. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The first system (measures 16-19) features a complex rhythmic pattern with many eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. The Oboe and Trumpet parts have rests in measures 17 and 18. The second system (measures 20-23) continues the rhythmic complexity, with the Oboe and Trumpet parts having rests in measures 21 and 22. The Viola part has a 'a 2' marking above it in measures 21 and 22, indicating a second ending or a specific articulation. The Bass part has a steady eighth-note accompaniment throughout.

APPENDIX 2: Tables of sources about the Hispanic tradition of three-part dances

1) Hispanic Tradition of Three-Part Dances

Dance	Organization	Sources
Pavanilla / Pavaniglia	3 sections in each <i>mudanza</i> : beginning, variation zone, closure.	Caroso 1581: II, f. 37r. Negri 1602: 132-135 (“ <i>alla romana</i> ”) and 157-159 (“ <i>all’uso di Milano</i> ”) Negri 1630
Españoleta	3 sections, the 2nd with horizontal displacement as with the <i>Fandango del Siglo XVIII</i> , the 3rd in backward and forward; 2nd and 3rd are repeated as an <i>estribillo</i> (“refrain”).	Caroso 1581: ff. 163r-174r Caroso 1600: 311-312
Canario	3 sections in each <i>mudanza</i> : variation, <i>retirada</i> (“retreat”), <i>estribillo</i> .	Caroso 1581: ff. 179r-180r Negri 1602: 198-202 Negri 1630
Jácara	variation – closure of the variation – <i>paseo</i> . The different parts are only detectable through analysis of the text.	Jaque: ff. 9v-11r. González: ff. 44r-47v.
Jota aragonesa	<i>copla – paseo – estribillo</i> .	Paradigmatic words of popular tradition.
Charrada con Espuela		Tradition of Salamanca.

2) Dances With *Paseo*

Dance	Organization	Sources
Pasamezzo	“ <i>Passo e mezo d’incerto con le mutanze, & passeggio nuovo</i> ”. <i>Passeggio</i> : while one dances his/her variation, the other does his/her <i>passeggio</i> , that is always the same as an <i>estribillo</i> or <i>ritornello</i> .	Caroso, 1581: II, ff. 46r-48v.
Passeggio		<i>Paseo</i> in Negri 1630
Folías:	<i>Paseos</i> and <i>mudanzas</i> . <i>Paseos</i> : “the entrance is repeated” (“ <i>Se repite la Entrada</i> ”), which consists in three walking steps and 3 <i>vacíos</i> (three times), and a turn as closure. They are always executed equal, as an <i>estribillo</i> , with the possibility of ornamentation.	Jaque
Jácara		González: f. 44.
Villano	“ <i>paseo</i> ” [<i>sic</i>] divided into two parts as <i>estribillo</i> and <i>passo</i> [<i>sic</i>]. The <i>paseo</i> is repeated as an <i>estribillo</i> ..	Minguet e Irol [1737]: 64-67.
Malagueña	Horizontal displacement, basic sequence with possibility of ornamentation.	Theatrical bolero tradition, Spanish dance

3) Dances With *Paseo* and *Pasada* Between the *Coplas*

Dance	Organization	Sources
Bolero	<i>paseo</i> and <i>pasada</i> as <i>estribillo</i> between <i>coplas</i>	Theatrical bolero tradition
Seguidillas manchegas		
Seguidillas boleras		
Seguidillas sevillanas		Popular tradition
Panaderos	<i>Panaderos</i> step always the same, sometimes changing positions and at other times changing places as a <i>paseo</i> of fandango	Theatrical bolero tradition

CONTRIBUTORS

Thomas Baird is a Historical Dance specialist, and a guest lecturer at The Juilliard School, Mannes School of Music, Curtis Institute, and Manhattan School of Music. He is a Period Movement Coach/choreographer for Broadway, Lincoln Center Theater, Metropolitan Opera and the New York Philharmonic. He is a faculty member of Purchase College, The Juilliard School, and Hartt School of Music.

Bruno Bartra (México, 1979) is currently pursuing an Ethnomusicology Ph.D. at The Graduate Center of the City University of New York, with grants from the Fulbright-García Robles Foundation as well as Mexico's Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología. He has an M.A. in Ethnomusicology from the Graduate Center, and a Major in Sociology from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. He has been a grantee from the Mexican Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes and has published multiple articles in academic and cultural magazines. His first book, *Fronteras reconfiguradas*, is currently in press, to be published in Mexico. He is a founding member of the Mexican band La Internacional Sonora Balkanera.

Miguel Angel Berlanga is a professor of ethnomusicology at the University of Granada (Spain) with his doctorate in musicology. His publications focus on the musical traditions of Andalusia, Spain, including the region's most well-known genre, flamenco. His doctoral thesis, focused on fandangos, was awarded the *First Prize for Research on Traditional Dances*, sponsored by the University and Council of Malaga (1999) as well the *National Award for Research on Folklore* (CIOFF, Ministry of Culture of Spain) in 2007. Currently, he is conducting research on flamenco, Spanish dance, Ibero-American music and their respective relationships to a) traditional Spanish music and b) dance music in the Spanish Baroque.

Guillermo Castro Buendía. Doctorate in History of Art and Bachelor's degree in classical guitar, teaches in the "Master in Flamenco ESMUC" (High school of Music of Catalonia) program and is a member of the Center of Investigation on Flamenco Telethusa of Cádiz. He is author of

Las Mudanzas del Cante en tiempos de Silverio, análisis histórico-musical de su escuela de cante (2010), and *Génesis Musical del Cante Flamenco. De lo remoto a lo tangible en la música flamenca hasta la muerte de Silverio Franconetti* (2014), and has published articles in *Flamenco La Madrugá*, journal of the Centro de Investigación Flamenco Telethusa, and in the online journal *Sinfonía Virtual*, which he also edits.

Claudia Calderón Sáenz is a pianist and composer who graduated from the MusikHochschule in Hannover, Germany, in 1987. She has studied in Italy with György Sandor, a disciple of Béla Bartók. She concertizes and teaches in Venezuela at the Conservatorio de Música Simón Bolívar, Instituto Superior de Estudios Musicales. She has written compositions for solo piano, chamber works, and symphony repertoire. She has recorded four CD as a pianist and ensemble leader. She has given concerts in Europe, the U.S., México, South America, South Africa, and China. She has also initiated and overseen symphony projects in Colombia.

Lou Charnon-Deutsch is Professor Emerita of Hispanic Languages and Literature at Stony Brook University, specializing in visual culture, gender theory and 19th-century narrative. Her books include: *Hold That Pose: Visual Culture in the Nineteenth Century Spanish Press* (2008) *The Spanish Gypsy, History of a European Obsession* (2004); *Fictions of the Feminine in the Nineteenth-Century Spanish Press* (2000); *Narratives of Desire: Nineteenth-Century Spanish Fiction by Women* (1994); *Culture and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (Co-edited with Jo Labanyi, 1995); and *Gender and Representation: Women in Spanish Realist Fiction* (1990).

Alex E. Chávez is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Faculty Fellow of the Institute for Latino Studies at the University of Notre Dame. Centered around Mexico, the US-Mexico Borderlands, and Latinas/os in the United States, more broadly, Chavez's research interests explore the innermost workings of transnational migration, embodiment, place-making, and everyday life as manifest in political economies of performance with particular emphasis on music and language. He holds a PhD in Anthropology from the University of Texas at Austin and is an accomplished multi-instrumentalist with experience in various Mexican folk music genres.

Loren Chuse is an ethnomusicologist whose interests include the role of women and issues of gender in the flamenco tradition, forms of fusion (in

particular the collaborations between flamenco and Arabic music), and issues of cultural identity and hybridity in flamenco. Her doctoral dissertation (UCLA, 1999), *The Cantaoras: Music, Gender and Identity in Flamenco Song*, was published by Routledge (2003) and in Spain as *Mujer y flamenco* (Ediciones Signatura, 2007). Her article on cantaoras (female flamenco singers) appeared in *The Mediterranean in Music* (2005). She continues to participate in national and international conferences, and to publish new research on flamenco. She is a member of the Mediterranean Music Studies Group of the International Council for Traditional Music. She resides in Berkeley, California.

Walter Aaron Clark is professor of musicology at the University of California, Riverside, and director of the Center for Iberian and Latin American Music there. He is the author of Oxford biographies of Isaac Albéniz, Enrique Granados, and Federico Moreno Torroba, and he has also edited several books on Spanish and Latin American music; in addition, he made a critical edition of Granados's opera *Follet* (Tritó). He is the series editor for Oxford University Press's *Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music*.

Cristina Cruces Roldán is catedrática of Antropología Social at the Universidad de Sevilla. She is a specialist in flamenco studies, and has directed the Doctoral Program "El flamenco. Acercamiento multidisciplinar a su estudio" and research projects I+D "Mujeres flamencas. Etnicidad, género y trabajo ante los nuevos retos profesionales," and "El flamenco global. El papel de las mujeres en los mercados internacionales: empresarias, estrategias y alianzas." She wrote the *Informe Técnico para la incoación de los Registros Sonoros de la Niña de los Peines como Bien de Interés Cultural y el segundo Informe Técnico para la Declaración del Flamenco Patrimonio Oral e Inmaterial de la Humanidad* (UNESCO). She is a researcher in the projects "Danza durante la Guerra Civil y el franquismo (1936-1960): políticas culturales, identidad, género y patrimonio coreográfico" and "Análisis Computacional de la Música Flamenca." She is the author of more than ninety publications in books and international journals, focusing on issues of flamenco, identity, gender, and film. Her monographs are *Más allá de la Música, Antropología y Flamenco*, *Historia del Flamenco siglo XXI*, *Flamenco y música andalusí*, *Flamenco y Trabajo*, *El Flamenco como Patrimonio*, and *La Niña de los Peines. El Mundo Flamenco de Pastora Pavón*. She is currently preparing a biography of famed Seville *bailaora* Matilde Coral.

Allan de Paula Oliveira is an anthropologist (Ph.D. in Antropologia Social en la Universidad Federal de Santa Catarina, Brasil) whose research focuses on popular music in Brazil, especially on musical genres related to the inland areas of Brazil. Since 2008 he is a professor at the Universidad Estadual del Oeste de Paraná (UNIOESTE).

Anthony (Tony) Dumas is a Visiting Assistant Professor at the College at Brockport, SUNY where he teaches courses in world music, aesthetics, Mediterranean music, ecomusicology, and protest music. His dissertation, *(Re)Locating Flamenco: A Bohemian Cosmopolitanism in Northern California*, examines California's flamenco scene as it is related to North America's bohemian counterculture and rooted in flamenco conventions, localized traditions, and cosmopolitan ideals.

Reynaldo Fernández Manzano (Granada, 1959) is an organist, clavichordist, and Spanish musicologist. He has been head organist since the age of eleven at the Iglesia Parroquial de San Pedro y San Pablo y del Monasterio de La Concepción de Granada. He completed his studies in violin, piano, harmony, music history, chorus, and acoustics at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música "Victoria Eugenia" de Granada (1968–1977, 1978–1979). He is a disciple of the violinist and Hispanist Werner Beinhauer (1970–1975), and of the composer and organist Juan Alfonso García (1974–1977). During the academic year 1977–1978 he broadened his training in Paris, studying clavichord with Rafael Puyana, thanks to a scholarship from the Caja General de Ahorros de Granada. He studied Arabic at the Instituto de Idiomas de la Universidad de Granada (1979–1983), and spoken Arabic as part of his doctoral studies at the Universidad de Granada (1983–1984). He is a graduate in Medieval History of the Universidad de Granada (1976–1983), and presented his minor thesis on the music of the Moriscos of the Reino de Granada (1983), with which he obtained the unanimous qualification of outstanding. He did doctoral studies in the History of al-Ándalus (1983–1984), and in History and Anthropology (2003–2004); he obtained his Master of Advanced Studies (DEA 2004), and Doctorate (2012) with the topic "The Music of al-Ándalus," *cum laude*. He is founder and Director of the Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía and of the Festival de música española de Cádiz, and Profesor at the Universidad Internacional de Andalucía. Since July, 2015, he is Director of the Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife.

Rafael Figueroa Hernandez (*figueroa@comosuena.com*) is a Doctor of History and Regional Studies at the University of Veracruz where he also works as a researcher at the Center for the Study of Culture and Communication. His main focus of study is popular music of Veracruz in two distinctive but related traditions: the music from the Hispanic Caribbean and son jarocho. He has received research support from the Veracruz Institute of Culture, the National Fund for Culture and the Arts, the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture and the Rockefeller Foundation among others, besides being a Fulbright scholar.

Nubia Flórez Forero is Colombian. She has a degree in Anthropology, with a minor in Audiovisual Script-Writing and Dramaturgy and a Magister in Interdisciplinary Social Research in the Social Sciences. She has fulfilled several roles in the official cultural sector in the area of theatrical arts and as an administrator in various cultural projects. She has taught Theater, Sociology, Social Sciences, and Dance in various universities in Cali, Bogotá, and Barranquilla. She has done research in the historical memory of dance in Colombia, and in immigrants in the Colombian Caribbean. She was administrator, creator, and co-director of the project Museo de los Inmigrantes in Barranquilla. She directs and teaches at the research project “Archivos D,” affiliated with the Grupo de investigación CEDINEP de la Universidad del Atlántico. Nubiaflorez@mail.uniatlantico.edu.co

Theresa Goldbach is currently working on a PhD in Critical Dance Studies at the University of California at Riverside. Goldbach is originally from San Antonio, Texas where she studied ballet, Mexican folklore, flamenco, and Spanish classical dance. She has performed with Fandango San Antonio, Ballet Folklórico de San Antonio, Rumba Brava, Estampa Española, and Viva Flamenco. Goldbach attended the University of Texas at Austin as a National Merit Scholar graduating with a Bachelor of Science degree in RadioTVFilm in 1999. After graduation, she studied flamenco at the Amor de Dios studio in Madrid, Spain in 2001. She graduated from the University of New Mexico's Master's program in Dance History in 2014. Goldbach conducted most of the research for her Master's thesis, “Fascism, Flamenco, and Ballet Español:

Nacionalflamenquismo,” in the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares, Spain. Her research interests include flamenco and Spanish dance during the reign of General Francisco Franco, politics and dance, and bar culture.

K. Meira Goldberg “La Meira” is a flamenco dancer, teacher, choreographer, and historian. Her 1995 doctoral dissertation, *Border Trespasses: The Gypsy Mask and Carmen Amaya’s Flamenco Dance*, is a widely used resource in the English-speaking flamenco community. She is co-curator of the 2013 exhibit *100 Years of Flamenco in New York* at the New York Library for the Performing Arts, co-editor of the anthology *Flamenco on the Global Stage: Historical, Critical, and Theoretical Perspectives* (McFarland, 2015), co-organizer of the 2015 conference *Spaniards, Indians, Africans, and Gypsies: The Global Reach of the Fandango in Music, Song, and Dance*, and co-editor of the 2015 bilingual conference proceedings (*Música Oral del Sur*, vol. 12) of which this volume is an all-English edition. She is also co-organizer of the upcoming conference *Spaniards, Indians, Africans, and Gypsies: Transatlantic Malagueñas and Zapateados in Music, Song, and Dance*, to be held on April 6 & 7, 2017, at the University of California, Riverside. She is working on a monograph, *Sonidos Negros: On the Blackness of Flamenco*, forthcoming from Oxford University Press.

Jessica Gottfried Hesketh is an independent scholar, with a B.A. in Ethnology from the National School of Anthropology in Mexico and an M.A. in Ethnomusicology from the University of Guadalajara. She received Honorary Mentions for her dissertation and an essay on the fandango jarocho and the tarima in National and International Prizes. She has published articles mainly in music and social science journals. She has delved into the musical cultures of remote indigenous regions in Mexico as well as urban manifestations. She dances, sings and plays jarana jarocho at the local fandangos in Veracruz. She has participated in staged performances of Mexican sones, vocal ensembles, and theatrical storytelling.

José Miguel Hernández Jaramillo was born in Seville. He received his Ph.D. in Flamenco Musicology in 2015 from University of Seville. He’s finishing a second Ph.D. in Ethnomusicology in the Music Faculty (National Autonomous University of Mexico). He’s also computer engineer (University of Seville) and flamenco guitarist. His research work focuses on the study of flamenco music in eighteenth and nineteenth century, and the musical relationships between Spanish and American music. In 2002, Bienal de Flamenco (Seville), published his book *La música preflamenca*. He has also published several articles in journals and books, and participated in international conferences and seminars.

Dr. Claudia Jeschke is a dancer, choreographer, historian, professor of dance studies. She is professionally trained in various dance forms. She studied Theaterwissenschaft at Munich University, her doctoral dissertation being on the history of dance notation systems. Dr. Jeschke's academic and practical expertise has led her to revive dance history both as live stage performance and in academic writing. As a guest professor, she has taught in Europe, the USA, Canada and Asia and was/is a fulltime, tenured faculty member at the universities of Munich, Leipzig, Cologne and, since 2004, Salzburg. In addition she is head of the Derra de Moroda Dance Archives, one of the most important collections on dance in Europe.

Alan Jones is an American dancer and historian based in Paris. Primarily devoted to eighteenth-century French dance, he eagerly returns to the Spanish repertory when the occasion arises. He toured widely with José Greco and the Boston Flamenco Ballet in the 1980s and later performed in Mexico and Spain with the chamber ensemble Euterpe. His choreography includes *Venid, venid deidades* (Ex Machina in Minneapolis, Austin, Boston), *El Sarao de Venus* (New York Baroque Dance Company) and *El Baile de los Reyes* (Artek, New York). Currently exploring links between music, dance and the culinary arts, Alan Jones is the author of the *Dictionnaire du désir de la bonne chère* (Champion, 2012). He returned to the US in August 2015 to teach on this theme at the Santa Barbara Historical Dance Workshop. Contact: lefestinjoyeux@gmail.com.

Adam Kent has performed in recital, as soloist with orchestra, and in chamber music throughout the United States, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and South America. A winner of the American Pianists Association Fellowship and Simone Belsky Music Awards, Dr. Kent also received top prizes in the Thomas Richner, the Juilliard Concerto, and the Kosciuszko Foundation Chopin Competitions and is a recipient of the Arthur Rubinstein Prize and the Harold Bauer Award. Dr. Kent made his New York recital debut at Weill Recital Hall in 1989 and has been featured on radio stations WQXR, WNYC, and WFUV. Spanish music has been a specialty of Dr. Kent's, whose years of devotion to the music of Spain have led to his critically-acclaimed recording of Ernesto Halffter's complete piano music on Bridge Records as well as the Spanish government's Orden al Mérito Civil, awarded at the directive of King Juan Carlos I at a special ceremony in Carnegie Hall in 2011. Dr. Kent has presented a series of all-Spanish programs at Weill Recital Hall and made his debut in Cuba in 2015. Adam Kent holds B.M. and M.M. degrees from

Manhattan School of Music and a D.M.A. from The Juilliard School. Currently, Dr. Kent serves on the faculties of the Manhattan School of Music Precollege Division, Brooklyn College, and New Jersey City University. Summers find Dr. Kent serving as Director of Cultural Outreach for the Burgos International Music Festival, and teaching and performing at the Fundación Principesa de Asturias in Oviedo and the Summit Music Festivals in New York. www.adamkentmuisc.com

Peter Manuel has researched and published extensively on musics of India, the Caribbean, Spain, and elsewhere. His several books include *Cassette Culture: Popular Musics and Technology in North India*. An occasional performer of sitar, flamenco guitar, and highland bagpipes, he teaches ethnomusicology at John Jay College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

M^a Luisa Martínez Martínez has a Ph.D. from the Universidad de Jaén and is currently a Visiting Scholar at The Foundation For Iberian Music, Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Her research focuses on music in the Bourbon Spanish court at during the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

John Moore received his Ph.D. in Linguistics in 1991 from UC Santa Cruz and has been on the UC San Diego linguistics faculty since 1992. His research has been in the areas of theoretical syntax, lexical semantics, and Spanish linguistics. His current research includes work on the syntax of Moro (central Sudan), and Spanish, as spoken in the San Diego-Tijuana border region. Moore began as provost of UC San Diego's John Muir College in September 2013. Outside academia, Moore has played flamenco guitar semi-professionally for over 40 years. In 2008 he released a solo guitar CD *Cinfución* and has recently begun to publish on flamenco topics, including a 2012 annotated translation of Ortiz Nuevo's classic *Mil y una historias de Pericón de Cádiz* (*A thousand and one stories of Pericón de Cádiz*).

Kiko Mora (Ph.D., The Ohio State University) is currently senior lecturer of the semiotics of advertising at the department of Communication and Social Psychology of the University of Alicante (Spain). He also teaches on cultural consumption and music industry in the Master in Communication and Creative Industries (ComInCrea), music for videogame in the Department of Computing Science and Artificial Intelligence of the same university, and Spanish cinema at the Council on

International Exchange Education in Alicante. In the last six years, Kiko Mora has done an extensive research on Spanish music and dance on the US stage during the nineteenth century and has published several articles and book chapters on this topic: “Carmencita on the Road: baile español y *vaudeville* en los Estados Unidos de América (1889-1895)” (2011); “Pepita Soto: una historia del sueño Americano (1852-1859)” (2013), “Carmen Dauset Moreno: primera musa del cine estadounidense” (2014), “Some Notes Toward a Historiography of the Mid-Nineteenth Century *baile* español” (2015); and “El romance de Carmen y Escamillo, o ‘The Lady Bullfighter’ en Nueva York (1888)” (2016). He is author of a book on Mexican Avant-Garde (*El ruido de las nueces. Germán List Arzubide y el estridentismo mexicano*, 1999); co-author of *Frankenstein y el cirujano plástico: una guía multimedia de semiótica de la publicidad*, winner of the 2003 Unión de Editoriales Universitarias Españolas Award), and co-editor of *Rock around Spain: historia, industria, escenas y medios de comunicación* (Universitat de Lleida, 2013). Nowadays, Kiko Mora is at work on a monograph about the presence of Spanish music in the USA (1818-1923).

Paul D. Naish was a historian of the early American republic who taught history and social sciences at CUNY’s Guttman Community College. After a career as Managing Director at Inside Broadway, an arts education program that makes theater tickets available to public schools to recognize student achievement and sends actors, directors, musicians, and artists into classrooms to teach, Paul became a full-time doctoral student at CUNY’s Graduate Center. He completed his 2011 dissertation, “Safe Distance: U.S. Slavery, Latin America, and American Culture, 1826-1861,” under the supervision of James Oakes. The project was awarded the 2012 Zuckerman Prize by the McNeil Center of Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. A manuscript based on the dissertation is under contract with the University of Pennsylvania Press. Paul served on Guttman’s Civic Learning, Engagement & Social Responsibility GLO (Guttman Learning Outcome) Team.

Paul Jared Newman (MM, SUNY Stony Brook, with Jerry Willard; BA, UC Berkeley, with Rey de la Torre), a native New Yorker, is a guitarist, composer, arranger and author inspired by Iberian music of both the classic and folkloric traditions. Current and recent residencies include Ballet Hispanico (Accompanist); Bard College (with Aileen Passloff); New York City Center (Teaching Artist); American Institute of Guitar (AIG Publications Editor); and Música en las Montañas festival, Granada,

Spain (Participating Artist). Publications include: *A New Anthology of Falsetas for Flamenco Guitar*, Bold Strummer, Ltd; *The Keys to Flamenco Guitar* series by Dennis Koster (editor), AIG Publications; *Five Women Composers for Guitar* and *Ernesto Nazareth: Brazilian Tangos* (arranger), Mel Bay Publications.

Raquel Paraíso is Ph.D. in Ethnomusicology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison (2014), and Postdoctoral fellow at the University of Veracruz-Xalapa, September 2015–July 2016. Her areas of interests focus on cultural politics of music, and musical production of place, identity, and ethnicity in Latin America at large, and Mexico in particular. Her dissertation, research, and latest publications deal with the re-contextualizing of traditions and the performance of identity in festivals of *sones* in Mexico. Her articles have been published by El Colegio de Michoacán (2007), the UNAM (2011), and the INAH (2007, 2009, 2011, 2015), as well as a book of Latin American music transcriptions published by Hal Leonard (1999).

Ricardo Pérez Montfort obtained his Masters Degree (1988) and Ph.D. (1992) in History of Mexico in the University of Mexico (UNAM). He is Research Fellow at CIESAS (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social) (Center for Research and Study of Social Anthropology) since 1980 and Professor at the Faculty of Literature and Philosophy at UNAM since 1978. He is also History Professor at the CIDHEM (Centro de Investigación y Docencia en Humanidades del Estado de Morelos) (Center for Research and Education in Humanities of the State of Morelos) since 1996. He is also a member of the National Research System (SNI) since 1990. His speciality and academic interests are: Nationalism and Cultural History of Mexico and Latin America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; Mexican historiography, and History of Photography in Mexico and Latin America. He has written 23 books and more than 120 scientific articles. He has also a special interest and studies in cinematography and has made various documentaries on Mexican history and cultural processes. He has also worked at several cultural radio stations in Mexico City and written five poetry books. He was head of the *Revista de la Universidad de México* from 2002 to 2004 and head of the Audiovisual Laboratory of CIESAS from 2006 to 2014. His most recent books are the following:

- *Miradas, esperanzas y contradicciones. México y España 1898-1948. Cinco ensayos.* (Glances, hopes and contradictions. México and Spain 1898-1948) Ediciones Universidad de Cantabria, Santander, España, 2013.
- *Cotidianidades, Imaginarios y Contextos. Ensayos de Historia y Cultura en México 1850-1950,* (Every Day Life, Imaginaries and Contexts; Essays on Mexican History and Culture) CIESAS, México, 2009.
- *Expresiones populares y estereotipos culturales en México. Siglos XIX y XX. Diez Ensayos* (Popular Expressions and Cultural Stereotypes in Mexico, XIXth and XXth Centuries, 10 Essays) CIESAS, México, 2007.
- *Avatares del Nacionalismo Cultural, Cinco ensayos* (Affairs of Cultural Nationalism. Five essays) CIESAS-CIDHEM-2000.
- Poetry: *Rumbo* (Course) Terracota, 2010.
- Documentary film on Mexican and Latin American History: “Voces de la Chinantla,” First Prize at the Festival de la Memoria (2007), Latin American Film Festival in Tepoztlán, Mor.

Aurèlia Pessarrodona (aurelia.pessarrodona@uab.cat) has a degree in Humanidades from the Universidad Pompeu Fabra de Barcelona, and a Doctorate in Musicología from the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona; her 2010 doctoral thesis, “La tonadilla escénica a través del compositor Jacinto Valledor (1745-1809),” earned Sobresaliente cum Laude and Mención de Doctor Europeo. She began her career as a researcher with a scholarship from the Fundación Joan Maragall, working on contemporary religious music. Her later work has focused on Spanish musical theater of the eighteenth century with a focus on the *tonadilla escénica*, musical dramaturgy of the eighteenth century, and the semiotics of music. She has published numerous articles and participated in many national and international conferences. Her research has been funded by a scholarship for Formación de Personal Investigador from the Generalitat de Catalunya, with which she had the opportunity to work at the University of Ratisbona (Alemania). She was later awarded a scholarship from the Servicio Alemán de Intercambio Académico (DAAD) to conduct post-doctoral research on musical dramaturgy of the eighteenth century at the University of Sarre (Saarbrücken, Alemania). From 2011 to 2013 she conducted post-doctoral research at the Dipartimento delle Arti of the Università degli Studi di Bologna (Italia), supported by the Spanish

Ministerio de Educación. Her stay in Italy was extended with a Postdoctoral Fellowship (*assegno di ricerca*), supporting her research into the transversal carácter of eighteenth-century Spanish musical theater at the Centro Studi sul Settecento Spagnolo del Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Moderne. She currently holds a Postdoctoral Fellowship with the Departamento de Arte y Musicología at the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Wilfried Raussert is Chair and Professor of North American Literary and Cultural Studies and Director of Inter-American Studies at Bielefeld University, Germany. He is founder and general editor of the ejournal *Fiar Forum for Inter-American Research* (www.interamerica.de), the online journal of the International Association of Inter-American Studies. Since 2009 he has been executive manager of the International Association of Inter-American Studies. Currently he is the director of the BMBF-project The Americas as Space of Entanglement(s) at Bielefeld University. Moreover, he is Fulbright representative and director of the DAAD exchange program with the Universidad de Guadalajara. He received his MA and PhD at the University of Mississippi, Oxford and completed his 'habilitation' at Humboldt University Berlin. He held visiting professorships at the University of Mississippi, at the Universidad de Guadalajara and at Humboldt University Berlin. From 2004 until 2006 he was Professor of North American Literatures at University College Cork, Ireland.

Lénica Reyes Zúñiga was born in Mexico City. She has studied Bachelor, Master of Ethnomusicology and Ph.D. in Music (Ethnomusicology) at the Faculty of Music at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Her dissertation is on the musical system of malagueñas in 19th century in Spain and Mexico. For years she has been focused on the study of transatlantic musical relationships established between musical cultures of Mexico with those of Spain, mainly in Andalusia, and its shared repertoire. She is the author of several articles on this subject, and has presented her work at national and international forums.

María José Ruiz Mayordomo (mariajoseruizm@gmail.com) has a Máster Europeo en Artes Escénicas and a Doctorate in Teoría de las Artes from the Universidad Rey Juan Carlos de Madrid. She is a choreographer, scholar, performer, and teacher, specializing in early Spanish dance and the history of dance in Spain and Naples. She studied Estudió Danza Española at the RESADyD, and Música y Piano with Luisa Aguayo in the

Real Conservatorio de Música de Madrid. She is the founder and director of the company ESQUIVEL (Danza & Música), an important presence in the reconstruction, performance, and dissemination of the repertoire of early Spanish dance. As a dance scholar she has contributed to the *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, *Enciclopedia Cervantina*, and the *Historia de los Espectáculos en España*. Her work has been published in *Revista Española de Musicología*, *Siglo de Oro XXII* y *Manuscr.Cao*, *Revista 415*, *Estudios sobre el Clasicismo*, among others, and she has participated in numerous conferences. She has taught at the Universities of Tel-Aviv and Bar-Ilan (Israel), Salamanca, Oviedo, Almería, Complutense and Autónoma de Madrid, as well as at the Conservatorios Superiores de Danza of Valencia, Alicante y Málaga. From 2006 to 2012 she taught Danza Histórica y Tradicional at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid. She has taught choreographic notation at the Universidad Miguel Hernández, and has taught early dance for singers at the Madrid Ópera Studio. She is a Professor of Formas preclásicas de la Danza and directs the Máster en Interpretación Musical Solista at the Centro Superior de enseñanza musical “Progreso Musical” in Madrid.

Ramón Soler Díaz (Málaga, 1966) is a Professor of Mathematics., and an independent flamenco scholar. He is the author of several books, including *La Cañeta de Málaga*, *José Salazar y la Pirula* (2013, with Paco Roji), *La Repompa de Málaga* (2012, with Paco Roji and Paco Fernández), *Lírica acuática (coplas sobre el agua en la lírica tradicional y el flamenco)* (2010), *Los cantes de Antonio Mairena (comentarios a su obra discográfica)* (2004, with Luis Soler Guevara), *Antonio El Chaqueta: pasión por el cante* (2003), *Antonio Mairena en el mundo de la siguiiriya y la soleá* (1992, with Luis Soler Guevara), as well as more than fifteen articles.

Cal Poly professor Craig Russell is steeped in the music of Spain and the Hispano-American world, having published over 100 juried articles on eighteenth-century Hispanic studies, Mexican cathedral music, the California missions, and American popular culture. He authored 26 articles for the newest edition of *The New Grove Dictionary* and collaborated with Chanticleer on a DVD film and four compact disks, two of which received Gramophone award nominations. His compositions are released on Naxos and have been widely performed in Europe, Australia, and the USA—including concerts dedicated to his orchestral compositions in Carnegie Hall, the Kennedy Center, the Sydney Opera House, and

Disney Hall in Los Angeles. In July 2009, Oxford University Press released his highly acclaimed book, *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions*.

APPENDICES

The Foundation for Iberian
Music
at the Barry S. Brook Center

**SPANIARDS, INDIANS, AFRICANS & GYPSIES:
THE GLOBAL REACH OF THE FANDANGO
IN MUSIC, SONG, AND DANCE**



International Conference

April 17 — 18, 2015

The Graduate Center, CUNY
Segal Theater
365 Fifth Ave
New York, NY 10016



brookcenter.gc.cuny.edu
fandangoconference.cuny@gmail.com



THE FOUNDATION FOR IBERIAN MUSIC

AT THE

BARRY S. BROOK CENTER FOR MUSIC RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION

PRESENTS

Spaniards, Indians, Africans, and Gypsies

The Global Reach of the Fandango in Music, Song, and Dance

Keynote Speaker: ELISABETH LE GUIN

Organizing Committee

K. Meira Goldberg

Antoni Pizà

April 17, 2015 9:30 am – 7:00 pm, Segal Theater & Room 9204

The Graduate Center, The City University of New York

365 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10016

April 18, 2015 10:00 am – 4:00 pm, La Nacional

239 West 14th Street, New York, NY 10011

Featuring

Thomas Baird
 Bruno Bartra
 Miguel Ángel Berlanga
 Rafael Brun
 Claudia Calderón Sáenz
 Guillermo Castro Buendía
 Lou Charnon-Deutsch
 Alex E. Chávez
 Loren Chuse
 Walter Clark
 Tony Dumas
 Reynaldo Fernández Manzano
 Rafael Figueroa Hernández
 Nubia Flórez Forero
 Matteo Giuggioli
 Theresa Goldbach
 K. Meira Goldberg
 Martha Gonzalez
 Jessica Gottfried
 Gabriela Granados
 Michelle Habell-Pallán
 Nancy G. Heller
 José Miguel Hernández Jaramillo
 Claudia Jeschke
 Alan Jones
 Adam Kent

Michael Malkiewicz
 Peter Manuel
 María Luisa Martínez
 Gabriela Mendoza García
 John Moore
 Kiko Mora
 Paul D. Naish
 Paul Jared Newman
 Erica Ocegueda
 Alvaro Ochoa Serrano
 Sonia Olla
 Raquel Paraíso
 Aurèlia Pessarrodona
 Allan de Paula Oliveira
 Ricardo Pérez Montfort
 Antoni Pizà
 Wilfried Rausert
 Ismael de la Rosa Fernández
 Lénica Reyes Zúñiga
 María José Ruiz Mayordomo
 Craig Russell
 Ramón Soler Díaz
 Elisabet Torras Aguilera
 Iris Viveros
 Estela Zatanía
 Brook Zern

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 365 Fifth Ave, New York, NY 10016
 fandangoconference.cuny@gmail.com
 iberianmusic@gc.cuny.edu



Pierre Chasselat (1753-1814)
Fandango, watercolor drawing

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CONFERENCE AND EVENT VENUES

The Graduate Center, CUNY, 365 Fifth Avenue

- Segal Theater, Ground Floor
- Room 9204, Ninth Floor

Sociedad Benevolente La Nacional, 239 West 14th Street

- Parlor Floor

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION

Friday, April 17, Segal Theater Lobby

- 9 am – 11 am
- 1 pm – 2 pm
- 5 pm – 6 pm

Saturday, April 18, La Nacional

- 9:30 am – 11 am

INTRODUCTION

Spaniards, Indians, Africans, and Gypsies: The Global Reach of the Fandango in Music, Song, and Dance

*I saw this dance from Cádiz, still famous after so many centuries for its voluptuous steps,
which you can see danced even today in all neighborhoods and all houses in this city,
with incredible applause from those attending:
it is not celebrated only among Gypsies and other people of low caste,
but also among honorable and well-born gentlemen.*
— Manuel Martí Zaragoza, Deacon of Alicante, 1712¹

In *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*, Serge Gruzinski notes “the difficulty we experience even ‘seeing’ *mestizo* phenomena, much less analyzing them.”² The fandango emerged in the early eighteenth century as a popular dance and music craze across Spain and the Americas. While in parts of Latin America the term “fandango” came to refer to any festive social dance event, over the course of that century in both Spain and the Americas a broad family of interrelated fandango music and dance genres evolved that went on to constitute important parts of regional expressive culture. This fandango family comprised genres as diverse as the Cuban peasant *punto*, the salon and concert fandangos of Mozart and Scarlatti, and — last but not least — the Andalusian fandango subgenres that became core components of flamenco. The fandango world itself became a conduit for the creative interaction and syncretism of music, dance, and people of diverse Spanish, Afro-Latin, Gitano, and perhaps even Amerindian origin. As such, the fandango family evolved as a quintessential *mestizaje*, a mélange of people, imagery, music and dance from the Americas, Europe, and Africa.³ Emerging from the maelstrom of the Atlantic slave trade with its cataclysmic remaking of the Western world, the fandango in its diverse but often interrelated forms was nurtured in the ports of Cádiz, Veracruz, Sao Paulo and Havana, and went on to proliferate throughout Old and New Worlds. Widely dispersed in terms of geography, class, and cultural reference, the fandango’s many faces reflect a diversity of exchange across what was once the Spanish Empire.

This conference proposes to bring these cousins together, and to wonder how one form can shed light on another. Born in transit between the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula, the fandango was swept along by industrialization and the growth of cities, the birth of capitalism, and the great emancipatory processes that would lead, over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to independence in the Americas. From the celebrations of humble folk to the salons and theaters of the European elite, the fandango multiplied. With boisterous castanets, strumming strings and dexterous footwork, flirtatious sensuality and piquant attitudes, the costume of peasants and Gypsies done in elegant fabrics for Spanish aristocrats, the fandango absorbed dance and music ideas of “Gypsies and other people of low caste” into the heart of Spain’s national identity. The period of its greatest popularity, from approximately the mid-eighteenth to the early-nineteenth century, straddles the tipping point of the Spanish colonial enterprise from ascent into decline. With Gluck’s *Don Juan* (1761), Mozart’s *The Marriage of Figaro* (1786), Rossini’s *The Barber of Seville* (1816), and Petipa’s *Don Quixote* (1869), the narrative of Spain as represented by the reviled *conquistadores*, Torquemada’s Inquisition, and Jesuit missionaries (the “dogs of God”), was replaced with the image of Spain as a land of festive bandits and swarthy, gleaming-eyed Gypsies.

As the emblem of *majismo*, an aristocratic fashion for imitating the underclass, the fandango, emerging in the Americas among enslaved Africans and decimated indigenous peoples, was embraced and absorbed by Spaniards who raised this dance of the Indies in resistance to the minuets of the French. With its empire crumbling, Spain, once the

¹ Aurelio Capmany, “El baile y la danza.” In Francesch Carreras y Candi, *Folklore y costumbres de España: II* (Barcelona: Casa Editorial Alberto Martín, 1931), 248.

² Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (N.Y.: Routledge, 2002), 2.

³ José Antonio Robles Cahero, “Un paseo por la música y el baile populares de la Nueva España” (Hemispheric Institute Web Cuadernos, March 6, 2010), <http://www.hemisphericinstitute.org/cuaderno/censura/html/danza/danza.htm> (accessed February 13, 2014).

colonizer, was now the object of the colonizing gaze—as Dumas is reputed to have said, “Africa begins at the Pyrenees.” In the ultimate reversal, the fandango was a symbol of freedom of movement and of expression, a danced opposition to the academic conscriptions and modes of the Spanish court.

The process of creolization took place on both sides of the Atlantic, and it took place through surprising alliances, such as the black and white slaves—*fandangueros*—of Cádiz in 1464, or the Gypsies whom Swinburne described in 1776 dancing a variant of the fandango, the Mandingoy—recalling not only the Mandinka people of West Africa, but also a runaway slave community in 18th-century Mexico.⁴ In each universe where the fandango took root, it developed differently, as classical music, flamenco, son jarocho, joropo, punto...

What is the full array of the fandango? How has the fandango participated in the elaboration of various national identities; that is, what are the politics of representation of the various fandangos? How do the fandangos of the Enlightenment shed light on musical populism and folkloric nationalism as armaments in the revolutionary struggles for independence in the 18th and 19th centuries? What are some of the shared formal features—musical, choreographic, or lyric—that can be discerned in the diverse constituents of the fandango family in Spain and the Americas? How does our recognition of these features enhance our understanding of historical connections between these places? How does the fandango manifest the recurrent reflections, cultural assimilations, appropriations, elisions, accommodations and rejections of the postcolonial Latin world? What are the political economies of fandango performances—how do local, cross-class, and transnational transactions activate the process of *mestizaje*? Can we track the great flows, effusions, migrations, and transformations of culture through a close examination of the local and specific histories of the fandango? How do fandango music and dance embody memory? How do they collapse past and present, creating performances that simultaneously echo the magical or sacred practices of their ancestors and appeal to a commercial audience? How may we read, as Terence Cave has described, the performance of *mestizaje* and the negotiations of hegemonic gender codes in intermediate forms like the minuet *afandangado*, or a fandango on eggs?⁵ What is the genealogy of the fandango's stringed instruments, instrumental and vocal techniques, rhythm, verse, melodic structures, and improvisational syntax? What does the *movimiento jaranero* in Chicano communities across the U.S. as well as in Mexico have to do with the process of decolonialization?

Many questions, and here begins the conversation...

K. Meira Goldberg & Antoni Pizà
Organizing Committee

⁴ José Luis Navarro García, *Semillas de ñano: el elemento negro y afroamericano en el baile flamenco* (Sevilla: Portada Editorial, S.L., 1998), 59, 199, citing Municipal Archives of Jerez de la Frontera, September 14, 1464, folio 118; Henry Swinburne, *Travels through Spain, in the Years 1775 and 1776* (Dublin: Printed for S. Price, R. Cross, J. Williams [and 8 others], 1779), 353–54; Patrick J. Carroll, “Mandinga: The Evolution of a Mexican Runaway Slave Community, 1735–1827,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 19, no. 4 (1977): 488–505.

⁵ Terence Cave, *Mignon's Afterlives: Crossing Cultures from Goethe to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

PROGRAM

Friday, April 17, 2015 9:30 am – 7pm

9:30 – 10:00 *Welcome Breakfast at Segal Theater, Ground Floor*

CUNY GC Segal Theater 10:00 – 11:30
Embodied Memory and Sonic Spectre: Tracing Rhythm, Gesture, Syntax, Melody, and Verse
Chair: Antoni Pizà

"The Fandango in Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*: The Prism of Revolution in the Enlightenment." Craig Russell, California Polytechnic State University

"When Fandango Hits the Border, When Music Comes to Town": Mobilizing Music, Participatory Cultures, and Translocational Community-Building in the 21st century." Wilfried Raussert, Bielefeld University, Center for InterAmerican Studies

"Fandango in the Franco Era: the Politics of Classification." Theresa Goldbach, University of California, Riverside

CUNY GC Room 9204 10:00 – 12:00
The "Emancipation of Music": 19th & 20th Century Fandango, Flamenco Formation, and National Identity
Chair: Estela Zatanía

"The physical forms and cloaked politics of flamenco fandangos." Estela Zatanía, Deflamenco.com, Brook Zern, flamencoexperience.com

"Rhythmic Evolution in the Spanish fandango: Binary and Ternary Rhythms." Guillermo Castro Buendía, Centro de Investigación Flamenco Telethusa

"The Fandango in Nineteenth Century Flamenco: The Untold Story." José Miguel Hernández Jaramillo, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

"Musical Relationships Between Spanish Malagueñas and Fandangos in the Nineteenth Century." Lénica Reyes Zúñiga, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

* Antonio García de León Griego, *El mar de los deseos: el Caribe hispano musical: historia y contrapunto* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 2002).

CUNY GC Segal Theater 11:30 – 1:00
18th & 19th Century Fandango Globalization: The Ida y Vuelta of the Black Atlantic⁷
Chair: Peter Manuel

“An Introduction to Popular Spanish Music in 19th Century USA.” Kiko Mora, Universidad de Alicante

“The Fandango as an Example of the Circulation of Culture between Mexico and the Caribbean.” Ricardo Pérez Montfort, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social – CIESAS

“The Fandangos of Southern Spain in the Context of other Spanish and American Fandangos.” Miguel Ángel Berlanga, Universidad de Granada

CUNY GC Room 9204 12:00 – 1:00
Fandangos in the Age of Enlightenment

Chair: Nancy Heller

“Spanish and Hispanic American Depictions of Dancing in *El velorio del angelito*.” Nancy G. Heller, University of the Arts (Philadelphia, PA)

“Luigi Boccherini’s ‘afandangado’ quintets: sound, form and plot.” Matteo Giuggioli, Zurich University Institute of Musicology

1:00 – 2:00

Lunch Break

⁷ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1993).

2:00 – 3:00 *Segal Theater**Keynote Address***Tonadilla and Fandango: How a Genre and a Practice Intersect and Diverge**

By

Elisabeth Le Guin, University of California, Los Angeles



Photo: Lindsay Johnson

Elisabeth Le Guin is a performer and musicologist whose dual allegiances manifest as a series of dialogues, in tones and words, between theory and practice. As a Baroque cellist, she was a founding member of Philharmonia Baroque Orchestra and the Artaria String Quartet, and appeared in over 40 recordings; she continues in this capacity, while aspiring ever more earnestly to the condition of an amateur. In more recent years she has become involved in the *movimiento jaranero*, a transnational grassroots musical activism in Mexico and Mexican immigrant communities in the USA.

As an academic, Professor Le Guin has published two books with the University of California Press: *Boccherini's Body: an Essay in Carnal Musicology*, in 2006, and *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain*, in 2014. In this capacity, she received the American Musicological Society's Alfred Einstein and Noah Greenberg Awards, as well as grant support from various national and international organizations including the ACLS, The UC Presidents' Research Fund, the Institute for International Education (Fulbright program), UCLA's International Institute, the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain and United States Universities, and the UC Humanities Research Institute. Le Guin has taught at UCLA since 1997, with a particular focus on undergraduate advising, the teaching of writing, international education, and the integration of performance with scholarship. She succeeded in re-starting UCLA's Early Music Ensemble in 2009 after a 15-year hiatus, and has served two terms as Study Center Director for the UC Education Abroad Program in Mexico City. Dr. Le Guin's abstract is on page 17.

CUNY GC Segal Theater 3:00 – 4:30

Fandango on the European Stage – Critical Reception and Choreographic Adaptations

Chair: Lou Charnon-Deutsch

"'Like Salamanders in a Flame': The Early European Love Affair with the Fandango." Lou Charnon-Deutsch, SUNY Stony Brook

"The Fandango in 19th Century Theory and on European Stages: Henri Justamant's *Les Conscriis Espagnols*."

Claudia Jeschke, University of Salzburg; Derra de Moroda Dance Archives at the University of Salzburg

"*Ceci n'est pas un fandango*." Michael Malkiewicz, Mozarteum University Salzburg

4:30 – 4:45

CUNY GC Segal Theater 4:45 – 6:00

Diasporic (Re)Cycling – Cultural Flow, Transmission, and Reconception

Chair: Walter Clark

"The Fandango as a Family of Musical Forms in the Afro-Hispanic Atlantic: From the 16th-Century Zarabanda to the 19th-Century Malagueña." Peter Manuel, The Graduate Center, CUNY, Maria Luisa Martinez, Universidad de Jaén

"The Revels of a Young Republic: Revolutionary Possibilities of the Fandango in Timothy Flint's 1826 *Francis Berrian*." Paul D. Naish, Guttman Community College, CUNY

"The *Malagueñas* of Brevia, Albéniz, and Lecuona: From Regional Fandango to Global Pop Tune. Walter Clark, University of California, Riverside

CUNY GC Room 9204 3:00 – 4:30

Movimiento Jaranero and "Cosmopolitics"

Chair: Michelle Habell-Pallán

"Women Who Rock the Fandango: Lessons in *Convivencia*." Michelle Habell-Pallán, UW Libraries Women Who Rock Oral History Archives University of Washington, and Iris Viveros, Gender, Women, & Sexuality Studies, University of Washington.

"Sonic (Trans)Migration: Rhythmic Intention in Zapateado." Martha Gonzalez, Scripps College

"*Yo no soy marinero, soy capitán*: Contemporary sociopolitical uses of fandango and son jarocho." Rafael Figueroa Hernández, Universidad Veracruzana, comosuen.com

Coffee Break

CUNY GC Room 9204 4:45 – 5:30

The Abanico of Fandango: Throughout The Americas

Chair: Nancy G. Heller

"Brazilian Fandango: traditionalism, identity and policies of cultural heritage." Allan de Paula Oliveira, West Parana State University (UNIOESTE)

"Mitote, Fandango and Mariache or Mariachi, a Space of Festivity." Álvaro Ochoa Serrano, El Colegio de Michoacán

⁸ "'When Fandango Hits the Border, When Music Comes to Town': Mobilizing Music, Participatory Cultures, and Translocational Community-Building in the 21st century." Wilfried Raussert, Bielefeld University, Center for Inter-American Studies.

CUNY GC Segal
Theater

6:00 – 7:00

The Elevation of the Folk – Fandango on the Concert Stage

Chair: Brook Zern

A Talk Illustrated at the Piano: Enrique Granados' *Fandango del Candil* and Manuel de Falla's *Danza de la Molinera*. Adam Kent (piano), Brooklyn College

A Talk Illustrated by Dance: The Use of Castanets in *The Fandango of Doña Francisquita*, by Amadeu Vives, choreography by José Molina. Gabriela Granados (dance), American Bolero Dance Company, Adam Kent (piano), Brooklyn College

A Talk Illustrated at the Piano: Musical Aspects of the Colombian and Venezuelan Joropo. Claudia Calderón Sáenz (piano), pianollanero.com; Fundación Editorial Arpamérica

CUNY GC Room
9204

5:30 – 7:00

Border Crossings: Fandango as Emblem of Transnational, Postcolonial Identity

Chair: Bruno Bartra

"The Fandango as a Space of Resistance. Creativity. and Liberty." Nubia Flórez Forero, Universidad Del Atlántico - (Avalado), CEDINEP

"*Vaivenes, del Cuerpo al Verso*: On the Expressive and Political Anatomy of the New Years Eve *Topada* in Xichú, Guanajuato." Alex E. Chávez, University of Notre Dame

"Son Jarocho in New York: Jarana and Fandango as Symbols of a New Mexican identity." Bruno Bartra, The Graduate Center, CUNY

7:00 – 9:00 GRAN FANDANGO, WITH RADIO JAROCHO
SEGAL THEATER



PROGRAM

Saturday, April 18, 2015 10:00 am – 3:45 pm

Sociedad Benevolente La Nacional, 239 West 14th Street – Parlor Floor10:00 – 11:15 *Fandango as a Prism of Enlightenment⁹***Chair: K. Meira Goldberg**

"Changing Places: Toward the Reconstruction of an Eighteenth Century Danced Fandango." Thomas Baird, Historical Dance Specialist, K. Meira Goldberg, Visiting Research Scholar, Foundation for Iberian Music, Paul Jared Newman, guitarist, and Elisabet Torras Aguilera, dancer

"Choreological Gestures in Iberian Music of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: a Proposal for Historically Informed Interpretation of the Fandango." Maria José Ruiz Mayordomo, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos / Compañía de Danza "Esquivel"; Aurèlia Pessarrodona, Università degli Studi di Bologna

"Emergence and Transformations of the Fandango." Alan Jones, Independent Scholar

11:15 – 11:30 *Mutis: Sonia Olla, Ismael de la Rosa Fernández & Rafael Brun – Flamenco Fandangos*11:30 – 1:30 *Fandango as Praxis***Chair: Raquel Paraíso**

"Frozen Footwork: *Folklorico* Falters Following Fandangos Footsteps." Erica Ocegueda, Arizona State University

"Envisioning the Nation through Dance: The Teaching and Performance of the *Jarabe Tapatio* in 1920s and 1930s Mexico within the Educational System." Gabriela Mendoza García, Independent Scholar

"Re-contextualizing Traditions and the Construction of Social Identities through Music and Dance: *un fandango en Huétamo, Michoacán*." Raquel Paraíso, Independent Scholar

"The Fandango as *Fiesta* and the Fandango within the *Fiesta: Tarima, Cante* and Dance." Jessica Gottfried, Instituto Veracruzano de la Cultura / Universidad Veracruzana Intercultural

"The Fandango as Improvised Music and Poetry: the Trovo of Alpujarra." Reynaldo Fernández Manzano, Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, Asociación Española de Documentación Musical (AEDOM)

1:30 – 2:15 *Lunch Break*2:15 – 3:45 *Cosmopolitics II: Fandango as Resistance and Rebellid in Contemporary Flamenco***Chair: Tony Dumas**

"Fandangos de Huelva: Voices of Women." Loren Chuse, Independent Scholar

"Fandango and the Rhetoric of Resistance in Flamenco." Tony Dumas, SUNY Brockport

"El Fandango en Málaga: Del Cante Bailado Al Cante Desgarrado." Ramón Soler Díaz, ethnomusicologist

"*Cante Libre* is not free – contrasting approaches to *fandangos personales*." John Moore, University of California, San Diego

4:00 – 5:00 *Fin de Fiesta/Mojiganga – Film Screening*

Flamenco de Raíz. Válgame Dios que alegría tiene esta gente, que fatigas tengo yo (una historia crítica y social del flamenco): Álvarez
A documentary by Vicente Pérez Herrero, of *Tiempos Dificiles Films*. Álvarez is a cantaor and street sweeper from Málaga. An outstanding interpreter of fandangos, a friend of Camarón and other flamenco greats, Álvarez is not known by the general public but known among flamenco cognoscenti as an artist among artists, a source for knowledge and inspiration. Suggested donation: \$10.

⁹ "The Fandango in Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*: The Prism of Revolution in the Enlightenment." Craig Russell, California Polytechnic State University

ABSTRACTS

THOMAS BAIRD (Historical Dance Specialist), K. MEIRA GOLDBERG (The Graduate Center, CUNY), PAUL JARED NEWMAN (guitar), and Elisabet Torras Aguilera (dance), "Changing Places: Toward the Reconstruction of an Eighteenth Century Danced Fandango."

The fandango, as a dance craze adopted by the aristocracy of 18th century Spain and propagated in elite concert halls and salons, derived from the communal celebrations of the lowest rungs of Spanish and Spanish-American society. Indeed, as Craig Russell describes, the fandango's widespread popularity is inextricably linked to the great social, economic, and cultural shifts of the Enlightenment, with its elevation and representation of the popular. Yet the popular fandangos, interpreted in aristocratic settings and recorded in the *cifras* of court musicians, dance treatises, libretti of ballets, operas, and *tonadillas*, as by elite observers and foreign tourists, have themselves been lost to time. Therefore, we endeavor to engage with the question that Alan Jones poses: is it possible to reconstruct a fandango from an 18th century Spanish ball? What can primary sources tell us about the movement vocabulary, the choreography, and the rhythms of the fandango? Beyond that, how can we kinesthetically grasp the supposed lasciviousness that, along with the fandango's representation of the popular, universally characterizes this dance? In this research, Thomas Baird and K. Meira Goldberg move toward the 18th century from opposite directions: Thomas, as an historic dance specialist steeped in the ethos of the courtly style, Meira, as a flamenco dancer and historian grounded in the world of the popular, Jared, performer and scholar of both Baroque and flamenco guitar, Elisabet, trained in the Escuela Bolera. We seek here to explore and catalog the insights, intuitions, questions, and possibilities gleaned from our dialogue with the sources and with each other.

BRUNO BARTRA (The Graduate Center, CUNY), "Son Jarocho in New York: Jarana and Fandango as Symbols of a New Mexican identity."

In the past decade, a New York-based music scene surrounding *son jarocho* music from the Mexican State of Veracruz has started to develop. It is linked to a middle class diaspora of Mexican professional musicians who perform and teach, in concert with impresarios whose

upscale restaurants in Manhattan and Brooklyn provide performance venues for these artists. Bands like Radio Jarocho and Jarana Beat lead a scene that has a two-fold agenda. On one hand, the bands perform a fusion of the genre with rock, but, on the other hand, they always play an acoustic segment in which they try to organize a traditional "fandango" (a traditional dance-party), having the "jarana" guitar and the dancing "tarima" as central elements of identity and authenticity. Integrating musicians from all-over Latin America, this community, in contrast to the traditional working class migrant Mexicans, is trying to find a niche within the New York world music community, in an attempt to construct an alternative Mexican-American, a "friendly" and professionalized Other.

MIGUEL ÁNGEL BERLANGA (Universidad de Granada), "The Fandangos of Southern Spain in the Context of other Spanish and American Fandangos."

Some years ago, historical and (ethno)musicological research documented the great number of musical phenomena denoted by the word "fandango." But from the conceptual and musical point of view there yet remain some unanswered questions. Is it useful to propose a general definition of the fandango that would include all the musical phenomena known by this denomination? I propose here to demonstrate that it is indeed useful to propose a universal meaning for the word "fandango." (Or, at least, as universal as possible.) For this definition to be valid, we must assume that it should include in a convincing way all of the diverse meanings of this word, in the present as well as in the past. In this regard, from a strictly formal point of view, the most characteristic features of the fandango music of southern Spain are compared with those of other fandangos from both sides of the Atlantic.

CLAUDIA CALDERÓN SÁENZ (Fundación Editorial Arpmérica), "Musical Aspects of the Colombian and Venezuelan Joropo."

The word *Joropo* encompasses a Colombian and Venezuelan tradition that includes village *fiestas*, poetry, singing, music, and dance in a form of popular expression that is constantly evolving. Improvised creativity flourishes within existing structures and defined patterns of style. Joropo's origins date from Iberian music of the 17th and 18th centuries, such as the

many fandangos, folías, peteneras, jotas and Andalusian malagueñas. These roots were flavored with the influence of eight centuries of Arabic occupation, and then transformed in America by the mixing of African and indigenous elements under the burning sun of the Orinoco Basin, and the infinite largeness of its horizons and savannas. Joropo's roots include the music of sailors and troubadors who arrived in Spanish galleons, taking root in Caribbean and South American soil and developing into a powerful and vigorous tradition. Over time, joropo even became a symbol of national identity in Venezuela, and in eastern Colombia. There are three regional styles of joropo defined by instrumental and stylistic differences: eastern joropo and central joropo in Venezuela and the *llanero joropo*, from the plains along the Orinoco River, which is found in both countries and is very popular, due to its many recordings, extensive radio airplay and an abundance of festivals and competitions.

**GUILLERMO CASTRO BUENDIA (Centro de Investigación Flamenco Telethusa),
"Rhythmic Evolution in the Spanish Fandango: Binary and Ternary rhythms."**

In Spain, the fandango has a polyrhythmic character. On one hand is the binary rhythmic pattern of the singer (6/8, similar to *jota*), and on the other hand is the musical accompaniment in ternary rhythm (3/4). These rhythms merge to create one of the most unique styles of Spanish popular music. In fandangos published in Spain from the early-18th century to the late-19th century, we can detect an evolution in the accompaniment that, upon close analysis, allows us to better understand the nature of this musical genre. In this presentation, I focus on the the polyrhythmic nature of fandangos, which has led to a number of musicians to write it sometimes in binary meter and other times in ternary meter.

LOU CHARNON-DEUTSCH (SUNY Stony Brook), "Like Salamanders in a Flame: The Early European Love Affair with the Fandango."

This talk examines European travelers' evolving perception of the fandango from the early 18th century to the end of the 19th century. Early travelers deemed Spain's greatest attraction to be its Moorish past, lamenting the decay and backwardness of the present. Mostly they condemned the "lasciviousness" of the fandango, but beginning in the late 18th century and especially 19th century male travelers became enthusiasts of the dance that they compared with the Cadiz dances in the first century. Towards the end of the 19th century

French travelers especially became enamoured of the sensuousness of fandango dancers. In 1889 Spain sent a group of dancers to the Universal Exposition in Paris. Writer Catulle Mendès, waxing poetic about the excitement produced by "exotic" human displays at the Exposition dancing the fandango, said their movements were "like salamanders in a flame."

**ALEX E. CHÁVEZ (University of Notre Dame),
"Vatienes, del Cuerpo al Verso: On the Expressive and Political Anatomy of the New Years Eve Topada in Xichú, Guanajuato."**

This paper discusses the little-known Mexican music of *huapango arribeño*, with attention to its *topada* performance in Xichú, Guanajuato. There, two ensembles engage in both poetic dueling and musical flying (performative dueling) in the town central plaza from dusk until dawn while thousands of spectators ring in the New Year. The highly public and impermanent expenditure and excess at play, it is argued, animate stories and desires of movement and connection that grow sharply political in relation to the transnational political economies in which many of the participants are positioned. In pursuit of this claim, this paper details the multi-voiced poetic and musical grammar of the *topada* space of vernacular performance.

**LOREN CHUSE (Independent Scholar),
"Fandangos de Huelva: Voices of Women."**

The many genres of fandango for which Huelva is well known, from the regional forms such as Fandangos de Alosno to fandangos *naturales* or *personales*, have been created and performed by women singers since the early twentieth century. Well-known *letras*, (lyrics) of fandangos by earlier singers María "La Conejilla" and "La Juana María de Felipe Julián," both from Alosno, continue to be performed by singers today. Renowned singer Carmen Linares and local *cantaor* Plácido González, from Huelva, have both recorded the *cante* of María Conejilla. Tina Pavón, a *cantaora* from Huelva, has also specialized in fandangos. Tina Pavón was a co-founder of the Peña Flamenca Feminina de Huelva, which has become known for its performance and recordings of fandangos of a number of regional genres. María José Matos, one of the pioneers of a growing group of women flamenco guitarists, learned to play guitar at the Peña Flamenca Feminina and was the original accompanist for the performing group of the Peña. Younger women singers today are carrying on this tradition. Singer Argentina, also from Huelva, has made a name for herself in recent years, as a featured singer at the Noche Blanca de Flamenco in Córdoba in 2013. Another younger singer, Rocio Marquéz, has received

much attention over the past few years for both her interpretations of fandangos de Huelva as well as her masterful command of the Cante de las Minas. This paper will present the work of these women singers within the context of the genre as a whole. Based on interview material, recordings and media sources, I will discuss the important participation of these women singers and guitarists in creating, maintaining and innovating the tradition.

WALTER CLARK (University of California, Riverside), “The Malagueñas of Brevia, Albéniz, and Lecuona: From Regional Fandango to Global Pop Tune.”

The “Malagueña” immortalized in renditions by Roy Clark, Liberace, and the Boston Pops was the creation of Cuban composer Ernesto Lecuona. And yet, as even flamenco purist Donn E. Pohren conceded, Lecuona’s work conveys much of the essence of the folkloric *malagueña*, a regional variant of the fandango first popularized by Juan Brevia in the late 1800s and immortalized in the classical canon by Isaac Albéniz. It is clear that Lecuona was familiar with and influenced by Albéniz’s pianistic *malagueñas*, and his *Suite Andalusia*, in which the famous “Malagueña” appears, owes an obvious debt to Albéniz’s very similar collections of songs and dances. This paper explores the history of the *malagueña* from Brevia to Lecuona, then examines its impact in the realm of global popular culture, in which its basic musical ingredients form a sort of “museme” that has “gone viral” in representing Spain and Spanish culture.

TONY DUMAS (SUNY Brockport), “Fandango and the Rhetoric of Resistance in Flamenco.”

On June 25, 2014, three flamenco singers interrupted proceedings of the Spanish Parliament in Andalusia. Representing the guerrilla protest group Flo6x8, their goal was to draw attention to a ballooning two-thirds unemployment rate, oppressive austerity politics, governmental corruption, and a drastic rise in corporatocracy. Their vehicle of protest: the fandango. This paper examines the role of the fandango as a voice of resistance and protest within flamenco—a genre that has been historically stifled, surveilled, and censored since its inception. Several scholars consider flamenco’s political sentiment to be too “invisible,” subtle, or personal to qualify as protest music. Although this certainly characterizes much of flamenco’s repertoire, I respectfully contend that an ambivalence toward capitalism and sentiments of protest and dissent form the core of flamenco’s ethos. Working from R. Serge Denisoff’s model of protest music, I hope to show

that flamenco does indeed encourage activism (magnetic protest) and that it identifies the marginalizing social conditions of Andalusia’s working-and-underclass (rhetorical protest). As such, I suggest that flamenco exemplifies a broader range of protest music; a protest music that demands attention and empathy and that can even transcend cultural borders. In the words of a Flo6x8 dancer, “flamenco captures perfectly how we feel about the crisis. You can use it to express desperation, rage, pain, and the desire to change things.”

REYNALDO FERNÁNDEZ MANZANO (Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, Asociación Española de Documentación Musical [AEDOM]), “The Trovo of Alpujarra: The Fandango as Improvised Sung Poetry.”

The fandango has been a widely established popular music and dance throughout Latin America and Spain, and has been present in classical music from the eighteenth century onward. Its development has constituted one of the most distinguished branches and forms of flamenco, and has become an identifying sign of the Spanish world for Romantic tourists and later composers. The Trovo of Alpujarra constitutes one of the principal forms of the region of the provinces of Almería and Granada, linked to the *verdiales* of the hills of Málaga and other manifestations. With a poetic base of *quintillas* (five-line stanzas) and musical accompaniment of violin, guitar, and castanets, to which may be added the *bandurria* and the lute, a tournament upon a theme chosen by the audience, where one defends and another attacks, is improvised.

RAFAEL FIGUEROA-HERNÁNDEZ (Centro de Estudios de la Cultura y la Comunicación de la Universidad Veracruzana), “Yo no soy marinero, soy capitán: Contemporary Sociopolitical Uses of Fandango and Son Jarocho.”

The popular fiesta known as fandango, with roots in the intercommunication of Latin America and Spain during the three hundred years of the colonial period, has become, since the last quarter of the twentieth century, a very powerful tool for the creation of a transnational and transcultural social movement known as *movimiento jaranero*, that has transcended its natural region in southern México and gained followers in practically every major city in México, important Hispanic communities in the United States and modest, but significant, enclaves in Europe. Following the traditional musical and lyrical rules of *son jarocho*, an increasingly large group of people has been using the fandango as a

way to participate in social protest in various ways: a) by creating and/or maintaining identity among subaltern groups, b) by spreading social and political ideas through lyrics based on traditional forms and c) by directly participating on rallies and demonstrations, among others.

NUBIA FLÓREZ FORERO (Universidad Del Atlántico [Colombia], Grupo de Investigación CEDINEP), "The Fandango as a Space of Resistance, Creation and Freedom."

This contribution aims to show how a cultural matrix of musical, danced, and festive elements was constructed all around the Fandango, a result of cultural exchange instigated by the encounters of the different cultures in America: natives, the cultures of enslaved Africans, and those of the Spanish and European conquerors. The Fandango as a matrix generates many musical and danced rhythms throughout the Americas. The dance forms, music, and the festivity usually share the same name in every region where they are present. In the particular case of the Colombian Caribbean, these round spaces of men and women that sing, dance and play percussion instruments (drums, preferably) are also called "*Tamboras*" (drums) or "*Bailes cantados*" (sung dances), among other names. In the USA we find the so-called "Ring Shouts," which are very similar to the Fandangos, Tamboras, and sung dances, although there is an absence of drums. My intent is to show how the following factors were involved in this cultural matrix: 1) the discovery and conquest of America and the resulting cultural exchange; 2) slavery and intensive commerce of slaves brought from Africa to the American colonies; 3) the evangelization of the colonies that involved both native cultures and enslaved cultures. Finally, I want to posit the hypothesis that the Fandango as an expression of popular culture works as a laboratory for cultural exchange and that it emerges from cultural syncretism generated as resistance devices against religious domination. Thus, it is present during religious festivities of the colonizers. The cultural matrix of the Fandango is seen here as an anthropological space of freedom amidst the slavery and subjugation of the cultures that inhabited America.

MATTEO GIUGGIOLI (Zurich University Institute of Musicology), "Luigi Boccherini's 'afandangado' Quintets: Sound, Form and Plot."

In a previous article I have shown in which way and how deeply the fandango, as *topos*, may affect the chamber music of Boccherini. Based on the analysis of

the Quintet in C minor, Op. 10, n. 3 (G 267), that article doesn't suggest any definitive interpretation, but it presents an open ending, because of the need, in my opinion, of analyzing this phenomenon through a larger number of compositions by Boccherini in order to understand its wide range. In this paper I would like to start identifying traces of the fandango in a group of chamber works by Boccherini. My aims are essentially twofold. The first is to observe how the features of the fandango merge in the style of the composer, contributing to define an original sound experience in the context of European instrumental music of the second half of the 18th century. The second aim is to observe how the fandango affects the musical form and how Boccherini puts it into action with other *topoi* creating plots rich with cultural implications.

THERESA GOLDBACH (University of California, Riverside), "Fandango in the Franco Era: the Politics of Classification."

The fandangos occupied a precarious position in the pantheon of flamenco rhythms during the Franco dictatorship. Flamenco was transitioning from the theatrical flamenco and ópera flamenca era, of which the fandangos and fandanguillos were seen as symbols for many purists. The era referred to as *nacionalflamenquismo* began as ópera flamenca ended and an authoritarian dictatorship brought its love of categories and classification. A renewed government tourism campaign searched for nationalist forms and local arts to sponsor. I will examine the trajectory of the fandango through the government sponsored "Festivales de España" campaign in the fifties and sixties. I will analyze how its roots as folk rhythm and flamenco *palo* provided a bridge between the *franquista* use of Andalusian imagery for tourist purposes and the orthodoxy of flamenco purists like Antonio Mairena. I will also consider the importance of fandango specialists like Paco Toronjo in assuring its survival as part of the flamenco canon.

MARTHA GONZALEZ (Scripps College), "Sonic (Trans)Migration: Rhythmic Intention in Zapateado."

My talk will be informed by experiential methodologies shaped by my musical practices, both as (1) a Chicana vocalist, percussionist and composer in the Chicano rock band Quetzal, and (2) a participant in the transnational music movement Fandango sin Fronteras (Fandango Without Borders). My analysis is based on embodied knowledge generated through my shared musical practices in these communities rather than an objective formal analysis of musical notation. By interrogating the *sonic* aspect of movement, particularly the footwork

of *zapateado Jarocho*, I seek to reorient our minds in how we perceive both dance and music. In this sense I attempt to recount the many historical voices and dialogues that resonate in the striking of feet on wood. Conceiving dance as a *sonic experience* and or considering dance as an important *sound source*, I suggest that one can gain valuable insight and additional narratives within a culture's historical hybrid trajectory. Ultimately I suggest that rhythms processed by the body are not just marking time in music and dance practice, but rather political acts rooted in resistance.

JESSICA GOTTFRIED (Instituto Veracruzano de la Cultura / Universidad Veracruzana Intercultural), "The Fandango as *Fiesta* and the Fandango within the *Fiesta*: *Tarima, Cante* and Dance."

Working toward a definition of the *fiesta* and understanding the role of music, dance and performance in the different types of *fiesta*, the starting point for this paper is that the *fiesta* conserves, recreates and transmits intangible heritage. Of many musical, dance, poetic and festive traditions that are named fandango, this paper focuses on examples from 21st century traditional contexts in Mexico (Fandango Veracruzano, Fandango Istmeño), Spain (Fandangos de Huelva) and Brazil (Fandango Caiçara). The Fandango Veracruzano and the Fandango Caiçara are fiestas that revolve around the *tarima* and the *zapateado* or *tamanqueado* dancing which integrate with the musical ensemble as part of the percussion. The spatial, social, and musical organization around and on the *tarima* structures the *fiesta* and the performance and interaction of dancers, musicians and public. The Fandango Istmeño, the Fandango Parao' and the Fandango de Santa Eulalia take place during the *fiesta*: they are elements within its structure, they occur at specific moments, and they contribute to giving the *fiesta* character and identity. What role do these fandangos play in the spatial, social and musical organization? How do they contribute to determining the structure of the *fiesta*?

GABRIELA GRANADOS (American Bolero Dance Company), "Fandango, A Dance with Castanets."

Castanets have always been a part of Spanish culture, whether in music or dance. When the Romans advanced into the Iberian Peninsula circa 215 BC, they brought back to Rome stories of seductive female dancers from Cádiz, the *Puellae Gaditanae*, who danced with *honey on their hips* and seashells in their hands. Just like the Seguidillas, the Fandango and the castanets have been

inseparable partners for centuries. I will start by giving a brief history of the castanets. Secondly, I will demonstrate steps and castanet rhythms used in fandango dances. And finally I will dance José Molina's choreography of "Fandango" from the zarzuela Doña Francisquita, by Amadeo Vives.

MICHELLE HABELL-PALLÁN (University of Washington), and IRÍS VIVEROS (Gender, Women, & Sexuality Studies, University of Washington), "Women Who Rock the Fandango: Lessons in *Convivencia* and Polyhythm."

The resurgence of fandango practices in Chicana@ communities across the U.S. has reaffirmed forms of consciousness shaped by *balladoras* and musicians that transform gender relations on and off "la tarima." In particular, Seattle Fandango Project's practice of *convivencia*, what scholar & practitioner Martha Gonzalez describes as the co-creation of social space within the context of fandango, has supported the Women Who Rock Oral History Archive (hosted by the University of Washington's Libraries Digital Initiatives Program), Film Festival, and annual *Encuentro/unconference*. Inspiring what we call archivista praxis, this presentation dialogues about the promise and tensions generated when scholarship, archive-building, graduate mentoring, media production and community engagement congeal around *convivencia* practiced within fandango over the last 5 years. In dialogue with Gonzalez and *balladora* Iris Viveros, we focus on Viveros's use of the term "polyrhythm," that demonstrates how polyrhythmic participatory-based music practices like fandango embody sociopolitical realities and decolonial imaginaries that produce alternative modes of knowledge production, modes, which ultimately create a framework for supporting archivista praxis in Women Who Rock.

NANCY G. HELLER (University of the Arts [Philadelphia, PA]), "Spanish and Hispanic American Depictions of Dancing in *El velorio del angelito*."

Some Spanish and Hispanic American paintings that appear to be celebratory genre scenes turn out, on closer inspection, to represent wakes. More specifically, they depict *el velorio del angelito*, a ritual in which a child's corpse is dressed in white, adorned with a floral crown and paper wings, and surrounded by people who eat, drink, sing, and dance, often with wild abandon. Traditional belief held that the soul of such an innocent

would ascend directly to Heaven...unless its wings were weighed down by mourners' tears; hence, the apparently festive tone of these sad gatherings. For centuries such *velorios* have been described in travelers' accounts and ethnographic studies; they have also inspired novels, films, visual art and theatrical choreography. This paper will focus on the broader significance of several modern painted *velorios* that depict a seemingly incongruous combination of smiling guests engaged in various kinds of dancing, with tiny white coffins. It will end with a film clip of a dance-piece based on the *velorio*, performed to music that is clearly related—in its tonalities and harmonies—to the *fandango*.

JOSÉ MIGUEL HERNÁNDEZ JARAMILLO
(Ethnomusicology, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), "The Fandango in Nineteenth Century Flamenco: The Untold Story."

Contrary to what is commonly assumed, flamenco in the second half of the nineteenth century was significantly different from that of today. Much research about flamenco is predicated on a series of prejudices, myths and assumptions, sometimes self-interested, trying to explain the processes of flamenco in the nineteenth century within the parameters of today's flamenco. This fact has impeded the understanding of flamenco's true dimensions during this period. For example, today it is unanimously accepted that the fandango is one of the main musical expressions of flamenco, but, in the first golden age of flamenco, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we note a significant absence of fandango on the Spanish stage, while other musical expressions of flamenco were represented almost daily in *cafés cantantes* and theaters, both in Spain and in Europe and America. This paper will analyze the role that the fandango occupied in various levels of nineteenth-century Spanish society, from rural or suburban areas to performances at theatres and aristocratic parties, in order to reveal the processes that shaped the fandango within the world of nineteenth-century flamenco.

CLAUDIA JESCHKE (University of Salzburg; Director, Derra de Moroda Dance Archives at the University of Salzburg), "The Fandango in 19th Century Theory and on European Stages: Henri Justamant's *Les Conscrits Espagnols*."

Dance theory discussed the Fandango as part of the Hispanomania in 19th century Europe; choreography

displayed the use of this cultural hype on dance stages. 'Spanishness' was considered to broaden the movement vocabulary used so far for theatrical dancing. Furthermore, it allowed the dancers to develop more expressive and personal performance modes. The ballet masters, thus (or as well), included a great number of Spanish dances into their works. Henri Justamant (1815 – 1886), one of the most prolific choreographers of his time, left over 100 'livrets de mise en scène', i.e., notations and descriptions of his many stage productions. These manuscripts present the documentation and dramaturgic usage of a great number of Spanish dances; a Fandango, notated in the ballet *Les Conscrits Espagnols* of 1850/51, will be the topic of a close reading in this lecture that intends to exemplify some concepts as well as practice-based programs of the Fandango in European (dance) culture.

ALAN JONES (Independent Scholar), "Emergence and Transformations of the Fandango."

As it filtered into every level of Spanish society, the fandango underwent surprising changes not only in style and technique but also musical structure and even meter. The voluptuous, spontaneous and nearly unstructured dance described by Casanova and others was subjected to rules, ornamented with courtly steps and recast in the mold of the English country-dance and French *contredanse*. An unlikely hybrid of the fandango and minuet, the *minué afandogado*, briefly found favor, while the alternating *copla/estribillo* structure typical of the *seguidillas* durably marked the regional fandangos danced in Spanish villages even today. We end with a glimpse at the little-known fandango fever that seized the straight-laced town of Boston in the 1790s. Musical examples and a wide-ranging selection of texts are included.

ADAM KENT (Brooklyn College), "Enrique Granados and Manuel de Falla: The Fandango through the Concert Hall to the Corral."

The Fandango has been an internationally recognized "trope" in European classical music since the early eighteenth century. Spanish-born and Hispanicized composers such as Domenico Scarlatti, Padre Antonio Soler, and Luigi Boccherini created a tradition of the fandango as a virtuoso keyboard or chamber music work, featuring increasingly frenzied variations over a simple harmonic formula, while Mozart famously alluded to the genre as a courtly dance in the third act of his *Marriage of Figaro*. Enrique Granados and Manuel de

Falla, Spanish nationalist composers of the early twentieth century, treated the Fandango to post-romantic and impressionistic harmonic vocabulary and the outlines of sonata form. In "El Fandango del Candil" from his *Goyescas* suite for solo piano, Granados employs a full arsenal of late-nineteenth century piano techniques, much as Falla utilizes the resources of the Debussyan orchestra in the "Danza de la molinera" from the ballet *El sombrero de tres picos*. "Enrique Granados and Manuel de Falla: The Fandango through the Concert Hall to the Corral" examines the idiosyncratic ways these composers employ contemporary mainstream compositional approaches to evoke the earthy spirit of the dance's folkloric origins. Live performances by pianist Adam Kent of both works will augment the presentation.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: ELISABETH LE GUIN
(University of California at Los Angeles),
"Tonadilla and Fandango: How a Genre and a Practice Intersect and Diverge."

There is considerable confusion about the supposed relationships of the Spanish tonadilla to the Hispano-Caribbean fandango; and there is also considerable reason for it. It is my contention that the various things that have been called "tonadilla" in the history of hispanophone theater and song have never had a systematic, coherent, meaningful relationship at all to the even more various things that have been called "fandango." At best, some mutual borrowings, fleeting, on the sly.

The main problem with which I wish to engage here lies in those words "systematic, coherent, meaningful" as a historiographical problem concerning the possible relationships between genre and practice. There are worlds of distance here; they can be expressed in terms of social estate, in terms of urban and rural, peninsular and colonial and indigenous cultures, in terms of literacies. Whose system? Whose meaning? Genres reference and to some extent create a hegemonic world through which actions are disciplined and codified into texts, while practices can and do elude or exceed discipline, codification, and hegemony – and with them, any firm relationship to the idea of 'history.'

My talk is a meditation on several questions. How can these worlds communicate? As a historical musicologist, I have learned that it can be fruitful, if tricky, to study genres like the 18th-century tonadilla for the para-textual traces they contain of the practices that enacted them. It appears to be trickier still to go in the other direction, and study historical practices for the traces that the textual world may have left upon them. Diana

Taylor's work offers us some elegant suggestions here, but urgent questions still abound: Are we too eager to codify, to find coherence – in short, to make history – out of the sprawling transhistorical, transcontinental practice/genre complex that is summoned, kraken-like, by the word "fandango"? And, if historicization violates the nature of practices, what options remain to us as scholars sincerely wishing to understand them?

MICHAEL MALKIEWICZ (Mozarteum University Salzburg), "Ceci n'est pas un fandango."

Based on the few documents that we have about the fandango as a social dance in the 18th century, we can infer that the fandango is an erotically stimulating, heterosexual couple dance. The music, normally played by a guitar, is often accompanied by castanets, which are played by the dancers themselves. As already outlined in my article about the dance scene in *Le nozze di Figaro* (Malkiewicz 2007), Mozart's fandango – represented as a male solo dance by Figaro, inviting another man (the Count) to dance with him – must be understood as an 'anti-fandango', raising many questions about its specific meaning. At this conference, I would like to talk about the engraving *La danse du Fandango* (18th Century), which shows a dancing couple. The dance is free of any erotic elements, the dancers do not use castanets and, instead of a guitar player, they are accompanied by a male harpist, sitting on the left side of the engraving. Iconographic topoi teach us to 'read' the harpist as a 'representative of king David'. Both sources – Mozart's Figaro and this engraving – show an untypical fandango and refer to a biblical subtext. The presentation of these two sources should evoke a stimulating discussion.

PETER MANUEL (The Graduate Center, CUNY), MARÍA LUISA MARTÍNEZ (Universidad de Jaén), "The Fandango as a Family of Musical Forms in the Afro-Hispanic Atlantic."

Despite the considerable amount of astute scholarship on the fandango in its diverse transatlantic incarnations, the fandango complex remains an unruly, sprawling and enigmatic congeries of entities. However, after eliminating cases in which the term 'fandango' denotes any festive event, one can attempt to impose a certain interpretative order on a broad constellation of Hispanic-Atlantic musical forms, linking and arranging them in terms of a set of formal features that can be retrospectively regarded as intrinsic to a certain core fandango family, distinguished by one or more copla sections, instrumental paseo/ritornello/variaciones sections based on a chordal ostinato, and other details.

Core constituents of this complex are Andalusian *fandangos del sur* and written *fandangos de salón* of the 18th and 19th centuries. Close examination of 19th-century notated versions of guitar-and-voice *rondañas*/malagueñas—including one presumably from the 1840s recently discovered by Martínez, and brought to life by a recording produced by her colleagues—sheds new light on the dialectic relations between vernacular *fandangos del sur* and stylized contemporary *fandangos de salón* by classical performers.

GABRIELA MENDOZA GARCÍA (Gabriela Mendoza-García Ballet Folklórico), "Envisioning the Nation through Dance: The Teaching and Performance of the *Jarabe Tapatio* in 1920s and 1930s Mexico within the Educational System."

Early twentieth-century Mexican music scholar Gabriel Saldivar argues that the *jarabes* began with the influences of the Spanish *zapateado* dances, especially the *Seguidilla* and *Fandango* that were popular in the sixteenth century, as well as the *Zambra*. The colonists brought these *zapateado* dances with them to New Spain. In his telling, dances such as the *Fandango* were transformed over time as a result of the influences of people who lived in Mexico. By 1921, one dance became so beloved that it was considered the national dance of Mexico—the *Jarabe Tapatio*. My paper focuses on how Mexico's early twentieth-century educational system promoted the teaching and performance of the *Jarabe Tapatio* in order to culturally unify the country. I argue that in early twentieth-century Mexico, the *Jarabe Tapatio* operated as a colonizing project that worked alongside educational policies designed to assimilate the indigenous and peasant communities while encouraging a nationalistic sentiment.

JOHN MOORE (University of California, San Diego), "Cante Libre is not Free – Contrasting Approaches to *Fandangos Personales*."

Flamenco song forms are often divided into two categories: *cante a compás* and *cante libre*; respectively those with a steady rhythmic structure and those said to lack any regular rhythmic structure. Most of the *cante libre* forms belong to the generalized *fandangos* family and derive ultimately from rhythmic folkloric song forms. *Cante libre* emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as professional singers expanded the flamenco repertoire by transforming these rhythmic forms into *libre* vocal showpieces, including *fandangos personales*, which are often associated with the 20th century *ópera*

flamenca movement. This talk will examine two contrasting approaches to rhythm in *fandangos personales*: those associated with Pepe Marchena and Manolo Caracol. I propose a continuum of rhythmic expression – from a fairly clear structure to one that approaches true *cante libre*. Interestingly, however, one finds vestiges of *compás*, even in the freest expression of *cante libre*.

KIKO MORA (University of Alicante), "An Introduction to Popular Spanish Music in Nineteenth Century USA."

This paper aims to analyze, using newspapers, magazines, and scores released by North American publishing houses of the era as primary sources, the introduction of Spanish popular music in the USA during the nineteenth century, with special emphasis in the New York area. My paper has a historiographical character, which I consider fundamental with regards to the supply of hard facts for a later understanding of the particularities of Spanish music in its contact with North American culture. To this historiographical reconstruction follows a brief analysis of the first Spanish musics recorded by the National Phonograph Company, owned by T. A. Edison.

PAUL D. NAISH (Guttman Community College, CUNY), "The Revels of a Young Republic: Revolutionary Possibilities of the Fandango in Timothy Flint's 1826 *Francis Berrian*."

Timothy Flint's 1826 *Francis Berrian*, the first novel written in the United States with a Latin American setting, features a young Massachusetts native who rescues a Conde's daughter from a band of Comanches and participates in Mexico's war for independence. A fandango at the woman's estate forms a pivotal set piece where "old and young, parents and children, masters and servants" mix in a giddy dance that anticipates a future happy union between Mexico and the United States. Yet the fastidious American recoils at this display of cross-class informality, and the titled Mexican woman chastises him for his snobbery. Perhaps inadvertently, *Francis Berrian* suggests that American ideas of equality might be better practiced on the dance floor of aristocratic Mexico than they are realized in the Republic of America.

ERICA OCEGUEDA (Arizona State University), "Frozen Footwork: Folklorico Falters Following Fandangos Footsteps."

On February 14, 2014 I attended the second annual University Folklórico Summit, "Resurrecting the Roots, Empowering our Existence," at California State University, Fullerton. The overarching goal of the conference was to support student leaders of Mexican folklórico groups from mostly California and the Southwest, through workshops and social events, as they worked to create efficient and sustainable university folklórico groups. One of the scheduled events was a fandango for Saturday afternoon. The conference leaders asked the participants to improvise to fandango on top of *tarimas*. These folkloristas were used to choreographed steps and when asked to initiate movement they stood still and frozen. How has the latest surge in fandango popularity affected Mexican folklórico groups in how they train and learn dances? How do fandango jams work to influence and complicate the legacy of Mexican folklórico performance left by the recognized grand dame of folklórico, Amalia Hernández? How is fandango working to contemporize Mexican folklórico dance's influence within its established university and high school structures?

ÁLVARO OCHOA SERRANO (Centro de Estudios de las Tradiciones de El Colegio de Michoacán, "Personajes y tradiciones populares del Occidente de México"), "Mitotl, Fandango and Mariache or Mariachi, a Space of Communal Fiesta."

The fandango, understood as a space of celebration in central western Mexico and on the Pacific coast, has antecedents in the Prehispanic mitotl (mitote, dance). It received its naturalization papers during the epoch of colonial New Spain, especially in the eighteenth century; at the same time it became a synonym of the mariache or mariachi in Mexican national life. In this sense, and in order to clearly explain, we will follow the central western route described above, and the coastal route given impetus by the attraction of the California Gold Rush following 1849.

SONIA OLLA AND ISMAEL DE LA ROSA FERNÁNDEZ, FLAMENCO ARTISTS.

Born and raised in Barcelona, Sonia Olla earned a degree in Spanish Dance and Flamenco at the "Instituto de Teatro y Danza de Barcelona." Sonia has shared the stage with flamenco greats such as Rafael Amargo, Antonio Canales, Domingo Ortega, Aida Gómez, Eva la Yerbabuena, Rafaela Carrasco, María Pagés, La Farruca, Alejandro Granados and the famed Nuevo Ballet Español. In 2011, Sonia directed, choreographed, and

danced the lead in "Entretiempos," with flamenco singer Ismael de la Rosa Fernández at the renowned Teatro Lara of Madrid, and in 2014, "Tiempo Al Aire," at Joe's Pub and Lincoln Center Outdoors.

Born in Seville, Spain, of Gypsy descent, Ismael de la Rosa Fernández grew up performing in flamenco festivals throughout the world with his internationally renowned family, "La Familia Fernández." In 2004, Ismael won the National Contest of Córdoba, singing *bulerías* for famed dancer Soraya Clavijo, and that same year he was a finalist in the Festival de Cante de La Unión. Ismael also regularly participates with his family in the celebrated Bienal de Flamenco de Sevilla. Ismael has worked with flamenco legends such as Antonio Canales, Farruquito, Marina Heredia, El Torombo, Leonor Moro, María Pages, and Sonia Olla.

RAQUEL PARAÍSO (Independent Scholar), "Re-contextualizing Traditions and the Construction of Social Identities through Music and Dance: A Fandango in Huetamo, Michoacán."

From the 1920s onwards, the post-revolutionary Mexican state supported intellectuals and artists in their quest to discover, describe, and catalog Mexican popular cultural expressions. Music, dance, and poetry were among such expressions that suffered from a process of selection and de-contextualization as the state aimed to create typical regional traditions to represent Mexico and Mexican identity, thus narrowing the country's actual cultural diversity. Now, with a renewed interest in both the study and performance of these traditions, some are trying to bring them back to the social contexts in which they originated and were once performed, authenticating their popular nature in shared spaces. At popular fiestas – and in more formally organized events – Mexican *sones* have become the center of attention as practitioners, cultural promoters, and audiences are reclaiming the original context of their production and performance, embracing their music, dance, and poetry to reflect a way of understanding life. Thus, the *fandango* has become a statement of roots, identity, and ownership of one's culture in various parts of Mexico. The revitalization of the *son* experience entails a connection with the past, which brings a powerful element into the practice. My paper deals with a *fandango* in Huetamo, Michoacán, as an example of re-contextualizing traditions and the construction of social identities through music and dance.

ALLAN DE PAULA OLIVEIRA (West Parana State University [UNIOESTE]), "Brazilian Fandango: traditionalism, identity and policies of cultural heritage."

This talk will present a framework of the Brazilian fandango as it is played today. Traditionally related to communities that live in coastal areas of two Brazilian states (São Paulo and Paraná), the fandango, as a complex that integrates dance and music, has a great importance to these communities as an element of traditional cultural practices. In this way, it is an important element to discuss locality and identity. Beside this, it has a central role in the internal social dynamics of these communities, operating as a leisure practice and, at the same time, regulating social relationships. The conference will also talk about the place of fandango in political debates about cultural heritage in Brazil for the last ten years. Public policies have been created in order to regulate its changes and its traditional role in the communities in which it is played.

RICARDO PÉREZ MONTFORT (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social [CIESAS]), "The Fandango as an Example of the Circulation of Culture between Mexico and the Caribbean."

This work explores the fandango as a representation of the *fiesta* and ritual of a *mestizo* tradition in nineteenth and twentieth century Mexico, the Antilles, the southern states of Central America, and the Atlantic Coasts of Colombia and Venezuela. Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, when the regional stereotypes of the "jarocho," the "abajero," the "costeño," and the Mexican "huasteco," "jíbaro," "guajiro," "paisano," and "llanero" took shape in the hinterlands of the insular Caribbean universe, with its coastal boundaries, this presentation begins with a descriptive and critical analysis of regional characteristics, with supposedly unique details specific to regional cultures. Often contradicting reality and more aptly considered a product of the assumptions and imaginings of those who describe the fandangos, I attempt to identify the elements that make up the *fiesta* and perhaps prove that we are seeing a circulation of cultural values that manifests in multiple vectors. At the same time, I will review the diverse iconographic representations that accompany the texts of these chronicles, with the goal of establishing how they generate a set of assumptions that will eventually serve as a resource for traditional and regional identity. In this way my presentation focuses on the growing distance

between representation, lived experience, and the circulation of central elements imposed and revitalized in the territories and areas studied here.

AURÉLIA PESSARODONA (Università degli Studi di Bologna) and MARIA JOSÉ RUIZ MAYORDOMO (Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Compañía de Danza "Esquivel"), "Choreological Gestures in Iberian Music of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: A Proposal for a Historically Informed Interpretation of the Fandango."

Within the framework of this conference dedicated to the fandango, the team formed by choreologist María José Ruiz Mayordomo and musicologist Aurélia Pessarrodona will present a study of the gestural language this genre, an aspect that has been almost completely omitted in the many studies of the fandango. Our proposal emerges from a cross-disciplinary methodology (music-dance and theory-practice) that analyzes the gesture of musical work gleaned from the "ideal" dancing body of the second half of the eighteenth century, establishing in this way a dialogue between the choreographic context of the composer, the bolero tradition and other eighteenth-century repertoires. In this case our intention is to analyze the eighteenth-century phenomenon of the fandango with an appreciation of its variety (generic, functional, and even semantic), in order to later focus on a possible "paradigm" of the eighteenth-century instrumental fandango seen in now classic works by Nebra, Soler, Mozart, Gluck, and Boccherini. The principal novelty of our proposal lies in examining this repertory in light of the extant choreographic sources, transmitted only through oral tradition within the professional world of the bolero dance, and also in tracing the correspondences between the bolero tradition and its direct choreographic antecedents, such as the *jácara*. Thus, this proposal attempts to unite theorists and interpreters of the fandango phenomenon in a holistic manner, as in its era the components of the performance—composer, interpreter, and audience—understood perfectly the gesture inherent in these danced airs because they had internalized and incorporated them by dancing them. Nonetheless, these corporeal codes, emerging from a specific cultural context, are usually absent in contemporary interpretations of eighteenth-century repertory. We wish, in other words, to recapture them, to restore and interpret these works from a choreographically and choreologically informed point of view.

WILFRIED RAUSSERT (Bielefeld University, Center for InterAmerican Studies), “When Fandango Hits the Border, When Music Comes to Town’: Mobilizing Music, Participatory Cultures, and Translocational Community-Building in the 21st century.”

What I investigate more closely in this presentation could be summoned up as ‘sonic cosmopolitics’ from the people for the people. The term I use in this context is a redefinition of the classic term “cosmopolitanism” frequently associated with a Eurocentric view from high above or far away, associated with elitism and privileged travelers. What I argue is that sonic cosmopolitics offer us new alternative ways of revisiting cosmopolitanism at the crossroads of music and grassroots politics in the beginning of the 21st century. Music projects such as the transnational diaspora project Fandango Sin Fronteras and the Ginger Ninjas’ *The Pleasant Revolution Tour* are musical endeavors that are irreversibly connected with participatory cultures and recent movements of the people that pursue locally as well as translocally oriented grassroots politics to create a new civic society.

LÉNICA REYES ZÚÑIGA (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), “Musical Relations between Spanish Malagueñas and Fandangos in the Nineteenth Century.”

The fandango, as a musical expression, had a strong presence in the Iberoamerican musical scene in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Well into the nineteenth century, the fandango was replaced on the Spanish stage by other expressions that became crowd favorites. One of these was the malagueña, a piece that, as had happened with the fandango decades earlier, gained an important place not only on stage but in other performative spaces. In the field of flamenco, the malagueña has been regarded as a derivative of fandango due to musical similarity, even though there’s little research to explain which musical features are similar. For this reason, besides the popularity of both musical expressions not only in Spain but also in other Latin American countries, I consider it important in this work to delve into this matter. In this paper the relationship between fandango and malagueña will be shown, detailing what musical features they share and which are specific to each one. Using the SAAP Software, musical paradigmatic analysis is applied to a large corpus of scores of nineteenth century Spanish malagueñas and fandangos.

CRAIG RUSSELL (California Polytechnic State University), “The Fandango in Mozart’s *The Marriage of Figaro*: The Prism of Revolution in the Enlightenment.”

From the Renaissance onward, Spanish culture had developed two highly differentiated strands of dance styles, which reflected completely different societal contexts – the *baile* reflected the peasant, commoner, and ruffian, whereas the *danza* depicted royalty, nobility, and high society. During the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, however, several new genres arose that held that each person was inherently worthy, regardless of class, ethnicity, gender, or social status. No dance better encapsulated this new egalitarian philosophy of the time than the *fandango*. This new genre was a sort of “audible photograph” of “natural law” – a musical depiction of the “natural laws” articulated by Newton and Leibniz in physics and by Adam Smith, Jefferson, and Voltaire in government. When Jefferson stated it was “self-evident ... that all men are created equal,” the *fandango* proclaimed it on the dance floor. In crafting their first opera together, *The Marriage of Figaro*, librettist Lorenzo da Ponte and composer Wolfgang A. Mozart drew upon these dance genres and their cultural associations to perfectly reflect the conflicts between characters and class structures in their drama. Based on the Beaumarchais play of the same name, the entire opera is a clash between servant and master, and to tell their tale, da Ponte and Mozart adeptly use the historical divisions between *baile* and *danza*. Using a rigorous examination of structural symmetries in *Figaro*, I will argue that one of the *first* things the creators did when sketching out their narrative was to place the *fandango* at center stage, using it at key moments to proclaim the triumph of intellect and of a transparently worthy servant over the artificial “worth” of an abusive count (an encapsulation of the Enlightenment’s essence). Both Susanna and Figaro sing egalitarian messages, and it is significant that they both use the *fandango* at these key moments as their musical vehicle to convey their message.

RAMÓN SOLER DÍAZ (Professor of Mathematics and Ethnomusicologist), “The Fandango in Málaga: From Dance Song to Heart-Shattering Song.”

Málaga – both the capital and the province – occupies a place of singular importance in the birth of flamenco, a musical genre that began to develop in parts of Andalusia from earlier musical traditions in the mid-nineteenth century. The fandango in this southern Spanish province manifests in a diversity of forms unknown in other regions. Its oldest variants are still

practiced—with great vitality—in the *pandas de verdiales*, groups with guitars, tambourines, cymbals, song, and dance. They originate in the agrarian regions of the Málaga countryside, growing out of the roots of pre-Christian fertility rites. Around 1860 the music of these danceable fandangos slowed down and lost their orchestration, to become, with only guitar accompaniment, what are now called *fandangos abandolao*s, one of the first forms of flamenco song of which we have notice. At the end of the nineteenth century the fandangos definitively lost their basic rhythm and the personal fandangos were born, reaching the height of popularity until the end of the *café cantantes* (the music halls where flamenco was born), in the decade of the 1920s. Both the *fandangos abandolao*s and also *malagueñas* make up the customary repertory of *cantaos*—flamenco singers—of today. The 1920s saw the birth of the era of “Flamenco Opera”—an era in which many singers created numerous styles of fandangos, the earliest of which were elaborations of folkloric fandangos. In Málaga these fandangos, the *fandangos personales*, were widespread and popular. Today there lives in the city of Málaga the greatest living representative of *fandangos personales*, El Álvarez (b. Málaga, 1947), a singer of great expressivity who, despite never having worked professionally, has been admired by figures like Chano Lobato, Camarón, Luis el Zambo, and Duquende. In 2010 a full length documentary film directed by Vicente Pérez Herrero, titled *Válgame Dios, qué alegría tiene esta gente qué fatigas tengo yo*, was released by RTVE, a portrait of El Álvarez's life and singing.

**ESTELA ZATANIA (Editor, deflamenco.com),
and BROOK ZERN (Flamencoexperience.com),
“The Physical Forms and Cloaked Politics of
Flamenco Fandangos.”**

The focus of this academic gathering is “fandangos,” a concept so vast, the word even transcends its standard usage within the world of music. This presentation however, deals strictly with the here and now of the *flamenco* manifestations of fandangos. The reference to *physical forms and cloaked politics*, reflects not one combined topic, but two separate ones. On the one hand, we'll look at the role of fandangos as a tacit symbol of non-gypsy culture, often unfairly perceived as a lesser or inferior branch of flamenco. Within Spain this has become a profoundly emotional topic, as flamenco followers feel compelled to choose sides in the great racial divide, which in turn has far-reaching sociopolitical underpinnings. The rest of the presentation will be a succinct description and demonstration of the music and verse-forms of flamenco fandangos, focusing in particular on how an extremely diverse rhythmic treatment makes for a wide emotional range, all the way from light folklore to extreme stylization and sophistication.

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Antoni Pizà, Director

Foundation for Iberian Music

CUNY Graduate Center

365 Fifth Avenue

New York, NY 10016

(212) 817-1819 (tel.)

(212) 817-1569 (fax)

iberianmusic@gc.cuny.edu

Since its founding in 1868 the primary objective of the **Centro Español – Spanish Benevolent Society** is to “promote, encourage and spread the spirit of fraternity and solidarity among Spanish and Hispanic-American residents of this country. In those early years, the Society served as an essential support system for Spaniards immigrating to the United States, acting as their de facto home away from home in New York. While the needs of their members have changed greatly since that time, the Spanish Benevolent Society still remains committed to assisting individuals who come from Spain to seek a new way of life in New York. It has served as a meeting ground for political dissidents and revolutionaries, avant-garde poets and artists – including the groundbreaking director Luis Buñuel and the modernist poet Federico García Lorca, who wrote sections of his famous anthology “Poet in New York” during his stay at the Society. It is even said that Picasso stopped in for a taste of home. The Centro Español – Spanish Benevolent Society believes in a diverse, multi-cultural Spain. It supports the expression and promotion of all her languages and customs, and has long been a hub of flamenco activity in New York. The Society holds several events each week that are topical and relevant expressions of our diverse culture, including hosting *Alegrías en La Nacional*.

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