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8–10 February 1991

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DANCE IN HISPANIC CULTURES

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This collection of papers has been compiled from camera-ready copies from the individual authors who wished to contribute their papers as a record of the 1991 Conference of the Society of Dance History Scholars.

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Fourteenth Annual Conference
New World School of the Arts, 8–10 February 1991

Christena L. Schlundt, Compiler

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The Body Articulate: Racial Identification in the Samba
by Barbara Browning

Samba is the dance of the body articulate. What does it mean to speak with the body? In Portuguese, one says that the skilled sambista is able, and obliged, to "dizer no pé" - speak with the feet.[1] No other language is required: song is redundant, words are superfluous. You recognize this in the Rio carnaval: there is an eloquence in the white shoes, in the silver high heels scraping the asphalt. You can see it daily in the *favelas*, the familiar shanty-towns pocking the hills around white moneyed neighborhoods, in the bare feet stamping down on a concrete floor. In the samba, in fact, not only the feet speak. The dance is a complex dialogue in which various parts of the body talk at the same time, and in seemingly different languages. The feet keep up a rapid patter, while the hips beat out a heavy stacatto and the shoulders roll a slow drawl. It is all wonderfully meaningful. To articulate means, of course, to flex at the joints, and samba may seem both fluid, jointless, and at the same time entirely disjointed. The message is simultaneously narrative and lyrical. Samba narrates a story of racial contact, conflict and resistance, not mimetically across a span of musical time, but synchronically, in the depth of a single measure.

When we speak of narration, we assume linearity.[1] A story - or history - takes place in, and over, a span of time. This is diachrony, and it is what grounds our accounts of historical events, such as the colonization of Brazil, the suppression of indigenous peoples and cultures, and the period of the enslavement of African peoples which lasted

longer in Brazil than in any other nation in the New World. Abolition took place in 1888, officially, although black Brazilians refer not infrequently to that date as the inception of a "falsa abolição," when Afro-Brazilians merely shifted from one kind of slave quarters to another: the *favelas*. Historical documents - including records of the importation of Africans - were destroyed at the time of abolition in a gesture which was intended by the governing class to erase the shame of slavery.[2] Of course the destruction of the text could not abolish the story. It is important not only to recover that lost narrative, but also to understand the story as it persists in the present.

Popular accounts of race relations in Brazil, which hold that abolition never took place in a meaningful way, again are grounded in historical and demographic realities. It might be argued that they operate on a figural level, as slavery is no longer literally, legislatively, a reality. But the insidiousness of these word-games is all too apparent. The stunning poverty and virtually complete economic dependance of black Brazilians is hardly a metaphor. And yet the poor black tenant of a *favela* employed as a domestic servant who calls herself a slave is aware of the power of the word, and of her own articulateness in saying it. She reads herself in relation to her African antecedent as both a representation of a woman erased from Brazilian history, and a continuation of the same woman's story. I do not mean to diminish the power of this gesture by suggesting it is lyrical as well as narrative. This is a

strong lyricism grounded in racial identification. These are the bare feet stamping down on a concrete floor. A person can say these things in so many words. Or a person can speak with the body.

The lyricism of the samba is its incorporation of figures that flash across time. Dance ethnography has often referred to such figures as African or indigenous "survivals" - gestures in contemporary dances that can be traced or inferred to pre-slavery and pre-colonial sources. The term "survival" acknowledges the fact of cultural repression, but it fails to recognize that African and indigenous culture in the New World has not merely held on, but has grown and developed subsequent to the moment of historical rupture. In the case of Brazil, backward-looking projects of inference are often confounded by the lack of textual sources. We have the nineteenth-century engravings of Debret, Rugendas, and Martius and Spix which show freeze-frame gestures and dance configurations. We have spotty written depictions of indigenous dances of Brazil and West Africa at the point of first contact with Europeans, although these are written from the perspective of viewers completely unfamiliar with the rhythmic and gestural vocabularies they attempt to describe. Examining contemporary dances of relatively isolated indigenous communities in Brazil and Africa is a shot in the dark. A direct comparison of these dances with the samba would not take into account the contemporaneous modifications which have taken place over centuries in these communities. Dance

ethnography can never be convincing historiography.[3] Rhythmic and gestural vocabulary - the language of the body - can endure, but it is not merely frozen in time. It can itself refer to ruptures in historical time, rhythmic disjunction - and it can figure itself in relation to its past, as the *favelada* figures herself in relation to her ancestor. It doesn't mean they do the same dance. Even if the gestures are the same, they have accrued a double, self-reflexive significance.

My project here is to locate the space between a narrative or figural reading of Brazilian dance. This is neither a purely historical nor semiotic analysis.[4] I mean, rather, to allow for a synthesis of time and signs, which would be the only way to account for the complex speaking of the body in Brazil. The samba is both a story and a poem. And this may be why it fascinates me endlessly. I went to Brazil a number of years ago to write poetry, and I wrote poetry, but poems that were weighted down with political anger at the same time that they wanted to lift off the page with a sense of exultation which came from what? - too much sun, so many children, the insistence of my neighbors to wake up and face the music, and dance? I was living in a *favela* in Salvador, Bahia, the heart of African Brazil, called Mermaid Hill. We looked over the bay on one side, and inland we faced another *favela*, the Hill of Happiness, where numerous samba competitions took place as night fell. Sometimes the morning after a late night my six-year-old neighbor would wake me by climbing in the

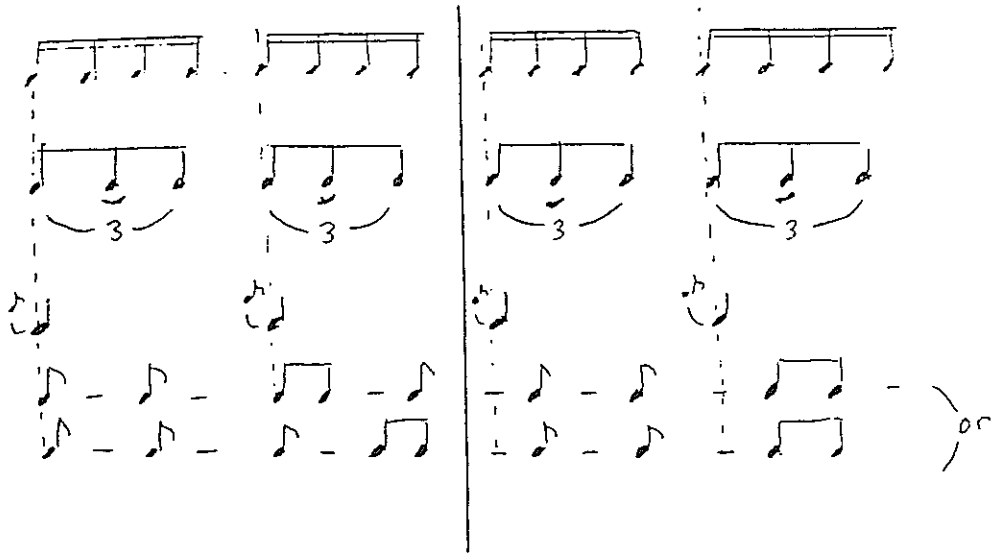
window and crawling into the hammock with me. She would announce the day's bad news: the price of a roll, a kilo of beef, a sack of manioc flour, all of which seemed to rise nightly fueled by monstrous inflation.

For a time I stopped writing. I learned to dance. I also learned to pray and I learned to fight - two things I had never really felt called upon to do. I did them with my body. I began to think with my body. This is possible and, in the case of Brazilian dance, necessary. What I write here, in words, cannot contain the significance of the dances. I only mean to indicate the ground of their meaningfulness.

The body says what cannot be spoken. Musically, this can be explained as syncopation. Samba is a polymeter, layered over a 2/4 structure. But the strong beat is suspended, the weak accentuated. That suspension leaves the body with a hunger that can only be satisfied by filling the silence with motion. Samba, the dance, cannot exist without the suppression of a strong beat. Polymeter is a manner of describing rhythmic structures which combine various ways of counting. It is the dominant mode of all Pan African music, and it is what distinguishes this music from Western forms in which harmonic and melodic progression predominate. A person schooled in the European musical tradition may, on encountering a polymeter, find it either incomprehensibly complex, or may apprehend a surface texture which seems not to *go* anywhere - hence the complaint of monotony. The

problem is, in a sense, not the indirection of the music, but the misdirection of the listening. The interest of harmonic/melodic music is in its pattern across time: the way the line varies, or harmonies change. The interest of polymetric music is in the simultaneous patterns which are established in a single measure. One reads Western music, on the page, from left to right. If polymetric music is notated, one must read it horizontally in order to perceive its complexity. This is not to say that it doesn't change over time. In fact, the breaks in rhythmic structure, the ruptures in the pattern, are the points at which the full complexity of the original pattern becomes evident. But the break precisely points out all that was inherent or potential in the texture before the tear.

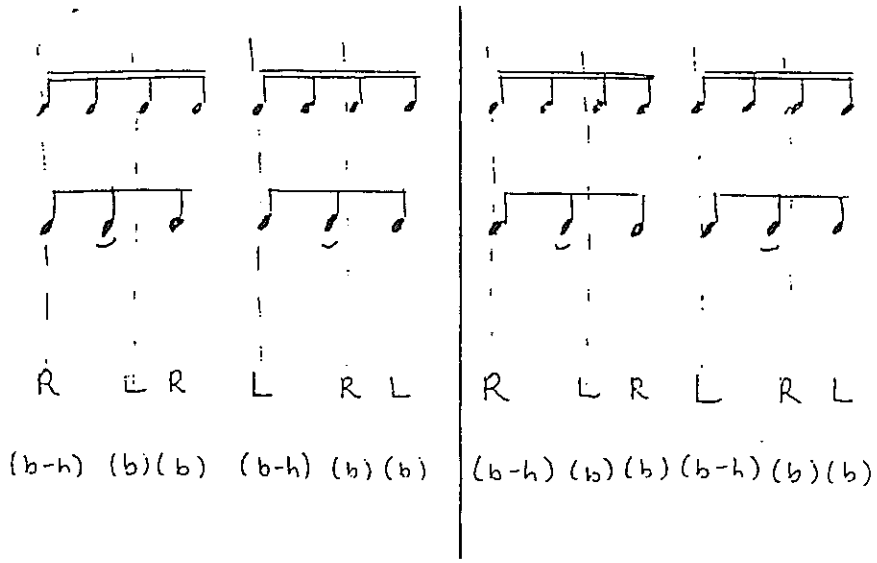
Western musical notation is by no means adequate for inscribing polymeters. Samba cannot be convincingly programmed into a computerized drum machine, as it contains rhythms bent so slightly that their variation can't be broken down even into sixty-fourths. But an inaccurate inscription is perhaps the only way to represent here the exigencies of reading the rhythm synchronically - up and down. The basic texture of samba requires that these patterns be in place:



These two bars represent the basic phrase. In the first, two strong beats are established. In the second, these beats are suspended in the *clave* part, the final line in this notation. Clave is Spanish for key, and it is the term generally used to refer to the rhythmic pattern which is fundamental to any polymeter. In a sense it is analogous to the European notion of a *clef* or key which organizes harmonic relations. The clave is a regular irregularity. For those unfamiliar with polymeters, it is generally the part most difficult to make heads or tails of. It appears arbitrary, seems to come in and out of rhythm. In order to play it, one must let go of the down-beat. The clave in its capriciousness assumes a quality which seems melodic. It is, effectively, the *song* of any polymeter. And it is the key, in the sense that it opens all the other patterms which

might otherwise appear locked. The clave of the samba breaks the count of one-x-two-x-one-x-two into one-two-xx-one-two-three-xx. That three-count brings into relief the tighter, rapid triplets of the second line of the notation. These are not, in fact, true triplets, as one beat is slightly weighted - generally, the second of each set. This is the bending of rhythm to which I referred. The bottom-heavy center triplet sets the strong beat off balance - an imbalance recomplicated by the clave's trip-step.

The basic samba step appears to articulate the triplets. It requires levity, speed, and dexterity, and accuracy, but not in the sense of hitting the rhythm on the mark. It must locate itself *between* rhythms. The dance is on a three-count - right-left-right/left-right-left - but it also weights one count, either the first *or* the second triplet. It may accentuate or contradict the weighting of the triplets in the music. As one triplet is heavier, the step slides toward the first line of rapid eighth-notes. The stronger step gives almost two eighths to itself, and hints at that doubleness by, in an instant, shifting the weight from the ball of the foot to the heel: a double articulation or flexing at the joint. The step is *between* a triplet set and four eighth-notes. The relation between the feet and the rhythm might be approximately notated as:



On each step marked b-h (ball-heel), the weight of the body is pitched slightly forward, while the next two steps (ball-ball) are a mere lifting up and back in preparation for the next pitch forward. The dance that I have inscribed here is a simple version in which the pitching-forward occurs on the initial beat. A funkier version of the step would pitch forward rather on the second beat of each set of triplets. That is a recomplication of the rhythm which most Western students find somewhat more difficult, although it is merely a resituation of the same step within the rhythmic structure - another dislocation of the down-beat.

If you are reading this in an attempt to learn the dance, this is the moment at which you will shake your head in exasperation. It will only make things worse if I tell you that while this is happening, the hips - particularly if

you are a woman - must lag slightly behind the feet such that their triplet, while it follows the same right-left-right pattern, will accentuate or weight a beat slightly after that of the feet, while your shoulders (strange quietude over this cacophony) will simply roll on the one and two of the third line of my original notation. I have taught Brazilian dance for years, and if ever I had prefaced a class with this description I would have lost even the most agile of my students. Western students of polymetric music and dance often request that the rhythms be broken down, but a complete break-down results in just that - the rhythm breaks down. Our frequent admonition - stop thinking and dance - isn't to say that the motion is unthinkable. It's to say that the body is capable of understanding more things at once than can be articulated in language. One has no choice but to *think with the body*.

The dancer may be able to accommodate more simultaneous rhythms than the individual musicians in a samba ensemble. Robert Ferris Thompson coined the phrase "apart-playing" to describe the way in which the individual musicians work together to create a polymeter.[5] Each player concentrates on his part (I use the masculine pronoun here as it most realistically represents the gender of the players in most Brazilian percussive groups), and the separate lines of thought coincide at the beginning of each phrase. But the *meaning* of these separate lines only becomes apparent when they come together. The dancer may make reference to all of them with different parts of her body.

This is a synthetic quality of Pan African dance generally. John Miller Chernoff has noted that African drummers say they *understand* a polymeter by knowing how to dance it: "In African music, it is the listener or dancer who has to supply the beat: the listener must be *actively engaged* in making sense of the music."[6] When one watches a sambista dance, one is watching a gesture of making significance.

I said that samba is layered over a 2/4 structure. In the notation, that fundamental beat can be read in the third line. In the instrumentation of a modern samba band, the fundamental 2/4 beat is played by an instrument called the *surdo*. The surdo is an enormous bass drum which is strapped over the shoulder. Surdo means deaf in Portuguese. It can be understood as referring to the effect of the deep pounding on the player or the listener. But it might also be understood as the quality of sound produced by the drum. The surdo is so extremely deep in tone, so very bass, that its effect is like a negative utterance. It seems in a sense to erase or negate that moment in sound. Samba as a rhythm not only suspends its down-beat through the clave, but even in its stressing of that beat it blacks it out. The accompanying dance can fill the gap with a strong step, or can reinforce its dislocation with another kind of suspension. But marking the absense of the down-beat is another way of indicating it. However the samba is danced, *it is the suspension or silencing of a beat which provokes movement*.

The same can be said of samba historically. Samba is a dance that generally attracts attention for its frenetic exuberance. It is regarded as a secular form, neither religious nor overtly political. It is also known as the "Brazilian national dance," and has contributed to a world image of that country as one of exaggerated elation, in which joyous movement is considered meaningful in and of itself. But samba means more than this. And if its steps can only be called forth by syncopation, its deeper meanings can only be evoked by another kind of suppression, which is racial, cultural and political. Those who would promote samba as a purely aesthetic form, the "Brazilian national dance" in its most harmless sense, are also those who have long promoted the fiction of a "Brazilian racial democracy" - a fiction which began to be inscribed with the destruction of the documents of slavery. This is another form of negative articulation, an erasure of a historical moment which in fact brings that moment into relief. This fiction has silenced a history of cultural and political repression of blacks and indigenous peoples. Samba speaks that history.

I said that samba narrates racial contact synchronically, not across time like most fictions or histories. But there is a fiction sometimes used to explain the history of samba - "a historia do negro e da índia," the story of the black man and the "Indian" woman. (*I use here and elsewhere the term "Indian," as opposed to indigenous Brazilian, to refer not to a literal and culturally*

significant people, but rather to the highly figurative image constructed by colonists and appropriated and ironized by the blacks in Brazil, as will be discussed below.) The story goes that in the early days of colonization, an escaped black slave encountered a *cabocla* - an Indian woman - in the bush. As both were sick and tired of life among the Portuguese, they chose to set up housekeeping there in the wild, and their children began a mestiço race. The only difficulty was the parents' inability to communicate in each other's language, so their arguments took place in stomps, shakes and shudders: the samba. The word (of uncertain origin) *zamba* means a mestiço child, offspring of an African father and an indigenous mother. But few ethnologists suppose that this is the real source of the term samba as it refers to a particular rhythm and style of dance. This narrative of the birth of samba is obviously fictional, but it serves precisely to illustrate to what degree the encounter between Africans and indigenous Brazilians has had to be fictionalized by white society in order to diminish its political potential. The identification of the two races in their resistance against whites was and is threatening. The reduction of the encounter to a benign love story culminating in samba is a manner of defusing the threat. But ironically, it is samba which tells the story left silent in the fictional version.

If "zamba" is not the source of the term, what is? I will begin with one of the less popular hypotheses. Baptista Siqueira notes that in the 17th century, Jesuit

missionaries recorded the term "sambâ" among the Cariri people of Brazil in reference to a kind of wild tortoise which was a delicacy served at festive gatherings. The meaning of the word later expanded to signify the physical space of communal festivities. Siqueira cites a journalistic account from the turn of the century that seems to incorporate the Cariri in a fictional construct that resembles the story we've already heard:

> the dance is a function of dances: the samba is a mixture of the *jongo* of the African percussive ensembles, of the Sugarcane dance of the Portuguese and of the *poracé* of the Indians. The three races are melded in the samba, as in a crucible. The *samba* is the *apoplexy* of the court, it is the pyrrhic victory of the bedroom. In it, the heavy sovereign conquers the light *mameluca* [a woman of mixed African and indigenous race]. In it are absorbed the hatreds of color. The *samba* is - if you will permit me the expression - a kind of pot, into which enter, separately, dark coffee and pale milk, and out of which is poured, homogeneous and harmonic, the hybrid *café-com-leite*: coffee with milk.[7]

The *india* of the story is here replaced by the *mameluca*, the *zamba* with *café-com-leite*. The proliferation in Brazil of terms for highly specified kinds of racial mixing is truly mind-boggling. I don't know exactly how many designations exist, but certainly dozens are in popular use. It is of no

surprise that in the ficional constructions it is the woman who is figured as source or product of miscegenation. For obvious historical reasons, it is more accurate to suggest that it was the mameluca who absorbed Portugese, *male* whiteness, even if it is figured as milk. In fact, early European writings frequently figured the conquest of Brazil as a maternal process: Europe giving suck to the "savages," offering up sweet Christian Humanism - the milk of human kindness. Of course colonization is never that gentle. And the milk proffered by the Portuguese to both African and indigenous women was what's called in Brazil *leite de mocó*: semen. It is doubtful whether racial *hatred* was absorbed in quite the "homogeneous and harmonic" way described here. The erotic undertones of this story, however, point to the way in which racial difference has been romanticized in Brazil. It is particularly the woman of mixed race who figurally absorbs the fear of racial resistance in her sexual conquerability.

This mameluca, like the cabocla of the earlier story, is of course fictional. And yet there has been a fascinating appropriation of the "Indian" as a figure within black cultural expressions in Brazil. This is not to say that there has not been literal indigenous influence on black music and dance forms. In fact, it is difficult to separate this from the figurative influence. Siqueira's thesis is of interest because he attempts to ground the figurative cabocla in a literal historical account - based on etymology - which would reaffirm an indigenous cultural

presence in popular forms. Certainly samba as it is danced in interior regions of the northeast of Brazil, where many people are of indigenous descent, resembles closely the descriptions we have of 17th century indigenous dances. The posture is more stooped toward the ground, and the feet shuffle in a minute pattern, more earth-bound than the springy coastal forms.

Most Brazilian folklorists derive the word samba not from the Cariri, but from an African source. The Ki-Kongo word "semba" is translated in Portuguese as "umbigada," meaning "a blow struck with the belly-button." In the earliest documented forms of the dance in Brazil, this gesture was used by the dancer in the center of a circle of spectators to call the next dancer to take a turn. Edison Carneiro argues that it is this gesture which unifies almost all variations on the samba in Brazil.[8] The same gesture was also recorded by the Portugese among Angolans in Africa during the period of slavery. The dominant school of Brazilian ethnologists, since the work of Arthur Ramos and Carneiro, is profoundly Africanist, and has tended to obscure indigenous influences on the culture. Hence, in the literature on samba, Siqueira's thesis sticks out like a sore thumb.

Based on similarities to rhythms and dances recorded in Angola, it is probably fair to say that samba is essentially a Kongo rhythm and expression. But it has certainly absorbed other cultural influences. It has also absorbed the eroticization of miscegenation. And while samba

is even popularly regarded as essentially African, the women who dance it professionally - in the carnaval or in tourist shows - are all called *mulatas*, regardless of their color. I myself am white and blue-eyed, and I have danced with shining jet black women, but in the context of our dancing samba we were all mulatas. When I have danced particularly well, I have always been told that this is evidence of some black blood. This is not a literal misapprehension of my race. It is a statement of belief that the meaningfulness of race is culture, and that a commitment to culture can result in an accrual of racial spiritual energy. Mulatto is a term which has in this country recently become regarded as not merely a racial but a racist designation. Opposition to the word is based on its etymology: from Spanish *mulato*, *mulo*, from Latin *mulus*, mule. The mule is a freak of nature, mismatched hybrid, useful for labor but unable to sustain itself as a line. The mule is incapable of reproducing. The mulata of the samba is eroticized, of course - but does she really embody the ideals of racial miscegenation in Brazil? Or is she perceived as that which does not produce or reproduce its own color, but absorbs the European *leite de mocó* in a sensuality which allows for not only progressive whitening, but also a dissolution of the potential for racial anger? This may be the underlying perception or desire in white depictions of samba. But popular samba perceives - and constantly reaffirms and *reproduces* - its color.

Traditional African religions as they are practiced in Brazil go by a number of names. In Bahia, where the communities of worship of West African gods are most pervasive, the religion is known as *candomblé*. Candomblé's beliefs and practices are derived from those of the Yoruba people of southwestern Nigeria. It is an ancient, complex and powerfully beautiful belief system in which spirituality is expressed through sophisticated rhythmic structures, and divinity makes itself present in the bodies of dancers. This is what is commonly referred to as "possessional dance," but I am disinclined to use the term because of its connotations of violence or violation. The dancer in the candomblé studies for an extended period of time in order to be able to open her body to the divinity which will serve and be served by her community.

The houses of candomblé which appear to have remained closest to Yoruba tradition are said to be of the kêto or nagô "nation." The word "nation" was used during the period of the slave trade to identify not the land of origin of Africans arriving in Brazil, but rather the port out of which they had been shipped. The "nations" were in effect trade names. But the Africans in Brazil reclaimed the terms as a way of identifying cultural affinities. Blacks in Brazil today can often specify the nation of their great-grandparents. Differences in candomblé practice are marked by nation, although the members of the houses may be descended from other areas of Africa. While relatively small

in number, the kêto and nagô houses are highly regarded in the religious community at large, and have certainly been favored by the Africanist ethnographic community of which I have written. Far more common, however, are houses of the Angola nation, or of the "candomblé de caboclo." The pantheon of these houses is still based on that of the Yoruba gods, or *orixás*. But in these houses the figure of the "Indian" has been imbued with both spiritual and political significance. Here, the caboclo enters the canon as a figure mediating between the divine and the temporal. The caboclo spirit is, in the words of the folklorist Raul Lody, "the free hunter, true prototype of him who would not allow himself to be enslaved."[9] In other words, the caboclo is an idealized image of the resistant black.

A corresponding phenomenon in the United States is that of the black Indians of the New Orleans Mardi Gras. It is sometimes perceived that, while some actual racial mixing took place between African and native Americans in the South, this has been exaggerated in black folklore and popular culture. Zora Neale Hurston wrote, with tongue firmly in cheek, "I

"[10] Zora's comment suggests that an African American claim of "Indianness" is based on a desire to assume a lighter color. But racial identification with indigenous peoples might be read as a much stronger political affiliation - one which comprehends not only color, but a history of cultural and political repression as well. This is an identification with both

literal, historical indigenous people and with the mythic *type* of the Indian. In Brazil, a person's caboclo or Indian aspect is a quality which may come not from blood inheritance, but from commitment to the ideal of freedom. My own Indian protector spirits have been identified at moments of my most energetic and muscular dancing, or at times (often the same ones) where I evidenced a furious protectiveness of my own sexual independance.

I cannot give a historical explanation for it, but here is a generalization, perhaps rash and simplistic but which I have found, nonetheless, to hold true: elements of New World culture which are derived from Kongo practices share a marked affinity for indigenous influence. The dances of the candomblé, as I said, come from a Yoruba tradition - even those designated of the Angola nation. Samba appears to have been derived from Kongo-Angolan moves. And yet there are certain similarities, the most striking being the circle formation of participants in the dances. In the candomblé, the circle of dancers moves counter-clockwise, until one or several receive a divine spirit. At that moment, the entity, held no longer to be a mere dancer but an incorporation of divine energy, moves to the center of the circle, which is called a *roda*, or wheel. Each god presents a particular choreography, obliquely mimetic of a divine principle. Yemanjá, goddess of the sea, undulates, and her shoulders are tremulous as the sea's surface.

In the *samba de roda*, the most traditional form of the dance as it is danced in Bahia, the circle does not

rotate, but the participants stand, clap, and take turns going to the center. This is a separate tradition from the roda of the candomblé. It is only in the candomblé de caboclo that samba is considered an integral part of the candomblé ceremony. When the caboclo spirit comes down, he sambas. The roda is fixed. Ethnographers have been uncomfortable in classifying the *samba de caboclo* with other candomblé dances. This may be because of the purist, Africanist tendencies in the Brazilian ethnographic community which I mentioned above. But even within the religious community, the very use of the term samba to designate the caboclo spirit's dance seems to be a way of blurring the distinction between the divine and the profane. Defenders of the candomblé de caboclo have argued that the term samba de caboclo is a reductive or even derogatory classification. The caboclo, however, is precisely intent on breaking down barriers, releasing strictures such as those between the sacred and the secular.

In the candomblés which do not entertain the caboclo, samba can also occur, but only after a ceremony has ended. The secular drumming and dancing are an afterthought, and they may be encouraged as a way of redeeming an evening in which the divine turn-out has been disappointing. The songs of the candomblé ceremonies are sung in Yoruba, but the samba, including samba de caboclo, is almost always sung in Portugese. Samba within the candomblé community is marked by what is called *sotaque*, or accent, as in a foreign or regional accent. What this means is that the lyrics to the

songs pun on certain terms used in the candomblé. Bawdy jokes are made, which are only intelligible to those initiated into the community. The puns play on Yoruba. The ethnographer Maria Teixeira recorded one such song, a samba which plays on the word *efó*, a dish of cooked greens with palm oil served during many candomble rituals - and a favorite of the caboclo:

Eu fui comer um efó	I went to eat efo
Na casa de Pai Dendé	In the house of Father Dende
O efó saiu mal feito	The efo was badly made
Eu quero efó, dê no que der	I want efo, come what may *(I want to fuck what I can)*
Mamae quando fó dê	Mama, when you go, give *(Mama, when you fuck)*
Lembranças a quem fó dê la	My regards to those you meet *(My regards to those who fuck)*

[11]

Recombining the Yoruba and Portuguese syllables turns efó into *foder*: to fuck. This kind of mixing of the sacred and profane may seem surprising. But the puns can only be *merely* profane to those who are outside of candomble's body of knowledge. So even though the samba is an entrance of the profane into a sacred space, it serves to reaffirm the cohesion of the "povo de santo": the people of the saints, or orixas.

Samba in this context can also pun visually on the candomblé dances. While the dance is considered secular, it

may encode references to divine choreographies. In this way, the *roda de samba* serves a complementary purpose to that of the *roda de santo*, or the circle formation of the candomblé. The roda here is an inclusionary (or exclusionary) boundary. So that while there is a seeming boundary between the candomblé and the samba, the latter form reinforces the boundary of the African religious community. Teixeira argues that this does not debase the notion of a divine circle, but rather raises the human body and its motion to a sacred ground. The roda de samba is the space in which the individual body and *its* intelligence mediate between spheres:

> The center of the Roda de Santo, through *axé*, relives the mythic drama of the Orixás; it is the divinities that assume the stage with all their refinement, potency and decorum. In the Roda de Samba, it is the cult of the body which assumes relevance.[12]

Axé is Yoruba for pure potentiality, divine energy, or, in the translation of Robert F. Thompson which has always struck me as the most accurate, the power to make things happen. When Teixeira says that axe allows divine entities to take the stage - and the bodies of the dancers - of the candomble, she means that it is the presence of the orixas that brings significance to the dance. But in the roda de samba, the *human body* assumes a heightened level of significance.

Axé is not restricted to the context of the candomblé. The power to make things happen can exist within a secular rhythm. It is not any samba which provokes motion in the irresistable way I described above. A certain degree of potentiality is required. When one is dancing, the parts of the body respond to the various instruments and patterns being played. And the parts of the body respond when a given musician begins to play with particular axé - which is not by any means to be confused with volume.

I spoke above of the roda as an inclusive or exclusive boundary and nowhere in Brazilian dance is this more powerfully represented than in the *roda de capoeira*. Capoeira is another Kongo-derived tradition, a fighting game performed to percussive music. The moves are fluid, elegant, and potentially devastating if used for effect. Blacks in Brazil trained capoeira for defense of the quilombos - communities composed of excaped slaves - and its practice was prohibited by white authorities. But the roda was a protective circle for the training capoeiristas. The changing rhythm of the musicians served as a warning to fighters, and if an overseer approached the moves were modified to appear to be "merely" a samba. Even within the game of capoeira, dance serves as a disguise. The two players at the center of the roda sway back and forth rhythmically in a step called the *ginga*, and it is only out of that seemingly imbalanced and unprotected attitude that capoeira's kicks and sweeps can be deployed.

As Muniz Sodré has observed,[13] one of the oldest and most popular capoeira songs is an ironic twisting of the sentiments of whites in Brazil during the slavery period. The song simply repeats the phrase "cala a boca, moleque" - "shut your mouth, black boy." The words are provocative, and if I say they echo the old white attitudes, I might also suggest they articulate a contemporary sentiment - in a slightly more complicated sense. I say complicated, because the overt sentiment expressed by white Brazilian society today is not only tolerance of but affection for the musicality of black culture. But the unstated message given by whites is still "cala a boca moleque - e vá sambar." Shut up and dance. The provocation of the capoeira song, though, is a directive much more dangerous: If you can't speak the truth with your mouth, speak it with your feet - not in a patter of meaningless, endlessly expendable energy, but in a precisely aimed *benção,* or blessing, a kick which plants the sole of the foot on the chest of one's opponent. A blessing is a benediction, good talk, the appropriate response. Franz Fanon wrote that this is the language of the politicization of the oppressed: "He of whom *they* have never stopped saying that the only language he understands is that of force, decides to give *utterance by force.*"[14] Capoeira has always been a language of black resistance.

Both the candomblé and capoeira were aggressively suppressed by white authorities until fairly recently, when

the participation of middle-class whites became impossible to ignore. The tourist industry also saw the potential exotic appeal. Now there is even official sanctioning and financial support - under particular and controled circumstances. But even during the period of prohibition, both candomble dance and capoeira were sustained in the roda de samba, through gestural and rhythmic reference: sotaque. In the layered rhythms of samba, the strong accent which is suspended is the silencing of other forms.

That gap is filled by direct incorporation of candomble and capoeira moves. The percussionists may even make reference to the rhythms and songs of these forms. In the midst of a samba, the *agôgô* bell may begin to play the clave of the orixá Xangó's rhythm, or the *atabaque* drummer may start to slap out a capoeira beat. But more likely the reference will be subtle. In the body of the dancer, it may be multiple. The feet shift rapidly in the pattern of the dance of the caboclo-identified bush divinity, Oxôssi. The hips flash the fire of the storm goddess Iansã, and the shoulders shimmer like the surface of Yemanjá's waters. The whole of the dance is seemingly set off balance in the deceptive sway of capoeira's ginga, but it hides a potential blow. Or the blow can actualize itself: mid-samba one can sweep the feet out from under one's partner in a move taken straight from capoeira. This is known as *samba duro*: hard samba.

How does one narrate the interrelation of the dances? One could construct another story, set perhaps on a

sugarcane plantation in Bahia, where, hidden, the Yoruba formed their circles of divinity, and the Kongo formed their circles of political anger. And the circles became one circle and the rhythms overlapped, and the sacred slapped its belly against the profane and samba was born. But it didn't happen like that. African and indigenous communities were dispersed. Their histories were ruptured. Their own narrative structures were shattered. The culture which grows out of violence maintains its echoes of historical and rhythmic disjunction. The rodas of candomblé, capoeira and samba can't be straightened out into a linear account. Samba is as much a fragmentation of a holy black body as it is a healing of spiritual and political wounds.

But the rhythm is gorgeous. The body is gorgeous. It tells the story I can't tell here - one which is aesthetic, spiritual and political. What happened next? The dancing body itself was dispersed. Some stayed in Bahia, and they still dance in a roda, swathed in the huge white skirts of the candomblé ceremonies. Some went to Rio, where they institutionalized the *escolas de samba*, carnaval samba schools where today white t.v. soap opera stars parade topless on floats, meagerly twitching their bottoms in a weak imitation of the real thing. Some refused to ride, or would have, had they been invited: they remained on the asphalt, scraping ever-new inventiveness out of their silver shoes. It is as impossible to say which is more "authentic" - samba in Rio or Bahia - as it is to make sense of a simple

historical account of how it got there. The Rio sambista in silver shoes, in all likelihood black despite her "mulata" classification, may dance consumed with axé.

I believe I only came to understand the significance of the body in time when I learned to samba. Of course as a white I have been suspect, and it was perhaps partly my tenacity in the face of this suspicion that made me understand resistance in the dance. I have been challenged. Once it happened in a house of candomble in Bahia. The caboclo arrived and spun about furiously, then stopped abruptly and pointed at my feet. I was pushed into the roda, and I danced as if to save my life. I was fully aware that the caboclo was not so much interested in the speed of my feet as in my commitment to saying something meaningful with them. The exigency of the caboclo is the weight I feel in my bones and muscles each time I attempt to write, in words, about the significance of resistant culture.

Once the challenge happened on a little *praça* or plaza off the beach in the Flamengo section of Rio. Some members of the famous Mangueira samba school were jamming and swilling beer. A seasoned mulata, fifty-ish, short, stocky and tanked to the gills, was decked out in the school colors: hot pink visor and t-shirt, lime-green eye shadow, hot pants and plastic shoes. She eyed me over and put me to work: I did a respectable little solo, ending with a subdued swivel and then shiver in the hips. She took her turn: a

lengthy, hilarious trip-step in no rush at all, ending with pure glory. She glanced at me, licked her finger-tips, and held them, wet, milimeters from the V of her hot pants as she took a deep, luxuriating grind down to the ground. She busted my chops.

For all of the anxiety which samba's eroticism causes some American women and politically sensitive men, I have found its *auto*erotic potential to be extraordinarily liberating. In a culture in which racism and sexism are articulated in each other's terms, it was perhaps my sex that allowed me a certain degree of bodily comprehension of color - what was called an accrual of black blood, or Indian protector spirits. Samba, like capoeira, does not employ full frontal blows. Part of its strength is seduction - even apparent vulnerability. But the female sambista must assume her sexuality - not as the coffee pot, receptacle of some wan *leite de mocó*, but as Iansã's self-sufficient whirlwind of the hips. She takes a man if she wants one! It would be highly idealistic - and wrong - to suggest that this is the reality of a Brazilian underclass woman. But it is an ideal expressed by her in the samba.

She can be funny, terrifying, painfully beautiful - but above all she must be eloquent. She is committed to saying something that has not been and cannot be spoken. Wherever she is, whatever color she is, her feet have to speak, and they have to speak not only of beauty, but of her own belief and resistance.

DANCING THEIR STORIES:
An Experience with a Hispanic Community

Alma Concepción

On the East Coast of the United States, and as a result of new waves of migration, industrialization and urbanization, there are entirely new Hispanic communities. This paper is an inquiry into the meaning of dance for the maintenance of group identity and cohesiveness, as well as a means for creative activity. I propose to explore these issues by reflecting on my own experience with a Workshop involving children and dance in the Puerto Rican community of Trenton, New Jersey, during the 1980s. My intention is to show how the meaning of dance is shaped and reshaped by its particular historical contexts, and to provide a critical and empirical analysis of dance, ethnicity, and social class in a Hispanic community. A dance heritage is often studied by looking at archival sources from the past. But it might also be illuminating to take a look at the present, and to explore the meaning and forms of dance in a particular setting, to consider the ways in which a legacy exists and is transformed by a very specific community, and how the cultural past sustains the present, while allowing for change. Confining myself to the Workshop experience, I shall provide a brief description of Hispanic immigrants, in order to establish a pertinent context for telling the "history" of what happened in Trenton.

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The growth of the population of Hispanic origin is one of the most dramatic demographic events in the United States during the 1970s. A very high proportion of Hispanics reside in urban areas: of Mexican origin in the Southwest, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in New York and New Jersey, Cubans in South Florida. A great number of Central Americans continue to settle in the Eastern states. Tremendous cultural diversity distinguishes Hispanic ethnic groups one from another and conditions as well their ways of struggling and adapting to life in the United States. [1]

Migration of Puerto Ricans differs from all others in some important aspects. The Island has been a United States possession for almost a century and, since 1917, Puerto Ricans have been United States citizens. However, despite this common citizenship, Puerto Rican culture is quite different from that prevailing in this country. We will be examining some of those cultural differences.

Alma Concepción DANCING THEIR STORIES

Trenton, the capital of New Jersey, is known to be one of the most economically depressed cities in the United States. At 5 p.m., when government employees return to their suburban homes, Trenton remains a ghetto-city, the inversion of the "American dream." Subdivided racially and economically, downtown Trenton is home to Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans who share its largely deserted streets. There, children have little or no opportunity to learn and express themselves. Furthermore, it is well known that the Hispanic population in New Jersey is younger and lives in more difficult circumstances than other ethnic groups: far from getting better, conditions seem only to worsen. For Puerto Rican children hardships also entail dealing with dualities and conflicts arising from their bi-cultural experience.[2]

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I was aware of some of these conditions the first day I went to Trenton, a few years ago. Nevertheless, I also knew that Puerto Ricans come from a rich culture, where music and dance play a central role in the community and in the collective imagination. Music and dance constitute a heritage, which, like religion, offers communicable visions of a shared, integrated whole, and this, despite the seemingly fragmentary character of ghetto life. This legacy, however dormant at any given moment, can be resorted to productively because of its own special resourcefulness. I was visiting the new building just acquired by the Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey, when one of its still-empty rooms seemed to me a wonderful space where children from the community could meet and dance. This almost chance encounter led to the experience I will now recount.

The following week twenty-three smiling children of different ages and racial composition gathered in the new office space. They quickly pushed desks and typewriters to the back of the room and bombarded me with questions: "How are you going to teach us 'how to dance?'" "Are you from India?" All of a sudden, I felt almost a stranger entering into the private sphere of these children. At the same atime I realized that I had the possibility of being an insider, as well as an outsider.

But where to start? Music has always been at the center of Puerto Rican life, and dancing an everyday expression of joy and sorrow, practiced on any pretext in streets, homes and dance-halls. [3] Music and dance have always impressed upon the people important cultural and national links, values and identity: salsa, merengue, seis,

bomba, plena, lie at the very heart of life. It is a music indelibly identified with movement and dance. Puerto Rican music belongs to the Caribbean tradition. In the words of anthropologist Kenneth Bilby, a musical tradition "that is surely one of the richest and most varied in the world."

> The story of Caribbean music is a remarkable one. For this relatively small geographical region, ravaged by centuries of European colonial domination and long looked upon as a region of "colonial backwaters," "deracinated" peoples, and societies that had supposedly produced nothing indigenous of any value, has over and over brought forth unique and vibrant musical creations to which the entire world can dance[4]

In Puerto Rico musical/dance forms of West African tradition coexist with Spanish counterparts most of which have been transformed by the process of creolization. The popular Latin music of New York is rooted in layers of traditions, combining Cuban, Puerto Rican, and other Latin American rhythms which interact with Afro-American jazz, rock and soul.[5] The challenge facing me was to point out some possibilities to these children, while at the same time allowing them to express themselves, without imposing foreign concepts of "artistic" expression.

The very first day a fundamental question arose: What dance form might be chosen that would appeal to a group of children which included both kindergartners and teenagers? After several unsuccessful attempts at 'warming up,' everyone seemed happy exploring space and shaping their bodies at different levels. Later they pretended to be animals, moved to the rhythms of their names and to the Spanish names of vegetables. They liked reacting to different kinds of music, but most of all they preferred to dance or play traditional Puerto Rican games: Matarile, La cebollita, Pase Misín, El patio de mi casa, all Spanish traditional play-songs adapted in the Caribbean. They danced them over and over again.

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Exposing the children to different dance forms was an important goal, so I asked Alicia, a young Puerto Rican dancer, to help me with the younger children. We were able to group them in different workshops: ballet, Spanish, jazz. All of these dance forms are practiced in Puerto Rico,

and I would like briefly to summarize this other important legacy which had in large measure shaped my own experience and understanding of dance. Ballet was introduced to the Island in the early 1940s. In the 50s Ana García, who had studied at the School of American Ballet in New York and danced with Balanchine's **Ballet Society** and with Alicia Alonso in Cuba, returned to Puerto Rico. Together with her sister, Gilda Navarra, she founded **Ballets de San Juan**, a ballet and Spanish dance company. Since then ballet has continued to flourish, and Puerto Rico has schooled some first-rate ballerinas.[6] Spanish dance has always been fascinating for Puerto Ricans. In the 40s and 50s audiences always eagerly awaited the great Spanish dance companies which toured the Island. Many Puerto Ricans, such as Dorita Ortiz, Elena Gandía, Rosa Lugo, and Antonio Machín have made distinguished contributions as dancers in Spain and Puerto Rico. Gilda Navarra, along with a great Puerto Rican dancer, Pedro Lorca, created a Spanish dance repertoire for **Ballets de San Juan**, and inspired many others to study Spanish dance. Navarra, who had danced with Pilar López in Spain, choreographed stylized Spanish works, such as Surinach's **Tientos**, which were early attempts at what later Antonio Gades would perfect in works like **Blood Wedding.** In the United States, Puerto Rican dancers and choreographers have also made very important contributions to ballet, Spanish and modern dance. One of the most significant examples is **Ballet Hispánico**, based in New York City, which has for two decades incorporated in its repertoire Latin and Spanish music and rhythms, as well as maintained a school which serves predominantly Hispanic students.[7]

It was in this spirit that Alicia and I attempted to introduce our Trenton pupils to as many dance forms as possible. At first, this approach did not seem to achieve its goal. The Spanish-dance students had a hard time coordinating arms and head, feet and castanets. In ballet, holding to chairs, which substituted for a barre, smiles turned into discouraged sighs. Only jazz seemed to draw cheers, but we had reserved this workshop for the older students, forcing the younger ones to choose a discipline before experiencing the fun. The influence of TV and mainstream dance fads has had an effect on all children who dance. The Hispanic community is no exception. These forms compete with their own ethnic dances, which are perceived as something of the past. It has been thirty years since **West Side Story**, which revealed what a great choreographer could accomplish with Latin pop. There has not been, in my opinion, another production of similar greatness, which could compete with commercial TV shows, and could direct

people's energy and creativity to respond to their most authentic artistic interests. Another question was how to let children take an active role in a classroom that would not resemble the ones they knew in school, how to keep a relaxed atmosphere where they could discover other forms of movement within the boundaries of the discipline that dance requires.

Preparations for a demonstration for parents and community friends were underway. Students were "performing" what they had learned. They rehearsed their class exercises, their castanet routines, and a Puerto Rican dance. Something seemed to be lacking; then, suddenly, one of them said: "Could we do a story?" "Yes, please," everybody shouted. "Only if you make up the story yourselves," I replied.

And so they did. It was about the adventures of a girl like themselves. Everyone had wonderful ideas: shaping their bodies to those ideas brought new possibilities and great joy. Choosing who would dance the various characters came naturally, as they themselves created the story. "What about the costumes?" said someone. "Oh, we'll do them ourselves, with paper bags and paints," was somebody else's idea. And that is how they did it.

The third year the children chose to do a story which was sung in Spanish. It was about a little seed that could not grow because "she"[8] was trapped between two rocks; but with the help of many others she grew into a beautiful sunflower. While rehearsing one day, an unexpected development took place. One of the mothers came to the room and said: "I must tell you that we, the parents of the children, have gotten together, and decided we too want to be part of the group. So we voted, and I'm President."

The children no longer were the only "actors" of this program. The involvement of the parents, and I wish to underline this, increased and they became the motor of the Workshop. During the first two years of the program the parents, mostly the women, had cautiously watched. A strong base of trust had to be established before they began spontaneously to organize and actively participate in the "administration" of the group. Their first step was to impose a symbolic charge for the classes. At the beginning it was twenty-five cents, for they argued if people did not have to pay they did not take their commitment seriously. A group of mothers decided to buy leotards, and make skirts and simple props for the presentations. Men too were involved: one of the fathers suggested that ballet barres

would be necessary for the classes and demonstrations. So he went to the Community College's dance studio to see how the barres were put together, and made three portable barres for the workshop. Another father found a new, larger space in the local church more adequate for dancing.

Eventually, the parents realized their organization needed more structure. Their committee expanded to include a treasurer; it was amazing to watch the committee develop. It was the result of the parents' participation, especially the women, trying to "get ahead," as Albert Hirshchman might put it, "collectively." Perhaps the most beautiful transformation was that of one of the mothers who seemed at first extremely shy, and who was silent practically for an entire year. Suddenly, she revealed herself as an extremely capable stage director, knowing the dance and music cues, where the costumes should be kept, why a box was better than a bag, who was supposed to stand behind whom in line. She bought a notebook and pencil and jotted down everyone's duty, making herself indispensable.

The story about the Sunflower ("El Girasol") was performed for the next class demonstration. "El Girasol" was a story of friendship and care, and a member of the community who went to the presentation, saw in the dance a message of community solidarity, a symbolic meaning. Eventually the group was invited to present the dance-story in day-care centers around the area as part of a program against child abuse. The children created a new story, this time specifically addressing the issue of child abuse. It was set the day before Three Kings Day, danced to Spanish children's songs, including Puerto Rican aguinaldos, and one member of the group entitled the dance-story La esperanza (Hope). For the children the trips proved to be an opportunity to realize that their work was truly appreciated and that they could share it with many others. They were able to do their stories in Trenton, Perthamboy, and the Museo del Barrio in New York. After each presentation a dialogue with the audience enabled the participants to share their reaction and ideas.

Preparing for these trips gave the older students the opportunity to assume responsibility in rehearsing the younger ones. They became role models. In June, the group was scheduled to perform in Elizabeth. An emergency forced me to leave the country the night before. I called the oldest student in the group, who had been in charge of rehearsals. She said: "We can do it ourselves. I'll take your place". And so she did. The group performed flawlessly, I was told. Motivation was the strongest

influence that led these five to fifteen-year-old children to assume full responsibility for the meaning they had found through dance.

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The experience with the Puerto Rican community was a process of discovery and change. Other dance-stories continued to be created collectively; the women had found a space: above all dance encouraged them to forge a network, not only of ideas, but of relationships. The key aspect revealed to us in this experience, certainly to me, how the Workshop became an important tool for analyzing dance as a social practice, and for reflecting on its origins, value and significance. Dance seemed to be the perfect means for self-discovery and communication, for learning and teaching together. It was accepted by the community, not so much in the traditional sense, but more as a vehicle for expressing important issues, for discovery and respect. And in the process, they felt free to reshape the form and the meaning of dance, not only by preserving them, but by inventing and appropriating new ones. Most valuable of all, it was meaningful in the face of the loss of more traditional social structures and in the maintenance of their identity and heritage. Finally, the experience pointed to the important -- and often neglected -- task of re-searching and placing in perspective the rich musical and dancing history of the Hispanic cultures.

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1. See Sociocultural and Services Issues in Working with Hispanic American Clients. Rockefeller College Press, New York, 1985._

2. Costantino, Giuseppe. Cuento Therapy: Folktales as a Culturally Sensitive Psychotherapy for Puerto Rican children. Waterfront Press, Maplewood, NJ, 1985.

3. Stan Steiner has an interesting account of how the Puerto Rican children danced in the middle of the New York blackout in 1965. See Islands: the world of the Puerto Ricans. Harper and Row, New York, 1974, P. 279-281.

4. Bilby, Kenneth, M. "The Caribbean as a Musical Region". In Mintz, Sidney W. and Price, S., eds., Caribbean Contours, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1985., p. 182; 215.

5. For an all embracing overview of salsa, and the most significant musical forms in the Caribbean, as well as their development and transformation in New York, see Rondón, César Miguel, El libro de la salsa: crónica de la música del Caribe urbano. Editorial Arte, Caracas, Venezuela, 1980. For a survey of traditional Puerto Rican music see: López Cruz, Franciso, La música folklórica de Puerto Rico, Troutman Press, Sharon, Connecticut, 1967.

6. Sylvia Marichal was soloist and is presently ballet mistress with the Ballet de Cuba; Hilda Morales was soloist with the Pennsylvania Ballet and with the American Ballet; Vanessa Ortiz was solosit with Ballet del Nuevo Mundo (Venezuela), principal dancer with various ballet companies in Europe and presently principal dancer with Ballets de San Juan; Maritere del Real was principal dancer with Ballets de San Juan and with the Pittsburgh Ballet, and María Julia Landa is principal dancer with Ballet Concierto (San Juan).

7. The terms Latin, Spanish, and Hispanic have different meanings depending on the context in which they are used. Usually Latin music refers to **salsa** and other rhythms, predominantly those composed in the U.S., by musicians from Cuba, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Venezuela, and other Caribbean countries. It may also refer to Latin American music in general, although it generally means African-rooted rhythms. Spanish music is used to refer to the music of Spain, although sometimes it may also include Latin American music of Spanish origin. The term Hispanic refers to the

population of Hispanic origin which resides in the United States.

8. Semilla, 'seed', is feminine in Spanish.

LA ONDA PRÓXIMA:
NUEVO LATINO DANCE

Sally Banes

Recent scholarship in multiculturalism and issues about alternative canons and cultural authority have raised questions not only about how national, racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual identities are produced, but also about how the histories of peoples and cultural systems are written. Dance is usually overlooked as a site where cultural experience and knowledge is produced. Nevertheless, there are many instances, especially during the present period, of dances that are distinctly meant to critique the discourse as well as the ideological assumptions of the culture in general and of choreographic practice in particular with respect to these issues of political identity.

Among the most vital of the current challenges to the dance canon are works by postmodern choreographers that focus on the politically conscious articulation of difference in regard to "race," class, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality.

To be sure, some issues of political identity have been and continue to be explored and celebrated in dance, by such groups as the Alvin Ailey Dance Theater, Dance Theater of Harlem, and Ballet Hispanico. But in the 1980s for the first time various groups of young choreographers have identified themselves as bicultural in a specifically avant-garde mode: black and postmodern; gay and postmodern; Latino and postmodern. Their work is equally informed by their postmodern dance heritage and their political identities. That is, they see their affiliation with political groups as a radical engagement that impinges on and disrupts their artform's discursive practices.

The present paper on the work of several Latino choreographers in New York is part of a larger project of documenting and analyzing the articulation of gender identity, the recognition of sexual preference, and the affirmation of ethnic identity on the part of contemporary choreographers. As we will see, in Latino postmodern dance at times these themes are interwoven.

The group of Latino choreographers I am concerned with here emerged on the New York scene in the 80s and 90s. Their dances have been presented in "downtown" venues in New York like Dance Theater Workshop, P.S. 122, Movement Research, and P.S. 1. Their work has also been produced in festivals celebrating new Latino dance, film, and performance art--such as La Misma Onda, Tour de Fuerza, and ¡Muevete!.

A number of issues arise in analyzing this work: the stance of the choreographer in terms of group identity and history; how notions of ethnicity are constructed in the representational practices of the dance; what devices are used as signifiers of "race," class, gender, and sexuality in the dances; where and how language is used as part of the discourse of the dance; what other postmodern interventions take place; what kinds of

images of Latinos these signs produce, reproduce, or critique; what audiences the choreographer addresses in the work. Time will not permit me today to discuss all of these items for each dance. However, I hope here to suggest the trajectory of my larger research project, in which I plan to analyze the strategies of pursuing identity in dance, in this case Latino identity. I view these strategies as fundamental to a twin project that challenges the master narratives and myths of homogeneity in our culture as well as the specific discursive practices of mainstream dance.

The Latino postmodern dance I am discussing originated in New York City. So before turning my attention to specific dances, I would like to sketch a brief demography of Latinos in New York. Also, I would like to point out that I am using the term Latino, which is preferred by many scholars in the field of Latin American studies, rather than the term Hispanic. As Xavier Totti points out, "Hispanic excludes racial and cultural differences, evoking only Spaniards and their descendants. Latino (from Latin American) is a more inclusive term accounting for those who come or descend from a specific geographical area where the Spanish and Portuguese legacy is dominant but not exclusive. It recognizes the presence and importance of nonwhite populations (Amerindian and African) in the group."[1]

There were already Puerto Rican and Cuban communities in New York City in the nineteenth century. But a much larger Latino population arrived in New York after World War II. The demography shifted even more radically after changes in the immigration laws in 1965 and 1978, and with the rise of illegal immigration. Because the largest wave of immigration began during the rise of suburbia and the decline of urban centers, and peaked in the Seventies, during the last recession, the Latino working-class population in New York has suffered from increasing unemployment, mounting housing costs, and deteriorating social services.

Although Puerto Ricans still constitute the largest group of the city's Spanish-speaking population, the Latino community is at this point quite varied. It comprises Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, Colombians, Ecuadoreans, Salvadoreans, Chileans, Argentinians, Uruguayans, and people whose origins are in other Latin American countries.

Despite differences in national, political, and class backgrounds, Latinos in New York share a sense of unity, partly because of their exclusion from mainstream American culture, and partly because of their shared language--and their common communication systems (including two Spanish-language daily papers and several local and national television and radio stations). Many (though not all groups) also share economic and social discrimination.[2]

So various aspects of the current move to assert a unified, though not homogeneous Latino identity in the arts, and in particular in dance, should not surprise us. For one, Puerto Ricans predominate, but are by no means the only nationality represented--for example, of the artists represented in Tour de Fuerza and ¡Muevete!, Viveca Vázquez, Merián Soto and Pepón Osorio,

Arthur Aviles, Karen Langevin, and Evelyn Vélez are Puerto Rican; Carmelita Tropicana and Ana Vega are Cuban; David Zambrano and Livia Daza Paris are Venezuelan; Eva Gasteazoro is Nicaraguan; and Patricia Hoffbauer is Brazilian. For another, issues of class emerge in various ways in these dances. And third, common themes and common markers of identity, from language to music to clothing, thread through many of the works.

Works in the Latino postmodern mode are at this point too numerous and too varied in style to analyze in a short paper; therefore, now I would like to focus on three exemplary works.

Viveca Vázquez is a Puerto Rican choreographer, trained at New York University, who has deliberately chosen to embody the geographical schizophrenia of many Puerto Rican New Yorkers by dividing her time between the island and the mainland. Her choreography explores this state of being. Mascando Ingles (Chewing English) (1984), for instance, is, according to the choreographer, about the cultural displacement and linguistic frustration suffered by Puerto Ricans migrants to New York. But there is almost nothing literal about Vázquez's treatment of this theme, except, perhaps, for the few moments when the collage soundtrack mixes a lecture on language with a list of English words and their correct pronunciations. Rather, as Joan Acocella has noted, Vázquez uses dance metaphors for this enstrangement. "Forced to speak a new language, Vázquez forces the body to do the same."[3]

In Mascando Ingles, five dancers perform erratic phrases of movement, at times in unison, and at times completely out of synch with one another. To the danceable sounds of a cante jondo, they stand stock still, then make somewhat mad, repetitive gestures in front of their faces. In silence, they move. Their arms flail up and out, sending their bodies into jumps and turns. Suddenly, they fall into a Spanish stepping dance, tapping out a smart rhythm with their sneakers and raising their arms in full flamenco curves. Their movement phrases are fragmented. They fall on the floor, push themselves backwards; they crouch, hop, and fall like children at play. The constant interruption of the movement impetus and the mismatch of movement and music join to create a feeling of dislocation that is structural, rather than expressive. Only at one point--when a man and a woman seem to enact a parting of lovers, to the strains of salsa music--is there a suggestion of character or story. But then the dance shifts gears, concluding with what is perhaps a memory of a time when life was not fragmented, as the dancers remove their shoes and African-rooted movements take over their dance. These movements do constitute a new language, but one that acknowledges its dance heritage as a mosaic of legacies: African, Spanish, and downtown New York postmodern.

[videotape example]

In No Regrets (1988), Merián Soto and Pepón Osorio mix live performance with specifically Latino popular genres--soap operas on Spanish TV and the

fotonovela, a cross between a comic book and a romance novel, told with photographs. Maria, a clerk in a fabric store, meets Roberto, a cab driver. Fantasies about him make her feel guilty about her sick mother, her macho husband Miguel, and her kids. One Sunday she leaves the kids, the husband, and the laundry at home to go with Roberto to P.S. 122, where they see his cousin in a dance show about Puerto Rican political consciousness. Anxious about her dilemma--should she remain a faithful wife or run away to Puerto Rico with Roberto?--Maria searches her soul. The upshot is that she leaves both men, gets a college degree, and becomes a social worker--with no regrets.

Aspects of the story are romantic, satirical, serious, silly, politically pointed, melodramatic, and reflexive. Though the love affair is the pretext for the story, the predictable conventions of the soap opera and fotonovela are subverted when the heroine takes control of her own future and makes the surprising choice to settle for no man. And this particular love affair is firmly rooted in its social context: working-class people who live in the Bronx, Maria's determination to find upward mobility through education, Miguel's machismo, Roberto's homesickness for the island.

The shifts in tone are partly accomplished through the shifts in media. For instance, as the soap opera of Maria and Miguel unrolls on the giant video screen in the theater, we see Maria watching herself kissing Roberto on her own TV. The fotonovela format stylizes the drama even more drastically than the video. But when the mass mediated action gives way to live dance, a very different kind of representation takes over: the characters' inner lives are given body, but in ways that are more abstract. The movement vocabulary makes no references to Latino styles. Rather, it is the juxtaposition to culturally specific forms like the fotonovela and Latin music, and also the presence of Latino characters that create the strong sense of ethnic identity in this piece. And just as Maria found it hard to see just how Roberto's cousin's dance show--in which people dressed in black jumped around, shimmied, and fell on the floor--represented political consciousness, so we are challenged to see multiple layers of meaning in the seemingly abstract movements of the dancers.

[videotape example]

Carmelita Tropicana is a Cuban-born performance artist. Candela, her mixed-media collaboration with Ela Troyano and Uzi Parnes, is not strictly dance. However, it is included here for several reasons: it was part of Tour de Fuerza, it overlaps with postmodern dance in embracing multimedia, and also dance is the topic of the performance piece. Like No Regrets, Candela invokes various forms of popular culture, here both Latin and Anglo: the zarzuela (a Spanish form of operetta) and the American film Western, the Cuban nightclub floorshow in pre-Castro Havana and the glitz of Las Vegas. But the staging--with its deliberately bad song and dance routines, its nostalgia, its film quotations, its transvestites, and its endless,

feverishly colored scarves, shawls, and shmates--also owes something to the camp performances of the underground filmmaker Jack Smith.

To condense the wandering, surrealistic plot enormously: Just when Carmelita Tropicana is about to find fame dancing in the floorshow at the Tropicana nightclub in Havana, the choreographer, Mr. Rodney, is shot by gangsters from Las Vegas, and Carmelita's brother, Machito, is framed for the murder. Possessed by Rodney's spirit, Carmelita becomes a successful choreographer, and she and Machito flee to Las Vegas (via the New York City subway) to avenge Rodney's death.

It's a backstage musical of sorts, in which the plot keeps being interrupted by dance routines, including an enchanted conga line that owes something to The Red Shoes. Candela is also, like the zarzuela and the Western, concerned with honor and moral responsibility. But unlike these conventional forms, here ethnic identity is both satirized and asserted as the ultimate strength. Carmelita, with her fake heavy Cuban accent, is an endless source of malapropisms, and the great Cuban dance Mr. Rodney died to protect is utter kitsch by any standards. But there are other Cuban dances, done outside of the nightclub show, that are shown as vital. And it is memories of Havana that give the Tropicanas their hope and determination (and the idea for their show-stopping number). And finally, as Carmelita says of Mr. Rodney's dream, "Is no piece of cake, is a flan. Rodney gonna turn a deaf ear every time he hears/...."You're black, you're poor, you're queer. No you can't."/...Rodney just grits his teeth and tell his feet/"Come on, feet, dance, dance, dance!"

[videotape example]

A striking aspect of these and other Latino postmodern dances is that certain formal elements of postmodern dance are valued as compositional choices: these include the use of ordinary movements; collage structure (even in the use of narrative); and dancing in silence. As well, the postmodern embrace of language in dance is quite apt in these works, where verbal material serves not only to comment on the situation or forward the plot, but also to underscore linguistic and ethnic difference. Just an accent can signal ethnicity. But also, featured in several of these dances is a kind of linguistic fancy footwork, a virtuosic display of verbal speed and dexterity that has to do with the rhythms and tempo of the Spanish language itself.

One characteristic of postmodernism that these choreographers relish is the appropriation of popular culture. This they share with Anglo postmodern choreographers, such as Jim Self, who borrows from cartoons, domestic comedies on TV, and pop songs in his works; Barbara Allen, who has made dances inspired by Harlequin romances; and Marta Renzi, who uses an MTV music-cum-story structure. However, in Latino postmodern dance, the soap opera, fotonovela, zarzuela, and Western provide structures and images, while also supplying grounds for expressing cultural difference and pointing

to the world-wide domination of the U.S. mass media. As well, the use of popular Latino music asserts ethnicity, while the contrast between various popular music forms stresses the heterogeneous class and national affiliations within that ethnicity.

Finally, postmodern as well is the ambiguous, ironic tone many of the choreographers adopt. Popular culture is appreciated, but it is also parodied. And there is a certain evident delight here in creating stereotypes, even when the point is to undercut them.

Thus postmodern techniques have been adapted to create a political identity. This tendency connects with the Eighties trend toward content in postmodern dance. But in nuevo Latino dance, the content is in the interest of a specific community.

Notes

[1]Xavier X. Totti, "Latinos in New York," The Portable Lower East Side Vol. 1 nos. 1 and 2 (1988): 7.

[2]Totti, pp. 1-8.

[3]Joan Acocella, "Loisaida Story," 7 Days, November 9, 1988, p. 62.

A Shared Technique/Shared Roots?: A Comparison of Kathak and Flamenco Dance History[1]

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Abstract

There is much mention by dance critics, scholars, artists and students about the similarities between the two dance genres kathak, the classical form which originated in Northern India, and flamenco, the dance that grew out of the Gypsy and Andalusian cultures of Southern Spain. The reason that is often super-imposed upon the question of why these forms bear such resemblance to one another, is based on the commonly believed theory that the Gypsies have their origins from northern India. However, in comparing kathak and flamenco dance history, several additional cultural and historical commonalties are revealed. Although to identify what specific effects these various influences had on the dance would require years of intensive scholarship on multitudes of levels, nevertheless, to compare kathak and flamenco's dance history can provide a necessary first step.

This paper compares and contrast the historical development of kathak and flamenco dance as they exist in their present-day form. The paper investigates the two different human responses which each form emerged out of, and looks at common features in their historical development, such as, related cultural and religious influences, similar shifts occurring in dance performance context and dance form and function.

Additionally, an overview of speculated bridges linking kathak and flamenco are presented–these include both existing theories, as well as personal speculation. Although no attempt is made to find a definitive answer to the mysterious phenomenon of why kathak and flamenco share so many common technical features, some important questions and considerations are raised about existing possibilities, thus, providing a stepping stone for further investigation.

This paper encompasses a wide range of literary sources which include: literature on the historical and cultural background of each dance form, and literature on the history of the Gypsies and Muslim culture. This study adds to the limited body of literature on kathak and flamenco dance history, and serves as an initial effort towards a more complete cross-cultural study.

Introduction

There is much mention by dance critics, scholars, and artists about the similarities between the two dance genres kathak, the classical form which originated in Northern India, and flamenco, the dance that grew out of the Gypsy and Andalusian cultures of Southern Spain.

This paper first outlines salient features in the historical development of kathak and flamenco dance, and secondly, compares some similar historical trends. Thirdly, an overview of speculated bridges linking kathak and flamenco is presented.

Commonly shared features can be observed in kathak and flamenco on a dance motific level—such as, how the body is used in space, specific movement techniques and positions of body parts (as in, hands, arms, feet, whole body positions, turns). Similarities can also be seen on a structural level—that is, how individual movement motifs and patterns are organized into larger sections or parts of a dance (such as, sections emphasizing upper body carriage, footwork, or integrated full body movements).

Some of these shared features have already been noted by dance historians and critics. One example is Deborah Jowitt's 1974 review of a kathak performance by Birju Maharaj. She writes:

> ...the straight, fairly narrow stance of the dancers, the emphasis on rhythmically complex stamping, and the relaxed, weaving arm gestures that accompany the footwork are so like Spanish Flamenco dancing...
>
> The resemblance to a Spanish "zapateado" was remarkable: the dancer's bearing and vigor, the way his body rode easily on his stamping feet, his focus and arm gestures that directed our attention—and his—toward that fusillade of rhythm. Except that Maharaj was not booted but barefoot, and his ankles bore six-inch-wide collars of bells [Jowitt 1974:44].

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[1] This paper is excerpted from a Masters' thesis in Dance Ethnology which analyzes and compares kathak and flamenco dance technique. [See Phillips 1991.]

Let us turn now to the history of kathak and flamenco.

Kathak

Kathak is the predominant classical dance from North India, its' traditional centers being in Delhi, Lucknow, Jaipur, Benares. The form as we know it today is an interweaving of Hindu and Muslim elements that combine narrative dance with "pure dance" movement (it is the later which I compare to flamenco).

The word "Kathaka" has been found in literary texts as far back as the Sanskrit epic, the Mahabharata (about second century A.D.) and referred to a wandering community of story-tellers who performed in village courtyards and in Hindu temples teaching the legends and epics of Hindu mythology through mimetic dance gesture, narration and song. Believed to be from the highest social class, the priestly Brahman caste, the kathakas also used the dance as a medium of worship and religious contemplation. Little is known about the form of kathak during this "Hindu Period" except that it embodied the most religious qualities at this time. Eventually, the name of the people who performed this narrative movement became the name of the dance form—kathak.

India came in contact with Islamic culture as early as the eighth century through Arab and Turk raids, and later, through the expansion of Muslim merchantery. However, it was not until the twelfth century that the systematic Muslim conquest of India began which culminated into the founding of the Mughal Empires of the 15th through 19th centuries [Lapidus 1989:438-441]. The syncretic nature of early Islamic culture blended with the already strongly developed Hindu philosophy and social structure to create a distinctive Indian-Islamic civilization, much of which was manifested through the arts, particularly, painting, poetry, music, architecture, and dance.

As great patrons of the arts, the Mughal rulers hired the "kathaks" to entertain them in their lavish courts. Consequently kathak underwent a tremendous transformation in form and function. The strict Islamic ideology which forbids the representation of God in human form forced kathak dancers to modify or disguise religious movements. Kathak became fully crystalized during this "Court Period," and many believe that the intricate and mathematically complex footwork that is so characteristic of today's kathak, as well as the emphasis on geometric form and design developed here. New forms of kathak dance/music genres also emerged which synthesized the Mughal's Persian-Indian sentiments. The declining financial support from the Hindu temples combined with the enthusiastic patronage of Mughal rulers, caused the locus of the "kathaks" performance to move from temple to court—shifting their role from devotee to entertainer.

In the later courts of the 19th century Nawabs of Oudh, some gifted dancers and teachers arrived to lay the foundations of the first formal lineages of kathak, which developed into the three distinct gharanas, (schools) of Lucknow, Jaipur and Benares—traditionally made up of familial lineages that are passed down through the males in the family; sons or nephews.

During the British invasion of the mid-eighteenth century, kathak suffered a period of waning and demotion. Essentially losing its "work place," that is, the Muslim courts, the kathaks had no where to turn but to the brothels and streets

Kathak's rise in status during the first part of this century was largely due to the attention it was given by such renown dancers as, Ruth St. Denis, Anna Pavlova, and Uday Shankar. After India's Independence in 1947, kathak received government sponsorship and gained national and international status. The shift onto the stage in front of a wider audience subjected kathak to modern trends of technical virtuosity and commercialization. New forms emerged: evening "ballets" based on Hindu epics, large group choreographies—all set within a secular context. However, at the core of kathak, a spiritual regard for the dance and a traditional modality of performance repertoire still remains.

Flamenco

Flamenco is an amalgamation of Spain's heritage, particularly that of Andalusia (southern Spain) and of the Gypsy's lineage. Many cultural groups left their imprint on Spanish soil from the third century B.C., culminating into the glorious Moorish civilization founded in the 8th century. The Moors—like their North Indian Mughal cousins, cultivated artistic refinement, particularly in architecture, poetry, music and, many believe, dance. Due to the economic wealth of the Moorish empire between the 8th and 15th centuries, and the contributions of the Sephardic Jews, Andalusia became regarded as the cultural center of the western world.

The Gypsies, who migrated from India to Spain in various waves, incorporated particular traits and customs from the peoples whose land they passed through, into their own already unique customs, language and way of life. Additionally, the Gypsies were most often met by extreme persecution, condemnation, and were forced to survive under the most adverse conditions.

The Gypsies received a short-lived respite upon their arrival into Muslim Spain. This did not last long, however, for Christian monarches in the North began preparing to reconquest Spain. Demanding a religiously homogeneous Spanish society, Andalusia became the target of Christian attack during the Spanish Inquisition of the mid-15th century which forced Jews, Muslims, and Gypsies into conversion or expulsion, and even extermination. Over the next four centuries, the once prosperous Andalusia became the poorest, most underdeveloped region in Spain.

It was out of these extreme conditions of the persecuted people of Andalusia, and through a complex process of interaction between Gypsy and non-Gypsy, that the first semblances of flamenco sprouted. Vigorous separatism that once existed between Gypsy and non-Gypsy faded as the shared poverty and social margination of Andalusian populations generated the profound symbiosis of the gitano – andaluz complex. Gypsies, however, had an added burden of continued persecution enforced by the Spanish Monarchy, therefore, they continued to assert a defensive ethnic pride and maintained their own unique customs.

Flamenco dance and music was forged out of the inter-play of Gypsy traditions and Andalusian folk forms. However, the first contexts of flamenco performance appeared to have been private, deeply emotional events that were kept hidden within the seclusion of Gypsy familial gatherings, in which a unique sense of cultural identity was achieved. Early urban flamenco events took place in secluded rooms in bars, or in the patios of Gypsy dwellings. The most primary element of flamenco was the cante, which vocalized the long-felt sentiments of the Andalusian Gypsy. The dance emerged as an expression of the cante, and therefore, consisted of spontaneous, rudimentary movements of minimal length involving elements that, some believe, descended from Moorish influence: wrist rotations, fluid hips, and uplifted arms. Like kathak, flamenco became a craft passed down through familial dynasties.

The word "flamenco" did not come into use until the later part of the 18th century, and as in kathak, the word "flamenco" was used to describe the people that were performing this art form, such as in the Arabic "felag menju," "fugitive peasants," or as in "flamancia," denoting the kind of fieriness and brashness which became associated with the Gypsies and Andalusians.

The Spanish bourgeoisie initially looked upon flamenco with scorn considering it an activity of an outcast, hedonistic society. However, eighteenth century Romantic literature propagated an interest in flamenco through its depictions of the exotic Gypsy and picturesque Andalusian lifestyles. This interest eventually drew flamenco out of seclusion, and led to the opening of the first cafe cantantes, some of the earliest established commercial venues of flamenco performance.

The cafe cantante period of the 19-20th centuries marked a dramatic shift in flamenco context and ultimately altered its form and style. Like kathak, flamenco shifted from a private, ritualistic, intimate art form to a public spectacle and form of entertainment. What had once been short, spontaneous, improvised vignettes of gestural movement with little footwork, now became longer choreographies involving virtuoso footwork, a more defined body line, the creation of diversified and complex dance movements, and the expansion of repertoire and styles.

With the advent of 20th century technological growth and mass-media, flamenco achieved national and international acclaim and shifted into theatrical settings. Throughout flamenco's commercial progression, however, there has always remained a core of traditional flamenco styles and contexts.

Comparative summary of kathak and flamenco dance history

Although the birth of kathak and flamenco emerged out of two very different human responses, they share some common features in their historical and contextual development. Kathak grew out of the spiritual expression of a particular community, or caste, of Hindu devotees of North India (the kathakas), whereas flamenco emerged as an outcry of the human suffering of an oppressed and depressed society in southern Spain, particularly that of the Andalusian Gypsy.

Kathak and flamenco share a similar progression of shifts in dance performance contexts and consequential changes in dance function and form. Both dance forms traditionally started out in more intimate, private settings, serving both sacred or ritual-like functions and a means of promoting tradition. Kathak, originally performed in Hindu temples and village courtyards, served as a form of religious worship and a means of maintaining Hindu religious tradition. Flamenco traditionally occurred in bars and

in the courtyards of Gypsy families, and was used as a means of alleviating and transforming the pains of their condition, as well as reinforcing Gypsy ethnic identity.

Later both forms of dance moved to semi-public contexts and served secular functions as forms of entertainment or diversion for "foreign" audiences, or, those outside the traditional performance community. Kathak moved to the lavish courts of the Mughal Nawabs and Hindu Maharajas, and flamenco moved into the smokey rooms and small stages of the cafe cantantes owned by non-Gypsies. These setting, geared for public spectacle, spurred the dance into a new creative impetus being that the attention was now on the outer look of the dance, rather than on the inner experience of it.

Prior to kathak and flamenco's ultimate popularization, both forms were viewed by the dominant upper class as being lewd, debauched activities for the degenerate. By the 20th century, however, kathak and flamenco had both arrived onto proscenium theater stages, being performed for large audiences. Both dance forms have been acclaimed a national dance form and, although flamenco is more popular or known than kathak, both dances have become internationally recognized.

Although no one knows for sure what the form of either dance form looked like in their early stages of development, it is considered that the gradual shift from private to public contexts catalyzed the dance technique to transform from a rudimentary, perhaps more gestural, spontaneous style involving little use of footwork, to one of great technical sophistication and a highlighted use of complex footwork.

Culturally, kathak and flamenco dance emerged out of a blend of several cultural and religious layerings. Kathak being made up primarily of Hindu and Persian-Muslim sensibilities, and flamenco wove together elements of Andalusia's early history including, from the Sephardic Jews, the Moors (incorporating Arab-Muslim style), the Christians, and the Gypsies—who carried an Indian heritage. The two cultural/religious influences that kathak and flamenco have in common with each other are the Indian (specifically North Indian), and the Muslim. Looking deeper into these cultural links perhaps could lead to some answers as to why kathak and flamenco dance share so many common technical features.

Speculated Bridges Linking Kathak and Flamenco

The purpose of this section is to present some hypotheses, personal speculations, questions and considerations as to how the shared dance elements between kathak and flamenco may have come about. I begin with what I call the "Gypsy Theory."

The Gypsy theory[2]

The Gypsies, considered a nomadic race of people who have descended from Aryan clans of northwest India, carry an ambiguous historical legacy. Many Gypsiologists believe they descended from the lowest castes of the Indian social structure, while others postulate they are from higher castes—even the priestly Brahman. Theories of Gypsy diaspora include tales of Gypsies fleeing India from Alexander the Great, being hired out as entertainers to a Persian kingdom, pariah tribes wanting to break free of the Indian caste system, mass exodus with Rajput soldiers in response to Muslim invasions, and so on [Clébert 1963:40, Grande 1979:40-47, Rishi 1976:55]. The dates attributed to these various tales of Gypsies' departure from India span all the way from 350 B.C. to the 15th century A.D., with most dates falling between the 5th and 10th centuries. It is possible, then, that there was not one, but several waves of Gypsy emigration from India.

Gypsy migrational routes once leaving India are also controversial, however, many agree that there were two distinct routes that they traveled on after entering into Persia. A northern route passing into Inner Asia, Eastern Europe, France, and consequently to Spain via the north; and a southern route running into Syria, Palestine, along the Mediterranean,to Egypt, North Africa, and possibly into Andalusia (although Spanish records only identify one Gypsy arrival).

The first question that must be asked in regard to a "Gypsy theory" is, how did the Gypsies come to be the bridge between kathak and flamenco? Certainly the descriptions written about the "kathakas" of earlier centuries, who are described as being a wandering community of dancers, musicians and story-tellers who entertained in villages, are reminiscent of descriptions of nomadic Gypsy tribes of dancers, musicians, monkey and bear trainers. The thought has crossed my mind many times how similar these two pictures appear, and I have sometimes wondered if the "kathakas" could have been Gypsies. However, given that the "kathakas" were considered to be from highest Brahman orders of the Indian caste system, and the Gypsies, generally—but debatably—are thought to be from the lowest castes, this probability seems

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[2] I use the term "Gypsy" to encompass the various names of the nomadic clans (e.g. Luri, Banjara, Dom, etc.) who are believed to be the ancestors of what the Europeans now call "Roms," "gitanos," or "Gypsies."

highly unlikely. As mentioned earlier, there are scholars who consider the Gypsies to be from the higher Kshatriya or even Brahman castes which raises the question once more.

Another notion is based on Indian Gypsiologist.W.R. Rishi's theory in which he describes an important exodus of Indian Rajputs that happened in response to a 12th century Moslem invasion. He notes:

> "In order to be self-sufficient and to allow inner mobility, [the Rajputs] attracted men and women from all the population groups which included...cow-grazers,...traders, horse-dealers,...blacksmiths,...magicians,...astrologers,...and of course there were singers, dancers,...reciters...and bear and monkey-leaders... And this is borne out by the different occupations in which the Roma [European name for Gypsy] are experts and engage themselves even to the present day" [Rishi 1976:55–56].

I ask, could these dancers have been "kathakas?"

I think the question of a possible relationship between kathakas and Gypsies bears weight for further investigation. One would need to identify much more specifically who the "kathakas" were, as well as, who the Indian Gypsies were, and on the migrational/emigrational routes of these people.

Another critical consideration in this "Gypsy theory" is that most of the dates given for their departure from India occur before the 15th century, or in other words, this was long before the Mughal empire was established in India. This means that if the Gypsies had any contact with kathak dance at all, it was before it became a fully crystalized dance form as it came to be during the Mughal regime. Therefore, another question arises: if the Gypsies came in contact with kathak, at what stage of development was it in, and what specific elements did they take from it? Given that the footwork of both kathak and flamenco developed at a later time, it seems unlikely that it was the footwork that they took—however, it is the footwork which is the most outstanding shared feature between kathak and flamenco of today.

In order to identify what specific dance elements may have been passed from one form to another, hard archeo-choreological and ethno-historical research would need to be conducted to find out about early forms of kathak dance, Indian "Gypsy" dance, and early flamenco dance.

The Muslim theory

A second theory I call the "Muslim Theory," is based on the idea that the Muslim culture is the bridge between kathak and flamenco rather than the Gypsies. Muslim contribution to both dance forms, via the Indian Mughals and the Spanish Moors, is significant. The hypothesis that the Muslims could be responsible for this bridge is rarely considered, however, personally, I think there is much validity to this idea, particularly since both Muslim groups descended from Caliphate lineages–who had a unique proclivity for the performing arts in their lavish courts. Furthermore, there are acknowledged Indian influences on many forms of Muslim art and poetry. What did the Moors receive of this influence, and what did they pass onto the later Mughal Empire?

Another possibility of a Muslim bridge between kathak and flamenco again brings in the Gypsies. First of all, many tales of Gypsy departure from India identify Muslims as being the cause, such as, Gypsy performers being sent to a king in Persia, Gypsies expelled by Muslim rulers, and so on. Secondly, theories on Gypsy diaspora commonly mention their contact with Muslims, there are tales of Gypsies fighting against Muslims, Gypsies fighting with Muslims against somebody else, and Gypsies contact with Muslims in Spain, etc.

Given that the Muslim expansion from the 8th through 18th centuries overlapped with the forenamed Gypsy migrations, and that both groups traveled over some of the same geographical areas, it seems likely that Gypsies and Muslims had continuous interaction with each other over centuries. Flamencologist Félix Grande has raised the questions: "One night, did they every sing and dance together? Did their mutual nomadic existence [and I add, interaction] provoke similarities in their forms of dance and music" [Grande 1979:53]?

In order to answer some of these questions, further research on Muslim political rule and dance of Muslim cultures at large is critical. Furthermore, a comparison between Mughal and Moorish cultures is essential, particularly dance research into the specific Mughal contribution to kathak, and the Moorish influence on flamenco.

Miscellaneous theories

Other miscellaneous theories exist, one in particular that I find interesting is of flamencologist Donald Pohren, who surmises that popular Indian dances (derived from Brahmanic temple dances) arrived to Spain through Mediterranean trading vessels and overland caravans as far back as 500 B.C. Pohren further postulates that the "[G]ypsies and the Moors already cultivated a type of dance largely derived from the Brahmanic religious dances, [so that] their arrival [into Spain] most certainly gave the existing Andalusian dances [with the aforementioned Indian influences] a shot in the arm" [Pohren 1988:175].

Although Pohren neglects to present any evidence for these speculations, they nevertheless, warrant further investigation. The idea of dance being carried through trading vessels is an interesting one, particularly since we find a manifestation of this pattern between the dances of Spain and the Americas. Was there dance carried back and forth on the trade ships sailing from India to Europe? Portugal to India? Through the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean?

Whatever the true story is regarding the relationships between these diverse groups: Indians, Gypsies, Muslims, and even Jews and Christians, Félix Grande has questioned: "Are the songs and dances as fingerprints left for anthropologists to decipher?...Is the movement and the music that which conserves the origins" [Grande 1979:53]? Whether this mystery is ever truly understood or not, it is nevertheless a fascinating phenomenon of inter-cultural links through art—kathak and flamenco both being dance forms which are the embodiment of cultural synthesis.

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WHAT STEPS DID THE SPANIARDS TAKE IN THE DANCE?

A survey of four centuries of documentary sources

Alan Stark

1. The earliest Spanish MS giving choreographies is to be found in the Archives of Cervera, in the Catalan province of Lérida. This town was the head-quarters of King Juan II of Aragón and was the scene in 1469 of the betrothal of his son Fernando to Isabel, the future Queen of Castille. The Dance MS is two sheets of parchment which have been used on one side for scratch practice, in one case for a legal document including the date 1496, although the sheets were found in a manual of 1468. These dates and the handwriting suggest the dances were notated in the late Fifteenth century.

The MS is particularly noteworthy for being the first one known to use symbols. These would be difficult to decipher were it not for the fact that one of the dances is called Filles amarja, which turns out to be the popular Filles à marier to be found in the French-Burgundian reportory. By comparing the versions we can see what each symbol represents and presume by the number of other similar choreographies in the MS that at this point of time the Catalans followed the style of the Northern basse danse. The choreographies for the Baixa de Castilla and Baixa Morjsqua have a step sequence very similar to Castille la nouele, (which uses the Spagna tenor), of the Toulouze incunabulum. Another dance which appears twice, once in symbols and once written out, is Joyos. The sequence is akin to the Goioso dances attributed to the Italian Domenico da Piacenza, and Roti Bolli ioieulx found in the Brussels MS and Toulouze. Which region influenced the Cervera repertoire in this case is impossible to say.

On the sheet with word notation where symbols occur, abbreviations have been

placed over the symbols so we can guess that the Catalans used the term continencies where French uses branle; simples are called pas; doubles-seguits; represas are the French reprises or demarches. This can be confirmed as Spanish practice from Pedro de Gracia dei's poem in Castellano, dedicated to the daughter of Fernando and Isabel (dated c. 1490), where the terms are similar save for the direct equivalent to French of sensillo and dobles. Other step terms that appear in Cervera are trans and trenchats. As they appear where we might expect a saltarello or pas de brebant, they are likely to be the equivalent as the Catalan signifies "broken".

2. The Manuscrit del Hospital of Barcelona, or Manuscrit Tarragó as it is also referred to, has recently reappeared thanks to the work of Carlos Mas i Garcia. Sadly there appear to be no cross references to other Dance documents, although I have traced a high proportion of musical concordances with the titles of the dances. However it is possible to work out the significance of most of the symbols that Tarragó uses for six of the dances, as one dance appears twice in both symbols and words.

The symbols bear some similarity to those of Cervera and the Catalan terminology is the same. This sheet of parchment, (which is unfort-unately incomplete as it was used as the inner lining of a book cover), probably dates from the late Sixteenth century, judging from the dance titles, but the Catalan still refers to continencies, pas (sos) and seguits as in the Cervera MS.

Three of the dances at the beginning of the MS follow the French-Burgundian rules as to mesures but the later ones seem closer to the repertoire of Caroso and Negri, even to what I believe is the earliest reference to a trabuquet (or tiraboquet as Tarragó once writes it). Several of the dances have the format of three mudanzas or coplas, which we find so commonly in the modern seguidillas.

Unlike the Cervera seguits symbols, which are represented by long and short strokes (the order of which seems to depend upon the hand), the Ms del Hospital uses three equal lines. A line curving round the top of the symbols (which are usually in pairs) seems to signify "turning and change direction", whereas a group of three symbols within a circle means "a complete turn". I have already mentioned the trabuquet, defined in the treatises of Caroso and Negri, who state they are offering dances in use in France and Spain as well as Italy. Costadets de dues bandes is another step which has its symbol and which means "side steps to left and right" (whether to the side or diagonally I cannot tell). Heel and toe steps occur in the Pie de Xivau. There are also salts (or jumps) particulary at the end of each verse of the Pavana, making it a Spanish Pavane rather than Arbeau's processional version.

Whilst the step technique of Cervera seems to show mainly French-Burgundian influence, the Manuscrit del hospital inclines towards Italy, which would be logical given the fact that Barcelona was a port trading with all the Mediterranean and which had many contacts with Italy. Also, in 1549 Felipe II visited Milan and attended a ball where dances new to the Spaniards were performed: the Pavane and the Galliard, thus helping to introduce these dances to the Peninsula.

3. In the Archives of the Academia de la Historia, Madrid, bound into the collection of the Marqués de Montealegre, there is a page entitled Reglas de Danzar, on the reverse of a poem made for Fernan de Roca -

"because they reported he was impotent".

Following recommendations as to how the young dancer should behave and wear his cape for dancing. The Reglas give three choreographies: a Baxa with a coda, an Alta and a Pavana Italiana. The short Baxa is like the dances to be found in the other two MSS in that it follows the Northern style of basse danse with a grande mesure parfaite. However the coda has a quebradito or hop after a double. The Alta is different from the one in Tarragó, being more complex and representative of the late Sixteenth century or early Seventeenth century, which the handwriting seems to confirm.

The Pavana Italiana reminds us of Cabezón's Diferencias sobre la Pavana Italiana, which though published in 1578 may have been written much earlier as the composer accompanied Felipe II on the visit to Milan. The choreography is given in rather sparse terms, belying the indication at the head of the Reglas--

> que puede aprender por solo leer
> (that can be learnt just by reading)

The indications however do suggest a similarity of style to that of the Italian treatises of the turn of the century. We should also remember that in 1630 the Conde Duque Olivares had a translation made of Negri's Gratie de Amore for the young prince Carlos Baltazar.

4. When we come to the Jaque MS from the Valentín Carderera collection in the Biblioteca Nac ional, Madrid, we would be frustrated at reading the step terminology were it not for another work the Seventeenth century that includes an explanation of certain of the steps. Enough fortunately to be able to attempt a reconstruction of the dances. For a long time, as no one was working on these Spanish sources, the Jaque MS was only known in two late Nineteenth century transcripts, but the original has now been traced,

as has a single sheet giving a description of a Jácara. The Jaque MS gives quite long choreographies for six dances: the Pabana (sic) has an introduction and eight mudanzas: the Gallarda has thirteen mudanzas. There is also a Jácara, Folías, Billano (sic) and a final Paradetas for a couple, The choreography of which is by no means clear.

5. The first book on the dance printed in Spain is the Discursos sobre el Arte del dancado published in Sevilla in 1642. It was written by Juan de Esquivel Navarro, a student of Antonio de Almenda, the dancing master to Felipe IV in Madrid. (Esquivel declares "teachers don't have time to write books"). While the explanations are not always clear today, the chapter describing twenty-two steps has enabled reconstructions to be made of most of the Jaque dances, and a more native Spanish style can be revealed.

6. A hundred years after Esqivel Navarro's book, a printer in Madrid, Pablo Minguet, issued several editions of a treatise on the Dance, which was available complete or in sections. He stated that the treatise had been available since 1733, but most libraries seem to have the 3ª impresión published in 1758. The last section is interesting in that it gives descriptions of 45 steps "de los Passos del Danzar a la Española", many of them in almost the same wording as in Esquivel. The date of the 2ª impresión of this, which is the most common, is 1764, one hundred and twenty years after the Arte del Dancado, showing the beginnings of a tradition in the Spanish Dance.

The main part of the treatise describes Choregraphia following the works of Feuillet and Rameau, and includes choreographies for Minuets, Passepieds and Contradanzas, some of which are new and others which can be found in French collections, such as el Minué de Alcides, El Amable and Los Muchachos

Hermosos.

7. An earlier book, published in Málaga in 1745 by Ferriol y Boxeraus, is also based on the treatises of Feuillet and Rameau with tables and drawings. The final section on the contradanzas with their music is given in written out descriptions, whilst Minguet uses the same symbols for the dancers as De la Cuisse in his Recueil de Contredanses (1762/1765) in diagrams coupled with word descriptions. (How did Minguet learn of these symbols if De la Cuisse did not publish till 1762?).

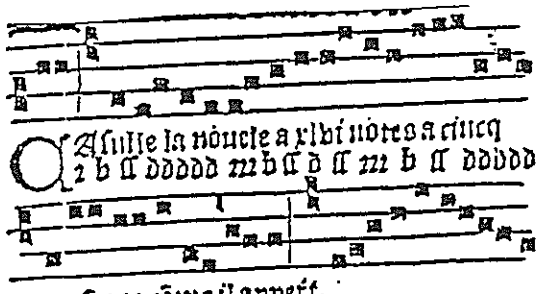
Ferriol gives El Amable in both Feuillet notation and Rameau's new system according to the Abregé. One of his contradanzas is Andrés Ker, which is to be found in Walsh's Caledonian Country Dance Book.

8. The arrival of Philip of Anjou in Madrid in 1700 to become King of Spain naturally accelerated French influence in the peninsula, so it is not surprising that the Spaniards should need books of instruction in the Noble Art of Dancing, but the wildfire success of the Contradanza not only in La Corte, Madrid, but throughout the peninsula and the Colonies of America soon brought critics of this "degenerate" foreign influence. In 1799 King Carlos III was forced to sign a Royal Decree restricting the Italian and French opera and ballet companies and in all classes of society there was an upsurge of popularity of the Fandangos, Seguidillas and Boleros, provision for which Minguet had made in his Passos, and which still abound in the regional dances today.

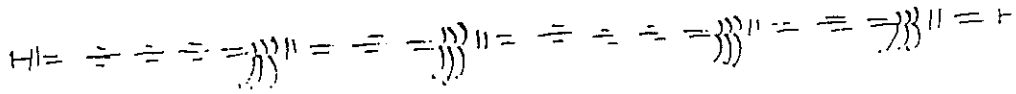
9. So from the French-Burgundian influence evinced in the Cervera MS and the first dances of the Manuscrit del Hospital, and the possible Italian influence in the dance Joyos to the definite connection of the later Tarragó dances and in Reglas de Danzar, we begin to see a certain Spanish style emerging in the documents. Aspects of the dances in Tarragó are not to be found in other treatises, which suggests the Spaniards had a different style even when they borrowed from other countries.

It is in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries when the kind of steps used in Spain is revealed, however much Ferriol and Minguet tried to demonstrate the fashionable dances of France. I would like to conclude by demonstrating some of the steps used in the dances of the Jaque MS, as described in Esquivel Navarro and Minguet.

10. Vuelta de pecho
al descuido
Bazio - patada/coz
Encaxe
Campanela



1. Castille (Casulle) la nouele - Michel Poulouze
2. la bayxa de castilla La Cervera 1
3. La bayxa moryzca - Ms Cervera 2
4. Joyos - Ms Cervera 1
5. ioyos - Ms Cervera 2



Line Notation - Cervera MS

Brussels MS/Toulouze

Filles à marier

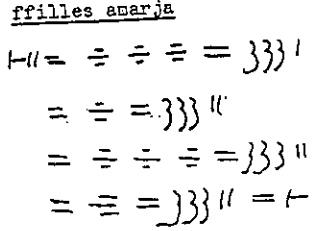
R b ss ddd ss rrr b

ss d rrr b

ss ddd ss rrr b

ss d rrr b(R)

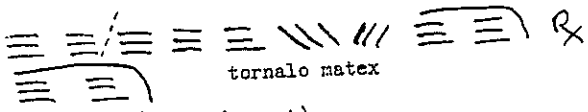
ffilles amarja



Line Notation - MS del Hospital

Esparanca (Tarragó no. 12)

iij pa traboquet j pa arera 



tornalo matex

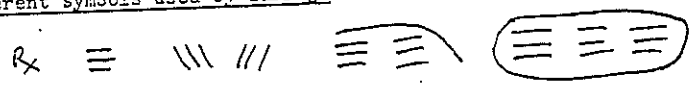
Esperança (Tarragó no. 4)

3 pasos tiraboquet i pas 2 seguits voltats Reverencia

6 seguits costadets de dues bandes 2 seguits Reverencia

2 seguits tornalo.....

Different symbols used by Tarragó





Alan Stark (C) MEXICO CITY 1991

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Alan Stark (C) Mexico

RESOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF DANCE IN HISPANIC CULTURES

A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

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This bibliography includes only items in which dance is the main or one of the main topics. Substantial dance information and discussions may also be found in books, articles and theses on music, folklore, theatre, ritual and general culture.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Am - America, American, Americano, etc. ANGF - Asociación Nacional de Grupos Folklóricos. BA - Buenos Aires. Bib - Biblioteca. Biblio - Bibliography. CID-DANZA, CENIDI DANZA - Centro de Información y Documentación de la Danza (Mexico). Dep -Department, Departamento. Eng - English. Ethn - Ethnology, Ethnologic, Etnología. INBA - Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (Mexico). Inst - Institute, Instituto, Institución, etc. J - Journal. Lib - Librería, Librairie. MA - Master of Arts. NY - New York. P - Press. Ph.D. - Doctor of Philosophy. Pub - Published, Publication, etc. Rev - Review, Revista. SEP - Secretaria de Educación Pública (Mexico). Span - Spanish. U - Universidad de, University of. UCLA - University of California, Los Angeles. UNAM - Universidad Nacional de México.

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Part I: Hispanic performers and colonial interpretations
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La Argentinita
ca. 1942, 11 minutes, silent, color.
La Argentinita, in excerpts from six solo dances and also in excerpts from four other dances with partners Vicente Escudero and Pilar Lopez, filmed onstage in Mexico City.

Vicente Escudero: Heritage for the Male Flamenco Dancer
1960, 24 minutes, sound, black & white.
Filmed by Mura Dehn and Herbert Matter; performed by Vicente Escudero and his wife Carmita. In 1985, music by Mario Escudero, heelwork by Monolo DeCordoba, and vocals by Luis Vargas were postsynchronized to the original footage under the supervision of Mura Dehn, assisted by Peter Kovac.
CONTENTS: Molinero; Douette, (take 1 and take 2); Zapateado, (takes 1, 2, and 3); Farruca.

Antonio and the Ballets de Madrid
ca. 1955-60, 2 minutes, sound, black & white.
Filmed in performance.

Federico Rey and Tina Ramirez
1948 and 1949, 7 minutes, silent, black & white.
Filmed by Carol Lynn in performance and in the studio at Jacob's Pillow.
CONTENTS: Introduction; Espata dantza, Bikanziko, Erreberenzia; Satan dantza; Sevillanas; Jota.
Jacob's Pillow Collection.

Pilar Rioja: Bailes de Cuenta y Cascabel
1983, 80 minutes, sound, color.
Historic and flamenco dances of Spain videotaped for the Jerome Robbins Film Archive of the Dance Collection, with musicians Jose Negrete, Emilio Perujo, Pablo Zinger, Kati Guerra, and Chiquito de Triana, danced by Pilar Rioja.
CONTENTS: Rugero, paradeta y folias (Music: Gaspar Sanz); Las folkloricas (Music: Joaquin Nin-Culmell); Jota aragonesa (Music: Manuel de Falla); Sevillanas del siglio XVIII (Music: Federico Garcia Lorca); Grave assai y fandango (Music: Luigi Boccherini); La farruca; Tangos del piyayo; Taranto; La siguiriya (Music: traditional flamenco).
Note: excerpts will be shown.

Southwest Europe, Andalusia, Flamenco Gitano
1969, 21 minutes, sound, black & white.
Filmed in the studio of the Institut fur den Wissenschaftlichen Film in Gottingen, performed by singers and dancers from the troupe of La Singla, during a European tour.
CONTENTS: Soleares, danced by Fajardo and Margarita Garcia, sung by El Camaron;

Alegrias, danced by Luisa Romero, sung by El Tropicano; Tanguillos, Danced by Caraestraca, sung by Orillo; Tientos, danced by Rosario "Charro" Cortez, sung by El Lebrijano; Bulerias, danced by Faiquillo, sung by El Lebrijano, El Camaron, El Tropicano, and Orillo.
Note: excerpts will be shown.

Ilocano music and dance from the Northern Philippines
1966, 19 minutes, sound, black & white.
Produced by the University of Washington Archives of Ethnic Music and Dance, in cooperation with the University of the Philippines; filmed and recorded by Robert Garfias and Harold Schultz.
The Ilocanos, in northernmost Luzon, are one of the main groups of Hispanic culture in the Philippines. A number of different styles are preserved which reflect Spanish influence.
CONTENTS: Fandango, with duma flute and drum band accompaniment; Bamboo violin; Dinac-cad Dildillawen, harp solo perfomed by Beatrice Guererro Delacruz; La carinosa, fandango danced by Emilio Alvarez; Vintarenio, fandango danced by Francisco R. Albano and Pastora R. Ramiero, with harp and guitar accompaniment.
Asia Dance Project, JDR 3rd Fund.

Part II: Spanish dance in ballet and modern dance
(Saturday 3:00-4:30 and Sunday 3:00-4:30)

Leonide Massine
1917 and 1929, 4 minutes, silent, black & white.
This videotape transfer is a composite of a film of solo flamenco dances by Juana Vargas ("La Macarrona") and Antonio Lopez Ramirez ("Ramirito") recorded by Massine in Spain preparatory to the creation of his ballet *Le Tricorne*, together with an excerpt of Leonide Massine performing the Farucca of *Le Tricorne*, filmed in New York by Roger Pryor Dodge.

Cuadro Flamenco
ca. 1924, 11 minutes, silent, black & white.
The Denishawn Dancers filmed by Walter Collinge at Santa Barbara, California. Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, and the Denishawn Dancers are seen in parts of *Cuadro Flamenco*. Other works on this film indicate the range of Denishawn repertory. First is Ted Shawn in movements from his *Death of Adonis*, and finally, Doris Humphrey performs her *Hoop Dance* and *Scarf Dance*.

Fandango
1968, 14 minutes, sound, black & white.
Choreography: Antony Tudor. Music: Antonio Soler. Pianist: Neal Sofge. Performed by members of the Juilliard Dance Ensemble: Jean Anderson, Maria Barrios, Sandra Brown, Madeline Rhew, and Jean Winters. Filmed by Dwight Godwin in a dress rehearsal at the Juilliard Theater.
Martha Hill Collection.

Chaconne
1954, 11 minutes, silent, black & white.
A solo choreographed and performed by Jose Limon. Costume by Pauline Lawrence. Filmed by Helen Priest Rogers at Palmer Auditorium, Connecticut College.

Capriccio Espagnol
1951, 30 minutes, silent, black & white.
Choreography: Argentinita and Leonide Massine. This film is a 1951 production at La

Scala, Milan, of the ballet premiered by the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo in 1939.
It is typical of Massine's films, which are working documents for his use in remembering and teaching his ballets, and includes rehearsal and performance footage, with repeats.
Massine is one of the performers.
Leonide Massine Collection.

Note: *Fandango* and *Capriccio Espagnol* are special presentations for this conference. They are rarely seen at the Dance Collection, as they require advance permissions for viewing, and this is their first presentation for a group.

This program is a presentation of the Dance Collection of The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. We gratefully acknowledge the cooperation and help of Tatiana Massine, Muriel Topaz for the Dance Department of The Juilliard School, Sally Brayley Bliss for the Tudor Trust, Limon Dance Foundation, Helen Priest Rogers, Eiko Yamada, Pilar Rioja, Gilberto Zaldivar for the Repertorio Espanol, Jacob's Pillow, Freddy Wittop (Federico Rey), and Tina Ramirez.

Cosmic Imagery in the Religious Dances of Seville's Golden Age

Lynn Matluck Brooks

This paper will treat a set of dances which were performed as part of the religious celebrations of the city of Seville during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeeth centuries.[1] A number of these dances appear to illustrate images of the cosmos, of the ideally functioning world under a Christian God, a Catholic Church, and a devout King. The dances of Seville's religious processions in the Golden Age were performed by two distinct groups: first, the select choirboys known as los seises of the Cathedral of Seville; and second, the lay dancers of the city, who were hired and commissioned by the City Council, with the approval of church authorities. Both the dances of los seises and those choreographed and danced by Seville's citizens were performed in the Cathedral and on stages erected in designated plazas and streets around the church during the celebration of such major feasts as Corpus Christi and the Immaculate Conception.

While the dances of Spain's religious festivities experienced a distinct evolution and assumed their own forms, they were also, to some extent, part of broader trends in theme and style which link the Spanish works to the great festive traditions of other European nations. For example, parallels can be found with the royal festivities of France under Catherine de Medici and her sons, the Valois kings, particularly in the employment of cosmological themes. In works based on such themes, the beneficent and harmonious movement of the cosmos was represented choreographically for the pleasure and illumination of the audience.[2] Yet there are important distinctions to note here as well. First, the peformances were not aimed at visiting dignitaries or courtiers, but rather at every city resident, freed from daily labor by the regulations guarding religious celebration, and thus able to join fully in the festive atmosphere. Further, the statement made by these festivities did not bear the stamp of any individual will or genius, but rather of an evolved and popular religious vision which makes these dances a link between the cosmological mysteries of antiquity and the didactic court fêtes of the Renaissance.[3]

The vision of the Spanish monarchy as defender of the Catholic faith and as forger of a new world order evolved during the centuries of struggle against the Moorish occupation of Iberia. In the same year that the final Islamic stronghold, Granada, fell to the Christians, the New World was discovered and claimed for Spain. As one scholar has commented, the Pope recognized the goals and

power of the Spanish monarchs who presided over these dramatic changes, for he "conferred on Ferdinand and Isabella the title of 'The Catholic Kings,' doubtless for having shewn a desire to be more catholic than even Popes themselves."[4] The ideals of Charles I (Emperor Charles V), Habsburg successor to los Reyes Católicos, were perfectly embodied in the words of a leading poet of his day, Hernando de Acuña: Charles stood for "one monarchy, one empire, and one sword."[5] After the young Charles heard Martin Luther speak, he proclaimed his opposition to this "single monk, led astray by private judgment," adding that "I have therefore resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, my life and soul."[6] This resolution was inherited by Charles' son, Philip II of Spain, who held a life-long belief in the irrevocable link between Spanish power and Christian victory. In his address to the English parliament in 1553 he declared: "Of the king's ruling function and office the only end is not majesty, wealth, and dominion; but rather God and His holy law, and the accomplishment of his precepts, dying for this if necessary."[7] The Spanish kings looked for support to the city of Seville which, as the center of both trade and evangelical activity in the New World, fully participated in this missionary vision. A citizen of early-seventeenth century Seville spoke for his neighbors when he praised the city as the "Universal Plaza of the world, where all nations that exist on earth come to see, to look, and to take, not only of its worldly wealth of riches . . . . , but also of its spiritual wealth of good example, devotion, and holiness."[8] This devotion was displayed to its fullest in the annual processional feast of Corpus Christi, and those celebrations which followed this model.

Extant church records reveal considerable detail about the performances of the select group of choirboys called los seises. These youngsters were trained primarily in music and liturgical duties, but they were also famed for their dances, which were most closely associated with the feast of Corpus Christi. Records from as early as 1499 document a Church-sponsored float and performance representing the heavens, with little boys (probably these elite choristers) in the roles of angels, singing in the clouds. Figures of Christian saints were also listed as appearing in these clouds, and payments were recorded for "those who carried the heavens" and who "opened and closed the cloud."[9] Documents for the 1506 Feast of Espiritu Santo record "six cantorcillos who

went in the wheel above,"[10] thus definitely associating los seises (called cantorcillos in this period) with celestial performance. Such documentation of a theatrical representation of the cosmic sphere continues for the first third of the sixteenth century. In these documents, references to choristers as "angels" further supports identification of this "wheel" with the cosmos. A special celebration to receive the Emperor Charles V in Seville in 1526 included the choirboys dressed as angels and as symbols of the Virtues, descending from the heavens as they performed "a gentle melody."[11] By 1538, documentation of the performances "in the clouds" ceases altogether in favor of more abstract dances peformed at the church altar.

The dancing of los seises has continued to the present day, and the current performance clearly indicates the Renaissance roots of the dance: geometric patterns such as wheels, circles, crosses, stars, parallel lines, and braids of movement are created by the moderately paced performance of Italian-style single steps (sencillos), accompanied by orchestra, the children's singing, and intermittent use of castanets. The symbolic nature of the geometric dances of the French Renaissance has been discussed at length by Mark Franko, who points out that such works "are frequently justified dramatically within the context of the [court] ballet as a celebration of the return of order and the invocation . . . of concord. The dancers (nymphs, knights or celestial bodies) are usually pure and elevated personages."[12] Similarly, los seises were also specially selected and groomed for their mission as representatives of cosmic harmony, for great pains were taken to guard these prebuscent boys from women, from erotically motivated colleagues, and even from themselves. Note here that, while these cosmic dancers were regarded as elevated or exemplary figures, they achieved this position by neither their social rank nor their dancing roles, but rather by their supposed moral virtue; thus, religious rather than political concerns again dominate and distinguish this manifestation of cosmological choreography.

We know that contemporary chroniclers of the Sevillian feasts recognized the cosmic imagery in the seises' performances, as indicated by one author who wrote of "the six reserved and tender children, . . . their countenance modest with spirits inflamed in celestial movements."[13] In the music they sang, the harmonies of the spheres were also suggested, for the boys' voices were so

pure that a contemporary wrote, "the gentleness of the Music is absolutely heavenly." [14] Further support for the use of cosmological themes in Seville's celebrations is found in the music of Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599), one of the greatest Renaissance composers of Spain, a native of Seville who served in the music chapel of that Cathedral for many years.[15] Texts for some of Guerrero's Corpus Christi music refer to singing angels, and may well have been sung in support of the dances of los seises.

Dances were also produced for the city's religious celebrations under the sponsorship of the City Council. Nearly all of these works were choreographed or directed by city residents, and performed by dancers whom the choreographers hired. These citizens were not employed by the Church, and records indicate that they also did their dances at private festivities or parrochial events if they were hired to do so. Extensive documentation exists of these "City" dances in the form of contracts listing titles, choreographer, number of dancers, costume requirements, some musical instruments, and--in a few cases--choreographic indications. A variety of themes were employed in these highly theatrical dances, including allegorical, biblical, historical, and topical subjects. Again, we find that images of the cosmos are well represented among these works.

A representation of the ideal cosmos where Good victoriously banishes evil is apparent in the unusually descriptive documentation of the dance titled The Triumph of St. Michael (1651, probably a recreation of works performed in 1609 and '44). Choreographer Francisco de Ribera sent the following note about this work to the City Councilmen:

> The dance will begin with the drum, and when the drum finishes, a vihuela will be played, where, at the sound of this vihuela, a line of battle will be formed between the demons and Saint Michael, the demons with their pennants in their hands, as required, Saint Michael with his javelin: at which point a banner is unfurled, and someone speaks as God, and he tramples down Lucifer, who then enters into the mouth of a dragon which must stand before the dance, and he will again come out from behind the

dragon, and the dance will end. I promise your Lordships that it will be very fine.[16]

This choreographed battle brings to mind a similar theme in one of the Valois magnifiques,[17] the 1572 fête for the marriage of Henry of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois. This celebration included the ballet, Le Paradis d'Amour, which culminated in a choreographed battle between gentlemen played by Catholic courtiers, and demons played by Huguenot guests, on a stage set with a paradisial garden, an inferno, and the heavenly stars and planets in continual motion. In Le Paradis d'Amour, as in The Triumph of St. Michael, the gods appear at the decisive moment of the battle, although the French work features a classical figure, Mercury, in this role. Another parallel is found between the Spanish and the French performances, for in Le Paradis, the defeated forces of evil are ultimately liberated from their inferno in order to join with the trimphant gentlemen and nymphs in a final grand ballet, much as choreographer Ribera's note promises for the Sevillian dance. While the themes for both dances are quite congruent, the Spanish work is set entirely within a Christian, as opposed to a classical, context. Thus, the continuity of Spanish religious drama with its medieval past, and the uniformity of the worldview made explicit by this devotional, didactic choreography, distinguish Spain's Renaissance theatre dance.[18]

Other works in Seville's Corpus celebrations also demonstrated the victory of good over evil, of Christian heaven over heathen or heretical hell. Among these were: The Angels and the Demons (1570), The Villain of the Deluge (1613, '23, '44), Seven Vices and Seven Virtues (1621), and The World of the Devil and the Flesh (1638). One other City-sponsored dance in which the battle between good and evil was displayed was a float called the Tarasca.[19] This seven-headed serpent figure was surrounded by a group of mojarillas [little devils] who playfully defended it from the swarm of children who sought to batter the float as a manifestation of evil. In order to clear the way for the float to pass, it was led by two "savages" with wild, garlanded hair and clubs at their shoulders, together with another group of mojarillas, goats, and satyrs. Seated on the serpent's back was the cosmos itself, in the form of three figures: Lucibel, the World, and the Flesh.

The feast of Corpus Christi was established to call forth public demonstrations of faith and rejoicing in the true incarnation of Christ in the Host. The subject matter of this holiday, thus, had its own cosmological implications, connecting heaven to earth, and the feast's demonstrative nature led directly to theatricality. In Seville, which was also at this time the point of exchange and evangelizing between the Old and New Worlds, a vision of the universe evolved in which economic, political, and spiritual power radiated outward from the city to the rest of the universe. One of the City dances commissioned for the Corpus procession of 1640 specifically carried the theme of Corpus Christi into choreography. The Dance of the Holy Sacrament was described by choreographer Ana de Medina as featuring "an apariencia [flat, screen, or curtain] which carries an angel, where, after the dance is completed, a chalice is discovered, with the Holy Sacrament with its rays very golden and all very brilliant."[20] The culmination of this dance for twelve performers is the revelation of the host-bearing chalice, radiating golden light. The Holy Sacrament itself, here, becomes the center of a universe of light which the dance celebrates and adores.

While we have been looking at images of the cosmos in individual dances, we might also note that the procession itself--in fact, the entire feast of Corpus Christi--can be viewed as a cosmological representation. All areas of authority were present in the processional order, and the arrangement of guilds, confraternities, parrochial clergy, royal representatives, church ministers and musicans, the Inquisition, and City Councilmen recreated an image of the fabric of Seville's existence. The monstrance, bearing the Holy Sacrament itself, was the center of this cosmos, and proximity to it demonstrated a spiritual hierarchy. It is thus significant that the dancing choirboys, los seises, along with other Cathedral musicians, marched alongside the monstrance in the procession. Caro, in his Días geniales, makes the specific comparison between the laudatory choruses Plato envisioned in his Republic and Seville's processional celebration of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, a celebration based on the Corpus Christi model.[21] The route of the procession made clear that the city's center was its religious seat; the march began, moved around, and returned to the Cathedral. This world was multiplied in image, as if in a series

of prisms, as the feast was celebrated for the eight days of its Octave, and as parish-sponsored festivities spun off from the main events at the cathedral. [22]

A humanistic interest in the classical period as a source for cosmological imagery is suggested in the titles of the works in the Corpus feast: The Gods and the Planets (1609), The Sarao of the Sun and the Moon (1622, 1644), The Movements of Time (1623), The Dance of Time (1625), The Rejoicing for the Goddess Ceres ((1633, 1642), The Wheel of Fortune (1636, 1645), The Sibyls (1639), and The Sun and Eleven Moons (1640). This use of antique myths and imagery brings Seville's dances closer to the central concerns of Renaissance art. Evidence of a lively humanist movement within Spain is suggested by the influence of Italian treatises on art, of Flemish humanist philosophy, and of Spanish scholarship into Greek and Latin texts.[23] In Seville, the figure of church lawyer Rodrigo Caro is exemplary: born in Andalusia in 1573, Caro never travelled beyond his native province except for a brief journey to Portugal. Yet, this friend to many of Seville's leading ecclesiastics compiled a sizable library of works by classical Greek authors, Renaissance commentaries on the classics, humanist philosophical treatises, and antiquarian texts. Caro was part of the circle of writers, philosophers and poets which some scholars have referred to as "la escuela sevillana."[24] Indeed, Caro discussed "saltation, which in castellano we call danza, baile o tripudio," in his treatise on games and recreation, Días geniales o lúdicros. (I, p. 88) He cites Lucian's comparison of dancing to "the harmony of the celestial orbs, because they move in measure and order, just as the dance moves harmoniously"(I, p. 89). A contemporary text written by Sevillian dancing master Juan de Esquivel Navarro cites this frequent renaissance theme for the origins of dance: "an imitation of the orderly harmony that the celestial spheres, lights, and fixed and wandering stars perform together in concerted motion."[25] The presence of cosmic visions expressed in images drawn from classical antiquity, then, was part of this stream of Renaissance scholarly and humanist influence in Seville.

While a goal of the Spanish monarchs from los Reyes Católicos to the close of the period under discussion had been to create a homogeneous Catholic population, there was still a considerable foreign presence in the nation, particularly in Seville, the center of New World commerce. The

foreign nations most fully represented in Seville's population at this time were also the seats of Renaissance humanism: Italy, Flanders, and France. Intermarriage and political connections among Spanish royalty brought additional influence from these nations. From Italy came artistic and dramatic theory; from France, an infusion of interest in dance and spectacle added to the already lively presence of these forms in Spain; from Flanders, Erasmian logic, philosophy, and science made inroads at Spanish universities and academies. All of these movements included scholarly research into the great texts and models of antiquity. When the dances of the Corpus festivities came under attack from some segments of the Church in the late-seventeenth century, one defender of the performances of los seises noted that they danced "in the mode of the Ancient Choruses, performed in the Festivities of the Nymphs, and acclaimed in the Applause and Praise of the Poets."[26] It was surely in this light that Pope Gregory XV had written to the Cathedral Council of Seville in 1622, encouraging the spectacular nature of the city's religious festivities by stating that "when mortals employ themselves in honest acts of praise and deeds of thanksgiving to our Lord, their Choir is no different from the Court of Heaven."[27]

The imported humanist influences cited above only reinforced trends already present within Spain itself. The Church and the Crown in Spain had seized upon the great popularity and didactic value of the Corpus Christi feast to demonstrate a model of a world in which Spanish political and religious power dominated. The long militancy of the Spanish Church in its fight to reconquer Iberia from Moorish domination, and then to preserve it from Protestant heresies made each religious feast a "preparation for the spiritual defense . . . of the Catholic faith."[28] Yet the centuries of co-existence and struggle with the Moors also contributed to the classical heritage of Spain. The Arab translators, usually working in teams that included Jews and Christians, were largely responsible for the great rise in classical learning which emanated from Toledo and Madrid, as well as smaller cities such as Seville, beginning in the twelfth century.[29] Avicebron, Avicenna, Algazel, and Maimonedes were all Spanish natives whose systems and translations had a powerful impact on the rise of humanistic scholarship in the rest of Europe. Through them the lost works of such classical thinkers as Euclid, Ptolemy, Galen, Hippocrates, Aristotle,

Pythagorus, and others became available to western scholars, many of whom flocked to Spanish centers of learning to study. These works not only stimulated interest in antique mythology but also in astrological theories, supported by the cosmologies expounded in the classical texts. The minarets of Muslim mosques--including the famous Giralda of Seville, now joined to the Cathedral--were used by Arab scientists as astrological observatories. The Spanish Christians living under the Moors absorbed considerable Arab influence in dress, language, poetical forms, music, and daily customs.[30] They may well have been familiar with images and themes drawn from the body of scholarship available at this time in Al-Andalus.

Yet there is also evidence that these "Mozarabs" as they were called retained the integrity of their Roman-Visigothic heritage from the period preceding the Muslim occupation of Ibera. That continuity was demonstrated in such areas as architecture, trade connections, and--most importantly--liturgical practices and religious philosophy.[31] When the Christian reconquerors entered Seville in 1248, they were greeted with joyous demonstrations including dances. Whether dancing or any other sort of religious theatre was actually a part of the early Hispano-Gothic liturgy is conjectural, although several scholars have suggested that it was.[32] The nurturing of the Mozarabic--or Hispano-Gothic--liturgy by the Cathedral of Toledo is one instance of the persistence of this ancient connection, and it also points to the antiquity of the dances of <u>los seises</u>, since these choristers were also included as part of the Toledan rite. The great 7th-century Spanish theologian St. Isidore was one of the founders of this liturgy; he encouraged the inclusion of music, writing that "the very universe, it is said, is held together by a certain harmony of sounds, and the heavens themselves are made to revolve by the modulation of harmony."[33] Devotion to music continued under the Spanish Muslims, whose musical forms, tonalities, and instruments are known to have passed from Arab to Christian Spain, as demonstrated in such texts as Alfonso el Sabio's <u>Cantigas de Sta. María</u>.[34]

Factors in the early foundations of Christianity in Iberia give further support to the inclusion of not only dancing, but of cosmological representations in the native liturgy. There is strong evidence of Gnostic influence as early as the 3rd and 4th centuries, which affected Christian

mystic movements in the peninsula thereafter.[35] This continuity is displayed, for example, in the allegorical--and particularly astrological and cosmological--symbolism of the bas-reliefs decorating the seventhth-century monastery of Sta. María de Quintanilla de las Viñas, near Burgos, one of the few churches still standing from that period, and probably representative of a larger number of like-designed sanctuaries. Another influence from this early and tumultuous period of the establishment of Christianity in Spain is the iconoclastic tendency of certain sects, which encouraged the artistic exploitation of abstract, geometrical forms rather than of realistic, narrative art.[36] Iconoclasm was a foundation of Muslim art as well, allowing for further development in abstract design. Delight in elaborate geometric forms is still a hallmark of Spanish art and architecture, and has been a continuing feature of choreographic patterns throughout Spanish history. The current dances of los seises depend nearly entirely on geometrical interest, and seventeenth-century descriptions of the City-sponsored dances suggest a similar concern: "they flowed through the entire body of the Procession, weaving (with peaceful restlessness) loops and turns, licit and pleasing, and most gay and rich to see."[37]

Thus, the religious feasts of Seville's Golden Age provided opportunities for the city's religious and civil authorities to display not only their wealth, devotion, and power, but also a cosmological vision which placed Seville at the naval of the world. Drawing on classical sources, Christian allegory, and humanist scholarship, these works connect Spanish theatre dances of this period to choreographic trends in Europe's leading centers of art. At the same time, these didactic, devotional, and delightful works provide clues to the continuity of an ancient religious system, enlivened by the mission of Catholic world destiny manifest at this time in Seville.

[1]All references in this paper to the dances of Seville's religious festivities are drawn from research published in this author's book, The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain's Golden Age (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1988).

[2]On the cosmological themes of the Valois magnifiques, see especially the following two works by Frances A. Yates: Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), and The Valois Tapestries (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959, 2nd edition 1975). The Medici family in Italy at this time also employed cosmological themes in some of its festivities, as detailed by A.M. Nagler in Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637 (NY: DaCapo Press, 1976). Roy Strong discusses the power of the court fête throughout Renaissance Europe, but especially in France, in Art and Power. Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

[3]The fullest treatment of this theme is James Miller's Measures of Wisdom: The Cosmic Dance in Classical and Christian Antiquity (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986). See also Kathi Meyer-Baer, Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).

[4]Adolfo de Castro, History of Religious Intolerance in Spain, trans. Thomas Parker (London: William and Frederick G. Cash: 1853), p. 26.

[5]John Lynch, Spain under the Habsburgs (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), vol. I, p. 68.

[6] Quoted in William Thomas Walsh, Philip II (London NY: Sheed & Ward, 1937), pp. 34-35.

[7] Walsh, p. 34.

[8]Biblioteca Colombina y Capitular, MS 82-5-24, Alonso Sánchez Gordillo, Religiosas estaciones que frequenta la devoción sevillana: observaciones, f. 12. On Seville in the Golden Age, see: Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, Orto y ocaso de Sevilla, 2nd ed. (Seville: University of Seville, 1974).

[9]Such documentation is recorded in the Archivo Capitular de Sevilla (hereafter ACS), Libros de fábrica no. 18 for the year 1499, f. 44; no. 50, 1528, f. 35v; no. 52, 1529, f. 30; no. 53, 1530, f. 27; no. 55, 1531, f. 26v; no. 56, 1532, ff. 4 and 11; no. 57, 1533, f. 35; no. 61, 1538, ff. 35 and 41.

For more information on such mechanisms for representing the heavens, see: Vicente Lleo Cañal, Arte y Espectáculo: La Fiesta del Corpus Christi en la Sevilla de los S. XVI y XVII (Seville: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1975), p. 23; and José Sánchez Arjona, Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla desde Lope de Rueda hasta finales del siglo XVII (Seville: Rasco, 1898), p. 3.

[10]ACS Libros de fábrica no. 21, 1506, f. 58.

[11] D. Bernardo Luis de Castro Palacios, Maestro de Ceremonias, Tesoro de la Sta. Iglesia Patriarcal, y Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1717, vol. II, pt. II, f. 4.

[12]Mark Franko, "Geometrical Dance in French Court Ballet," in Proceedings of the Society of Dance History Scholars, 9th Annual Conference, Feb. 1986, p. 13. Franko has further analyzed the geometric, or horizontal dance of the Renaissance in The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography, c. 1416-1589 (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 1986).

[13]Fernando de la Torre Farfán, "Descripción panagírica de esta Insigne Fiesta," in Fiestas que celebró la iglesia parrochial de S. Ma. la Blanca, 1665.

[14]Alonso Morgado, Historia de Sevilla (Seville: 1587, rpt. Archivo Hispalense, 1887), p. 307.

[15]Francisco Guerrero, Opera Omnia, vol. 2, transcription by Vicente Garcia; introduction by Miguel Querol Gavalda (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1957).

[16]Archivo Municipal de Sevilla (hereafter AMS), Sección cuarta, tomo 12, 1651.

[17] See Henry Prunieres, Le Ballet de Cour en France (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1914, rpt. NY: 1970), pp. 72-75. Also see Yates, Tapestries, pp. 61-63.

[18] On the issue of continuity and evolution of Spanish theatre, see: Vicente Lleo Cañal, Arte y Espectáculo and Fiesta Grande: el Corpus Christi en la Historia de Sevilla (Sevilla: Biblioteca de Temas Sevillanos, 1980); N.D. Shergold, A History of the Spanish Stage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Ronald Surtz, The Birth of a Theatre (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); and Margaret Wilson, Spanish Drama of the Golden Age (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969).

[19]AMS Papeles importantes, S. XVI, tomo 3, doc. 12, 1575; Fiestas que celebró la iglesia parrochial de Sta. María la Blanca . . . en favor de Purisimo Misterio de la Concepción, c. 1665.

On the history and symbolism of this figure, see: Salvador Rodríguez Becerra, "Cultura popular y fiestas," in Los andaluces (Madrid: Colección Fundamentos), p. 487; and Francis George Very, The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession: A Literary and Folkloric Study (Valencia: 1962), pp. 53-70.

[20]AMS Sección cuarta, tomo 11, 1640.

[21]Caro, pp. 62-65.

[22] On the worldview of Seville in its Corpus processions, see Lleo: Arte y espectáculo, pp. 50-59; Fiesta grande, pp. 81-82. On the Corpus Christi feast in general, see: E.O. James, Christian Myth and Ritual (London: John Murray, 1933); Luis Rubio García, Estudios sobre la Edad Media española: la procesión del Corpus (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1973); and Very, The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession.

[23] On humanism and the Spanish Renaissance, see: Othón Arroniz, La influencia italiana en el nacimiento de la comedia española (Madrid: Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, 1969); Aubrey F. G. Bell, El renacimiento español, trans. Eduardo Julia Martinez (Zaragoza: Editorial Ebro, 1944); El Erasmismo en España, eds. Manuel Revuelta Sañudo and Ciriaco Morón Arroyo (Santander: Sociedad Menendez Pelayo, 1986); and Stanley G. Payne, Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

[24] Rodrigo Caro, Días geniales o lúdicros,(1619-26), 2 vols., ed. and introduction, Jean-Pierre Etienvre (Madrid: Espasa-Calpa, SA, 1978); Francisco Pacheco, Libro de descripciones de verdaderos retratos de ilustres memorables varones (Seville: 1599).

[25]Juan de Esquivel Navarro, Discursos sobre el arte del dançado, y sus excelencias y primer origen, reprobando las acciones deshonestas (Seville: Juan Gomez de Blas, 1642; rpt. Madrid: 1947), ch. I, p. 1.

[26]Fernando de la Torre Farfán, Fiestas de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla al nuevo culto del S. Rey S. Fernando el Tercero (Seville: 1671), p. 290.

[27]Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros, Historia, antigüedades y grandezas de la M.N. y M.L. ciudad de Sevilla (Seville: 1627-30), f. 131v.

[28] Sánchez Gordillo, Religiosas estaciones, f. 7.

[29] On the translators and the impact of this movement throughout Europe, see: Anwar G. Chejne, Historia de España musulmana (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1980), pp. 137, 160, 366-68; Thomas F. Glick, Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 261-62; S.M. Imamuddin, Some Aspects of the Socio-economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain, 711-1492 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), pp. 156, 186-87; Jan Read, The Moors in Spain and Portugal (Totowa NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974), pp. 174-80.

[30] The influence of Moorish practices on the Mozarab populations is discussed in: Glick, pp. 176-77, 192-93 Imamuddin, especially pp. 186-88; Gabriel Jackson, The Making of Medieval Spain (NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1972), pp. 112-15; 161-64; and Read, pp. 232-33.

31 See: Glick, pp. 176-77; Jackson, p. 112; and especially the entirely of Ignacio Olagüe's La revolución islámica en occidente (Guadarrama: Fundación Juan March, 1974).

32 On the existence of religious dancing and theatre in the early Spanish liturgy, see: Basilio Castellanos de Losada, Discursos histórico-arqueológicos sobre el origen, progresos, y decadencia de la música y baile español (Madrid: Antonio Pére Dubrull, 1854), p. 864; Richard B. Donovan, The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958), pp. 21-22; Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Orígenes del teatro español (Buenos Aires: Editorial Schapire, 1946), pp. 19-20; Sánchez Arjona, pp. 31-32; José Sánchez Romero, Castilla: La copla, el baile, y el refrán (Madrid: Editorial Prensa Española, 1972), p. 96; Very, p. 100.

33 Isidore of Seville, "Etymologiarum sive originum," lib. XX, in Source Readings in Music History: Antiquity and the Middle Ages, ed. Oliver Strunk (NY: Norton, 1965), p. 94.

34 See Chejne, pp. 336-38; Imamuddin, pp. 180, 199.

35 This subject is discussed in detail by Olagüe, pp. 168-79.

36 See Olagüe, pp. 351-65; Read, pp. 232-33.

37 Torre Farfán, Fiestas de la Sta. Iglesia, p. 320.

La danza de los Tlaxinquis o Tejamanileros

Danza- Teatro de una comunidad Nahuatl, Xalatlaco, Estado de México

María Macías Moranchel*

INTRODUCTION

The following presentation intends to show the results of an investigation undertaken between the years 1988 and 1990 on the dances of the community of Xalatlaco in the State of Mexico. The data was obtained by observing dancers and general population during some of the fiestas or celebrations (i.e. Corpus christi, Santa teresita, San Bartolo, San Juan, la Virgen de la Asuncion and San Agustin) and by investigating in the Archivo General de la Ciudad de México (National Archive of Mexico City)

Several artists of the village of Xalatlaco were interviewed: Don Modesto Castillo, Maestro de la Danza; Don Francisco Reynoso, tejamanilero; Don Sergio Hinojoza, musician; Fabiola Mejía, doncella danzante (dancing maiden).

The collaboration provided by Professor Pedro Piña Mendoza (muscician) in gathering, analyzing and transcribing the musical data obtained was also extremely valuable to determine the basis of the choreographic notations of the dance.

This investigation covers the monograph of the people, their history, the religious orders that converted the native population, the origin and development of the fiesta, the analysis of the pre-Hispanic simbolic aspects that are "covered" by the dance and all the aspects relative to drama-dance (description of the dance within the theatre; the choreographic and musical notation).

For restrictions in time and space, this paper will strictly concentrate on the dance aspect. The formal division of this work is: firstly a general introduction to Xalatlaco that will allow us to situate the village, our object of study, in time and space. Secondly the ethnography of the dance that describes its external organization and internal structure. Finally the conclusions obtained will originate interest in the area of anthropological investigation on dance.

1.GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT XALATLACO.

Etymologycally the word Xalatlaco comes from the nahuatl language and means: XALLI "sand", ATLAHU "that emerges" and CO "in", what we can combine as "place where the water emerges with the sand". This village is situated in the Estado de México forty kilometers southeast of Tulca and sixty kilometers northwest of the Distrito Federal .This municipio has a territorial extension of 7,850hectares and a moderate, sub-humid climate.

This municipio is divided into four barrios (that are San Agustin, San Juan, San Francisco and San Bartolo) and ten rancherias outside Xalatlaco (those are el Capulin, Cuexapa, la Mesa, Tomasquillo, Morelos, el Potrero, Cruz Larga, los Tejocotes, Santa Fé Mezapa y la Fabrica).

Based on arqueological sources found in Malinalco (village that is close to Xalatlaco) it is known that Matlatzinca , Mazahua and Otomie groups inhabited the region. About the Nahuas , Mexican ethnic group which is the focous of this study, we know through the records of the indigenous groups of Codices Mendocino and Ozuna that in their peregrination to México-Tenochitlan, the Mexicas leftbehind a group that stayed in the vicinities of Xalatlaco.

The evangelization by priests of the Franciscan Order started in 1543 with the "founding" of the place as it is recorded in a document issued by the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza (1)who gave the authorization to give the "Merced ". The patron saint of that village until today is Nuestra Señora de la Asuncion.

Today Xalatlaco is a proserous town that has all of the social services that a population of over seventeen millon people require. The most important activities of these people are commerce, agriculture and cattle dealing. During the colonial, viceroyal, revolutionary and post-revolutionary epoques the exploitation of forests for wood was most popular but today it is banned by the authorities.

II.ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE DANCE

1.-External organization: the general organization found in Xalatlaco in any given religious fiesta is based on regidurias and mayordomias . Both types of organizations, which have their origins in the colonial times, are still widely adopted today in the Republic of Mexico but in this study (and because of the type of dance we are interested in)we will concentrate only on the mayordomias .Starting from a general diagram, we will concentrate in the different parts at different times.

MAYORDOMO GENERAL

2o Mayordomo 3o Mayordomo

S O C I O S

Mayordomo Tequistis	Mayordomo Tequistis	Mayodomo Tequistis	Promesas	Promesas	Promesas
2o.3o.Soc.	2o.3o.Soc.	2o.3o.Soc.	2o.3o.Soc.	2o.3o.Soc.	2o.3o.Soc.
D.Tlalxinq.	D.Arrieros	D.Lobitos	Portada	Banda	Flores

Description:

The Mayordomo General is in charge of the planning, directing and supervision of all the activities during a fiesta patronal (fiesta in honor of the patron saint of the village). The so called second and third mayordomos as well as the socios are the people that assist and support the Mayordomo General .The number of people in the socios might vary between ten and twenty people.

Once this group is formed a group of Tequistis is hired to be in charge of the dances in the different festivitiessince in each fiestabetween three and four different dances are presented.

Some other responsibilities of this group are organizing the dancers' schedule for group rehearsals (which are usually two or three), feeding the dancers during rehearsal time and during the performance days, designing and placing the adequate scenography for each number in the church on the day of performance, getting the appropriate tree that will be used to make the tejamanil during the dance and finally thank the participation of all the dancers by providing a small feast on the day of the performance.

The Promesas are the groups of people that will be in charge of selecting the music, the flowers and the decoration of the chapel inside and outside among other tasks of the sort.

2.- Internal Organization: There is a complex system of "status levels" involved in the internal organization of these dances. Age, sex and time spent in that profession are only some of the factors that determine these divisions which probably have their origins in the pre-hispanic days. The old people are the most important and respected in this group because they are the ones that usually have the best knowledge of the traditions and of how to execute the dances and the better skills and more experience when working with the tejamanil. Another element that is thought to be pre-hispanic is the participation of children and young adults (particularly young females) in these ceremonies with the main purpose being the conservation of the traditions.

A- Cuadrillas - Are the groups of people from the same barrio of different ages and both sexes that will be in charge of every performance. Within the cuadrillas we find those with the most experience called punteros and punteras that form the couple that will guide the rest of the group in the different choreographic changes according to those in the melodie. Some of the punteros are regular figures in the festivities and do not always stay with the same cuadrilla in the same barrio. The main responsibilities of the punteros are to buy their own costume, to be present in all of the rehearsals, to contribute with the preparation of the food for the feast on the day of the performance and to dance during the whole fiesta which lasts approximately five or six hours.

B-Members of the Dances- There are two types of characters: symbolic and real. The simbolic character is the COAXTLAXANE (the master or owner of the mount or forest) who is going to be the central character of this dance and we could even say that it happens in his honor. The origin of this character is pre-hispanic and according to the legend he appears as air or mist and leaves a mark, with his hands, on the trees that should be cut (2), and "only people that are good and faithful can perceive him"(3)"he helps the tejamanileros to find the right tree to cut since not all trees are appropiate to make the tejamanil (4).

Nowadays this character is considered as a mix between the european and the pre-hispanic. Its pre-hispanic aspect could be representing the god of the wind, Ehecatl , since it is the most closely related to the air; on its european side it could be the equivalent of a spirit or gnome of the forest that frequently appears in european tales and legends.

Among the real characters we find the HUENTZIN (the old man or the father) of all the tejamanileros . He is the oldest of the whole group and therefore the one that has the higher status. There are also this character's children; Colas, José, Pantalio, Gervasio and the younguest girl Xohcal and the Cocinero (the cook)who is an inversion element (5). A real character newly added to this cast is the Tlalxiquero (6). Generally the people that performe as the Huentzin 's sons and daughter are the same ones that make the tejamanil .The rest of the cuadrilla is formed by the young men and women and by the group of children, which total twenty or thirty people. Members of the younger portion of the cuadrilla exclusively perform the dances; only a few of the young aoults take part in making the tejamanil , a tradition that is regretfully desapearing due to the legal regulations on cutting trees.

3.-General features of the dance.

A-Presentation. This dance falls in the popular Mexican class known as Danza-Teatro . While today it is considered a part of the traditional mexican culture in its origins this dance was a way of evangelization used by the friars that colonized and gave

European ways to the natives of that region. The friar's main aim was to "erase" all the native culture and traditions since those were considered sinful; as we can see the success was only partial and with the fusion of both cultures we obtained this new form of art in wich both native and European elements are present.

B-Description of the Tejamanil 's work. Before the description of the work itself it is necessary to give a background of the words associated with the work; TLALXINQUI is a nahuatl word that means Tejamanilero that is the person that works the tejamanil . The definitions found in the dictionary (8) are:

TLAXAMANILTELI :wooden structure made with pieces of wood long or narrow.

TLAXAMANILTLI :bruised head or small boards or long chips of wood.

TLAXAMANTLIZTLI :act of bruising or crushing the head.

The meaning of these words agrees exactely with the activities that take place nowadays. It consists in cutting the tree (as we clarified before, not just any tree but those that the experts in working with the tejamanil consider appropiate, usually the oyamel tree) in large pieces, take out the bark and the middle part (the "heart") and discard all those keeping the soft,moist part of the inside.Then thin boards are cut and by the time the piece hardens it is ready to be used in the construction of the huts and cabins of Xalatlaco.These pieces of wood are approximately 0.10m in width and between 0.70 and 1.20 in length, and 1.5 cm thick.

C- Work division. The work is divided according to sex, age and activities.The older males are the ones that work the tejamanil .The rest of them (whose ages vary between three and fiftyyears) have different abilities;the most agile ones adorn the basic steps of the dance, the cocinero (cook) prepares the caldo or mixacoyotl (soup) during the dance itself (for 3 hours). The women that are involved in this are younger (from three to twenty years old)since no married woman is allowed to fully participate although their help is often needed before to fix the food (gorditas de maiz), or in making the costumes and in very rare

ocassions to help cooking the mixacoyotl .The participation of the women happens always in the traditional style; Kneeling on the floor and using the traditional pre-hispanic utensils.

D. Analysis of the dance. "The dance has its own structure". This observation is the conclusion obtained from the direct observation of the dance during the periods previously mentioned in both its external and internal structures. Starting with this hypothesis I observed and recorded, but this was not enough to prove it.My search to prove this continued and my task turned into finding out about the secrets of the dance by observing and interviewing the people that performed it, but only viewing this dance as part of their tradition and of their every-day life in the village of Xalatlaco.

In order to analyse this tradition I applied the method of "scenic analysis" that presents three times: BEFORE, DURING and CONCLUSION.

BEFORE	DURING	CONCLUSION
Ask for permision	Begining Development Climax Ending	Ceremonial thanks of the Mayordomos to the dancers in the atrium and inside the chapel.

STRUCTURE OF THE MOMENTS THAT FORM THE DANCE:

1.- Benediction
2.- Walk to the forest
3.- Cutting the tree
4.- Work of the tejamanil
5.- Wedding
6.- Feast
7.- Farewell

Once the component elements of the dance were analysed we had to analyse the dance itself.The

same method (scenic analysis) was again applied, this time to place the seven moments of the dance itself in time and space:

BEGINING	DEVELOPMENT	CLIMAX	CONCLUSION
Benediction	Walk to the forest	Wedding	farewell
	Cutting the tree	Feast	
	Work of the tejamanil		

Contrary to what one might think, the danzas-teatro or indigenous dances have a formal structure and are not as intuitive as they appear to be. An important feature that we can observe in this dance is that is timeless, starting as a need and turning into tradition; at the begining taking place in a forest and now in a sacred place like the atrium of a church or chapel.

E.-Description of the dances development. The antecedents of the dance previously explained will contribute to an easier understanding of the development of the fourteen sones that constitute this dance.

"En el nombre sea de Dios Padre " (Let it be in the name of God the Father) is the first son that is played to enter the scene where the Huentzin is going to recieve the blessings to start the ceremony. Sones number two to eight are the accompaniment of the developing scene, since each of them lasts approximately five to ten minutes; the musicians repeat them over and over as many times as necessary. After the ninth son (that is the Jarabe Tapatio) everybody gets ready for the Wedding. The Huezin presides and conducts the ceremony while the sones Xochipitzahuac and Rascacetate are playing. After the ceremony everybody (public, dancers and the musicians) gets some caldo while several different sones play in the background. At the end of the dance the first son is repeated and then the mayordomos thank the participation of the dancers who stand in a line to then walk inside the chapel to greet the patron saint and wait [illegible] invitation to the banquet in the Tequisti's home. This action takes place in the inside of

the church as some sones play; This part of the ceremony is called La Coronacion .Traditional songs are sung at this point and the dancers thank and greet the patron saint leaving facing the altar whenever this is possible.

F.-Choreography. Itresembles the most primitive forms of dances (like the cult to the sun); in a circle with the cerrito or monte , which is the element that somehow identifies all tejamanileros .On the other hand there isthe Christian contribution on several ocassions the first one being the Bendicion or blessings to the Huentzin .At the end during La Coronacion also inside the temple the same choreographic form is respected.

G.-Music.All sorts of popular sones are played for the accompainiment of all the different parts of this ceremony. The compilation of those sons was made by Don Eligio (Maestro, musician who was interested in the preservation of the musical traditions.He dies in June 1990). Some of the traditional sons are: El canto de Agua Chica , El Trocito , Non Tacuali (or La Comida), El Son de la Mozonqueña , Los Frijolitos Pintos and Xochipitzahuac . Some of the songs introuduced about twentyfive years ago are: Estos Huaraches que traigo yo , Los Enanitos , El Jarabe Tapatio and El Rascapetate .The order of the sones compilated during this investigation are in order: 1.-Benediction or entrance or greeting :En el nombre sea de Dios Padre , El canto de Agua Chica , El Trocito , Yonihualla, Tacuali (or La Comida), Los Frijolitos Pintos , Los Huaraches , Los Enanitos , El Jarabe Tapatio, Xochipitzahuac , El Guajito , La Botella , El Rascapetate , Ending or exit En el nombre sea de Dios Padre .

H.-Attire. For women a "Chincuete" skirt of the type used in pre-hispanic times, in a dark shade of cotton or wool, a thick belt around the waist to keep the petticoat, white blouse with short sleeves and embroided around the collar, dark coloured rebozo (triangular piece of cloth put around the shoulders), a straw hat, braided hair adorned with a bow , huaraches , and lots of jewlery.

For men a long sleeved white shirt not tucked into the trousers, thick belt, white trousers, a

hat just like the womens', huaraches , a littlebag (morral), table on his shoulders covered with an embroided piece of cloth wich contains popochas (dried fish), charales , chilacas, epazote and a large gonga de maiz stuffed with green beans.

SPANISH DANCE SOCIETY

PROGRAM

A Lecture-Demonstration by Marina Keet

The Society of Dance History Scholars

Miami, Florida
February 9, 1991

with dancers
Jaime Coronado, Lourdes Elias, Nancy Sedgwick, Ziva, and Paula Durbin

SUITE OF DANCES

Castile: Madrid at the period of the artist Goya. Three of the most popular dances found in many regions of Spain are: the Jota, the Seguidillas, and the Fandango. Here follow examples from Castilla La Nueva.

JOTA DE LA PRADERA
Dancers: Jaime Coronado and Nancy Sedgwick

SEGUIDILLAS DEL CANDIL
Dancers: Jaime Coronado and Ziva

The Classical Dance's Origins in the Folk Dance

ZAPATEADO DE MARIA CRISTINA (Escuela Bolera) Dancer: Lourdes Elias

OLE DE LA CURRA as a regional dance and as a classical dance
Regional: Ziva Classical: Nancy Sedgwick
DEMONSTRATE 1. The first passage
2. The passage with the skirt movement
3. Finale

The Seguidillas and its Progression into the Bolero:
SEVILLANAS BOLERAS (Escuela Bolera)
Dancers: Lourdes Elias and Nancy Sedgwick

LA PARRANDA
Dancer: Nancy Sedgwick

SEGUIDILLAS MANCHEGAS (Castile, La Mancha) Mentioned by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra in 1615, in his book *El Ingeniojo Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Part I, 1605; Part II, 1615) in the second part, Chapter 18 (Encyclopedia Britannica). Dancer: Paula Durbin

GABOTA or GAVOTA (Basque) (Similar music and steps as the *Gavotte de Vestris*) Dancer: Lourdes Elias

BOLERO DE L'ALCUDIA DE CARLET (Valencia)
Dancers: Jime Coronado and Nancy Sedgwick

SEGUIDILLAS SEVILLANAS (Andalusia)
Dancers: Jaime Coronado, Ziva, Lourdes Elias, Nancy Sedgwick

La danza folklórica en México

César Delgado Martínez

Para hablar de la danza folklórica en México,es importante,realizar una serie de reflexiones,tomando en cuenta que continuamente se la ha tomado por algo que no corresponde a la realidad.Aquí se hace obligatorio retomar a Gramsci, para una vez por todas,establecer que "hasta ahora el folklore ha sido estudiado preferentemente como 'elemento pintoresco'...Es necesario en cambio estudiarlo como 'concepción del mundo y de la vida',en gran medida implícita,de determinados estratos (determinados en el tiempo y en el espacio) de la sociedad,en contraposición (por lo general también implícita, mecánica,objetiva) con las concepciones del mundo 'oficiales' (o en sentido más amplio,de las partes cultas de las sociedades históricamente determinadas),que se han sucedido en el desarrollo histórico".(1)

Así es que se debe de partir de la idea que la danza folklórica es una manifestación tradicional,que se da en ciertos grupos sociales y que se

(1) Gramsci,Antonio.Cuadernos de la cárcel: Literatura y vida nacional.Juan Pablos Editor. México,1976. p.239.

encuentra interrelacionada con otros valores culturales de dichos grupos.

El mencionado proceso folklórico se crea y se practica en determinados contextos socio-económicos,donde lo tradicional tiene una importancia considerable.De esta manera,la manifestación coreográfica aludida,se transmite de generación en generación.

Sin embargo,al hablar de tradición no se puede eludir el referirse a la innovación. "En los medios folklóricos existe la tendencia de guardar lo tradicional y la de imponer lo nuevo. Esta contradicción dialéctica determina la dinámica de los procesos de creación y transformación del folklore.Los grupos con un conocimiento avanzado y con una concepción progresista aprecian la innovación,porque ven en ella una señal de progreso y de superación de algunos conceptos anacrónicos".(2) No obstante, lo anterior no debe ser confundido con algo impuesto por la cultura hegemónica, en el que no se manifiesta la necesidad de avanzar,sino el desprecio,muchas veces,por la tradición.

Para ubicar a los grupos sociales que son portadores de la danza folklórica,necesariamente se tiene que hacer referencia a la connotación de clase que adquiere la cultura en una sociedad dividida en clases sociales.

(2) Delgado Martínez,César.Orientaciones actuales en la investigación de la cultura popular en Rumanía.Facultad de Lengua y Literatura Rumanas.Universidad de Bucarest,República Socialista de Rumanía, 1981.

9.

Como sostiene Amparo Sevilla,la anterior afirmación "puede parecer evidente y sobre todo sencilla,pero en realidad presenta varias problemáticas en cuanto a implicaciones concretas que de ella se derivan".(3)

Al considerar que la conciencia y sus manifestaciones son determinadas social e históricamente, de acuerdo con la misma Sevilla "el proceso de diferenciación de las prácticas sociales tiene su origen en la división social del trabajo,lo cual implica en cierto sentido,que cada clase social tenga su caractar propio en la manera de concebir y vivir el mundo".(4)

Así las clases dominantes,no tan sólo sustentan el poder económico, político y social,sino también ideológico y cultural.Esto último,se da sobre todo,a través de la cultura hegemónica,que representa los intereses particulares de dichas clases sociales,como si fueran los intereses generales de toda la sociedad y se trata de imponer por conducto de los medios de comunicación masiva y del sistema educativo nacional.

Por su parte,las culturas subalternas,son las "expresiones de aquellas clases sociales que se encuentran económicamente explotadas,políticamente dominadas e ideológicamente subalternas".(5)

(3) Sevilla,Amparo. ¿Qué es la danza en la cultura popular? En Los universitarios,número 202,Dirección de Difusión Cultural de la UNAM,México, agosto 1982. p.24.

(4) Ibídem.

(5) Ibídem.

10.

El fenómeno dancístico folklórico,al ser una manifestación de las culturas subalternas,expresa por medio de un código característico (diseños corporales y en el espacio,caracter,estilo,tema,indumentaria,etcétera) parte de los conocimientos,creencias,aspiraciones,que corresponden a la concepción del mundo y de la vida de estas clases.

Otro asunto de vital importancia dentro del tema que se desarrolla, es el caso de que la danza folklórica en México no es un proceso puro.Por el contrario,es producto de un mestizaje cultural y de varias influencias (dominaciones) a través de la historia.

No se puede hablar,con todo lo expresado con anterioridad,de una danza folklórica mexicana homogeneizada.Sin embargo,tomando en cuenta algunos elementos que se pueden generalizar,es posible dividirla en: danza y baile.

La danza folklórica presenta las características siguientes:

1.Función.-En general cumple una función religiosa,ritual y/o ceremonial, por lo tanto se da en contextos religiosos.En una fiesta patronal o en honor de una imagen.Sirve,por ejemplo,para pedir un favor especial (buena cosecha) o agradecer un bien recibido (fin de cosecha) a las imágenes veneradas.Es un vehículo de comunicación entre los hombres y los seres sobrenaturales.

a los que se les atribuyen poderes que van más allá de lo terrenal.

2.Organización.

a)Tipo de organización.-La fiesta en la que se da la danza,muchas veces se organiza dentro de un sistema tradicional de cargos,como son las mayordomías.Dependiendo del lugar de que se trate,la festividad puede estar al cuidado de uno o varios mayordomos o cargueros,quienes son los directamente responsables del festejo.En algunos casos, ellos costean todo.En otros, es el pueblo mismo el que coopera con los gastos.

b)Encargados.-Los encargados de la danza,que puede llamárseles capitán, maestro,jefe,dueño,etcétera,son los que tienen la responsabilidad de que la manifestación tradicional se practique.Se encargan de los ensayos, de enseñar la danza a los nuevos integrantes,de que esté lista la indumentaria,entre otras cosas.

c)Relaciones al interior del grupo.-En algunas danzas del país,se observa una disciplina rígida,que en algunos lugares llega hasta los castigos corporales por cometer alguna falta. También hay danzas donde la disciplina ya se perdió.

d)De los integrantes.- Las danzas se forman con hombres o mujeres,pero

son más las que se integran con personal masculino. A pesar de esto,en los últimos años se ha visto la incorporación de la mujer a la danza,como por ejemplo, la Danza de vaqueros, de Santa Cruz Atizapán,estado de México.

e)Sistemas de enseñanza-aprendizaje.- Casi siempre las danzas se aprenden espontáneamente,a través de la obervación y la imitación.El maestro o jefe se encarga de que los nuevos danzantes la aprendan tal como debe ser.En muchos lugares,éstos se colocan atrás de las filas y conforme adelantan en el aprendizaje van avanzando en la formación coreográfica.

f)Espacio.- Si la danza se da dentro de una festividad religiosa como ya se dijo,el lugar en que se ejecuta es el atrio de la iglesia. Hay lugares donde la expresión tradicional se efectúa en toda la población (afuera de la casa del carguero mayor,en el atrio del templo,inclusive adentro de éste,en el jardín,frente al palacio municipal, delante de las casas de los que cooperan para la fiesta o de quienes los invitan y en la plaza de toros) como la Danza de moros en Tingambato,Michoacán.

En el ejido La Partida,municipio de Torreón,Coahuila, la Danza de pluma, desde 1936 es organizada por las autoridades ejidales.Así es que la primera ejecución la realizan afuera de las instalaciones del ejido.Después

13.

van a una parcela sembrada de algodón,ahí interpretan su hecho coreográfico tradicional y desahijan,es decir,cortan las plantas que estorban,porque entre una y otra debe haber cierta distancia para que lleguen a fructificar.Luego se dirigen al panteón a danzarle a los muertos que pertenecieron a la danza, y finalmente,lo hacen durante todo el día de la fiesta en honor de San Isidro Labrador,en la enramada construída para ese fin en las cercanías del lugar.

3.Aspectos coreográficos.

a).Nombre de la danza.- En este caso suceden dos cosas.Primero,que una misma danza reciba diferentes designaciones en la región en que se efectúa. Por ejemplo la Danza de matlachines o matachines en el norte del estado de Jalisco,puede llevar el nombre de la localidad,el del santo patrón a quien se venera,el del título de los capitanes o el de quien la dirige,entre otros.También se presenta la ocasión de que en cierto lugar la danza no se llame igual.Así en Colotlán,hay un grupo que se conoce como Danza de San Nicolás, y otro, como Danza Chihuahua,precisamente porque así se llama el barrio en que se realiza.

El segundo caso, es cuando varias danzas diferentes entre sí,en cuanto a la coreografía,la música y/o los pasos,llevan idéntico nombre.Aquí

se puede retomar el mismo ejemplo.Hay danzas de Matachines,entre los tarahumaras, los mayos y los yaquis,que presentan notables diferencias. Otra muestra es la Danza de conquista.

b).Diseños en el espacio.-La coreografía de la manifestación de que se habla,presenta dos diseños. Uno, en círculo,reminiscencia prehispánica, como la Danza de concheros y la Danza de pastoras. Y otro,en dos líneas, de influencia europea,como la Danza de sonajeros.Esta última formación coreográfica es la más difundida entre las danzas del país.

c).Diseños corporales y pisadas.- La mayoría de las danzas concentran sus movimientos en la parte inferior del cuerpo humano,es decir las piernas y los pies,el torso casi no se mueve.Desde luego hay excepciones.Danzas en las que se utilizan sonajas y otros objetos como flechas,plumas,machetes, etcétera,que requieren de un tipo de movimiento especial.

En cuanto a las pisadas hay pasos simples y compuestos,zapateados, pespunteados,deslizados,pequeños saltos y giros,también se realizan constantes reverencias.

d).Tema.- No todas las danzas tienen un tema.Las que si los poseen, de acuerdo con Amparo Sevilla,pueden ser agrupadas de la manera siguiente:

- Danzas con imágenes imitativas y narrativas. La imitación puede ser

de animales,grupos o personajes, actividades económicas y/o relaciones laborales y guerreras.Ejemplos que corresponden a cada una de éstas son: La culebra, Jaguares, Tortuga, Caníbales, Chinelos, Manueles, Cañeros, Hortelanos,Arqueros,Matlachines y Paloteo.

Dentro de las narrativas se pueden encontrar acontecimientos o relatos bíblicos,acontecimientos históricos,actividades económicas y/o relaciones laborales.En estas danzas su desarrollo se apoya en textos hablados.Ejemplos de ellas son: Archareos, Tastoanes, Tres potencias, Conquista, Pluma, Tocotines,Arrieros, Mulas y Negritos.

-Danzas sin imagen.No obstante que en éstas no se observa un tema específico,sí hacen referencia o se relacionan con algún fenómeno natural o social,que puede ser con la celebración de alguna etapa del ciclo de vida: Canacuas y Muerte; con la naturaleza: Arcos y Cintas; o en veneración de alguna imagen: Guadalupana y Santa María de los Angeles. (6)

e).Caracter y significado.-Los dos se dan estrechamente vinculados. Como ya se afirmó con anterioridad,la mayoría de las danzas folklóricas en México

(6) Sevilla,Amparo. Danzas y bailes tradicionales de México. International Encyclopedia of Dance. Editora Selma Jean Cohen. Nueva York, en prensa.

tienen un caracter ritual,con fines mágicos y/o religiosos.

f).Personajes.-Dentro de las danzas hay personajes con nombres correspondientes a cargos militares: general,capitán,mayor y alferez, también existen cargos en las haciendas: caporal y capataz, de títulos nobiliarios: reyes y monarcas, de personajes de la historia: Moctezuma, Cortés y La malinche y míticos: Santiago Apóstol y Mahoma.

Asimismo casi en todas las danzas, hay unos personajes que andan en torno al grupo de danzantes,llamados viejos,chistosos,gracejos,corraleros o morenos. Son los que se encargan,según sea el caso,de cuidar el orden dentro de las filas,vigilar que el espacio de la danza no sea invadido,hacer reir a los asistentes,arreglar los huaraches que se descompongan y/u ocupar el lugar de un danzante que tiene que salir por alguna emergencia o necesidad. En algunos lugares,se afirma que una danza sin viejo no es danza.Igualmente se dice que el viejo tiene que ser el mejor danzante.Estos personajes,muchas veces,se visten de mujer y usan máscara.En ocasiones, lo divertido es que la gente de la comunidad no sepa quienes son.

4.Indumentaria.-Una gran mayoría de los trajes con los que se interpretan las danzas tienen influencia hispánica.Esto se puede constatar en el uso de los materiales,tales como satín,terciopelo,lentejuela,chaquira, cuentas de vidrio y espejo y el diseño y los bordados.Lo anterior es

posible encontrarlo mezclado con elementos de origen prehispánico,como es el uso de plumas.

5.Música.-El acompañamiento musical de las danzas es diverso, dependiendo de la danza y del lugar que se trate.Este puede ser desde una flauta de carrizo y un tambor, o una sola tambora, o un violín hasta orquestas o bandas.

La influencia española en este renglón es notoria en los instrumentos de cuerda,la mayoría de los de aliento y varios de percusión. La presencia de lo prehispánico está en el huehuetl,el teponaztli, el tambor de agua, las sonajas,los capullos de mariposas y los caracoles marinos.

Además de los instrumentos musicales propiamente dicho, existen los elementos fonorrítmicos,que son los sonidos producidos por los danzantes con instrumentos y objetos o actitudes corporales,como sonajas, arcos (en algunos lugares llamados flechas),cascabeles, huesos de fraile,castañuelas,bastones,machetes,cuchillos,etcétera.

Finalmente,hay danzas que tienen cantos que las acompañan.Estos son de construcción hispánica y casi todos tratan temas cristianos.

18.

En cuanto al baile folklórico,éste tiene las características que a continuación se especifican:

1.Función.- Cumple una función festiva,recreativa y/o de galanteo, en términos generales.Por lo tanto se da en fiestas relacionadas con el ciclo de vida: bautizos,cumpleaños y bodas.

2.Organización.- No tiene un tipo de organización tradicional como en el caso de la danza.Se realiza en los patios o en el interior de las casas habitación.En algunas ocasiones,se efectúa de manera más abierta, en el jardín de la población,la cancha deportiva o el patio de la escuela.

3.Aspectos coreográficos.- Los diseños en el espacio no tienen un patrón rígido.Por el contrario,las parejas se desplazan libremente.Hay bailes que interpretan una pareja,luego otra y así sucesivamente.Los bailadores ejecutan pasos debidos a su habilidad y virtuosismo,con cierto margen de improvización.Existen pocos bailes con un determinado tema.La mayoría de ellos no lo tienen.

4.Indumentaria.-En general el baile se interpreta con la ropa común y corriente.Aunque hay excepciones.En Alvarado,Veracruz,quien no tiene el traje de jarocho no puede participar en el fandango.Sin embargo,a unos cuantos kilómetros de ahí,en Tlacotalpan,la gente lo hace como ande vestida.

5.Música.-El acompañamiento musical del baile se realiza con conjuntos, como mariachis,bandas u orquestas.Una forma común es el son,que de acuerdo con Jas Reuter,presenta las características siguientes: a)Es en primer término,música profana y festiva típicamente mestiza, b)Es un género musical estrechamente ligado al baile, c)Fuera de algunas excepciones,combina partes instrumentales con partes cantadas, d)La poesía cantada,está invariablemente compuesta de coplas,muchas de ellas de origen español,otras ambientadas en México y otras más de la inspiración de poetas locales, e)Al estar coordinada las partes musical y coreográfica,con frecuencia los versos de las coplas se repiten en el canto: predomina la forma en que un cantador solista interpreta dos versos y luego son repetidos por los otros músicos, f)La longitud es variable.La estructura siempre es la misma,pero no hay norma que establezca el número de coplas que deben intervenir junto con sus correspondientes interludios para zapatear, g)Intervención de toda clase de gritos,interjecciones y exclamaciones por parte de los músicos,cuando quieren animarse a sí mismos o a los bailadores, y, h)Rara vez es un músico solo.Suelen ser conjuntos de 3 a 7 integrantes según la región y también de acuerdo a los músicos disponibles en determinado momento.(7)

(7) Reuter,Jas.La música popular de México. Panorama Editorial,S.A. México, cuarta edición, 1985. (Primera edición 198). pp. 156-163.

20.

El proceso de academización

Es indiscutible,que a partir de la consolidación del país como un nuevo estado-nación,surge una fuerte corriente que hace volver los ojos hacia lo propio,como una forma de crear símbolos que unifiquen y definan a todos los mexicanos. Entre 1920 y 1950 dice Carlos Monsiváis, "una operación cultural,ideológica y política determina los alcances del nacionalismo mexicano,elige e inventa una tradición,propone una psicología colectiva, crea simultáneamente un inventario y una mitología.El espacio de sustentación es,obligadamente,la Revolución Mexicana y el Estado a que dio origen.A diferencia del nacionalismo anterior (el de la República Restaurada y el porfirismo), éste ya no es sólo petición de ingreso de México al Concierto de las Naciones ni lo fía todo a las virtudes de la raza,pulidas y decantadas por la Escuela.Este nacionalismo se permite la arrogancia, confía en su singularidad de modo genuino (el muralismo,la narrativa de la Revolución) y de modo artificial ("¡Como México no hay dos!"), e insiste en su característica dual: fruto de la violencia armada y resultado óptimo de un país estable.Es, en su vehemencia,un resumen interesado del siglo

XIX y un proyecto de gobierno y de conducta individual".(8)

En el contexto anterior se da el hecho de otorgarle importancia a la danza y el baile folklóricos mexicanos,pero muchas veces,en diferentes momentos históricos,esta valorización,se da con la idea de rescatar algunos valores culturales de los diversos grupos étnicos,para estandarizarlos y divulgarlos,según sea el caso, a través de los medios de comunicación masiva y de las instituciones educativas,haciendo a un lado la realidad del pluralismo étnico existente en el país.

A partir de esta situación,por medio de diversas instituciones educativas y de profesores de danza académica y/o profesores normalistas,se realiza el "estudio-fomento-difusión"de la danza y el baile folklóricos, ocasionando una serie de cambios,al recrear modelos académicos,estereotipados y rígidos,imponiéndoles un deber ser completamente ajeno a los grupos sociales que practican estas manifestaciones.En muchos casos,además de fomentar lo antes expuesto,se dice orgullosamente que se está estudiando, preservando y difundiendo el "auténtico folklore".Y con gran ingenuidad

(8) Monsiváis,Carlos.Tribulaciones del nuevo nacionalismo. En El desafío mexicano. Editorial Océano - Nexos. México,1985 3a. edición. 1a. edición 1982. p.195.

(¿o ignorancia?) existe gente que piensa que es cierto que el folklore coreográfico mexicano se da en un salón de clases o en un escenario teatral.

La danza folklórica se convierte en algo académico,en una danza folkloroide.Hay un cambio de contexto: del campo a la ciudad,de una fiesta religiosa al mero gusto de bailar,de un grupo social determinado a un conjunto de estudiantes,del atrio de una iglesia a un salón de clases (con duela, espejos,barras,etcétera), de un proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje espontáneo por medio de la imitación y la observación a una didáctica de la especialidad.

Es común encontrar entre quienes practican la danza folkloroide (profesores y estudiantes) en las escuelas profesionales o no,un desconocimiento parcial o total de lo que es la danza folklórica en su contexto original, su significado,su función y sus antecedentes históricos.

Lo que más se da en los salones de clases,es una danza que en múltiples ocasiones no tiene nada que ver con la versión original.Se le cambia la coreografía,los pasos,la música,se le da un frente escénico,la visten de oropel y plástico y la maquillan como si fuera modelo de Max Factor.

THE SPANISH INFLUENCE IN THE FOLKLORIC DANCES OF SOUTHERN BRAZIL

Antonio José Faro

1. - INTRODUCTION

There are some considerations that must be made concerning the Spanish influence in the folk dances in the Brazilian Southern Region. Most of these dances are concentrated in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, the country's southernmost state, which borders on the south with Uruguay, and on thew est with Argentina. Some important points determined our choice, among them:

a. It is in that state where the majority of Spanish-influenced dances are found danced to this day.

b. Although other Brazilian States have frontiers with other Spanish speaking countries (as a matter of fact, Chile and Equador are the only South American countries that do not have frontiers with Brazil), it is in Rio Grande do Sul where the influence is more determined, as a result of blurred frontierland, a state of affairs that lasted up to the first years of this century, when International courts had to settle several problems of that nature. As a result, the exchange of dance and music between the inhabitants of that area was quite common, attaining the obvious results of cultural mergers and influences.

c. Same specialists mention that some of the Spanish influence came through Portuguese, mainly from the Azores settlers. Thus, the Spanish influence has a second-hand nature. In other words, although of Spanish origin, they reached Brazil via Portuguese immigrants, probably then already deformed by another culture and habits. As a example:

In the state of Santa Catarina, fishermen of Azorian descent keep to this day the "Farra do Boi" (Oxen Wild Party), in which

oxen and bulls are let loose among the people, who bleed them to death, in a kind of travestite bullfight, with all the horrors and none of the magic of that Spoanish tradition. It must be said tha ecologists and the ASPA (Association of Animal Protection) have obtained from the Federal Government laws against that tradition, which has been toned down in its bloody deeds.

d. The State of Rio Grande do Sul has, within its Culture Secretary, the Gaucho Institute of Tradition and Folklore, covering all cultural aspects that fall within those denominations. The people of that State are very keen not only in maintaining its traditions, but also in reviving some that, for several reasons, have fallen into desuse. The 333 countries that constitute that State have registered 1,225 dance groups which upheld the dances of each region, or those common to all, with yearly contests between them.

e. The reasons for the strength of the Spanish influence in the area, is therefore, more geographical that as a result of immigration. The Spanish, like the Portuguese, mingled more easily with the natives, and were more easily absorbed into the society, than with the Germans, Polish, or Italians. These three last demoniations formed very closed communities, resisting very strongly to mingle with the natives, or other immigrants. Therefore, their influence in the local folklore is more clearly determined, and it still goes on strong within the areas they inhabited, but did not spread out throughout the State as the Spanish and Portuguese traditions did.

f. The folk traditions in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, as stated above, are strongly upheld by both the population and politicians of the area. The Brazilian gauchos were the only ones, in Brazil, in an 1835/45 revolution called Farrapos, to try to separate them from the then Brazilian Empire, and to form a Republic, the Piratini Republic, under Bento Goncalves, still a local hero.

2. HISTORY

a. If the Tordesilhas Treaty, signed between Spain and Portugal in 1494, had been respected, Brazil would not have the size it has today. That treaty "divided" the newly discovered lands of America between those two countries, with Portugal retaining all the lands up to the meridian at 370 miles after the Cabo Verde Islands, and Spain claiming the rest beyond that limit.

Since that meridian passes through the city of Belem, capital of the State of Para, more than half of Brazil would be Spanish today, had the treaty been upheld.

b. However, the Portuguese settlers ignored the borderlines and invaded what would be Spanish territory, enlarging the Brazilian lands without realizing it.

These blurred borderlines allowed for the passing of traditions back and forth, taken by settlers of Spanish and Portuguese origin that went to live in Brazil, or Argentina, taking their heritage with them.

c. The first to teach music and dance to the natives were probably the Jesuits that settled in the Missions they founded, occupying the Western part of Rio Grande do Sul, part of the Argentinian Province of Corrientes, and into Paraguay and Uruguay as well. By 1760, as a result of local Indian wars. plus the dispute between the Jesuits and the Governments of Spain and Portugal, the Missions would be closed and eventually destroyed. Today their remains are some of the more majestic ruins in South America.

Until then, the French Jesuit, Louis Berger (1590-1639), was teaching the Indians to dance the minuet and the gaillard, others were forming a choir that received the Austrian Jesuit Anton Sepp (1655-1733) by singing Palestrina, Monteverdi, and Tomaz Luiz de Victoria. With the Jesuits came Spanish settlers, whose traditions were slowly and firmly passed on to their descendants, and to the Portuguese and their descendants as well.

d. The flux of Spanish immigration into Brazil was constant, from the XVIIth century onwards, to this day. Although in not such great numbers as into the Spanish-speaking countries, the Iberian colony in Brazil has always been large, prosperous and well-received. If their influence in the South is more present and obvious it is because, there, it came from two roads: from the sea and from the neighbouring countries which were colonized by Spain. It must be said that the Spaniards that entered Brazil as immigrants did so mostly from the XIXth century onwards. They already found some of their traditions, which were expanded and disseminated further to other Brazilian States. And this influence is found mainly in the adoption, by Brazil, of some of their habits, food, linguistic expressions, and dance.

3. GAUCHO FOLK DANCES

Folklorist and writer Mario de Andrade (1893-1945), divided our folk dances into two main groups: dramatic and non-dramatic. To the first group belonged those that, either told a story or were part of a folk event which developed a story. The Bumba-meu-boi and the Maracatu belong to that group. The second groupd includes dances of African origin, such as the Jongo and the congada, and most of the gaucho dances of Rio Grande do Sul. The Bumba-meu-boi, with the name Boizinho did exist there, but it is now practically extinct.

The formation of gaucho dances has everything to do with the spirit of that people. That nobility and respect towards the woman which are characteristics of the local men, are always present in their dances. In a gaucho party dance, the man usually envelops his hand in a handkerchief, so that his flesh will not touch the lady's hand, unless they are bethrothed or relatives. It was, therefore, easy for the Brazilian gauchos to absorb the dance traditions of the Spanish gauchs, since both share many aspects in their personalities: a certain theatricality of bearing, bravery and gentleness towards the fair sex.

The Argentinian musicologist, Carlos Vega, wrote that nothing is more universal, nor more regional, than folklore. The elements are universal, the combination of these elements is regional. The gaucho dances of Spanish origin fall into this definition. Many may have even Arabic traces, while others were received after a stop-over in Portugal. The result of this mixture became Brazilian gaucho, which differs a great deal from both the Argentinian and the Urguayan gauchos. And, at this point, it is interesting to note that there are Argentinian and Uruguayan dances of Brazilian-Portuguese influence: the "dance traffic" worked both ways.

The origin of our most ancient folk dances of European origin are hidden within the Spanish past of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. The State of Rio Grande do Sul was formed two and a half centuries after the discovery of Brazil in 1500. Therefore, that State would be deeply influenced, in its very roots, by the cultural mixture already boiling in the pot of development, and would receive with open arms the influence of the neighbouring countries, which, at times, maintained closer relationships than with the Brazilian

Imperial Government in the XIXth century. To this day, Porto Alegre, the capital city of that State, is closer to Buenos Aires than to Rio de Janeiro on an air flight.

The oldest registered dance in the gaucho region may be the fandango, which in reality were songs of different rhythms mixed with sapateado. It sounds very much like a form of flamenco dancing, with solo dancers and couples alternating to the sounds of clapping and guitars. The name fandango would, already at the end of the XVIIIth century, means a family or village party in which dance would play a prominent part. And, the dances that would be danced were those of folk origin, including such curiosities as the Chote (a Schottisch descendant) or the Rilo (a form of English Reel). As we can see, the influences of local folk dances came from many origins. The fandangos were responsible for both the maintenance and the spreading of many dances. If gauchos taking a herd from one county into another had to stop at a farm to rest the night, a fandango was organized by the farmer and his family. Neighbours would be invited, the gaucho hospitality was exercised to its utmost, and these travelling, wandering cowboys would take the new dances learned into other parts of the gaucho country.

Some scholars diverge about which dances are really of Spanish origin, and which are not. Most of these divergents are born from the fact that some dances, originally from Spain, reached our shores, through the Portuguese immigration, already modified, and, of course, going through further changes in its Brazilian adoption. In our opinion, this does not eliminate the fact that such dances do originate in Spain, and I have included them in this small study.

Some particular points distinguish these dances, such as:

a. Except for the Pericon, all gaucho dances of Spanish origin include strong, fast spateado.

b. The sapateado became such a local trademark that it has been included in certain dances not of Spanish origin, such as the Chimarrita-Balao, a dance which mixes influences from the Brazilian Northeast with an Azorian folk dance.

c. In the dances with sapateado we find both the Spanish and the Brazilian positions (in the taconeo, position of arms and hands, forms of enveloping the lady through her waist, among others). We can generalize by saying that, in the Spanish posture, the feet have more to do than the body, the contrary of the Brazilian posture.

d. In gaucho dances, only the men execute sapateado, with one exception, the Sarrabalho. In certain interpretations of the Tirana do Ombro, (Tirana of the Shoulder), the woman does stamp her feet, but all the specialists this author talked to said that this was a corruption, and in no way original to tha Tirana. The Sarrabalho is now rarely danced, and it is definitely of Portuguese origin.

B.

I - MACANICO

One of the fastest and most popular gaucho dances, the Macanico reached Rio Grande do Sul coming from the State of Santa Catarina, in the north. Its name is a corruption of the name of a bird, the macarico, as the performers to incentivate one another, sing out the bird's cry. Some scholars claim a Portuguese origin for the Macanico. However, musicologists point out that the music and the guitar accompaniment are typically Spanish, and the style of the steps is closer to the Andaluzian dances. It is danced by pairs, who form a line during the lengthy sung introduction, and join hands only after the musicians gave the order to start.

II - QUERO-MANA

A slow, stately dance, close in spirit to certain dances of Aragon and Navarra. It was also popular in the States of Santa Catarina, Parana, and Sao Paulo. It nearly disappeared at the end of the XIXth century, but it was revitalized. First, its melodic line was was used for the ever popular "dasafios" or defiances, in which two singers are given a theme and must improvise the sung verses. It was then gradually revived as a dance. It is danced by pairs, the woman dependent on the man, but they never touch, forming cerimonious figures, divided into groups of eight or twelve, in circles that mingle, forming in the end one large single circle, when all bow to the center.

III - MEIA-CANHA

This dance descends directly from the Andaluzian Media-Cana, and reached Brazil via Uruguay, around 1852, when the Gauchos of both countries joined forces to fight, first the Argentinian dictator Rosas, then the Paraguayan Solano Lopez. During this long period of warfare, which lasted until 1865, there was ample opportunity for the exchange of traditions between the peoples of

Brazil and Uruguay. It was at this same time that the Chimarrita travelled the other way, and was adopted by the Uruguayans. Danced by pairs, it was the custom to circulate among male dancers a bull's horn full of "canha" (a form of very hot brandy). The dance was not over until the horn was empty. By then, some dancers had had too much to drink, and started to fight, putting an end to many a fandango. The Meia-Canha was indeed for a while, forbidden by the police. In its gaucho version, it is a simple round dance, the men forming a circle, the women another, in which the dancers exchange courtship verses. From 1870 onwards, it became one of the preferred dances of the whole region, being obligatory in the parties of every social level, from the high nobility to the peon.

The Meia-Canha is a fine example of the migration phenomenon of folk dances: from Andalucia it travelled to Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina (and in Brazil it is found in its four southernmost States), and the Azorians in the Porto Santo Island still dance the Meia-Volta, another descendant of the Media-Cana. The Portuguese writer Maria de Lourdes Monteiro, (in the Portuguese Magazine of Filogolgy, I and II of 1948), goes even further: "This music and choreography are an irrefutable proof of Arabic influence whith whom the Islands had, for many years, popoulational interchange."

IV - PERICON

The Pericon is one of those folk dances that suffered so many changes in its wandering from land to land, that its origins are somewhat blurred, or at least leave margin for discussions and doubts. In accordance with several important researchers, that dance is a direct descendant from the French Minuet which, in the Court at Madrid, slowly gained Spanish contours in the form it was danced. The Pericon has certain characterists that link it to the Lanciers, the Contredanse and the Cotillion. In Spain it was further influenced the Quadrille.

The Pericon was already being danced in South America in the XIXth century. The chronicleer Mantegazza registers its presence in the Argentinian Provence of Entre Rios in the mid 1850s. In 1883 Ventura R. Lynch wrote that "The Pericon is another of the lovely gaucho dances, popular both in Buenos Aires as in the Banda Oriental (Uruguay)". It entered Brazil about the same time, and it immediately became the rage, in cities and country alike. It entered the theatre, becoming part of the play Juan Moriera, which opened in Montevideo in 1889, and toured extensively both in Uruguay and Brazil. The actors

danced the pericon El Gato to the audience's delight, being encored at every performance. In Brazil, the dance travelled as far north as Sao Paulo, where folklorist Alceu Maynard de Araujo detects its presence in the first years of this century.

The Pericon is a group dance for 4 couples, or multiples of 4, who execute a serious, stately choreography under the command of a "bastonero" or "marcante". All command voices are divded into two parts ("now" and "gone"), and the dance figures must be those indicated by the "marcante". In this dance, both men and women must have their finest silk handkerchief tied around their neck to be exchanged between the pairs at the end of the dance.

Today the Pericon is no longer a popular dance; it has gone up in a life. Now it has reached the level of a civic demonstration. It is zealously preserved, and danced only on very special occasions, as its graveness is highly appropriate for patriotic and traditional festivities. This applies not only to Brazil, but to Argentina and Uruguay as well. The music shows little or no difference at all between the countries mentioned.

V - PAU-DE-FITA

The Pau-De-Fita is the old Pole Dance, the same we find in scene II of Frederik Ashton's La Fille Mal Gardee, the dancers forming figures while weaving a tress with ribbons that hang from a Pole. You find this dance in Germany, France, England, Spain. In Latin America it is danced in Peru, Argentina, Venezuela and Brazil. Several historians detect it in Yucatan peninsula, danced by the Mayans. Where thus such a widespread dance comes come? The already mentioned Carlos Vega links it to the Cult of the Trees, found in many ancient religions.

In Brazil, this dance is usually linked to religious occasions, such as the Tree Magic Kings or the Follies of the Divine. In Rio Grand do Sul it is danced on January 6th (the Three Kings) or in the festivities of the Divine Holy Ghost. The music used is closer to the Spanish rhythms than to the Portuguese, but it is now extremely difficult to ascertain its exact origin in Brazil.

VI - TIRANA

Historians claim that the Tirana was created in Madrid by the singer Maria Rosario Fernandez in 1773. She was the wife of an actor nicknamed "El Tirano", hence the name of the song, which stuck to this day. It became immensely popular, and it spread quickly

throughout the Spanish colonies. Its first reference within Brazil was in 1790, in the City of Cuiaba, State of South Mato Grosso, and it soon found its way into the whole country, from the Amazon to the Rio Grande do Sul.

Although it gradually disappeared, or was severely modified in most States, becoming unfashionable as new dances were being created, it held its own in the south, acquiring new names, such as as the Catira in the State of Sao Paulo.

It is a dance with sapateado, and although today only two variants are still danced, the Tirana do Lenco (of the Handkerchief) and the Tirana do Ombro (of the shoulder), there were others: Tirana Grande, Tirana da Fronteira and Tirana de Dois (of two), this last danced by a single couple in the middle of its companions, clapping, shouting and singing exactly as in a Flamenco Tablao. Attempts are being made by gaucho folk groups to revive these Tiranas, basing their researches on the existing written material about them.

The differences between the other two Tiranas are in their names: in one the woman places her hand on the shoulder of her mate, in the other they both hold a handkerchief. It is a dance always accompanied by clapping and singing, sometimes interrupted so that the participants can exchange verses and courtship phrases. It is still one of the most popular dances in Southern Brazil, and a must in every party.

VII - ANU

Anu is the name of a large bird, found in most of Brazil, that when flying gives out a piercing cry. In certain regions, this cry is about to announce the coming rain.

The dance Anu is one of the gaucho favorites, but its origins are in dispute. Divided into two distinct parts, one sung and the other danced to a fiery sapateado, it is the one that most divides the experts as to its origins.

The singing is slow and grave, as in the Canto Jondo. The dance is faster, the separate couples stamping and girating, with a certain pantomine of courtship. It was obligatory in every Fandango, reaching its peak of popularity in the second half of the XIXth century, developing variants such as the Anu de Cadena, with typical Spanish steps. It is today returning slowly to favor.

The dance form, for most scholars, is typically Spanish, but it is not found in other countries, and a strong current concurs that the Anu may have been born in the gaucho region itself, as a result of the mixture of other dances of many origins. Nevertheless, the details above mentioned hint at a strong Spanish influence.

VIII - TATU

Another dance of uncertain origin, but with many Spanish moments, the Tatu (armadillo) is an animal typical of the Brazilian interior, a night creature that lives in caves he himself digs up, the size of a fox, protected from its enemies by a thick, heavy shell, like the turtle.

A sapateado of loose pairs in a free form was the characteristic of this dance. However, it was quickly changed by the inclusion of steps from other dances, such as the Meia-Volta (half-turn), and from the first years of this century onwards it was totally changed. Its sapateado is the one that offers more scope for improvisation by its interpreters, similar to what we find in a gipsy tablao in Granada or Seville.

But the Tatu has lost many of its original characteristics, and has had too many addiitions from other choreographic forms, and it is now difficult to say how much of it is really Spanish, or if what we have here is a mixture of so many other dances, that the original descendance is all but lost. Also, some Spanish steps and figures might have crept in through other means than a direct influence, and we have included it here just for the sake of information.

IX - CHULA

The Chula is the gaucho dance par excellence. It is a dispute, danced only by the men, while the bystanders clap their hands and shout incentives to the dancers. Only two men dance at each time, doing figures and sapateado in the middle of two spears which have been placed on the floor in the form of a cross. As the shouting increases, so does the intricacy of the figures, and the dancer that touches the spear looses the dispute.

Up to 1951 the Chula was a typical dance of the pampeano gaucho, and all but unknown in the cities. Barbosa Lessa, one of the foremost researchers in this field, saw it for the first time in the city of Vacaria. He was so surprised that he thought at first it was a local invention, a play thing invented by the field workers in their moments

of leisure, and not a real folk dance. He deepened his studies, and discovered that as far back as 1817 the traveller Nicolaus Dreys had seen it, and wrote about it in his book Descriptive News of the Province of Rio Grande of Sao Pedro of the South, published in 1839.

The Chula has some relation to the Malambo of the Rio da Prata counties. It also has too many of the characteristics of the flamenco dispute between the male gipsy dancers not to be directly related to Spain, even if some of the rhythms played, and some of songs, are closer to those of the Minho and Douro regions of Portugal. Neither the Spaniards nor the Portuguese, however, use the spears crossed on the floor. This seems a typical bravura gaucho invention, just to make things more difficult and their "victory" more appealing in the eyes of their friends or beloved. It is extremely popular to this day, obligatory in every dance meeting, and usually the number of greater success in the many shows at restaurants and night clubs that have included folk dances in their performances.

There is one important ballet based on a gaucho legend, collected by J. Simoes Lopes Neto in his researches about gaucho legends and folklore. Called The Salamanca of Jarau, it was composed by Luiz Cosme (1908-1965), a very unprolific composer, but one who left some of the best pages of Brazilian music of that period.

The legend on which the ballet is based mixes traditions of Arabic, Spanish and gaucho origins. Salamanca is the name of one of the Cuevas de San Sebrian, near the town of Salamanca in Spain, in which tradition says, lives a witch capable of changing people into animals. Jarau is the name of one of the Santa Ana Hills, near the Uruguayan border.

The story of the ballet, given below, shows the wealth of cultural mixtures that crept into it throughout the times.

Prologue: The hero Blau Nunes (the archetypal gaucho hero) is in pursuit of the Boi Barroso, the magic bull that travels always towards were some money, or mine, or fortune, is hidden. Blau lies down to rest, and dreams of the Santao (a Spanish sexton) and the Arab Princess Teiniagua. Both fell in love with each other, and for their sins, were allowed by God to be changed into animals by the Witch of Jarau. If Blau enter the cave and wins the seven obstacles he will have to fight, the lovers will be saved. Blau awakens, and enters the cave.

The cave: Inside the dark cave, Blau fights again, and wins the first six obstacles: Ghosts; Jaguars and Pumas; Magic Fire; The giant snake Biocininga; A round dance of beautiful witches and a Troop of Dwarfs. The seventh obstacle is a card game against the Witch of Jarau herself. She tries to cheat, but Blau wins, and the cave disappears.

Epilogue: Outside the cave, the Santao and the Princess, now transformed into a gaucho and his "china" (or beloved) thank Blau Nunes for their deliverance and follow their way, while the hero resume his pursuit of the Magic Boi Barraso.

The simple reading of this libretto shows the number of diverse ethnic elements that went into it: a Princess from Arabia, A Sexton and a Witch from Spain, a hero and a giant snake typically Brazilian, with both a gaucho and an Indian influence. The dwarfs, beautiful girls and Ghosts are found in dozens of legends of many countries. The final result is a gaucho legend.

Composed in 1944, the ballet's first performance ws at the Sao Pedro Theatre, in Porto Alegre, on September 7, 1945. The choreography was by Tony Seitz, with her pupils as the interpreters.

On May 18, 1952, the Ballet of the Teatro Municipal in Riode Janeiro presented the work with great success. The choreography was by Tatiana Leskova, the scenery and costumes by Tomas Santa Rosa. The leading dancers were Berta Rosanova (The Princess), Johnny Franklin (The Sexton), Arthur Ferreira (Blau Nunes) and Pitagores Lopes (The Boicininga). It remained in the repertory for several seasons. The complete ballet has been recorded by the National Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Mario Tavares. It lasts about 30 minutes, and it is not done in separate numbers, each part merging into the next without interruption, including musical passages for the scenery changes.

CONCLUSIONS

As can be seen by what is written above, a lot of Spanish culture crept into ours via dance, spread by the neighbouring countries. Brazil is a melting pot. It has the largest Japanese population outside Japan. It has Poles, Germans, Ukranians, Italians, Koreans, Arabs, in addition to the ever-present Portuguese. They all have enriched our culture by bringing in their traditions, legends, dances, many of which were absorbed into our folklore, which is, undoubtedly, one of the richest on Earth.

In the particular instance of the Rio Grande do Sul, people and authorities alike are interested, not only in maintaining their heritage, but in reviving past glories which, for various reasons, have fallen into oblivion. It is an example to be followed by all.

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SPANISH DANCE CONTRIBUTIONS 500 YEARS AGO

A. William Smith

Spain was one of the most influential powers in Europe 500 years ago and contributed its share to the art of dance. In the Renaissance world, marriages between courts were common, and diplomats, ambassadors, and orators took up temporary residencies at other courts. New brides infused their old customs including those of dance in their new homes and foreign visitors wrote home of the new customs they encountered, contributing to cultural exchange. Also, members of religious orders, civic institutions, and royal families often traveled, seeing dance first hand and being seen dancing. As a result of these means of dissemination, individuals were aware of various dance styles from other countries, including Spain. Almost all of the records which survive of Spanish dance performances are found in written accounts of travelers and diarists.

Spanish culture was advanced by the highest institutions in the European world order during the Renaissance. During the early sixteenth century, the Holy Roman Emperor and his brother, a king, could speak and respond without hesitation in many languages, and could change from one to another instantly. Along with French, Italian, Latin, High German, and Low German, they could speak Spanish.[1] More important for us in dance history, they could dance in all styles. There were others of high rank who contributed to the dissemination of the Spanish culture. Pope Alexander the Sixth, called "Papa Alessandro Sesto *Spagnolo*" by contemporaries, had a daughter, Lucrezia, who married into the Este family at Ferrara.[2]

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1 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, It. 9268, c. 228.

2 Modena, Biblioteca Estense, lat. 369; 3 November 1501. ". . .poi in lo dicto Palazio de la Ragione tutto pieno intorno intorno di Banche a modo di scalini insino a 19. o venti una sopra l'altra, & fortificato il dicto Palazio, per fare Comedie, secondo che per lo passato sono state fatte in Corte, & con buoni legnami. Et fu compito di ornare la Sala grande de la Corte di tapezarie per poterseli **ballare** a la venuta di Madonna Lucrezia Fiola di Papa Alessandro Sesto Spagnolo, & Sposa de lo Illust. Don Alfonso primogenito del Duca Hercole."

Dances she performed, according to one report, were Spanish and Roman.[3]

Spanish dancing did not suddenly arrive at the end of the 1400s, it was a product of years of practice and development.[4] Carles Mas i Garcia has found a reference to it dated 1406 and Artur Michel reported of Catalan dance notation dating to the mid fifteenth century.[5] Previously unknown to dance historians, one early Italian reference dated about 1456 alludes to *balli* of the Catalans:

Li balli miravilgiusi
tracti da catalani
li loro mumi giusi
tan zentile et soprani
quisti passa italiani
Le cascarde nove e belle
poi porta i palomelle
la nocte ad torce avante
per Alfonso
Le moresche danze quante
Le basce e l'altre appresso
non porria dire quante
Sun varie esto mio verso
Ogni populo perverso
e rimaso si gentile
viva Alfonso signorile[6]

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[3] Ferdinand Gregorovius, Lucretia Borgia, translated by John Leslie Garner (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1904), 254: "Qual Madama Sposa danzo molte danze al suono delli suoi Tamburini alla Romanesca e Spagnuola."

[4] See José Sasportes História da Dança em Portugal (1971) for details about dance in Spain's neighbor Portugal, however some historians argue that the Renaissance conception of Spain often was generalized to include the whole Iberian penninsula.

[5] "Le più antiche notizie di 'baxa dança' nei documenti catalani" was a presentation at the International Convention of Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro, Pesaro, 16-18 July 1987. See also Artur Michel, "The Oldest Dance Notation," in The Dance Observer IV/9 (November 1937), 111-12.

[6] Tammaro de Marinis, La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona, 6 vols. (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1947-52), IV, 256.

In the same period, Italian dance masters also indicated an awareness of dance from the Iberian peninsula. Cornazano mentioned that the *saltarello* was called the *alta danza* by the Spanish, and Guglielmo mentioned *riprese in portogalese* in his choreographic descriptions.

It is not unusual that when marriages were contracted between a Spanish court and Italian court, much reference to customs can be found. In 1490 Lodovico celebrated the new wife of Galeazzo Sforza, Isabella from Aragona, and the entertainments featured Spanish dancing.[7] After some introductory episodes, the Duchess Isabella, accompanied by an orator, descended from royal seating. She was dressed in a Spanish costume with a mantel of white silk embroidered with gold, and wore many jewels and pearls. She went to the center of the room where she and three of her attendants danced two dances before she returned to her seat.

Four couples, each of a man and woman dressed in Spanish costumes with capes, presented themselves before the duchess. They gave a speech stating that the King and Queen of Spain sent them to honor Isabella and her court. Then the percussionists began to play again and the couples danced two *balli* very well. The dancing ended and the dancers took seats, then the *pifari* played and others in costume who came to the spectacle danced a *ballo*, or more than one, as it was customary there to dance three or four dances in a row. This formula of costumed dancers giving a speech, dancing, or presumably dancing, and taking seats, then others in costume who were probably courtiers, dancing, presumably Italian dances, was one applied, with minor alterations, over and over for each of the ensuing episodes, including those of Polish, Hungarian, Turkish, German, and French. Many details are omitted here for brevity. When the episodes were completed, Isabella commanded every person to dance at the same time, regardless of various styles. The Spanish, Polish, Hungarian, German, French, and others in costume danced many dances after which was a display of dancing requiring strength.

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7 Edmondo Solmi, "Relazione della festa del Paradiso," Archivio Storico Lombardo (1904), 83.

Then Isabella commanded some of her attendants to dance Neapolitan or Spanish dances. When these were finished, Lodovico commanded the Spanish couples to dance two dances in the Spanish style. Then the French couples performed two dances, one of which Isabella enjoyed so much that she wanted it performed two more times. Spanish dancing in this production occurred at the beginning and the end, indicating that it was a featured event. It is found in other entertainments.

About ten years later, the Queen of France included a Spanish episode in her entertainment for foreign orators.[8] After two couples of dancers dressed and performed in the Germanic and French styles, two dancers performed in the Spanish style and were dressed appropriately. The Spanish dancers were followed by two who performed Lombardian dances and were appropriately dressed in the Lombardian costume. A Turk made an appearance, and there were other dances, including one by armed dancers and a *brando*.

The letter with the description above was addressed to the Duke of Ferrara, Hercules d'Este, who was a major patron of the performing arts. The *intermezzi* of plays produced in his court in this period contain many interesting *moresche*. The Este family members, who were all exposed to dance and are mentioned in a host of situations involving dance, were placed in important political positions. The duke's son, Alphonso, married the pope's daughter, Lucrezia. The duke's daughter Isabella who, in January 1481, is reported to have performed with her dance master, Giovanne Ambrosio (alias, Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro), became the Marchesa of Mantua, and was a celebrated patron of the arts.[9] Another daughter of the duke, Beatrice, who studied dance in Naples when she accompanied Ippolyta Sforza, the Duchess of Calabria (to whom Antonio Cornazano dedicated a dance treatise), married Lodovico Sforza who was proclaimed Duke of Milan in the 1490s. Ideas about dance styles seem to have been sought, freely introduced, and exchanged. Spanish dancing often played a part of the entertainments.

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[8] Modena, Archivio di Stato, Francia, Busta 3.

[9] Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Busta 1229, c. 205.

A Venetian *representatione* with dancing in May 1513 featured not only dancing, but speeches in several foreign languages.[10] One of the members of a certain fraternal organization, the Eterni, was designated the King. The first episode simulated a visit by an ambassador of the Pope, who gave an oration and offered a crown to the King. The designated King thanked him and ordered dancing. A bard then improvised at the lyre, then an orator of the Emperor speaking German met the king and gave him a scepter. Then there was dancing, and music of flutes and bagpipes. Next the orator of the Sultan presented himself and a gift, which was a lynx, then there was dancing, and the orator made some of his servants perform a *moresca*. Next came the orator of the King of France, who presented a dog as a gift, and following the presentation was dance, then music of trumpets and horns. This pattern of a costumed actor speaking a foreign language and offering a gift that was associated with his homeland, which introduced dancing, was also followed for the Spanish style, however, there was no music cited, typically associated with the form of the episodes.[11]

The Spanish orator, played by Sir Zuan Falier, spoke Spanish, then presented a letter written in Spanish. He presented two slaves from Ginea who fought with swords. As all of the gifts by the orators were somehow related to the nationalities they represented, one might conclude that the association of swords with Spain may be one of the European conceptions at this time. Examples of swords and dance will be given later in this study. Following this sword play was more dancing. Then a Hungarian orator presented a gold cup, there was dancing, and music was sounded on a violin and other instruments. To end the episodes with a bit of sensationalism, a pygmy came, gave a crane to the king, and there was dancing. Four pygmies also danced, which was a sight unusual at that time in Venice. Many details of the description have been omitted for the sake of brevity, but the inclusion of the Spanish episode with those of Italian, German, French, Arabian or Turkish, Hungarian, and African indicates that contributions from Spain were valued.

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10 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, It. 9231, c. 105, 105v.

11 This may have been an oversight when the diarist was compiling his manuscript.

In 1516 at Moline, France, Spanish dancing was one of five types performed during a single evening.[12] After supper, three children and a man performed a *moresca*. Later, there was a *farsetta* in which a man and woman dressed in the Spanish style danced. After this, a man and woman in English dress performed a dance, and they, in turn, were followed by dancers representing German, Italian, and French styles.[13] Whereas this example dated 1516, is dancing more as entertainment, or as a theatrical art, one in 1520 may be interpreted as dance more in a social context.

In a report dated September 1520 from an ambassador, the following description is given:

> "The banquet, which lasted four hours, was finished. The room was prepared for the dancing. The first dance, which was in the Spanish style, was by the Duke of Alba, an old man of about seventy years who was still amorous, and his sweetheart. She was not beautiful but, overall, was pleasant in form and manner. They performed the very gallant *ballo, The Gloves of Spain*, which has a certain *piva* at the end. The dress of the lady requires too much time for description, but the duke wore a little beret with a braided green silk cord that crossed it. It hung a little to the left. Next, the Count of Capra, who was also in love, danced. Then, another Spaniard danced, followed by a dance by the secretary of the King of England. Finally the Prince of Bisignano danced and did so very well. All of these people danced ***a la spagnola***. When the dancing ended, the dawn was breaking, and everyone went home."[14]

This report establishes that there were individuals of various ranks, ages, and nationalities who were performing in the Spanish style in a social situation which, at the same time, provided entertainment for the others. A specific Spanish dance is also mentioned. Spanish dancing was one of many styles that was

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12 Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 633, [pagination unmarked].

13 The English term "German" is sometimes used in this study for the Italian "todescho" although "Germanic" might be more accurate.

14 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, It. 9244, c. 148v.

performed in 1520, and is also cited in many other descriptions of entertainments.

According to a report dated 27 April 1525, the Holy Roman Emperor entered Toledo and saw groups of men representing Spanish guilds, or equivalents, that were clustered around the pennants or flags with the insignia or coat-of-arms of the group.[15] In each group were masked and costumed performers who danced to the sound of percussion instruments. They are reported to have performed certain "*balli di chiaranzana o moresca.*" It is likely that the performers had tools or weapons that they moved in time to the rhythm provided by the musicians. The description like so many others is lacking in details necessary to determine the exact nature of the dancing.

In a report dated 8 June 1526 from the city of Granada, there were several groups who performed *moresche.*[16] They danced in costumes and made "many circles," performing with bared swords. It is likely that these types of dances were typically seen in Spain by ambassadors and by important heads of state.

Seeing dance, and being seen dancing, was common in the Renaissance. In a report issuing from Spain that same year, mention is made of some of the events during the wedding festivities of the Holy Roman Emperor.[17] The streets of the city were decorated, and many triumphal arches with mottos in Latin and Spanish were erected along the route. Reports from the period often have descriptions of domestic interactions which the writers considered worthy to report. For instance, "the Emperor was seated in his throne when the bride entered. Although she wanted to kiss his hand, as was the custom, he arose and embraced her. The wedding vows were exchanged, and they danced until midnight. At that time, they went to a mass and then to bed." Today, it is very rare to hear about presidents and ministers who attend dance performances or who dance, but five hundred years ago, it would have been rare to have heard of a head of state who did not.

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15 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, It. 9254, c. 32.
16 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, It. 9256, c. 500.
17 Ibid., c. 99v, 100; 15 March 1526.

Another form of foreign influence is seen in reports dated in the early 1530s.[18] A group of performers who traveled with six Portuguese *trombetti* created a sensation in Venice when twelve of them performed "acts different from those of these lands" and thirteen performed a "*danza di spada.*" Their costumes were green and white. The "dance of swords" is mentioned in ensuing reports.[19]

The difference in the style of the performance by this group and the one normal to the reporter is emphasized in terminology "*momaria de taliani*" used to describe one of the episodes of entertainment during this same month.[20] At this entertainment where the "*momaria* of Italians" was produced, some Spaniards with don Fedrico de Farro and Alfonso de Syloa performed their *mumaria.* A *mumaria* almost always included dancing.

The study of Italian documents to discover danced events in Spain and the Spanish influence in dance elsewhere is an important method of research. Spanish dance in the Renaissance has been largely neglected, and this study brings forth information largely inaccessible to dance historians. A conclusive identification of the Spanish dance style in the Renaissance period is not yet possible because of the nature of the descriptions available for study. Simply put, the reports lack details, but the sleuthing necessary to discover new information or to provide new associations makes this area of dance history rewarding to study. Three main hypotheses can be proposed regarding the problem of identifying the dance reported as being Spanish in a foreign country, such as Italy, or reported to have occurred in Spain: 1) The dancing was "authentically" Spanish with all nuances as practiced in Spain. 2) It was Italian (or French, etc.) with certain stereotyped Spanish movement nuances or characteristics. Or it was 3) outright Italian (or French, etc.) movement, however the dancers wore Spanish costumes.

At the same time Spain was implanting its culture in the Americas and elsewhere, its influence in European courts was

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18 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, It. 9270, c. 202v.

19 Ibid., c. 204.

20 Ibid., c. 203v.

reflected in entertainments. Spanish dance is reported in many accounts of travelers and diarists.

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Lully & French Dance in Imperial Spain: The Long Road From Versailles to Veracruz

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During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, French dance swept the European continent by storm. Just as the Italians had set the standard for opera, so the French defined the style and parameters for artistic dance. The well-spring for these dances were the opulent theatrical spectacles that graced the stages in Paris and Versailles in the late 1600s. If a dance appeared at the French court or stage, a choreographed rendering with its accompanying melodic line soon rolled off the presses of Raoul-Auger Feuillet, Louis Pécour or Monsieur Dezais and was subsequently spread to the four winds. That an international public was thirsting for instruction in the French noble style is seen by the numerous translations made of Feuillet's and Pierre Rameau's dance tutors. The Italians, Germans and English apparently couldn't get enough of French fashion. The latest dance craze in Paris was soon exported east toward Poland and west toward the Pyrenees.[1]

But what of the Spanish—where do they fit in with respect to this international fad? Until very recently, most musicologists involved in Hispanic research had the strong impression—an erroneous one—that Imperial Spain was blissfully ignorant and oblivious to the popular dance styles of her French neighbors. Mary Neal Hamilton states that "between France and Spain there was no exchange of influences worth speaking of."[2] José Sasportes misses the mark when he states that "the music of Lully and Rameau was rarely heard on the peninsula. We know the former's *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* was performed in Spain in 1690, and we can conjecture that one of the many *Acis and Galatea* operas played in Lisbon during the first quarter of the eighteenth century was the one written by Lully. But that is all."[3] The ground breaking histories of music in the Hispanic world by Gabriel Saldívar, Robert Stevenson, and Gilbert Chase—three gentlemen who have set the standard for the rest of us with their monumental achievements and indefatigable scholarship—nevertheless fail to detect the presence of French works or a strong French influence in the Hispanic world during the eighteenth century.[4]

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[1] For a good discussion of French dance in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, consult: Wendy Hilton, *Dance of Court and Theater: The French Noble Style 1690-1725* (Princeton: Princeton Book Company, 1981); Carol Marsh, "French Court Dance in England, 1706-1740: A Study of the Sources," Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1985; Helen Meredith Ellis, "The Dances of J.B. Lully (1632-1687)," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1967; and Anne L. Witherell, *Louis Pécour's 1700 "Recueil de dances*, Studies in Musicology, no. 60 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981).

[2] Mary Neal Hamilton, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (NEw York: Da Capo Press, 1971) reprint of (Urbana: Illinois Studies in Language and Literature XXII, nos. 1-2, 1937), p. 3.

[3] José Sasportes, "Feasts and Folias: The Dance in Portugal," *Dance Perspectives*, vol. 42 (Summer, 1970), p. 32.

[4] See for example, Gabriel Saldívar y Silva, *Historia de la música en México: Épocas precortesiana y colonial* (Mexico City: Ediciones Gernika & Secretaria de Educación Pública, 1987) reprint of (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1934). Gilbert Chase, *The Music of Spain*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1959) reprint of (New York: Norton, 1941). Robert Stevenson has penned an enormous number of books and articles in the field. Two essential works are his *Music in Aztec and Inca*

The goal of this paper, then, is to set the record straight in a few respects: I hope to document and partially explain how the music of Jean Baptiste Lully and André Campra penetrated the Iberian Peninsula and were then absorbed into the musical life of New and Old Spain.

Lully was a composer of the first rank, a veritable star in the Sun King's artistic cultural diadem. If we are to believe Sasportes's claim (that I stated earlier), then we would have it that Lully's musical presence in Spain was negligible. In all fairness, his conclusion is entirely logical since there is no visible evidence to the contrary. There is not a single Spanish or Hispanoamerican musical source from the eighteenth century, to my knowledge, that mentions Lully or Campra by name. But if one does some digging and compares the "anonymous" pieces in Spanish and Mexican instrumental sources with the hundreds of melodies found in the Lully Thematic Catalogue, one makes a startling discovery. This "invisible" Frenchman was a smash hit. (See Chart 1.) To date, I have found fifty-seven examples of Lully compositions that are tucked into fifteen different sources—always without ascription to the true author—and I am certain that the number of correspondences will only continue to mount. To a lesser extent, the melodies of André Campra are seen anthologized in these same sources. If you examine Chart 2, you will find twenty-five correspondences. Apparently, Lully's and Campra's music was everywhere—much like gravity—and like the force of gravity, it was both simultaneously ever-present but largely invisible.

Before I delve into a few pieces in depth, it is logical at this point to discuss briefly the important musical sources in which they appear. (For complete citations, consult the Table of Abbreviations included in the handout.) Antonio Martín y Coll's manuscripts of the *Huerto ameno de varias flores* (M.1360) and the *Flores de música* (M.1357) anthologize the popular tunes and literature of the late 1600s and early 1700s, in much the way that a jazz "fake-book" is a compendium of today's musical culture. Martín y Coll was an organist and Franciscan friar in Ávila who later moved to Madrid. His musical tastes were highly eclectic, if we are to gauge from his "fake-books," where sacred and secular styles abound. The *Libro de música de clavicímbalo (M.815)* compiled by Francisco de Tejada is devoted almost entirely to the secular literature and contains many titles that suggest a possible connection with the Spanish theater and nearly all dance genres. The *Libro de diferentes cifras* (M.811) is one of the most important baroque guitar sources from the era, containing everything from Corelli transcriptions to African-influenced *zarambeques*. It is a treasure-trove of information for ascertaining what constituted the standard repertoire for a performing guitarist during the early 1700s. With printed sources, we usually are dealing with the printer Pablo Minguet y Yrol who was fast to plagiarize and reprint any best-seller of the time. He condensed down Feuillet's and Ferriol y Boxeráus's dance tutors and copied scores of choreographed works that came off Feuillet's press in Paris. Minguet had a *Reader's Digest* approach to the music business: cut costs by cutting information—plagiarize and prune at will. He habitually deleted essential illustrations and would clear-cut extensive passages of text from the original model, leaving behind a bleak forest of terse and unintelligible stumps. Minguet nevertheless does provide an insightful picture of eighteenth-century musical life by the very nature of what he chooses to borrow.

Three of the most important sources from the era are the anthologies for baroque guitar by the Spanish master Santiago de Murcia. He was one of the dominating musical figures in eighteenth-century Spain making major contributions as theorist, guitarist, accompanist, and composer. He served as the personal guitarist and guitar tutor to María Luisa Gabriela of Savoy, the Queen of Spain, and enjoyed the protection and friendship of

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Territory (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968) and *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952).

influential figures at court. He probably studied under the prestigious guitarist Francisco Gueráu. He sprang from a family of musicians and instrument makers that can be traced back for six generations, his grand-uncle being Antonio Hidalgo—the masterful seventeenth-century composer who composed the first Spanish opera and collaborated with dramatists such as Calderón! [See Example 1 on page 3 of your handout.] Murcia's first book, the *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra* is particularly useful in the study of French dance in that it contains an intabulated version of nearly every tune needed for Feuillet's and Pécour's choreographies from the early part of the century. [SLIDES of correspondences.] Murcia's two manuscript collections, the *Códice Saldívar Nº4* and the *Passacalles y obras de guitarra* which date from 1732, were prepared by him as a present for his patron and protector Joseph Alvarez de Saavedra. These two volumes comprise a single entity that was merely bound in two different covers. The first volume, which is now identified as the *Códice Saldívar Nº4*, contains a remarkable anthology of *bailes, danzas,* minuets, French *danses à deux*, *contredanses*, Afro-Mexican *cumbés* and *zarambeques*, and some music from Spanish theater productions. The accompanying *Passacalles y obras* contains passacalles, a battle piece, and several dance suites.

New Spain in the Western Hemisphere had its share of manuscripts that are important sources for Lully and Campra arrangements. Murcia's *Códice Saldívar Nº4* and *Passacalles y obras* were probably written out in the New World. To these two books can be added the guitar and violin manuscript M.1560 in Mexico's Biblioteca Nacional. It contains some excellent violin sonatas by little-known authors as well as a smattering of the standard instrumental fare: Corelli sonatas, *bailes* and *danzas*, tunes from Feuillet's and Pécour's *Choregraphie*, Feuillet's *Recueil de contredanses*, etc. One of the least studied sources—but perhaps the most valuable and interesting of the lot, especially for dance scholarship—is the Eleanor Hague Manuscript in the Southwest Museum of Los Angeles. It begins with 168 dance melodies, most of them with descriptive choreography, that range from French or English *contredanses* to indigenous dance titles in Nahuatl. The next section has pieces drawn from the French noble style, and the last section contains scores and scores of minuets.

At this point, let us examine a few representative musical examples to see how the tunes borrowed from Lully or Campra are arranged in the Spanish and Mexican versions. The setting of "La Buree de Chil" by Santiago de Murcia in his *Resumen*—see example 2, page 4 of your handout—is a relatively faithful setting of Lully's original tune. Since Murcia went to great pains to set *every* tune that was furnished with Feuillet's annual choreographic publications, it is clear that Murcia's source of information here is Feuillet's and Pécour's publication, *Recueil de dances (1700),* where "La Bourée d'Achille" is the opening work.

Tape: BOUREE D'ACHILLE Example 2 = Item #40 on Chart 1: Lully Corr.

It is somewhat puzzling that the Eleanor Hague Manuscript begins the piece with part two and only later provides the incipit. [SLIDE & page 4 of your handout.] The insertion of scales and turns perhaps came about in order to make Lully's version more acceptable as a "solo" piece.

The Eleanor Hague Manuscript has two settings of the chaconne from *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* [See Example 3, p. 5 of your handout.] One version supplies the complete melody as performed by the first-violinists. The other is a curious hodgepodge of direct quotations from the Lully composition and other meanderings.

Tape: CHACONA DE ARLEQUINA Example 3 =Items #8,9 on Chart 1: Lully Corr.

Of great curiosity is the chaconne from Lully's *Phaeton* which Minguet excerpts in his *El noble arte a danzar*. Lully's chaconne, which could hardly be more elegant or representative of the French Baroque, is used by Minguet here to teach the performer how

to play the castanets! In Minguet's meat-cleaver approach to music editing and instruction, he lops off the piece after only eight measures.

Tape: CHACONNE from PHAETON Example 4 =Item #20 on Chart 1: Lully Corr.

The passacaille from *Armide* is the source for a "Chacona" in Martín y Coll's *Huerto ameno de varias flores*. In this next recorded example we hear Hesperion XX playing an "anonymous" [sic!] *chaconne* in Martín y Coll's book—which the liner notes incorrectly date as being from the late seventeenth century: we then immediately hear Lully's original "Passacaille."

Tape: PASSACAILLE TO ARMIDE no example no. =Item #36 on Chart 1: Lully Corr.

One of the most popular tunes in the instrumental Spanish repertoire was André Campra's *L'allemande*, originally from the *Ballet des fragments de Mr. de Lully*. This ballet consisted of newly composed works by Campra intermingled with his arrangements of several Lully compositions. Since the piece does not appear previously in any of Lully's productions, and since Campra composed new music for the *Ballet des fragments de Mr. de Lully*, we can conclude that Campra—rather than Lully—was *L'allemande's* author.[5] The ballet opened on September 10, 1702: and within a couple of months Louis Pécour had released his published choreography of *L'allemande*, classifying it as a *danse à bal* (ballroom dance). In Pécour's *advertissement* he explains that he was spurred to publish his choreography since "the Allemande which Monsieur Ballon and Mademoiselle de Subligny dance in the *Ballet des fragments de M. de Lully* has given such pleasure to all the world, I could not ignore everyone's wish to have it engraved."[6]

Pablo Minguet y Yrol indicates that there must have been a variety of applicable steps in addition to those supplied by Pécour's 1702 publication. He states with respect to the *allemanda* that:[7]

> Ladies and gentlemen can dance this one with some variants of what I explain and demonstrate in my booklet, with holding of hands, spinning around, and taking short backwards steps to the end.

Evidence indicates the allemande was danced in Mexico for at least half a century. It arrived in the New World no later than 1732 which is the date of Murcia's setting in the *Códice Saldívar Nº4*. In addition, 72 years later a program for the Coliseo Theater in Mexico City featured Guadalupe Gallardo and Juan Marani in a performance of *La alemanda* there on April 13, 1806.[8]

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5 This well-reasoned argument has been presented by several scholars, including: Francine Lancelot, notes to the album *Les Caracteres de la danse*, album nº 1405 S 81 (Paris: STIL Discothèque, 1981); Wendy Hilton, "Dances to Music by Jean-Baptiste Lully," *Early Music*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Feb. 1986), p. 51; and Ingrid Brainard, "New Dances for the Ball," *Early Music*, vol. 14, no. 2 (May 1986), p. 167.

6 "come l'Allemande que danse Monsieur Ballon et Mademoiselle de Subligny dans le ballet des fragment [sic] de Mr. de Lully a fait dont de plaisir a tout le monde je n'ay pú me dispenser a la solicitation d'un chacun de la faire graver." Trans. by Ingrid Brainard, "New Dances for the Ball," p. 167.

7 "Musica de la Alemanda mas selecta. Esta la pueden bailar Cav[aller]os y Damas haciendo algunas diferencias de las que explico, y demuestro en mi Librito. La he visto bailar con distintas musicas dandose las manos hacen muchas bueltas, y carreras hasta acabarla." Minguet y Yrol, *El noble arte*, p. 59

8 Ramos-Smith, *La danza en México durante la época colonial*, p. 166.

Tape: ALLEMANDE by Campra Example 5 on p.6 =Item #7 on Chart 2: Campra Corr.

The "Amable Despacio" is a setting of the "Amable vainqueur" drawn from André Campra's *tragédie-lyrique* entitled *Hesione*.[9] Its premiere took place on December 20, 1700 at the Royal Academy of Music in Paris, shortly after which Louis Pécour prepared a new choreography for the Carnival of 1701. The dancers on this latter occasion were the Count of Brionne and Mademoiselle de Bernonville and other prominent figures at Court.[10]

Due to Campra's reluctance to openly reveal authorship of many of his works including this one, it is unclear whether or not Murcia or his Spanish compatriots realized that Campra was the composer.[11] Nevertheless, no piece by any author surpassed in popularity the *La Amable* in eighteenth-century Spain. Ferriol y Boxeráus regarded the dance very highly. He says of the "Amable," that it is "the key dance of the serious dances, celebrated not only for its good composition, but also for its decency (which is one of the principal reasons that I choose and recommend it). Its art is so noble that it instills elegance to those who dance it with perfection."[12]

Pablo Minguet y Yrol, always quick to publish anything that was the rage, also incorporated several musical arrangements of the "Amable vainqueur" and sprinkled in a few fascinating comments as well. In one place Minguet y Yrol makes a special point of stating that in the "Charman vaingueur [sic]" and the "Amable," one does not have to hold hands. He is protecting himself against the wrath of Fray Garces and others who considered the holding of hands a point of moral condemnation. In those dances where hand-holding is required Minguet suggests that one wear gloves to make the dance more decent:[13]

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9 This discovery was made independently by the esteemed British musicologist Monica Hall and myself. See Dr. Hall's dissertation, "Santiago de Murcia," vol. 1, p. 465 and my article, "Imported Influences in 17th and 18th Century Guitar Music in Spain," p. 396. For a discussion of the piece's choreography consult Hilton, *Dance of Court and Theater*, pp. 256-7 and Ingrid Brainard, "New Dances for the Ball," *Early Music*, vol. 14, no. 2 (May 1986), pp. 167-8.

10 See Ingrid Brainard, "New Dances for the Ball," pp. 167-8.

11 See James R. Anthony, "André Campra" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 3 (London: Macmillan, 1980), p. 663. For an excellent study of Campra, consult James R. Anthony, "The Opera Ballet of André Campra: A Study of the First Period French Opera-Ballet," Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1964; and J.R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau*, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978). For a chart of correspondences of Campra's works as they appeared--without attribution--in Spanish sources, see my chart on pp. 395-6 of my article "Imported Influences in 17th and 18th Century Guitar Music in Spain."

12 "Esta [Amable] es la llave de los Bayles Serios, y no solo es celebrada por lu [sic] buena composicion, sino tambien por su honestidad, (que es una de las principales circunstancias, que elijo, y encargo) cuyo Arte tan Caballeroso, infunde garbo a los que lo danzan con perfeccion." Ferriol y Boxeráus, *Reglas útiles*, p. 24'.

13 "En esta Danza [El Charman vainqueur], y en el Amable no se dan las manos, lo mismo pueden hacer en los demás Bailes, o la accion, o ponerse guantes por si les sudan, y es mas honesto." Minguet y Yrol, *El noble arte de danzar a la francesa y española . . .* (Madrid, 1733), p. 49. This booklet went through several impressions, each time with slight alterations or revisions. According to Minguet y Yrol, he first published the book in 1733. The early impressions are missing all the page numbers, leave out the title

There is no holding of hands in this dance [the "Charman vaingueur"] and the "Amable." One can do the same in the other dances: either the action or putting on gloves in case the hands sweat—and it is more virtuous as well.

Tape: AMABLE by Campra Example 7 on pp. 7 ff. =Item #6 on Chart 2: Campra Corr.

The "Amable" differs from nearly all of the other imported French *danses à deux* and *contredanses* in that it soon became a foundation for variation compositions. Thus the ornamented version supplied by Murcia in the *Códice Saldívar Nº4* has several musical precedents. Ferriol y Boxeráus devotes an entire section to the "Amable" and shows two different settings, one similar to Murcia's unadorned version and another that is in a completely different style. This second setting is full of fireworks, dramatic technical displays, wide instrumental leaps, and many fast and dotted rhythmic patterns. This contrasting style Ferriol y Boxeráus calls the 'modern Italian style'. He states:[14]

> Some people like easy music and others prefer the demanding modern style of the Italians, which normally is very difficult. (In the opinion of the famous [Joseph de] Torres, and others, it is this art, continually growing gigantically in the number of its adherents, that is viewed as the most unique in its loveliness.) I have found it necessary, therefore, to include the "Amable" and other dances in two ways, entertaining both styles in this way. The modern style contains not only thirty-second and sixty-fourth notes, but even one-hundred-twenty-eighth notes, glossed passages, arpeggios, and two voices at a time [i.e., double-stops].

Examine: End of Example 6 on p.10 of the handout.

Another ornamented version, for psaltery, is found in the anonymous manuscript *Musica de salterio, clave, y orquesta* (M.2810). Its ornamentation is less brilliant and flashy than Ferriol y Boxeráus's. The changes back and forth between triplets to duple eighth-note divisions show an early classical influence not present in Murcia's version.

One of the finest examples of showmanship and pyrotechnic displays in the virtuosic Italian style is found in Minguet y Yrol's single sheet insert located in the copy M.893 of the *Reglas y advertencias* in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. The rich variety of bowing

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page and table of contents, omit many comments that are added in later editions, and--quite comically--leave off all legs and arms on his stick figures. Using these criteria, we find the earliest copy of the *Noble arte* in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid is copy R.14659. R.14649 has some small corrections and therefore must be a later impression. Copies R.14607 and R.4203 are later still (they have page numbers; the figures do indeed have arms and legs, etc.) and are identical to each other except for pages 19 and 20. R.14607 has the pages from the older edition. The title page of R.4203 dates it at 1758. The most complete edition, and therefore the latest, is copy R.14620 in the Biblioteca Nacional.

14 "Como la Musica unos la apetecen facil, y otros al rigoroso estilo moderno Italiano; (el qual regularmente es muy dificil, pues al sentir del celebre Torres, y otros, es la Arte, que va creciendo tan agigantadamente en sus numersos [sic], que se contempla como la mas singular en sus primores) me ha sido precisso colocar de dos especies en el Amable, y otros Bayles que de esta suerte avrá divertimiento ambos modos, conteniendo el moderno, no solo Fussas, y Semifussas, o por otro nombre Tricorcheas, y Quatricorcheas, sino tambien Quinticorcheas, o Velocissimas, Glossas, Arpeados, y a dos voces." Ferriol y Boxeráus, *Reglas útiles*, p. 24'.

techniques, arpeggiated chords, rapid runs, and long series of double stops make this version one of the more difficult settings.

CONCLUSION:

Before I draw some conclusions, let me first make a momentary digression, a musicological detour if you will, that concerns the life of the guitarist I mentioned earlier, Santiago de Murcia. Recent research strongly suggests that Murcia moved from his prestigious post in Madrid to Puebla, Mexico sometime in the 1720s. A Mexican connection has been suspected for some time. Gabriel Saldívar found and purchased Murcia's *Códice Saldívar Nº4* in León Mexico in 1943, and Julian Marshall initially discovered Murcia's *Passacalles y obras* in Puebla in 1888. Of the three extant copies of Murcia's *Resumen*, two were purchased in Mexico and the third copy is found in Madrid. Murcia's works appear in the Mexican manuscripts M.1560 of Mexico's Biblioteca Nacional, the Eleanor Hague Manuscript of 1772-1790, and Juan Antonio Vargas y Guzmán's *Explicación para tocar la guitarra* which was written down in Veracruz in 1776. Several of the pieces that are found in these three Mexican sources are not found in any Peninsular sources.

The icing on the cake for those who would prescribe to the "Murcia-in-Mexico" theory comes with the discovery of a burial record in Puebla's Analco parish for a certain "Joseph Alvarez" in August 31, 1737. His heirs or friends paid the extravagant sum of *six* pesos to have him interred in the Chapel of Jesus of the Fallen—the standard rate was a peso or sometimes two. Perhaps this gentleman is the same "Joseph Álvarez de Saavedra" to whom Murcia dedicates the *Passacalles y obras*. A strong case can be formulated. Murcia's dedicatee was a "Knight in the Order of Santiago, in the Council of His Majesty and His Notary," a man thus worthy and wealthy enough for an exorbitant funeral. Puebla was an important center that could attract both the statesman Alvarez and the musician Murcia. The proposed theory places the earliest known location for the *Passacalles y obras*—along with the man to whom it was dedicated—in the same geographic location. Álvarez de Saavedra was 65 when Murcia dedicated the *Passacalles* to him and would have been 71 at the time of death. It is my belief, then, that Santiago de Murcia probably spent the latter part of his life alongside his patron Joseph Álvarez de Saavedra in the beautiful Mexican city of Puebla.

These arguments and theories are *not* tangential to an examination of French dance in Spain and the Spanish New World. We have established that Lully and Campra were performed on Mexican soil throughout the eighteenth century. Murcia unquestionably knew their music: all three of his books contain works by Lully and Campra plus scores of other French dances. We might surmise, then, that one of the many paths for disseminating these two French masters' music in the New World would include Murcia as one of the principal players.

The putative trail of influence and transformation might look something like this: Lully's and Campra's dances (and the accompanying music) were performed on the stages of Versailles and then exported to the Spanish court: once on Iberian soil they held little interest as theatrical productions, but the tunes were adopted and absorbed by the Spaniards as part of the obligatory repertoire for performing solo instrumentalists. Some of the tunes were preserved in tact, more or less, whereas a few such as the *Amable* served as the foundations for long improvisatory works that showed off a performer's spectacular prowess on his or her instrument. One virtuoso who wrote *diferencias* on these tunes was Santiago de Murcia who probably set sail for the New World in the 1720s, landed in the standard port-of-entry of Veracruz, and then eventually put down roots in Puebla. Such threads of thought, of course, are only that—they are plausible threads of unprovable ruminations that suggest more than they can establish. But if we have to imagine how it is that the music of Lully and Campra made it to the New World, and traversed the ocean between Versailles and Veracruz, let us at the very least imagine an elegant trail.

Lully and French Dance in Imperial Spain: The Long Road From Versailles to Veracruz

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I would like to express my gratitude to Richard Buchen and to the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles for allowing me to take slides of the relevant pages in the Eleanor Hague Manuscript. I also am indebted to Sra. Elisa O.B. de Saldívar for allowing me to work extensively with her collection in Mexico City, including the *Códice Saldívar Nº4*.

Abbreviations

BN	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
Cifras, M.811	"Libro de diferentes cifras," M.811 in the BN.
Eleanor Hague	Eleanor Hague Manuscript, Braun Research Library in the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.
Ferriol, *Reglas*.	Bartholomé Ferriol y Boxeráus, *Reglas útiles para los aficionados a a danzar* (Capoa, 1745).
LWV	[= *Lully Werke Verzeichnis*]. Herbert Schneider, *Chronologisch-Thematisches Verzeichnis Sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully (LWV)*. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1981).
Martín y Coll, M.1357.	"Flores de música . . . (1706)," M.1357 in the BN. Compiled by Fray Antonio Martín y Coll.
Martín y Coll, M.1360.	"Huerto ameno de varias flores de mussica [sic] (1709)," M.1360 in the BN. Compiled by Fray Antonio Martín y Coll.
Mexico City, Ms.1560	Untitled baroque guitar manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico. There is a single additional sheet containing the music for "El Amable variado" bound into the early portion of the copy M.893 in the BN of Pablo Minguet y Yrol's *Reglas y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores y más usuales* . . . (Madrid, 1751).
Minguet, *Amable*.	
Minguet, *Explicación*	Pablo Minguet y Yrol, "Explicación de los puntos de la guitarra al estilo castallo, italiano y catalán" in his *Reglas y advertencias*.
Minguet, *Noble arte*	Pablo Minguet y Yrol, *El noble arte de danzar a la francesa, y española* . . . (Madrid, n.d.).
Murcia, *Passacalles*	Santiago de Murcia, "Passacalles y obras de guitarra . . . (1732)," Add. Ms. 31640 in the British Library.
Murcia, *Resumen*	Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra* . . . (Antwerp, 1714; released in Madrid, 1717).
Murcia, *Saldívar Nº4*.	Santiago de Murcia, "Códice Saldívar Nº4" in the private archive of Sra. Elisa Osorio Bolio de Saldívar in Mexico City.
Paz, *Médula*.	Manuel de Paz, *Médula del canto llano y órgano* . . . (Madrid, 1769).
Salterio, M.2810.	"Música de salterio, clave y orquesta," M.2810 in the BN.
Tejada, M.815.	"Libro de música de clavicímbalo del Sr. Dn. Francisco de Tejada, 1721," M.815 in the BN.

Chart 1

Lully	Correspondences
1. "La Mariée," *Ballet des Temps*, 1654. *Ballet des Plaisirs*, 1655. *Ballet de Noces*, 1663.	"La Mariee," pp. 58-9. Murcia, *Resumen*. "La María," fol. 26^{v}. Mexico City, Ms.1560. "L'amarie," fol. 71^{v} of part 2, *Eleanor Hague*.
2. "Bourrée pour les Courtisans," *Ballet des Plaisirs*, 1655.	"La Borea, ô Alegro del Charman vencedor," (similar), p. 53. Minguet, *Noble arte*.
3. "2^{e} Air, Rondeau," *Xerxes*, 1660.	"Otra Giga," p. 60. Murcia, *Resumen*.
4. "Entrée: Sommes-nous pas trop heureux," *Ballet de L'Impatience*, 1661.	"Canción para la corneta con el eco," p. 15. Martín y Coll, M.1357. "Tocata Ytaliana," p. 136. Martín y Coll, M. 1357. "Monica forsata," fol. 228. Martín y Coll, M.1360. "El Sarado, o Bella Lis," fol. 12^{v}. Tejada, M.815.
5. "Entrée, les Zephirs," *Hercule*, 1662.	"Quinta [Zarabanda]," (similar), fol. 207. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
6. "Chaconne des Magiciens," *La Pastorale Comique*, 1667.	"Otro minue," (similar), p. 232. Martín y Coll, M.1357.
7. "Entrée, Le Marié et la Mariée," *Ballet de Flore*, 1669.	"Matassine," fol. 223. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
8. "Chaconne des Scaramouches," *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 1670.	"Arlequina Biega," fol. 75 of part 2. (Latter part of the Chaconne.) *Eleanor Hague*.
9. "Chaconne des Scaramouches," *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 1670.	"Chacona de Arlequina," fol. 73 of part 2. *Eleanor Hague*.
10. "Marche," Air des hautbois (LWV48), 1672.	"Folías," p. 42. Minguet, *Noble arte*.
11. "Air pour les Divinités," *Alceste*, 1674.	"Otro [Minuet]," fol. 210^{v}. Martín y Coll, M. 1360.
12. "Quel coeur sauvage," *Alceste*.	"Otro [Minuet]," fol. 211. Martín y Coll, M. 1360.
13. "Loure pour les Pêcheurs," *Alceste*, 1674.	"El Chip," p. 4. *Eleanor Hague*.

14. "Menuet," *Atys*, 1676.	"Minue 4," (similar, not identical), p. 276. Martín y Coll, M. 1357.
15. "Overture, Prologue, Sc.V," *Bellerophon*, 1679.	"Minue 5," p. 276. Martín y Coll, M. 1357.
16. "Gigue," *Persée*, 1676. [See also Nº 33 below.]	"Obra de Persie," fol. 275^{v}. Martín y Coll M.1360.
17. "Rondeau," *Persée*.	"Minue Francés," p. 51. Martín y Coll, M.1357.
18. "Air, Passepied," *Persée*.	"Minue 1º," p. 273. Martín y Coll, M.1357.
19. "Menuet," *Persée*.	"19º [Minuet]," fol. 240. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
20. Chaconne," *Phaeton*, 1683.	"Figs para saber tañer las castañuelas," p. 34. Minguet, *Noble arte*.
21. "Troupe d'Astrée dansante," *Phaeton*.	"17º [Minuet]," fol. 239. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
22. "Bourée," *Phaeton*.	"8º [Minuet]," fol. 235^{v}. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
23. "Prelude," *Phaeton*.	"3º [Minuet]," fol. 233. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
24. "Second Air: Gigue," *Phaeton*, 1683.	"El Salto del Rosselan," p. 92. (possibly related: need to confirm). *Eleanor Hague*.
25. "Second air, Menuet," *Amadis*, 1684.	"Canción de clarín," p. 49. Martín y Coll, M.1357. "Canción despacio," p. 165. Martín y Coll, M.1357.
26. "Menuet," *Roland*, 1685.	"Menuet de clarín para concluir," fol. 67. Murcia, *Passacalles*.
27. Seconde Entrée," *Roland*.	"Giga," p. 59. Murcia, *Resumen*.
28. Première Entrée, Menuet," *Roland*.	"9º [Minuet]," fol. 236. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
29. "Menuet," *Roland*.	"Minue 4," p. 276. Martín y Coll, M.1357.
30. "Second Menuet," *Roland*.	"10º [Minuet]," fol. 236. Martín y Coll, M.1360. "Minue sin quitar los Timb[ale]s," p. 319. Martín y Coll, M.1357.
31. "Entrée de Bretons et Bretonnes," *Le Temple de la Paix*, 1685.	"Entrada de Bretons," fol. 224^{v}. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
32. "Canaries," *Le Temple de la Paix*.	"Canarios," fol. 221^{v}. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
33. "Entrée des Sauvages," *Le Temple de la Paix*. [See also Nº 16 above.]	"Obra de Persie," (similar), fol. 275^{v}. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
34. "Pavane," *Plusieurs pieces de Symphonie*, 1685.	"La Pabana des Sesons," p. 65. Murcia, *Resumen*.
35. "Marche de Savoye," *Marches*, 1685.	"La Mariana," p. 100. (possibly related: need to confirm). *Eleanor Hague*.
36. "Passacaille," *Armide*, 1686.	"La Chacona," fol. 217^{v}. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
37. "1er Menuet," *Armide*.	"Otro [Minuet]," fol. 210. Martín y Coll, M.1360.
38. "Premier Rigaudon," *Acis et Galatée*, 1686.	"Rigodon," (1st part), p. 86. Murcia, *Resumen*. "Minuet nº 26," fol. 243. Martín y Coll, M.1360. "Rigodon," (1st part), fol. 82. Murcia, *Saldívar Nº4*. "Contra Rigodon," p. 112. *Eleanor Hague*. "El Rigodon," fol. 76 of part 2. *Eleanor Hague*.
39. "Air gay. Second Rigaudon," *Acis et Galatée*.	"Rigodon," (2nd part), p. 86. Murcia, *Resumen*. "Minuet nº 28," fol. 243. Martín y Coll, M.1360. "Rigodon," (2nd part), fol. 82^{v}. Murcia, *Saldívar Nº4*. "Contra Rigodon," (2nd part), p. 112. *Eleanor Hague*. "El Rigodon," (2nd part), fol. 76 of part 2. *Eleanor Hague*.
40. "La Bouree d'Achille," (begun by Lully and finished by Colasse), *Achille et Polixene*, 1687.	"La Buree de Chil," p. 58. Murcia, *Resumen*. "La burea," fol. 71-71^{v} of part 2. *Eleanor Hague*.
41. "Marche des Fanatiques," *Miscellaneous Works* (LWV78/2).	"La Marcha de fanatiques," p. 71. Murcia, *Resumen*.

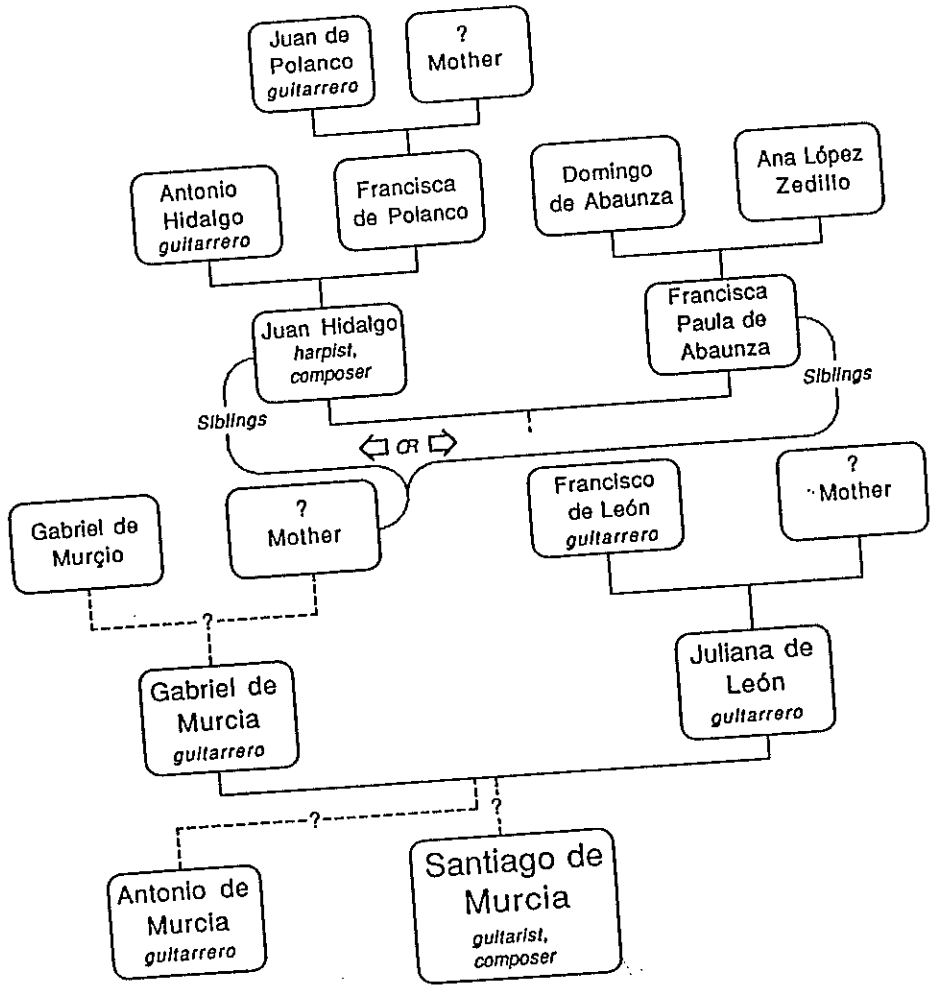
Chart 2

Campra	Correspondences
1. "Premier Air," *L'Europe Galante*, 1697. [Hirsch IV, 1562, p. 24]	"Minuet, suspende el rumor," (possibly related), fol. 52. Tejada, M.815.
2. "La Forlana," *L'Europe Galante*, 1697. [Hirsch II, 101, p. 186]	"La Ferlana," p. 63. Murcia, *Resumen*. "Furlana," fol. 75v of part 2. *Eleanor Hague.*
3. "Menuet," *L'Europe Galante*, 1697. [Hirsch II, 101, p. 188]	"Menuet," p. 91. Murcia, *Resumen*.
4. "La Venitienne," or "La Conty" *Carnaval de Venise*, 1699. [Hirsch IV, 1562, p. 24]	"La Contij," pp. 64-5. Murcia, *Resumen*. "La Conti," p. 18. *Eleanor Hague.*
5. "Menuet" *Carnaval de Venise*, 1699. [Hirsch IV, 1562, p. 267]	"Minuet, vença el amor," fol. 11v. Tejada, M.815
6. "Amable vainqueur," *Hesione*, 1700. [Hirsch II, 103, p.158-64]	"Amable," fol. 75v. Tejada, M.815. "Amable," pp. 28-33. Ferriol, *Reglas*. "La amable," fols. 71v-72. Mexico, Ms. 1560. "Amable," p. 1. Minguet, *Amable*. "El Amable," plates 5-6. Minguet, *Explicación*. "El Amable," pp. 43-8. Minguet, *Noble arte*. "Amable," fol. 9. *Salterio*, M.2810. "El Amable," pp. 119-20. Paz, *Médula*. "La Amable Despaᵉ," pp. 66-7. Murcia, *Resumen*. "La Amable Despaᵉ," fols. 73-76. Murcia, *Saldívar Nº4*. "Amable," fol. 72 of part 2. *Eleanor Hague.*
7. "L'allemande, dance nouvelle," *Fragments de Monsieur Lully*, 1702 [Campra].*	"Allemanda," fol. 47. Tejada, M.815. "Minuet inconstante fortuna," fols. 56-57. Tejada, M.815. "Contradanza de Alemana," p. 124. *Cifras*, M.811. "Música de la Alemanda más selecta," p. 59. Minguet, *Noble arte*. "La Alemanda," pp. 67-8. Murcia, *Resumen* "La Allemanda," fol. 78v. Murcia, *Saldívar Nº4*. "La alemanda Cortesia," fol. 72v of part 2. *Eleanor Hague.*

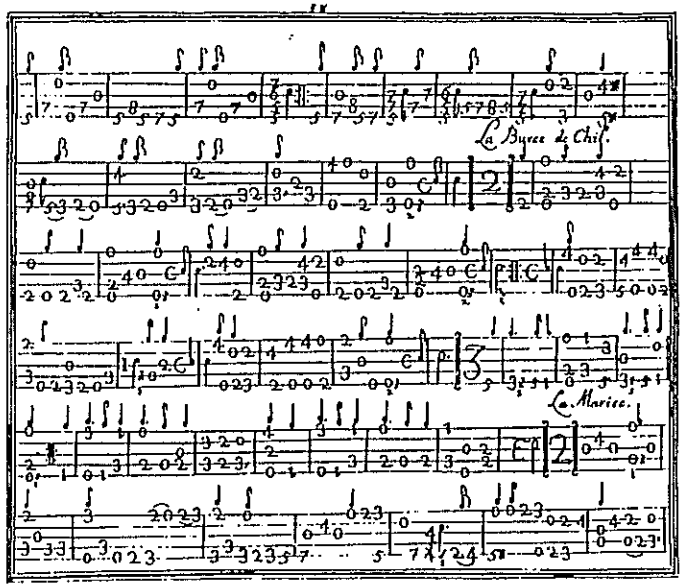
Note: the editions of the Campra works that I used were located in the British Library. I give the call number of the source following the title of the work. Example: Hirsch II, 103 = *Hesione*.
*Note: Francine Lancelot has observed that the "L'allemande, dance nouvelle," (Nº 7 cited above) is found only in the 1702 release of the *Fragments de Monsieur Lully*, and she thus attributes the piece to Campra and not Lully. Francine Lancelot, notes to the album *Les Caracteres de la danse*, album nº 1405 S 81 (Paris: STIL Discothèque, 1981).

Example 1

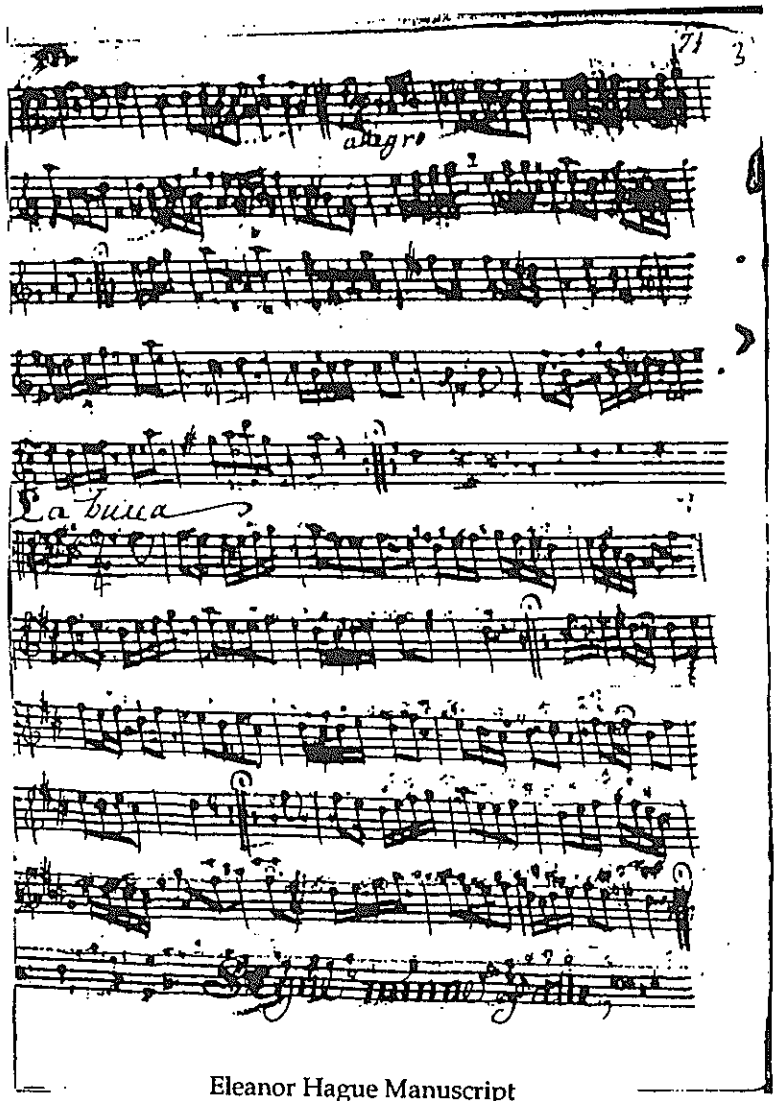
Santiago de Murcia:
Possible Family Tree



Example 2

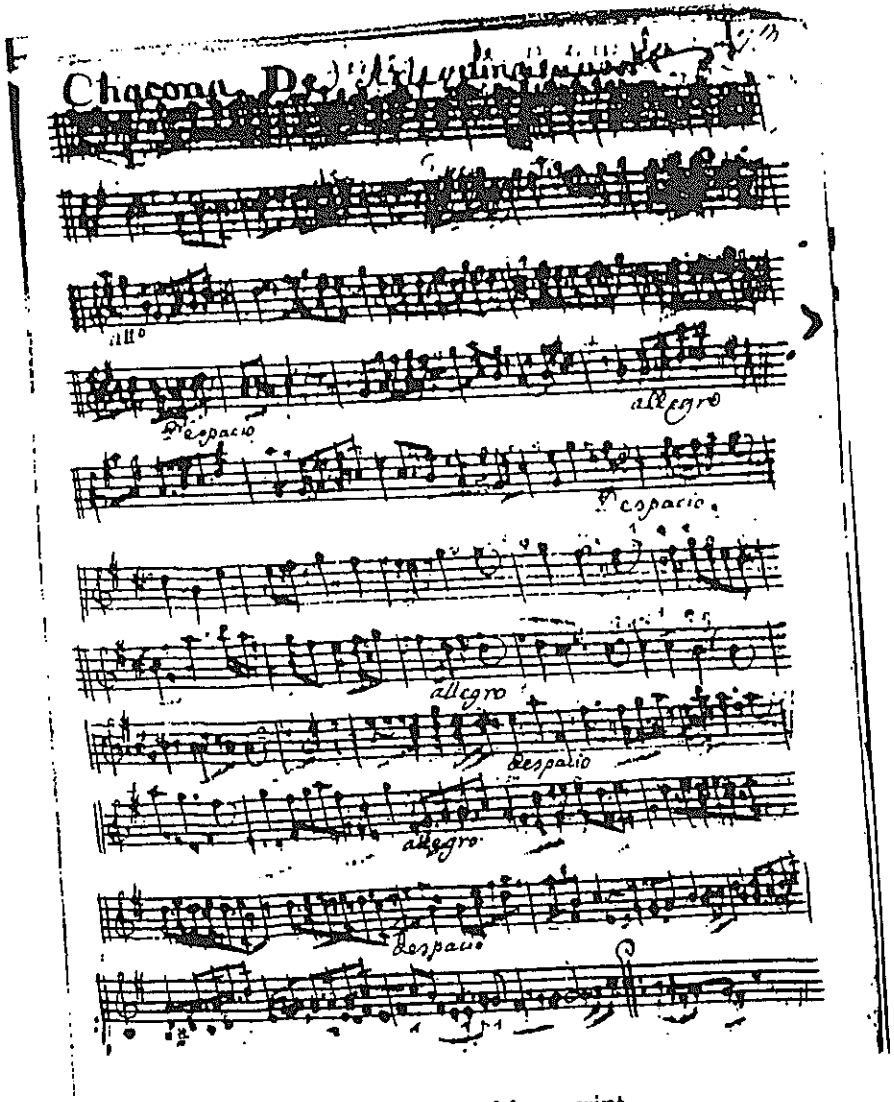


Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen*



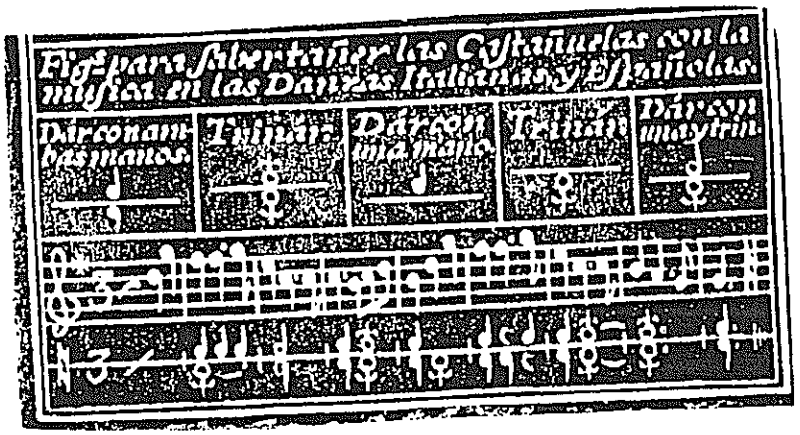
Eleanor Hague Manuscript
Courtesy of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles

Example 3



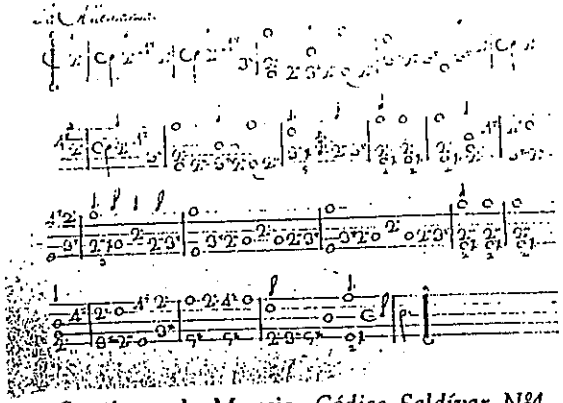
Eleanor Hague Manuscript
Courtesy of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles

Example 4

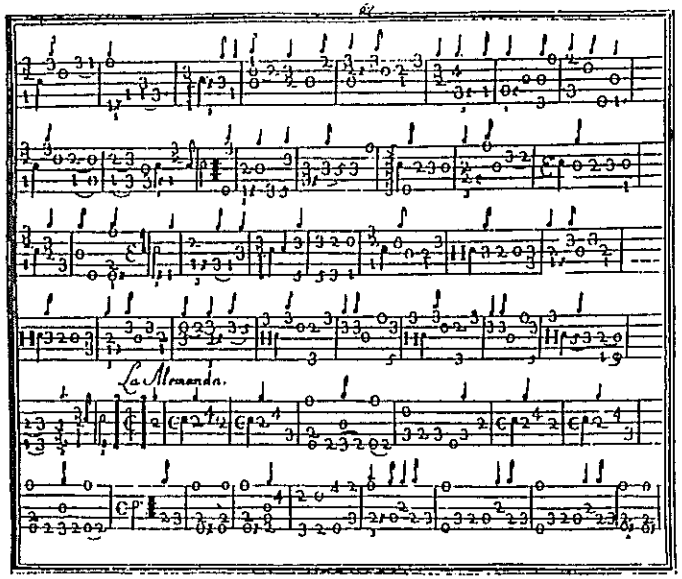


Minguet, *Noble Arte*

Example 5

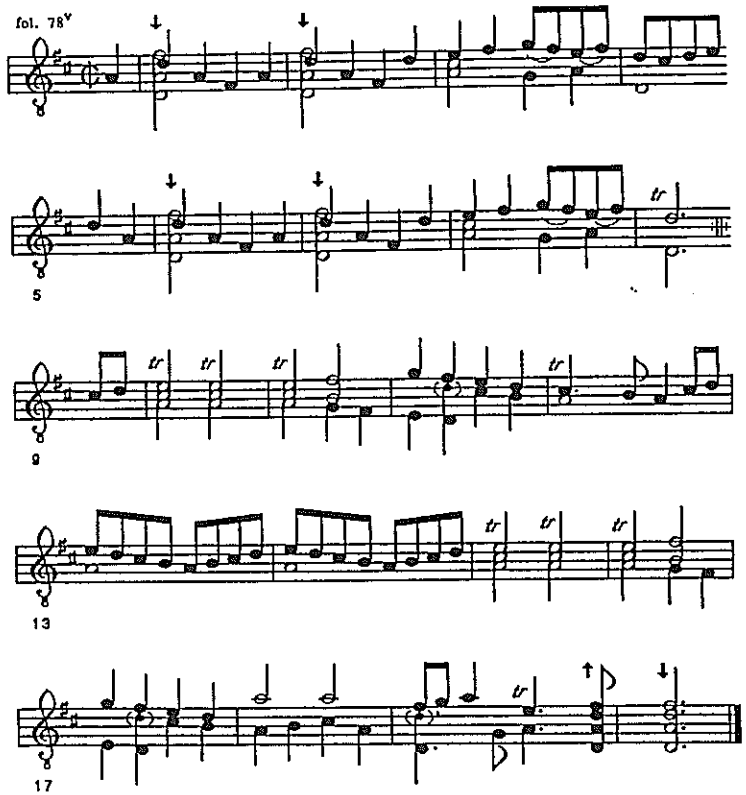


Santiago de Murcia, *Códice Saldívar Nº4*

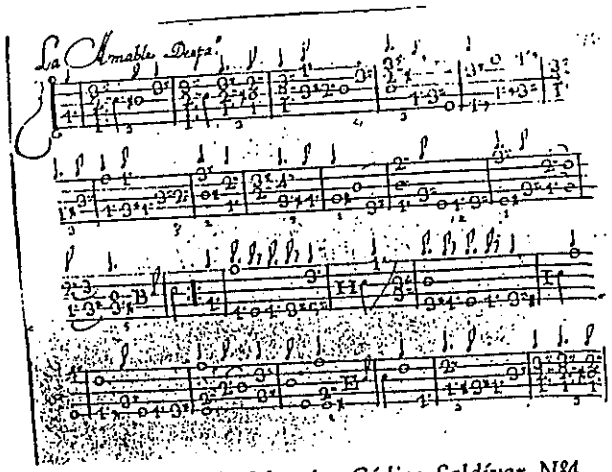


Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen*

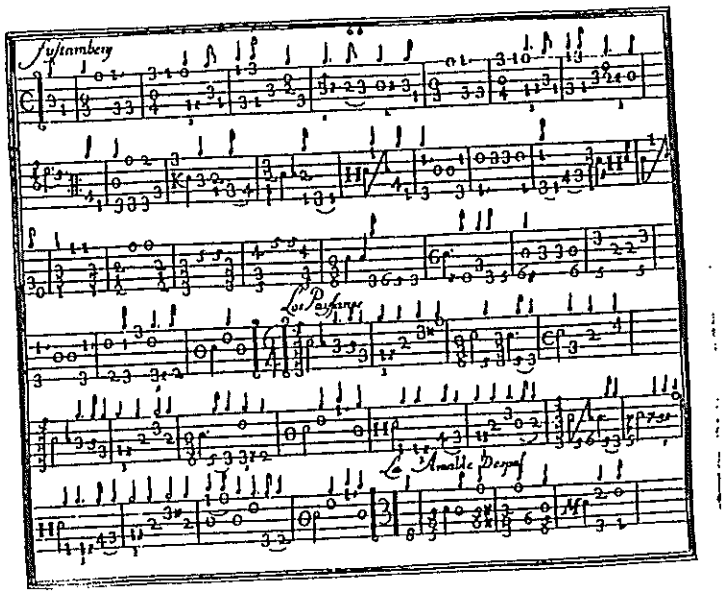
40. La Allemanda



Example 6

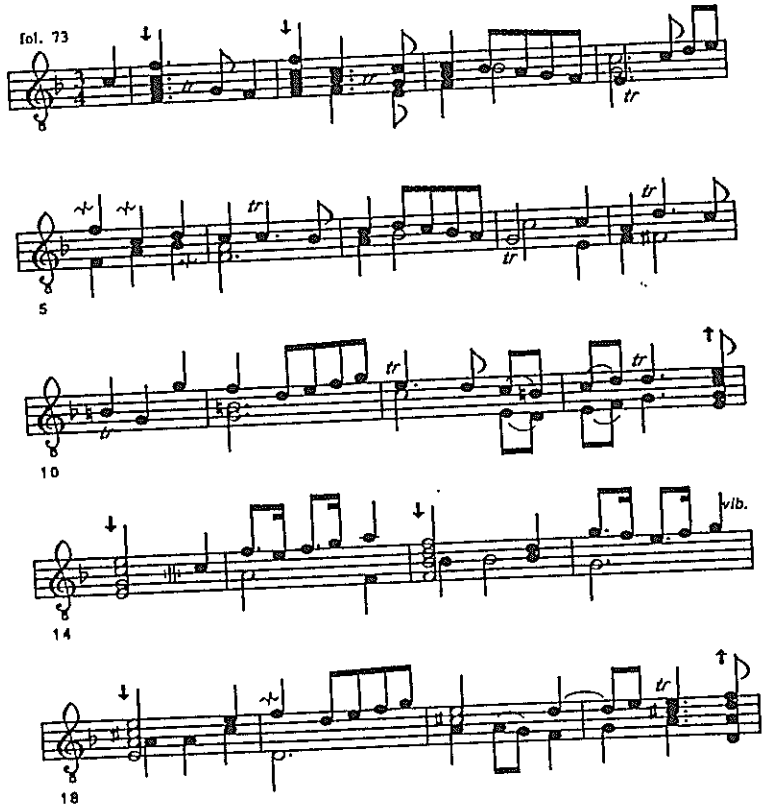


Santiago de Murcia, *Códice Saldívar Nº4*

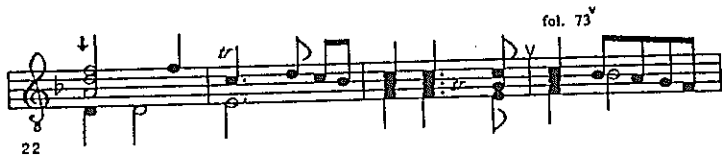


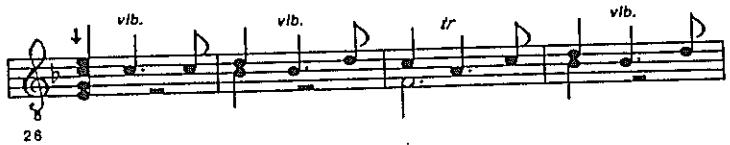
Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen*

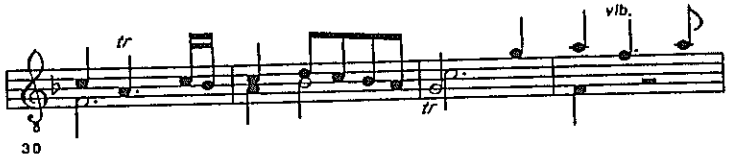
37. La Amable Desp[aci]o

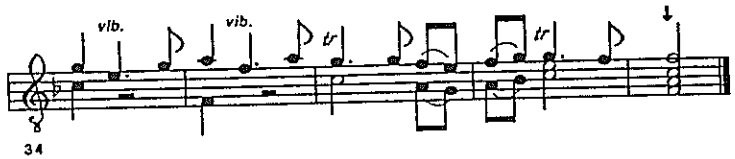


Santiago de Murcia, *Códice Saldívar Nº4*

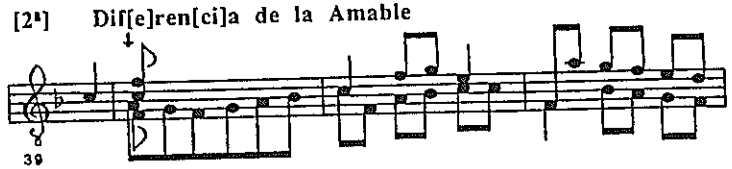


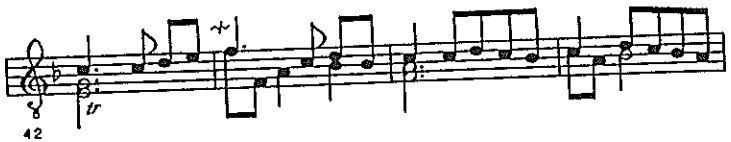


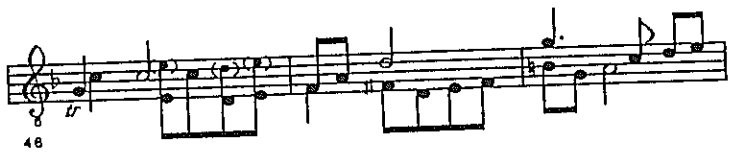


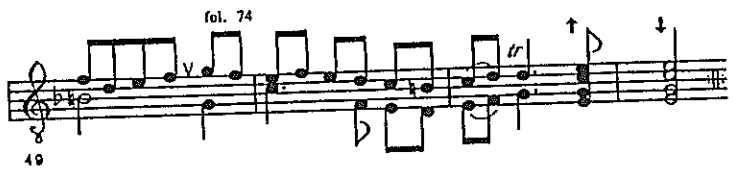


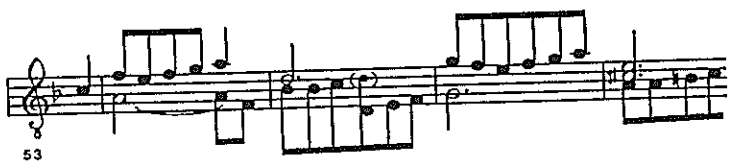
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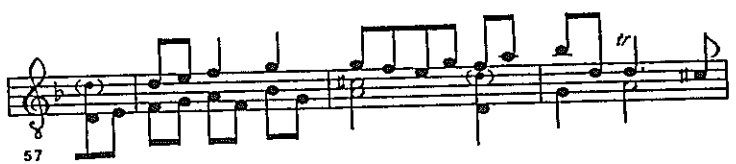


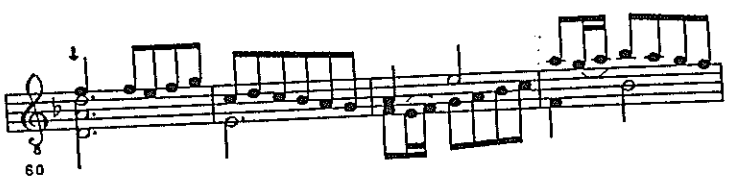


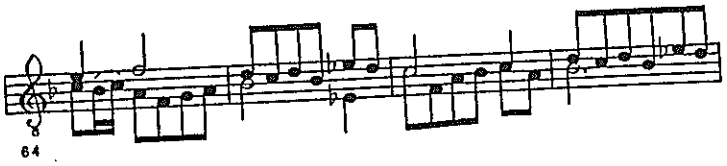


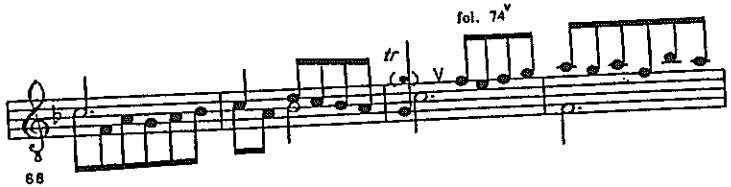


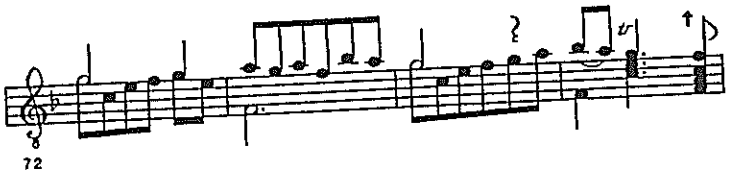




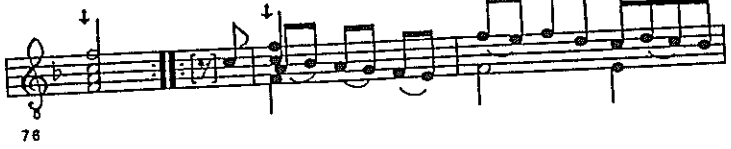


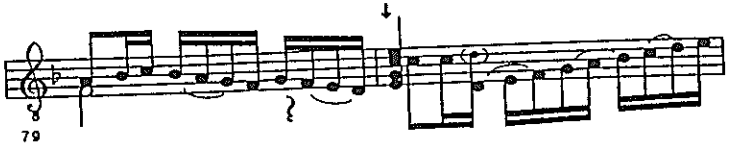


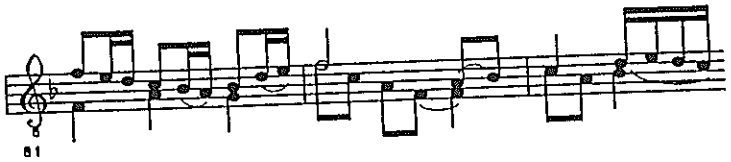


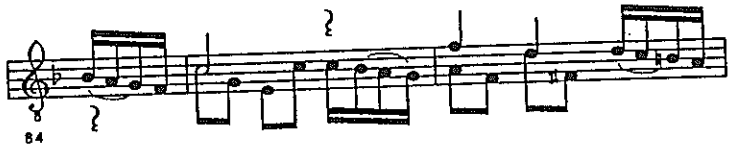


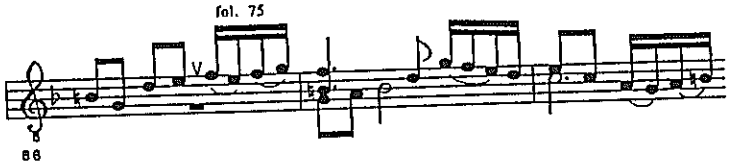
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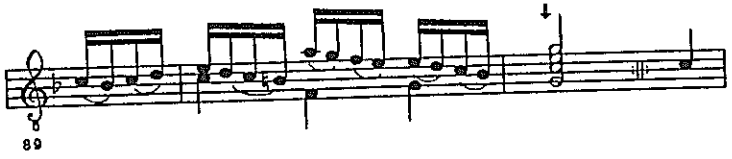






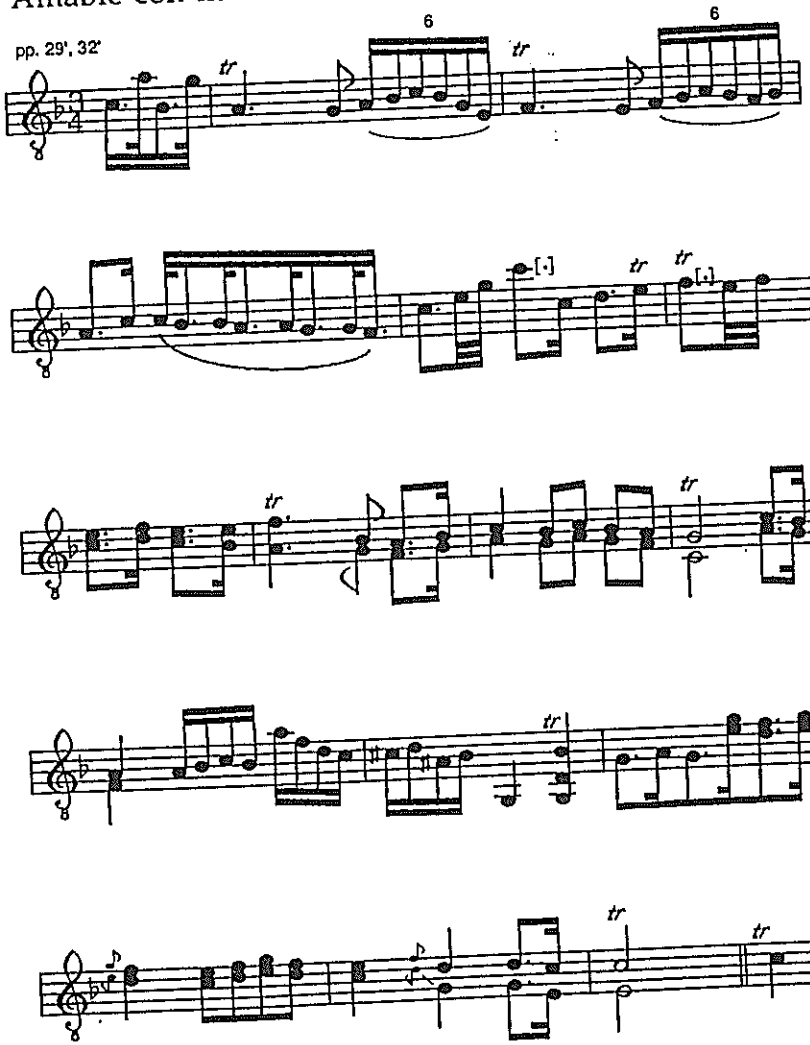






"Amable con música moderna" Ferriol y Boxeráus, *Reglas útiles*

pp. 29', 32'



ISADORA DUNCAN AND THE SPANISH DANCE

Julia Levien

"She is coming, the dancer of the future — the highest intelligence in the purest body."

This is Isadora Duncan writing in an article announcing her free school for children in 1903.

So, here we are today in that future, hopefully fulfilling her prophecy. And here I am happy to have the opportunity to share with you the history of that vision, in which I was fortunate to be both participant and witness.

When I first started to talk about Isadora's part in that history, both critics and historians were amazed to find out that there was a transmittable technique and choreography in spite of the long-held mistaken belief that all she did was improvise! Now, a fourth generation of dancers are rediscovering and revitalizing, in performance, this precious heritage; and her Art once again excites audiences and dance students.

When I was told about this conference and its subject matter, I remembered again how much of this legacy was inspired by the passion and energy of the Spanish dance, not only in the abstract but in the very dances that I had learned. When I came to study with Anna Duncan (of the original Isadora Duncan Dancers) one of the very first dances I learned as a young teenager was done to the Moussorski *Spanish Dance #1*. This came to me then as no surprise since the entire dance world that I knew seemed to be floating in an aura of Spanish dance. Everybody, but everybody, had been thrilled by the greats: by Argentina the brilliant, followed by Argentinita the exquisite, followed by Carmen Amaya the passionate, the hypnotic Escudero, the gorgeous Carola Goya, and, among others, Carisino, who had a studio in Carnegie Hall on the 8th floor adjacent to Studio 61 where our classes were held. The whir of castanets sounded through the corridors, and frequently I would see a chunky girl leaning against the open doorway as I passed by. The chunky girl was Cansino's niece, Rita Hayworth!, who, many years later as a famous Hollywood star, actually considered doing the role of Isadora Duncan for a film about Isadora!

As to the little Spanish dance that Anna taught us: she carefully explained that, although Isadora never danced it on the stage, it was her favorite performance at those fabulous Paris parties frequented by the likes of Gertrude Stein and Carl van Vechten and where Isadora might impetuously get up on top of the grand piano to dance it — in a Spanish shawl. Then there were other occasions where she grabbed Nijinski for a partner and improvised to a tango. That tango story came to me from Massine, whom I met at some film gathering. Hearing that I somehow was connected with Isadora's dance, he grabbed me into his cab. "I must tell you this," he said. "There was this great party and Isadora and Nijinski were dancing fantastically to the music of the tango; and, as they whirled past me, I could hear Isadora whispering loudly, 'Now, please, stick to the essentials.' Can you imagine?" At this point he stopped the cab and

I got out, right in front of Carnegie Hall. He waved his arm, drove off, and I remained standing there, chuckling to myself at the image he had summoned.

The sculptor Bourdell must also have been such a witness. In the bas-reliefs that he created to adorn the outside of the Theatre Champs-Elysee in Paris, there they are in a pas de deux forever. And for me they will always be dancing the tango, that measured beat of partnered sensuality.

Indeed, although Isadora was, during her early period, known as a Greek Dancer, she herself challenged that description claiming that it was primarily a source for art out of nature that she found there. "A dancer must belong to their own time," she said. So, when she came to choreograph the Brahms *Waltzes* shortly before World War I it was the gypsy dance that she had seen, especially the Spanish gypsies who were so very visible in Paris then. It was that dance that supplied her with much of the essential concepts for the "new dance" of passion and vitality: the fully rounded arms and chest, the arched back, the tossed head, the stamping feet. No wonder Anna taught us a "Spanish" dance to make our bodies more aware of the richness of movements we were to use later in many of those Brahms *Waltzes*.

Of course, the Greek drapes the Duncans usually wore gave no clue as to subject matter. Gordon Craig, the great scenic designer, said "Isadora's so-called costumes were just rags, until she put them on." She herself regarded the tunics and scarves as simply extensions of the movements, no matter what they might be.

Isadora did have a special sentimental attachment for her Spanish shawl. Posed frequently for photographs wearing it draped over her, while she sat smiling. Such a photograph she used for the program that she did in Carnegie Hall that I saw as a small child. (How could she know that many years later, tragically, it would be the instrument of her death in a bizarre automobile accident?) But, the living force moves on. The little Spanish dance cropped up recently in an odd manner that related somehow to our conference here today and to our fellow artist Matteo. One of the members of my Centenary Company had danced for a while in his company, and when I had occasion to present a program of Duncan dances, this woman asked if she could perform the little Spanish dance that she had restaged with the help of Matteo. So, thank you Matteo for helping me make my point so opportunely. You all know, of course, from dance history that Isadora knew how to put her point across.

But now, I would like to include some other important Spanish influences on Isadora. Among the sources of movement that Isadora studied to enrich her dance awareness there were the painters of the Renaissance. We were also required to study these paintings for the understanding of her line and imagery. Very important: El Greco, his mysterious angels with their out-turned bent open-handed wrists upwards, chest lifting up out of crossed arms. Then there was the great Spanish painter Murillo.

This is a story Anna told me: Isadora and her older pupils were in Petersburg (now Leningrad) waiting for an invitation to teach and demonstrate at the Royal Ballet School. (Unfortunately, it never materialized, each waiting for the other to make the first move.) Isadora took Anna to the Hermitage to show her Murillo's angels in *Jacobs Ladder*. She swept her arm up over the painting saying "See, there you are, that angel on the right." "Now be sure to go

and look," said Anna when I told her I was going to visit the Soviet Union. I did, and sure enough, there, the third angel on the right with Anna's beautiful face!

So Isadora blended Art and Life and Dance. And so my inheritance — yes — the connection from that spacious Studio 61 where, after our Duncan rehearsals, I could see through the door and watch Martha Graham rehearsing Anna Sokolow in one of the early companies. A few years later I was to see the forerunner of Sokolow's *Lament for a Bullfighter* that you will see here today. Then, there was the production of Gluck Sandor's *El Amor Brujo* when I went to see another debut with the proud sister of a young man in the chorus, Jerome Robbins!

So, part of me is forever Spanish, forever doing our Duncan class exercises in limbering and stretching with rhythm of the tango. "Get that look out of your eyes," says Irma to me as I rotate my hips, now left, now right. Did Isadora keep it and for Irma and Anna also? I had to learn to handle the heat of passion like the Spanish. "Breathe with your arm pits." I hear Irma's voice as she teaches me the hero's dance in the *Polonaise Militaire*. "Si,si," the eternally universal Spanish mime answers.

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Spanish Dance in the Golden Age: the Dance Text of Juan Antonio Jaque

by Jane Gingell (M.A. Cantab, M.A. Lond)

Dance History is full of gaps. While students of Western European literature and music have examples surviving from every decade from the sixteenth century onwards, we dance researchers are grateful for any surviving specimens at all. The seventeenth century is a case in point. Although the period saw the transition from renaissance to baroque, the dance texts cluster stubbornly at either end of the century, with Caroso and Negri typifying the late renaissance and Feuillet's notated dances appearing first in 1700, when the baroque was already in full flower. In between we have: the text by De Lauze, so fulsomely phrased as to be practically incomprehensible; the Playford publications, which, though explicit and fascinating, chart the career of the new and increasingly popular country dance rather than the development of the existing court style; and, most interestingly, two Spanish texts from the 1640's and the 1680's.

Juan de Esquibel Navarro was a dancing master working in Seville in the early 17th century. In 1642, he published his "Discursos sobre el Arte del Dancado". We do not know his intended readership, but, like other dance manuals, it was probably aimed both at the amateur aficionado and at prospective employers and patrons. He begins by glorifying the art of dance and its noble history, and speaks of his excellent master and clever colleagues. He praises his favourite (and no doubt wealthiest) students and goes on to talk about how a really good dancing school should be run. A dancing master's life in 17th century Seville was not easy. Esquibel's young noblemen students were powder-kegs when it came to matters of honour, even in the dance, and were much given to challenging each other - and, worse, students from neighbouring schools - to dancing duels: as a result, "Many friendships are broken, and many challenges have erupted in the schools, which usually come to finish up with knives; ... masters should always keep their weapons by them, and never let them leave their side".

Esquibel also spends a chapter of his book discussing the way in which the steps of the dances should be performed; he is eager to emphasise the grace and stylishness of good dancing, and lists his complete step-vocabulary, advising on the most elegant way to perform each. This sometimes results in a clear step-description: "The sustenido is done, raising the body on the toes, short or long, as the measure requires"; but at other times, because Esquibel is talking about a step which his intended reader already knows, the description may be well-nigh incomprehensible: "Floretas... are done...jumping a little with them to begin them, without passing the foot which begins them in front of the other, but always following with the encaje

of the foot, facing the heel of the one which goes in front, without touching it." Esquibel's text is not intended as a comprehensive dance manual, as are the earlier Italian or later French texts of Caroso, Negri and Feuillet, and all the reconstuctor can gain from him is the 17th century step-vocabulary, described with varying degrees of precision. He gives, alas, no dance choreographies.

However, a long-neglected text written in the 1680's fills this gap. It was noted down, in manuscript, for Don Balthasar de Rojas Pantoja, who was a town councillor of Toledo in the late 17th century. It contains the step-sequences and a few figure-instructions for six dances currently popular in high society. The steps have the same names as those described by Esquibel. The text is little more than an aide-memoire.

These two dance texts are all we have from this period, and they do not at first sight provide promising material for reconstruction. Let us look for a moment at a proper comprehensive dance manual of the period, aimed at teaching the reader. Cesare Negri's "Le Gratie d'Amore", published in 1602, lists and describes the entire Italian step-vocabulary in detail, describing exactly what each foot does during each step, and its normal duration in relation to the music. Negri then gives exact choroegraphies for a wealth of balletti, telling how many dancers of what sex should perform any given dance, listing the step-sequence and figures, and giving the music for the dance both as a melody and in lute tablature. The dance-decriptions are divided into sections to correspond with the sections of the music, so we know how many bars of music we have for a given step-sequence. Almost all of this is lacking in the Jaque manuscript, which is really little more than a set of handy notes for someone who already knows the dances.

Yet our information about dance at this period is so scant that it is vital to study these dances. It would be irresponsible to leave any stone unturned in our research, even a little one; and, as it happens, when we begin to turn the stone, we see that it is a very much larger one than we imagined. Though we will always be less certain about the detail of our 17th century reconstructions than of those we make from the 16th or 18th centuries, there is very much more information available to the researcher than is at first apparent.

We are helped in this by the resolute conservatism inherent in all aspects of 17th century Spanish society and culture. While the baroque style was exploding out of France and settling swiftly upon neighbouring countries, Spain remained resistant until the very end of the Hapsburg dynasty. This resistance to the progress of European fashions resulted in the development of a separate, distictively Spanish style in the Arts, two centuries before Nationalism became a popular artistic trend in the rest of Europe. The tendency was first seen as an intense conservatism, almost as a fondness for being "out-of-date". It is very clear in Spanish music of this period: Martin y Coll's collection of keyboard pieces (1706-9) includes, at the start of the 18th century, Espanoletas and Canarios identical to those published a hundred years earlier; and Francisco de

Tejada's 1721 collection still includes the Marionas, Paradetas and Marizapalos popular in the early 17th century, now rubbing shoulders with French minuets and rigaudons.

Fashions in dress were similarly, shockingly, out of step with the rest of western Europe. English and French women were discarding their farthingales by 1615 and by 1620 were baring their fore-arms; Spanish women held on to their farthingales, and their long sleeves, until the end of the century; and the Spanish nobleman was the last courtier in Europe to discard the doublet. In the same way that (by now) "traditional" Spanish music appeared alongside "fashionable" French pieces in the 18th century collections, we find in Minguet's dance texts of the 1760's both the "traditional" Spanish step-vocabulary and detailed instructions for the (by now) quite unrelated "fashionable" French styles and dances. While the Arts in 18th century Spain opened up a little to contemporary European trends, there was by this time a distinct and separate Spanish idiom, which in dance terms paved the way for the extraordinary blossoming of the Spanish "Escuela Bolera" at the very end of the century. (It is interesting that many of the step-names in Esquibel and Jaque survived through to the Escuela Bolera and other Spanish styles, but like the French baroque step-names which survive in modern ballet, they have all changed in terms of execution, mostly to the extent of having a quite different meaning in terms of action. At the same time, many surviving steps in the Bolero and Folklorico styles seem to be similar to what Esqubel describes, but they now have different names.)

In this context Minguet's 'Breve Tratado de los Passos del Danzar a la Espanola' is a valuable adjunct to the study of Esquibel and Jaque. Minguet is certainly talking about a style in current usage: he prefaces his book with the statement that these Spanish steps "are danced today to the Seguidillas, the Fandango and other music. They will also serve for Italian, French and English dances, according to the measure of the music and the figure of the dance". Minguet adds that the Seguidillas and the Fandango are danced in the ballrooms of Spain after the French Contredanses. The Spanish step vocabulary he describes in this work is, basically, that of Esquibel. Almost all of Esquibel's steps are found in this text, and they are often described word-for-word in the same phrases as in Esqibel. It may be that in these periods where literacy was less than universal, and learning a trade or an art was a matter of oral instruction, there was a set body of language used by the fraternity of dancing masters, especially in cases where they had perhaps trained under the same maestro, or where a tradition had been handed down through the generations in a "school" of dance (in the broadest sense of the word). Alternatively, Minguet may have known Esqubel's text, and have paid him the tribute of thinking it good enough to copy, unchanged. (It is irritating that so many modern commentators think they have "caught out" a writer because he has, or appears to have, copied from another text. In medieval times it was a great compliment to copy someone's work, and if a writer was particularly pleased with something he produced himself, he

might, thinking along the same lines, publish it under the name of his master - not to gain the fame of his master for himself, but to add to his master's glory. These lines of thinking were common before universal literacy, and we do the writers of the past an injustice if we imagine them "cheating" by using words not their own. There was much less sense of words being "copyright" and the property of the individual; words were absolute, and once a good phrase or paragraph appeared, it was common property, part of mankind's heritage.) Minguet's descriptions of steps do, however, include phrases of further explanation which do not appear in Esquibel, and these are invaluable for filling the gaps in some of Esquibel's explanations.

Stylistic differences, must, of course, have occurred between the two texts. The situation is somewhat similar to that of the French Baroque style. Formulated by Feuillet's notation in 1700, the style nevertheless goes back at least to the 1680's, and probably earlier; it stayed in vogue until the middle of the 18th century, and Cahusac, writing at this time, complains bitterly that though the dances he sees are beautifully executed and have acquired more polish over the years, they are still the same dances that were composed for Lully. We know, on the one hand, that a dance like L'Aimable Vainqueur was repeatedly published, in notation, in various texts as being in vogue over a period of fifty years or more; yet we can see from dance engravings during this period that some aspects of style did change, such as the height of the carriage of the arms, and the amount of body-inclination involved. Thus it would be fair to say that during this period, the steps of the French style remained basically unchanged, while the style of execution developed. This was probably the same with the steps of the Spanish style as reflected in the texts of the 17th and 18th centuries. In Minguet we find, as we might imagine, talk of inclining the body, a thing which Esquibel abhors; and some usage in step-units has changed: what appears, for example, as a sequence of three steps in Jaque's Villano - quadropeado, paso and bacio - becomes the a step-unit under the name of quadropeado, so that two cargados/paso/bacio = quadropeado. Minguet's main use in relation to the 17th century texts is in the descriptions of steps where he begins with the same words as Esquibel and then adds more to elucidate the step, so that Esquibel's difficult description of the floreta is elucidated as bacio, rompido, paso and arrimar; and in cases where he describes a step - for example, the quiebro - which is requested by Jaque, but which does not apear in Esquibel.

Another useful text for cross-reference on the steps is a Spanish tranlation of Negri, made in 1630 for Prince Baltasar Carlos. Although the translation describes the Italian step vocabulary, its interest in relation to the 17th century texts is that the Italian step-names are translated into their Spanish equivalents: for example, reading Esquibel's description of carrerillas, we know we are dealing with a step which resembles a gallop, which is executed neatly with toe and heel; this description is open to many interpretations (including that of the present-day usage of the term); but once we know that

the Spanish equated them with the Italian Balzetti, the range of interpretations narrows and we discover a different stylistic "feel" to performing the steps.

A major obstacle when studying the Jaque text is the lack of music; we do not know the repeat scheme for the melody, and in some dances the Jaque text is vague even to the number of steps: phrases like "encajes with campanelas [back] to the place where you began" abound in the Jacara, for example. However, when we investigate the sources for dance-music in this period, many of the dances run on phrases and repeat patterns which are surprisingly standardised. Unlike the Italian baletti, which were composed dances, Jaque and Esquibel were dealing with a body of dance whose character was based, like much of the music of the day, around skillful improvisation upon a set theme. Thus, four of Jaque's six dances - the pavana, the gallarda, the villano and the folias - are basically a set of variations or "mudanzas", interspersed with less complex parading sections. This is closer to the body of dance material found in Negri's galliard treatise, and the great collection of galliard and canary and passo e mezzo variations published by Lupi. It is probably closer, too, to the real core of 16th and 17th century Italian and Spanish dance, which was at heart an improvisational style for the male dancer, whose process of creation was intimately related to the improvisational style of the musician of the day (who was in fact a forebear not of the instrumentalist of the symphony orchestra but of the present-day jazz player). It is easy to find music for these four dances, as they were all set pieces, and fitting Jaque's variations to the Pabana music is no more - or less - hit and miss than fitting Negri's variations to the Pavaniglia. Of the other two dances in Jaque, the Paradetas is closer to a balletto style, with set figures for two dancers, a man and a woman, who perform all the steps simultaneously (no individual variations); and the Jacara, much more loosely noted than the other five dances, is related to the large body of "exotic" dances so characteristic of the Spanish repertoire.

Two very important Spanish guitar books provide us with many examples of the dances in Jaque. One was published by Gaspar Sanz in 1674 and the other by luis Ruiz de Ribayaz in 1677; there are, in fact, several others, but these are the most important for our purposes, both because of their dates, which are close to Jaque, and because they consist mainly of dance material. Sanz is particularly useful in that he gives a basic version of the dances in "rasgueado" or strummed technique, producing simply chord-sequnces, and also the more common figured tablature, which presents the same dances with melodies and melodic variations. The purpose of the rasgueado section is specifically stated: it will teach the student to play for dancing. It also gives an up-and-down strumming pattern which is useful in discovering the stress-pattern of each dance's rhythm. The drawback with the rasgueado section is in its very simplicity: are irregularities, such as an apparently 5/4 bar, intended? Or is this just the accidental omission of one stroke, or of a note-value sign, which would be an easy thing to omit by

mistake (or equally, the kind of thing you might not bother to write in for something so basic, because everyone knows how it goes...)? These irregularities are mostly ironed out when we look at the same dances in Sanz' figured versions; so either they are a mistake/omission; or, just possibly, there may be different versions for strumming and for figuring... On the whole, however, if one looks through all the books and compares versions of the same dances, regular-length bars are the rule. Almost all the dance music is in triple time, and a very common feature (still prevalent in surviving dances such as the Jota, in much Spanish folklorico and flamenco music, and above all in the folk styles of modern Latin-America) is the hemiola, where a bar of six beat is stressed alternatively (and sometimes even simultaneously) as two groups of three and three groups of two beats.

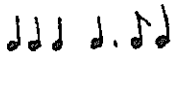
The Pabana in Jaque seems to be in the mould of the Italian Pavaniglia. The music, known in Italy as the Spanish Pavan (and in Spain, sometimes, as the Italian Pavan) is found in the guitar books and is suitable for Jaque's choreography. The dance begins with a parading section - the entrada - and eight mudanzas follow. As with the gallarda, there is no instruction to repeat the entrada, but both the Folia and The Villano alternate entrada and variation, so this may be understood, or perhaps optional, for the pabana and gallarda too. Both the Italian and the Spanish dances have a coda to the variation, as does the music, whose bar-phrases run 14 plus 2; however, the Italian dance has a coda of two springs and a cadenza, while the Spanish dance has a coda of one and a half carrerillas and two steps back. As with all the Jaque dances, apart from the Paradetas, we are not told who performs the dance. We assume they are solos for a man, as we know this was a common thing; Esquibel's students are all taught several variations of the most common dances, and seem to work on them as solo material. Perhaps they could be modified for dancing with a partner: Negri, for instance, after endless variations of galliard for the solo male dancer, gives instructions on what a man should do if "wishing to dance a galliard at a celebration together with a lady" - and very basic instructions they are, too, implying a much greater use of leading" and "partnering" by the man, in the modern ballroom sense, than one might imagine existed. Perhaps these dances might also be danced by one or more men together, competing with each other over their variations; Esquibel's comments on the competitive approach taken by his students imply that this was very much part of the game, and it is, after all, a common enough thing in folk-dance. We know from Caroso and Negri how a man and woman danced the pavaniglia together, and this may well have been another performance option in the Spanish repertoire.

The Folias, like the Zarabanda, was a dance which came up in the world during its development. It was, says Covarrubias, a wild and very noisy dance which originated in Portugal, danced to the sound of tambourines, and with some of the male dancers dressed as women. Obviously something more controlled had developed by the time it came into polite society, but something

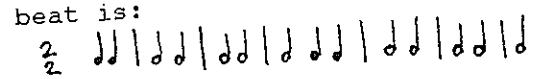
we are not sure of is whether the music changed with the dance, for there are two musical styles for it, one common in the early 17th century and the second appearing later. Though both consist of the same 16-bar ground bass, the earlier version seems to have been faster, and began with a two-beat anacrusis over the first chord. The later version, slower, filled in the missing beat so that the music began on the first beat of the bar instead of the second. Sanz gives the later version in the figured section, but in the rasgueado section seems to give the earlier version - though, again, this may simply be sloppy notation and may just be due to the (understood) omission of a minim-sign. Sanz also has the old and the new Zarabandas, but quite clearly marks the new one Zarabanda Francesa; the figured Folias is not distinguished in this way. Again in the Jaque text we do not know who dances the four mudanzas, interspersed with entradas. Again, presumably, it is a male solo, and the comments above on other ways of dancing the material also apply here. As with the Pabana and the Gallarda, no floor-figures are indicated.

The Villano music is a jolly, four-sqaure, almost inane chord sequence of 16 bars. Sanz' figured version contains melodies so cute-sy that early music specialists suspect one of having invented them. This, however, is to the purpose, because the nobleman who dances the villano is mimicking (and mocking) the low-class working man. The jumps, says Esquibel, should be done "in the country style; so that it is recognised that the variations are mimicked from the villages". The choreography in Jaque is suitably low-brow, with simple repeats and none of the contrapuntal subtleties of rhythm which characterise the other dances. Each variation falls neatly into four: a sequence on the left foot, repeated on the right, repeated on the left, repeated on the right. Three variations are interspersed with an entrada which has a circular floor-pattern. The dance also features an unusual high-kick, of the kind that is now only seen in Spain in the Basque dances. Esquibel tells an unlikely anecdote connected with this kick, or "voleo": "The voleo requires such diligence that, in order to lift the foot as high as possible, I have seen some fall flat on their backs. And more extremely: in the school of Joseph Rodriguez, one of his disciples, with a voleo which he did in the Villano, knocked down with his foot a candle holder which was hanging, in the manner of a lamp, two palms higher than his head... They are called voleos because they are movements which are executed flying through the air". This dance is very much a male solo, and would not, of course, have been danced at all by women.

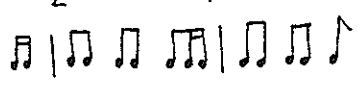
While the Spanish Pabana relates to its Italian counterpart, the Gallarda is quite different. The Italian galliard was perhaps the single most important and pervasive dance of the 16th century, with its buouyant rhythm which surged its way into music of all kinds with its strong six-beat bar:



By contrast, the Spanish gallarda, stunningly, seems to be in duple time. There are many examples of this in both Sanz and Ruiz. A closer inspection, however, reveals that virtually every one has a phrase length of six bars. Some dances in Negri and Caroso, such as the Tordiglione, are barred in duple, but meant to be played very fast, at which speed the phrase pattern produces a triple beat. This can be done with the gallarda in Sanz and Ruiz: the basic, slow, beat is:



Speeded, this could become:



Or possibly:



although this latter is unlikely because the chording pattern works against it. However, two things counter this suggestion. One is the fact that the chords would move too fast to make sense at these fast speeds, as the harmony moves once per strum. The other is that Sanz quite specifically tells us that the gallarda is "heard" in duple time: when explaining his notation, he gives the signs for triple and duple time, and as the most obvious specimen of duple time, he cites the gallarda. Further, many of the figured gallardas in Sanz and Ruiz have passages of semi-quaver variations, making a fast speed impossible (unless, of course, they were "art" versions, not meant to be danced, like Dowland's galliards).

Putting Jaque's steps to music, we find they can be fitted either to Sanz' duple music (in which case the dance is similar to the other Jaque dances but lacks the characteristic "sprung" rhythm of the Italian galliard); or, alternatively, the steps will fit easily into an Italian galliard, with its bar of six.

There are several posible conclusions about these gallardas: one is that the Spanish gallarda WAS distinct from that in other countries, and WAS performed on duple time. A second possibility is that the gallarda was danced in triple measure, and that "gallarda" in the guitar books simply means a dance; this is borne out by the fact that the Gran Duque tune is given in Ruiz in balletto form (a duple section followed by a triple) and is entitled "Gallarda del Gran Duque y su Baylete" - so that the name "gallarda" is applied to the duple section of a balletto. A final possibility is that both forms - duple and triple - were current; and perhaps sometimes merged: one set of variations by Cabezon on an Italian galliard hedges its bets completely between two and three, so that the bar remains constant but is sometimes duple and sometimes triple, much like some of the Chacarreras or Gatos played nowadays in Argentina. To confuse the final picture completely, it must be added that Cabezon published one pavan in triple meter. One musician I know thinks that

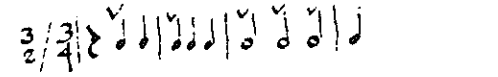
decided what measure to play them in, in the same way that a modern band might play 'Tea for Two' in Quickstep, Waltz or Cha-Cha, according to occasion. It has to be added that the

layman's conception of the gallarda in Spain was, nevertheless, of a measure of five-steps. Calderon's bogus dancing master (in the play of the same name) when forced to give an impromptu lesson, has his pupil dance a gallarda around the room as he repeats "five and five.." The step sequences in Jaques text give no evidence on either side. They are not like typical basic galliard steps, but then neither are the more complicated variations in Negri and Lupi. The Italian cadenza is absent as such from the Spanish version, but most mudanzas end with a rompido or a vuelta, which provide much the same effect of punctuation. Again, it appears to be a male solo; but, as we have seen, the female pupil in Calderon's play is expected to dance it, and at a Spanish royal wedding in the late 16th century we read of two ladies dancing a galliard during the ball.

The instructions Jaque gives for the Paradetas are more comprehensive than for the other dances. It is the only dance of his that specifically mentions a woman partner, and it has much more detailed instructions for floor-patterns. It has a distinctive structure too: no divisions are made between figures in the text, but a constantly recurring turning figure for the couple punctuates the dance into 19 sections, if it is taken as a coda to each section. The figures also tend to break into two parts, the first of which is instructed to be done "until halfway through the music", and the second for "the other half"; the turning coda figure follows. The rasgueado given in Sanz fits this scheme very well, resulting in a phrase of 16 bars plus four. There are not many examples of the Paradetas in the guitar books (indeed, it is a dance we know very little about) but the existing examples in Sanz and Ruiz all have this slightly unusual phrase length. Repeat schemes were only sketchily marked at this date, if at all, and there are other ways of reconstructing the music, but all Paradetas will produce a twenty-bar phrase. The most characteristic thing about Jaque's choreography is the coda to each section, usually consisting of a jumped turn for the man and a step-over turn for the lady. This may be the reason for the name of the dance: parada means a stop, and a paradita is a little stop; pardeta would be the Catalan diminutive form, and there is indeed still a dance in the balearic isles called the Parade or Parado. The abrupt ending of each coda is perhaps a forerunner of the "bien parada" element at the end of the later Seguidillas. A highly unusual element in this choreography is Jaque's concern for where the dancer directs his or her gaze: their backs to the audier "looking at each other's faces". This is good partnering sense of course, but it is also such a theatrical trick - to keep one's face "on show" to the audience while one's back is turned - that I wonder if this particular choreography had some theatrical origin.

The Jacara is the least detailed dance in Jaque's collection. It contains steps not found in the other dances, some of which are not even described in any of the texts. Esquibel categorizes it, along with the Rastro, The Zarabanda and the Tarrage, as one on the dances done "low" - presumably with

bent knees. It seems to belong to the more grotesque end of the dance repertoire, the dances not quite suitable for court but permissible for masquerading. Sanz' rasgueado Jacara has a strong, characteristic rhythm reminiscant of the Soleares.



What was the place of dance in the society of the time? - Spanish society in the 17th century was an incredibly complex mixture. For a start, although Spain was politically united, it was, culturally speaking, still a collection of separate countries. At least four languages were concurrently spoken (as is still true today) with Catalan, Gallego and Basque spoken alongside the official Castilian. The legacy of Moorish occupation was still strong, especially in the lifestyles of the South. Andalucia had an incredibly large slave population, many of them Americans coming into Spain from the New World via the port of Seville. There were also natives from Spanish possessions such as the Canaries; slaves from Africa, initially en route to the plantations of America; and, still, despite the scourges of the Inquisition, a large number of slaves of morisco descent. It was not surprising, with this exotic and varied population, that many of the really wild and "scandalous" dances such as the Zarabanda and the Chacona originated in the South. The exotic and "savage" dances of this unwieldy slave population also began to nurture an awareness of a "black" element in popular culture, very similar in content and effect to that created by the influx of jazz music and dance into America in the early 20th century. At one level, these "scandalous" dances infiltrated society by finding their way into the Spanish theatre; at another level, "exotic" dances such as the Canario found their way even into the polite ballrooms of Italy and France. Perhaps dancing the Canario in the 16th century had a rather risqué feel, like dancing the Charleston in the 1920's.

The drama and the dance were national passions in Spain, and during the 17th century dancing was packed into every possible moment of a theatrical performance, before, during and after the show. While it was the wild dances like the Zarabanda and Chacona which gained all the publicity, the more courtly styles, such as those dances of the Jaque manuscript, were also prominent. The Spanish stage was famed for the excellence of its female performers, both actresses and dancers, and it is strange that in a society where it was still legal for a husband to kill his wife in certain circumstances, it was possible for a woman to have such a prominent, independent career. The catch was, of course, that she put herself beyond the bounds of society by doing so. Like many of their counterparts elsewhere in Europe, Spanish actors and actresses were excommunicate.

The respectable lady, however, led a life of almost Moorish seclusion, much more restricted than her counterparts in the rest of Europe. Like them, she would learn her dancing by private lessons in her own home (a golden opportunity for an infiltrating lover, as Calderon and Lope de Vega were aware). But she probably had less opportunity for public dancing than her French and English contemporaries. In Calderon's play, The Dancing Master, the heroine asks for lessons because there was not much dancing at court; now she has moved to a town house in

Valencia, the first thing women do when they get together is dance; with each other.

Although the Spanish court was a byeword for sobriety (there is a story of Philip IV covering his face to hide a smile) the seventeenth century nevertheless saw a proliferation of court masques. Often, the court ladies would dance at the end of a masque, and sometimes the Queen and the Infantas would appear in non-speaking roles, as Enchanted Princesses or Goddesses of Beauty. We can also read of some surprisingly burlesque entertainments for so sober a court - such as when one of the Court lackeys impersonated the King, and when a nobleman played a comic role in drag.

Finally, it is important to mention one other source area often neglected by dance researchers, and that is the field of visual representations, not simply paintings and engravings of dances, but any visual showing of the society of the time. Though visual sources are not abundant at this period, they do exist, and it is important not to overlook what they can contribute to dance research. At any period, even with the exactly notated dances of the French baroque, what we have when we have taken all that we can from the texts, as exactly as possible, is a mechanical system. One reason for the general low profile of Period Dance nowadays is that far too many performers stop at this mechanical level. We have to try to recreate the grace, the style, the excitement and the social meanings of these dances. We will never be sure we are correct; but equally, we can never be correct without it. Audiences were *moved* by dance, and we must try to create the same magic. As one of Lope de Vega's characters says, dance is a charm which can create loveliness: even the beautiful are made more beautiful when they dance.

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SOCIETY OF DANCE HISTORY SCHOLARS
1991 Conference: Miami, Florida

Proposal for a Workshop: Mexican Dance: Early 19th Century (Colonial Period)

Presenter: Susan Cashion, Ph.D., Stanford University

Time: 1 1/2 hours, as indicated by the February Call of Papers. However, after speaking with you, I understand that 45 minutes is the length for workshops. If this is the case, I will eliminate one of the indigenous dances and teach only a portion of the *son* and *cuadrilla*.

Description: This workshop will present a selection of dance forms representing the four major domains of Mexican dance at the end of the colonial period:

1. Pre-conquest dance of the indigenous population
2. Post-conquest dance of the indigenous population
3. Regional dance of the emerging mestizo population
4. Salon dances of the upper class and criollo population

Four dances have been selected to illustrate European and indigenous derivations as well as New World interpretations and creations.

1. **DANZA DEL ZACOMSON,** Huastecan Indians of San Luis Potosi.

   This *danza prehispanico* displays the division of the community by gender: the women form a circle and have one step, the men dance separately in paired lines or *zurcos* with a contrasting step. The dance originally expressed the Indian's reverence for Mother Earth, but is presently danced on December 12 in honor of the Virgin de Guadalupe. The Catholic church encouraged the preservation of indigenous dance as a conversion technique. The dances are amazingly unchanged, except that once they were performed for the indigenous gods and presently are done for the Catholic saints.

2. **LOS MATLACHINES,** from San Luis Potosi.

   Although the dance has its origins in pre-conquest indigenous traditions, it is presently thought of as a post-conquest *danza* done by the mestizo population. Many of its formations are attributed to the influence of the European-based *contradanzas* and *cuadrillas*, as indicated by male/female coupling and the holding of hands, and the execution of patterned formations which most Mexican scholars attribute to European sources rather than indigenous influences.

3. **EL JARABE SAN MIGUELITO,** Puebla.

The emerging music and dance forms of the Mestizo population were called *sonecitos del pais*, or little country dance melodies. These forms were often used as dance interludes in the popular entertainment vehicle of *zarzuelas* and *tonadillas* (theatre farces). After Independence, these *sones* and *jarabes* developed highly specific regional styles and are presently categorized as *Bailes Regionales*. They are also the strongest visible link to Spanish Flamenco influence as they utilize *zapateado* (footwork), a single couple, the courtship motif, and an absence of touching.

4. **CUADRILLA DE MORELOS,** Zacatecas.

Cuadrillas are one of the earliest dance forms included in a genre of Mexican social dances called *Bailes del Salon* (Dances of the Salon), *Bailes de la Alta Sociedad* (Dances of the Upper Class), or *Bailes de Epoca* (Period Dances). These dances were done first by the upper class, often those who linked their heritage to Spain or Europe, and later were imitated and adopted by the *gente humilde* (humble people). Other examples from this domain include 19th Century dance forms of the waltz (*vals*), polka (*polca*), schottische (*chotis*), redowa (*redova*), and mazurka.

A "HEART OF DARKNESS" IN THE NEW WORLD: CARMEN AMAYA'S FLAMENCO DANCE IN SOUTH AMERICAN VAUDEVILLE

Meira Weinzweig
Temple University
copyright April, 1991

Introduction:

This paper focuses on the presentation of Flamenco in the variety shows of Latin America, primarily Buenos Aires, between 1937 and 1940. It highlights the figure of Carmen Amaya, who was the first Gypsy Flamenco dancer to reach international stardom and who was very popular in Latin America during this period. Carmen's impact on the theatricalization of Spanish dance in the 20th century was considerable, particularly in its importation of Gypsy aesthetic values from the music halls into Flamenco as concert dance. The stages and the audiences of Flamenco in the variety shows of Latin America between 1937 and 1940 witnessed and participated in Carmen Amaya's transition from Spain to the international theater. They are therefore critical not only to a detailed analysis of her style but also to understanding the Gypsy cultural and aesthetic presence in the evolution of theatrical Flamenco dance.

Very little in depth research is available on Flamenco dance during this period either in the U.S. or in Spain, and published reviews and articles on Carmen Amaya are full of inconsistencies, myths, and legends. This paper is drawn from ongoing research on Amaya's life and dance historical context. I have conducted approximately 25 hours of interviews with her friends, family and colleagues, and I have had the honor of performing and studying intensively with Chuni (Carmen) Amaya, Carmen's niece and the heiress of her dance, for about six months. This paper is based primarily on a compilation of information garnered from interviews.1 It is therefore lacking in specific dates and factual details which memory blurs and which have yet to be gathered through newspapers, ships' logs, contracts and the like. However, the information presented here has been corroborated with surprising accuracy from one version to another. I have tried to transmit the auras of my cast of characters as much as possible by including several anecdotes and as many direct quotes as possible. All translations presented here are mine.

Flamenco Exports Before 1937:

Immigrants and seekers-of-fortune, such as the famed Silverio Franconetti, carried Flamenco song back and forth between Spain and South America at least from the time the art was named in about 1780. Although the name "Flamenco" was not applied to dance until the latter 1800's, "Spanish Gypsy" dances were popular with European audiences dating from at least the 1830's. They were performed mainly by non-Gypsies, and often by non-Spaniards, such as Lola Montes and Fanny Ellsler.

1 Special thanks to Mona Molarsky for granting me access to the wonderful interview she conducted with Sabicas just before his passing.

Blurred distinctions between Spanish and Gypsy dances in these presentations helped create a pastiche which was only impressionisticly related to the dances of Spain. Spaniards emphatically distinguished between the two styles, although they often competed with and imitated one another. But the international image of the Spanish dancer before the 1930's was largely a European projection: 19th century Romantic formulations of exoticism by artists such as Petipa, Dore, and Bizet gradually merged into 20th century Modern formulations of surreal primitivism by artists like Fokine, Rilke, and Cocteau. Early 20th century attempts to present a more accurate version of the distinct though related Spanish dance traditions on an international stage had to reckon with the weight of these aesthetic preconceptions, which greatly affected the evolving shapes of theatrical Flamenco dances.

In 1914 one of the earliest presentations of Flamenco dance appeared in London's Alhambra Theatre. (Abizanda, p.73) The semi-circle of seated performers embroidering each others solos with rhythmic hand-clapping (palmas) and footwork was transported from the Spanish music halls to a theatrical setting. Before he presented Massine's "The Three-Cornered Hat" in Paris, Diaghilev presented a similar tableau or cuadro in Paris. (Levinson, p.23) Both presentations included the well-known Flamenco dancers of Spain at that time, both Gypsies and non-Gypsies, performing in the evolving music hall styles of Spain. In their poetic content, rhythmic sensibility, and rebellious kinesthetic subtext, these styles were heavily influenced by the Gypsy ethos.2

The first notice of Flamenco on American stages is during World War I. From 1914 to 1920 Antonia Merce La Argentina, a ballet-trained non-Gypsy who was the first Spaniard to take Spanish dance performance out of the music hall and onto the recital hall stage, toured South America and Mexico. (Levinson, p.25) She presented the variety of Spanish dance traditions as distinct jewels to be researched and recreated for theatrical presentation, as did later dance/intellectuals such as La Meri

2 Whether or not we call it "Flamenco", most scholars agree that for generations many Gypsy families in Spain have danced to palmas and song at family celebrations. There is a highly evolved rhythmic sensibility and "swing" which is integral to the Flamenco dance aesthetic and which seems to belong to the various families who have long danced to palmas and song. Many of these families are Gypsy or have lived close to Gypsy communities, especially in the south of Spain. And many of these families comprise precisely those performing dynasties of the Spanish music halls from whom later international stars such as Argentina and Argentinita learned.

and Katherine Dunham.

La Argentina's theatricalizations of Flamenco dances were highly choreographed characterizations of the female Gypsy Flamenco dancers of the Spanish music halls. While far more accurate portrayals than the dances of Lola Montes, they also exagerrated for the stage aesthetic elements of Flamenco which fit European audience expectations for the "Spanish Gypsy": an over-arched spine, highlighted rhythms, a provocatively exposed passion for the audience. Argentina distilled these elements, making them more visible from stage. For example, the aesthetic values of Flamenco dance emphasize kinesthetic and emotional dynamics as "felt", "suffered", or "received" -- and bodily contained with grace and majesty. In contrast, Argentina's dance was much closer in approach to Western concert dance: emotional and kinesthetic dynamics demonstrated through line, stylized facial expression, and theatrical setting.

While La Argentina catered to audience expectations for the Spanish Gypsy, she also modified her Flamenco presentations to include Western refinements such as shading and phrasing:

> Before having succeeded in taming my [castanets] and adapting them to a [musical] subtext, the idea came to me of attempting a parallel reform for Spanish dance. It was slave to only one movement: never "retardando" nor "accelerando", always the same pendulum rhythm. Working with antique melodies, I tried to translate into gesture their rhythmic changes and that was a...small revolution. (Merce, p.94)

Like Isadora Duncan, Argentina sought to "dignify" the dance, and one of her methods was to work with Classical music. It is important to note that Argentina did not become successful until she was introduced to European audiences by the powerful critic Andre Levinson. Ellsler and even Lola Montes had been associated with the world of "High Art", but real Spanish Gypsy dancers were associated with the low life of the music hall. Argentina did not become successful until she disassociated herself from those artists who had taught her: as Levinson said, "She single-handedly has restored and regenerated a genre long denigrated and falsified by the Gypsies of the music-hall" (p.20). Evidently, Europeans did not want too accurate a portrayal of a "Spanish Gypsy".

La Argentina's last presentations in Buenos Aires were in 1933, 1934, and 1935, at the Cervantes and Colon theaters. (Cappelletti, p.83) Encarnacion Lopez La Argentinita also toured South America in the early 1930's. La Argentinita, like La Argentina, was a trained dancer born in Buenos Aires and raised in Madrid who presented varied concert programs including Flamenco dance. Like La Argentina, La Argentinita gained

enormous popularity in South America: "South America...sees in her dances the romantic Spain of its fantasy...purged of the easy, the low and the grotesque" (del Rio, p.32).

The performance formulas developed inside and outside of Spain for presenting Flamenco dance were related but were not completely congruent. The most important divergence between them was that, while by the early 20th century Gypsy Flamenco artists were presented in music halls and touring companies performing for large audiences inside Spain, no Gypsy performer actually commanded the presentation of her own image to the international public until Carmen Amaya surfaced in the 1930's. Amaya's work was a fascinating amalgam of non-Gypsy representations of the Gypsy dancer with authentic Gypsy stylistic elements, and of presentational traditions formulated in both the music halls and recital halls of Europe and America.3

Escape to Buenos Aires:

The visibility of Flamenco in Latin America was catalyzed by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. On July 18, 1936 Carmen Amaya was performing in the northern city of Valladolid with her customary back-up of three guitarrists: her father Jose Amaya "El Chino", her brother Paco, and a close friend of the family, El Tio Pelao. She was well-known in Spain. She had made two movies, and had travelled extensively with her small group, dancing Flamenco pieces in variety houses, and as part of larger programs in the bullfighting rings. When war broke out, from Valladolid they escaped to nearby Lisbon, and somewhere along that route contracted to perform in Buenos Aires. Carmen's mother, Micaela, her other brothers and sisters, and her brother Paco's wife were stranded in Madrid and had to scramble back to their native Barcelona to await word. Cut off from contact with the rest of the family, Carmen's group got to Marseilles, and from there they emabarked on the voyage to the New World. By the time they arrived, it was 1937. (Leonor and Antonia Amaya, pp.1-2)

Augustin Castellon "Sabicas", the world-class guitarrist who was Carmen Amaya's long-time friend, clandestine lover, and principal collaborator remembered:

The outbreak of war caught me in Madrid and from there

3 For an analysis of this formulative dialogue between Gypsies and non-Gypsies in Flamenco, please see Weinzweig, Meira. Flamenco Fire: Form As Generated by the Audience-Performer Relationship. In 10th Annual Meeting and Conference on Gypsy Studies Proceedings. New York, NY: The Gypsy Lore Society Society, 1990.

they contracted us to go to Buenos Aires...We went to France, where we met the rest of the company, and from there we embarked. It was a big, new French boat -- 16 tons. It took a long time: 20 something days. When we arrived in Buenos Aires everything was so big, so pretty, so clean -- all the streets --everything. (A. Castellon, pp.10,37)

Diego Castellon, the brother who accompanied Sabicas throughout his life, says the name of the boat was the Michelangelo. (D. Castellon and Mariano Parra, p.10)

Alcoriza, the empresario, had often represented Sabicas in Spain. When war broke out he was in Lorrain, France with a company of actors, Flamenco singers, and dancers. (D. Castellon, p.6) In all a group of about 20 artists met in Marseilles and fled together to Buenos Aires.

Sabicas recounts:

When we arrived in Buenos Aires Carmen had already been there for two months causing one of her [usual] furors. Noone talked about anyone but her. There were headlines like "What is This?" and "Pointed Stars for Carmen." It was a media event. She was performing in the Teatro Maravillas. (A. Castellon, p.11)

According to Diego Castellon, there were two empresarios who ran the Teatro Maravillas. At least one of them, Sr. Maya, made millions. He was the one who brought Carmen from Lisbon to Argentina when war broke out, and he also brought the renowned guitarrist Ramon Montoya and his group. Both empresarios were Spaniards. They put together an entire show made up of artists who were fleeing Spain. And they took advantage: "If they should have paid 20 they paid 10, because people were desperate to get out" (D.Castellon, p.7).

The Teatro Maravillas:

There were 40 artists in the company of the Teatro Maravillas. Los Chavalillos Sevillanos (Rosario and Antonio), who like all the internationally known Spanish dancers up until that time had started out in the Flamenco vaudeville shows of Spain, were performing there. Also on the program was Angelillo, a famous Flamenco Opera singer who had made a movie called La Hija de Juan Simon with Amaya in Spain. Ascension Pastor, a singer, and Anita Sevilla, a singer-dancer, were there. Ramon Montoya, the first great Flamenco guitar recitalist was there, playing solo and accompanying Conchita Martinez, a ballad singer whose son Emanuel is a famous pop singer today. (D.Castellon, p.3)

The show was an international revue. It included Classical Spanish dance, regional folk dances of Spain and Latin America, and Flamenco dances. (L. and A. Amaya, p.2) However, the primary audience draw was Carmen Amaya. Diego Castellon recounts how the other artists bitterly disputed this, until Amaya took a 3 week vacation -- and ticket sales dropped off radically. (p.3) Carmen was such a huge success that legend has it they renamed the theater after her. People had to wait for months to get a ticket. Diego Castellon says she was very well paid there. In 1963 Francis Sugrue of the **New York Herald Tribune** claimed: "At one time she was earning $14,000 a week and a theater was built and named after her, a theater which she later purchased" (cited in Sevilla, p.6).

At the Teatro Maravillas Carmen Amaya did not do evening length concert programs, as she would later do under Sol Hurok in the U.S. But the seminal changes which she made in response to the Teatro Maravillas audience eventually transformed Amaya's personal Flamenco style from vaudeville to concert hall presentation. These alterations included an expanded repertoire including Classical music, changes in body line and movement dynamics to incorporate more of the distilled quality, variety, and "shading" characteristic of Western concert dance, and the formation of a larger company.

Amaya's company began to grow when the rest of the Amaya family finally arrived on the ship "La Campana" in early 1938. (L. and A. Amaya, p.2) Carmen's sisters Antonia and Leonora were not yet professional. They had to learn on the job. They were accepted into the corps de ballet at the Maravillas which was comprised of 20 women, mostly Argentinian. The sisters spent a year in the corps, studying under the theater's resident teacher who taught them various regional dances. (L. and A. Amaya, p.4) Although the sisters claim they never studied any Flamenco with anyone, the fact that they took any dance classes at all is in marked contrast to the norm for the training of Gypsy Flamenco dancers, including Carmen herself, at that time. When asked to describe Carmen's contributions to the world of Spanish dance, her sisters say that "Before Carmen dancers only danced one [Flamenco] dance. Nowadays [Flamenco] dancers must dance everything [including regional and Classical Spanish]" (p3). Later the two joined Carmen Amaya's company.

Carmen's section came last on the program at the Maravillas. She opened with a spectacular orchestral number, usually a Classical Spanish piece, with castanets and a rich embroidered dress. Sometimes she danced "La Quinta" of Granados, sometimes "La Vida Breve" of Manuel de Falla. Then the two sisters danced a regional dance such as the Jota while Carmen changed costumes for her Flamenco solo. Chato Valencia, known for putting Argentinian songs to Flamenco rhythms, sang for Carmen in the Teatro Maravillas, although it appears that for other engagements

in South America and for the first few years of work in North America she easily reverted to a typical earlier formula of dancing Flamenco without a singer. (L. and A. Amaya, p.2)

The Alegrias was Carmen Amaya's trademark dance. Already in Spain she had created an innovative and highly personal interpretation of this Flamenco rhythm. Her costume was the short-jacket suit of the male Flamenco dancer, which permitted more virtuosic displays of turns, jumps, and heelwork, and which highlighted her fierce, speedy style. And yet Carmen's virtuosity was not measured, as in being able to repeat a dance the same way twice, down to the last lift of an eyebrow (the way La Argentina was reputed to have been able to do). Amaya's virtuosity involved pushing the limits of control, both with speed and strength. My experience of dancing her material is that it is about going as hard and as fast as possible -- without losing control of the rhythm. "In the moment that you are going to step on stage, give it all, everything you know," as Carmen said to former company member Domingo Alvarado (p.8).

Carmen's sister Antonia recounts,

> We used to call her "quita'ficcion" [roughly "party-pooper"]. When she wanted to really dance she would give us a look which said "Get ready!" She danced her Alegrias and then we had to go out so that she could breathe before singing. Who could dance after her? (p3)

This anecdote emphasizes not only the great intensity with which Amaya danced, but also the element of improvisation which was such an important part of her dance.

After her Flamenco solo, Carmen sang for an informal dance by her sisters, her brother, and her father. To close, she sang and danced a song, wearing a long train, to piano and palmas. One of the songs was called "Herencia Gitana" ("Gypsy Inheritance"), which emphasizes her claim to the exotic patrimony of pure Gypsy blood and the wealth of Gypsy song:

> Me dejaron de herencia mis padres
> ademas de la luna y el sol
> una bata cuaja(da) de lunares
> que conmigo to(do) el mundo corrio
>
> Es muy poca cosa
> esta es la verdad
> Pero soy dichosa
> en pudiendo cantar [sic]
>
> Soy de la raza Cale
> y el mundo dicta mis leyes

Hija de padres Gitanos
y tengo sangre de reyes
en la palma de la mano

(My parents left me
along with the sun and the moon
a dress covered with polka-dots
and everyone kept me company

Its not much
that is very true
But I'm lucky
because I can sing

I am of the Gypsy race
and the world dictates my laws
I am the daughter of Gypsy parents
and I have the blood of kings
in the palm of my hand) (L. and A. Amaya, p.5)

A short film made during this period reveals the evolution of Amaya's presentational style. Although her performance lacks the articulate movement shapes and dynamics which become visible by the end of this South American period in 1940, the film reveals changes in Amaya's presentation as she adapts to the New World. For example, she theatricalizes her virtuosity by altering the traditional Flamenco syntax. Typically, upper-body movement (marking) sections and footwork sections are separated by short, total-body breaks. In this film the breaks become turns which are extended to three or four times their usual length, resulting in sections of spectacular multiple turns which are separated by relatively shorter sections of marking and footwork.

The film emphasizes the exotic Gypsy persona of Amaya by placing the "moonlit" dance space between four pillars of fire, by playing a very Arabic-sounding rhythm called "zambra", and by tight shots of her intense gaze. But she is set against a backdrop of a large company of ten dancers, along with ten or twenty more guitarrists, hand-clappers (palmeros), and a stage "audience", all dressed as "Gypsies".

The Teatro Mayor

While Carmen and her family performed in the Teatro Maravillas, Sabicas and his brother Diego performed in Alcoriza's show at the nearby Teatro Mayor. Along with Sabicas, who the Flamenco community cherished as a great technical innovator and a great artist, and whose career paralleled that of Amaya in bringing Flamenco to the international recital stage, were two excellent singers, El Nino de Utrera and Juan Munoz "Pena" Hijo.

(D. Castellon and V. Granados, p.1) Both of these artists worked within the vaudeville or Flamenco Opera style which was then very popular in both Spain and America. (A Gonzalez Climent, pp.194, 202-3) 4

Also performing at the Teatro Mayor was an excellent male dancer, El Maera, who later directed a dance academy in Buenos Aires. (A. Gonzalez Climent, p.196) But Maera could not compete with the audience appeal of Amaya, and neither could Sabicas, the two singers, or the entire company of actors -- until they put on a play called El Padre Castanuelas (Father Castanets). Lucky for them, because as Diego Castellon says,

> At the beginning not many people came, because Carmen Amaya was performing in the other theater, but then they put on El Padre Castanuelas, and people started to come. And the empresario made a pile of money, so we all got paid! (D. Castellon, p.7)

In contrast to the passtionate seriousness with which Amaya danced Flamenco, El Padre Castanuelas poked fun at the Flamenco world. Diego Castellon tells the story: "It was about a priest who was very Flamenco, who only sang soleares and seguiriyas (deep songs). And the townsfolk asked him to sing in Latin and he replied --'Me? I'm going to sing in Latin? I sing por solea!'" (D. Castellon, p.7)

The contrast and competition between the two shows is fascinating. While the show at the Teatro Mayor emphasized virtuosity, control, and stylish forms of light opera imported from the Old World, Carmen Amaya's presentation emphasized exoticism, improvisation, and abandon. She was untamable, a "Heart of Darkness", possesed by mysterious, volcanic tides. Why did she have such appeal to a New World sensibility? Was it her ecclectic amalgam of the "exotic Gypsy" image with the virtuosity, varied repertoire, and large companies of Western concert dance? Was there a buried rage at being part of a dispossessed people which leaked through in her dance and with which the Americans identified? Was her portrayal of a strong, active femininity more in keeping with the times than the other

4 In Spain, **aficionados** often preferred a singing style associated with artists of Gypsy ethnicity or identification. This style can be very roughly characterized as having dark and deep poetic content, and a husky, raspy, pushed-to-the-limits-of-control voice. However, some **aficionados** and certainly the broader Flamenco audience in both Europe and America was more familiar with the popular Flamenco Opera style, whose poetic content was more romantic and whose vocal style was light, brilliant, and virtuosic.

Spanish female exports? These are questions which demand further research.5

The South American Tour:

Sabicas tells the story:

> As Gypsies, we ate many times at the Amaya house. She would invite me, we would eat, and talk about putting together a tour throughout America. And that was how it started, that funny, salty tour. We went to the first place in Chile. We went to the hotel. I went into my room. I took my change and my cigarettes out of my pockets and put them on the night table. When I woke up the next morning...the night table was on the other side of the room. I got a little suspicious!...So I went downstairs and said -- "Sir, don't think I'm crazy" -- "No, Mr. Agustin, what is it?" -- "I went to bed next to the night table and I woke up on the other side of the room!" He laughed..."Don't worry, sir. Here we have three or four earthquakes every day."...And I didn't understand what he was saying, I didn't know what an earthquake was.
>
> So the next day we went to work. I'm playing the guitar, and all the musicians stand up, horrified. I said to myself "Don't these people like the guitar? They're certainly not being very polite about it!" And then I looked up and saw people jumping out of the first balcony!...And some gentleman runs up to me and says, "Get under that pillar!" And I said, "But what is going on?"...It was an earthquake. And we later learned that 15 thousand people had died. That was Chile, in 1939. (A. Castellon, pp.11-12)

Later the company went to Peru and to Mexico. In the fall of 1939 they arrived in Havanna, performing in the Teatro Nacional. Before they left they made a short film; according to Leonora and Antonia it was a capricious invention of their father, Jose El Chino, who made up the story and put the whole project together. (L. and A. Amaya, p.3)

The title of the film is "El Embrujo del Fandango" (The Spell of the Fandango) and the centerpiece of the film is a dance of the same name. The film reveals further evolution in Amaya's presentation. It still emphasizes the exoticism of Amaya's Gypsy

5 For an initial exploration of these questions, please see Weinzweig, Meira. "Through the Eyes of the Critics: Selected American Perceptions of the Evolution in Carmen Amaya's Flamenco Style." In Jaleo, 1986, vol. VIII,no. 4, pp. 17 - 19.

heritage: the story of a non-Gypsy's sung challenge and Amaya's danced response is postulated on the rivalry between the Operatic and Gypsy Flamenco styles. But here Amaya's dance is no longer the traditional Flamenco "zambra" of the earlier Argentinian film. This is a neo-Classical orchestral piece, complete with castanets and a richly embroidered costume. The music was written by Palomo, an Argentinian composer who worked closely with Sabicas helping him transcribe Flamenco pieces for orchestra, and who worked with Amaya as a pianist. Part of the Argentinian legacy for Amaya was this piece which throughout her career served as an orchestral "Classical" opening number, and yet still set off her dramatic "Gypsy spell".

The company is again a large group of stylized Flamencos, and the development of the company is revealed in a solo danced by Carmen's sister Antonia. Presumably because the film was completely controlled and created by the Amayas, the portrayals of the Flamenco world are here far more accurate than in the earlier film. These Flamencos inhabit a Spanish cafe, rather than a dislocated, fiery night landscape, and are costumed in contemporary dance costumes and street wear, rather than in a pastiche of 17th century bandolier and 20th century Flamenco costume.

After they returned to Buenos Aires Carmen and Sabicas put a show together at the Teatro Mayor. The show was a huge success, and there is a legend retold by Paco Sevilla of Jaleo Magazine, that

> One night in her theater, Leopold Stowkowski arrived too late to see the regular show. He asked if she would go through her dances once again. She was willing, but there was some sort of Argentinian law that said theatrical performances after midnight were forbidden. "So Mr. Stokowski asked me to please go ahead," Miss Amaya recalled later, "He and his orchestra were the entire audience for me, and when I finished he had to pay much fine (several hundred dollars). But he said he was happy." He also asked, "What sort of devil do you have inside yourself?" (p.6)

The story continues. He spoke to Sol Hurok of Amaya. Hurok was passing through Buenos Aires in 1940 with Lili Pons. (L. and A. Amaya, p.4)

Diego Castellon recounted

> One day a a man came to tell us that the greatest empresario in the world was coming to see Amaya, and he is interested in taking her to the U.S. And Amaya's father El Chino came and told us to dress up, to do our

make up really well...

> And Hurok came with a stepson named Joseph who spoke Spanish. They sat in the first balcony right in front of us. And we all watched them watching us. Hurok was big and fat, and we watched them talking to each other without understanding... And Carmen came out and turned the fire on, and people went crazy...and from that came the contract to the U.S. (D. Castellon, p.3)

Conclusions

Carmen Amaya, like all famous Flamenco dancers before her, began her career in the music halls and vaudeville stages of Spain. Some dancers before her had succeeded in elevating themselves to the status of international stardom by becoming recitalists and by associating with the circles of "High Art". Argentina and Argentinita are clear examples of this, and they were both represented by Sol Hurok. Amaya was the first Gypsy to make this list, and to earn international stardom as a Spanish dancer.

Carmen Amaya's training and formative experiences were fundamentally different from those of La Argentina, and they were also different from the female Gypsy Flamenco stars who had preceeded both of them on Spain's music hall stages. Amaya lacked Argentina's formal dance training, yet she did have the rhythmic expertise that is found in many members of Gypsy families who have long danced to **palmas** and song. This gave her a clear advantage in creating theatrical rhythm solos: her expertise was so far beyond anything seen before in staged Flamenco that it caused an immediate sensation wherever she went.

But the fact that she was from a wandering Gypsy family with ties to both the north and south of Spain meant that she, like La Argentina, was less linked than her predecessors to the purely Andalusian Flamenco tradition from which the music hall presentations of Flamenco had emerged. Perhaps her status as an outsider to both traditions made her more willing to be ecclectic. For example, Argentina, when trying to "civilize" Flamenco for the concert stage inserted the the shading of tempo which is valued in Western concert dance and music and is antithetical to the more mesmerizing qualities of a steady, swinging beat. Amaya combined these two aesthetics: she made different sections of driving rhythm, contrasting with each other in terms of tempo.

Other artists had the diverse repertoires, technical virtuosity, dynamic shading, sculpted body lines, and stellar stage presence which Amaya distilled as she emerged into the eye of the international public. But Hurok presented Carmen Amaya as a "star" in North America because she embodied the image of the

Spanish Gypsy aesthetic, so fascinating to Western audiences, in a new and distinctive way. Her dance still retained aesthetic values foreign to contemporary Western theatrical dance and which may indeed be characterized --in part -- as "Gypsy". She fit herself into the concert format which others had helped create, but what she brought to it was the element of improvisation, abandon, embodied emotion pushed to the very limits of control, yet contained by extremely refined rhythm. Lola Montes, a former company member, said: "What she did was total, like a spirit came down and performed. I have seen her vomit backstage after performance. I have seen her go through a pair of shoes in one performance." (L. Montes, p.5) Carmen Amaya brought to the international stage a "Heart of Darkness" which continues to influence the presentation of Flamenco to this day.

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SEPHARDIC DANCE:
A LECTURE-DEMONSTRATION

by Judith Brin Ingber

Generally there is one perception of the Jews but in fact there is no monolithic definition for the Jewish communities. Geographic locations become identification and even explanation for Jewish life. Of course all the Jews started out as the Biblical Israelites with Jerusalem as the capital of their country; the first exile from there came with Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians destroying the first temple in 586 BCE; the second temple was ruined by the Romans in 70 AD. These two bald facts of dispersion begin the effect of geography on the lives of Jews. The area of Spain in Biblical times was refered to as Sepharad; perhaps during the Roman empire Jews began to move into the actual area. From then on, the Jews living there and the descendants of the Jews from Sepharad, have been known as the Sephardic Jews. The other main, much more well known group of Jews are the Ashkenazy or those who had moved into northern and eastern Europe.

The Jews in Spain also faced an expulsion. Next year commemorates 500 years since the fateful date: 1492. It was reported in the International edition of the New York Times on Sunday, June 3, 1990 that in an effort at reconciliation "nearly 500 years after their ancestors' expulsion from Spain, the world's Sephardic Jews were selected on Friday to receive Spain's most prestigious prize, The Premio Principe de Asturias Concord Prize. The Hispanic world's equivalent to the Nobel Prize is awarded annually; this year's went to the Sephardic Jews for upholding and preserving the Spanish language and culture, awarded by The Prince of the Asturias Foundation. It was a gesture to Sephardic Jews around the world "to reach out to those communities, opening forever the doors of their original country."

Who are the Sephardim? Firstly, they were Jews who lived primarily in southern Spain in Andalusia. Granada, Cordoba, Seville were some of the big centers. In Cordoba, Jewish life may have begun as early as 711 immediately after the Muslim conquest. Cordoba became the capitol of the Omayyid Kingdom as well as a center of Jewish culture and intellectual activity. There is a note from Ivanova's <u>The Dance in Spain</u> that Cordoba possessed a most splendid court in which both social dancing, a sign

of a cultivated person and solo dancing, done by entertainers occurred there. She writes, "...distinguished Christian nobles, Jewish scholars and Arab dignitaries were all received and entertained at the caliphate or the Moorish courts. Dancing and wine appear to have accompanied each other at events despite the latter's prohibition by Muslim law." She describes "...a favourite diversion known as a zambra where men, women and slaves sang and danced until dawn, a practice which set a new style in entertainment during which Moors, Jews and Christians fraternized and the local wine flowed freely."[1] (The word zambra actually means merrymaking or mirth). The great Jewish philosopher Maimonides was born in Cordoba in 1135 and I want to make note of him here because he figures in a later discussion about Yemenite Jews and their dance. Toledo and Madrid in Central Spain also became Jewish centers.

By the 12th and 13th century nearly half of the world's Jews lived in Spain. But we are left with little idea of what their lives and their dances actually looked like. Jews were always forbidden to make graven images which has inhibited them in painting or depicting their actual lives for fear of breaking that Biblical commandment. But we do know that Jews continued to dance in Spain, as they did anywhere they lived, at traditional Jewish life cycle times such as circumcision of the baby boy; passage into manhood of the bar mitzvah (and today the young woman's bat mitzvah); engagements, weddings, births and deaths. In addition to the personal life cycle, there are also all the traditional holidays and festivals of the annual cycle. These include the Sabbath, holidays such as Purim, Simchat Torah, Passover, Sukkot, and even in daily prayer. The slides used in the lecture-demonstration are of Sephardic communities today for as I have explained, pictorial evidence is unavailable. We can surmise that the dances done by the Jews of the middle ages and Renaissance eras in Spain perhaps exhibited movements similar to those found in dances of Southern Spain which Ivanova describes as using the "...arms and wrists, upper part of the body and also in some complex unoccidental rhythms."[2]

Professional performance dancing in the courts was one type of dance, but participatory dance occurred on Jewish festivals in Spain. Records indicate, says Sendry in his book Music of the Jews in the Diaspora[3] that in Villafranca Jewish musicians played for the Purim festival

which was a time celebrated in all Jewish communities with both music and dance. In 1480 Sendry further reports that on Corpus Christi Day for the Christians, Jews were apparently "...ordered to exhibit in public their national dance..."[4] but we really don't know what this looked like. From the writings, particularly in the writings of communities to their rabbis in a form of literature called The Responsa, we know there were all kinds of issues dealt with including how and when to dance. But something drastic happened to change everything.

In 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella completed the conquest of Muslim lands in Spain. On March 30, 1492 at the Alhambra castle in Granada they decreed that the Jews must leave Spain--or be baptized. The Jews had four months.

The Inquistion was at its fiercest and there were public tortures, burnings, hangings in effigy and hangings in actuality. Between 50,000 and 250,000 Jews fled at this time, many of them for Morocco and the Ottoman Empire which included Egpyt as well as Syria and Palestine. Many fled to Portugal since it was so close by, but 5 years later the Jews of Portugal were forcibly baptized. The Portuguese emigres were Christian converts who renounced Christianity on arrival in a freer land. They maintained their own distinct identity with different religious traditions and many of their synagogues survive in use to this day. In the 1500's, Italy received a number of Spanish exiles. However, the best hope for the refugees lay outside the Christian world.

From the thirteenth century on, there had been a continual flow of Jews from Christian Europe to Muslim lands, but the most massive exodus followed the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492. The Ottomans had captured the Byzantine capital Constantinople in 1453 and rebuilt it as their capital of Istanbul. The Sultan Bayezid II welcomed Jewish immigration and invited the refugees from the Spanish and Portuguese expulsions to come into his Empire. They were treated with particular favor since they brought skills much needed--medical and technical knowledge, commercial and political expertise. He saw them as a positive element economically and technologically and would probably prove to be loyal subjects.

Unlike Christianity, Islam never formulated any specific attitudes towards the Jews. Full participation in Islamic society was reserved for Muslims. Jews, in common with Christians and Zoroastrians, had a subordinate status of protected people. In return for physical

protection and freedom of worship they were subjected to special taxes and restrictions including the wearing of distinctive clothing. However, it was only in the Ottoman empire that the exiles were really welcomed, especially in Turkey which attracted the majority of the exiles.

They settled in all the major cities of the Ottoman empire and reconstructed the ruins of their shattered life and culture. Salonica soon became a mainly Jewish town and its development into the most important commercial port of the eastern Mediterranean was largely due to Jewish enterprise. As an aside I want to say that it had been Ottoman until WWI when the area was awarded to Greece. By WWII in 1943 there were 44,000 Jews who were deported by the Nazis and most were murdered at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Bergen-Belsen. But back to an earlier time 430 years before: When Egypt and Palestine came under Ottoman rule in 1517 these regions attracted further Jewish immigration.[5]

The Ladino-speaking exiles from the Iberian peninsula brought with them a rich tradition of creativity that had peaked in medieval Spain. The language itself is a fascinating subject not appropriate for the discussion today other than to say all the songs you will hear that I will dance to are sung in Ladino. "La Rosa" is a love song with images of the rose blooming in the month of May and the ever present image of the dove.

Ladino expert Nancy Kobrin writes that the Sephardim themselves recognized that they were a Jewish people who "...chose to articulate themselves through the medium of a romance language which was written in Hebrew script. The naming of a discourse took up the issue of cutting across linguistic and cultural boundaries...so that the Jews could give voice to their unique social reality... As long as the Jewish community was able to live in the Iberian peninsula, Ladino was part and parcel of its survival tactics. In today's computer terms, Ladino can be thought of as a way of 'hacking the system,' that is, the method by which one manipulates the system in order to get it to work for one's own ends and without cost. Even after the Expulsion, the Jews continued to feel the need to preserve their specific language. Ladino became a way of remodeling symbols which allowed a speaker to retain a specific frame of reference oriented toward the private culture...whose principal task lies in organizing the world around us. Culture creates a sphere which makes social life possible..."[6]

What is the culture that was maintained in all these five centuries since the expulsion? It certainly is Hispanic in many ways, firstly in the Ladino language of the Sephardim or the Spaniards which is a Castillian medieval Spanish still spoken by Sephardim today, the majority of whom live now in Israel. Though the elders lament the demise of Ladino, there still are Ladino newspapers, radio broadcasts, television programs, cookbooks, new songs and old ones maintained in households and communities of Sephardic Jews. Looking backwards to an earlier time it can be said that although the social and religious life of the communities were self-contained, there was still some degree of contact and mutual influence between Jewish, Christian and Muslim men constantly meeting at the workplace and in the markets, and drinking coffee in coffeehouses. The women almost always remained at home and few ran stalls in the markets. Many Jews spoke Turkish, Greek and Arabic and there are words in all three languages within Judeo-Spanish or Ladino, the Sephardi's first language. The music and the dance of the Sephardic Jews were also discourses in non-verbal communication which daily brought the community added solidarity and identity, re-enforcing their group. Of course the surrounding culture also influenced their lifestyle, and despite their closed religious and family life, there was an openness to the day-to-day contact between the various communities.

The next slide used in the lecture-demonstration shows how women's costume took on many characteristics of their neighbors' style. There were still distinctive styles maintained even in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as the Kofya, a kind of snood for the hair, worn by the women in Salonika. It was a head covering with bands and a narrow kind of bag hanging down into which the woman could slip her braids. On the outside it was decorated with an amulet. They believed the Kofya reflected the Sephardic women's dress at the time of the expulsion.

There is the period from the era from their arrival until the beginning of the nineteenth century for which we can rely only on written and pictorial sources, but from the mid-nineteenth century we have actual garments. The Sultans' decrees on matters of dress were guided by several major concerns including the necessity of religious requirements (basically modesty in dress for the women), distinguishing Muslims from non-believers so a

person's identity could not be mistaken; preventing Jews and Christians from dressing more sumptuously than Muslims; preventing cost of clothing from rising as a result of demand on the part of Jews and Christians. There were forbidden colors; Jews could not wear green, a sacred color to Islam. White was reserved for Muslims; the general trend was to restrict clothes of Jews to dark colors or black. Indeed, several sources confirm that Jewish men and women's outer garments were dark; Jews couldn't wear ermine and sable; no delicate silken fabric, overcoats could not be silk or cashmere.[7] However, here is a precious lithograph of a nineteenth century fiancee dance from Smyrna and you see the dancing woman in ermine and green.[8]

In women's clothing there was a marked distinction between indoor and street wear. The color of the cloak, shawl, and shoes, were dark. But indoors there was greater elegance and freedom of color and fabric; Jewish women did not need to be veiled. They did wear trousers which were long and wide, gathered at the waist, sometimes also at the knees and ankles. Robes would be open at the front to reveal the chemise, narrow in the waist and often slit down the sides; jackets had varied lengths, to the waist or below the hips, typically velvet, decorated with metal threads.

I would be shy to show you this dance knowing there are ethnologists here and dance scholars who are looking for authentic movement. But since I have laid out the difficulties of knowing what is authentic, I feel that an experience which happened to me this summer in Istanbul affirms my path and my choices in the dances I am going to show you. I was the guest of honor with my singer David Harris at a party made for us in the Jewish community center of the Goztepe area of Istanbul. There were probably twenty young Sephardic people including Yosef Adonov who told me that he learned Ladino as a teen ager in the B'nai Brith youth movement he belonged to because his parents had stopped speaking Ladino to him. There was much singing at the party and we all knew the songs. When we came to some which are in our repertoire, they asked us how we do them, so I kicked off my shoes and began to dance to the traditional songs. Afterwards, Hubes, one of the musicians in the Sephardic music performing group Los Pasaros Sefaradis said "We knew the songs, but we didn't see the dancing any more. Only once when we sang in Salonik people danced to our songs. We were in a Jewish

club there, but it was no different than the belly dancing, the cheap stuff for the tourists here. What you just did is the way I dreamed the Sephardic dancing would look without being able to imagine what that could be. But it looks right to me."[9] So with my Sephardic friends' blessings I will continue to dance.

The next dance I will do for you was inspired by a song and a lithograph. "La Serena" is a beloved Sephardic song about a strange siren at the sea, warning the sailors, with doves flying overhead. David learned it at Passover in a home for the aged in Salonika, or Thesolenike. In paging through a book, I saw an old lithograph of a Sephardic woman in a peach colored jacket and white pants from the same area of Salonika. So I've clothed my paloma or dove in that outfit and also incorporated the use of a manton because I constantly read that certain wearing apparel was maintained from Spain.

Way back when I was describing the original Sephardim in Spain in Andalusia I mentioned Maimonides, the great Jewish medical doctor and philosopher who regularly corresponded with Jewish communities outside of Spain and Egypt, giving them his opinions about proper moral conduct. His Responsa were sent to Jews as far away as Yemen. The Yemenite Jews are considered by some to be Sephardim because they are not Ashkenazy. However, the Yemenites are not actually descendents of the Jews from the Iberian peninsula; most likely their communities in Yemen were established long before the flowering of Jewish life in Andalusia. However, their dance and their movements in their community illustrate another aspect of Jewish movement.

In every traditional Jewish home male children learn from very early childhood to read the Bible with the proper cantillation accents or "te'amim" which are important for how the public hears the precious words of the Torah when they are chanted out loud on Mondays, Thursdays and on Shabbat and holidays. The proper chanting of the words make a syntactical logic and reveal the real meaning of the sentences. The traditional manner of how you read scripture is studied and practiced in a special Hebrew school with the rabbi or even with the father or grandfather or other grown-up relatives.

In certain Jewish communities this process of study is aided by movements of the teacher's right hand, mainly the fingers, palm and forearm. The scrolls in the synagogues have no punctuation marks, accents or musical notes.

While learning how to read the text the child watches the hand movements of his teacher which then become associated in his mind with a particular accent in the text. When he comes to read the bare text of the scroll in the synagogue the hand movements of the reading guide will remind him of the correct way of phrasing and chanting the text.[10] The child sees the movements of his teacher and imitates them unconsciously
while reading the scriptural text and he practices for several hours each day over several years. Naturally the movements become an integral part of his body language spreading later into other areas of his life, in prayer, in singing at home or outside. The dances that accompany the words, many used in songs, reflect the traditional hand gestures from the Torah reading. The movement vocabulary becomes part of the body language; indeed it is part and parcel of the spiritual world of the Yemenite Jew. Like the movements I've seen in dances, there is a great deal of improvisation. The movement might be both a personal vocabulary which even preserves some personal features of the particular teacher and pupil,[11] but it is at the same time something that gives a common basis a wider meaning than the personal improvisations. There is added hand-clapping and snapping of fingers in a free stylized way, but still a close association with the meaning of the words that are being sung, still with a free spontaneous improvisation of upper body, head and hands.

On the eve of the Sabbath I have seen women walking to meet their husbands after they've been praying in the synagogue. The women carry arm loads of a plant akin to basil and which is very fragrant. In the deepening dusk it is lovely to see the women walking towards their men. In confidence I was told by a friend that it is a sign to her husband that she is not menstruating and that he may have relations with her if she carries the basil to him.[12]

So that is a bit of personal lore about when there are processions, a kind of dance, and when other things might happen. Now I want to mention hand gestures of the women. In the Moroccan dance of Jews there is a distinction, I am told that the women do more hand gestures and arm movements and the men more hip movements and body movement. I saw this at a Bat Mitzvah party last summer I attended, a contemporary time of dance since celebrating a girl coming of age is a relatively new ceremony. This party took place in Tel Yehuda, south of Tel Aviv with

many families who were either "Tripolitim" or Moroccan. The families at first were enjoying the M.C., who was leading dancing, and of course it was mainly the young teenagers who were dancing. The others sat around tables literally feasting. But eventually the M.C. began changing the tapes playing more and more "Mizrachi" music or Middle Eastern sounding music. Soon the grandmothers of the bat mitzvah got up and some of the old aunts--these were all ample women with biger girths than the stylishly dressed young women. The older ones stood much closer together than had the young women, and they began moving, and it was mainly arm gestures. The men began to get up and they danced with the men so there were two completely different areas, as is traditional in Jewish circles, separating men and women. Then the younger women took their little boys, or their little girls and danced with them. Women took the heads of the flowers off the bouquets on the tables and began lightly crushing them in their hands and then pouring the petals over the heads of their children who were dancing with them, or over their friends, in a beautiful kind of natural confetti. I joined in on the dancing and was cut short a bit by a Moroccan woman named Liza Roemi Udi who said to me, "Well, you might be able to get it, if you practice a long time. You're not bad for someone who isn't Moroccan."

Actually I saw the animation that entered the group, and saw how it became multi-generational when the traditional Moroccan Jewish dancing started; and how the women moved with such freedom in their arms. The men on the other hand would give each other huge bear hugs and then dance in ways we might call suggestive--they were the ones doing more hip movements.

Marcia Aron Barryte's observations amongst the Jews from Rhodes living in Los Angeles were also interesting to me regarding arm movements. She wrote that the first generation regards hip movements as men's movements and shoulder movements as women's movements. "...the women tend to change their arm positions frequently during dancing...and they initiate most of their movements from their lower arms and wrists...first generation women spent a greater portion of their time in Rhodes preparing food and...they still spend much of their time in Los Angeles preparing food grinding, stirring, rolling and shaping dough into delicately and ornately designed pastries. These are all movements requiring much coordinated arm, wrist and hand movements...it should be noticed that

women's movements used in domestic chores utilize hand movements which are similar to those found in the first generation women's dance...most men do not prepare food or do intricate handiwork on a dialy basis and also do not exhibit much hand movement in their dancing."[13] So while the Yemenite men's hand movements while studying Torah influence their dance movement, the Rhodian women's work movements influence their dance in the same way.

In researching Moroccan songs last summer in Jerusalem, the singer for my troupe, David Harris, came across "Viva Orduena," which is performed at weddings. There is an explanation that dance movements accompany the song and it is described that they follow the actual text which mentions sifting flour, sowing, planting, cutting, harvesting, carrying, grinding and preparing bread as well as eating it.[14] Ester Davida and her daughters from Tangiers were recorded by the Phonoteca of the Hebrew University singing this song and simultaneously dancing these work movements. It shows to me yet another example of how movements from life are incorporated into celebration and dance.

The next dance demonstrated is made up of many more traditional elements of movement motifs, both in the hand gestures and in the footwork. Similar to the Yemenite Jewish dance procession of the woman carrying flowers and spices to her beloved, this dance is based on Persian Jewish movement. The elements or motifs which can be embroidered and improvised on were taught to me by a young woman, Dorna Nili, who grew up in Shiraz, a center of Jewish Persian life.

The Jewish times to dance included Shabbat (I mentioned the women greeting the men on the eve of the Sabbath), but there were also times during the day of the Sabbath and then at its conclusion in the night. Jews have always been reluctant to let go of the Sabbath for it offered a wonderful respite from the everyday; social gatherings amongst the Sephardim at the end of the Sabbath could be quite joyful and full of song and dance.

In the Responsa I found a curious reference to dance during the Sabbath. In 1834 a Rabbi David HaCohen of Corfu was approached by Jews from a town near Salonika called Arta. It is written that the community asked, "Would it please our rabbi to enlighten us as to the correctness about dancing with married women because of an ugly occurence caused by the dance as if the dance created a den of harlots. A man turned to the dance arranger (the

Mesader HaMachol) and said, 'Get me that girl' and he told his wife to go off. Later she discovered her husband dancing with another man's wife. The rabbi's response was not to ban dancing as some suggested but only to allow it in the following manner: a husband dancing with his wife, or a father with his daughter, or a mother with her son or sisters with brothers."[15]

During the day of the Sabbath there is quite a difference in observance between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in many ways. Dancewise, Marcia Aron Barryte cited a feeling in Sephardic culture of blending religion and life into a celebratory harmony. "An Orthodox Ashkenazic Jew would label secular activities something not to mix with religious. On a Sabbath afternoon, a Sephardic Jew from Rhodes might dance 'A La Turka,' an improvisational dance type commonly danced in couples of men and women with minimal physical contact. Since Ashkenazic Orthodox Jews frown upon mixed dancing and may also tend to confuse 'A La Turka' dancing with belly dance (a different dance type often having erotic connotations for the Westerner), the Orthodox Ashkenazic Jew may tend to object to both the dance type and the act of dancing on the Sabbath."[16]

The style of chanting between the Jewish communities is different, and movements of prayer are different--many prayers have a kind of specific choreography in the synagogue. With the Ashkenazim, during the important "Shmonei Esrei" prayer, for example, you raise on your feet three times, and then at the "kaddish" you step forward, step back, and bend right and bend left. For the Sephardim, you loop your prayer shawl fringe in such a way that you sight the sacred book of the Torah whenever it is moved, and you lift your hands to the Torah. During the "Shmonei Esrei" you kiss your fingers, put them to your eyes and raise them on high. In the processional for the Torah in putting it back into the ark, Sephardim walk only facing it so the lead person is actually walking backwards to the ark. These are all gestures and movements that heighten the meaning of the prayer by calling attention, and marking a special place and a sacred object with special movements.

The Sephardic women did not participate as much in these kinds of public sacred movements but they were also fine musicians. Not unlike what happened to belly dancing in Victorian times, the Sephardic women dancers became known as exotic dancers. In 1893 at the World's fair in Chicago we see two Sephardic women being featured

on the mid-way. But within their own traditions the women have been known as fine musicians and dancers for the joy and celebration of family and community life.

Apart from the Sabbath, I have mentioned holidays that include dance such as Simchat Torah--commemorating finishing the reading of the Sacred books and starting the year's cycle again. Purim is a very important holiday amongst the Sephardim commemorating the defeat of a wicked advisor to the king of Shushan in Persia who had plotted to murder all the Jews. The holdiday is celebrated by reading the book of Esther or the Megillah during a service; noise makers are sounded every time Haman's name is mentioned. Generally, following the reading there are carnivals and parties and people get dressed up in costumes. Drinking is also allowed until you get so drunk you cannot tell the difference between good and evil, your right hand or your left. In Rhodes Barryte was told that there was dancing in the streets, and the dance was a spontaneous expression of celebration.[17]

Holidays have a different taste to them from Ashkenazic Jews; the foods have a Spanish flavor, added in with spices from the different communities where Sephardic Jews have ventured in the last 500 years. Actually there is even a Sephardic holiday. It is called The Mimouna and the Sephardim have added an extra day to Passover, a 9th day, a day to celebrate the spring, to be outdoors on the hillsides to picnic, to throw water on each other, to sing and to dance.

The Mimouna in Israel has been an important vehicle for reviving a pride and solidarity in Sephardic community life. The slides used in the lecture/demonstration attest to the outdoor gatherings including dance.

In additon to the Mimouna there is the spring holiday fifty days later called Lag B'Omer which also has a special element of Sephardic celebration. Wherever it was celebrated there was an element of pilgrimmage to graves of righteous teachers or tzaddikim. The Sephardim made picnics, and gatherings and celebrated in dancing and pilgrimmages called ziarot and hillulot.[18]

In Hispanic culture on All Saints Day I understand there are picnics in the cemetary and a belief, without a fear of death, that the spirit of the dead still live. Perhaps this Hispanic influence is especially felt in these Sephardic pilgrimmages to the graves of rabbis with picnicking and processional dancing, music and gatherings.

The final area that I want to speak about is marriage amongst the Sephardim. In truth, I could have done the whole lecture just on this most important aspect of a person's life for the dance traditions amongst the different Sephardic communities are vast and complex. There were great celebrations in the community surrounding the wedding agreements (sometimes made at birth of a child), engagement, the ritual bathing of the bride in the communal bath or Mikve, the processionals and celebrations surrounding the henna ceremonies, and the actual wedding and reception which followed, lasting up to a week or longer. I might add that there were great wedding celebrations and there continue to be great celebrations at this time. This all goes back to an ancient time, regardless of wich Jewish geographic community one lived in; it was written in the Talmud that all Jews were commanded to celebrate the wedding to ensure the joy of the bride and groom. Everyone was to dance, the young and the old, the crippled, and the poor and the rich. Consequently, all Jewish communities dance surrounding the wedding.

The henna ceremony was part of Sephardic marriage ceremonies. It is an ancient custom mentioned in the Bible and found in Muslim and Indian rituals as well. Henna has been considered both a beautifying agent and a power to ward off the evil eye. The dye of the henna plant is generally prepared by the women of the house of the bride for both the bride and groom. Older successful women prepared the henna with dancing and singing, placing the dye on a plate with flowers, candles and decorations. during the henna cremony for the bride, men would be forbidden to enter the room. The henna for the groom was transferred to his home in a joyous parade with music and dancing; the women who prepared it took turns bringing the plate.

Both in Yemen and in Libya the henna ceremony was done on the Monday night before the wedding. The Yemenite description explains that the bride sat in the middle of the room and an old lady painted her while her friends kept her happy by dancing. Female relatives of both bride and groom would assemble and dye the bride's hair, fingers, and nails. In Esphahan in Persia, the groom had the henna ceremony after the wedding and the bride's parents brought him sugar, chicken and henna which were signs of fertility; there would be dancing in front of the new couple and the dancers made acrobatic movements.

In Morocco and Tunisia it was reported to Zvi Friedhaber that the bride recieved her first clothes as a woman and not a girl during the henna ceremony and the bride's friends danced all Shabbat drumming forks on plates, these not being forbidden instruments on Shabbat. At the end of Shabbat the yard was lit and a friend of the bride danced and a friend of the groom would put a scarf around her hips and dance in front of her.

In addition to the henna ceremony, prior to the wedding there was the ritual immersion at the mikve which happened one or two days before the wedding, with a party accompanying bride to the hammam; refreshments were served and the proceedings were accompanied by singing and music. In addition to the henna ceremony, the rites surrounding the ritual bath of the bride at the mikve included much dance. "Female musicians played and everyone sang romances and songs in Ladino appropriate for the occasion,"[19] it has been written about the mikve celebration in Salonika. Gifts were also made of ornamental combs, soaps, perfumes, towels. While the bride was in the water in Morocco and Tunisia, there were dances; this was also the time that the bride learned the facts of life and her first lessons in sexuality, while the women were dancing she was told everything.

Zvi Friedhaber, in his book Dances of the Israeli Nation, says that the Moroccan Jewish population danced after the girl accepted the proposal. There would be a meeting of the parents of the two sides with dancing at the house of the bride.[20]

In the Atlas Mountains, on the day the man asked the girl to marry him, all the male members of his family would dance on the way to the bride's home, parading in dance, offering dried fruit, arak and the gifts on five serving plates. The first Jewish holiday after the proposal ceremony, the mother of the groom and his sisters invited the bride for the first time to their home, dancing on the way. After the groom hears a positive yes from the bride, the bride dresses in her new clothes from the groom, and he comes with his friends; the women dance to a drum called the tar.

In Libya the Jews gathered on the Shabbat before the wedding. A special instrument was played with two wooden plates, the lower filled with water so it was like an echo box. It would be drummed on with short sticks and the women would dance to the rhythm, circling the instrument.

The wedding itself takes place under a wedding canopy

or the huppa which symbolizes a kind of house, open on the sides, showing how the couple must be open to the community and society. In many Sephardic communities there are seven days of feasting with the bride and groom seated under the huppa for the duration.

There is an interesting account from the island of Djerba off of Libya that the groom would be met by his friends and an orchestra on the way to the huppa. The men would dance only ten minutes in front of him, which was considered a short time because the groom was fasting and his friends did not want to tire him. The men would then accompany him to the huppa and the seven blessings.

During the wedding there was the circling of the groom, which is found in all Jewish weddings. The bride marks a special path around him much as do processions in the synagogue with the Torah. After the ceremony itself there would be a festive meal and the entire community would dance, each in the fashion of that community.

If the groom's family lived in a different area from the bride, there would be a departure ceremony and also a welcoming ceremony in the new place, always with dancing. Sometimes there would be decorating of the horses, with a climax of dancing and music when the bride was seated on her horse. In a Persian town it was recorded that old people danced with sticks, swords and shields in front of the mounted groom.

In Rhodes, Barryte was told that there would be a great deal of food and dancing "A La Turka" at either the bride's or groom's home when an engagement was announced.[21] Much dancing also occurred during the seven days after the actual wedding ceremony when relatives and friends visited with the bride and groom, ate, sang and danced. On the day of the wedding there was a large procession leading the bride to the synagogue. (This happened on foot until 1930 when the auto replaced the procession). Then the seven days were modernized and also replaced by a honeymoon.

Considering the lithographs and prints I have seen of the Moroccan Jewish weddings, I noted that the majority had wedding gowns in black, reflecting the prohibition against wearing white. For the last dance in the demonstration, I copied a dress from traditional black wedding gowns. The dance begins at the betrothal with the bride thinking about what will come, and shows the procession to meet the groom, then the meeting under the huppa. The bride circles the groom, and then the

conclusion shows the festivities after the ceremony.

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END NOTES

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3. Sendry, Alfred, Music of the Jews in the Diaspora, p. 101.
4. Ibid., p. 101.
5. de Lange, Nicholas, Atlas of the Jewsh World, p. 24.
6. Kobrin, Nancy, "A Language Called Ladino," p. 80.
7. Juhasz, Esther, "Costume," Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire, p. 139.
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9. Hubes, Salim, Interview with author. Goztepe Jewish Community Center, Istanbul, 29 July 1990.
10. Bahat, Naomi and Arner, "Traditional Scriptural Reading Hand Movements as a Source of Dance of Yemenite Jews," p. 22.
11. Ibid, p. 23.
12. Bracha, Udi, Interview with author, Israel, summer 1990.
13. Barryte, Marcia, "Dance Among the Sephardi Jews...," p. 187.
14. Weich-Shahak, Susana, Judeo-Spanish Moroccan Songs..., p. 78.
15. Friedhaber, Zvi, Ph.D. Thesis, p. 88.
16. Barryte, Marcia, "Dance Among the Sephardi Jews...," p. 68.
17. Ibid, p. 131.
18. Friedhaber, Zvi, Ph.D. Thesis, p. 186.
19. Friedhaber, Zvi, Dance of the Nation of Israel, p. 53.
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FANNY ELSSLER IN HAVANA[1]

by Maureen Needham Costonis

The celebrated ballerina Fanny Elssler, who was one of the greatest exponents of nineteenth century Romantic ballet, made her greatest triumphs at the Paris Opera in her renditions of Spanish dances. She became the incarnation of the passionate Cachucha, just as her rival Marie Taglioni exemplified the incandescent Sylphide. Elssler stopped at Cuba on the way to New Orleans during her tour of the United States.[2] She was at first reluctant to demonstrate her Spanish dances there, for fear of seeming presumptuous -- a bit like carrying coals to Newcastle, she implied -- but the Havana audiences prized them above all else that she presented.

She had no contract in hand when she embarked from Charleston on January 3, 1841, some eleven days earlier, but was evidently gambling that she could negotiate a booking at any one of Habana's three luxurious theatres.[3] Why shouldn't she have felt sanguine about such prospects? After all, she had gambled mightily on her entire American tour in the first place. When she took leave from the Paris Opera in order to journey to the New World, she had no settled engagement then, either. In fact, the deal had fallen through just as she was about to depart London in April 15, 1840, but she was easily able to negotiate favorable arrangements soon after she arrived in New York.[4]

Her tour had been a complete triumph from that point. Americans succumbed to the dread European disease called "Elsslermania," a form of mass insanity caused by the merest glimpse of the dancer. Those so afflicted would cover themselves with a variety of fetishes: gentlemen wore Elssler boots; ladies were seen in Elssler cuffs and wore their hair a la Elssler. It got so that "everything and all things are now Fanny Elssler," even boats, boots, bootjacks, bread, champagne or lozenges at the pharmacy.[5]

Her fame preceded her to Havana. Even before she performed, the Diario de la Habana and Noticioso y Lucero de la Habana, two city newspapers, reported on her presence in the city. When she did arrive, she discovered that people believed her to be some kind of magician. Rumors were rife that she could pose on the tip of a rose or balance on a spectator's head. Nearly everyone was convinced that she could actually fly.[6]

The public waited impatiently while Fanny and Sr. Marti, the owner of two major theatres, began contract negotiations. Over a cup of strong black Cuban coffee, Fanny would demurely state her outrageous fee of $1000 per night, not including benefits for herself and her partner M. Sylvain.[7] Then Pancho Marti would grab his hat and huff indignantly out of the room. Negotiations continued in this long-drawn out bidding game until Fanny called Marti's bluff: she threatened to leave Havana if her terms were not met. Alarmed at the prospect of losing the celebrated ballerina without Habanerans having had the chance to see her, the Cuban Governor himself intervened.[8] Marti capitulated.[9]

Fanny may have won this first round, but, as we will see, the Governor was to play by the rules when she attempted to cash in her chips.

Fanny made her debut at the Teatro Tacon, at that time the largest theatre in the world with a seating capacity of 3037, and quite a contrast to the tiny, dingy Park Theatre in New York, where she made her U.S. debut.[10] A French visitor asserted that "There is perhaps no theatre so vast and as well appointed as this magnificent auditorium, compared to which even the San Carlo (Naples) would pale."[11] The Tacon was generally used for Italian opera performances or else drama, most recently for Verdi's Il Trovatore and Sophocles' Oedipus.[12] Elssler was engaged for ten performances, from January 23rd to February 15; on February 17, she departed for the Cuban town of Matanzas, where she danced for five more performances.[13] A theatrical director in another city, that of St. Jago de Cuba, was reputed to have offered her the astounding sum of $1200 per night, but it is not known if she accepted.[14]

Fanny's Cuban debut occurred on January 23 in Filippo Taglioni's La Sylphide (which she had first performed at the Paris Opera on September 22, 1838).[15] M. Sylvain, actually an Irishman originally christened James Sullivan, was cast as Reuben, today known as the character James; he also directed the ballet.[16] Mme. Arraline, a French danseuse of minor ability who happened to be touring the United States at this time, was brought along to play second parts, such as Jessie (Essie). Mr. Parsloe, cast as Reuben's rival for Jessie's affections, was not

a dancer but rather an English pantomime artist. The ship's passenger list mentioned the names of two American dancers, Misses Turnbull and Wells, who accompanied the four listed above, but their names were never featured in newspaper notices for Elssler's company in Havana.[17] Two other featured soloists were Cuban residents, one a dancer from the opera-ballet troupe. Sra. Carlotta Lopez played Moggy, Jessie's mother, while the Gitano or Gypsy was danced by Sr. R. Garcia, a featured actor of the Tacon troupe.[18]

The lack of a professional corps de ballet proved to be an insurmountable stumbling block. Two members of Fanny's entourage, her cousin Katti Prinster and her American "manager" Henry Wikoff, claimed that ballet was totally unknown on the island, but Cubans themselves asserted that French ballet was "not a new spectacle."[19] French ballet dancers had occasionally visited Havana ever since Francisqui brought the New Orleans French opera in 1800-01-02; the troupe returned in the 20s.[20] The Ravels, a famous French pantomime-ballet troupe that had been coming to Havana since 1836, were currently playing in Habana, and they featured a rendition of a "pasdedu" from La Sylphide.[21] In addition, the Principal Theatre could claim resident dancers who appeared in operas and during the entre-actes.[22] The Diario de la Habana critic recollected fond memories of Sra. Pautret, Aguila, and the husband-wife team of the Robertos, but conceded that Fanny was "the only ballerina of merit who has visited."[23]

Few local dancers were proficient in ballet, but Sylvain evidently could not find any at all who were willing to fill out

the corps de ballet at the price he was offering. In the end, Marti forcibly drafted twelve supernumeraries who were of Afro-Cubano origin; they had no ballet training.[24] According to Wikoff's fictionalized account, which he published under Fanny's name as the Letters and Journal of Fanny Elssler, it was such a ludicrous sight to see black women dressed in white tutus, that Sylvain painted their legs white and Marti issued yellow chemises to cover their dark skin.[25] Ivor Guest, in his biography of Fanny Elssler, followed Wikoff's ersatz Letters almost word for word, except that he claimed the audience initially tittered because black women were portraying Scottish peasants in the opening scene.[26] Members of the audience then broke out into convulsions of loud laughter at the incompetent sylphides in the second act. Even Fanny was said to join in when one frightened novice took a wrong turn and bolted after she found herself all alone on center stage.[27] The next morning a determined Fanny took matters in hand: she pruned out the overweight actresses, and drilled the others before she dared to appear in public again.

Henry Wikoff asserted that the root cause for the debacle was the color of the actresses' skin, but I can find no evidence to support his racist gibes in Habana newspapers or memoirs of that period that I have consulted. Likewise Prinster claimed, after viewing a dress rehearsal, that the ballet was but a parody of La Sylphide -- "Ach! du liebe Terpsichore!" she lamented sarcastically -- as much due to their "movements that resembled dancing bears" as the dancers' "distinctly dark brown" color.[28]

But why would Habanerans laugh derisively at Afro-Cuban "Scottish" peasants in a ballet, when they were doubtless accustomed to see these same supernumeraries enact Italian villagers in the operas or to hear music played by a multi-racial orchestra?[29] In short, another interpretation of this event seems more likely: the audience may have been amused by their clumsy efforts to dance rather than the color of their skin.

In support of this alternative point of view, it should be noted that the critic in the Noticioso demonstrated a strong sympathy for the reluctant actresses on the grounds that they had been forced into a situation where they knew better than anybody that they were bound to fail. He reported that "the public manifested their disgrace in unequivocal fashion," but pointed out that the "drafted" dancers had been "humiliated" by this display.[30] The writer urged that "paying them better wages would get a better corps de ballet."[31] Another writer similarly suggested that adequate dancers could be found at the local opera house, "just as they do in Paris and London."[32] Perhaps Fanny listened to these suggestions, because the press at one point commented upon the cooperation and support shown her by the corps de ballet.[33]

By the second performance, Fanny's dances were greeted with "continuous delicious applause" that drowned out the music.[34] She had only to enter, strike a modest pose, and the audience would break into an ovation.[35] Audience expectations became more realistic after people realized that she was a beautiful woman, rather than an acrobat. Some beholders, however,

continued to let their imaginations run wild: one critic, obviously smitten, likened her dancing to the "flight of a dove that traces a curve to the nest," to a "butterfly that alights on a rose," or to an "angel who dances in the sky before her Creator."[36] From this point on, she was termed "La Sylphide" by the press, an appellation that in Europe was reserved primarily for Taglioni and seldom applied to Elssler.

Two other full-length ballets given during this season were the Paris Opera favorites, Nathalie ou la laitiere suisse (7 February), and La Tarentule (31 January). The entire repertory derived from that of the Paris Opera and had been previously given in New York. The production of full-length ballets would appear to have been hampered by the lack of a corps de ballets, since Fanny danced in a far wider range of ballets once she reached New Orleans, including the great Romantic opera Robert le diable.[37]

Aside from three full-length ballets, Fanny's Cuban repertoire in 1841 also included many character dances, which had themselves been extracted from full-length ballets derived from the Paris Opera repertoire. These included the Cracovienne (23 January) or mazurka taken from Le Gipsy, first given in Paris, 28 January 1839; Smolenska (27 January), premiered for her benefit performance at the Opera, 30 January 1840, and the Tarantula (31 January) from La Tarentule first given at the Paris Opera, 24 June 1839. Critics were delighted with these "enchanting" dances, particularly the "seductive" Cracovienne.[38]

But when Fanny danced in two authentic Spanish dances, the Cachucha and Jaleo de Jerez, Cubans went into a veritable frenzy. "Magnificent Circe," as she was called, had only to dance her most famous solo, and the "crazy Cachucha fans," -- who included "old, young, people from high positions" -- packed into the enormous Tacon theatre where they "applauded with frenzy, inspired only by her perfection and overwhelmed by her genius."[39] Fanny had originally intended to leave her Cachucha costume in its trunk, perhaps fearing a challenge to her interpretive powers in a country where Spanish dancers often performed during entre-actes or operas. However, the ballerina's fans begged to see her most famous dance, the Cachucha, which was a lively Spanish dance in 3/4 or 6/8 time first seen at the Paris Opera in Le Diable boiteux (1 July, 1836).[40] A Spaniard named Dolores Serral had initially triumphed in Paris at the Opera balls with a rendition of the graceful and voluptuous Cachucha.[41] When Fanny adopted the Cachucha for the Paris Opera stage, she balleticized it somewhat and tamped down its former "rude expression and obvious sensuality."[42] She played castanets and appeared in an elaborate outfit based on those worn in Seville; it boasted a special headdress, called a Cachucha. Without de-enervating or altering the original Cachucha, she gave it an "elegance, grace, and charm that doubled the pleasure in viewing the most delicious steps."[43] Fanny at first refused to dance it in Havana, because "she considers herself not to have the necessary grace for these dances," but Sr. Arcadia condemned her exaggerated modesty, and pointed out that native Spanish citizens living in Paris had been

as delighted as the Parisians with her interpretation.[44] Public demands grew, so Fanny gave in.[45] "You should have seen her in the Cachucha," crowed one enthusiast in the Noticioso the next day.

As great a triumph as was the Cachucha, her El Jaleo de Jerez (11 February) was even more so. Numerous spectators cried out, "Viva Jerez!"[46] One former native of the city enthused that "this is not the Jaleo de Jerez, but something 100 times more beautiful, 100 times more elegant, 100 times more graceful. You can give it any name that you want. For my own part, I will call it the dance of paradise."[47] Habanerans lauded her as a Jerezana (citizen of Jerez) and showered her with applause, flowers, little animals, poetry, crowns. Finally she stepped forward on the stage and announced, "Even though I am German, my heart is Habaneran!"[48] That was all the crowd needed to redouble their enthusiasm. A beautiful crown parachuted down from the ceiling and landed upon her head; little birds, their feet tied with colorful streamers, flew up to the balconies. Flowers rained down upon the scene. "Happiness and enthusiasm were unanimous," was the way one critic summed up her tenth and final appearance for the 1841 season.[49] She was rumored to have cleared $11,000 from this one benefit alone.[50]

When Fanny returned to Habana the next year, she discovered that the Wells, an American brother-sister team associated with the Ravels, were performing her repertoire of Spanish dances. So were the Cubans Sra. Marie de Jesus Perez and her husband Sr. Grande.[51] Elssler responded to the challenge by publicly

asserting her claim to choreography created especially for her.[52] She also broadened her repertoire to include four new full-length dramatic ballets, Aumer's La Somnabula or La llegada de un nuevo senor (26 February), first given at the Paris Opera, 19 September 1827; Mazilier's La Gitana or La Gipsy (12 March), ballet mounted for Elssler at the Paris Opera, 28 January 1839; Dauberval's La Nina mal guardade or La Fille mal Gardee (6 April), a role that Elssler first danced at Paris Opera, 15 September 1837; and Principe y la Maga or The Fairy and the Knight (12 April), which was originally choreographed by Armand Vestris for the Vienna opera, 1823. Critics were impressed by Elssler's great dramatic powers revealed in these roles, and they discoursed learnedly on Noverrian aesthetics exemplified by these ballets en action.[53] She also earned accolades for her "graceful and masterful" dance, La Polacca (1 March).[54]

Fanny originally had planned to appear for only eight performances at the Principal Theatre and then another eight at the Tacon.[55] Instead she remained in Habana for four months -- from January 29, sailing on the 15th from Philadelphia in the frigate Rapid, until May 21 when she finally departed for New York.[56] In all newspaper notices for the Diario de la Habana and the Noticioso y Lucero de la Habana listed her appearances in 19 performances in Havana and 3 more in Matanzas that year, or a total of 37 for the two visits, not counting unknown quantity in St. Jago de Cuba.[57]

The second time around, her company included some excellent dancers: Sylvain was replaced by M. Jules Martin and his wife;

Mme. Arreline, by the Paris Opera danseuse Mlle. Pauline Desjardins; and the four Vallee sisters, accomplished young American dancers, rounded out the soloists. Elssler drew again upon Sr. Garcia's services, as well as two other local Cuban dancers, Sr. Garay and Sr. Flores.[58] The ballets' choreography was noticeably less truncated, according to highly detailed theatrical playbills published in the newspapers, than those presented in her first visit, no doubt due to this expanded cast of ten fully trained dancers.[59]

Elssler seldom changed her repertoire from city to city, but this time she appeared in two new character dances that she had learned in Cuba. The "graceful national dance, La Andaluza," was later successfully presented on New York and European stages (10 March).[60] La Andaluza was evidently a type of bolero, performed as a couple dance in moderate tempo with a distinctive and varied rhythmic accompaniment.[61] Boleros of that time featured a criss-cross exchange of dancers from one diagonal to the other, and an unusual ending where the last syllable of the song coincided with the final guitar strum, tap of castanets, and dancers' immobile pose.[62]

Cuba also inspired Elssler with a unique peasant dance, the Zapateado o Busca pies cubano, which she began studying in early March.[63] The Zapateo, a variant spelling for the same country dance, is evidently still danced in rural Cuba: its movements, according to one observer, are similar to those of the rhumba with a "slight lifting of the leg and the accentuating of the beat with a brusque movement of the body."[64] The original

Zapateado was said to have descended from el canario; it is widely popular in Spain today as a solo dance characterized by lively movements, sharply accented rhythms, and accompanied by guitar.[65]

Elssler apologized for presenting such a rude peasant dance for her final appearance in Habana, but disarmed critics when she dedicated it "to the generous Habana public as a small testament of her eternal gratitude."[66] This country dance had never, she claimed, been performed in any theatre; however, not long after she left the island, other dancers dared to add it to their repertoire.[67] A New York critic later declared that "The action in this simple village dance is different from her usual style and the archness and coquetishness which she threw into it, coupled with its novelty, rendered it pleasing."[68]

The critic in the Noticioso reported that "the grand sublime moment [of her farewell appearance] was that of the Zapateado."[69] The public grew so frantic with applause, that Fanny encored the dance. Afterwards she was surprised by an elaborate banner that was lowered over the stage while little angels scattered flowers. The delirious crowd of 4000 chanted, "Adios" and Fanny burst into tears.[70]

Fanny had sojourned four months in Habana this time, contrary to her usual practice of remaining ten or so days in one place. She had obviously not overstayed her welcome in Habana, but perhaps she did overplay her hand. In February she grew so tired of Sr. Marti's games that she resolved to become her own impresario and so rented the Tacon theatre herself.[71] Ignorant

of local customs, she made a major miscalculation, for which she was to pay dearly. As she often did in the United States, Fanny promised to appear in a local charity benefit, this time for an orphan girls' school patronized by Governor Valdez himself. Ready to wrap up her final appearances in Havana, she announced the up-coming date for the benefit performance. What must have been her astonishment when she learned that Cuban theatres closed for the entire forty days and forty nights of Lent! She offered instead to donate money to the good cause, but it was refused. She suggested that she go on to New Orleans, where she was contracted to appear, and then return to Havana on her way back to New York; that option, too, was denied even when she offered to post a bond of $5000 in gold.[72] The governor, once so helpful in her initial negotiations with S. Marti, refused to issue her an exit visa, until she kept her word and appeared <u>in person</u> at the benefit performance.[73]

Fanny was actually held hostage at Havana and so forfeited many thousands of dollars in contracts from other cities. While she idled away her time with the study of new Cuban dances, the huge St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans burned to the ground. Uncertain of her plans, she tried to improvise other arrangements in Mexico, until she received word that both her sister Therese and father were ill.[74] On May 21st, she departed for New York, where she danced two newly acquired Cuban dances; from thence, she sailed for Europe on July 16th, 1842.[75]

Elssler's prolonged stay in Cuba would appear to have made as definite an impact on her as it did on her fans. Don Jorge

Urtetegui presented her with a "new and highly wrought" Cachucha costume in honor of "her unrivaled performances of this National Dance," which she treasured for many years.[76] More important, she was the first major ballerina of the Romantic period to study Spanish dance while living in an authentic Spanish culture. She enlarged her repertoire of Spanish dances and must have polished those she knew before she took them back to Europe, where they were greeted by admirers "most enthusiastic in their plaudits."[77] Assuredly the Cuban and American appearances were a powerful boost to her reputation.[78] Her rival Marie Taglioni had been dancing in Russia while she was in America; it was reported in the press that the czar presented Marie with the usual sables as a mark of his favor. Fanny, however, could boast that she received the most fantastic souvenir of any nineteenth century ballerina: a full box of Cuban cigars, which, when unwrapped from their tobacco leaf coverings, proved to be of solid gold.[79]

February 14, 1991

c Maureen Needham Costonis

ENDNOTES

1. My thanks to my colleague Douglas Lee for assistance with translations of one of the German texts, and to my research assistant Madeline Thomas, who translated the Spanish language newspapers for me. Also I would like to express my appreciation to Paula Covington and to the Inter-library loan staff of Vanderbilt University for extraordinary assistance in obtaining foreign language materials.

2. Diario de la Habana, 20 January 1841, held at the Library of Congress. For an overview of Elssler's career, see the entry in Groves' New Dictionary of Opera (London: Macmillan Press, forthcoming) by this author.

3. [Henry Wikoff], Letters and Journal of Fanny Elssler (New York: H. G. Daggers, 1845), pp. 48 and 57. Wikoff accompanied Elssler on her journey, and penned these ersatz "memoirs" under her name, which have been accepted as authentic by many scholars, including Lillian Moore and the Dictionary-Catalogue of the New York Public Library, until Allison Delarue in his Fanny Elssler in America (New York: Dance Horizons, 1976), p. 132, pointed out that Elssler had repudiated them. Wikoff gives the incorrect date of 1842. See also Ivor Guest's account of the journey, Fanny Elssler (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1970), p. 157. Diario, 20 January 1841.

4. She stood to earn half the house receipts, with a guarantee of $500 per performance, according to Guest, Elssler, p. 129. Henry Wikoff, Reminiscences of an Idler (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1880), pp. 579-88, described the negotiations. Wikoff claimed that he stood surety for any projected losses, p. 588.

5. (New Orleans) Daily Picayune, 10 November 1840, and 18 April 1841; New York Morning Herald, 3 June 1840.

6. El Noticioso y Lucero de la Habana, 25 January 1841, held at the Library of Congress.

7. [Wikoff], Letters, p. 58.

8. According to Elssler's cousin who accompanied her, the Cuban governor was familiar with Fanny's dancing, as he had attended performances at the Paris Opera. See: entry dated 6 February 1841, Katti Prinster's "Fanny Elssslers amerikanische Kunstreise im Jahre 1840" in Osterreichische Rundschau (May-December, 1905), p. 66.

9. [Wikoff], Letters, p. 61.

10. Edwin Teurbe Tolon and Jorge Antonio Gonzalez, Historia del Teatro en la Habana (Santa Clara, Cuba: Universidad Central de las Villas, 1961), p. 147. See also chapter 4 of Jose Juan Arrom, Historia de la Literatura dramatica cubana (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944). [Wikoff], Letters, p. 37, related Elssler's disappointment in the Park Theatre, an edifice "utterly devoid of architectural merits."

11. J. B. Rosemond de Beauvallon, L'Ile de Cuba (Paris: Garnier Freres, 1844), p. 111. As a young girl, Elssler was engaged, along with her two sisters Therese and Anna, at the San Carlo; perhaps it is there that she learned or at least observed the Tarantula, one of her famous renditions of national dances.

12. Diario, 19 January 1841.

13. Diario, 18 February 1841.

14. (New York) Spirit of the Times, 20 February 1841.

15. Jarmila Weisenbock, Fanny Elssler Materialien (Vienna: Hermann Bohlaus Nachf, 1984), p. 26.

16. Charles Durang, History of the Philadelphia Stage between the Years 1749 and 1855. Arranged and illustrated by Thompson Wescott (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania library, 1868), III, p. 25.

17. Passenger listings for the schooner Hayne were reprinted from Charleston papers in the Spirit, 9 January 1841.

18. Diario, 22 January 1841.

19. Diario, 31 January 1841. The Cuban repertory lists compiled by Jorge Antonio Gonzalez, "Repertorio Teatral Cubano," Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional (1951), pp. 69-184, would bear out this assertion.

20. See: "The American Career of Jean Baptiste Francisqui," by this author, Bulletin of Research in the Arts and Humanities (Winter) 1982, p. 442.

21. Tolon and Gonzalez, Historio, p. 121; Diario, 24 January 1841. See Mary Grace Swift's chapter on the Ravels, in Belles and Beaux on their Toes: Dancing Stars of Young America (Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, 1980).

22. See, for example, Diario, 10 October 1840, the final "baile serio" danced by Sra. Maria J. Perez and Srs. Lopez and Grande during the third act of the opera.

23. Diario, 31 January 1841. The dancers mentioned above can be noted in Gonzalez, Repertorio.

24. Prinster, "Kunstreise," entry dated 22 January 1841 (October), p. 67.

25. [Wikoff], Letters, p. 64. See footnote 3, above.

26. Other than this comment about derisive laughter in the first act, Guest in his biography of Fanny Elssler follows on pp. 161-62, phrase after phrase, Wikoff's description in Letters, p. 64-5. Furthermore, he quotes long passages from Wikoff, p. 40, and puts the words in Elssler's mouth as if she had written them herself, p. 131. Through an oversight he omits this title from his list of bibliographic sources at the book's end.

At another point in the biography, he acknowledges Wikoff as their author but defends the Letters as an "amusing and accurate account," p. 193. In his preface to a collection of Lillian Moore essays, however, he disavows her use of them as erroneous, Echoes of American Ballet (New York: Dance Horizons, 1976), p. 104, an opinion that Fanny Elssler herself, in a letter to the London Times (15 February 1844), forcibly expressed.

27. [Wikoff], Letters, p. 65.

28. Prinster, "Kunstreise," entry dated 22 January 1841 (October), p. 67.

29. Prinster, "Kunstreise," ibid., mentioned that the orchestra was excellent.

30. Noticioso, 25 January 1841.

31. Ibid.

32. Diario, 31 January 1841.

33. Noticioso, 30 January 1841.

34. Noticioso, 28 January 1841.

35. Noticioso, 25 January 1841.

36. Noticioso, 28 January 1841. For an analysis of the three types of descriptive themes applied to Fanny Elssler's dancing during her United States tour, see: "The Personification of Desire: Fanny Elssler and her American Tour, 1840-42," by this author in Dance Chronicle (Spring, 1990).

37. L'Abeille, 29 April 1841. Guest, in his biography of Fanny Elssler, does not credit her with dancing in this very interesting production.

38. Noticioso, 28 and 30 January 1841.

39. Noticioso, 30 January 1841; Diario, 15 February 1841.

40. Cano Manfried, "Bailes Regionales," Temas Espanoles (147), p. 12. See also La Meri, Spanish Dancing (New York: A. S. Barnes & Company, 1948), p. 14. Anne Hutchinson Guest has reconstructed Friedrich Albert Zorn's version of the Cachucha in The Grammar of the Art of Dancing, Theoretical and Practical, ed. Alfonso Sheafe (reprint ed. of 1905 version; New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.), chapter xvii. See the account by Ivor Guest, "The Cachucha Reborn," Dancing Times (October, 1967).

41. "Dolores nous avait faconnes a cet ebats; elle avait aneanti les fades langueurs et les declartons en pirouettes et les soupirs aux grands bras; elle leur avait substitute une brulante activiite, le feu de gestes et des pas et tout le genie de la sensualite." Galerie des Artistes Dramatiques de Paris (Paris: Marchant, 1841) I, n.p., "Fanny Elssler." Theophile Gautier's descriptions of Elssler's Spanish dances are well known, but he also reviewed Dolores Serral's performances. Both are to be found in Ivor Guest's translations of Gautier on Dance (London: Dance Books, 1986). See also: Ivor Guest, "Theophile Gautier on Spanish Dancing," Dance Chronicle 10(1), 1987.

42. Ibid. Observers were of two minds as to her success. Theophile Gautier, in his Voyage en Espagne (Paris: Charpentier et Cie., 1874), p. 31, adopted Elssler's interpretation as his model. He lamented that no one, not even the native Spanish dancers that he had journeyed so far to view, could dance Spanish dances as well as his idol Fanny Elssler, who at the moment could be found in America. The middle-class public, according to Boigne, was quite shocked by the lasciviousness of the dance. See: Cyril Beaumont, Fanny Elssler (London: C. W. Beaumont, 1931), pp. 17-18.

43. Author's translation, Galerie I, n.p. La Meri asserted that Elssler learned it from Serral, Spanish Dancing, p. 14.

44. Noticioso, 30 January 1841.

45. Noticioso, 31 January 1841.

46. Noticioso, 14 February 1841.

47. Diario, 8 February 1842.

48. Noticioso, 14 February 1841. This was not the only time that Elssler spoke from the stage: Auguste Ehrhard, Une Vie de Danseuse: Fanny Elsser (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie., pp. 334-6.

49. Ibid.

50. Spirit, 20 March 1841.

51. Diario, 3, 4, and 6 January 1842.

52. Diario, 8 April 1842.

53. See, for example, Noticioso, 10 April 1842.

54. Diario, 1 March 1842. See also, Guest, Elssler, p. 179.

55. Diario, 9 and 23 February 1842.

56. Diario, 26 January 1842. Prinster gives 21 May as date of their departure from Havana in her "Kunstreise," entry dated New York, 28 May 1842, p. 167; she describes their arrival on p. 132.

57. Guest, on p. 185 of Fanny Elssler, reported only a total of 22 performances for the two Cuban visits. He also omitted from her Cuban repertoire mention of the following ballets: Nathalie ou la laitiere suisse, La Tarentule, and La Gitana; as well as these national dances: La Smolenska, La Polacca, Tarantula, and La Andaluza.

58. Diario, 24 February 1842.

59. See, for example, theatrical notices for the Noticioso, 17 February 1842; Diario, 15 February 1842.

60. Guest, Elssler, p. 170. A guide book for English travelers from that period held that the best female Spanish dancers were Andalusians. Richard Ford, A Handbook for Travellers in Spain (London: John Murray, 1855), p. 106.

61. Elssler apparently changed the name of this dance when in New York, describing it as a Zapateado or sometimes a Bolero that she had learned while in Cuba, Guest, Elssler, p. 170. Both boleros and cachuchas were popular dances in Cuba at this time; Ajejo Carpenter, La Musica en Cuba (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1946), p. 163. Furthermore, in the nineteenth century, the national dance of Andalucia was the Bolero; see La Meri, Spanish Dancing, p. 65.

62. Ferdinand Sor, "Le Bolero," Encyclopedie pittoresque de la musique redigee par une societe d'artistes et d'hommes de letters (Paris: H. Delloye, 1835), p. 88-89, 92. Music, an illustration, and a long description of the dance are to be found in this very detailed article, pp. 88-97.

63. This was reported in the 21 March edition of the (New Orleans) Abeille.

64. Ann Livermore, in A Short History of Spanish Music (New York: Vienna House, 1972), pp. 233-4, says that in Cuba, "The country people use the Andalusian cadence and the zapateo is still their typical dance." Its origins in Latin America are ancient: see reproduction of music for a "Zapateo, danza popular de Chile y el Peru, segun Fraezier (1713)," Eugenio Pereira Salas, Los Origenes del Arte Musical en Chile (Velenzuela Basterrica Y Cia.:

Universitaria Santiago, 1941), p. 328.

65. As defined by Manfried, "Bailes Regionales," p. 25.

66. Diario, 21 April 1842.

67. Diario, 8 May 1842.

68. Spirit, 25 June 1842.

69. Noticioso, 26 April 1842.

70. Ibid.

71. The Spirit of the Times reported that there were insufficient subscribers to warrant renewal so "Elssler, in pique, has taken the Tacon Theatre on her own account." 26 March 1842.

72. It is possible that Fanny had already broken a contract in exactly this manner, since the Spirit of the Times reported on 17 April 1841 that a "French gentlemen gave her a bracelet worth $1500 to compensate her for breaking the Havana engagement and appear at the Theatre d'Orleans." Guest, in Elssler, p. 167, mentions that she changed her plans to return to New York via sea, but does not relate what the original ones were. She went by steamboat up the Mississippi and overland from Wheeling.

73. Diario, 4 and 5 April 1842. See also, L'Abeille, 21 March 1842; Spirit, 26 March 1842. Neither Wikoff nor Prinster mention this episode in their writings, nor does Guest relate it.

74. Spirit reported rumors of a Mexican theatre that offered $24,000 for 12 performances by Elssler.

75. Prinster, "Kunstreise," entries dated New York, 28 May and 26 June 1842 (December), pp. 167-8.

76. L'Abeille, 29 March 1841. For a description of the costume, see Ehrhard, Vie de Danseuse, p. 330.

77. Reports in the Spirit, 19 November 1842, so described the response of Viennese audiences.

78. See for example, Dr. Louis Vernon, Memoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris, 1835-55 (Paris: Gabriel de Gonet, 1853-4), III, p. 257. European newspapers carried accounts of her American triumphs; see Ehrhard, Une Vie de Danseuse, pp. 365-9.

79. Guest, Elssler, p. 165.

THE HISPANIC INFLUENCE ON LEONIDE MASSINE

Dawn Lille Horwitz

In 1916 war was ravaging much of Europe and the Ballets Russes, unable to return to Russia or to find work in Europe, found temporary shelter in Spain,, to which they returned several times.

There, in addition to performing under the patronage of the king, Massine, Diaghilev and others spent months touring the country. They saw many dance performances, listened to music, attended bullfights, and, in Massine's case, learned both the dance and the language.

It is the thesis of this paper that the exposure to and mastery of Spanish dance forms and culture was the catalyst that really started Leonide Massine on his own creative career and that elements of this experience can be found throughout his life as a performer and choreographer. Often the influence emerges as noticeably Spanish; other times it is seen in more subtle ways -- rhythms, carriage, inner attitudes, philosophy.

This paper will examine the two Spanish ballets of the Diaghilev years, Las Meninas and The Three-Cornered Hat as well as Capriccio Espagnol (co-choreographed with Argentinita) and the two new works he choreographed for Ballet Theatre, Don Domingo and Aleko.

The influence of the Iberian peninsula on the rest of Europe prior to the arrival of the Ballets Russes had, of course, been considerable. Spain ruled Naples at one time and there were many marriages between Spanish royalty and that of England and France. Musically Spain contributed the Sarabande to the suite of the Baroque era, as well as the Chaconne, Passacaglia and Folia. Glinka spent two years in Spain (1845-47), which had long fascinated him due to the individuality of his folk material. He travelled widely, writing down melodies. Many have observed an affinity between Russian and Spanish music -- the rhythms, the oriental influences -- among them Igor Stravinsky, who, however, found the folk songs boring.

Spain's long history of dance (the use of castanets, an arched back and the body spiral go back to 550 B.C.) includes folk elements, the contributions of the Moors, and religious processions and dances in the streets and in the church. In the courts (after the Moors were expelled in 1492) the dances were at first copied from France, but then the Spanish folk elements were amalgamated and by the 16th century Spanish court dance began to have considerable influence in Europe. Castanets were played at the 17th century French court and in the 18th century Rameau served the second wife of Philip V (Louis XIV's grandson), presumably both teaching and learning. By the 19th century the court at Madrid had liberated

itself from French influence and was focusing even more on Spanish dance and music. This century also witnessed large open air festivals, particularly in Andalusia, and saw a huge growth in all aspects of popular entertainment. It was then that August Vestris visited more than once. Gautier came in the later 1830's, Fanny Elssler learned the Cachucha in 1834 from one of the first authentic Spanish dancers to tour Paris, and Petipa toured Spain 1843-46. He also studied Spanish dance and reportedly wished to remain and open a school. In 1869 he created the first version of his Don Quixote in Moscow. (In basing a ballet on this work of Cervantes he had been preceded by Hilverding, Noverre and Taglioni, among others, and was succeeded by still others.)

Massine was certainly aware of some of this background, and had danced two small roles -- a waiter and a knight -- in Alexander Gorsky's version of Don Quixote in Moscow. About this he writes that Grosky was "unable to evoke the choreographic style of another country: the 'Spanish' movements in Don Quixote were not authentic and were probably derived more from impressions of Cervante's novel than from an objective study of native Spanish dancing."[1]

The invitation from King Alfonso to the Diaghilev company arrived in London in May 1916. It inaugurated an interim period during which the company performed and Diaghilev and a selected entourage spent many months over the next several years in Spain. Basically Diaghilev used this time to rebuild his company around Massine and concentrated much of it on "educating" his young protege and transforming him into a choreographer. To help him in this endeavor he specifically appointed Mikhail Larionov, who with Nathalie Goncharova had been brought to Spain, to serve as his guide and tutor. On the first visit they spent free evenings in the local cafes watching flamenco, where Massine says he was "...fascinated by their instinctive sense of rhythm ... . They seemed to combine perfect physical control with flawless timing and innate dignity."[2]

The summer of 1917 found them travelling extensively throughout Spain in the company of the composer Manuel de Falla and a young flamenco dancer, Felix Fernandez Garcia, who they had seen perform one night in a cafe in the gypsy quarter of Seville. Diaghilev promptly hired him to teach Massine the native Spanish dances he had been seeing and admiring on his own. Felix also arranged special performances for them - of singers, guitarists, and every conceivable type of dance. He eventually introduced Massine to his own teacher, a Senor de Molina, who taught him the zapateado technique. Massine learned to speak Spanish as well, which he says taught him much about the manners and customs of the country. He also continued to indulge in what he terms his "addiction" to bullfighting, where the poise and control fascinated him.

Falla served as their musical guide on these wanderings. With his tremendous knowledge of folk music, he was a constant source of information. Massine describes him as polite and unassertive, with a natural dignity, but adds that his remarks were often sharp and penetrating.

This sojourn in Spain affected many in the Diaghilev inner circle, including the impresario himself. Anton Dolin, in an interview many years later, quoted Diaghilev as saying there were two great schools of dance: classical ballet and Spanish.[3] *These years of enthusiasm for Spain influenced the future repertoire of the company both in the so-called "Spanish" ballets that were actually produced (Las Meninas, Three-Cornered Hat and Cuadro Flamenco) and those not produced (Espana, Triana and Les Jardins d'Aranjuez). In addition there were many other artists "sitting out" the war years in Spain, which had its own active avant-garde, who were experimenting with many of the same concepts as their fellow artists in the rest of Europe. It was from this time on that Diaghilev began his experiments with "Modernism" and Massine, especially under the tutelage of Larionov, started on his own varied and continuously changing line of artistic development. This was to contain and expand on much of what he learned in Spain, particularly how to absorb other dance forms and styles into ballet.*

Las Meninas, the first Spanish ballet to be produced by the Ballets Russes, premiered on August 21, 1916, in the Eugenia Victoria Theatre in San Sebastien, Spain. Serge Grigoriev writes that Diaghilev "was in ecstasy at the beauty of Spain" and this was the first result of his enthusiasm.[4] *Diaghilev's inspiration led him to suggest to Massine that he create a work to Gabriel Faure's Pavane, which Massine says made him think of the Velasquez paintings he had been admiring in the Prado. He based the ballet on these, especially the one titled Las Meninas. The set, a garden overlooked by a balcony, was by Carlo Socrate and the costumes, also inspired by the work of Velasquez, were by Jose Maria Sert.*

A small work, Las Meninas was about two ladies-in-waiting, two courtiers and a dwarf -- their meeting and parting. The music, which employs a chorus and has an oriental feeling to its opening melody, is slow, majestic and flowing, containing what Massine termed "haunting echoes of Spain's Golden Age." He speaks of the various pas de deux to Faure's melancholy music as a personal interpretation of the formality and underlying sadness he saw in the paintings, not an attempt to recreate the Golden Age.[5] *In the original production Massine danced one courtier, with Lydia Sokolova as his lady. Leon Woizikowsky and Lubov Tchernicheva danced the other couple. Elena Antonova was made up and padded to be the dwarf, since they could not find a real one.*

Although it was supposedly a favorite with the Royal court and King Alfonso even travelled to see it, the Spanish public preferred dramatic ballets and Grigoriev writes that it did not meet with enthusiasm in Spain. The work was seen in Paris in 1917. Although Debussy wrote to Diaghilev congratulating him on the "tour de force,"[6] *the ballet evidently seemed pale to the critics and audience in comparison to the other new works presented that season, among them Parade.*

In April 1919, a new ballet, Les Jardins d'Aranjuez with choreography by Massine, was announced for the Alhambra Theatre season in London, but it did not materialize that year or any other. Las Meninas was to have

been the first third of it, with the second dance to Ravel's Alborado de Gracioso and the third to music by Chabrier orchestrated by Ravel -- all three dances taking place during the reign of Philip IV, who Velasquez served as court painter.

Diaghilev revived the ballet in 1924 in an attempt to make the Monte Carlo season interesting, and it remained in the repertory through 1929. When it was first seen in London in 1928, one reviewer said "it remains an exquisite pavane danced by two couples among whom there intrudes the typical dwarf of the period." Commenting on the "lovely Sert dresses" he quotes another critic who observed that at times the women looked like "huge hovering butterflies."[7] The following year someone wrote "Las Meninas is not really a ballet properly so-called but a 'pavane' in the historical costumes of Velasquez."[8] To date, this writer has been unable to locate any photographs or film of this work, although Joan Acocella writes that the costumes were so unwieldy (big skirts with iron hoops) that they could not fit into the dressing rooms and had to be put on in the wings.[9]

Inasmuch as Las Meninas seems to have been a minor, low keyed work, it is not surprising that Diaghilev began to envision another Spanish ballet. He wanted this one based on authentic Spanish steps and rhythms, "different from what passed elsewhere for Spanish dancing."[10] Since a Spanish choreographer did not, to his knowledge, exist at the time, he hired Felix to assist Massine and to dance in the projected ballet, believing only a Spaniard would be able to impart an authentic feeling. He also asked Falla to produce a score and Pablo Picasso a set and costumes.

Diaghilev had originally envisioned a work to Falla's Nights in the Gardens of Spain but the story of a pantomime, El corregidor y la molinera (The Governor and The Miller's Wife) appealed to him more and he persuaded Falla to revise and expand the music he had written for this farce. The changes involved enlarging the orchestra and adding the miller's dance and closing jota.

The libretto for both the mime and the ballet was by Gregorio Martinez Sierra, after a classic 19th century novella by Pedro Antonio de Alarcon, el Sombrero de tres picos that in turn was based on one of Spain's most famous folktales. Hence the English title of The Three-Cornered Hat or the French Le Tricorne. The story, set in an 18th century Spanish village, is about the attempted seduction of the flirtatious young miller's wife by the "old" governor of a nearby town. When he sends soldiers to arrest her husband after she rebuffs him, the governor is reduced to a ridiculous figure and in the end the miller, his wife and the villagers rout all the intruders and celebrate.

Falla, who was originally supposed to create two pieces for Diaghilev, worked very slowly, supposedly delaying the premiere of the ballet. Massine writes that he said it needed more time to translate the jota and farucca into a modern idiom. Although the composer had spent eight years studying in Paris, he nevertheless wrote music that was rooted in the folk

traditions of Spain. His previous work with Martinez Sierra, El Amor Brujo, also a ballet, used real gypsy music. One source points out that although the orchestration of Tricorne is influenced by Stravinsky, the material is popular in origin and suggests a transfiguration of the guitar.[11] Falla's music has humor and passion and in it he borrowed from the only zarzuela he liked of all those he had previously written, La casa de Tocame Roque.

Massine writes, "Le Tricorne had begun as an attempt to synthesize Spanish folk dances with classical techniques but ... it emerged as a choreographic interpretation of the Spanish temperament and way of life."[12] He credits the music and Picasso's sets with inspiring him and notes that Felix was invaluable, always there to help and make corrections. He was amazed at how quickly Tamara Karsavina, the original wife, learned the Spanish technique: "In her first solo she made use of the zapateado movements ... drummed her heels delicately ... flung her arms out in flamenco style."[13] He danced the miller and speaking of their first pas de deux he says he "tried to achieve that quality of pursuit, of tension, teasing advancing and retreating which is a salient feature of so many Spanish dances," noting that he added classical movements to the fandango and flamenco.[14]

Picasso's scenery, in whites, greys, pale pinks and blues, was widely admired and deservedly so. The 18th century costumes included knee breeches for the men, but for the all important farucca danced by the miller, Diaghilev insisted that Massine don the long, light trousers the Spaniards usually wore for that dance.

Le Tricorne was a great success when it finally premiered in London on July 22, 1919, although as one writer commented, "only a few would have guessed that it would soon be acclaimed as one of the greatest masterpieces in the whole history of ballet."[15] The unity of characterization, gesture, Spanish dance, brilliant costumes and musical rhythms was, in Clive Barnes' words describing the 1969 Joffrey revival, " ... a translation of Spanish dance into a classic mold ... a solitary masterpiece."[16] When it was done in Stockholm in 1956 one critic called it "the most important choreographic event in Stockholm since Fokine's guest appearance."[17] Among other numerous revivals were those for the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo in 1934 and again in 1938, Ballet Theatre in 1943 (Argentinita danced the wife opposite Massine), the Sadlers Wells in 1947 and those in Milan (1952), Holland(1958), Vienna (1965) and London (Festival Ballet, 1973). It is presently in the repertory of the Vienna Opera, is to be done in Canada next year, and the Paris Opera is considering a restaging.[18]

I saw the Joffrey revival in 1969 and recall enjoying the rhythms, the liveliness, the sense of being at a wonderfully crafted performance. In 1970, seated next to someone who had danced it with the Sadlers Wells, I heard her gasp when Luis Fuente started the miller's farucca. "That's not the way I remember that dance," she said. And indeed, Fuente, born in Madrid, supposedly told the cast he was going to show them what a real farucca looked like - and he did! Robert Joffrey reportedly fired him.

This incident points up the essence of Le Tricorne which Fuente evidently did not wish to accept: it requires the inner awareness and rhythms of Spanish dance and in its fast moving action and dissolve from one dance to another it needs intense concentration and characterization, but it is Spanish dance once removed, not genuine Spanish dance. Massine purposely transformed the folk material into something else - a process similar to what Larionov and Gontcharova did with Russian folk art. It is interesting that some of the negative comments on this ballet came from those who were upset by this, especially when Argentinita danced in it during a guest appearance with Ballet Theatre. Margaret Lloyd wrote " ... her ... authenticity, pitted against the stylization of Massine ... disturbed both focus and proportion".[19] La Meri, in her book on Spanish dance, says Massine's choreography, although brilliant, is not of the Spanish school. She talks of seeing Argentinita after a rehearsal when she was very upset by an unSpanish lift in the ballet.[20]

Looking at several silent versions of this work, the compactness of the form stands out. It is easy to differentiate the bits of the bolero, the wife's fandango, the sevillianas, the miller's farruca, the closing jota. But Tatiana Massine, who staged the work for the Joffrey, assisted by Yurek Lazowski, says she neither thought of it nor taught it in terms of the various dances. When she learned the ballet from her father (she danced the wife, he the miller at the Holland Festival in 1958 when she was sixteen and he was sixty), there was so much drama in the way he moved (most directions were demonstrated, not spoken) that she thought of it as a dramatic characterization that was projected via certain steps, not in terms of the different Spanish dances being executed. For her the drama was inherent in the body articulation. Reflecting on that today she says it would have become too mechanistic had she taught the ballet in terms of the Spanish dances, but she would definitely give the performers more background material than she did in 1969. She points out that in the film versions, when the miller's wife is dancing with the grapes and teasing the governor, what you cannot see is that the whole body is teasing and laughing -something that was immediately obvious when her father demonstrated the movement.[21]

Massine first came into contact with Argentinita, the great South American born but Spanish raised dancer and choreographer, when he invited her to dance in the revival of Le Tricorne he was staging for the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo in the summer of 1938. He found her "scrupulous" in doing his dances, which she nonetheless "enhanced ... with variations in her own inimitable style".[22] Her excitement and the fact that she taught him even more about such Spanish dances as the buleria, seguidilla and manchego led him to do another Spanish ballet with and specifically for Argentinita.

Capriccio Espagnol danced to Rimsky-Korsakov's music of the same name, had sets and costumes by Mariano Andreau (those he had designed for the 1937 production of Fokine's Jota Aragonese) and premiered in Monte Carlo on May 4, 1939. The choreography was a collaboration between Massine and Argentinita. The "story" is simply an excuse for the performance of a

variety of dances and involves a gypsy girl (Argentinita) and boy (Massine) and a peasant girl (Alexandra Danilova) and boy (Michael Panieff) assembled in the central square of a small Spanish town on Fair Day.

The choreography more or less followed the indications for the five short movements found in the score, which was written in 1887, before composers like Ravel and Falla introduced the concept of subtle understatement when dealing with nationalist themes. It begins with an Alborado (a musical form also known as a morning serenade), using typical peasant dances from northern Spain, in which the men use their capes. The second section is a theme and variation using the seguidilla step and the third is another Alborado, this time a comic one. The fourth section is a gypsy scene, complete with fortune teller and ending with a fandango. The last section is an andalusian fandango, and the ballet concludes with a group jota.

Rimsky-Korsakov wrote, "According to my plans the Capriccio was to glitter with dazzling orchestra color." Although it was a great success at its premiere, he felt the critics were wrong in calling it a "magnificently orchestrated piece," terming it instead a "brilliant composition for orchestra." To him, "The change of timbres, the felicitous choice of melodic designs and figuration patterns ... the rhythm of the percussion ... constitute the very essence of the composition." He concluded that, "The Caprice is undoubtedly a purely external piece, but widely brilliant for all that."[23]

The same could possibly be said for the ballet; it is certainly difficult to judge based on the two silent black and white films available. One, made in 1939, in which Massine is dancing, appears to be a rehearsal film, possibly shot on different occasions, and the camera was allowed to run through repeats of several sections. There is little torso tension in the gypsy dance. The jota is the most effective section and Massine obviously the best dancer, although he never seems to relate to the others. The second version, filmed in 1951 at La Scala, shows a very clear formation of eight dancers in the first part, which seems to resemble a Mexican hat dance at times. As a whole it is much tighter than the earlier film, there is a great deal of activity on stage, much fast footwork and a strong Spanish body stance, although the women appear a bit stiff. The ending, even in silence, is frenzied, with several slaps to the floor and three men finishing on one knee.

Warner Brothers made this work into a film, Spanish Fiesta, in 1941 and Massine revived it for Ballet Theatre and for the Ballet Russe in 1951.

One critic found this "a lively exposition of a Spanish scene using typical dances and winding up in a fast and furious whirl of color and movement" and considered Massine's dancing the highlight of the performance.[24] But Irving Kolodin, writing of the joint choreography said, "how much of the credit is to be allotted to one [or] ... to the other is a moot point which had better be speedily settled for there is not too much credit to go around." He found the gypsy dance to be the

high point, although "hardly to be mentioned in the same sentence with Massine's miller's dance in Tricorne."[25] One review called it a "graceful and eyefilling suite of dances ... treating its folk material freely ...",[26] another referred to it as a "lively curtain piece" and someone else as a "happy closing number."[27] Edwin Denby lumped it with "one of those decorative dance-games-in Spanish style ... that are very agreeable to watch."[28]

In retrospect, this seems to have been another ballet about Spain, with transformation taking place for a theatrical effect. Since Argentinita, as well as other Spanish choreographers, used the same choreographic method, she and Massine probably worked well together during the creative period. When they performed together it surely must have gone beyond the bounds of the steps themselves.

In 1942 when Ballet Theatre asked Massine to work with them as choreographer and dancer, he initially thought he was just going to stage two of his ballets. But in June, German Sevastianov wrote "I do hope we will be able to make Mexican ballet."[29] During that summer he created two new works for the company, Don Domingo and Aleko and by fall he was reviving Le Tricorne, Boutique Fantasque and Capriccio Espagnol.[30]

Whether Ballet Theatre wanted a Mexican ballet because they desired a fitting thank you offering to the Mexican government for housing them during the summer, or whether they were truly inspired by the Mexican environment, Don Domingo because that work, the full title of which was Don Domingo de Blas. Massine wrote the libretto, which he based on a play by the 17th century dramatist Juan Ruiz de Alarcon, the music was by Silvestre Revueltes (6 piano pieces arranged for orchestra), the scenery and costumes by Julio Castillanos and the masks by Federigo Canessi. The first performance took place in Mexico City on Mexican Independence Day, September 16, 1942.

The story concerns the rivalry between the rich Don Domingo and the poor Don Juan for the hand of Leonor, the daughter of Don Ramiro, who, it turns out, is conspiring against the Viceroy.

Massine transferred the action from Spain to Mexico during the time of the Spanish rule (a step he later conceded was probably a mistake) and tried to interweave Spanish dance and Mexican Indian traditions. The dance relationship between new Spain and the old was not so far fetched -- Spanish scholars of the 17th century pointed out that many dances were brought back to Spain from Central America -- but things became very complicated when the gifts presented to Leonor by her suitors were somehow represented by native Indian dances and Don Juan dreamt of himself as a Mayan warrior who then danced a duet with a Mayan goddess. Massine received a considerable amount of help with the Mexican dances from the Mexican Ministry of Education. They included, among others, the Yaqui deer dance, a flying dance (on a long pole), the sun dance of Oaxaca, a hunting dance, a fruit dance, and one called Los Mors y Los Christianos, supposedly an Indian depiction of the struggle between the Moors and Christians in Spain.

In the original cast Anton Dolin was Don Domingo, Dimitri Romanoff Don Juan, Alicia Markova Leonor, Simon Semenoff Don Ramiro, Antony Tudor the Viceroy and Lucia Chase Leonor's companion, who Don Domingo eventually marries when Don Juan wins the lady.

The black and white silent film, which must be hand cranked, does not appear to be the complete ballet and is often difficult to see. But a group of dancers in tall Indian headdresses is clearly visible and is followed by what is probably the fruit dance. At the end of this a young woman comes out of the house and she and a young man (presumably Don Juan) dance a very balletic duet in which she appears to be wearing pointe shoes. This is followed by several other costumed groups entering, exiting, and interweaving, and then the ballet ends.

Sevastianov, in a letter to Massine dated September 20, says that after three more performances he, Antal Dorati (the musical director) and Castellanos have some suggestions, and he proceeds to list eleven, which include shortening the Yaqui dance, eliminating entrances in several dances, shortening the dream scene and having someone other than Don Juan dance it. Massine pencilled in "no" next to some suggestions and "possible" next to others. In his answering letter he said that he was willing to polish certain things, but that this was a finished ballet and he was not willing to substitute Sevastianov's choreographic ideas for his own.[31]

When Don Domingo opened in New York, John Martin described some "brief" and "charming" passages for Markova as "balletization of folk steps." He called the music too loud and "one of the most consistently annoying ballet scores on record," noting that against this very involved music most of the steps were of folk origin.[32] Lillian Moore thought the decor "stunning," the score "uninspired" and the ballet as a whole "more enjoyable if ... it is taken simply as a series of colourful dances."[33] Irving Kolodin thought it might prove to be the novelty of the season. Speaking of Massine's "flair for the Latin idiom" he says "it is flamed into buoyant life again," adding that even the purely Russian pas de deux for the god and goddess does not clash because it is "first class invention." He refers to Revuelte's "uninhibited music ... a perfect complement to Castillanos's flaming designs."[34] Virgil Thompson, praising the orchestration, called the musical style "vigorous and beautiful," with a resemblance to Auric and Satie.[35] Robert Lawrence noted the jumbled plot and lack of clarity but nonetheless enjoyed the "blazing color ... bravura style ... elegant crudity."[36] Sol Hurok admitted the ballet did not work, but found the score intriguing.[37]

Massine writes of his interest in the dances he saw in the cafes of Mexico with "their odd blend of Spanish and Mexican movements," notes that there were few native dances he could use and concludes that the work was rather "pedestrian" even though Dolin and Markova were excellent.[38]

Although he always filled his ballets with movement, this one seems to have been overloaded with ideas that did not mesh at any point. No

recording of the music could be located, but listening to other work by Revueltes, with its odd dissonances and changing rhythms, I'm inclined to think that problems arose because Massine could not find enough in the native dances to blend with the Spanish and ballet elements or the music.

Aleko, also created for Ballet Theatre in 1942, actually premiered eight days before Don Domingo (on September 8 at the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Mexico City). It is presented last in this discussion because even though the Hurok Press Book termed it "as Russian as Moscow,"[39] and the libretto by Massine and Marc Chagall is based on the Pushkin poem Gypsies, with music by Tchaikovsky (The A Minor Trio for Pianoforte, Violin and Cello, orchestrated by Erno Rapee) and decor and costumes by Chagall, there is a Spanish influence.

The story concerns a self exiled young aristocrat, Aleko, who, looking for human involvement, wanders into the 'midst of a Russian gypsy camp and falls in love with a gypsy girl (Semphira), daughter of the chieftain. Her initial response matches his passion, but she is soon lured away by a gypsy boy. Aleko remains with the nomads, but, haunted by thoughts of Zemphira's infidelity, which she flaunts, he awakens in a delirium from a nightmare filled with fantastic personages and kills both Zemphira and her gypsy lover. The punishment her father doles out is exile and continued wandering. The nightmare scene, rather surrealistic, was set against a backdrop of a white horse by Chagall and was filled with confusing images of Aleko's past and present life. Figures of nobles, peasants, brutal police, an old gypsy, and a poet in love with a girl appeared. Challenged to a duel by a duke who wins the girl, the poet lives on through his verse.

Leland Windreich in an excellent article on the ballet, in which he considered it as one of the last of the ballets russes romantic genre, points out that in reworking the original Pushkin poem, which deals with "freedom, passion and destiny" and contains monologues, narrative passages and short ballads, Massine and Chagall used the poet's luxurious imagery to motivate their own "concoction of stage imagery."[40] Massine writes that he was initially inspired by the music (which, filled with a quiet emotionalism and marked by a repetition of chords, is certainly not Spanish in feeling), which reminded him of Pushkin's poems in general.[41]

In the original case Alicia Markova was Zemphira, Hugh Laing the young gypsy, George Skibine Aleko (a role Anton Dolin soon assumed) and Antony Tudor the chieftain. The work remained in the repertory until 1946, was revived in 1947-48, was the "hit" of the London season when restored in 1953 for a European tour, remaining until 1955, and was revived for the last time in 1968.

In its four scenes it contained wild gypsy dances, Russian peasant dances, classical ballet and what, for lack of a better word, was termed "plastique." It seems to have been a continuation of Massine's symphonic ballets, which were ahead of their time and misunderstood by many, and, based on the admittedly inadequate black and white silent film, quite remarkable.

The film opens on a large group of gypsies massed in a solid clump on one side of the stage. This use of large groups remains throughout, changing rapidly and often using melodramatic mime sequences. There are clear passages of ballet, Russian folk steps and, at times, Spanish body alignment and fast footwork. The latter seems to be used often for dramatic purposes and passionate moments. Many movements are modern in shape, attack and use of the floor. One section resembles sylphs or fairies and is probably that which took place during a harvest and was eventually cut from the ballet. The final nightmare scene is inhabited by a myriad of people, but there is a clear conflict between the aristocracy and the peasants.

Although it was popular in Mexico, the reception given Aleko in the United States was mixed. Hurok, who felt it to be one of Massine's best creations, said that Ballet Theatre management was not in favor of it. He wrote to Massine urging him to make some cuts so the work could receive the success it deserved.[42] *Robert Lawrence, admitting that the work was complicated and further confused by "the contrast in period between scenery and music," still found it filled with "soul searching emotion and a variety of dance style."*[43] *He called it a "masterpiece" on second viewing and later wrote that it had "its dancing roots in the romantic past but its theatrical aesthetic in the present," adding that Massine had "achieved as perhaps rarely before ... a singular directness of narrative style."*[44]

The visual impact of Chagall's four backdrops (which were called either a glorious wonder or too much) and the magnificent dancing was noted by all. Markova recalled that the dancers referred to her role as "the dirty gypsy" and that it was really "very Carmen Amaya."[45] *Martin referred to her as a "little vixen, dainty, vicious and passionate at the same time."*[46]

Musically it was suggested (in retrospect) that the fault lay with the orchestration of the work, which, due to illness, was not done by the original designee. Many commented on the seeming non-union of music and movement, with the music serving as a background.[47] *Jack Anderson, writing in 1969, enjoyed the work, even thought the choreographic and musical phrases were "out of kilter" at times.*[48]

Edwin Denby initially felt the ballet to be "Massine's finest since Fantastic Symphony" and admired his stylization of so many elements, but later he was "not happy over much of the abrupt, overloaded choreography." He noted that the title role was a difficult one because the character is at the center of action only at the beginning and end, and he found the gestures to be "inward."[49] *John Martin must have seen something similar when he referred to the scenes of the nightmare as "Massine in his most centrifugal mood." Although his initial reaction was fairly negative, ten years later he deemed it "one of Massine's better achievements."*[50] *George Jackson pointed out that Aleko's fantasies are not unlike those of the hippies of the sixties.*[51]

Taking the observations of independence of music and movement, the inward focus of some of the movement, and the lack of delineation between fantasy and reality, plus Jackson's observation, you get a resemblance to the "post modern" development of modern dance -- an indication that Massine was still moving ahead.

Where then is the Spanish influence in Aleko? To begin with, Russian gypsies supposedly share the same ancestors as their Spanish counterparts and a similarity between their singing and dancing has been observed. Regardless, Massine's gypsies often dance much like Spanish ones, although these particular gypsies seem to have been more poetic than real. The intense passion of Pushkin's poem is an emotion Massine experienced and explored extensively in Spain; the sense of fate is a characteristic of both countries.

One can ask if there is a symbolism underlying Spanish gypsy dance and speculate whether Massine related to this and continued to do so throughout his life. To the gypsy, like the Oriental dancer, the dance is not for entertainment, but is ceremonial. It certainly served this purpose in its various manifestations in Aleko.

The five works considered so briefly here were chosen because of their more obvious relationship to Spain and their accessibility for such cursive consideration. However, I feel that an extensive examination of all of Massine's work will reveal that when this twenty-one year old initially encountered Spain he carried with him certain innate attributes and tendencies which emerged and developed during his stay in that environment. Many of these characteristics emerged because of the atmosphere he found in a country which still maintained its relationship with its past. Others turned out to be most compatible with the prevalent philosophy.

Fernando Diaz-Playa, in his book The Spaniard and The Seven Deadly Sins, an introspective look at his compatriots, writes, "Russia, like Spain, sits between two worlds which pull her in opposite directions ... ."[52] He then observes that the Russians are similar to the Spaniards in many respects: living in a hostile environment, possessing a feeling for music, an innate hospitality, an exacerbated patriotism and the tendency to exhibit violence in revolutions.

This may be why Massine, and others before him, immediately felt at home. But for him there were other factors as well. Massine was not a ballet dancer. Part of this might have been due to his lack of intensive classical training, but even his many private classes with Cecchetti, which taught him much about Italian mime, could not change the fact that, as his daughter Tatiana has observed, this technique did not fit his body, which was short and lacked a beautiful line. His natural tendency toward quick, dramatically intense, sharp, fragmented movement on one hand and an inner psychological awareness and harmony on the other made the dance of Spain comfortable to him, and he evidently executed the steps beautifully. Tatiana recalls her father giving her and her brother many classes in Spanish dance, which she terms "excellent" while the few in

ballet she labels "awful."[53]

The rhythm, posture, line, inner concentration, and harnessing of energy in Spanish dance must have made Massine feel very secure about himself, something he could not have felt as a young outsider in the Diaghilev circle. This, plus the constant inclusion of folk traditions, which reminded him of the Russian roots to which he was strongly attached, gave him the grounding to start his own creative process -- one which never stopped, was constantly changing and often led him to the grotesque and a knowing sense of the absurd and incongruous distortion found in so much 20th century art. In another sense he was a political choreographer, always commenting on his times.

The Spaniard's unique sense of pride, with its physical elegance, appealed very much to Massine. He must have begun to understand their attitude toward lust -- with its emphasis on the dramatic recounting. What Stravinsky observed as "the profoundly religious temperament of the people and the mystic fervor of their Catholicism, so closely akin ... to the religious feelings and spirit of Russia"[54] *surely affected him in his later explorations of the spiritual, even the unique Spanish concept of relating directly to a God who is one's personal deity and requires no intermediary. This, coupled with the Spaniard's disdain for organized authority and what Diaz-Playa terms the characteristic "restless" hands, can be seen to surface in Massine, particularly in the conflict which bursts out stylistically with the same rawness found in flamenco. This release of energy can be observed in Aleko and very clearly in the jota at the end of Le Tricorne. Massine's tendency to magnify all aspects of human behavior may also be related to the Spanish character.*

It seems only fair to let Leonide Massine himself make the final statement. The miller's dance in Le Tricorne is a farucca, a non-narrative dance most often performed by a man, which is the first one children learn because in it one finds the technique of other flamenco dances. He once said, "The farucca was to me much more than a dance,"[55] *and in his autobiography he wrote:*

> *I began by stamping my feet repeatedly and twirling my hands over my head. As the music quickened I did a series of high jumps, ending with a turn in mid-air and a savage stamp of the foot as I landed. Throughout the dance my movements were slow and contorted, and to the style and rhythm which I had learned from Felix I added many twisted and broken gestures of my own. I felt instinctively that something more than perfect technique was needed here, but it was not until I had worked myself up into a frenzy that I was able to transcend my usual limitation. The mental image of an enraged bull going in to the attack unleashed some inner force which generated power within me. I felt an almost electrical interaction between myself and the spectators. Their mounting excitement had the effect of heightening my physical strength until I was dancing with a sustained force that seemed far beyond my reach at other times. For one moment it seemed as if some other person within me was performing the dance.*[56]

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51. George Jackson. American Ballet Theatre at The Met," Ballet Today, Sept.-Oct., 1968

52. Fernando Diaz-Playa. The Spaniard and The Seven Deadly Sins (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1967), p.213

53. Interview with Tatiana Massine

54. Igor Stravinsky. An Autobiography (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936), p.99

55. Pamela Gaye. "A Conversation With Leonide Massine," Dance Scope, vol. 13, no. 4, 1979, p. 24

56. My Life, pp.141-142

Marius Petipa's Don Quixote

Elizabeth Souritz

Precis Prepared by Selma Jeanne Cohen

The paper, which Ms. Souritz was unable to deliver in person, focussed on the differences between the productions that Petipa staged in Moscow and in St. Petersburg. Petipa choreographed Don Quixote in 1869 with special regard for the style of the Moscow company, which favored strong dramatic characterizations. His work had previously been criticized there for its abstract qualities. Now he used a strong plot with clear dramatic action. The ballet portrayed many of the incidents described in Cervantes' novel, though with some changes in order.

Leon Minkus composed the score, while Petipa advised him on the motifs of Spanish dance. The choreography was dominated by character dances, based on authentic folk forms, with a few classical variations. While each act ended in a divertissment, most of the dances were dramatically motivated. For example, in the scene at the inn, dancers performed in order to distract Gamash from the hidden Kitri. However, the production failed because the Moscow public found it lacking in spectacular effects, and some complained that Petipa had reduced the main figure to a comic character.

The Don Quixote that Petipa staged two years later in St. Petersburg was quite different, since he then aimed to please a different audience. There were more classical dances, but the dramatic structure suffered from this. Strictly speaking, Petipa spoiled the ballet by subjecting it the taste of the audience. He settled for artistic compromise.

Not expecting much success, the staff of the St. Petersburg theatre rented the stage machinery for only one month. But the audience was pleased, and the ballet remained in the repertory year after year. Thirty-five performances took place in 1876, and in 1887 the St. Ptersburg version was staged in Moscow.

The Don Quixote produced in 1900 by Alexander Gorsky became extremely popular. Here the logical development of the plot united the whole work. At the same time, Gorsky preserved the genius of Petipa, including elements from the first production that had not been sufficiently appreciated at the time. While Petipa had tried to accomodate the tastes of both Moscow and St. Petersburg, Gorsky combined the best of both the earlier versions.

BRONISLAVA NIJINSKA'S *BOLERO*

Lynn Garafola

The years following World War I witnessed the creation of a number of ballets on Spanish themes, especially in France. Among the most notable were Léonide Massine's *Le Tricorne* (1919), Jean Borlin's *Iberia* and *El Greco* (1920), and La Argentina's *El amor brujo* (1925) and *La vida breve* (1926). The last of the decade's major Spanish ballets was Bronislava Nijinska's *Bolero*. Choreographed in 1928 for the ballet company of Ida Rubinstein, the work was the first to Maurice Ravel's celebrated score and one of Nijinska's most popular creations. Between 1928, the year of its premiere, and 1954, the year of its last revival, the ballet went through a half-dozen editions, all by its eminent choreographer.[1]

Although Rubinstein had commissioned a number of new scores for the season, *Bolero* was not among them. Instead, she chose an existing piece of music -- Isaac Albeniz's *Iberia*. This was the same music Borlin had used in 1920, and to ready it for production, she approached Maurice Ravel, France's greatest living composer, to "orchestrate some pieces," as he told composer Joaquin Nin, of the larger work. Nin was more than a little surprised. "I quickly told him," he later recalled, "that Arbos had already orchestrated the entire work for a ballet for the dancer Argentina and that he held the copyright." Ravel exploded. "The laws are idiotic. What am I going to tell Ida?" A few weeks later a letter arrived announcing Ravel's progress on a singular work: it had no real form, no development, almost no modulation, just a rhythmic insistence on a theme for orchestra.[2] This "singular work" was *Bolero*, and to Ravel's chagrin it became one of his most popular pieces. Before the first performance, he even issued a warning to the effect "that what [he] had written was a piece lasting seventeen minutes and consisting wholly of orchestral tissue without music -- of one long, very

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[1]A list of these productions follows this essay.

[2]My account comes from Elaine Brody, *Paris: The Musical Kaleidoscope, 1870-1925* (New York: George Braziller, 1987), p. 22. For Nin's account, on which Brody bases hers, see Joaquin Nin, "Comment est né le 'Boléro' de Ravel," *Revue Musicale*, December 1938, pp. 211-213.

gradual crescendo."[3]

Whatever Ravel's views about his experiment, it had atmosphere and unity, and these proved enough to inspire Rubinstein's other collaborators. A note in the season program briefly summed up the action: "In a tavern of Spain, people dance under an overhead copper lamp. At the acclamations of the company, the dancing girl leaps up on the long table, and her movements grow more and more animated."[4] Like all of Rubinstein's productions that season, Bolero was designed by Alexandre Benois, an early Diaghilev associate. Cultivated and erudite, Benois delighted unabashedly in the past, and his recreations of bygone eras were as scrupulously accurate as they were charming. In Bolero he went back to Goya's time, imagining the ballet as an eighteenth-century genre scene. His design for the setting shows the interior of a rustic tavern, raftered, hung with lamps, with an archway on the left and a crude ladder to a balcony on the right. Men in cloaks and three-cornered hats saunter about, and on the table in the middle, a woman in a long, full skirt appears to be turning.[5] Benois worked up separate costume designs for at least some of the characters, including the woman. Identified as "La Maja" on the design and "La danseuse" on the program, she turns out to be a dead ringer for a woman depicted by Goya in Los Caprichos -- from the lacy sleeves and flounces of her black dress to the angle of the fan in her left hand.[6] As it happened, neither of Benois's ideas was used. Instead, Rubinstein (who played the role) wore a V-neck blouse, open-work sweater, mid-length skirt, and a kind of double cummerbund. Made by Paquin, the outfit gave her the elongated look of a flapper.

The most interesting element of the set was the table, which Maurice Béjart later borrowed for his now definitive version of the ballet. According to Irina

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[3]Quoted in M.D. Calvocoressi, "Ravel's Letters to Calvocoressi with Notes and Comments," Musical Quarterly, 27, no. 1 (January 1941), p. 17.

[4]Bibliothèque et Musée de l'Opéra (Paris). I am grateful to curator Martine Kahane for kindly providing me with a copy of this program.

[5]Benois's design, in the collection of Nina Youshkevitch, was exhibited at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in 1986 as part of the show "Bronislava Nijinska: A Dancer's Legacy."

[6]Benois's design and a detail of the plate from Los Caprichos are reproduced in Nancy Van Norman Baer, Bronislava Nijinska: A Dancer's Legacy (San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), p. 60.

Nijinska, the table was her mother's idea.[7] Certainly, it was in line with Bronislava's interest in architecture, and whenever possible, she always used it in revivals. What else she was responsible for --apart from the actual steps -- will probably never be known. As in Béjart's version, this first Bolero juxtaposed a solitary woman against a crowd of men, in this case a principal (danced by Anatole Wiltzak) and a corps of twenty. (Handpicked by Nijinska, the ensemble included such talented youngsters as Frederick Ashton, David Lichine, William Chappell, and Roman Jasinsky.) "The subject," wrote André Levinson in Comoedia, "is of the greatest simplicity: twenty males fascinated by the fleshly incantation of a single woman." Nijinska kept the vocabulary to a minimum. Continued Levinson:

> By the undulation of her arms and the twisting of her torso, by the movement of her skirt and the foot tracing circles on the floor, the dancing girl sketches the contour of the melody, a brief magical formula. . . . The twenty men mark the accents with stamps and the clapping of their palms . . . Their dance figures are few and identical throughout -- footfalls, pirouettes, and that plunging genuflexion that is the soul of the tango. Variants and episodes, like the scuffles with knives, only underscore this uniformity. And each da capo heightens the intensity of the effect; M. Wiltzak, the premier danseur, cringes and writhes, martyred by the rut and rhythm.[8]

The ballet ended with the men lifting their "white prey" on outstretched arms, a finale that recalled -- at least for Levinson -- the ritual of "raising the captain" in the Ezpata Danza from the Basque country.

Unlike Massine and Borlin, Nijinska made no attempt to reproduce authentic Spanish steps. According to her daughter, she never studied Spanish dance; what little she knew about it was filtered through the balleticized idiom taught at the Maryinsky. But even with Russian material, which she knew very well, authenticity was seldom Nijinska's concern. Far more important was the way a source might be transformed -- distilled to its basic idea, then absorbed into a choreographic image. We see this best in Les Noces, and it seems likely, given the strictness of

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[7]Conversation with the author.

[8]"A l'Opéra. Les Ballets de Mme Ida Rubinstein," Comoedia, 25 November 1928, p. 1.

her self-imposed limitations, that she intended to do the same in Bolero. Such an approach was at odds with the ballet's lush physical appearance. Even Rubinstein, in a role that capitalized on her exotic beauty and arresting presence, retained a decorative quality that led some to compare her unfavorably with Argentina.[9]

Still, the reviews by and large were good, and a number of critics singled out the ballet as the season's best. Rubinstein must have liked it, for she showed it on tour in Monte Carlo, Milan, and London and revived it for seasons in Paris in 1929 and 1931. In 1934, she commissioned a new version from Michel Fokine, no doubt because by then Nijinska had set the original version on her own company.

After the 1928 season, Nijinska left the Rubinstein company (although in 1929 and 1931 she returned to stage La Valse). She did some free lance work, then in 1930 joined forces with the Opéra Russe de Paris, an arrangement that allowed her to stage independent programs of her own works and form what amounted to her own troupe. The company was variously known, although the name that appeared most often on programs and posters was "les Ballets Russes de Bronislava Nijinska." Clearly, Nijinska was not unhappy with a name that linked her enterprise with Diaghilev's.

For the 1932 season at the Opéra-Comique, Nijinska staged two important revivals. One of these was Les Biches, her much celebrated house-party ballet originally choreographed for Diaghilev. The other was Bolero, which now underwent a number of changes. Instead of Benois's genre scene, there was a spare set by Natalia Gontcharova, a leading figure of the prewar Russian avant-garde and the designer of Les Noces. The set was simplicity itself -- in back, a hemisphere that suggested an archway; on the right, a small table and some squarish chairs. That was it: a strictly functional conception. Even the big table was gone, although Irina Nijinska thinks the reason for that was to make the ballet easier to tour. The costumes, while retaining a Spanish flavor, were also simplified; the effect, judging from the few photographs that have survived, was a more sober and unified stage picture. Gontcharova worked up several versions of the dancing girl's costume, settling in the end for a tiered off-the-shoulder dress -- a stylish distillation of flamenco

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[9]"Le 'Gaulois' au Théâtre. Les Premières," Le Gaulois, 24 November 1928, and P.-B. Gheusi, "La Musique au Théâtre," Figaro, 25 November 1928. I am grateful to Martine Kahane for copies of these reviews.

wear.[10]

Although the steps of the ballet had changed little from before,[11] the spirit of the choreography was subtly altered. Instead of a ritual of sublimated desire, the new version, as critic Henry Malherbe put it, was "rowdy and risqué." Malherbe doesn't explain his choice of adjectives. But it's probable that what robbed the ballet of erotic mystery was the presence of women in the crowd -- the majas and dancing girls who now mixed and flirted with the men. Another change that disturbed Malherbe was Nijinska's decision (a mistaken one, he felt) to appear in the principal role. Not only did she fail to efface the memory of Rubinstein, but she was "as removed as possible from the image of a Spanish dancer. She writhes and distorts herself unnecessarily. She would be wise," he concluded, "to call upon a ballerina better suited to this throbbing form of dance."[12] A series of studio photographs by Lipnitzki[13] captures a little of what Malherbe found so off-putting in Nijinska's performance. In her calculated poses, one finds no hint of play or erotic abandon, only the singular power of a body consciously willed to movement.

The premiere of Bolero in 1928 had coincided with the debut of the Rubinstein company. As such, it had been a gala occasion; Ravel had conducted; not a seat at the

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[10]One of Gontcharova's costume designs for the Troubador is reproduced in Baer, Bronislava Nijinska: A Dancer's Legacy. Three of the dancing-girl designs are reproduced in the Sotheby's Catalogue of Ballet and Theatre Material (London, 6 June 1979, lot 60) and in the Sotheby Parke Bernet catalogue, Dance, Theatre, Opera (New York, 24 November 1978, lots 98 and 99). One of these designs (lot 99) is in the Tobin Collection, San Antonio, which also owns the design for a male costume. The purple costume worn by Nijinska as the dancing-girl, on loan from the Nijinska Archives, was exhibited at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in 1986. Why this costume was purple when all the designs for it were yellow remains a mystery. I am grateful to curator Ann Jones for slides of the items in the Tobin Collection.

[11]Conversation with Irina Nijinska. This is supported by the detailed notations that Nijinska apparently made after choreographing the ballet for Rubinstein. I am grateful to Irina Nijinska for allowing me to examine them.

[12]Henry Malherbe, "La Musique," Le Temps, 15 June 1932, p. 3, col. 6.

[13]The series of fourteen photographs are in the collection of Agence Roger-Viollet (Paris).

Opéra had been empty, and all the "stars of the dancing firmament" (to quote the Dancing Times), from Valerian Svetlov to Tilly Losch, Léo Staats, Albert Aveline, Jean Borlin, and of course Diaghilev, had turned out.[14] The revival four years later attracted far less attention. True, Bolero was no longer a novelty. But the program on which it appeared had two ballets -- Les Comédiens Jaloux and Variations -- that were new, and they should have brought in the critics. Yet Comoedia did not cover the season at all, and Le Temps, which did, gave it little space. What garnered the lion's share of critical attention that June was the debut of another Diaghilev offshoot -- the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo -- at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées. Six months before, Nijinska had turned down a lucrative offer to produce two original ballets for the new organization.[15] Now that it had proved to be a formidable rival, she must have had some second thoughts.

Although Bolero remained in Nijinska's repertory, it came to America only in 1940. By then the choreographer had settled in Hollywood, and it was "under the stars" at the Hollywood Bowl that the first American performance took place. Twenty thousand spectators packed the arena for the all-Nijinska program, which along with Bolero featured two of the choreographer's most interesting works -- Etude and Chopin Concerto. As the Gontcharova costumes had been left behind in Paris (only to vanish during the Occupation), new ones were executed by Jack's of Hollywood after her designs. Otherwise, the production remained essentially the same as the Opéra-Comique version, except that half the men were really girls with their hair pinned up. The American Dancer praised the ballet warmly, commenting that of the many choreographers who had tackled the Ravel score, only Nijinska had "achieved . . . the complete integration of this music and dance."[16] The reviewer singled out several of the dancers in Chopin Concerto, including Sid (or Cyd) Charisse and Betty (or Maria) Tallchief, whose sister Marjorie also had a solo role. Like most of the dancers, the three were Nijinska's students.

The war years were a busy time for Nijinska. Ballet

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[14]"Sitter Out," "In Paris. Some Notes on Stage and Spectacular Dancing in the Gay City," Dancing Times, January 1929, p. 511.

[15]Vicente Garcia-Marquez, The Ballets Russes: Colonel de Basil's Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo 1932-1952 (New York: Knopf, 1990), p. 6.

[16]"Nijinska Ballet, Hollywood Bowl, July 30," American Dancer, October 1040, p. 24. I am indebted to Naima Prevots for a typescript of the Bowl program.

was booming, and by 1945 she had mounted or remounted nearly a dozen works on the era's major companies. Bolero's turn came in 1944, with the debut of Ballet International. Billed as "Nijinska's original version," the production had scenery by Enrico Donati and costumes by Alexander [?] Ignatiev; the cast included two Men, several Guitarists, Girls and Boys, and The Dancer. The program note read in part: "The scene is laid in a cave, the hideout of the gypsies, where a girl dances to the rhythm of the bolero. Incited by the onlookers, she jumps on to a table, continuing the dance which becomes more and more passionate and seductive." Apart from the table, not much was left of the original.

Unsurprisingly, critical response to the ballet was lukewarm. John Martin, for instance, though he admired Nijinska's use of "stylized slow motion and counterpoint," felt that the sets and costumes weakened the production because they lacked "stylization." He also thought the ballet badly cast. "The charming and industrious Miss [Viola] Essen does all she can with a veritable Carmen Amaya role for which she is much too ingenue, and the male ensemble . . . is in much the same predicament."[17] By far the most dismissive review was Edwin Denby's.

> Her Paris version . . . (for the Rubinstein ballet) was bad, but I did not remember that one as nearly so bad as this. This one begins with a chorus doing the "Volga Boatmen" and then whips them into doing spirituals in the style of Mr. Mamoulian. Miss Essen squirms around on a big table in the center, with a smile of autoerotic delight that Hollywood might consider enticing. There is nothing remotely Spanish anywhere . . . despite mantillas, knives, flounces, and so forth. Of course, the soporific blatancies of the music would discourage any ideas of Spain or of dancing; one may claim that this Bolero is the good old sucker-trap number that the Bolero was composed for.[18]

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[17]John Martin, "'Memories' Danced at International. Semenoff's Ballet Set to Brahms Music Has Its World Premiere Here," New York Times, 2 November 1944, p. 23.

[18]Edwin Denby, "Semenoff's 'Memories'; Nijinska's 'Bolero,'" in Dance Writings, ed. Robert Cornfield and William Mackay (New York: Knopf, 1986), 264-265. The review appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on 3 November 1944.

Though Bolero was performed several times, the production did not survive the season. Nor for that matter did Ballet International, which folded before the year was out. Undaunted by the huge losses, the Marquis de Cuevas reorganized the company in 1947 and again in 1950, when it became the Grand Ballet du Marquis de Cuevas. In 1954, at the Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt, the Grand Ballet staged Nijinska's last revival of Bolero. In the role of "la danseuse" was her former Hollywood student Marjorie Tallchief.

From the start, Bolero was fraught with contradictions. Like many ballets of the interwar years, it was a hybrid, neither fully stylized nor fully realist, neither fully plotless nor fully narrative, neither fully classical nor fully Spanish. The years never resolved these contradictions. Moreover, with time, the theme of the ballet was vulgarized. If the first Bolero had been a ritual in Spanish genre style, later ones treated the Spanish setting as an excuse for steamy sex. The original had revealed something about the eternal mystery of desire. Subsequent editions were closer to a night club act. Judging from the ballet's many revivals, few people found this troubling, Nijinska included, for as late as 1969 she was offering to revive the work for the Center Ballet of Buffalo.[19] Wisely, the offer was turned down. In the Age of Aquarius, her Bolero would almost certainly have seemed old hat.

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[19]Conversation with Irina Nijinska.

PRODUCTIONS OF BRONISLAVA NIJINSKA'S BOLERO

Company: Ballets de Madame Ida Rubinstein
Place and date of premiere: Théâtre National de l'Opéra (Paris), 22 November 1928
Sets and costumes: Alexandre Benois
Conductor: Maurice Ravel
Principal dancers: Ida Rubinstein (La Danseuse), Anatole Wiltzak, Alexis Dolinoff

Company: Ballets Russes de Bronislava Nijinska
Place and date of premiere: Théâtre National de l'Opéra-Comique (Paris), 10 June 1932
Sets and costumes: Natalia Gontcharova
Conductor: Louis Masson
Principal dancers: Bronislava Nijinska (La Danseuse), Anatole Wiltzak, Thadée Slavinsky, Igor Schwezoff

Company: Nijinska Ballet
Place and date of premiere: Hollywood Bowl (Hollywood, California), 30 June 1940
Costumes: Natalia Gontcharova
Conductor: Henry Svedrofsky
Principal dancers: Irenea Chaves (The Dancer), Rudolph Andrian, David Tihmar

Company: Ballet International
Place and date of premiere: International Theatre (New York), 30 October 1944
Sets: Enrico Donati
Costumes: Alexander [?] Ignatieff
Conductor: Alexander Smallens
Principal dancers: Viola Essen (The Dancer), Alexander Iolas, David Ahdar (The Men)

Company: Grand Ballet du Marquis de Cuevas
Place and date of premiere: Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt (Paris), 25 November 1954
Sets and costumes: Natalia Gontcharova
Principal dancers: Marjorie Tallchief (La Danseuse), Vladimir Skouratoff (Un Jeune Homme)

Don Quixote in the 20th Century: A Mirror for Choreographers

George Dorris

Of the three great post-classical archetypes that have dominated the Western imagination--Faust, Don Juan and Don Quixote -- all arose from the shifting patterns in faith and confusion over man's place in the natural and spiritual worlds in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Interestingly, two of the three are Spanish, springing (unlike Faust) from specific sources: Cervantes' two-part novel, 1605 and 1613, and Tirso de Molina's play *El Burlador de Sevilla*, of about 1630. But all soon took on independent life and were treated widely in a great variety of works in various forms, including operas, plays and dance. Of these three figures, Faust and Don Juan have never been realized in dance with the success they found in musical and dramatic treatments. Don Quixote, however, in addition to over 80 operas, has given rise to a surprising number of dance versions, beginning as early as a ballet de cour entrée before 1625 and in the mid-eighteenth century was used in Vienna by both Hilverding and Noverre (1753 and 1768 respectively).[1]

In the last two centuries, the Don Quixote ballets have taken two major forms. The first, which dominated the nineteenth century and remains the more familiar approach, is the "divertissement ballet" in which Quixote's adventures become an excuse for a series of lively dances, usually focusing on the romance of Quiteria and Basilio. This line springs primarily from Hilverding, Noverre, and also Etienne Lauchery (1767), through Louis Milon's enormously popular 1801 *Les Noces de Gamache,* and includes versions by Didelot (1808), Bournonville (1837), Paul Taglioni in Berlin (1839) and finally the Petipa (1869), which in one form or another is still with us. This approach, however delightful the choreography and performances, trivializes the figures of Don Quixote, Sancho Panza and Dulcinea, effectively pushing them to the side, except for such occasional set pieces as the fight with the windmill.

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The other way is to place them in the center of the action. Three mid-twentieth century ballets take such an approach, one that might be termed psychological or even existential. They are by choreographers of widely varied backgrounds and approaches: Aurel Milloss' *Le Portrait de Don Quichotte* (Paris, 1947), Ninette de Valois' *Don Quixote* (London, 1950), and George Balanchine's *Don Quixote* (New York, 1965).

The basic problem facing a choreographer who wishes to deal with Don Quixote is having a central figure whose movement is limited almost by definition because of age and infirmity. One way to sidestep this difficulty and still keep Quixote at the center of the work is by trying to make the entire ballet be seen through the eyes of this focal character, whose physical limitations can thus become irrelevant to the extent that we are persuaded to share his vision.

The idea of such subjective vision was being consciously developed in the novel and in the theater around the turn of this century -- one thinks of Henry James, Proust, and the early *Symbolistes* -- and was developed by the Expressionists, finding its way into dance most strikingly through the passionate visionaries who shaped modern dance, including Laban, Wigman and Graham. In ballet it came more gradually, notably in the work of Antony Tudor, from *Lilac Garden* through *Pillar of Fire* and *Undertow*. Certainly the success of these three Don Quixotes depended on the degree to which the audience could be drawn into his world, immersed in his sensibility and vision. But these ballets try to do this in quite different ways.

Aurel Milloss -- in this country much the least well known of these figures -- was a Hungarian-born, German-trained dancer and choreographer, who was born in 1906 and died in 1988. A pupil of Rudolf von Laban, he also studied ballet with Cecchetti. His active career was primarily in Germany, Austria, and above all, Italy, running from the late 20s to the late 70s. A man of great erudition, he involved many important painters and composers in ballet, including Goffredo Petrassi, with whom he worked out the score of this ballet in 1945, for a tour that never

materialized. The opportunity to produce it came two years later, on November 21, 1947, when Milloss was invited at the last minute to stage it in Paris for the trend-setting Ballets des Champs-Élysées, directed by Boris Kochno and the about-to-depart Roland Petit. Designs -- which Milloss never liked -- were by Tom Keogh, a young American artist.[2]

The title - The Portrait of Don Quixote - is a key to this work, for Milloss is not presenting us with Don Quixote directly, but portraying a sensitive man who reads Cervantes and, marvelling at the purity of the hero, attempts to emulate him. His companions, dressed in carnival attire, jestingly assist him. On each side of the spacious, curtained set is a small stage. The one on the right is for Sancho Panza, that on the left for Dulcinea, figures seen only by our dreamer who take part only indirectly in the action, forming what Fidele d'Amico calls "an ideal and eternal dialectic."[3] Sancho is gross material reality, but willing to bind up wounds, and Dulcinea the unachieveable ideal. By means of such refracting devices, recalling Pirandello, aspects of character and idea are thus realized visually, almost prismatically.

There is no attempt to "tell the story," which is treated allusively, on the assumption that it is familiar to us. After the opening, in which the character of the Man is established, three more dances in which the action takes place alternate with three "thematic" interludes -- one apiece for Sancho and Dulcinea plus one for them both. The first adventure, following Sancho's dance, involves the freeing of the convicts (or the fight with the sheep -- descriptions differ, suggesting how unliteral the action was) and the tilting with the windmills, effectively created by two men -- one on the other's shoulders -- waving their arms. After Dulcinea's dance, we are given the "exercises, religious and ascetic, of Don Quixote," in which the dancer is thrown around the stage by his mocking companions -- and it should be noted that Milloss' version is unique in my research in that the hero is portrayed as young and vigorous, the role being danced by the stunning virtuoso Jean Babilée, who that same season was dancing the Bluebird and the role he created in *Le Jeune Homme et la Mort*.

Finally, unable to improve the condition of men, the Man who would be Quixote dies in the arms of Sancho, wounded by his weapon. But when Dulcinea appears to lay violets on his body another immortal knight arises from it, taking his place on the little stage opposite hers to become part of the dialectic -- and leaving his companions and Sancho bewildered.

Clive Barnes recalled recently that Milloss placed great emphasis on stasis as an essential part of movement, something often mentioned but seldom practiced. Milloss' strength, he added, lay not so much in inventing movement itself as in "his ability to translate steps into diagrammatic, Expressionistic images."[4] Having survived the desolation of war-torn Europe (suggested by the tatters of Keogh's set and costumes) and emerging into the age of Sartre and Camus, Milloss and Petrassi turned to Cervantes' Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance for what the composer call "a kind of silhouette of a figure of utmost purity who has consecrated his entire life, amid the indifference and derision of 'wise' men, to the achievement of an impossible ideal of honesty, of chivalry, of integrity."[5] But such a truth -- as Alberto Testa points out -- can be realized, not in life, but only in the theatre. And within the confines of this twenty-two minute ballet, Milloss has striven to catch its essence.[6]

What is it that draws an artist to this "knightly theme," as Richard Strauss called it? For some it is clearly just the good and familiar story. For others, as with Milloss and Petrassi, some special quality of character and spirit. Ninette de Valois may seem to be an unlikely candidate for the latter category, for in her *Don Quixote* for the Sadler's Wells Ballet, she not only used a score that had been around for a decade, but she first offered the ballet to Robert Helpmann, finally tackling it herself only after it had been announced. Yet who had been more Quixotic that this Anglo-Irish woman, who for over two decades had been tilting against the windmills of a Philistine Establishment in her struggle to establish British ballet? This ballet in five scenes, premiered on

February 20, 1950, was another one-act treatment, but approximately twice as long as Milloss'. Approaching the story much more directly, it shows the history of Don Quixote from his setting forth and knighting by an inn-keeper to his final return to "sanity." Yet while such expected episodes as the windmills and freeing of the ungrateful convicts are here -- with full assistance from Roberto Gerhard, the Swiss-Catlan composer, who reworked his score for her, and Edward Burra, who based his much-praised designs on Daumier and Doré -- the focus in not on plot, but the interior life of this man. [7]

Arnold Haskell found that "de Valois' Don had the breeding, dignity and pathos of that greatest of all gentlemen."[8] While Don Quixote seems to be dozing over his beloved books, he is really seeing (and we with him) the transformation of the lively peasant lass Aldonza Lorenzo into the peerless Dulcinea, assisted by three heros of romance and their ladies, in the process becoming both chivalric ideal and Madonna. The windmill and convict encounters frame an episode in which, after taking the basin of a lively travelling barber to be the legendary Helmet of Mambrino, he discourses to ragged shepherds on the Golden Age, represented for us by a lovely pastoral pas de deux. Then, in what is de Valois' boldest stroke, she introduces the descent into the Cave of Montesinos, where the Lady Bellerma watches over the body of her fallen knight, Durandarte. Robert Helpmann as Don Quixote made his entrance from the top of the scene, swinging and dancing on a rope as he descended -- truly investigating a forbidden realm. When rejected by Durandarte, the authentic manifestation of the chivalric ideal, Quixote beholds the transformation of Dulcinea back into the earthy Aldonza -- one of Margot Fonteyn's most original characterizations, in the only role created for her by de Valois. Dismissed from the realm of enchantment, Quixote reascends the rope, returning to the world of reality, where in his study great shadows of bars symbolize the internal and external constraints that turn his dreams to dust. The ideal is now empty. But as, dying, he renounces his dreams, it is Sancho who becomes infused with the quest. The dream is passed on and lives.

De Valois' ballet was found dry and narrative-bound by some, especially those rejecting the

Massine-caractére-tradition for the New Classicism of Ashton and Balanchine. Others, like Beaumont and Kathrine Sorley Walker, were haunted by her capturing of an inner life through this mingling of episode and vision, one that in many ways recalls the ideals of Noverre. As a serious treatment of the noble theme, it did not reveal its qualities on a single viewing, they found, and refused to court popular appeal. The expected episodes were here, but in the best moments transfigured -- as in the scene of Quixote's vigil, in which the figure of Dulcinea seemed to emanate from the tip of his lance, or the vision of the Golden Age (one of de Valois' rare classical pas de deux), and above all in the Cave scene, which in both novel and ballet is entirely "internal," with no "true-life" counterpart such as the windmill-giants. How fully de Valois was able to translate her vision into theatrical terms, I must take on faith, as the ballet lasted in the repertory only three seasons, with thirty-six performances in Great Britain and five on the 1950-51 American tour, where U.S. critics failed to give the ballet the support she hoped for.[9] Like the Milloss *Portrait* -- which was toured for a few seasons before the Ballets des Champs-Élysées closed in 1950 and which was briefly revived only twice (in Rome in 1957 and Cologne in 1960) -- this is a ballet I greatly regret not having seen. And for whatever reason -- whether disappointment over its lukewarm reception or the pressures of running a large and increasingly famous ballet company -- *Don Quixote* was to be de Valois' last ballet for the company she had founded and which she continued to direct for another thirteen years. Indeed only a few works for the Turkish State Ballet -- another of "her" companies -- followed, but not until the mid-60s. Her biographer, Kathrine Sorley Walker, calls de Valois "an idealist without Illusions." In many ways this description could serve as a subtext for her vision of Don Quixote as well as for her life.

Whether or not Milloss' and de Valois' ballets were works that involved them deeply in ways that drew on a complex relation with the subject (as I believe that they do), there is no doubt that Balanchine's treatment was long and deeply considered. As a student he had performed in Petipa's version and had been meditating on his own staging for nearly twenty years, since the idea

was suggested by the painter Pavel Tchelitchev in 1937, while the Dance Collection has a design from a projected collaboration with Eugene Berman dating from the mid 1950s. And when he finally presented *Don Quixote* as his first new full-evening spectacle in the New York State Theatre, Balanchine himself assumed the title role for the gala preview on May 28, 1965 -- which I did attend -- and a handful of later performances. Whatever the choreographer's complex relation with Suzanne Farrell at the time, as the many manifestations of Dulcinea, she embodied in this one ballet the many incarnations of the unattainable ideal with which he was to endow her in a wide variety of specially created roles from *Movements* in 1963 to *Variations for Orchestra*, his last work, in 1982. If de Valois' ballet was not a particular success with the general public, the same cannot be said of Balanchine's, which was regularly presented by the New York City Ballet (often for an extended run) until 1978. Yet it too had a mixed reception and it never received a final form, as Balanchine continued to tinker with it until the end.

In this three-act version -- with sumptuous designs by Esteban Francés and a carefully worked-out neo-romantic score by Nicolas Nabokov -- Balanchine could include a variety of episodes others were forced to omit. We have not only the convicts, the boy unjustly beaten by his master, the persecuted shepherdess Marcela, Master Pedro and puppet show, the windmills, the trampling by swine, and the burning of his books on chivalry, but also the sojourn with the Duke and Duchess, to which the second act is devoted, while the last act opens with a full ballet blanc reminiscent of the Petipa version of his youth, presenting a vision of Dulcinea and the dark forces opposed to all that she stands for, with particular reference to the ducal court which Quixote has abandoned in despair.

If de Valois offered two sides of Aldonza/Dulcinea, Balanchine infuses his ideal figure with a host of related images, as he does with Quixote himself. Although his is in many ways the most straightforward and detailed redaction of Cervantes' complex narrative, it also strives to be the most symbolically encompassing. From the first scene, in which we partake of Quixote's dream of rescuing an endangered child-like heroine as in one of his books of adventure, only to be awakened

by a humble maid who bathes his feet and then dries them with her hair, we see things through his eyes, sharing his vision as much as the requirements of a stage narrative intended for a wide audience will allow. Lincoln Kirstein has suggested that Balanchine's Quixote is not only the idealist in a alien world, but becomes the Man of Sorrows, Tragic Hero, and Fool of God. For him Dulcinea is not only Ideal Woman, but Repentant Magdalen, Innocent Shepherdess, and the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows.[11]

This Quixote is not only misled by his delusions -- and by those lacking imagination -- but punished for doing good. "Misfortunes always pursue men of talent," Balanchine quotes from Cervantes.[12]The ballet thus becomes a vast tapestry encompassing the austere Spain of courtly cruelty and the Inquisition as well as of simple faith. Although beaten for freeing the miserable convicts, Quixote liberates the unjustly accused, freedom-seeking Marcela before his delusions lead him to attack the mere appearance of persecuted love in the puppet show. He mistakes the temporal nobility of the Duke's court for nobility of spirit, although in truth stiffness is substituted for dignity and distortion in movement (as in the pas de deux Mauresque) reflects an inner distortion. Balanchine -- like Milloss and de Valois -- has essentially rejected Spanish prettiness and local color for a sombre Castilian palette, recalling the world of the Escorial and the counter-reformation. Classic dance is reserved for such special moments as Quixote's vision of Dulcinea as the Lady of the Silver Moons, but even this dream sequence ends in nightmare. The brutality of the monster we see grow from the windmill soon takes human form in the procession of hooded figures who burn his books, a delirious persecution from which he is saved only by the transfiguring vision of Dulcinea as the Virgin. The climax brings both salvation and death, the end of this search for the unachievable. And as he dies in the clear light of morning, surrounded by the simple people he has known, it is the servant girl who forms a cross from two sticks to bless him at his release.

Writing of Don Quixote, Balanchine commented that "He was, if you like, a kind of secular saint no one believes in. Finally, his death brings him face to face with himself, seemingly

defeated, but having lived as he believed." And he concludes his discussion of the ballet with a Note: "My interest in Don Quixote has always been in the hero's finding an ideal, something to live for and sacrifice for and serve. Every man has a Don Quixote in him. Every man wants an inspiration. For the Don it was Dulcinea, a woman he sought in many ways. I myself think it is true in life, and everything a man does he does for his ideal woman. You live only one life and you believe in something and I believe in that."[13]

Through the figure of Don Quixote, Balanchine -- like, I suspect, Milloss and de Valois -- reveals some of his deepest feelings far more openly than in most of his other works. In all these ballets, the choices and emphasis required in bringing Cervantes' heroic figure into a mid-twentieth century perspective suggest how each choreographer conceived of himself or herself within this struggle between a variously defined "real" world and the call of the ideal.

In the words of Perry John Powers, with whom I first read the masterpieces of Spanish literature at the University of Oregon many years ago, "all sorts of people have read Cervantes' book because of that miraculous life with which he has endowed his characters. By his art he convinces us that Quixote and Sancho are living their lives from the inside . . . . Their reactions are astonishingly spontaneous and they are given equally astonishing and rich scenarios in which to react! The process of being, coming to be, learning to be, is at the very heart of the book. To be mad, but to be loving; to be foolish but to be faithful; to respond to others from the center of one's being as they do, give them a reality that few artists have equalled."[14]

It is to the credit of these choreographers that they have captured something of this process, this complexity and richness of vision. They have understood the nobility and greatness of Cervantes "knightly theme." In their art, as in their lives, they too have embodied, I feel, this selfless quest for the ideal, for the unattainable -- for their Dulcinea.

Notes

1. A list of Don Quixote operas can be found in Harold Rosenthal and John Warrack, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Opera*, 2nd ed., London, 1979, under "Cervantes" and of ballets in Horst Koegler, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet*, 2nd ed., London, 1982, and in the catalogue of the Dance Collection of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. The "Mascarade: L'Entrée en France de Don Quixhot de la Manche," from sometime between 1616 and 1625, is reprinted in Paul Lacroix, *Ballets et Mascarades de Cour de Henri III a Louis XIV* (1581-1652) (Geneva: Chez J. Gay et fils, 1868-70, 6 vols.), III, pp. 59-79. According to Sibylla Dahms' unpublished catalogue of music for Noverre's ballets, his *Don Quichote* was first given in Stuttgart sometime between 1760 and 1766, then in Vienna in the winter of 1768-9, before the end of 1768. For Hilverding's *Dom Quichot ou Les Noces de Gamache,* see Peter Branscombe's entry on him in the *New Grove*.

2. For a Survey of Milloss' career, see Patrizia Veroli, "The Choreography of Aurel Milloss," *Dance Chronicle,* Vol. 13, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, and her catalogue of his work in Vol. 14, No. 1. Her discussion of *Le Portrait de Don Quichotte* is in Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 197-8. Other information on this ballet can be found in Goffredo Petrassi's full score, *Il Ritratto di Don Chischotte*, Vienna, Universal-Edition, c. 1948; Richard Buckle, "Ballet in Paris," *Ballet,* Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 19-24; Cyril W. Beaumont, "Les Ballets des Champs-Elysees," *Ballet,* Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 7-18; and Alberto Testa, "Ritratto di Don Chischotte," in the program book for Ugo dell'Ara's version of the ballet, Teatro dell'Opera, Rome, 1976, pp. 339-342. During his long career, the choreographer used several forms of his name, including Aurel von Milloss and Aurelio M. Milloss.

3. D'Amico, "L'ispiratore," *Il Contemporaneo* (Rome), March 23, 1957.

4. Conversation with Clive Barnes, January 1991.

5. Quoted in Testa, p. 342.

6. Testa, p. 341.7.

7. For information on de Valois' ballet, see Kathrine Sorley Walker, *Ninette de Valois: An Idealist Without Illusions* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987) pp. 253-61; Cyril W. Beaumont, "Don Quixote," in *Ballets of Today* (London: Putnam, 1954), pp. 128-40 (largely reprinted from his review in *Ballet,* "De Valois' 'Don Quixote,'" Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 9-18); The Sitter Out, *The Dancing Times*, March 1950, p. 340 and April 1950, pp. 404-5; Arnold Haskell, *Ballet Annual* 5 (London; A. & C. Black, 1951), pp. 17-8; and a panel of critics in *Dance and Dancers* April 1950, pp. 14-5. Roberto Gerhard's own description of the work is in David Drew, ed., *The Decca Book of Ballet* (London: Fredrich Muller, 1958), pp. 153-66. The first performance of a suite from the original score was given by Constant Lambert and BBC Symphony Orchestra in 1941, but the ballet is largely based on the longer second orchestral suite premiered in 1947. For a discussion of the music see the special Gerhard issue of *The Score*, September 1956, especially Norman del Mar, "*Don Quixote, Homenaje a Pedrell* and the Violin Concerto." pp. 13-19, David Drew, "Roberto Gerhard: The Musical Character," pp. 39-49, and the catalogue of works, esp. p. 54.

8. Haskell, p. 17.

9. The statistics for de Valois' work are from Alexander Bland, *The Royal Ballet, The First Fifty Years* (Garden City, N.Y.: 1981), p. 276, for U.K. performance and Sarah C. Woodcock, "The Royal Ballet Repertory: The First Fifty Years, " *Ballet Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 29-40, for the American tour. Kathrine Sorley Walker has suggested in conversation that the reason for the ballet being dropped was not a lack of popular appeal, but Helpmann's leaving the company, as the alternate Quixotes (John Field and Leslie Edwards) were not able to carry the ballet.

10. Balanchine has written on this ballet in George Balanchine and Francis Mason, *Balanchine's Complete Stories of the Great Ballets* (Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1977), pp. 179-83 and Lincoln Kirstein in *The New York City Ballet* (New York: Knopf, 1973). Balanchine and Nabokov's detailed scenario dated June 1964 is in the "Don Quixote" file in the Dance Collection of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, which also has an extensive collection of programs, including the gala premiere. The "Don Quixote" file also has many useful reviews. Nicholas

Nabokov's piano score has an interesting preface (London: Editions M.P. Balaiff, 1966) and includes extra music, some of which Balanchine used in revising the ballet.

11. Kirstein, p. 174.

12. Balanchine and Mason p. 180.

13. Balanchine and Mason, pp. 180, 182.

14. Perry John Powers, "Hero or Fool?", unpublished lecture, typescript in the author's collection.

For assistance in preparing this paper, I particularly wish to thank Jack Anderson, Clive Barnes, Dr. Sibylla Dahms of the Institute für Musikwissenschaft of the University of Salzburg, Perry John Powers, Professor Emeritus of Spanish at the University of Oregon, Kathrine Sorley Walker, Patrizia Veroli, and, of course, the staff of the Dance Collection of the recently renamed New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. I am also grateful to José Sasportes and Lavinia Cavalletti for a memorable dinner in Rome in the summer of 1987 to meet Aurel Milloss, who spoke at length of his work and (at my request) of *Le Portrait de Don Quichotte* in particular.

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FRIDAY FEBRUARY 8

1:00 pm - 7:30 pm
MDCC, Bldg. 1, 4th Floor
Registration

5:30 pm - 7:15 pm
MDCC, Bldg. 1, 4th Floor Terrace
Reception

7:15 pm
Pick up at 3rd Street
Buses for Miami City Ballet Performance

PERFORMANCE

8:00 pm
Lincoln Theatre

MIAMI CITY BALLET: *A DANCE TALK WITH EDWARD VILLELLA AND JIMMY GAMONET DE LOS HEROS*

SATURDAY FEBRUARY 9

★ **ALL SESSIONS at NEW WORLD SCHOOL of the ARTS**
(unless otherwise noted)

8:30 am - 4:00 pm
7th Floor
Registration

Throughout the Day
Room 5705

Book Exhibit and Sales

SESSIONS

IA
DANCE, COMMUNITY, AND EXPRESSION

9:00 am - 10:30 am
Room 5806

PRESIDING Nancy Brooks Schmitz, Columbia University

Paper 1 *The Body Articulate: Speaking Racial Identity in the Samba*
Barbara Browning, Princeton University

Paper 2 *Dancing Their Stories: An Experience with a Hispanic Community*
Alma Concepción, Taller de Danza, Trenton, NJ

Paper 3 *La Onda Próxima: Nuevo Latino Dance*
Sally Banes, Cornell University

IB
ROOTS & RESOURCES: DANCE IN HISPANIC CULTURES

Room 5709

PRESIDING Selma Jeanne Cohen, International Encyclopedia of Dance

Paper 1 *Shared Roots: A Comparison of Kathak and Flamenco Dance History*
Miriam Phillips, University of California, Los Angeles

Paper 2 *What Steps Did the Spaniards Take?*
Alan Stark, Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información de la Danza (CENIDI-Danza) José Limón-Mexico

Paper 3 *Sources for the Study of Hispanic Dance History*
Nancy Ruyter, University of California, Irvine

10:30 am – 10:45 am
8th Floor

Coffee

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

10:45 am – 12:00 noon
Room 5808

DANCE AND LITERATURE — DANCE AND POETRY

PRESIDING — Lynn Matluck Brooks, Franklin and Marshall College
Daniel Lewis, Dean of Dance, New World School of the Arts

Speaker — *Castanets as Music*
Matteo, Ethnoamerican Dance Theatre

12:00 noon – 1:30 pm
Room 5507

NEW RESEARCH FORUM AND BOX LUNCH

PRESIDING — Camille Hardy, Dance Magazine

Lunch (on your own if not attending *New Research Forum)*

1:30 pm – 4:30 pm
Room 5913

FILM / VIDEO SHOWINGS

PRESIDING — Monica Moseley, Performing Arts Research Collection, The New York Public Library

Rare footage of Spanish and Hispanic dancers and dance forms
(*Program to be repeated on Sunday*)

SESSIONS

IIA

1:30 pm - 3:00 pm
Room 5806

MAGIC, SPIRIT, COSMOS

PRESIDING — Judith Chazin-Bennahum, University of New Mexico

Paper 1 — *Cosmic Imagery in the Religious Dances of Seville's Golden Age*
Lynn Matluck Brooks, Franklin and Marshall College

Paper 2 — *La Danza de Tlalxinques*
Rosa María Macías Moranchel, Universidad Nacional Autónima de México

IIB

Room 5808

EARLY DANCE: SPAIN & AMERICAS

PRESIDING — Anna Nassif, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Lecture Demonstration — *Ballet's Debt to Spanish Dance: Some Regional Dances of Spain*
Marina Keet, Spanish Dance Society, Washington, DC

3:00 pm – 3:15 pm
8th Floor

Coffee

SESSIONS

IIIA

3:15 pm - 4:45 pm
Room 5806

HISPANIC DANCE: FOLKLORE & HISTORY — I

PRESIDING: Ana Börger-Reese, Millersville University, Pennsylvania

Paper 1: *La Danza Folklórica en México*
César Delgado Martínez, Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información de la Danza (CENIDI-Danza) José Limón-Mexico

Paper 2: *Spanish Influence in Folkloric Dances of Southern Brazil*
Antonio José Faro, Dancer and Author, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Paper 3: *Spanish Dance Contributions 500 Years Ago*
A. William Smith, California State University, Long Beach

IIIB

Room 5709

MUSIC: VERSAILLES TO VERACRUZ

PRESIDING: Julia Sutton, New England Conservatory

Paper 1: *Lullly & French Dance in Imperial Spain: The Long Road from Versailles to Veracruz*
Craig Russell, California Polytechnic State University

Paper 2: *Carlos Chávez's Aztec Ballets*
Robert Parker, University of Miami

IIIC

Room 5808

HISPANIC THEMES IN EARLY MODERN DANCE

PRESIDING: Andrea Seidel, New World School of the Arts/Florida International University

Lecture Demonstration 1: *Isodora Duncan and the Spanish Dance*
Julia Levien

Lecture Demonstration 2: *The Works of Doris Humphrey and José Limón*
(with NWSA student performance of Ritmo Jondo*)*
Daniel Lewis, Dean of Dance, New World School of the Arts

Lecture Demonstration 3: *Anna Sokolow: Mexican Work*
(with performance of Lament for a Bullfighter*)*
Anna Sokolow and Jane Carrington

4:45 pm – 5:00 pm
8th Floor

Coffee

SESSIONS

IVA

5:00 pm - 6:30 pm
Room 5806

EL MODERNISMO *IN HISPANIC DANCE*

PRESIDING: Sondra Lomax, Austin, Texas

Paper 1: *Modern Dance in Latin America*
Jan Hanvik, Pan American Musical Art Research, Inc.

Paper 2: *Antonio Gades & Carlos Saura: An Investigation of Their Collaboration*
Virginia Brooks, Brooklyn College of City University of New York

SATURDAY FEBRUARY 9 (cont.)

IVB

SPANISH ROOTS & BAROQUE PERFORMANCE

Room 5709 — PRESIDING: Emma Lew Thomas, University of California, Los Angeles

Lecture Demonstration — *Dances of 17th-Century Spain*
Jane Gingell and Ian Brener, Timedance, London

IVC

HISPANIC DANCE: FOLKLORE & HISTORY — II

Room 5808 — PRESIDING: Christena Schlundt, University of California, Riverside

Workshop — *Mexican Dances of the Early 19th Century*
Susan Cashion, Stanford University

7:00 pm
Hyatt Hotel, Lower Promenade

Cocktails

8:00 pm - 10:00 pm
Hyatt Hotel, Jasmine Room

Banquet

PERFORMANCE

9:00 pm
Hyatt Hotel, Jasmine Room

ROSITA SEGOVIA BALLET ESPAÑOL

10:00 pm

Transportation to Hotels

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 10

★ **ALL SESSIONS at NEW WORLD SCHOOL of the ARTS**
(unless otherwise noted)

7:30 am
Location to be announced

World Dance Alliance Information Breakfast

8:30 am - 10:00 am
7th Floor

Registration

Throughout the Day
Room 5705

Book Exhibit and Sales

SESSIONS

VA

9:15 am - 10:45 am
Room 5806

BALLET D'ACTION

PRESIDING Ingrid Brainard, Cambridge Court Dancers, Boston

Paper *Dancers and Theatre Dance in Spain — 1750 – 1820*
Xoán M. Carreira, Musicologist and Author, Spain. Assisted by Maria Encina Cortizo Rodriquez, Musicologist and Singer, Spain; and Javier Suarez Pajares, Musicologist and Guitarist, Spain

VB

FARFLUNG DANCE: HISTORY & PERFORMANCE

Room 5709

PRESIDING Eva Enciñas, University of New Mexico

Paper 1 *Where Amaya Danced: Flamenco in the Variety Shows of Latin America*
Meira Weinzweig, Temple University

Paper 2 *Rizaliana and the Hispanic Heritage in Contemporary Philippine Dance*
Basilio Esteban S. Villaruz, University of the Philippines

VC

The Sephardim

Room 5808

PRESIDING Barbara Barker, University of Minnesota

Lecture Demonstration *The Dance of the Sephardic Jews*
Judith Brin Ingber, University of Minnesota

10:45 am – 11:00 am
8th Floor

Coffee

11:00 am – 12:30 pm &
3:00 pm – 4:30 pm
Room 5913

FILM / VIDEO SHOWINGS

PRESIDING Monica Moseley, Performing Arts Research Collection, The New York Public Library

Rare footage of Spanish and Hispanic dancers and dance forms (*same program as Saturday*)

SESSIONS

VIA

11:00 am - 12:30 pm
Room 5806

EARLY BALLET IN SOUTH AMERICA

PRESIDING Carol Marsh, University of North Carolina, Greensboro

Paper 1 *The Original Ballet Russe of Colonel de Basil in Latin America*
Julio de Bittencourt, Lamar University

Paper 2 *Fanny Elssler in Cuba*
Maureen Costonis, Vanderbilt University

Paper 3 *Leonide Massine: The Hispanic Influence*
Dawn Lille Horwitz, City College of the City University of New York

VIB

THE FOLK DANCES OF THE PHILIPPINES

Room 5709 — **PRESIDING** — Tina Santos, Harid Conservatory

Lecture Demonstration — *Hispanic Influences in Philippine Folk Dance*
Reynaldo Alejandro, Choreographer, Dancer and Author, New York and Philippines

VIC

SPAIN'S INDIGENOUS BALLET: ESCUELA BOLERA

Room 5808 — **PRESIDING** — Matteo, Ethnoamerican Dance Theatre

Lecture Demonstration 1 — *The Pericet Family & the Escuela Bolera*
Paula Durbin, Dancer, Author, and Attorney, Honolulu, Hawaii

Lecture Demonstration 2 — *Dances of the Escuela Bolera*
Mariano Parra, Dancer, Miami

1:00 pm – 2:30 pm — **SDHS Luncheon**

Reflections on the Bay — ***BAYSIDE***

2:00 pm — **General Meeting**

Reflections on the Bay — ***BAYSIDE***

SESSIONS

VIIA

3:00 pm - 4:30 pm — ***THE SPANISH INFLUENCE: MASSINE, NIJINSKA, IMAGES OF DON Q.***

Room 5806 — **PRESIDING** — Genevieve Oswald, New York University, World Dance Alliance

Paper 1 — *Marius Petipa's* Don Quixote
Elizabeth Souritz, Soviet Union
(Read by Selma Jeanne Cohen)

Paper 2 — *Nijinska's* Bolero
Lynn Garafola, Dance Magazine

Paper 3 — *Don Quixote in 20th-Century Ballet*
George Dorris, Dance Chronicle

VIIB

AFRICAN TRADITIONS IN THE NEW WORLD

Room 5808 — **PRESIDING** — Mary Luft, Tigertail Productions, Miami

Workshop 1 — *African Oral Traditions and the Dance of New World Cultures*
Clyde Morgan, State University of New York, Brockport

Workshop 2 — *Three Afro-Cuban Dances: Rumba, Mozambique, Comparsa*
Catherine Evleshin, Portland State University

4:45 pm – 5:45 pm
Room 5507 — **New Board Meeting**

The Society of Dance History Scholars Expresses Its Gratitude to the Following Individuals, Companies and Organizations for Their Support of This Conference

Asian Cultural Council of New York
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