

# FROM LAVAPIÉS TO STOCKHOLM: EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VIOLIN FANDANGOS AND THE SHAPING OF MUSICAL ‘SPANISHNESS’

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## ABSTRACT

*Since the mid-eighteenth century the fandango has been regarded as the epitome of Spanish cultural identity. It became increasingly popular in instrumental chamber music, as well-known examples by Domenico Scarlatti, Antonio Soler and Luigi Boccherini show. To date, published musicological scholarship has not considered the role of solo violin music in the dissemination of the fandango or the shaping of a ‘Spanish’ musical identity. Now, eight rediscovered pieces – which can be dated to the period 1730–1775 – show that the violin was frequently used to perform fandangos, including stylized chamber-music versions. In addition to offering evidence of the violin’s role in the genre, these pieces reveal the hybridization of the fandango with foreign musical traditions, such as the Italian violin sonata and French courtly dances, demonstrating hitherto overlooked negotiations between elite and popular culture in mid-eighteenth-century Spain. Analysis of these works’ musical features challenges traditional discourses on the ‘Spanishness’ of the fandango and, more broadly, on the opposition between ‘native’ and ‘foreign’ music in eighteenth-century Spain.*

<i>Señorito Julián</i>	¿Quiere Usía bailar menuete?	Would Your Lordship like to dance a minuet?
<i>Abate</i>	Mi señorito lo baila de primor.	My young lord dances it exquisitely.
<i>Todos (All)</i>	Pues bailen uno, después seguirá la zambra.	Then dance one, [and] afterwards the party will continue.
<i>Doña Juana</i>	Yo haré lo que ustedes manden.	I will do whatever you ask.
<i>Julián</i>	Pues toca el violín, Cuchara. <sup>1</sup>	Well, play the violin, Cuchara.

These verses are part of *El fandango de candil* (*The Candle-Lit Dance Party*), a *sainete* by Ramón de la Cruz (1731–1794) that had its premiere in Madrid in 1768.<sup>2</sup> Music and dance are central to the plot: the minuet

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- 1 Ramón de la Cruz, *El fandango de candil* (Valencia: José Ferrer de Orga, 1814), lines 405–410. Full text in *Fundación Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/el-fandango-de-candil-sainete-nuevo-pa-ra-veinte-y-tres-personas-o> (16 January 2020). All translations in this article are mine. Translations of eighteenth-century terms are based on definitions found in the Real Academia Española’s *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid: Francisco de Hierro, 1726–1739), six volumes.
- 2 *Sainetes* are short and satirical Spanish theatrical entr’actes. In the eighteenth century many of them included music and dance, and specific types even adopted the name of dances (for example the *jácara*). See Catalina Buezo, *La mojiganga dramática: de la fiesta al teatro*, two volumes (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1993–2005), and Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácara y mojigangas, desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII* (Madrid: Bailly Baillièrre, 1911).



characterizes *petimetres* (followers of French fashion belonging to middle and upper social strata), while seguidillas and fandangos characterize *majos* or *manolos* (members of the ‘underclass’).<sup>3</sup> In this work, up to twenty-three characters get together in a clandestine party held in a private house in the Lavapiés neighbourhood of Madrid, one of the (then) peripheral areas where *majos* lived.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the local authorities break up the gathering, but until they do, moral and social order is subverted in several ways: there is the mixing of members of different social classes, the dancing of folkloric Spanish tunes considered lascivious at the time (such as seguidillas and fandangos) and the enabling of courtship among strangers (such as the young *petimetres* who dance a minuet together).

*El fandango de candil* belongs to a long-standing tradition of Spanish comic theatre in which both popular *bailes* and highbrow *danzas*<sup>5</sup> – together with the musical and poetical topics associated with each of them – are employed as markers of identity that signify specific social classes, nationalities and cultural trends.<sup>6</sup> In this context, the dichotomy of fandango vs minuet is consistently aligned with *majo* vs *petimetre*, and to Spanish tradition vs French fashion. In the case of this *sainete*, musical instruments are also involved in such games of contrasting binaries. In the beginning, the character Conchitas proudly announces, ‘The dance parties held at my cousin’s place are famous; they have at least guitar, violin and *bandurria*, and the room is full of seats’ (‘Es que son bailes de fama los de casa de mi prima: lo menos tienen guitarra, violín, bandurria y toda llena de asientos la sala’).<sup>7</sup> All three instruments were typically employed for playing dance music in eighteenth-century Spain, but it seems that not all of them were considered equally appropriate for all types of repertory. When the *petimetres* dance a minuet, it is the violinist Cuchara (‘Spoon’) who is asked to perform, but when the guests wish to dance seguidillas they call on the guitarist Manolo.<sup>8</sup> Not by chance, the latter’s name is not only a standard version of the forename Manuel but also a synonym for *majo*; in fact, the association of *majos* with the guitar is commonplace in short theatre works from the second half of the century.<sup>9</sup> Thus in this *sainete* the opposition between Spanish tradition and French fashion also seems to be equated with that between guitar and violin.

While satirical theatre tends toward exaggeration in its plots and expression, the association of the violin with pan-European musical trends in this particular work suggests a realistic reflection of its connections to musical cosmopolitanism and modernity. In fact, in the first half of the eighteenth century Madrid witnessed the assimilation of two repertoires that expanded the idiomatic vocabulary and functions of the violin dramatically: Italian sonatas and French courtly dances. The composition and performance of solo violin music

3 The term ‘petimetre’ derives from the French *petits maîtres* (young gentlemen): ‘*Petimetre*. The young man who is very concerned with his appearance and [with] keeping up with fashion. It is a word composed of French ones, and introduced into Spanish unnecessarily’ (‘*Petimetre*. El joven que cuida demasiado de su compostura, y de seguir las modas. Es voz compuesta de palabras Francesas, è introducida sin necesidad’). Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de Autoridades*, 6 volumes, volume 5 (Madrid: Francisco de Hierro, 1737), 246.

4 Petra Vega and Salvador Quero, ‘Vida y sociedad en el Madrid del Antiguo Régimen’, in *Paisajes sonoros en el Madrid del s. XVIII: la tonadilla escénica*, ed. Begoña Lolo (Madrid: Museo de San Isidro, 2003), 109–129.

5 Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish dance theorists differentiated between popular and highbrow dances by using respectively the terms ‘baile’ and ‘danza’. One of the earliest mentions appears in Juan Esquivel’s *Discursos sobre el arte del danzado* (Seville: Juan Gómez de Blas, 1642); there is a critical edition and English translation in Lynn Matluck Brooks, *The Art of Dancing in Seventeenth-Century Spain: Juan de Esquivel Navarro and His World* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2003).

6 Dance topics represent different social classes in *La villana de Xetafa* (1621) by Lope de Vega, cited in Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses*, clxxx. On music and dance in eighteenth-century Spanish theatre see Rainer Kleinertz, ed., *Teatro y música en España (siglo XVIII): actas del simposio internacional, Salamanca 1994* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1996), and Joaquín Álvarez and Begoña Lolo, eds, *Teatro y música en España: los géneros breves en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2008).

7 Ramón de la Cruz, *El fandango de candil*, lines 11–15.

8 Ramón de la Cruz, *El fandango de candil*, lines 410 (violin) and 442 (guitar).

9 Faustino Núñez, *Guía comentada de música y baile preflamencos (1750–1808)* (Barcelona: Carena, 2008), 359–365.



that followed pan-European trends increased steadily in royal and aristocratic courts, resulting in a relatively high number of printed publications from 1750 onwards. Moreover, the great popularity of the violin stimulated the expansion of the local music market and the exchange of violin music between Madrid and other European capitals.<sup>10</sup> One may therefore ask: would it have been shocking for Ramón de la Cruz's audience to see a violinist, rather than a guitarist, perform seguidillas or fandangos? Or would it just have been less effective in dramatic terms?

These questions are connected to broader ones regarding not only the functions of the violin in Madrid's musical life, but also the shaping of a 'Spanish' musical identity in the second half of the eighteenth century. As is well known, that period witnessed the rise of *majismo* or *casticismo*, an aristocratic fashion for imitating the costumes, manners, music and dance of Madrid's underclass. By the 1770s it had been taken up by such painters as Francisco de Goya y Lucientes and Ramón Bayeu y Subías,<sup>11</sup> by noblewomen who were influential in setting fashion, such as the thirteenth Duchess of Alba (famously portrayed by Goya in *maja* costume),<sup>12</sup> and by satirical writers who lampooned French music and dance, including Juan Fernández de Rojas and Juan Antonio de Iza Zamácola.<sup>13</sup> Historiography has interpreted *majismo* as a reaction against foreign cultural trends, especially French.<sup>14</sup> The same opposition is represented through specific characters in the *tonadillas* from the last third of the eighteenth century.<sup>15</sup> In the amateur-music market, *casticismo* resulted in a great increase in the popularity of guitar playing, and the instrument became an unequivocal symbol of national identity.<sup>16</sup> Between

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- 10 These are some of the main conclusions of Ana Lombardia, 'Violin Music in Mid-18th-Century Madrid: Contexts, Genres, Style' (PhD dissertation, Universidad de La Rioja, 2015), 727–743. Actually, Italian violin sonatas and French courtly dances also circulated in keyboard and guitar versions in early eighteenth-century Madrid. Relevant bibliography includes Monica Hall, 'The Guitar Anthologies of Santiago de Murcia', two volumes (PhD dissertation, Open University, 1983); Craig H. Russell, *Santiago de Murcia's 'Códice Saldivar No. 4': A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Genoneva Gálvez, ed., *Flores de música*, two volumes (Galapagar, Madrid: Fidelity Música, 2007); and Miguel Ángel Marín, 'La recepción de Corelli en Madrid (ca. 1680–ca. 1810)', in *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica: nuove prospettive d'indagine musicologica e interdisciplinare nel 350° anniversario della nascita*, ed. Gregory Barnett (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 573–637.
- 11 Significantly, both Goya and Bayeu made oil paintings on the subject *El majo de la guitarra* (*Majo with guitar*), respectively dated 1779 and c1786. See Museo Nacional del Prado, *Galería online* <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/majo-with-a-guitar/7a0c8af6-ca19-4571-ba71-33396a184ed6> and <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/el-majo-de-la-guitarra/76c52c9b-5844-4f63-9279-80b2f8ed7458> (22 April 2020).
- 12 Francisco de Goya, *Portrait of the Duchess of Alba*, 1797. Hispanic Society of America, New York; reproduction and description in Emil Krén and Daniel Marx, *The Web Gallery of Art* <https://www.wga.hu> (16 January 2020).
- 13 Juan Fernández de Rojas, *El Libro á la moda / traducido del frances al castellano* (Madrid: Imprenta del Consejo de Indias, 1785), and Juan Antonio de Iza Zamácola, *El libro de moda o Ensayo de la historia de los Currutacos, Pirracas y Madamitas de nuevo cuño* (Madrid: Fermín Villalpando, 1795). De Iza used the nickname 'Don Preciso', meaning 'Mr Exact', in several satirical texts of the 1790s.
- 14 For an overview of *majismo* see Antonio Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española: Siglo XVIII*, fifth edition (Madrid: Alianza, 2006; originally published, 1985), 302–314. On *majismo* and courting see Carmen Martín Gaité, *Usos amorosos del dieciocho en España* (Madrid: Anagrama, 1987).
- 15 The musical entr'actes known as *tonadillas* often feature characters from different places who have their own ways of speaking or dancing. See María José Ruiz Mayordomo, 'El papel de la danza en la tonadilla escénica', in *Paisajes sonoros en el Madrid el siglo XVIII: La tonadilla escénica*, ed. Begoña Lolo (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2003), 60–71; Aurélie Pessarrodona, 'Representaciones musicales de lo francés en tonadillas dieciochescas', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 46 (2016), 167–193; and Elisabeth Le Guin, 'Tonadillas and Diplomacia in Enlightenment Madrid', *Early Music* 40/3 (2012), 421–440. Le Guin discusses Pablo Esteve's *La Avellanera y dos franceses* (1767); the protagonist is an Andalusian woman who sings seguidillas and represents the authenticity of Spaniards, in contrast to ridiculed Frenchmen.
- 16 Javier Suárez Pajares, 'El auge de la guitarra moderna en España', in *La música en España en el siglo XVIII*, ed. Malcolm Boyd, Juan José Carreras and José Máximo Leza (Madrid: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 251–270, and Ricardo



roughly 1770 and 1810, there was a large market in Madrid for chamber compositions based on folkloric music, especially *tiranas*, *seguidillas*, *boleros* and *fandangos*.<sup>17</sup>

Foreign visitors to Spain were fascinated by this music, and especially by the fandango; they regarded it as the epitome of Spanish cultural identity, which was purportedly passionate and irrational. In travel diaries, correspondence and literary works, the dance is described as lascivious and the music as exotic – that is, non-European.<sup>18</sup> Well-known accounts include those by James Harris Jr, Giacomo Casanova, Richard Twiss and Pierre-Augustin de Beaumarchais.<sup>19</sup> Examples of theatrical and operatic works that make use of the fandango include *Don Juan* by Gluck (1761), Beaumarchais's play *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro* (1778), and the opera based on that play, Da Ponte and Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786).<sup>20</sup> There is no doubt that the fandango played a central role in the shaping of musical 'Spanishness'.

Paradoxically, this dance-song type, emerging around the turn of the eighteenth century, was probably the result of a complex process of hybridization involving not only Iberian elements but also Latin American (and possibly African American) ones. In 1732 the Real Academia Española published the earliest known definition:

Fandango. [1] Baile introducido por los que han estado en los Reinos de las Indias, que se hace al son de un tañido mui alegre y festivo. [2] Por ampliacion se toma por qualquiera funcion de banquete, festejo u holgura à que concurren muchas personas.<sup>21</sup>

Fandango. [1] A dance introduced [to Spain] by those who have been in the kingdoms of the Indies, which is performed to very joyful and festive strumming. [2] In a broader sense, it is understood as any banquet, party or leisure activity attended by many people.

It seems no coincidence that one of the earliest Iberian sources of this music contains a 'Fandango Indiano' (Fandango from the [West] Indies).<sup>22</sup> A plausible theory is that it arrived from the American colonies via the

Aleixo, *La guitarra en Madrid (1750–1808): Con un catálogo de la música de ese periodo conservada en bibliotecas madrileñas* (Madrid: SEdeM, 2016).

- 17 The popularity of 'national' musical topics is particularly evident in the advertisements published in the Madrid press; see Miguel-Ángel Marín, 'El mercado de la música', in *La música en el siglo XVIII*, ed. José Máximo Leza (Madrid, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014), 439–461.
- 18 Scholarly literature on travellers' views of the fandango is relatively plentiful. One of the most complete studies is still Judith Etzion, 'The Spanish Fandango: From Eighteenth-Century Lasciviousness to Nineteenth-Century Exoticism', *Anuario musical* 48 (1993), 229–250. Based on the examination of numerous descriptions dated between 1760 and 1850, Etzion argues that eighteenth-century visitors (especially the French and the British) portrayed the fandango as the symbol of the Spaniard's passionate and irrational character. Their predominantly negative view was connected to the construction of the Black Legend; it turned into a positive, picturesque view in the nineteenth century, as *Carmen* illustrates.
- 19 Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732–1780* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 534–535 (letter dated 9 February 1769), 574 (letter dated 1 January 1770); Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773* (London: author, 1775), 156–157; Pierre-Augustin de Beaumarchais, letter dated 24 December 1764, cited in Etzion, 'The Spanish Fandango', 235; Giacomo Casanova, memoirs, 1789–1798, volume 10, chapter 12 and volume 11, chapter 1; Spanish translation in Giacomo Casanova, *Memorias de España*, trans. Ángel Crespo (Barcelona: Àltera, 1995), 41–46.
- 20 In Beaumarchais's play, the fandango appears in Act 4 Scene 9. In Mozart's opera, it appears in the finale of Act 3. Different interpretations of the dramatic function and meaning of the fandango in this particular opera scene are proposed in Dorothea Link, 'The Fandango Scene in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 133/1 (2008), 69–92, and Craig H. Russell, 'The Fandango in Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*: The Prism of Revolution in the Enlightenment', in *The Global Reach of the Fandango*, ed. K. Meira Goldberg and Antoni Pizà (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 418–442.
- 21 Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de Autoridades*, volume 3 (Madrid: Francisco de Hierro, 1732), 719.
- 22 'Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra escojidas de los mejores autores', manuscript, 1705. Biblioteca Nacional de España, M. 811. Available at Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?>



ports of Seville and Cádiz, and once in Andalusia was hybridized with pre-existing musical schemata (such as the *jácara*, which features a similar harmonic and rhythmic structure).<sup>23</sup> In 1712 the clergyman Manuel Martí Zaragoza described ‘a dance of Cádiz, which has always been known for its obscenity’: this was probably the fandango.<sup>24</sup> Over the following decades the dance spread throughout the Iberian Peninsula, to reach a climax of popularity in the second half of the eighteenth century. Nowadays, after over three hundred years of dissemination and transformation, ‘fandango’ is not a single, clearly defined phenomenon, but an umbrella term that refers to a remarkably wide set of musical patterns and dance types in specific social settings.<sup>25</sup> In part, this is a result of the metonymic relationship between specific social gatherings and the music performed in them,<sup>26</sup> as already pointed out in the 1732 definition.

To date, scholarship on eighteenth-century instrumental fandangos has focused mainly on the repertory for solo plucked instruments, keyboard and string quintet. Examples include the well-known stylized fandangos attributed to Santiago de Murcia (c1732), Domenico Scarlatti (before 1757), Antonio Soler (before 1783) and Luigi Boccherini (1771, 1788 and 1798).<sup>27</sup> By way of contrast, the role of solo violin music in the dissemination of this musical pattern and, more broadly, in the shaping of a supposedly ‘Spanish’ musical identity has been overlooked. This article aims to address this lacuna by analysing and putting into context eight

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- [id=000055012&page=1](#) (16 January 2020). This source contains varied dance pieces in guitar tablature, including fandangos (pages 103, 112–113 and 140) and other supposedly colonial genres such as the *zarambeque* (108) and *guineo* (145). The ‘Fandango Indiano’ appears on page 140. See Craig H. Russell, ‘Imported Influences in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Guitar Music in Spain’, in *España en la música de Occidente: actas del congreso internacional celebrado en Salamanca, 29 de octubre – 5 de noviembre de 1985, ‘año europeo de la música’*, ed. Emilio Casares, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta and José López-Calo (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, 1987), 385–403.
- 23 Faustino Núñez, ‘Fandango. I. España’, in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares, José López-Calo and Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, ten volumes (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 1999–2002), volume 4, 923–932. Núñez claims that the ending of the term ‘fandango’ in ‘-ngo’ points to an African American origin. On the harmonic similarities between the *jácara* and the fandango see Miguel-Ángel Berlanga, ‘The Fandangos of Southern Spain in the Context of Other Spanish and American Fandangos’, in *The Global Reach of the Fandango*, ed. Goldberg and Pizà, 12–28. Actually, no single geographic origin can be traced for most Latin American and Iberian dance-song types of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which should be understood as the result of hybridization processes and the constant circulation of musical practices. In the case of Portugal and Brazil, Rogério Budasz states that such genres as the *modinha* expressed ‘an identity that was neither African nor Portuguese’; see Rogério Budasz, ‘Black Guitar-Players and Early African-Iberian Music in Portugal and Brazil’, *Early Music* 35/1 (2007), 19.
- 24 Manuel Martí Zaragoza, letter in Latin, dated 1712. Martí Zaragoza does not actually use the term ‘fandango’, as is pointed out in José-Francisco Ortega Castejón, ‘Una carta latina del deán Martí no bien entendida’, *Myrtia* 29 (2014), 302.
- 25 A recent collection of essays shows the polysemy of the term ‘fandango’ and the enormous diversity of musical and social contexts in which it has appeared from the eighteenth century to the present: Goldberg and Pizà, eds, *The Global Reach of the Fandango*. According to the editors, ‘fandango’ is currently ‘a broad family of interrelated fandango music and dance genres . . . that went on to constitute important parts of regional expressive culture’ in Latin America and Spain (xiv).
- 26 Berlanga, ‘The Fandangos of Southern Spain’.
- 27 Critical editions of the fandangos by Murcia, Scarlatti and Soler appear respectively in Russell, *Santiago de Murcia’s Códice Saldivar No. 4*; Rosario Álvarez Martínez, ed., *José Herrando, Domenico Scarlatti, Francisco Courcelle, José [Blasco] de Nebra y Agustino Massa: obras inéditas para tecla* (Madrid: SEdeM, 1984); Frederick Marvin, ed., *Padre Antonio Soler: Fandango* (New York: Mills Music, 1957); and Samuel Rubio, ed., *Fandango de Antonio Soler* (Madrid: UME, 1971). Boccherini’s most famous fandango is that of String Quintet Op. 40 No. 2/G341 (1788), reused in the Quintet with guitar G448 (1798). He also made use of the fandango in one of the earliest works he composed in Spain, the String Quintet Op. 10 No. 3/G267 (1771), analysed in Matteo Giuggioli, ‘Quintetto “afandangado”: Il giovane Boccherini e il richiamo del fandango’, *Boccherini Online* 4 (2011), 24–39.



different violin fandangos from the period c1731–1775: these are mostly anonymous and include previously unknown pieces. Some of them were conceived as functional dance music, while others were clearly intended as chamber music. As will be shown, this particular musical pattern was mixed with pan-European trends in instrumental music throughout the violin repertory, and such a mixture challenges traditional discourses on the exoticism of eighteenth-century ‘Spanish’ music.

#### EARLY VIOLIN FANDANGOS: THE CATALONIA SOURCES

Fandango music circulated predominantly via aural transmission and, judging from travellers’ descriptions, its performance was semi-improvised; it did not feature regular, predictable structures, but was instead freely varied to suit the specific dancers taking part in any given performance.<sup>28</sup> The degree of difference between real-life performances remains within the realm of speculation and is impossible to determine. As is the case with other vernacular dance-song types from before the era of sound recording, the surviving musical sources must be interpreted with caution, for any transcription implies a previous act of interpretation.<sup>29</sup> Most likely, the vast majority of the known eighteenth-century fandango scores were copied by professional musicians who ‘domesticated’ the irregular dance-song of popular tradition in order to make it understandable to classically trained musicians and easy for amateurs to perform.

Despite this limitation, some general musical features of the eighteenth-century instrumental fandango can be deduced.<sup>30</sup> It generally consists of a set of variations (*diferencias*) on an isorhythmic pattern based on a chordal ostinato that alternates between the minor and Phrygian modes, most commonly D minor–A major, D minor–G minor–A major and A minor–E major. The harmonic cycle lasts for six or twelve beats; that is, two or four bars in 3/4 or 6/8 time.<sup>31</sup> Another common feature is the use of descending-scale melodies; a characteristic head-motif is Bb–A–G–F–E–D (in D minor).<sup>32</sup> In some cases, there is a central contrasting section in the relative major, often called ‘*subida*’ (literally ‘ascent’), resulting in an ABA ternary form (fandango–*subida*–fandango).<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, doubts remain as to the duple- vs triple-time accentuation of the eighteenth-century fandango. Most chamber-music examples are written in 3/4 time, but several plucked-instrument sources include fandango accompaniments where strumming would suggest 6/8.<sup>34</sup> Most likely, within a predominantly triple-time structure some duple-time passages would be introduced, resulting in hemiola and even polyrhythm.<sup>35</sup>

28 Alan Jones, ‘Emergence and Transformations of the Fandango’, in *The Global Reach of the Fandango*, ed. Goldberg and Pizà, 518–535.

29 Stanley Boorman, ‘Composition–Copying–Performance–Re-Creation: The Matrix of Stemmatic Problems for Early Music’, in *L’edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario*, ed. Renato Borghi and Pietro Zappalà (Lucca: LIM, 1995), 45–55.

30 The current article focuses on the eighteenth-century instrumental fandango, understood as a harmonic-rhythmic pattern originating in folk music and later absorbed and stylized by art music. For a useful classification of all the types of music named ‘fandango’ see Peter Manuel, ‘The Fandango Complex in the Spanish Atlantic: A Panoramic View’, in *The Global Reach of the Fandango*, ed. Goldberg and Pizà, 2–11.

31 The *jácara* and the fandango share the same harmonic structure, as shown in Berlanga, ‘The Fandangos of Southern Spain’. On the bimodality of the fandango in flamenco see also Lola Fernández Marín, ‘La bimodalidad en las formas del fandango y en los cantes de Levante: origen y evolución’, *Revista de investigación sobre flamenco* 4 (2011), 37–53.

32 Etzion, ‘The Spanish Fandango’, 243–250.

33 For example, Pablo Minguet’s bandurria fandango, in 3/4 and D minor, features an F major *subida* section, after which it seems reasonable to continue playing variations on the fandango pattern. See Pablo Minguet, *Reglas, y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos* (Madrid: Minguet, c1754), bandurria booklet, final plate.

34 This issue is examined in numerous music examples from a wide chronology in Guillermo Castro, ‘A vueltas con el fandango: nuevos documentos de estudio y análisis de la evolución rítmica en el género del fandango’, *Sinfonía virtual* 24 (2013), 1–132, and Guillermo Castro, ‘Rhythmic Evolution in the Spanish Fandango: Binary and Ternary Rhythms’, in *The Global Reach of the Fandango*, ed. Goldberg and Pizà, 120–152.

35 An example of hemiola and polyrhythm in fandangos is José de Nebra’s seguidilla-fandango ‘Tempestad grande, amigo’ from the zarzuela *Vendado es amor, no es ciego* (Madrid, 1744). It is scored for soprano, tenor, two violins and basso



In folkloric and theatrical contexts, fandango music was generally performed by singers and players of plucked instruments, in charge of the melody and the accompaniment respectively; sometimes the same performer sang and played simultaneously.<sup>36</sup> Other instruments could be used to double the sung melody or indeed simply replace the singer; several musical sources point to the use of the violin for this purpose. To date, the earliest identifiable notations of fandango melodies that are clearly intended for violin are three examples preserved in two different manuscripts in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona: 'Manifestación de relevantes aplausos de la música' (c1731)<sup>37</sup> and 'Folias, Ballets, Sardanas y moltas otras cosas' (c1731?).<sup>38</sup> Both are lengthy miscellaneous violin-music compilations of Catalan origin, as is clear from the use of Catalan vocabulary and references to events that took place in Barcelona.

The 'Manifestación' manuscript has a didactic function: the prologue discusses fundamentals of music theory, violin tuning and violin scales (fols xi–xii), and the first two sections bear the headings 'Classe I' and 'Classe II' (Lesson I and Lesson II). This manuscript contains over five hundred violin pieces in the normal treble clef (G<sub>2</sub>), including dances, marches and *diferencias* on various patterns, both international (such as minuets) and native Spanish, such as 'El Fandango' (fol. 249r, henceforth *Catalonia Fandango 1*). The other manuscript, possibly copied a few years later, is an anthology of violin repertory that was already becoming old-fashioned at the time it was copied, as its complete title makes clear: 'Follias, Ballets, Sardanas, Contradansas, Minuets, Balls, Pasapies, y moltas altres cosas de aquell temps vell, que ara son poch usadas; pero ab tot son bonicas y molt alegres' (Folias, ballets, sardanas, country dances, minuets, balls, passepieds and many other things from the old times that are seldom practised today, but which are still beautiful and very lively). This source contains two fandango melodies: 'Lo fandango' (fol. 17r, henceforth *Catalonia Fandango 2*) and 'Fandango' (fol. 60r, henceforth *Catalonia Fandango 3*).

Transcribing the Catalonia fandangos is problematic, for they do not match naturally the rhythmic-harmonic fandango patterns described above. The scribes, possibly copying from earlier sources, made obvious errors: some bars are too short in No 1, some bars are too long in No. 2, and Nos 1 and 3 contain inconsistent double bars that do not fit into an isometric pattern. Different transcriptions have been proposed by Maurice Esses and Guillermo Castro, but these are not completely convincing, mainly because they do not fit with a fandango bass.<sup>39</sup> Assuming that each piece is based on a regular isometric pattern over a chordal

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continuo. In the refrain the violins play a typical descending fandango melody in 6/8, while the bass plays a six-beat ostinato in 3/4 (bars 11–14). Later, when the voices have the words 'son fandanguítico' (fandango-like music), the violins' accents reflect the 3 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 2 hemiola pattern (bars 35–38). See the critical edition and commentary in María Salud Álvarez, ed., *José de Nebra. Vendado es amor, no es ciego: zarzuela* (Zaragoza: Instituto Fernando el Católico CSIC / Sección de Música Antigua Excma. Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 1999).

36 For example, the fandango is performed in two theatrical works that circulated in Madrid in the 1720s, José de Cañizares's comic *mojiganga* entitled *Los sopones* (manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-Mn), R/14517 [29]) and the anonymous *Entremés del novio de la aldeana*, published in *Arcadia de entremeses: Escritos por los ingenios más clásicos de España* (Madrid: Angel Pasqual Rubio, 1723), 81–94; copy in E-Mn, R/8207. In this *entremés* Juanelo sings the fandango while accompanying himself on the vihuela (86–91).

37 'Manifestación de relevantes aplausos de la música' (c1731), Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona (E-Bbc), M. 1452. The dating of this manuscript is based on the presence of a march (fol. 190v) that makes reference to a masquerade held in Barcelona in 1731; see Maurice Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain during the 17th and Early 18th Centuries*, three volumes (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 1992–1994), volume 1, 336–337. A facsimile of the manuscript can be viewed at Consorci de Serveis Universitaris de Catalunya, *Memòria Digital de Catalunya* <http://mdc.csuc.cat/cdm/ref/collection/partiturBC/id/5332> (3 January 2020).

38 'Folias, Ballets, Sardanas y moltas otras cosas', E-Bbc, M. 741/22. Esses proposes the same date for this manuscript and *Manifestación*, based on their similar physical features and contents; see Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, volume 1, 337–339. See the facsimile of the manuscript at Consorci de Serveis Universitaris de Catalunya, *Memòria Digital de Catalunya* <http://mdc.csuc.cat/cdm/compoundobject/collection/partiturBC/id/17851/rec/1> (3 January 2020).

39 Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, volume 2, 164–167; Castro, 'A vueltas con el fandango', 5–6 and 63–64. Neither Esses nor Castro provide a bass or add the melodic beats that are necessary to complete regular patterns in



ostinato, alternative transcriptions can be proposed. As regards accentuation, I have assumed that the pattern of the previous bars is continued; when two options are plausible, this is indicated by *ossia*.

*Catalonia Fandango 1*, written in 3/4, features the usual D minor–A major harmonic pattern (see [Example 1<sup>40</sup>](#)). A natural key signature is used, and the sharp sign for the note C is only indicated in the first instance (bar 2), but can be assumed for the rest of the piece. Judging from the first eight bars, this fandango is made up of four-bar *diferencias* on an anacrusic D minor–A major–A major–D minor chordal pattern. The beaming suggests that the piece combines binary and ternary accentuation, in bars 1 and 4 respectively. From bar 9 onwards, numerous bars lack half a beat (bars 10–15, 18–19 and 22–23). As regards the beaming, it seems likely that a quaver is lacking in the second or third beat. Two possible solutions can be suggested: a typical seguidilla rhythm ([Example 1](#), main staff) or else a typical jota rhythm ([Example 1](#), *ossia*); both are also found in eighteenth-century fandangos.<sup>41</sup>

*Catalonia Fandango 2*, written in 3/8 and featuring the usual D minor–A major harmonic pattern, is a standard on-the-beat fandango that starts with the typical descending head-motive ([Example 2](#)). Interestingly, this is written in a slower tempo than the rest of the piece, with quavers instead of semiquavers, as if to summon the dancers before they actually begin the dance, which presumably occurs at bar 3. A transcription of this piece today is quite straightforward, notwithstanding the rhythmic inaccuracies of the first and last bars.

*Catalonia Fandango 3*, in 3/4, is harmonically more distinct ([Example 3](#)). It does not feature a regular chordal ostinato. *Diferencia 1* and *Diferencia 2* feature an implied A minor–E major–A minor–A minor ostinato (assuming that bar 5 is missing in the source). By contrast, *Diferencia 3* and *Diferencia 4* feature an implied A minor–D minor–E major–A minor ostinato. G $\sharp$  is only notated once (bar 6) but can be assumed in parallel melodic contexts (bar 2). However, it is likely that the scales starting in bar 16 should retain the G natural; that is, it seems that bars 16–19 are not *Diferencia 5*, but instead a *Subida* section featuring a hybrid harmonic sonority, between C major and A minor. *Diferencia 5* actually starts in bar 20 and features an implied A minor–D minor–E major–E minor bass. By adding half a bar in A minor harmony, this variation can be linked back to the beginning. This example suggests that not all pieces inspired by the fandango were necessarily based on a regular harmonic pattern. Yet the scarcity of contemporaneous melodic sources for the fandango and the idiosyncrasies of this particular scribe – the other two fandangos also contain notational inaccuracies – do not allow for definitive conclusions about this matter.

Further analysis shows that these three examples are not exceptional, but that the violin was frequently used to perform dance-orientated and popular-music fandangos. First, it is clear that the usual fandango harmonic patterns are particularly idiomatic for the violin. The D minor, A major, G minor, A minor and E major chords can all be performed with the inclusion of open strings, while two-octave melodies in A minor or D minor are playable using just first to third positions in the left hand. Second, within broader contexts, there are indications in several stage and religious works from the 1730s and 1740s that the

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these three fandangos. Moreover, Esses uses rhythmic cells that are not characteristic of the fandango, such as crotchet – two semiquavers – three quavers (*Catalonia Fandango 1*, bar 9 onwards). This is pointed out by Castro, who uses rhythmic cells that are typical of fandangos (according to previous studies) but does not identify the violin as the solo instrument.

<sup>40</sup> The editorial criteria for Examples 1–3 are as follows: The figured bass in small print is editorial. Accidentals that are redundant in modern notation have been omitted. All editorial additions are indicated by square brackets. Asterisks mark notes whose duration or pitch differs from the sources. Beaming generally follows the sources. Critical notes: No. 1: the double bars of the source are omitted; there is six-quaver beaming in bars 2–3, 5–7, 9 and 24–31. No. 2: the first note of bar 1 is a dotted crotchet, exceeding the bar's duration; the source contains a minim and crotchet in bar 16; vertical wavy lines at the beginning and the end are interpreted as repeat signs. No. 3: there is three-quaver beaming in the upbeat of bar 1; combinations of two-quaver and four-quaver beaming appear in bars 2, 4, 6, 9, 10 and 13.

These transcriptions can be compared with facsimiles of the manuscripts, available online at Memòria Digital de Catalunya <http://mdc.csuc.cat/cdm/landingpage/collection/partiturBC>.

<sup>41</sup> Castro, 'Rhythmic Evolution in the Spanish Fandango', 124–126.





The musical score consists of two staves: Violin (top) and Bass (bottom). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The piece is marked with several difficulty levels: [Dif. 1], [Dif. 2], [Dif. 3], [Dif. 4], [Dif. 5], [Dif. 6], [Dif. 7], and [Dif. 8]. The Violin part features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often with slurs and accents. The Bass part is primarily composed of sustained notes, some with slurs, providing a steady accompaniment. Measure numbers 7, 14, 20, and 26 are clearly marked at the beginning of their respective systems.

Example 1 *Catalonia Fandango 1*. Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona (E-Bbc), M. 1452, fol. 249r. Critical edition by Ana Lombardía

fandango is to be performed on the violin. Examples include the sacred *Jácara de fandanguillo*. *Villansico [sic] a 5 de Navidad con violines* (manuscript from Málaga, 1733) by Juan Francés de Iribarren<sup>42</sup> and the seguidilla-fandango ‘Tempestad grande, amigo’ from the zarzuela *Vendado es amor, no es ciego* by José de Nebra (Madrid, 1744).<sup>43</sup> Third, it must be remembered that although travellers’ descriptions frequently

42 Manuscript in the Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Málaga (E-MA), 95-1.

43 Critical edition and commentary in Álvarez, ed., *José de Nebra*.



Example 2 *Catalonia Fandango 2*. Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona (E-Bbc), M. 741/22, fol. 17r. Critical edition by Ana Lombardía

Example 3 *Catalonia Fandango 3*. Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona (E-Bbc), M. 741/22, fol. 60r. Critical edition by Ana Lombardía

associate fandangos with the guitar, this does not necessarily discount the possibility of the violin being played in the same performance. In fact, from the mid-seventeenth century the two instruments were used together to perform popular songs and dances; they shared repertory and even notation systems



Figure 1 José Rodríguez de León, *Seis seguidillas voleras [sic] para cantar con acompañamiento de guitarra* (Madrid: Imprenta Nueva de Música, 1801). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn), M/2463(3). Title-page. Used by permission

(tablature).<sup>44</sup> Moreover, several violin and guitar tutors provide instructions on how to tune the two instruments together to play dance music, both Spanish and foreign. For instance, in 1773 Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán explicitly mentioned the performance of ‘minuets, marches, dances, canarios, etc.’ with violin and guitar.<sup>45</sup> Fourth, some iconographical sources attest to the use of violin and

44 Several musical sources show that the violin and the guitar shared repertory and notation systems: the *Borrador de Libro de Cuentas del Colegio Imperial* (1652–1654), the Salamanca Manuscript (c1659), the Marqués de Bellpuig Manuscript (late seventeenth century), and the Torre de Juan Abad Manuscript (early eighteenth century). See Juan Lorenzo Jorquera Opazo, ‘Presencia de la música en la Compañía de Jesús de Madrid durante la primera mitad del siglo XVII’, 2 volumes (PhD dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2016), volume 1, 361–377; Ana Lombardía, ‘Melodías para versos silenciosos: bailes, danzas y canciones para violín en el Manuscrito de Salamanca (ca. 1659)’, *Diagonal: An Ibero-American Music Review* 3/1 (2018), 1–39; Francisco Valdivia, ‘El archilaúd en España: una obra inédita en la Biblioteca de Catalunya’, *Hispanica Lyra: revista de la Sociedad de la Vihuela* 3 (2006), 8–15; and Ana Lombardía, Javier Moya and Francisco Valdivia, ‘Un manuscrito para guitarra y violín de principios del siglo XVIII en Torre de Juan Abad’, *Revista de musicología* 42/2 (2019), 477–505.

45 Instructions on how to tune the violin and the guitar together appear in Manuel de Paz, *Medula del canto llano, y órgano* (Madrid: Ibarra, 1767), 17–18, and in Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán, *Explicación de la guitarra* (Cádiz, 1773), 70–72, critical edition by Ángel Medina (Granada: Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 1994). In Vargas’s chapter 17, entitled ‘Del modo de acompañar con la guitarra al violín y otros instrumentos por los signos del rasgueo’ (On how to accompany the violin and other instruments with the guitar using strumming notation), the author states: ‘If you wish to play some minuets, marches, dances, canarios, etc., you may ask the violinist what key he uses, if the guitarist does not know it’ (‘Si se quieren tañer algunos minuets, marchas, danzas, canarios, etc. se preguntará al del violín (si el de la guitarra no lo conoce) por qué signo lo hace’) (71–72 in the original; 32 in the modern edition).



guitar for the performance of 'Spanish' music. An example is the title-page of *Seis seguidillas voleras [sic] para cantar con acompañamiento de guitarra* by José Rodríguez de León (Madrid, 1801). This engraving shows two dancers playing the castanets with arms held open, accompanied by players of violin, flute and guitar, with an audience of a dozen people, some of them wearing *majo*-style costumes (Figure 1). It is also worth noting that the violin is used in some of the traditional fandango genres currently practised in southern Spain.<sup>46</sup>

## INTERNATIONAL DISSEMINATION: THE STOCKHOLM SOURCES

Two hitherto unnoticed sets of fandango variations for violin and accompaniment, presumably conceived as listening-oriented chamber works, have been located in Sweden. The manuscript containing both works belongs to the music collection of Baron Carl Leuhusen (1724–1795), part of which is preserved in the Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm (S-Skma). Between 1750 and 1756 Leuhusen worked at the Swedish embassy in Madrid, where he was *chargé d'affaires* between 1752 and 1755. This polymath diplomat wrote several books on economic issues, sponsored botanical publications and collected a large library on miscellaneous topics.<sup>47</sup> He was also an avid music-lover. In the Spanish capital he attended opera performances and private musical gatherings, was in touch with the Royal Chapel cellists Domenico Porretti and Juan Orri, visited the latter in his own house and showed interest in buying a cello.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, the diplomat was interested in local dances, as shown by a letter dated 1752 in which he regrets that, owing to the mourning for the death of Baron Fleming (former *chargé d'affaires* in Madrid) he was not allowed to attend the balls at which minuets, country dances, seguidillas and fandangos were danced.<sup>49</sup>

Leuhusen collected music manuscripts copied in Madrid and containing chamber works, such as a set of twelve *oberturas* and *sinfonías* (c1753) by the Spanish violinist-composer Vicente Basset (*fl.* 1748–1762), scored for three or four bowed instruments.<sup>50</sup> He also collected songs based on folkloric music, such as *Seguidillas nuevas de Farinelo* (1754), attributed to Farinelli (Carlo Broschi).<sup>51</sup> Leuhusen's collection also contains three of the printed tutors on musical instruments by Pablo Minguet, namely his so-called *Reglas* (rules) for learning to play the violin, the guitar and the bandurria.<sup>52</sup> No doubt the diplomat wished to take home some 'exotic' musical souvenirs that would have been difficult to obtain outside Spain.

This is also the case with the manuscript entitled 'Fandango' (S-Skma, Leuhusens saml. 1930/1768), which, though catalogued in RISM, is still virtually unknown to musical scholarship.<sup>53</sup> The title-page bears the owner's initials, 'C. L.'. This undated source contains two works, each copied by a different hand and entitled simply *Fandango* (henceforth *Stockholm Fandango 1* and *Stockholm Fandango 2*). The manuscript can be tentatively dated to c1755, because of the timing of Leuhusen's stay in Madrid and his personal interest in the fandango, as well as a number of physical similarities between this musical source and specific music manuscripts preserved in the Spanish capital. The format (landscape quarto with ten staves per page) and the calligraphy of both music and text match those of several music manuscripts copied for Madrid's public

46 The violin is used to play fandangos in the Fiesta de Verdiales. See Berlanga, 'The Fandangos of Southern Spain'.

47 Several publications by Carl Leuhusen himself are preserved in the National Library of Sweden; see the catalogue at [www.kb.se](http://www.kb.se) (16 January 2020).

48 Marianne Tråvén, 'En svensk diplomats dagbok: musik i 1750-talets Madrid', in Gunilla Björkvall and Marianne Tråvén, eds, *Arkiven sjunger: Årsbok för Riksarkivet och landsarkiven* (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 2011), 32–59.

49 Letter to Sven Bunge (diplomat of the Swedish Embassy in Paris) written in Madrid on 28 February 1752. Tråvén, 'En svensk diplomats dagbok', 45.

50 Modern edition in Raúl Angulo, ed., *Vicente Basset: Oberturas y sinfonías* (Santo Domingo de la Calzada: Fundación Gustavo Bueno, 2013).

51 Tråvén, 'En svensk diplomats dagbok', 52–54.

52 Minguet, *Reglas, y advertencias generales*. As mentioned above, an example of a fandango appears in the bandurria booklet of this publication.

53 RISM, *RISM Opac* <https://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=4> (16 January 2020), no. 190017545.



theatres between 1757 and 1762. All of them contain music by Antonio Guerrero and bear the name of Basset in the violin 1 part.<sup>54</sup> In those years Basset was a member of María Hidalgo's company *orquesta* (a small ensemble featuring six to eight string and wind musicians).<sup>55</sup> In those years, introducing seguidillas and fandangos into theatre music was becoming more and more fashionable. For example, both genres appear in Guerrero's *La justa venganza* (1757),<sup>56</sup> and the seguidilla also appears in *La hixa de Jepte* (1761); the manuscript containing this work is noticeably similar to the one containing the fandangos.<sup>57</sup> There is not enough evidence to attribute these works to Guerrero or Basset, but it seems plausible that the latter, who was very likely in touch with the Swedish diplomat, obtained this music for him.

In the current state of research, the Stockholm fandangos are the earliest known examples of chamber-music violin fandangos, and some of the earliest chamber-music fandangos in general – only Murcia's and Scarlatti's are dated before 1760. Three facts suggest that these two sets of violin variations were most likely conceived as chamber works rather than functional dance music. First, they belong to the private collection of an amateur who collected other instrumental chamber works in Madrid, probably for performance in his own residence. Second, the violin part is technically demanding, containing devices including multiple stopping, jumps across the strings and fast arpeggios. Third, the second fandango features an unfigured accompaniment in the bass clef – that is, a melodic bass, which is often called 'bajo solo' (solo bass) in Spanish sources. This is precisely the same type of bass found in most of the accompanied violin sonatas copied or printed in Madrid between 1750 and 1770. Although the choice of accompanying instruments was very flexible, it seems that the cello, often called 'violón' in Spain, was the most common option.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, it is possible that Leuhusen himself played the accompaniment on the cello, given that he showed interest in the instrument during his stay in Madrid.

These fandangos are relatively lengthy, technically demanding for the soloist and particularly idiomatic for violin and cello. They are copied over five pages: two for the melodic part of the first fandango, two more for the melodic part of the second fandango, and one for the accompaniment.<sup>59</sup> The melodic parts are clearly conceived for violin – rather than other treble instruments used in Madrid at the time, such as the oboe and the flute – judging from the use of the treble clef, the range (g–a<sup>3</sup>) and, above all, the idiomatic instrumental writing. The accompaniment is copied in the bass clef, its range is appropriate for the cello (A–f) and it is unfigured for the most part (save for a big sharp sign indicating A major harmony at the beginning of the ostinato). Both sets of variations are based on the standard D minor–A major chordal ostinato in 3/4, featuring six-beat cycles (Figure 2b and Figure 2c). Their form is identical: typical head-motive (in this case, anacrusic in 3/4 time), variations on the A major–D minor ostinato, a brief *subida* in the relative major, and more variations. The first fandango is longer than the second, at 183 bars and 135 bars respectively. However, the durations are not fixed, since both copies are open-ended: in the last bar, repetition signs

54 Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Municipal (E-Mmh), Mus. 63-41, Mus. 60-6, Mus. 61-2 bis, Mus. 61-5, and Mus. 27-2, cited in Angulo, ed., *Vicente Basset: Oberturas y sinfonías*, 7.

55 Nicolás Álvarez Solar-Quintés, 'El compositor español José de Nebra (m. II-VII-1768): Nuevas aportaciones para su biografía', *Anuario musical* 9 (1954), 189.

56 E-Mmh, Mus. 61-12. The fandango appears in the instrumental introduction (crossed out in the surviving copies) and the seguidilla appears in the section 'Seguidillas – Teresa y todas' (seguidillas for Teresa [the main character] and all the rest [the choir]).

57 E-Mmh, Mus. 61-5. The seguidilla only appears in the individual instrumental parts. The resemblance between this manuscript and the *Stockholm Fandango 2* is remarkable. Both sources contain the repetition indication 'A la señal' ('To the sign'), with identical wording and the same shape for the 'Ñ' letter: E-Mmh, Mus. 61-5, violin 2, final page, last staff, and S-Skma, Leuhusens saml. 1930/1768, *Fandango 2*, 2, last staff.

58 The use of a melodic bass is specified in the titles of some collections of violin sonatas. Examples are Francisco Manalt, *Obra harmónica en seis sonatas de cámara de violín y bajo solo* (Madrid: Andrés Guinea, 1757), and Francesco Montali, *Sei sonate a violino e violoncello* (manuscript, 1754, formerly in Fundación Casa de Alba, Madrid (E-Mca)), description in José Subirá, *La música en la Casa de Alba: estudios históricos y biográficos* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1927), 143–153.

59 In an additional page, the incipit of the second piece is repeated.



Figure 2 Stockholm Fandangos. Musik- och teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm (S-Skma), Leuhusens saml., 1930/1768. Used by permission

- a. Title-page, detail
- b. *Stockholm Fandango 2*, Violin, page 1, introduction and variations 1–18
- c. *Stockholm Fandango 1*, Violin, page 2, bars 87–137 (the initial bars of each system are bars 87, 99, 110, 115 and 125)
- d. *Stockholm Fandango 2*, accompaniment



indicate that the music should start again at bar 2, right after the head-motive. Alternatively, one could hypothesize that additional variations may have been improvised. The accompaniment is different in the 'Subida' or 'Suvida' (No. 1, bars 87–97, and No. 2, bars 91–101; see [Figure 2d](#)).<sup>60</sup>

Both solo parts employ a variety of features from the standard vocabulary of eighteenth-century sonatas for solo violin: scales, arpeggios of various kinds, chromatic scales, double stops (thirds, sixths and octaves) and so on. Technical demands are higher in the first fandango, where the range reaches the violin's left-hand fifth position (a<sup>3</sup>), while it is limited to the first position in the second fandango (bb<sup>2</sup>). Neither piece needs complex fingerings, and much of the music can be played with the regular use of open strings, thus facilitating the performance of seemingly flashy technical devices (for example, No. 1, bars 124–126; [Figure 2c](#)). Other idiomatic gestures are the use of seeming dialogues between two different registers (No. 1, bars 107–110; [Figure 2c](#)), pedal notes, and groups of notes used as a pedal (No. 2, variations 14–17; [Figure 2b](#)). All of these resources are part of the *lingua franca* of eighteenth-century violin music, synthesized and spread through such collections as Corelli's Op. 5, which was known in Spain at least as early as 1709.<sup>61</sup> In the *Stockholm Fandango 1*, the technical difficulty increases towards the end (bars 113–183), containing double stops, jumping across strings, arpeggiated chords, fast scales and a final passage in the highest register.

The melodic variations feature great rhythmic variety, and contrasting cells are juxtaposed (for example, triplets and syncopation in No. 2, variations 53–54). The copyists generally use one-beat beaming (for example, four semiquavers, two quavers, and so on), but some bars feature two- or three-beat beaming, or even three-quaver beaming (for example, No. 2, variation 37). This presumably indicates accentuation changes from 3/4 to 6/8, and some hemiolas, as in other eighteenth-century instrumental fandangos. Consecutive variations are often interrelated, in a rhapsodic fashion, as if they were in fact a transcription of an improvised performance. For instance, the scales of variations 11–17 of the *Stockholm Fandango 2* are clearly conceived for performance with no breaks or repetitions ([Figure 2b](#)).

Although the uninterrupted flow of continuously juxtaposed variations lacks articulating 'gaps', the motivic variety of these fandangos resembles that of mid-century violin sonatas in the galant style. Well-known examples include the works of Locatelli and Tartini,<sup>62</sup> but there were some twenty violinist-composers, roughly half of them Italian and the other half Spanish, composing this kind of sonata in Madrid during the 1750s and 1760s.<sup>63</sup> Given that the violin vocabulary of these fandangos is highly conventional, it is not possible to propose a specific attribution, but their idiomatic writing points to a violinist-composer. Furthermore, variety focuses mainly on melodic and technical devices, rather than on formal and harmonic strategies (which are more characteristic of keyboardist-composers like Scarlatti and Soler, whose fandangos are more varied in this regard).

For all these reasons, the Stockholm fandangos constitute a unique witness to the merging of irregular fandango structures, the melodic variety of the galant-style accompanied violin sonata and the melodic bass that was typically used for the performance of this kind of sonata in Madrid. Leuhusen left Spain in 1756, taking

60 See the critical edition of the Stockholm fandangos in Ana Lombardía, ed., *Anónimo. Dos fandangos para violín y acompañamiento (ca. 1755) / Capricho para violín solo (ca. 1760–1770)* (Madrid: ICCMU, forthcoming).

61 Franco Piperno, 'Stile e classicità corelliani: un'indagine sulla scrittura strumentale', in *Studi corelliani V: atti del quinto congresso internazionale*, ed. Stefano La Via (Florence: Olschki, 1996), 77–113, and Miguel-Ángel Marín, 'La recepción de Corelli en Madrid (ca. 1680–ca. 1810)', 573–637.

62 On the standard features of galant-style violin sonatas see Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), 208–230.

63 Composers include Juan de Ledesma, José Herrando, Christiano Reynaldi and Francesco Montali, among others. See the critical editions and introductions in Lothar Siemens, ed., *Juan de Ledesma: cinco sonatas para violín y bajo solo* (Madrid: SEdeM, 1989); Lothar Siemens, ed., *José Herrando: tres sonatas para violín y bajo solo, y una más para flauta travesera o violín* (Madrid: SEdeM, 1987); and Ana Lombardía, ed., *Christiano Reynaldi: sonate di violino e basso opus 1 (1761) / Francesco Montali: sonatas a violín solo y bajo (1759)* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2019).



his music collection to Sweden.<sup>64</sup> In his property Degarö in Uppland (the province just north of Stockholm), the diplomat collected a large library containing economic, philological, historical and scientific literature.<sup>65</sup> Most likely the music collection was also taken there, where Leuhusen had a harpsichord in 1768.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, shortly after the return from Spain, on 3 April 1758, Leuhusen wrote a list of his winter entertainments being held in that property, and music was second on the list (only after literature).<sup>67</sup> One may speculate that the 'Spanish' scores may have been used in private musical gatherings there, perhaps making the 'exotic' violin fandango known to other Swedish music amateurs. Future research on Leuhusen's musical activities may allow this hypothesis to be confirmed. For now, however, these musical sources can be regarded as an early example of the dissemination of this musical pattern in northern Europe.

#### HYBRIDIZING THE FANDANGO: MIXED COUNTRY DANCES

A different combination of styles is found in another genre that originated in mid-eighteenth-century Spain and involved both the fandango and the violin: the mixed country dance. They can be considered the eighteenth-century equivalent of the nineteenth-century *potpourri* and the twentieth-century remix: some of the most commercially successful rhythmic-melodic patterns of the time were juxtaposed one after the other. Not only the music but also the steps were mixed, including those of supposedly 'native' dances, such as the seguidilla and the fandango, as well as others introduced to Spain from France, such as the minuet, the allemande and the country dance (*contradanza* in Spanish).

The latter, generally to be considered of English origin, was introduced into Spain from France in the first half of the eighteenth century, and soon Bartolomé Ferriol and Pablo Minguet described it in dance tutors in Spanish. They differentiate between English and French *contradanzas*, based on choreographic criteria (the English or 'long' type was danced by a flexible number of dancers in two rows, while the French or 'squared' type was danced by four couples forming a square).<sup>68</sup> The mixed country dances are documented by the tutors that were written in connection with the public masked balls of the late 1760s and 1770s. Such balls, supported by the Crown as part of a set of innovative political measures, were modelled on those of Paris and became some of the main social events in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Seville.<sup>69</sup> Amateurs were eager to learn the new dances, and that stimulated a large demand for tutors, usually published in small format so one could hold the book while dancing. Typically, dance handbooks include choreographic explanations on the right-hand page and the corresponding melodies on the opposite page, written in treble clef.

To date, several studies have paid attention to the dissemination and choreographic practice of mixed country dances,<sup>70</sup> but their connection to the violin repertory has been overlooked. Such a connection is clear given that violins were used precisely to play the melodies that were copied in the dance tutors, as

64 Before his collections were dispersed, they were stored at Börstorps Castle (Mariestad). See M. Tråvén, 'En svensk diplomats dagbok', 33.

65 Olof Kährström and Sebastian Casinge, *Linnés Nätverk: Utställning, Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket 13.12.2007 - 12.1.2008* (Stockholm: Kungliga Biblioteket, 2007), 71.

66 Tråvén, 'En svensk diplomats dagbok', 53–54.

67 Tråvén, 'En svensk diplomats dagbok', 54.

68 Clara Rico, 'La contradanza en España en el siglo XVIII: Ferriol y Boxeraus, Minget e Yrol y los bailes públicos', *Anuario musical* 64 (2009), 191–214; Bartolomé Ferriol, *Reglas útiles para los aficionados a danzar: provechoso divertimento de los que gustan tocar instrumentos y polyticas advertencias a todo genero de personas: adornado con varias laminas* (Capoa: Joseph Testore, 1745); and Pablo Minguet, *Breve explicación de diferentes danzas y contradanzas* (Madrid: Minguet, c1760). Illustrations of the dancers' position in 'English' and 'French' country dances appear in the dance treatises by Ferriol and Minguet; see the reproductions on pages 200 and 205 of Rico's article.

69 José Cepeda Adán and José Cepeda Gómez, 'El reformismo ilustrado: política y economía', in *Historia de Madrid*, ed. Antonio Fernández García (Madrid: CSIC, 2007), 289–328. Public masque balls are discussed on pages 312–315.

70 Rico, 'La contradanza en España en el siglo XVIII', and Jones, 'Emergence and Transformations of the Fandango'.





part of large orchestras of bowed and wind instruments. Tellingly, a handbook related to the 1768 Barcelona balls specifies two orchestras numbering forty-four musicians in total (providing specific musicians' names). The first orchestra had sixteen violins, four *baxos* (accompanying instruments, such as the cello and the double bass), two *clarines* (trumpets) and two *obueces* (oboes), while the second orchestra had fourteen violins, four *baxos*, two *trompas* (horns) and two *obueces* (oboes).<sup>71</sup> Although this handbook only gives the violin melodies, it specifies that 'the rest of the instrumental parts can be found at the house of Joseph Fábregas, composer of the music, Rey Square' ('Se hallarán los demás instrumentos à casa de Joseph Fábregas, autor de la música, Plaza del Rey').<sup>72</sup>

No doubt mixed country dances made up a part of the repertory of professional violinists, and most likely amateur violinists played them as well. By 1771, the violin had become sufficiently popular in Spain to stimulate the publication of four different printed tutors, all of them including music examples in the form of dances, mostly minuets.<sup>73</sup> The tutor by Manuel de Paz (Madrid, 1767) also includes a country dance, although it is confusingly called 'Fuga'.<sup>74</sup> Most likely, the target market for violin tutors overlapped with that for dance tutors: that is, middle- and upper-class amateurs wishing to acquaint themselves with the cosmopolitan musical fashions that had been recently imported from France. In other words, both activities were hobbies of the *petimetres*. In private rehearsals of country dances, one can imagine that both the music and the dance were performed by amateurs, including the violinists playing the melody.

Two well-known examples of mixed country dances whose music has survived in violin-range staff notation are *La miscelánea* (The miscellany) and *La fandanguera* (The fandango dance). Concordances are found in various country-dance compilations from Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia; one of the most complete is the manuscript 'Varias contradanzas con sus músicas' (Madrid, c1770).<sup>75</sup> In such compilations, country dances are divided into the two above-mentioned categories, according to their choreography: *contradanzas francesas* (French country dances), also called *contradanzas de a ocho* (eight-people country dances) or *contradanzas cuadradas* (squared country dances); and *contradanzas inglesas* (English country dances), also called *contradanzas largas* (long country dances). Both *La miscelánea* and *La fandanguera* are *contradanzas de a ocho*, as is indicated in *Varias contradanzas con sus músicas*.

The choreographical explanations given in this source make clear which type of music was performed in each section. *La miscelánea* is made up of four anacrusic phrases (Example 4): Alemanda (4 + 4 bars), Diferencia (a variation on the Alemanda, 4 + 4 bars), Seguidillas (6 bars) and Fandango (6 bars). There are no key signatures, and accidentals are lacking for the most part, but a D minor tonality is implied, with the exception of the opening gesture of the Diferencia, which is in the relative major (bars 9–12). It is explained that the *Fandango* section had a particular function, namely to make the dancers 'go back to

71 *Contradanzas que se han de baylar en el teatro de esta ciudad, en los Bayles de mascara del Carnaval de 1768, con su musica y explicacion de figuras* (Barcelona: Piferer, 1768), unnumbered [fol. 11r–v], copy in E-Mn, M/922. Luis Paret depicts the orchestra and dancers of Madrid's public balls in his famous oil painting *Baile en máscara* (c1767). Reproduction at Museo Nacional del Prado, *Galería Online* <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/baile-en-mascara/993b2b5a-c5c7-4938-b315-291986103c2b> (16 January 2020).

72 *Contradanzas que se han de baylar en el teatro de esta ciudad*, unnumbered [fol. 25v (verso of last folio)].

73 Pablo Minguet, *Reglas y advertencias generales para tañer el violín* (Madrid: Minguet, c1754); José Herrando, *Arte y puntual explicación del modo de tocar el violín* (Madrid, 1757); Paz, *Médula del canto llano*; Fernando Ferandiere, *Prontuario para el instrumentista de violín y cantor* (Málaga: Dignidad episcopal, 1771).

74 'Fuga', in Paz, *Médula del canto llano*, 119. This piece is identical to the country dance 'La Gentil' in Bartholomé Ferriol, *Reglas útiles para los aficionados a danzar* (Capoa: Testore, 1745), 70.

75 *Varias contradanzas con sus músicas*, manuscript, E-Mn, M/918. The date c1770 is based on concordances with several dance tutors. Rico, 'La contradanza en España en el siglo XVIII', 205–211.



[Alemanda]

[Diferencia]

Seguidillas

Fandango

[D.C.]

Example 4 Anonymous, 'La miscelánea de a ocho', in *Varias contradanzas con sus músicas*, No. 7 (Madrid, c1770). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn), M/918, fol. 7v. (All additions are in square brackets. Section titles are based on the choreographic descriptions in the same manuscript.)

[Contradanza]

[Minueto]

[Fandango] tres veces

[D.C.]

Example 5 Anonymous, 'La fandanguera de a ocho', in *Varias contradanzas con sus músicas*, No. 34 (Madrid, c1770). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn), M/918, fol. 21v. (All additions are in square brackets. Section titles are based on the choreographic descriptions in the same manuscript.)

their places in fandango steps'.<sup>76</sup> Here the music is a variant of the typical fandango head-motive, featuring the D minor–A major harmonic pattern.

*La fandanguera* illustrates a different combination of music and dance patterns (Example 5). It is made up of three sections: Country Dance (4 + 4 bars), Minuet (11 bars), Fandango (4 bars) and a final cadence. The two-flat key signature makes clear the use of two main tonalities: G minor in the country dance, B flat major in the minuet, and a G minor–D major pattern in the fandango. This last section is played three times, as indicated in the score ('tres veces'). It also begins with the usual head-motive, which is briefly developed in a four-bar melody. Again, the dancers are supposed to 'go back to their places in fandango steps', but in this case the music 'concludes' once they are back in their starting position.<sup>77</sup>

76 'Y desde allí se restituían todos a sus lugares en paso de fandango' (and from there all [the dancers] go back to their places in fandango steps). *Varias contradanzas con sus músicas*, No. 7, fol. 8r.

77 'A paso de fandango, se retornan a su sitio, los caballeros de espalda, y las señoras de cara, y concluye' (performing fandango steps, they go back to their places, the gentlemen backwards and the ladies forwards, and it concludes). *Varias contradanzas con sus músicas*, No. 34, fol. 22r.



The mixed country dances provide additional evidence that the violin was used to perform fandangos and derivations of it. Moreover, they attest to the mixing of 'Spanish' music and dance patterns with foreign ones that had been introduced from France, such as the minuet and the country dance. The fact that these 'remixes' appear in numerous sources from different Spanish cities reflects the integration of local and international musical practices, thus challenging traditional discourses about the opposition between *majismo* and cosmopolitanism. In the 1790s satirical writers showed their disgust at the 'contamination' of native Spanish traditions,<sup>78</sup> but in the 1760s and 1770s, music and dance amateurs in Spain had no prejudices against such hybrid cultural products.

#### AN EXOTIC PIECE: GIARDINI'S FANDANGO

To date, the piece titled 'El Fandango' published by Richard Twiss (Figure 3) has been regarded as a primary source for the music actually heard in vernacular fandango performances. It appears next to the author's description of his visit to Madrid. Twiss comments on the great success of the fandango, both in public balls and in private assemblies:

The amphitheatre [Teatro del Príncipe], constructed in 1767, is a plain oval building, with three rows of galleries over each other. During the carnival here are sixteen masquerades exhibited. The other evenings of that season of dissipation, are allotted to dancing fandangos, minuets, and English country-dances. Mr. Baretti gives an account of this edifice, and the fandango, which, though I had no opportunity of seeing in public here, by reason of its being Lent, yet I saw danced in various private assemblies in Madrid, and afterwards in every place I was in. The fury and ardour for dancing with which the Spaniards are possessed on hearing the fandango played, recall to my mind the impatience of the Italian race-horses standing behind the rope . . . There are two kinds of fandangos, though they are danced to the same tune: the one is the decent dance; the other is gallant, full of expression, and, as a late French author energetically expresses it, 'est mêlée de certaines attitudes qui offrent un tableau continuel de jouissance' [is mixed with certain dance positions that offer a vision of continual enjoyment].<sup>79</sup>

Twiss goes on to cite a definition from a 1769 Antwerp dictionary that relates the fandango's origin to the 'Indians' (people from the (West) Indies) and declares, 'I know not what foundation there is for this assertion'.<sup>80</sup> He then compares the music of the folia and the fandango, citing the musician 'Mr Giardini':

The modulation of the *folli*a is exactly similar to that of the *fandango*, and the name farther demonstrates the truth of this assertion.\*

[Footnote] \*This remark was suggested to me by Mr Giardini, who has likewise been so obliging as to set a bass to the *fandango*, of which the notes are inserted in the annexed plate.<sup>81</sup>

It has been suggested that Giardini may have been an Italian musician based in Madrid in the early 1770s,<sup>82</sup> but there is no trace of such a person in the existing studies of the city's musical life.<sup>83</sup> Alternatively, Twiss may

78 Fernández de Rojas, *El libro à la moda*, and de Iza Zamácola, *El libro de moda*.

79 Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain*, 156. The author mentions Joseph [Giuseppe] Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa through England, Portugal, Spain and France* (London: Davies, 1770).

80 Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain*, 156–157.

81 Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain*, 157.

82 Etzion, 'The Spanish Fandango', 243–247.

83 The advertisements of Madrid's local press do not mention any local musician called Giardini, but they mention the sale of music by Felice Giardini. The *Gaceta de Madrid* for 4 April 1775 (No. 14, 144) mentions sonatas by Giardini: see Ignacio Sustaeta, 'La música en las fuentes hemerográficas del XVIII español: Referencias musicales en la Gaceta de



*EL FANDANGO.*

*Allegro*

Figure 3 Mr Giardini, 'El Fandango', in Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773* (London, 1775), plate facing page 156. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn), ER/5275. Used by permission (the initial bars of each system are bars 1, 6, 13, 20 and 26)

Madrid, y artículos de música en los papeles periódicos madrileños', 3 volumes (PhD dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1993), volume 3, 209. The *Diario de Madrid* for 19 February 1793 mentions Giardini's string trios; see Yolanda Acker, ed., *Música y danza en el Diario de Madrid: noticias, avisos y artículos (1758–1808)* (Madrid: CDMyD, 2007), 162–163.



have been referring to the London-based violinist Felice Giardini (1716–1796), who would have been well known enough to Twiss's readership to be called simply 'Mr Giardini'.<sup>84</sup> A plausible hypothesis is that Twiss obtained a transcription of a fandango melody in Spain which he gave to Giardini in London, and the latter wrote an arrangement with bass. Indeed, the piece in Twiss's book bears a resemblance to Giardini's compositions for strings, which generally reflect the *lingua franca* of the galant style and an idiomatic instrumental technique.<sup>85</sup>

More specifically, 'El Fandango' is written for a melodic instrument in treble clef and unfigured bass. The range and the instrumental writing are appropriate for violin and cello. The treble part is particularly idiomatic for the violin: the range matches the first three positions of the instrument (a–d<sup>3</sup>), pedal notes can be played on the lowest string (such as the a of bars 20–24), double stops are simple ones in the first position (c<sup>#2</sup>–e<sup>2</sup> and d<sup>2</sup>–f<sup>2</sup>, bars 20–21) and involve a rapid crossing to the G string between iterations, while arpeggios are easy to perform in static left-hand positions, in the manner of Corelli (as in bars 22–23). This piece, written in 6/8, features the typical fandango head-motive (bars 1–2), after which a standard A major–D minor chordal ostinato begins. This is maintained at a two-bar harmonic rhythm for most of the piece (bars 3–10, 16–19 and 29–32); but it is sped up to a one-bar frequency in bars 11–14 and 20–25, while subdominant harmony is used as a nexus before the return of the ostinato (bars 15 and 28). The repeat sign in bars 2 and 32 indicates that this is an open-ended piece, subject to further variations. However, strictly speaking there is not a regular harmonic pattern throughout the piece, so it is difficult to believe that it was actually a part of the folkloric tradition and that, as Twiss claims, 'the same tune' was played all over Spain. Most likely, this is a stylized version of the transcription that reached Giardini.

This was not the first time that a supposedly 'Spanish' musical product arrived in London. By the time Twiss's book was published, exoticism had become a key commercial hook in the city's music market.<sup>86</sup> In the field of instrumental music, the presence of a large number of foreign names in publishers' catalogues became a sign of distinction.<sup>87</sup> Spain was not an exception: the collection *Eighteen New Spanish Minuets for Two Violins and a Bass* was published in London at least twice, first by John Cox (1758)<sup>88</sup> and also by John Johnson (before 1762).<sup>89</sup> The title-page announces the names of six allegedly Spanish composers: 'Errando, Espinosa, Cabar, Camusso, Luna and Narcisso'. Errando and Espinosa are likely to be the violinist José Herrando (c1720–1763) and the oboist Manuel Espinosa (c1730–1810). Both of them worked for Madrid's Royal Chapel and enjoyed some fame in Spain during their lifetime. Moreover, Herrando wrote similar minuets in his violin duets and tutor.<sup>90</sup> Given that the style of this music is highly conventional, though, it is risky to make attributions.

84 Simon McVeigh, 'Felice Giardini: A Violinist in Late Eighteenth-Century London', *Music & Letters* 64/3–4 (1983), 162–172.

85 See, for example, Giardini's *Six trios for a violin, tenor and violoncello*, Op. 17 (London: Blundell, 1773), RISM A/I G 1948.

86 The 1760s were a turning-point in the English capital in terms of the expansion of music publishing and concert life, and foreign music and musicians were increasingly in demand. See Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

87 Jenny Burchell, "'The First Talents of Europe": British Music Printers and Publishers and Imported Instrumental Music in the Eighteenth Century', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 93–113.

88 *Public Advertiser* (26 April 1758), British Library on-site databases. This collection cost 1 shilling and 6 pence. No copies have been located.

89 There is a copy of this edition in the British Library (GB-Lbl), a.25.(1). In 1762 Johnson's business was inherited by his widow, who signed her imprints as 'R. Johnson'. See Charles Humphries and William Charles Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, second edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 120 and 194–195.

90 José Herrando, *Arte y puntual explicación del modo de tocar el violín* (Madrid, 1757), and José Herrando, *Tres dúos nuevos a dos violines* (Madrid, 1760).



Since 'exotic' instrumental music was commercial in London in the 1770s, the presence of Giardini's fandango in Twiss's book was probably intended to appeal to potential buyers. Interestingly, the piece was later transformed into a piano rondo by Benjamin Carr, who published it as *Spanish Fandango* in Baltimore around 1797. By then, the fandango's popularity had reached the amateur music market in the United States as well, in such cities as Boston, New York and Philadelphia.<sup>91</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The musical examples discussed here demonstrate that the violin was used in the performance of fandangos, whether functional dance pieces or stylized chamber-music variations, well before the rise in popularity of *casticismo*. This becomes clear from the analysis of evidence pertaining to a wide geographical and chronological context: Catalonia in the 1730s, Madrid in the 1750s, Barcelona and Madrid in the balls of the 1760s and 1770s, and again Madrid (in a London arrangement) in the 1770s. Some of these pieces are of a hybrid nature, merging the fandango with 'foreign' dance types (for example, the country dance and the minuet in *La fandanguera*), genres (the accompanied violin sonata in the Stockholm fandangos) and styles (the galant-style melodic variety and idiomatic violin writing in the Stockholm and London sources). These features demonstrate hitherto overlooked negotiations between highbrow and popular culture in mid-eighteenth-century Spain, as well as the adaptation of supposedly 'Spanish' elements for an international and cosmopolitan music market.

Through the medium of violin music, the fandango had reached European countries such as Sweden and England before 1775. The Stockholm fandangos, most likely copied in Madrid during the 1750s, are a particularly important discovery, since they are some of the earliest chamber-music fandangos known so far. Future research may enable us to reconstruct the chamber-music gatherings that Carl Leuhusen attended or organized in Spain and Sweden, where this music could have been performed. As for the fandango published by Richard Twiss, it should no longer be regarded as a primary source, but rather as an arrangement, probably made by Felice Giardini in London. This piece can be now understood as one of the numerous 'exotic' musical products that circulated in the British capital during the 1770s.

Furthermore, these eight pieces shed new light on the melodic and rhythmic flexibility of the eighteenth-century fandango. The usual descending head-motive appears in 3/8, 6/8 and 3/4 time in different sources. Moreover, the alternation of binary and ternary accentuation is strongly suggested by beaming in the manuscript containing the Stockholm fandangos. In future research, diachronic analysis of the fandango's rhythmic transformations might be extended through the examination of a broader musical corpus including *zarzuelas*, *villancicos*, *tonadillas* and other genres that incorporate the fandango,<sup>92</sup> often in the violin part.

From a broader perspective, the pieces examined here contribute to a deeper understanding of the eighteenth-century fandango and challenge traditional discourses on this dance-song type and on the shaping of musical 'Spanishness'. During the eighteenth century, it was not just plucked instruments but also the violin – paradoxically associated with foreign musical modernity – that took part in this process. In this context, the guitar/violin dichotomy in Ramón de la Cruz's *El fandango de candil* quoted at the outset of this article can be understood as a literary device; for the audience, hearing a violinist playing the fandango would not have been shocking, but just less effective in that particular dramatic context. This *sainete* was premiered in 1768, precisely when the popularity of the mixed country dances was reaching its climax. The great success of such hybrid cultural forms shows that the opposition between *majismo* and Gallicized cultural

91 Alan Jones, 'Emergence and Transformations of the Fandango', *Música oral del sur* 12 (2015), 579 and Figure 12.

92 The works by Iribarren and Nebra cited above provide examples. A recent study shows the flexibility of the fandango as a musical topos in *tonadillas* composed in Madrid between 1760 and c1800, pointing out the use of polyrhythm and violin melodies: Aurélia Pessarrodona and María-José Ruiz-Mayordomo, 'El fandango en la dramaturgia musical tonadillesca: el gesto en su contexto', *Música oral del sur* 13 (2016), 75–104.



trends is a historiographical construction; in fact, in Spain's musical life the two currents coexisted and even merged with each other (a later example is the *minué afandangado*, which was popular in the 1790s).<sup>93</sup>

This notion of historiographical construction recalls W. Dean Sutcliffe's observation that "Spanishness" is what we or a composer construct as being Spanish; it is in the first instance a question of tradition, of cultural determination, rather than one of essence'.<sup>94</sup> Despite the long-lasting association of the fandango with Spain's cultural essence, its music was transformed and manipulated in various ways from an early date, both within and beyond the country's borders. It is doubtful, even, that this dance-song type originated in mainland Spain, given that the earliest located dictionary definitions and musical sources point to Latin America as the starting point of an open-ended process of hybridization and transformation . . . as open-ended and unpredictable as an improvised set of fandango variations.

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93 Two well-known keyboard examples were published in Genoveva Gálvez, ed., *Félix Máximo López: dos juegos de variaciones sobre el Minué afandangado para forte piano* (Madrid: SEdeM, 2000). As regards clothing, it is worth noting that some paintings show people wearing French-inspired and *majo* costumes in the same social gathering; an example is Goya's *La gallina ciega* (1788). See Museo del Prado, <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/la-gallina-ciega/oe23d968-5a4a-426f-ab7b-075d1dc1c03b> (16 January 2020).

94 W. Dean Sutcliffe, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti and Eighteenth-Century Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 107.