

## The Minuet in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Spain:

### A change in cultural identity?

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It is a fact that French dance, and along with it the minuet, spread to all the European courts throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, bringing with it considerable changes in social practices. In the case of Spain, French dance was already known before the arrival of the Bourbon monarchy<sup>1</sup>, but the arrival of Phillip V in 1700 really made it fashionable, first in court circles and later in the more important cities: Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Valencia...

The sources at our disposal for the study of 18<sup>th</sup> century dance in Spain are more complete and more numerous than those available for the previous century:

- Treatises on French dance imported to Spain.
- Treatises on French dance in Spanish, some of which are direct translations of their French homonyms.
- Sources dealing with the social practices involved in the study of dance: advertisements in the *Diario de Madrid* newspaper, documents discussing the role of French dance in the higher echelons of Spanish society in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the names of French dancing masters established and teaching in Spain.
- Regulations for the public balls which were established in the principal Spanish cities in the 1760's.
- Compilations detailing the dances used in these balls.
- Travel journals and correspondence of French visitors to Spain, who attended balls and recorded their impressions.

-Documents critical of French dance, specifically the minuet and country dance, which call for a return to Spanish tradition.

Using these resources, I will address some issues related to the minuet: Where was it danced and by whom? Who taught the minuet and where was it taught? How is it described in the treatise and dance compilations for public balls? How did foreign visitors view the Spanish minuet? Was the minuet criticized by Spanish society?

#### Where was it danced and by whom?

With the ascension to power of the Bourbons, the burden of the complex etiquette inherited from the Austrian monarchy was lightened. The most important changes relate to a re-evaluation of the figure of the king, whose importance had diminished over the latter years of the previous dynasty in favour of the Spanish *grandees*. Some customs from Versailles were introduced at court: the monarchs dined in public; the queen bathed in presence of the Spanish *grandees*, and gave birth in public... Phillip V recreated the Versailles "*apartments*"<sup>2</sup> of his grandfather; the *grandees* were invited to listen to chamber music three times per week.

Dance was one means through which this transformation took place: Mme. Des Ursins (1641 – 1722) attempted to modify the rigorous etiquette of the Austrian ball, replacing it with the etiquette of the French court, which was no less rigorous but had a distinct protocol. In this famous quotation from 1702, Mme des Ursins reports a change in etiquette where the king and queen were the first to dance before the *grandees*, a

practice which did not exist under the Austrian monarchy:

*Contrary to the etiquette again, the king and the queen danced in the presence of the Spanish grandees, and after their majesties, I had several court ladies dance with the Duke of Osuna. It is necessary to give the king this kind of recreation and I wanted the grandees to be present, to gain their approbation and get them used to this sort of entertainment.... Noticing that his majesty was resting after the fourth minuet, I told him that a king who so easily tired of dancing did not seem to me ready to sustain the fatigues of war. He replied that he might be defeated by minuets but will not be by the king of the Roman Empire<sup>3</sup>.*

Twenty years later, the minuet was perfectly integrated within the court dances: Saint-Simon cites it as one of the principal dances in the balls he attended at the court in Madrid between 1721 and 1722<sup>4</sup>.

The minuet was soon to leave the confines of the courts to become a part of the Spanish urban environment and once again a major figure in the 'saraos' (balls).

The practice of organizing public balls in theatres had begun in Paris following the death of Louis XIV (1715) and the coming to power of the new regent, the Duke of Orleans<sup>5</sup>. In Spain in 1716, Phillip V had banned masks at the ball<sup>6</sup>; they would not be seen there again until 1767: under the government of Charles III, the Count of Aranda authorized public balls in the *Caños del Peral* theatre<sup>7</sup> to celebrate carnival. These balls began in Madrid, but their success took them to other Spanish cities: Seville, Barcelona, Valencia.

We have several sources for the study of these social events: regulations for balls, dance compilations, and the memoirs of Casanova and the Baron of Bourgoing. Combining these three types of source, we can arrive at a reasonably complete reconstruction of the characteristics of these carnival balls.

The most novel idea was their public character: anyone who could pay the entrance fee could attend. In all the sources we find

information about the price: eight *reales* per person in Valencia and ten in Seville.

The issue of the mask is discussed extensively in the regulations. All the attendees should be appropriately attired: magistrate, military and ecclesiastical costumes were not authorized; nor was cross-dressing allowed: "the severest punishment will be reserved for those who wear garments not of their sex"<sup>8</sup>. As had been stipulated in the reforms of the period<sup>9</sup>, capes and overlarge hats were forbidden. Some examples of accepted masks are mentioned: characters from *Commedia dell'Arte*, costumes from other regions and epochs. Inside the theatre, to bear arms, insult, and even to smoke were forbidden, and once outside the theatre it was obligatory to remove one's mask.

Eating and drinking were allowed at the ball, although the regulations do make one observation on this: since the participants had time for dinner afterwards, only "soft drinks, chocolates and cake" would be served. In effect, these events did not last very long; they finished around midnight and in order to correctly observe the timetable, the directors would give a half-hour advance warning. The two directors, dressed as dominoes, carried a staff with red and white ribbons and were responsible for announcing the beginning and end of the ball, and for calling order in the case of any problems which might arise... If a participant wanted to hear a particular dance, they needed to speak to one of the two directors. Bourgoing mentions a president bearing the title of *bastonero*, who is in charge of getting everybody ready to dance and who, despite his efforts to consult the dancers' likes when forming the couples, never fails to disappoint them<sup>10</sup>.

The dances are varied, but the sources do not always list them. The regulations mention only minuets and country dances: *The ball will consist of minuets and country dances; there will be one or more dancing masters who will organize the country dances and arrange and instruct the couples*. Casanova, however, showed enthusiasm for the fandango. According to him, French dances were performed before dinner at ten o'clock

in the evening and Spanish dances began directly afterwards.

### **Who taught the minuet and where was it taught?**

The changes made by the new Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish court also affected the manner of learning dance. The Austrian monarchs had their own dancing masters: for example, at that time Juan Maldonado was the dancing master of Mariana of Neoburgo, widow of Charles II. With the arrival of Phillip V and his first wife, Marie-Louise of Savoy, Mme. de Ursins decided to dismiss the Spanish master in favour of a Frenchman, Nicolas Fonton. In his turn, he was succeeded in 1715 by another Frenchman, Michel Gaudrau, dancer at the Paris Opera and author of *Nouveau recueil de danses de bal et celles du ballet* published in Paris in 1712. He would be dancing master to Don Luis, Prince of Asturias until 1737 when his health began to suffer and he asked for permission to retire to the south of France. In fact, Gaudrau taught dance not only to the Prince of Asturias, but to all the children of the Spanish monarchs. He was succeeded by Sebastian Cristiani of Scio<sup>11</sup>.

The sources give no information about the teaching methods of these dancing masters to the court, since the majority of the preserved documents are notarial in nature. We know only that their classes were accompanied by violin and that they taught minuets and country dances, the same dances referred to constantly in the sources.

The *Royal House of Pages*, a school dedicated to the children of the high nobility who would later enter into the king's service, also benefited from the services of French dancing masters for the study of the minuet, country dance, and passepied<sup>12</sup>.

In Spain as in the rest of Europe, a knowledge of French dance was necessary for the proper social integration of an aristocrat: the nobility and aristocracy in the most important cities taught their children this art. Evidence for this was provided by Jovellanos in his *Plan for the education of the nobility* (1798). So, at the

turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Jovellanos continued to recommend the practice of the minuet, passepied and country dance both French and English, for the education of young Spanish nobles. The dancing master was also responsible for teaching public comportment, especially the art of bowing and curtsying, the correct manner of walking and taking the hat off, sitting and greeting people with grace<sup>13</sup>; forms which closely mirrored the French rules.

Along the same lines and also under French influence, the *Friends of the Country Societies* were formed. These adopted erudite measures to promote the creation of schools or seminaries to train the children of the nobility. Dance and fencing formed part of the syllabus at these schools. For example, the *Royal Basque Patriotic Seminary of Vergara*, which was created by the *Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country*, in 1776 contracted the services of the French dancing master M. Dubois, who also taught the art of fencing<sup>14</sup>.

We know that the dancing masters of the *Royal Seminary* taught two or three hours of dance per day, even in the summer holiday. Documents pertaining to these seminaries stipulate the type of dance which should be taught: the French School (minuet, jig, allemande) and the Spanish School. They refer also to English dance (perhaps the English country dance).

Regarding the study of French dance outside school, the *Diario de Madrid* newspaper contains many advertisements from dancing masters offering courses in both French and Spanish dance styles. These all specify the style – French or Spanish – indicate the address where the classes will take place, and occasionally include the price and even the teaching method:

*In Preciados Street, at the corner of la Zarza Street, fourth door, lives a master who teaches lovely French-style dances to boys and girls, at a reasonable price; he also gives violin and guitar lessons, strumming and plucking, all as notated*<sup>15</sup>.

*In Los Tintes Street next to the Caños de Peral, no. 18, in the third room, lives Manuel Esteban, dancing master of the French and Spanish styles; he teaches the dance called bolero, with castanets. He charges 50 reales to teach students in their home and 30 if they come to him. The fee is customarily payable one month in advance*<sup>16</sup>.

Another way of learning French dances, among them the minuet, was to obtain a copy of one of the treatises published on the subject in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century. Two such authors were Pablo Minguet y Yrol<sup>17</sup> and Bartolome Ferriol y Boxeraus<sup>18</sup> who follow the precepts of Raoul-Auger Feuillet<sup>19</sup> and Pierre Rameau<sup>20</sup>: they present the same music as the French and use the same choreography and terminology, at times inventing new vocabulary, at others hispanicizing the French terms.

The work of Minguet is made up of several short treatises published between the 1730's and 1760's. This author, who was neither dancer nor dancing master, but a writer, theoretician, editor, printer and engraver, sold work which he published himself on many different subjects: recreation, religion, music... As a good salesman, he presented his treatise as an aid to anyone who could not afford a dancing master or who wished to remember a dance learned in the past.

Ferriol presented himself as an expert dancer who had consulted many of the great dancing masters<sup>21</sup>. He published his treatise in 1745 in Spain and Italy (Capua and Naples). Like Minguet, he also speaks of the advantages of consulting his treatise in the process of learning a dance.

We can also quote a third author who published a treatise on dance in Spanish, also in this epoch. His name was Joseph Ratier, a dancing master who advertised his services in the *Diario de Madrid*<sup>22</sup>. He speaks superficially about the minuet without giving details about its execution. For him, a treatise on dance cannot replace a good master, and he feels that attending class is essential to guarantee correct learning.

### How is the minuet described in treatises and dance compilations for public balls?

*The most difficult and precise dance, and which gives particular grace and ease to the body, is the minuet; anyone who knows it to perfection will learn the entire repertoire of the school with the greatest delicacy and in the briefest time*<sup>23</sup>.

Thus Ferriol introduces his chapter on "How to dance the minuet". In order for this dance to be learned correctly, the author of a treatise should concentrate on three aspects: the steps, the arm movements and the figures. While Minguet introduces these aspects together, Ferriol describes them in three distinct sections: the steps appear in the first part of his treatise, the arms in the second, and the figures in the third.

In their treatise, both Ferriol and Minguet introduced the *Figura para hacer los passos del minuete por diferentes lados* (forwards, backwards, to the left and to the right) (Fig.1).



**Fig. 1**

This is the only place in the two treatises where we find the characteristic notation which, based on the same concepts as the French notation (an aerial perspective of the track), is represented differently, drawing the actual prints of the foot as they would appear on the floor.

Ferriol describes four steps of the minuet, inspired by the *Chorégraphie* of Feuillet and by the *Abrégé de la nouvelle méthode* of Rameau;

*Paso regular*: two half coupés and two plain (walking) steps<sup>24</sup>.

*Passo de minuete à la bohémiana*: one half coupé, two plain steps on point, and one demi-jeté. (Feuillet called this *à la bohémienne*).

*Passo de tres movimientos*: two half coupés, one plain step, and a demi-jeté (minuet step in three movements according to Feuillet).

*Passo de un solo movimiento*: one half coupé, a sliding step (*arrastrando con ligereza la punta*), and two plain steps. (Feuillet called this the minuet step in one movement).

*Passo descansado*: without bending, step through the toe, ball, and heel.

Minguet presents these steps of the minuet described by Ferriol, in a different manner in his last treatise (*The noble art of dancing in the French and Spanish styles*). He includes a table representing said steps in the French system of choreography: *passo descansado, de un movimiento, en floreo de dos movimientos, a la bohémiana y de tres movimientos*<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 2):

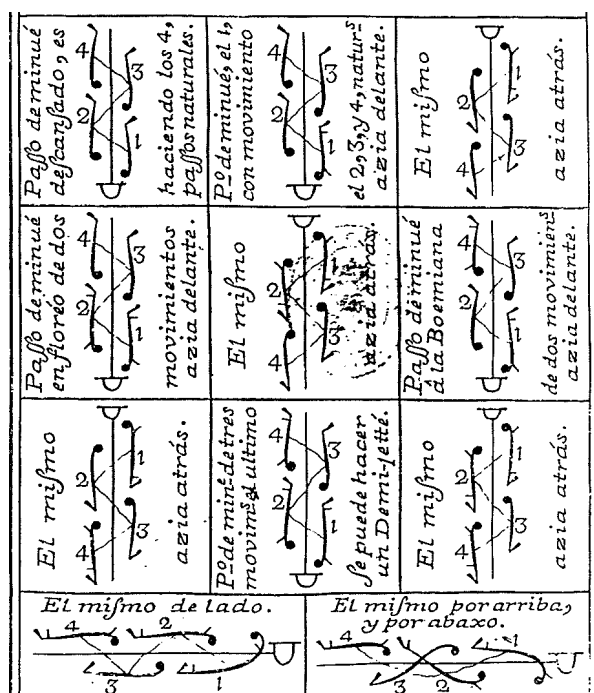


Fig. 2

As regards the arm movements, Ferriol dedicates a chapter of his second treatise (*which describes the arm movements*

*corresponding to each dance*) to the arm movements of the minuet. He meticulously describes this aspect of the dance through two images and four pages of text. Minguet uses the same images as Ferriol, but summarises the content in four paragraphs which accompany the images.

Lastly, Ferriol presents the figures for the dancing of the minuet in the third part of his treatise, while Minguet includes them in his presentation of the minuet published in his first treatise (*The art of dancing French style*) along with steps and the arm movements.

Minguet's treatise is clearer and more concise than that of Ferriol as regards this dance. Each page consists of an image accompanied by two or three paragraphs of text, thus giving special importance to the visual aspect of learning. Closely following the steps of Rameau, Minguet presents the following structure to explain the minuet<sup>26</sup>:

*First and second figures to perform the demicupé.*

*Third and fourth figures to perform the demicupé.*

*Figures to perform the steps of the minuet in different directions.*

*Figures to give one's hand before dance commences.*

*Figures to perform the first bow/curtsy before dance commences.*

*Figures to perform the second bow/curtsy.*

*First figure to dance the minuet.*

*Principal figure of the minuet.*

*Figure for giving the right hand.*

*Figure for giving the left hand.*

*Figure for giving both hands, signaling the end of the minuet.*

*Figures for performing the arm movements.*

*Explanation for performing the contrempeps of the minuet and of the passapié.*

*Explanation for performing the balance.*

The Spanish authors, however, simplified the figures: Ferriol reduces the first two figures of

Rameau to one and Minguet decides to directly present the third figure of Rameau as his first figure. At the very least, both Spaniards present the same principal figure as does the French author.

Towards the end of his explanation of the minuet, Ferriol mentions the difference between the Spanish and French dance in relation to the hat: whilst the hat is held in the hand, it should remain facing inwards if the dance is Spanish, and outwards if the dance is French. He does not specify however whether the hat is held in the French or the Spanish manner for the minuet as danced in Spain.

In the context of this third point, we could address another question: What were the ways to describe dance in Spain before French fashion? In the title of this essay, the question is mooted as to whether the arrival of the minuet in Spain involved a change in cultural identity as regards dance.

The main problem we encounter on trying to establish this comparison is in the lack of sources: the 17<sup>th</sup> century has left far fewer hints to work with than the 18<sup>th</sup>, as far as dance is concerned. Five treatises have been conserved<sup>27</sup>. They are shorter and much less precise than those of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The treatise of Esquivel Navarro, for example, published in Seville in 1642, describes the steps necessary for the execution of the dances which were taught in the schools. The treatise of Juan Antonio Jaque gives technical instructions on the development of six dances (*folia*, *gallarda*, *jácara*, *paradeta*, *pavana* and *villano*) naming the types of steps described by Esquivel but without going into a description of the same. They would appear to be two complimentary treatises: in the first, the steps are explained and in the second their use in the performance of a particular dance. However, no treatise from 17<sup>th</sup> century Spain deals with the issue of the trajectory of the steps involved in the dance, and neither does it include any system of graphic representation or image which might complete the information provided.

If we compare the technical descriptions of dance in the 17<sup>th</sup> century with descriptions of the minuet in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the differences

are quite evident: in the latter as in the former, we have a description in prose of the dance steps (of the minuet in this case), but in addition we also have an explanation of the movement of the arms, the trajectory of the steps and the details of each figure. This all comes accompanied by images which facilitate the understanding of the written text. Moreover, Minguet represents the distinct steps of the minuet with the system of choreography published in 1700 by Feuillet.

As regards the compilations for public balls, only country dances are mentioned – not minuets – a fact which contradicts the rules of these balls, where both are mentioned. These compilations constitute an essential source for the study of the country dance in Spain<sup>28</sup> as they include the music and explanations in prose for each one. We can only lament the fact that the authors of these compilations did not also include the minuet.

### **How did foreign visitors view the Spanish minuet?**

Almost all visitors who attended and decided to comment on public balls, alluded to the minuets and country dances, but the majority did not go into any detail. They are presented, in general, as the unavoidable prelude to the anticipated fandango, which was found worthy of long and detailed descriptions and praise: *these grave minuets promptly cleared the vapours of boredom, when a guitar, joined by two violins, struck the jolly fandango...*<sup>29</sup>

The two authors most interested in French dance were the Baron of Bourgoing and Alexandre Laborde, who expressed the same impressions through short discourses: the Spanish are good dancers, although they are incapable of understanding the nature of the minuet:

*The Spanish nation is decidedly keen on dancing and shows an aptness for it. They adopt foreign dances, even the minuet; but they retain only its gravity; the noble, decent, easy grace of the minuet escapes them. However, they seem to be very attracted to it;*

*the knowledge of which is a seminal part of their education*<sup>30</sup>.

*[...]In their balls they dance the English and French country dances, the passepied, the minuet; they especially enjoy the latter; it even forms part of the young people's education; they dance it with gravity; but a manner of gravity too serious, with little grace and majesty; they even introduce into it figures, gestures and movements alien to this dance which they learn from the bad dancing masters they are given. Their balls nearly always open with minuets, which are followed by country dances*<sup>31</sup>.

Bourgoing and Laborde were acquainted with the norms of Spanish education, which stipulated that the children of the nobility should learn French dance. However, study of the same did not always produce the expected results and in the discourse of both authors we find the concept of *gravity*, in relation to the Spanish minuet: *too grave, too serious, little grace, little majesty*. On the evidence of these testimonies, it might be thought that the Spanish minuets were different from the French; Laborde attributes this to the poor quality of the dancing masters.

The concept of *gravity* is never clearly expressed in the sources. What are these authors referring to when they speak of a minuet as being too grave? Was Spanish *gravity* different from the French? A century earlier, the French who described their travels through Spain used the same expression to refer to the character of the Spanish in general, not only in relation to their dances: *[...] Under this apparent gravity of the Spanish, how sumptuous, superb, pompous, proud, austere, arrogant, haughty, insufferable they are!*<sup>32</sup>. In the same way, the French *ballets de cour* texts of the 17<sup>th</sup> century are replete with references to the *gravity* of the Spanish<sup>33</sup>.

However, several years later, the rigorous laws of Spanish etiquette were imposed in Versailles and the French court took on a distinct halo of this peculiarly Spanish seriousness, which was reflected in its dances, attitudes and in the body language of the French nobility<sup>34</sup>. And this *gravity* returned

once again to Spain, this time through French fashion, as we can see from this testimony published in a Spanish newspaper of the day:

*the dancing master taught me how to be ridiculously grave, to turn my head towards one shoulder, to walk as if my body were cast in only one piece, and to hold my arms behind me in order to accentuate the generosity of the bosom.*<sup>35</sup>

Everything indicates that the minuets were transformed upon crossing the border, in line with Spanish tastes, which must have been quite different from those of the foreign visitors. Unfortunately, these authors limited themselves to general impressions without explaining what the deficiencies of the Spanish minuet were; which figures, gestures or movements were extraneous to the dance, or in which manner they might have preserved the majesty of the French dances.

### **Was the minuet criticized by Spanish society?**

The success of the minuet in Spanish society provoked the indignation of several authors towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, who, railing against the cultural colonisation of these foreign fashions<sup>36</sup>, extolled the virtues of the Spanish dances which were supposed to have popular origins<sup>37</sup>, called *bailes*, such as the fandango and seguidilla.

This criticism turned to parody in the work of Iza Zamácola, *Elementos de la Ciencia Contradanzaria*, in which an entire society was satirised for having created the necessity of learning a type of dance which bore no relation to it. With the aid of examples, images, and descriptions of the steps, Zamácola gives us his particular vision of a practice which, according to him, was extraneous to Spanish cultural identity. It is pertinent here to quote the author's reflections on a French dancing master who became exaggeratedly excited on seeing his students dance, and equated the minuet with philosophy:

*The famous Marcel, who can never be praised highly enough, that Parisian dancer who said with the greatest humility that this century*

had produced no more than three great men, to wit: Himself, Voltaire and Frederick II; this hero of the country dance, upon seeing his disciples dance the minuet slapped his forehead and ran furiously about the salon disclaiming against governments for not rewarding the performers of the country dance more than the wise or the military...; the backwardness of all the arts and sciences and the high price of bread all stem from this lack of patronage. Truly, this is philosophical wisdom.<sup>38</sup>

### Final Considerations

The highly technical content of the 18<sup>th</sup> century treatises allows us to find a trace of 17<sup>th</sup> century Spain in the description of the Spanish minuet. We can find this trace in the figure used by Ferriol and Minguet to represent the steps of the minuet. This figure seems to be inspired by the only image from Esquivel Navarro's treatise, which represents the genteel bow (*reverencia galana*). We could say that the authors of the 18<sup>th</sup> century reused the descriptive technique which Navarro had used for the bow, adapting it to the steps of the French minuet (Fig. 3)

In spite of such a highly technical content, or perhaps due to it, the 18<sup>th</sup> century treatises cannot respond to questions of interpretation: Minguet and Ferriol do not speak about the *gravity*, so criticized by French visitors. They limit themselves to describing technical aspects in the most precise manner possible.

The reader of the treatise and the dance student must consult the chapter on *The policy to be used and the governance of the body* (chapter X of Ferriol's treatise) in order to come closer to French culture, necessary for the correct representation of the art in this dance. In these French dances there was, in effect, an important element of cultural background which only with great difficulty could be acquired in any other milieu, and it is precisely this which the French visitors found wanting in the minuets "a la española".

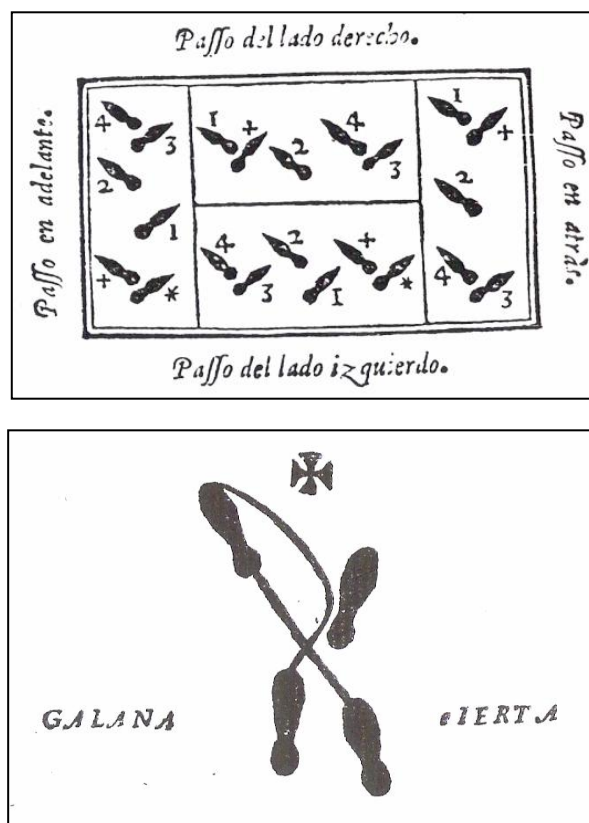


Fig. 3

The minuet conquered Spain as it had conquered other European nations. However, it did not become sufficiently integrated into Spanish society to blend with Spanish dance. It arrived as a French dance and came to fame as a French dance, but was not interiorised by Spanish society; and every performer of the minuet was conscious of the origin of the dance they were performing.

A century earlier a Spanish dance had followed a similar trajectory, in the opposite direction: the *zarabanda* arrived in France from Spain, and in time became the *sarabande*, a genuinely French dance. It lost a great deal of its original character, transforming itself upon acquiring characteristics of the French style and was integrated into the *belle danse*.



The success of the minuet was relative. It constituted an ephemeral fashion, which was also heavily criticised in the Spain of its time, as reflected in the work of Iza Zamácola or that of Fernandez de Rojas. In effect, it brought about a change in the Spanish cultural habits of the epoch, in both court and urban circles, and perhaps at the same time propitiated the success of strictly Spanish dance, which supplanted it in some circles around the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Nicolás Morales, *L'artiste de cour dans l'Espagne du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle, étude de la communauté des musiciens au service de Philippe V (1700-1746)*, (Madrid : Casa de Velázquez, 2007), p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Yves Bottineau, *L'art de cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V, 1701-1746*, (Paris : Conseil Général Hauts de Seine, 1993), p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolás Morales, *L'artiste de cour dans l'Espagne du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle...*, p. 160. Clara Rico Osés, "French dance in 18<sup>th</sup> century Spain", in *Dance Chronicle*, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires Anthologie*, (Paris : Le livre de poche, La Pochothèque, 2007), p. 1267.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Siemmens, *The bals publics at the Paris opera in the Eighteenth century*, (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Y. Bottineau, *L'art de cour...*, p. 359. Archivo de la villa de Madrid, Archivo de Secretaría. Sección 2<sup>a</sup>, legajo 160, n°104

<sup>7</sup> Maurice Esses, *Dance and instrumental Diferencias in Spain during the 17th and early 18th centuries*, (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1990), p. 459.

<sup>8</sup> *Política y economía del bayle de máscara en la casa interina de comedias de esta ciudad de Valencia, para el carnaval del año 1769...*, con licencia, en Valencia, por Benito Monfort, 1769.

<sup>9</sup> José Miguel López García, *El motín contra Esquilache : crisis y protesta popular en el Madrid del siglo 17<sup>o</sup>*, (Madrid: Alianza, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> B. et L. Bennassar, *Le voyage en Espagne, anthologie des voyageurs français et francophones du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris, Éditions Robert Laffont, 1998), p. 1025.

<sup>11</sup> Lothar Siemmens, "Sebastián Christiani de Scío y su familia : contribución a los maestros de danzar en la España del siglo 17<sup>o</sup>", in *Revista de Musicología*, XX, 1, (1997), p. 323.

<sup>12</sup> Morales, *L'artiste de cour...*, p. 201.

<sup>13</sup> Jovellanos, *Plan de educación de la nobleza, trabajado de orden del rey en 1798*, (Gijón: 1915), p. 232.

<sup>14</sup> Jon Bagües, "La enseñanza de la danza académica en el Real Seminario Patriótico bascongado de Vergara en el siglo 17<sup>o</sup>", in *Cuadernos de etnología y etnografía de Navarra*, XX, n° 52, (1988), p. 282.

<sup>15</sup> *Diario de Madrid*, 10/2/1758, n° 8, p. 3. Yolanda F. Acker (ed), *Música y danza en el Diario de Madrid, noticias, avisos y artículos*, (Madrid, Ministerio de cultura, Instituto nacional de las artes escénicas y de la música), 2008.

<sup>16</sup> *Diario de Madrid*, 21/7/1787, n°386, p. 87. Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Pablo Minguet e Yrol, *El arte de danzar a la francesa*, (Madrid: en la oficina del autor, 1758).

<sup>18</sup> Bartholomé Ferriol y Boxeraus, *Reglas útiles para los aficionados al danzar*, (Nápoles: 1745).

<sup>19</sup> Raoul-Auger Feuillet, , *Chorégraphie ou l'art de décrire la dance* (Paris : chez l'auteur, 1701).

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Rameau, *Abbrégé de la nouvelle méthode dans l'art de tracer toutes sortes de danses de ville*, Paris, 1725. Pierre Rameau, *Le maître à danser*, (Paris: chez Jean Villette, 1725).

<sup>21</sup> Ferriol, *Reglas útiles...*, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Yolanda Acker, *Música y danza en el Diario de Madrid...*, p. 37

<sup>23</sup> Ferriol, *Reglas útiles*, p. 181.

<sup>24</sup> The translation of the steps has been taken from: "French dance in 18<sup>th</sup> century Spain", in *Dance Chronicle*, 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Minguet, *El noble arte de danzar a la francesa y española*, p. 22.

<sup>26</sup> Minguet, *El arte de danzar a la francesa*, p. 9-24.

<sup>27</sup> M. Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias...*, p. 422-425.

<sup>28</sup> C. Rico Osés, “La contradanza en España en el siglo 171 : Ferriol y Boxeraus, Minguet e Yrol y los bailes públicos”, in *Anuario musical*, n° 64, (Barcelona: CSIC, 2009), p. 191-214.

<sup>29</sup> Chevalier de Saint-Louis, Lantier, *Voyage en Espagne du chevalier Saint-Gervais*, (Paris : Arthus Bertrand, 1809), tome 1, p. 190.

<sup>30</sup> B. et L. Bennassar, *Le voyage en Espagne...*, p. 1025. *La nation espagnole a un goût et une aptitude décidés pour la danse. Elle adopte celle des étrangers sans en excepter le menuet; mais elle n'en saisit que la gravité; les grâces nobles, décentes et faciles du menuet lui échappent. Il paraît cependant avoir beaucoup d'attrait pour elle; c'est une partie essentielle de l'éducation que de le savoir.*

<sup>31</sup> Alexandre Laborde, *Itinéraire descriptif de l'Espagne et tableau élémentaire des différentes branches de l'administration et de l'industrie de ce royaume*, (Paris : H Nicole, 1809), tome 5, p. 334. *Ils dansent dans leurs bals les contredanses anglaises et françaises, le passe-pied, le menuet ; ils aiment beaucoup ce dernier ; il entre même dans l'éducation des jeunes personnes ; ils le dansent avec gravité ; mais avec une gravité trop sérieuse, et avec peu de grâce et de majesté ; ils y mêlent même des figures, des gestes, des mouvements qui sont étrangers à cette danse et qu'ils apprennent des mauvais maîtres qu'on leur donne. Leurs bals s'ouvrent presque toujours par des menuets, à la suite desquels on danse des contredanses.*

<sup>32</sup> Barthélemy Joly, « Voyage en Espagne, 1603-1604 », in *Revue Hispanique*, t. XX, n° 57, 1909. « [...] *Sous cette gravité apparente des Espagnols, combien sont ils fastueux, superbes, enflés, orgueilleux, austères, arrogants, altiers, insupportables !* ».

<sup>33</sup> C. Rico Osés, *L'Espagne vue de France à travers les ballets de cour du 17 siècle*, (Genève : éditions Papillon, 2012).

<sup>34</sup> A. Cioranescu, *Le Masque et le visage, du baroque espagnol au classicisme français*, (Paris : Droz, 1983), p. 84, 85.

<sup>35</sup> Carmen Martín Gaité, *Usos amorosos del XVIII en España*, (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1987), p. 252, from *El pensador*, t 1, pens. 6, p. 166.

<sup>36</sup> Juan Fernández de Rojas, *Libro de moda o ensayo de la historia de los currutacos, pirracas y madamitas de nuevo cuño, escrito por un filósofo currutaco y corregido nuevamente por un*

*señorito pirracas*, (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Blas Roman, 1796).

<sup>37</sup> Regarding the supposed popular origins in ancient dances: Naïk Raviart, « Sommes-nous fondés à distinguer des répertoires populaires dans ce que nous font connaître les traités et documents anciens sur la danse ? », in *La danse et ses sources*, (ISATIS, Cahiers d'ethnomusicologie régionale du conservatoire occitan, 1993).

<sup>38</sup> Iza Zamácola, *Elementos de la ciencia contradanzaria, para que los currutacos, pirracas y madamitas de Nuevo Cuño puedan aprender por principios a bailar las contradanzas por sí solos o con las sillas de su casa*, (Madrid: en la imprenta de la viuda de Joseph García, MDCCXCVI), p. 7.