

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

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

*Spaniards, Indians,
Africans and Gypsies*

Edited by

K. Meira Goldberg and Antoni Pizà

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Frontispiece images:

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

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

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

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K. Meira Goldberg and Antoni Pizà

INTRODUCTION: *MESTIZAJES*

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

—Manuel Martí Zaragoza, Deacon of Alicante, 1712¹

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

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

—Rafael Figueroa Hernández, April 17, 2015

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

K. Meira Goldberg and Antoni Pizà

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

I.

GENRES AND FORMS

CHAPTER ONE

THE FANDANGO COMPLEX IN THE SPANISH ATLANTIC: A PANORAMIC VIEW

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Abstract

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

Keywords

Fandango, zarabanda, flamenco

Resumen

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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