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ESPAÑÓLES, INDIOS, AFRICANOS Y GITANOS.
EL ALCANCE GLOBAL DEL FANDANGO EN MÚSICA, CANTO Y DANZA

SPANIARDS, INDIANS, AFRICANS AND GYPSIES:
THE GLOBAL REACH OF THE FANDANGO IN MUSIC, SONG, AND
DANCE

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LIKE SALAMANDERS IN A FLAME: THE FANDANGO AND FOREIGN TRAVELLERS TO SPAIN

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Resumen:

La apreciación que los viajeros europeos por el fandango evolucionó desde principios del siglo dieciocho hasta finales del diecinueve. Hacia la segunda mitad del dieciocho, y especialmente durante el diecinueve, los viajeros se entusiasmaron por el baile que con frecuencia comparaban con los bailes que se ejecutaban en Cádiz durante el Imperio Romano. A finales del siglo diecinueve los viajeros franceses se enamoraron especialmente de la sensualidad de las bailaoras, cuyos movimientos describieron con gran detalle para sus lectores. Gradualmente, otros viajeros, en búsqueda de espectáculos más apasionados, comenzaron a preferir bailes como el *Olé* y el *Vito*. En 1889, España presentó a un grupo de bailaoras a la Exposición Universal en París. El escritor Catulle Mendès, entusiasmado por la apasionada y exótica exhibición, describió sus movimientos “como salamandras en el fuego,” haciendo eco de viejos estereotipos que a lo largo del tiempo los viajeros europeos asociaban especialmente con las mujeres gitanas.

Palabras claves:

fandango, viajeros, evolución, bailaoras

Como Salamandras en una Llama: El Fandango y Exteriores viajeros a España.

Abstract:

European travellers' perceptions of the fandango evolved from the early eighteenth century to the late Nineteenth century. Beginning in the late 1700s, and especially during the nineteenth century, male travelers became enthusiasts of the dance that they often compared with similar works performed by Cadiz maidens many centuries earlier during the Roman Empire. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, French travelers especially became enamored of the sensuousness of fandango dancers whose performances they described in detail for their readers. Gradually however, other dances, such as the *Olé* and the *Vito*, came to be favored by male travelers seeking the most exciting revues. In 1889 Spain sent a group of dancers to the Universal Exposition in Paris. Writer Catulle Mendès, waxing poetic about the excitement produced by “exotic” human displays at the Exposition

dancing the fandango and other dances, described their movements “like salamanders in a flame,” echoing decades of stereotypes that European travelers associated especially with Spanish gitanas.

Key words:

fandango, travellers, evolution, women dancers

Reseña curricular:

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One of the most difficult obstacles in assessing travellers' perceptions of the fandango is the imprecise descriptions and nomenclature they often assigned to Spanish dance. Most accounts prior to the mid nineteenth century either failed to name the dance travellers witnessed or assigned Spanish dance a general name without distinguishing among variations. This was the case with Antoine de Lalaing's visit accompanying Phillip the Fair in 1501, Lorenzo Vital's account of his travels during Emperor Charles V's first visit to Spain in 1517, and, nearly a century later, 1603, that of Bartolomé Joly, counselor to the king of France. These early travellers described what they saw rfteneficiencie ofefelicidad6&ents when these blind spots are most evident. as a spirited dance “a la morisca,” or “a la egipcia,” devoid of sexual innuendos that would later creep into descriptions of Spanish dance. Vital welcomed it as a pleasant “diversión,” the dancers “componiendo un corro para bailar, sin agarrarse de las manos, porque la una tenía su tamboril y la otra tocaba en él repiqueteando con sus dedos encima” (Vital 1952: 89). The women, Joly noted, danced to the guitar while marking the rhythm with thumb and third finger to which were attached castanets made of wood or marble resembling conch shells (Joly 1909, 526).

the most lively among several Spanish national dances, omitting mention of any Moorish style. It was during the eighteenth century, especially, with the influx of curiosity-seeking Enlightenment travellers, that the fandango became the source of considerable interest, in some cases an avowed disgust, but a disgust tinged with fascination. It was then the adjective ‘lascivious’ crept into some descriptions and was echoed by numerous travellers. By the second half of the century the fandango was generally considered one of two national dances together with the *bolero*, beckoning voyagers apprised of its unsavory reputation who were intentionally seeking it out for that very reason. In 1700, Bernard Martin (aka ‘M’), witnessing the fandango during a feast along the Manzanares river in Madrid, found its movements “impúdicas” and declared that “las mujeres de calidad cantan ese *fandango* de una manera que avergonzaría en París a las castas ninfas de la diosa del Roule” (Martin 1962: 501).¹⁾ Writing in 1765, another anonymous traveler also described its movements as lascivious and indecent although “very expressive” (Anon. 1962: 566).

By the time Casanova made his sexual foray into Spain in 1768 a few years later, the fandango was associated closely with sexual mimicry, and this famous rake was not one to deny himself the experience of what he translated as the fandango’s orgasmic pleasure. In 1763 Prime Minister Aranda had ordered that the fandango be performed only during state-approved masked balls.²⁾ Captivated by the fandango as practiced in the Madrid Teatro de Caños del Peral, the libertine described it as the most seductive and voluptuous of the world: “everything is represented, from the sigh of desire to the final ecstasy; it is a very history of love. I could not conceive a woman refusing her partner anything after this dance, for it seemed made to stir up the senses” (Casanova 6 1894: n.p.). After witnessing it he set out to learn its steps, flaunting his skills three days later at another mask ball. Toward the end of the ball (that lasted until four in the morning), and after plying his dance partner Doña Ignacia with the best wines available, the two danced a fandango: “I asked her if she were content with me. I added that I was so deeply in love with her that unless she found some means of making me happy I should undoubtedly die of love. I assured her that I was ready to face all hazards” (Casanova 6 1894: n.p.). Casanova’s acquaintance and countryman Giuseppe Baretti also sought out a female dancer during his stay in Madrid in 1770, struck by the fandango’s “harmonious convulsion of the whole body” (Baretti 1770: 30), and this seduction scenario involving a foreign traveller and a famous performer set the pattern for a number of future male adventure seekers. Many travellers followed in Casanova’s footsteps to seek out the fandango and in their descriptions sought to convey

¹⁾ The author is possibly referring to the Avenue du Roule in Paris, but the allusion escapes me.

²⁾ The fandango was permitted in official “bailes de máscara” twice weekly between Christmas and Lent. These masked balls lasted between 1767 and 1773 until Bishop Manuel Ventura Figuera replaced Aranda as President of the Council of Castille (Rubio Jiménez 1994: 183). Because of the strict dress code and entry fees, these balls were entertainment for the wealthy, not the general public.

was the sensual pleasure the dance afforded the male spectators. Not everyone was like the prudish Townsend who deemed the dance “most disgusting” when danced by any but the best of dancers (Townsend 1791: 332). With their supple bodies, innate gaiety, brio and expressiveness, Peyron declared that Spanish dancers were born to please the spectator: their performance causes the spectator to cry out not in anger but “for the pleasure he experiences” (Peyron Vol 1 1782: 248). Peyron’s description is a translation of a Spanish text composed in Latin by José Martí in 1712 (Torrione 1992: 13) that Peyron included in *Nouveau voyage en Espagne fait en 1777 et 1778*. Taking a cue from Peyron, in 1797 his compatriot Jean-François Bourgoing expanded on Peyron’s account with a detailed description of the fandango that future travellers would often cite, alluding to its vivacity and “drunken voluptuousness”:

A male and female dancer spring onto the stage from different directions, both in Andalusian costume, typical of the dance; they fly to their encounter as if driven to it. The man extends his amorous arms towards the woman, who proceeds to abandon herself in his embraces; but suddenly she swirls and escapes him. In turn the dancer, as if incensed, retaliates by withdrawing. The orchestra pauses, the couple stops as if undecided, the music soon renews their movements.

Next the man expresses his desires with force and vivacity. The woman appears more eager to respond. A more voluptuous languidness is painted in her eyes; her breast heaves more violently, and her arms extend towards the object that beckons; but a new wave of sadness comes over her a second time; then a new pause again rouses one to the other.

The sounds of the orchestra rise persistently: the music soars to keep pace with their steps. Filled with desire, the male dancer thrusts himself again in front of the woman. The same feeling draws her to him. Their eyes devour each other; their lips nearly touch, she is once more weakly held back by a semblance of modesty.

The musical fracas accelerates, and with it the vivacity of their movements. A sort of vertigo, a drunken voluptuousness, seems to lock them together: all their muscles summon and express their pleasure, their gaze is confounded. Suddenly the music stops, the dancers relax in a languorous swoon: the curtain falls and the spectators revive. (Bourgoing 1797 2:247-48).

The fandango was also increasingly associated with the Romany who Casanova had heard excelled at the fandango showing that by then the dance, or at least the most compelling forms of it, was acquiring a racial pedigree among foreigners. However, there was no general agreement on the provenance of the dance as reported by these travellers. Baretti, often cited as an authority, compared it to the Betic and Gaditan dances that Marcus

Valerius Martialis (Martial) enjoyed in the first century and that later, in the fifteenth century, Julius Caesar Scaliger described in his *Poetica*. Writing a few years later Jean François Peyron in *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne fait en 1777 et 1778* [*New Voyage to Spain Made in 1777 and 1778*] concurred, comparing it with the dances of the *puellae gaditane* (Cadiz maidens) described by Martial, Juvenal, and Pliny. In 1785, Vicomte Fleuriot de Langle agreed with Peyron that it was a Spanish invention, citing a letter of Pliny the Younger about Spanish dances. But other origins quickly surfaced. In 1775, Richard Twiss, although familiar with Baretti's account, quoted *Sobrino aumentado, o, Nuevo diccionario de las lenguas española, francesa y latina*, printed in Antwerp in 1769, that asserted that the fandango originated in the West Indies. Twiss further elaborated: "There are two kinds of fandangos, though they are danced to the same tune: the one is the decent dance; the other is gallant, full of expression, and, as a late French author energetically expresses it, '*est mêlée de certaines attitudes que offrent un tableau continuel de jouissance*'" (is performed with certain attitudes that offer a continual tableau of jouissance. Twiss 1775: 156).

Twiss's contemporary Henry Swinburne declared that the fandango was "of Negro breed" (Swinburne 1779: 228) that originated in Africa and was imported to Spain via Havana along with the *manguindoy*, but he also noted that by his day every Spaniard was "born with it in his head and heels." (Swinburne 1779: 228). Pierre Beaumarchais, author of the exuberant *The Barber of Seville* and *The Marriage of Figaro*, wrote to a friend in 1764 that the fandango resembled the *calenda* danced by American slaves, as repellent and indecent as it was irresistible. Its charm, he concluded, "consists in lascivious gestures and steps" that made him blush "up to his eyeballs" (Beaumarchais 1873: 506). Still, it seems that Beaumarchais was not above allowing a fandango number in the premiere of the stage production of *The Marriage of Figaro*, although as Dorothea Link notes, the dance was eliminated for unknown reasons after the first few performances (Link 2009: 73).³ For his part, the Mayor of Gibraltar, Sir William Dalrymple, speculated in 1774 that the dance originated in Africa: "el fandango...es una danza lasciva que viene de las Indias occidentales...Creo que esa danza procede de la costa de Guinea, porque he observado que en Tetuán los soldados negros del emperador de Marruecos bailan un baile muy semejante, con castañuelas en sus manos" (Dalrymple 1962: 667). On the other hand, Gustave Philip Creutz insisted in a letter to his friend Marmontel that its lascivious gestures were "inventada en los serrallos" (Creutz 1910: 320). Lantier, like Joseph Townsend, reported in 1809 that it was of Moorish origin, and he was amused by reports that the fandango was recommended as an anti-inflammatory cure by Arab doctors, although in Spain doctors recommended it for people "picadas por la tarántula" (Lantier

³ Le Nozze di Figaro, with music by Mozart and libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte, debuted in Viena in May of 1786. In Act I, scene 8, Figaro sings "Ed invece del fandango / una marcia per il fango." According to Link, a special group of dancers were hired to dance the fandango.

1962: 1152).

Given its seductive pleasure that Peyron, Bourgoing, Lantier and later French travellers like Dumas and others were advertising for their readers, it is not surprising that male travellers began paying for performances as well as instruction. The anonymous travel account appended to Richard Bright's European travelogue provides evidence of the increasing professionalization of the fandango. "The fandango and bolero, —he wrote— when performed in the most modest manner, may be deemed exceptionable, at least according to the rigid ideas of our northern climes; but, when Gitanos are the performers, this term becomes far too mild" (Bright 1818: lxx). By mid century the private party would become a source of bragging rights among male travellers especially in Andalusia where the Roma population all but dominated dance. The pride men took in being invited to these parties in Andalusian settings led to competition among men to seek out the most exclusive venues. In 1846 Alexandre Dumas père, accompanied by a veritable troop consisting of the artists Eugène Giraud, Adolphe Desbarolles, and Louis Boulanger, the writers Auguste Maquet and Amédée Achard, and an African servant named Paul, descended upon Granada to soak in the local color and afterward transmit their adventures to their French correspondents. Dumas regarded a dance recital arranged for by his local guide, M. Couturier, as an incestuous and repellent, but at the same time, mesmerizing spectacle. Compared with Bourgoing's 1776 version, the imaginary Gypsy had evolved into a symbol of decadence and sexual deviance by the mid-nineteenth century. Dumas's colorful descriptions would have a substantial influence on later writers and artists, both for their sensual appeal and for their suggestion of the incestuous nature of Gypsy sexuality, a common belief among missionaries, ethnologists, and even contemporary encyclopedists. His description of the fandango performed by a girl and her brother is charged with incestuous innuendo:

The first clicks of Castanets began to be heard and the strumming of the guitar commenced. The father broke into that monotone Gypsy song one hears everywhere in Spain, but that I have not managed to teach to any musician; a music that accompanies everything, work, sleep, dance; then one of the girls began to sway in unison with her brother.

At first, the steps were simple and monotone, a slow swaying of the hips that sought in vain to kindle lascivious looks in the eyes of brother and sister. But then their glances grew more and more provocative. The dancers approached and passed each other, slightly touching not just hands but lips. *Trepignements* that resembled a battle between lasciviousness and modesty emanated from these two nearly joined mouths, and the boy and the girl remained suspended thus, their glances locked together, ready to abandon themselves to their desire that burned in their eyes and pushed them one towards the other. Meanwhile, their father mingled with his song obscene exclamations that convulsed the

audience and seemed designed to excite the boy still further and snatch the last shreds of modesty from the girl. At last the brother removed his hat and with it in hand circled his sister two or three times. Without moving from her spot, the girl arched her head backwards like a drunken bacchante and curved her torso with the most provocative suppleness; then suddenly the hat fell, the dancer emitted a sharp hiss like that of a serpent, the expression of a desire about to be satisfied; he became more ardent, his sister more impassioned, and he pursued her until, to the last notes of the guitar and the singer's last cries, she collapsed in a crumpled heap. (Dumas 1846: 211-12)

What is striking in many travellers' accounts is the analogy of the dancers with animals that had become a common way of charging them with an increasingly exaggerated exoticism or sensuality. Twiss compared them to impatient Italian racehorses chomping at the bit at the start of a race (Twiss 1775: 156). A more prudish Swinburne said the women were "wriggling like a worm that has been cut in two" (Swinburne 1779: 46). Later in the century, Catulle Mendès would compare the Romany fandango and *allegria* dancers to salamanders writhing in a flame (Mendès: 1889: 5), from whence the title of my paper. The tendency to devise metaphors such as this follows a long European tradition even predating the Romantic era to animalize and exoticize the female Gypsy (Charnon-Deutsch 2004: 18; Margarita Torrión 1992: 11).

At the dawn of the Romantic era gradually some travellers associated the "frenzy" and "excess" of the Andalusian Spanish performers with the Spanish character in general or what Edgar Quinet called the "génie espagnole" (quoted in Hoffmann 1961: 112). French travellers especially came to enjoy the South's "inauspicious" climate after the newly established postal routes from Madrid to Andalusia made travel more convenient. Some tourists were inspired by descriptions of performances that Chrétien-Auguste Fischer witnessed during his 1797-1798 voyage to Cadiz. Fischer, like others before him, equated Spanish dances performed by Andalusian women with sexual ecstasy, reporting that owing to their vivacity, beauty and agility, Andalusian women were naturally adept at the fandango and bolero.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the fandango and other Spanish dances like the *cachucha* were a hit on Paris and London stages that confirmed British and French association of Spaniards with voluptuousness (Hoffmann 1961: 115) and also inspired foreign travellers to search out more authentic versions performed *en place*. Bourgoing, for example, had seen Spanish dances performed in Paris prior to his stay in Spain. In his travelogue he passed along an anecdote circulating at the time that later would be transformed into a musical interlude called "Le procès du fandango ou la fandangomanie" (The Case of the fandango, or fandangomania 1810)⁴ and then the short story "The Triumph of the fandango" that Louis A. Godey published in his magazine, *The*

⁴ This musical interlude by Jean-Baptiste Radet, Pierre-Yves Barré, and François-Georges Desfontaines was first performed in the Vaudeville Theatre in Paris in 1809.

Ladies Book of Fashion and the Arts, in 1833, and finally a play entitled *La comédie du pape Pie V* in 1868. In Bougoing's version, the earliest one I have found, a suit is brought against the dance in Rome.⁵⁾ The attending judges insist they cannot condemn something without seeing it, and so the dance is performed before them, whereupon "The severity of the judges could not withstand this proof. . . they stood up, their knees and arms gaining their former flexibility. The courtroom was transformed into a ballroom and the fandango was absolved" (Bougoing 1797: 521).

In "Le procès du fandango ou la fandangomanie" Jean-Baptiste Radet, et al, transferred the scene to France and introduced a love triangle. In this version a French rival for a woman's affection accuses a Spanish dance instructor of lewdness. The happy result is the same and a judge, after seeing the dance performed, allows the Spaniard to continue instructing the merry widow in the art of the fandango. Godey's "The Triumph of the fandango" takes place in the south of France and also involves a merry widow and a Spanish dance instructor. This anecdote will resurface in many forms, in some cases even pedaled as historical event. Richard Ford, for one, claimed that the judgment took place in Toledo and the magistrates, "as if tarantula bitten" (Ford 1855: 103) threw off their robes and joined in the dance after it was performed in court. On the contrary Alexander Slidell Mackensie placed it in Rome where the College of Cardinals were so seduced by the fandango that they flung off their hats and skullcaps and "began to caper over the floor, in delighted imitation of the fandango" (Mackensie Vol II 1835: 197). Finally, in his *Souvenirs*, the Baron Charles-Henri de Gleichen mentioned that he saw a comedy in the court of Carlos III entitled "La comédie du pape Pie V" that also places the anecdote in Rome with Pope Pious V presiding. One by one the cardinals are seduced into joining in with the boisterous dances until finally the "Holy Father, who resisted a long time, at last joined them" (Gleichen 1868:16).

Some of the most fascinating descriptions of the fandango involve novelized accounts tinged with romantic tropes. French soldier Etienne Lantier constructed his description of the dance around a romance gone sour. After seeing the "voluptuous" Angélica dance the fandango Lantier offered her a ring in tribute to her skills after which he is arrested and brought before a magistrate who orders him to wed the aggrieved dancer. Refusing, he is jailed and only released with the help of the French ambassador. Fictional accounts such as this together with elaborate descriptions of late night entertainment in the Albaicín district of Granada or in Seville kept the "romance" of the fandango alive for foreign travellers. But with the growing popularity of fictional or semi-fictional accounts of intercourse between Spanish dancers and foreign admirers, in the mid nineteenth century more serious travellers began providing comprehensive descriptions of Spanish

⁵⁾ Bougoing's is the first version of this anecdote that I have found, but he prefaces his account with the words "on raconte..." (it is said...) (Bougoing 1797: 521) and so it may be assumed that the anecdote was in circulation by this time.

culture meant to serve as a practical guide to fellow travellers. In the 1840s Richard Ford's *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* and *Gatherings from Spain* became the guides of choice for over fifty years for hundreds of British and American travellers. Ford helped to decenter the fandango, bolero and seguidilla by singling out the more exciting examples of "gipsy fare" performed by Andalusian Romany, especially the olé and the *romalis*, declaring it was impossible to describe them (although he dedicated long paragraphs to them), because they had to be seen (Ford 1855: 104). Americans Severn Treackle Wallis and Slidell Mackensie, among many others, took Ford's advice, and like him declared that it was impossible to describe the olé that "like the pyramids, must stay forever where it was planted" (Wallis 1849: 188), especially in Seville, where guides were increasingly helping foreigners experience authentic Gypsy dancing in the Triana district for the right price. By suggesting the names and even addresses of gentleman guides ("laqueys de place") ready to help foreign travellers arrange entertainment, *A Handbook for Travellers* helped men to experience "the real thing", or what Ford called the "unchanged exhibition of the Improbae Gaditanae" (Ford 1855: 166).

Late nineteenth-century travellers continued to allude to performances of the fandango even as other dances were becoming more popular. The proof is Gustave Doré's skilled engraving that illustrates one of the most prominent French travel guides of the 1870s, Baron Charles Davillier's *L'Espagne* (1874). Davillier included in his guide one of the fullest accounts of Spanish dances witnessed by a foreigner in the nineteenth century. In it he claimed the fandango "was known since the 17th century" (Davillier 1874: 396) and asserted that whenever Spaniards hear this, their "national music", it acts like an electric spark that strikes the center of every heart: women, girls, young men, old men, everyone seems to resuscitate, so powerful is it to the ears of the Spanish soul. Still, although he apparently witnessed together with Doré the famous fandango that Doré sketched for *L'Espagne* [Fig 1], Davillier seems to have been more impressed by other, more titillating dances. The long passages dedicated to descriptions of an actual *baile de candil* and another evening spent in a dance academy in Seville focus on other dances. Enumerating the dance repertoire he witnessed in the Seville Dance Academy Davillier mentions seguidillas, boleros, *manchegas*, *mollares*, *boleras de jaleo*, *jácaras*, olés, *polos del contrabandista*, *olés de la Curra*, *jaleos de Jerez*, *malagueñas del torero*, *boleras robadas*, *jotas*, and *vitos*, but no fandango. Travelling a decade later, Frances Elliot, in her *Diary of an Idle Woman in Spain*, attended the same dance academy in Seville and also failed to mention the fandango. It was the olé that was danced by the prettiest and youngest of the dancers, and that left the strongest impression on the "idle" tourists of the day.

By the 1880s, spotters would approach tourists in hotels or on the streets of Seville and Granada and invite them to private "Gypsy balls". Héctor France reported that a "gitanillo" offered his services as a "cicerone" (France 1888: 217) for a private dance with "select dancers" in the Albaicín district of Granada. The show included the ole, vito, *mosca* and,



Figure 1. Gustave Doré “Le Fandango” in Jean-Charles Davilliers, L’Espagne

finally, a *baile del sombrero*. After this last dance in which the dancer placed her partner’s hat on her bottom as she writhed seductively (France 1888: 221), France and his entourage had had enough: “This passes the limits of naturalism . . . We, whose prudery does not surpass that of a den of dragons, ended up disgusted with these indecent priapistic displays and we demanded the curtain be lowered” (France 1888: 221). France estimated that four duros and a bottle of whiskey would be payment enough for the “disgusting” show, but was charged a hefty fifty francs. The tourists escaped with a bill of only twenty francs after arguing with the “Prince of Gypsies” and flashing their pistols in front of the group of menacing Roma. Accounts such as this rather than discourage tourists further promoted the professionalization of Roma dancers since foreign tourists wanted to

experience the same exciting, “exclusive” and slightly daring, experience.

The dance review American lawyer Samuel Parsons Scott paid for on his visit to Seville made an equally lasting impression. Scott was thrilled when his friend “Pancho” (the artist Francisco de la Cuesta) gave him the “good news” that there was to be a Gypsy ball in the Triana that night: “Here was an opportunity as rare as it was unexpected, for the assemblies of these semi-outlaws are very difficult of access, and there alone are danced, in their perfection, the ‘Ole’ and the ‘Jaleo’ against which the edicts of royal councils, and the anathemas of the Church have been levelled in vain.” (Scott 1886: 185). In his description of the ole he witnessed in Seville Scott emphasized the “passions that lurk beneath the usually impassive exterior of this singular, semi-barbarous people” (Scott 1886: 194). It is clear from Scott’s account that the analogy of dances that the “depraved patricians of Rome” long ago witnessed had become associated with other dances, especially the ole, rather than the fandango. By the end of the nineteenth century the Roma of Seville were actively fine tuning their performances so as not to disappoint foreign men in search of sensuous experiences that were available only to a privileged few. Scott concluded: “It is not possible, in print, to convey a just idea of these dances. . . Suffice it to say, that every voluptuous motion, every subtle allurements, that grace and beauty can command to depict the pantomime of love, are employed to stir the blood, and inflame the imagination” (Scott: 1886: 195). In short, the olé, vito and other dances that Parsons, France and others described had replaced the fandango as the dance to watch, pay money for, and imagine themselves Roman patricians being entertained by slaves. Héctor France concluded that the traditional fandangos and cachuchas paled by comparison and others agreed.

The year 1889 marked a surge in interest in the Spanish Gypsy in the Parisian press. In the Universal Exposition that gave birth to the Eiffel Tower, Ferdinand Dutert’s “Palace of Machines,” and other evidence of Europe’s obsession with the machine age, a group of human expositions reminded the twenty-eight million visitors of world treasures that were magically immune to human progress, or perhaps on the verge of disappearing and therefore worthy of a last glimpse. The Spanish exhibit was among the most popular with its daily show of flamenco dancers and musicians who helped to coalesce in the minds of the French the identification of Spain with exotic Gypsies. This is evident from the curious set of texts by Catulle Mendès written in collaboration with Rodolphe Darzens, entitled *Les Belles au monde: Gitanas, Javanaises, Egyptiennes, Sénégalaise* (The world beauties: Gypsies, Javanese, Egyptians, Senegalese; 1889) that attempted to capture all the excitement of the women who counted among the more “exotic” human displays at the Exposition. Mendès understood perfectly both the exotic attraction of the Roma dancers for the Fair’s public, and his role in collapsing Gypsy and Spanish identity for a generation still clinging to Romantic visions of Spain that were the product of the dozens of travelogues still so popular: “What draws us to these savage daughters is our enduring love for the unknown, the distant, the imaginary” (Mendès 1889: 5). The imagery Mendès used

to sketch the Spanish dancers ranges from the more conventional: demons, cats, birds of prey, savage beasts, and others appropriated from earlier travellers to the more exotic such as salamanders (an image probably borrowed from Victor Hugo) and monkeys, for, as Mendès put it, “it is from their animalism that springs their strange and brutal charm” (Mendès 1889: 30). For Mendès as for many travellers the Gypsy was the epitome of Spain that travellers in the Romantic era had forged in their travelogues: “The mysterious amorous and violent Spain, the Spain that plays the guitar and the knife, The Spain of bloody bullfights, whose swords awash with the blood of bulls reflects the eyes and hearts of its beautiful daughters,” (Mendès 1889: 9). Mendès’s description joins the enduring orgy of clichés applied to Spanish Roma dancers that he and other travellers bequeathed to the twentieth century.

Inevitably Spaniards, never short on spoofery, parodied travellers who sought out, commented on, and even imitated their more iconic cultural practices. One need look no further than the entertaining parodies in a humor magazine entitled *El Fandango*, a monthly periodical founded by Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco in 1845 that ran for two years.



Figure 2. *Le Fandango* Jan 15 1846: p. 209

The goal of the magazine, besides reporting on the fandango and bullfighting, was to advertise Aygual's novels and those of his friends, and make sport of foreign visitors to Spain, especially the British, Germans and the "franchutes", the French, who as we have seen were especially enamored of Spanish dance. *El Fandango* included numerous images of what purported to be authentic *jaleos* or dance fests demonstrating the fandango. In the first issue the editor begins by saying that in Spain as in every nation there are good and bad things, and of the good the bullfight Mendès and the fandango deserve honorific mention. Spain's enemies deplore them as uncivilized but, Ayguals insists, Spaniards could care less about their opinions, and remain incorrigible in regard to their favorite pastimes. Old and young men like do it, children do it, even monks do it, but the magazine depicts foreign Imitators of the fandango as ludicrous. It seems fitting to give the last word on the fandango to a Spaniard writing in 1845 about foreign fandango imitators. Beneath an image of two "franchutes" attempting to dance the fandango [Fig 2] Ayguals wrote:

Bailan por ventura el tango
Este par de majaderos?
--No, que son dos extranjeros
que ensayan nuestro fandango.
Fiasco! Fiasco!..., uf... qué mal!...
Pobretes, quién os engaña?
Para los bailes de España
Solo hay en España sal.

If the foreign love affair with the fandango seems ageless, Spaniards, it is clear, had become equally adept at capitalizing on travelling clichés.

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