Dances for the Royal Festivities in Madrid in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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The literature, visual arts and music of Early Modern Spain all testify to the importance of dance across all spectrums of society in a variety of religious and secular occasions. Spanish dance and musical forms have also made their contribution to European dance history, as is well known. Nevertheless, little scholarly attention has been paid to dance in Golden Age Spain,1 with the notable exception of Lynn Madluck Brooks’ works.2 Thanks to her and other researchers, the dances organised for the annual Corpus Christi festivities are the best known area of Spanish dance history.

Secular festivals were also enlivened by dancing, although these have been much less investigated. This article will concentrate on the dances performed during some of the most opulent of secular festivities, the triumphal entries in Madrid, as it has been in the course of research on them that I have come across archival sources unpublished and unstudied till now.3 They show how the dances for royal festivities closely followed the dominant model of the Corpus Christi festivities, with a similar broad spectrum of themes and forms including dramatic and pantomime elements. During the course of the seventeenth century, however, the main contributors of the dances shifted from the guilds to the villages, with a corresponding standardisation of the subjects for dances. This was paralleled by – and linked to – a growing marginalisation of both dancers and dances in the secular festivities.

THE CORPUS CHRISTI MODEL

The earliest known mention of dances for festivities in Madrid occurs in the minutes of the town council meeting from 1481, when the council decreed for future annual Corpus Christi processions ‘that of all the tradesmen of this town each trade present its entertainments [juegos] as respectably and as honourably as they possibly can’.4 Those tradesmen who did not comply were threatened with the severe fine of 3,000 Maravedis, to be annually contributed to the Corpus festivities in all perpetuity.5 The same decree also commanded ‘that on the said day the Moors and Jews perform, the Moors their entertainments [juegos] and dances, and the Jews their dance, under threat of the same fine’. The
term ‘juegos’ [games] here is used as a generic term for festive entertainments but referring in this context primarily to dances, just as it was consistently employed for example in Seville since the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{6} It is appropriate that this oldest reference is connected to Corpus Christi, as the organisation and celebration of the annual festivity in June not only marked the high point of urban celebrations – religious as well as secular – across cities in early modern Spain, but also served as the prototype for many aspects of royal festivities. The dances commissioned by the town council for the Corpus have been comprehensively studied and documented for Madrid as well as for Seville and Segovia,\textsuperscript{7} and it is clear that they served as the model for the dances organised on secular occasions, both as regards organisation and content.

That the guilds, as well as the city’s religious minorities – as long as they were tolerated – also participated in processions to welcome the royal court when it visited Madrid in the fifteenth century is documented.\textsuperscript{8} This seems to have followed ancient Castilian tradition, as for example when the new queen from Navarre entered Briviesca (Logroño) in 1440:

There they [the queen and her party] were solemnly received by everyone in the town, each trade brought out its banner and its entremés [entertainment] as best it could, with grand dances and much delight and joy; and afterwards they were followed by the Jews with the Torah and the Moors with the Koran, in that form which is usually followed when kings and queens come to reign in a land foreign to them.\textsuperscript{9}

The documents referring to dances for royal festivities in Madrid, including archival sources, festival descriptions and contemporary accounts, vary widely in the amount of information they provide. In the first half of the sixteenth century there is little mention of dances in the sources, although we can assume that they were performed to honour visiting monarchs. For the reception organised for Joan the Mad and Philip the Fair in 1502 the council followed the Corpus model: ‘it is commanded that all the trades bring out their painted trade banners with their entertainment (invenção) and the royal arms and those of the town’.\textsuperscript{10} A note made during the preparations for the entry of Maria of Portugal in 1544 is even terser: ‘Dances should be organised’.\textsuperscript{11} In November 1560 the town council discussed preparations for the royal entry of Philip II’s new queen Elisabeth of Valois, delegating responsibility for the ‘dances [fiestas] which the craftsmen have to perform’ to a councilman, just like every year a comisario was delegated the responsibility for the Corpus Christi dances.\textsuperscript{12} The somewhat ambiguous wording recalls that of the decree from 1481, with ‘fiestas’ here similarly referring to dances. The tradesmen’s dances apparently did not suffice in 1560, as a council porter was sent to Toledo and its surrounding villages ‘so that they would bring dances to this town for her majesty’s entry’.\textsuperscript{13} This measure suggests that Madrid and its villages were not able to supply enough dances and dancers for such an occasion on their own. Unfortunately, the festival descriptions and archival sources for the entry provide no further information on the dances.
DANCES FOR THE ROYAL FESTIVITIES IN MADRID

DANCES FOR THE NEW CAPITAL (1570)

The 1560 festivities in Madrid were overshadowed that year by the receptions organised in Guadalajara, Alcalá de Henares and particularly at the seat of the court Toledo, other cities along Elisabeth’s journey. This corresponded to Madrid’s status as a small Castilian town of minor significance, certainly less than the ducal residence of Guadalajara, the university city Alcalá de Henares or the historical capital Toledo. All this changed suddenly in 1561 when Philip II temporarily moved the court to Madrid, a decision which soon became permanent and thus transformed the insignificant town into a royal residence.

The new status was naturally reflected in the lavish preparations for the entry of Philip’s new wife Anna of Austria in 1570. The town council went to great lengths and expense to impress the sovereign and to justify its position as the seat of the court. As regards dances the council signed a contract with Diego de Ostia on 21 August 1570 for six choreographies. Ostia bound himself to provide the dances at his own financial risk for the day of the entry, as well as for the following three days, using ‘new’ costumes and conforming to a ‘modelo y traza’ (design and sketch) in possession of the notary, for a sum price of 890 ducats. Twenty days before the entry Ostia was obliged to demonstrate the dances to the council, so that they could check on the quality and demand changes if necessary. No mention is made of guilds; instead the city council commissioned and paid for these dances itself. On the back of the contract a short note refers to an additional ‘dance of the matachynos’ [buffoons].

Ostia, however, seems to have been overburdened with work, so that on 13 September 1570 the council made an agreement with Getino de Guzmán, who took over Ostia’s obligations under the same conditions. We know that Getino was a dancer and musician from Lope de Rueda’s theatre company and a good friend of the young Cervantes and his father. Getino organised dances and festivities for the town council on other royal occasions and for the Corpus festivities, sometimes together with Ostia, as when they jointly arranged the celebrations in Madrid for Elisabeth of Valois’ childbirth in 1567. In 1561 and 1585 Ostia also provided the dances for the feast of the Assumption in Toledo, and according to the 1570 contract he was a citizen of that city. Despite this documented experience in organising dances the contract does not specify his profession. In November 1570 the council signed an additional contract with Juan de Vargas Leyva for a ‘dance of the Portuguese’. The council insisted on having this dance and accepted the price of 120 ducats that Vargas demanded, even though the ‘director’ in charge of the festivities had forbidden the council to spend more than 100 ducats for this dance. Vargas too was a citizen of Toledo. The fact that the council resorted to professionals from other cities suggests a lack of sufficient dance masters permanently established in Madrid, even nine years after the court had settled there.

The contract’s form and the number of dances originally commissioned, six, corresponds exactly to the six dances regularly performed every year in Madrid at Corpus Christi during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth
The contract with Ostia only briefly mentions the individual dances. The untitled first one is for fourteen persons in coloured silk and damasks, accompanied by three tañadores [musicians]. The luxurious fabrics, high price (220 ducats) and lack of specific individual description mark this dance as a sarao, while the rest belong to the cascabeles. Not only the relationship of one sarao to five cascabeles dances recalls once more the traditional Corpus Christi dances, but also the wide diversity of themes:

- a dance of twenty-four gentlemen dressed as for a game of cañas, with taffetas, feathers and pellet bells, accompanied by four trumpets and three pairs of kettledrums (260 ducats)
- a dance of the seven virtues, each with its attribute, and two musicians with a bowed vihuela and a lute, (200 ducats)
- six nymphs and six farmers (70 ducats)
- a dance of momos (mummers) dressed in taffetas (70 ducats)
- twelve [American] Indians playing with a ball (70 ducats)
- the dance of the Portuguese with eight persons, with two black women, all carrying little bells and accompanied by a tamborilero.

Even from these cursory descriptions one can quickly gain an impression of the variety of themes, ranging from the pantomime, allegorical, arcadian and carnivalesque to the exotic. Without a doubt the dances contributed brilliantly to the sumptuous reception, one of the most elaborate in Madrid’s history, with their imaginative subjects, colourful costumes, assorted types of music and dramatic narratives. How exactly the dances were integrated into the festivities is not specified by the sources; the published festival description of the 1570 entry merely describes them as being performed before a platform set up on the Prado promenade, at the beginning of the triumphal route. From the rostrum the
Queen was able to enjoy ‘las danzas, inuenciones y bayles, y folias’. The differentiation in this listing is informative and certainly not arbitrary: the distinction between ‘danzas’ and ‘bailes’ in Spanish dance history designated aristocratic, stately dance forms and vigorous, louder dances originating in – but not limited to – the lower social classes. Mathuck Brooks notes a further formal distinction for Seville in that the former were often independent performances and the latter part of theatrical works. The Madrid sources I have examined overwhelmingly employ danzas when referring to the dances arranged for the royal festivities, while bailes often means those performed on stages, but not necessarily part of theatrical works, as explained below. Here the festival description from 1570 seems to distinguish between the first danza de sarao and the remaining danzas de cascabeles, while the term invenciones encompassed a wide variety of theatrical performance forms and indicated most probably the more imaginative dances incorporating narrative or allegorical elements, such as the cañas or ‘Indians’ dances. As a dance form ‘folias’ designated a loud, bizarre dance with bells, which seems to have originated in Portugal; here the reference is obviously to the dance of the Portuguese with the bells.

‘VERY BRILLIANT, AS THE OCCASION REQUIRES’ (1599)

The next major occasion for a royal festivity was provided by the entry of the new queen Margaret of Austria into Madrid in 1599. On 18 March 1599 the town council commissioned the councillors Gregorio de Usatigui and Diego de Urbina, ‘to discuss with the tradesmen in this town and with the villages in its jurisdiction which dances they are to perform […] they are to be very brilliant, as the occasion requires’. Over the course of the next few months the commissioners and the director in overall charge of the festivities, Alonso Nuñez de Bohorquez, signed separate contracts for nineteen dances for the enormous sum of 5,777 ducats. Why the council placed such an emphasis on dances in comparison to the other measures and commissioned such a large number of dances is not clear. A possible motive might have been Philip III’s widely-known love of and skill in dancing, as noted by the Venetian ambassador to the Spanish court: ‘He dances very well and it is what he best does and most likes to do.’ This could also have been a reason why Cesare Negri dedicated his famous treatise *Le Gratie d’Amore* to Philip, aside from other more tactical motivations. In his manual Negri describes having several of his choreographed ‘balli’ performed by his students before this same Margaret of Austria on 8 and 9 December 1598, during her stay in Milan. Margaret had also triumphally entered Milan on her journey from Vienna to Madrid, yet it seems that dances did not play a role in those festivities.

Whatever the reason, the town council of Madrid strove to please Philip, who had just ascended to the throne in 1598, even if the reception was nominally for his new wife Margaret. The city paid for one of the dances itself, four were contributed by the surrounding villages and fourteen by the guilds and merchants. The sources make clear that both the villages and the guilds were
forced to comply, although the guilds initially put up some resistance. The tailors for example appealed to the royal council to release them from the imposition, prompting the town council to order that ‘the tailors obey what has been ordered of them, just as they complied at other times on other similar occasions’, and as they eventually did.31 The goldsmiths and silversmiths also refused the order with the argument they were not craftsmen but artisans, a central element in their strategy to avoid heavy sales taxes on their trade. In the end they agreed to richly decorate the Platería street, a section of the triumphal route lined by their shops, as they had done in other festivities. The guilds that complied seem to have contracted dances with themes that bore no connection to their professions, either of free choice or imposed by the council.

Exceptionally, the contracts for these dances have survived and although signed before various notaries are grouped together in one volume in Madrid’s notary archive (see appendix 1).32 In contrast to the single contract for all six dances in 1570, much longer individual contracts, up to several folios, now specify each dance and also include the detailed binding conditions. As customary in such documents they name the dancing masters and the representatives of the guilds, the numbers and types of performers and the financial agreements, offering particularly comprehensive information on the costumes, but almost nothing on the actual choreographies. The contracts frequently mention drawings and designs (traza, modelo) for the dances, which, however, are not included and have almost certainly not survived. The terms of payment are sometimes detailed as well: for example one sixth of the final sum of 200 ducats at the signing of the contract on 4 April, another sixth in mid April, another in mid May and the remaining sum after the festivity. With this system of staggered payments the council ensured that the contract’s requirements were fulfilled, while at the same time the contractor received the necessary funds for costumes and other expenses. The contracts require that the dances were to be performed on the day of the entry, at the head of the procession, and on the following two days, wherever the councillors ordered, as well as fifteen days before the entry to ensure that the terms were adhered to. All of these stipulations are standard characteristics of the contracts for the dances commissioned by the council for the Corpus Christi festivities; once more the religious festivity served as the organisational model.

In contrast to 1570, when Madrid had to employ dancing professionals from Toledo, the contracts for the 1599 festivities name a series of dancing masters who are firmly established as citizens in Madrid. Two of them (Jusepe de las Cuevas, three dances; Juan Granado, four) belong to two clans that dominated the commissions for the Corpus dances around the turn of the seventeenth century, while two others (Gabriel Rubio, three; Gabriel Angel, two) regularly provided dances for Corpus in those years.33 All of these are explicitly named as ‘maestro de danza’ (dancing master) – Granado is also once specified as ‘músico’ (musician) – just like the other dancing masters mentioned: Julian de Herrera (two dances), Pedro de Carranza (two) and Martín González (one). Tailors were also engaged (Diego de Cespedes, Gabriel Rubio is also named
once as a tailor) and a sculptor (Milan di Mercado), apparently when special
skills or knowledge were required. Mercado came from Italy to Madrid in 1589
with the court sculptor Pompeo Leoni,34 who also erected one of the three
triumphal arches for the 1599 festivities, and probably assisted Leoni on this
decorative project. Mercado was presumably hired for the ‘dance of the 24
satyrs’ because of his knowledge of antiquity and the elaborate costumes
required (see below), an example of how a visual artist could contribute to a
dance. Similarly, the dance of the Indians (see below) apparently required
specialised knowledge for the elaborate staging of its exotic theme, as its contract
stipulates that it should be performed ‘... according to the design and drawing
made by Doctor Ferrofino’.35 This means that the concetto for the dance was
devised by someone other than the dancing master, in this case by Julian
Ferrofino, a humanist mathematician who assisted in creating the iconographic
programme for the festivity’s decorations.36 This is the only case known to me
that such an iconographic ‘expert’ was consulted for a dance.

The contracts occasionally specify who is to actually dance. The ‘dance of
the music’ for example must be performed by four pairs of gentlemen and ladies,
‘all eight of them dancing masters’, clearly implying that the four women were
likewise dancing masters. Women not infrequently organised and choreo-
graphed dances for the Sevillian Corpus festivities, although they are named
there as ‘autoras de danzas’ (dance choreographers) and not as dancing masters.37
In Madrid none of the contracters or dancing masters mentioned are otherwise
women, so that this would be an exceptional case. In another dance the
contracted dancing master himself must participate and the four ‘shepherds’
‘should be great stampers [zapateadores] and dancers’.38 The contract could even
specify erotic interest, such as when one woman ‘should have a very good figure
and appearance and a good face’,39 or the Amazons, who ‘each one should have
one breast exposed’.40 Women wore translucent costumes as well as shortened
skirts exposing their calves and feet when representing nymphs or muses,41 but
that the women – and the contract specifies women, not cross-dressing men –
portraying the Amazons were permitted to publicly transgress this boundary of
morality is highly unusual for Early Modern Spain, even if the exposed ‘breast'
was suggested by a skin-coloured shirt, as for example a French costume sketch
from 1626 shows.42 In the ‘dance of the gods’ on the other hand the six goddesses
were represented by six costumed boys, ‘from the seises from the church [i.e.
cathedral] of Toledo’.45 The seises were selected choirboys especially trained for
dancing as well as singing, of which the most famous were those from the
cathedrals of Toledo and Seville.44 Aside from dancing in the Corpus Christi
procession, their employment in secular festivities has also been documented,
although sporadically.45 Other church musicians and singers were also engaged
for the 1599 festivities, including four choir singers and two ‘seises’ from the Ávila
cathedral, but where exactly they sang is not specified.46 For the dance of the
gods the seises ‘were to sing the words given to them by the gentlemen [i.e.
councillors]’. They also presumably danced, even if the contract gives no details
of choreography, and were apparently hired to do both. This is exceptional,
because at least in Seville not a single contract for the city-commissioned dances for Corpus mentions singers or a sung text.\textsuperscript{47} All the other dance contracts, archival sources or descriptions I have examined for Madrid likewise do not indicate singing in dances, although musicians and singers were regularly employed to perform as part of certain decorations, most notably triumphal wagons.

As for the dances themselves they once more range widely over themes and styles. Only one can be considered a true ‘sarao’ dance, the ‘dance of the music’. The requirement that it should be performed exclusively by dancing masters, mentioned above, indicates that skilled dancers were desired for the courtly dance forms. Two other dances, however, also stipulate that their participants perform aristocratic dances, each time as part of a narrative. After defeating the Greeks in battle, the Amazons mentioned previously shall perform a danza de cuenta to the sound of a tamboril, with their cruzados and toqueados.\textsuperscript{48} With or without the vanquished Greeks is unspecified. The term danza de cuenta was synonymous with sarao; that the contract here even stipulates specific steps such as cruzados\textsuperscript{49} (jumps with crossing of the straightened legs) and toqueados (stamping) is exceptional. Similarly, the contract for the dance of the ‘highwaymen’ (salteadores) requires that ‘this dance will be danced de cuenta and with much concert with many figures of many variations’.\textsuperscript{50} This dance’s cast of highwaymen, of a mounted knight with lance, a page and a lady, in addition to the snake and the cliff props, strongly suggests the narrative of a knight saving a damsel in distress from her attackers, although no action is specified.

Five dances (Satyrs and Silenus, Nymphs, Gods and Goddesses, Amazons and Greeks, Pygmies and Cranes\textsuperscript{51}) refer to Antiquity, appropriate content for a Renaissance festivity, although their often loose and even satirical treatment of these themes suggests a less then reverential attitude towards the lofty antique ideal. The dance of the twenty-four Satyrs, for example, has sixteen satyrs with individualised masks, real horns and white and black goat skins, their heads covered with black or white goat’s hair, adorned with ivy garlands, laurel and flowers. The contract goes so far as to detail long fingernails and wooden platforms under the feet to simulate hooves. These costume accessories were most likely the reason why the dance was commissioned from the sculptor Mercado mentioned above. Four young and four older maenads, ‘female satyrs’, strewing flowers along the triumphal route complete this tamely Dionysian clan. The burlesque character of the dance is best expressed in the description of Silenus, the mythological, often drunk, tutor of Bacchus. He rides a donkey and is accompanied by four child satyrs, fanning him, giving him something to drink and feeding the donkey grass:

The Silenus should be very old and potbellied, with a flower wreath and dressed like a shepherd, on a small, well-adorned donkey; on the sides of the packsaddle there should be two [drinking] horns which appear full, in his arms a live, kicking kid; a tambourine with many jingles should be hung in front of the donkey, from time to time he will strike it with a stick that he will have in his hands, and he will faint a thousand times and for that reason drink and spill much cerse \textsuperscript{52}
The contract also specifies some choreographic details: the dance should begin at the ‘first fountain in the Camino de Alcalá’ street, where the queen entered the city, ‘and with their instruments they [the satyrs] should dançar and baileyar when the queen enters, and they should dance down the promenade till the spot where another dance, that of the nymphs, will appear, where they will do as ordered, and afterwards they [satyrs and nymphs] will proceed jointly through the city’. 53

In contrast three other dances portray specific regional groups from Spain. The wedding ‘according to the tradition of Old Castile’ with its detailed cast (villagers, bride and groom, godparents, two village mayors, priest, sacristan, altar boy, musician) once more suggests elaborate narrative action, just like the ‘dance of the mountain dwellers’, with its male and female highlanders ‘dressed according to the tradition and clothes of León and dancing as they do in that region’. 54 Both dances refer to particular regions, Old Castile (Castilla la vieja) and León being the medieval kingdoms which formed the nucleus of the Castilian monarchy established in the twelfth century. Yet reading a political message into the themes would be misleading. Rather, the dances are cast explicitly with rural characters, villagers and mountain dwellers respectively, whose meticulously specified costumes suggest that contractors and audience would be able to recognise them as such. This is not surprising, as a large part of Madrid’s populace during this period originally came from the surrounding rural regions of Castile, including León. 55 The choice of regional theme is thus linked not to imaginary folk types but to real country people making up the audience, who could probably identify with the dances and with the dancers. These regional rural groups might also suggest particular characteristics to a general contemporary audience, and this too could be one more reason for the geographical specificity of the dances.

The dance of the Leonese mountain dwellers moreover includes four ‘savages’, ‘who are to set up a fountain and then retire dancing’. 56 This strongly recalls a similar dance commissioned for the Corpus procession in 1596, where the contract reveals details of the plot:

Eight peasants, one female peasant and a fountain, two savages [this must read ‘two peasants’] go to look for water and finding water two savages come out from an ambush and take the female peasant prisoner; the peasants, seeing her captive, fight a battle against them with sticks and the savages with maces and the peasants in this struggle rescue the female peasant and capture the savages and then the female peasant implores the peasants on behalf of the savages to free them and then they begin their dance. 57

For the 1599 dance we can imagine a similar battle to free the captive rustic ladies between the peasants and savages, who are attired in ‘green cloth all pricked or cut in the form of ivy leaves, with their ugly faces and long hair, leaf garlands and staves in their hands’. 58 Each one of these details is actually an attribute of the ‘wild men’, the imaginary forest dwellers so prevalent in European and Spanish art and architecture from the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century. Although their interaction is not described, this dance interestingly combines the topos of the fantastic wild men with the precise
depiction of mountains dwellers from the specific province of León, mirroring in this juxtaposition the simultaneous presence of the ‘wild men’ in high art as well as in popular belief. Moreover both groups had in common their appeal for contemporaries as exotic elements, of unreal creatures or of remote rural groups, at the same time both inhabiting the margins of Spanish Renaissance society.

Another rural dance in 1599, that of the peasants (villanos), is less explicit and makes no mention of narrative, only calling for eight peasants and two ‘alcaldes’, village mayors but also popular characters in contemporary theatre, all wearing ‘bulging’ masks and differentiated by blond wigs for the peasants and brunet ones for the mayors. While the first two regional dances were organised by guilds this last dance of the peasants was jointly paid for and performed by three villages from Madrid’s outskirts, so that one can assume a fusion of roles and performers — and perhaps a reason for the lack of narrative.

The most imaginative dances, however, at least to modern eyes, are the ones depicting social, ethnic or fantastic groups: riders playing cañas, Indians, the zambra of the Moors, Portuguese musicians, lunatics and monkeys. The dances in this group call for extensive narrative, as in the dance of the highwaymen mentioned above or in that of the ‘hobby horses’ (cavallejos), with its six pairs of riders in Moorish costumes with feathers and turbans. Before the queen ‘they are to play cañas with much concert and joy and run their bull and after finishing accompany her and amuse the streets till they reach her house [i.e. palace].’

Cañas was an extremely popular equestrian game, usually held together with bullfights, in which teams of riders threw canes at each other. Here the riders, on fake horses of course, play canes and also fight against a mock bull, ‘of good proportion and well-made like the said horses’. They are accompanied by the characteristic music for these entertainments, two pairs of trumpets and kettledrums. The contract even specifies exactly on which squares along the triumphal route they are to perform their dance. Exotic characterisations also mark the dance of the ‘zambra’, a Moorish dance, where the four pairs ‘do a zambra a la morisca and dance many figures in their style’, and that of the Portuguese musicians. Severingly more bizarre are the dances of the (costumed) monkeys with their chains and master, or of the (feigned) lunatics — each with a different toy and led by their ‘rector’ — or particularly the dance of the Indians.

Here the etymological confusion that led to the term for the Asian subcontinent being applied to the inhabitants of the New World is manifested in the fantastic mix of motifs: two girls, each about fifteen years of age and ‘of the complexion of quince jelly, as close as possible to the natural colour’, one with a golden and the other with a silver cornucopia, both with feather headdresses and fabulous costumes, throwing either [false] pearls or silver coins, ride on two mock elephants fifteen feet long and nine feet tall adorned with feathers, bells and pellet bells, each elephant carrying a golden or silver pavilion. Two ‘Indians’ accompany the elephants to the sides and twelve others dance in front, all with bows, quivers, arrows, shaved heads, crests of feathers and masks decorated with fake jewels. Once again the appropriate music is called for, as the tamborileros ‘play drum and flute with music in the manner of Indians and the Indians have to
dance and perform many ceremonies in their manner’. This was the dance for which the humanist Firrofino conceived a plan and drawings, as mentioned above, and its exotic subject matter probably required the knowledge of such a humanist intellectual. The fascination for Amerindian subject matter — even if mixed with Asian motifs as here — has been studied for the art collections and in the festival decorations of the Austrian as well as of the Spanish Habsburgs, but less so as a dance theme (see also below). This is a particularly early example and is paralleled by the colossal statues for the second of the three triumphal arches in the 1599 entry, representing the ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’ Indies.

Aside from these more elaborate dances the council also commissioned dances or entertainments of a purely popular nature: a sword dance (see below) from the village of Vallecas with four zapateadores (popular dancers using foot and toe work), a dance simply called ‘of the pandorga’ (a popular comic figure), a man on stilts and ‘a fiesta of acrobats on a stage’. This last entertainment included four female and three male acrobats, of which one was to perform ‘the figure of Ganassa’ and later that of a ‘matachín’ (buffoon), while the lute player should be costumed as a ‘Bottarga’ in red silks. Ganassa (Alberto Naseli) and (Estefanelo) Bottarga were the stage names of two Italian actor/managers who visited Spain at the end of the sixteenth century and were famed as commedia dell’arte performers. Their stage names developed in Spain into the generic term for the commedia dell’arte stock characters of the zanni, as they are evidently used here. The troupe of acrobats might even be possibly Italian, although there is no indication of this in the contract.

The council also ordered the repair of the faces and hands of the gigantes, giant figures, each carried by a person, which belonged to the municipality and were a staple of the Corpus Christi procession. Lastly, the council set up prizes of 50 ducats for the best costume of maidens on horseback and 100 ducats for the best ‘invention’ (costume) on horseback or on foot. This measure was proclaimed six leagues around Madrid, as well as in Toledo, Guadalajara and Alcalá de Henares. In this manner individuals and groups competed against one another and contributed more spectacle to the festivity — in a very cost-effective manner for the council.

OTHER (MINOR) OCCASIONS

Royal festivities provided the occasions for the most opulent festivities aside from religious celebrations of regular annual feast days. Not all important royal festivities included dances; funeral rites for example were naturally not appropriate occasions for dancing. There are isolated references to dances and dancing at other occasions aside from the royal entries in Madrid. During the first half of the sixteenth century various festival descriptions briefly mention courtly dancing at aristocratic evening balls. On 26 February 1544 for example a noble celebration featured individually named members of the high aristocracy performing ‘baxas y altas’, pavannes, and galliards. Occasionally noblemen also commissioned dances, as for the ‘sortija’, a chivalrous costumed
procession, held on 31 March 1590. The prize for the best dance was awarded to two noblemen, who ‘brought out for their invención a dance of blacks; another one of female villagers with hoods; another one of female highlanders with a black maiden, which was Francisca de Almada, the black [servant] of prior Don Fernando’.70

A ‘dance of music of minstrels on clogs, who to the sound of their music performed various dances’, as well as ‘a great diversity of dances’, accompanied the feast wagons to celebrate the beatification of Madrid’s patron saint Saint Isidor in 1620.71 Two years later, 18 June 1622, Isidro’s canonisation (along with that of four other saints) provided the occasion for more lavish festivities. Although rain spoiled the effect a bit, fourteen dances commissioned by the city accompanied four triumphal wagons in a magnificent procession.72 One of the festival descriptions is unusually detailed in describing the dances in the order of their appearance:73 Heralded by trumpets and kettledrums, the gigantes came first, followed by a dance of farmers (labradores) with swords; two angels pulling a giant royal eagle; three groups of four Turks, Frenchmen and Spaniards respectively, with lances and shields; a dance of twelve galleys, each with three masts and each carried by one man, who performed a naval battle between Turks and Christians; and eight dancers with musical instruments. The following four allegoric dances corresponded to the wagons representing the four elements: a dance of farmers (earth), of eight different species of fish – who ‘danced with movements, as though swimming’ (water), eight birds with ‘their feathers, beaks, claws and wings’ (air) and eight dancers dressed in crimson with flames (fire). The number of fourteen dances independently mentioned in both festival descriptions obviously includes the two angels and the four decorative wagons; this use of the term ‘danzas’ for all the elements of the procession once more proves how encompassing the term could be employed. At the same time the types and variety of themes demonstrates how even a singular religious occasion was celebrated with popular, allegoric and theatrical themes.

The Shrovetide 1623 celebrations in the Grand Hall (Salon Grande) of the Alcázar palace included mummery, comedies, interludes and dancing by the sixteen royal pages, ‘who to the sound of violins danced different figures, sometimes in pairs and sometimes solo’.74 They were followed by twelve Basque men and women, dressed in their regional costume, who, ‘holding hands in the form of a circle, danced many extraordinary figures and sang in their language, as they do when they celebrate such feast days’.75 They were followed by eight Portuguese with bells, tambourines and a tamboril, by ‘Flemish’ men and women with three buffoons (matachines) and finally by eight persons, ‘sons of citizens of Madrid’,76 who danced with torches in their hands. The variety of dances in this palace entertainment resembles that of the city-commissioned dances, with courtly dancing, a folk dance, exotic dances with nationalities who at least in the case of the Basques were authentic – and humorous elements. The dance by Madrid inhabitants moreover suggests that the city council probably organised, or at the very least, contributed to the dances. All these dances, as well as others briefly mentioned in various festival descriptions, were for religious occasions,
with the exception of the aristocratic balls and the palace celebrations. They were usually performed in processions, and their obvious model was the annual Corpus Christi dances commissioned by the city. And just like in the Corpus dances, the subjects of the dances did not differ for secular or religious occasions.

FROM PROCESSION TO STAGE (1615)

In 1615 the town council geared up for the entry of Elisabeth of Bourbon, the wife of the future Philip IV. Unfortunately the sources only briefly mention dances for that festivity and no contracts describing them have been located. Nevertheless a crucial innovation occurred that year, prompted by an order from the Royal Council:

So that the dances do not obstruct the streets and do not hinder the cavalry which is to ride with the accompaniment, several stages are to be erected at intervals where the dances will be performed the day of the reception and the day after the dances shall be presented on the Palace square.

The city council reacted promptly and commissioned eight unspecified dances, ‘the best that can be had’. Six stages were erected at the entrances of side streets to the Calle Mayor, the main street of the city and the triumphal route, allowing people to pass underneath yet effectively sealing off the street for carriages. One was located in front of St. Philip’s monastery, ‘where there should be a dance and music of trumpets and shawms’, and one for expressly the same purpose on San Salvador square. At the same time these stages were also used for theatrical performances, and we know from other sources that three of them were located on the Puerta del Sol square, somewhere in the Calle Mayor – probably the Puerta de Guadalajara square – and once more on the San Salvador square. On these platforms the theatre troupes of ‘Riquelme’ (with dances by ‘Benavente’ and verses by Lope de Vega), ‘Villegas’ and ‘Leon’ staged comedies and entremeses.

Until now, as the sources for the 1599 entry demonstrate, the dancers had marched at the front of or in the procession and performed at different sites along the triumphal route, usually in the more spacious squares. This was the normal procedure for the Corpus Christi procession and continued to be observed in that religious festivity well into the eighteenth century. From this point on, however, the dances in royal festivities were relegated to stages. For the entry of Prince Charles of England in May 1623 for example the council erected five stages, nine feet square, along the entry route on which theatre companies performed comedies, interrupting them with dances as Charles rode by, ‘since he liked to watch them’, and would presumably enjoy them more than the plays in a foreign language. One of these stages is depicted on the square in front of the Alcázar palace in an engraving of that entry, with actors and musicians performing before a simple curtain – incorrectly depicted on the side instead of at the back of the stage. Several evenings previously they had likewise entertained him with dances and music. For the Corpus Christi procession two months later, on the other hand, especially magnificent to impress Prince
Charles, no stages were set up and the dances marched in the procession. This is confirmed by a drawing made by the royal architect Juan Gómez de Mora detailing the exact order of that year’s Corpus Christi procession and its approximately 4,000 participants, a necessary measure since everyone strove to occupy a more central position and thus a hierarchically higher rank in the cortege. A note at the upper left states that ‘the dances [i.e. dancers] are not to walk together with the [religious] orders’. Indeed, the six dances documented for Corpus that year, as well as the tarasca (a dragon mounted on a wagon, carrying a female caricature and other figures) and the gigantes (giant figures) are not depicted in the drawing at all, although they too participated in the Corpus Christi procession. All three elements were popular folkloric entertainments and indispensable parts of the religious festivity, yet excluded from the official plan of the procession. The drawing is bound in a volume with many other similar diagrams for other religious and secular processions of the seventeenth century and in these too the dancers are not included. As the note makes clear, the dancers had previously ‘invaded’ the space clearly reserved for the city’s religious orders and were now commanded to remain at the beginning of the procession.

The exact placement of all the participants and the intricate grading of space articulated in the drawing, particularly of proximity to the centre, reflects how strongly social rank was expressed in the hierarchical order of the procession. For this reason banishing the dances to the front of the procession, and furthest away from the Sacrament at the centre, meant pushing them to the margins of society – visually expressed in that the dances were also thus pushed off the edge of the drawing. The same process of marginalisation was reflected in the processions for royal festivities at this time, when the dancers were excluded from participating in the cortege altogether and forced onto the stages lining the route. In this way they also lost the creative, almost anarchic, choreographic possibilities suggested in the dance contracts for the 1599 entry. As mentioned above, the dances of the satyrs and that of the nymphs first danced in the entry procession separately and afterwards ‘met’ and proceeded to dance together. Likewise the cañas dance from 1599 was performed at various squares along the processional route. Dancing in the processions offered many more possibilities for interacting with the other members of the cortege and with the bystanders, as well as for using the space of the streets. From 1615 on, however, the dances were confined to the stages, severely limiting their freedom of movement. This tendency to restrict the dancers was confirmed in the similar drawings made by Gómez de Mora to establish the arrangement of processions for a variety of royal occasions, drawn up for the general codification of palace ceremony undertaken in 1647–1651. Here too dances and dancers are excluded from the official plan of the processions.

VILLAGE, GUILD AND AMERICAN DANCES (1649)

The next major festive occasion presented itself when Philip IV’s second wife entered the city on 15 November 1649. In spite of the economic and political
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decline – or because of it – Philip decreed that no expense should be spared and opulent festivities arranged. Perhaps it was for this reason that the city council commissioned the exorbitant number of twenty-one dances (see appendix 2). Six of them were supplied by five nearby villages under Madrid’s jurisdiction, with the city council contributing the stages. Not only had the surrounding villages repeatedly been forced to contribute to the expenses for various festivities in Madrid since the fifteenth century, but it seems as this convention was frequently widespread in Castile in the Early Modern period. In 1599, as described above, five villages supplied four dances, while this practice is only first documented in 1632 for the Corpus festivities in Madrid. The three villages supplying the dance of the monkeys and the dance of peasants even obliged the dancing master to present these two dances in their villages if the entry took place before Corpus Christi; in other words, the villages wanted to enjoy the dances they had paid for at their own Corpus feasts. The practice of forcing the villages to contribute dances for Corpus became more common during the seventeenth century, and was paralleled in royal festivities when the villages were pressured to organise dances as their contribution to the celebrations. The financial expenses were far from negligible, as the accounts from two sexmos (rural districts) for the performance of dances in 1649 show. They include payments for the dancers, their costumes, the tamborileros, other musicians as well as their costumes, feathers and lances, wagons to transport everyone to Madrid and back, rooms rented there to get dressed, etc., coming to total amounts of 218 ducats for Vallecas and 338 for Villaverde, and were distributed among the smaller hamlets in the respective districts of Vallecas and Villaverde. The fact that the villages organised dances, however, did not necessarily mean they were limited to popular forms. In 1649 they included a dance of Moors with exotic costumes playing cañas, another of a cañas game with alcancias (clay balls filled with ashes or flowers) and the dance of the ‘brave black man in Flanders’. Only a dance of muchachos zapateadores (eight boys with stamping and footwork) suggests folk elements. During the course of the latter seventeenth century, however, some villages specialised in offering particular dances, particularly the sword dance. In 1599 the single sword dance was executed by inhabitants from Vallecas; in 1649 the number of sword dances rose to four, one each from Vallecas and from Brunete and two from the guilds. Brunete monopolised the sword dances for the Corpus Christi festivities in Madrid, offering one almost every single year from 1632 to 1695. This dominance is also expressed in the archival documents for 1649 by their references to the sword dance as simply the ‘dance of Brunete’. The remaining fifteen dances were contributed by the city’s guilds and merchants, but once again not voluntarily. Among the first preparations for the entry the city council resolved on 30 April 1649 that the dances were to be contributed by the villages in its jurisdiction and by the guilds. An undated document briefly lists a large number of guilds and merchants with the individual contributions to the festivities which they have allegedly offered or were requested from them. Alongside many of the guilds there is the remark ‘they have been told to provide their type of entertainment but have not yet
responded, a sign of their passive resistance. The list functioned as a check on the guilds’ donations, as the tick marks beside the names reveal.

The guilds’ contributions to the 1649 festivities were either in the form of ‘voluntary’ monetary donations, of ephemeral decorations or of dances. As we have seen the decree from 1481 quoted above required ‘juegos’ from the craftsmen; in 1599 and in 1615 the guilds were forced to contribute dances, while in the course of the seventeenth century the council increasingly demanded financial contributions and/or ephemeral decorations for the festivities, a transformation which was to have wide-ranging formal and iconographical consequences for the festivities. The contributors of the dances then shifted from the guilds to the villages, a process tied in to the growing standardisation of the dances. In 1649 six of the guilds donated decorations and 16 contributed dances, as well as the stages for them. Two other documents, one dated 9 November 1649, again list the guilds and show that the guilds had gradually bowed to the pressure and donated to the festivity. These two documents also name the exact spots along the entry route where the stages were to be erected, usually the junctions of side streets but occasionally squares or the open vestibules of the churches. Twenty-one stages are listed plus one for a ‘representación’ (theatre work) erected at the council’s cost.

The cursory titles of the dances contained in these documents confirm that the variety of subjects and types of dances had diminished. Dances with biblical, religious, mythological, historical or literary themes, as commissioned for the Corpus Christi and royal festivities in the sixteenth century, are missing in the celebrations for the 1649 entry. This parallels the similar process of standardisation of the dances for Corpus Christi which set in during the second half of the seventeenth century, with established dance forms such as the sword dance taking the place of the fantastic, unique creations with strong narrative content of the previous years. Two dances (‘de cuenta’, ‘de musica’) belong to the courtly form of the sarao, and possibly a third (‘of the nations’). In comparison to the many dances related to Antiquity in 1599, only one (Muses with Apollo and Orpheus) draws from Antiquity at all. Interestingly, three dances with narrative content originated from the villages, while the guilds contributed only one such performance (a mock battle between four Moors and four Christians). Five dances depict exotic or regional groups (‘Indians’, mountain dwellers, nations). In 1649, however, popular and burlesque entertainments predominate, aside from the zapateadores and the four sword dances already mentioned, these include a comic figure (pandorga), acrobats and the dance of the dwarfs, which is exceptionally described in more detail: ‘Eight dwarfs, who, with a device which they carry inside themselves, turn into giants of three yards height and then shrink back, all the while dancing to the sound of a tambor.’

One notable divergence from the dances of 1599 concerns the number of them related to the New World. Three of the 1649 dances are dances of ‘Indians’, of which one is described a bit more fully: ‘An Indian king and eight women and two men, dressed in gold cloths and with headdresses.’ The interest in American themes is connected with the iconographical programme of
the ephemeral decorations, which presented four triumphal arches dedicated to
the four continents, an assertion of the Spanish monarchy’s claim to a global
empire in the face of recent political setbacks. The last arch represented
America, heroising episodes from the Spanish colonisation of Latin America. In
the various archival lists mentioned above the dances are merely referred to by
names, even briefer than the titles in the contracts from 1599. Only one of the
dances is described at all, much more than the others, as it was clearly unfamiliar.
It too has a connection to the theme of ‘Indians’:

They [the guild] have offered to place a tree at some spot and in the middle of it a type
of wheel, on which there is to be a bull, a knight fighting it on horseback, a page and two
bullfighters, at the very top Fama, dressed in gold cloth, holding in one hand a trumpet
and in the other a standard with the royal arms; four ropes are to hang from the wheel
and from them four monkeys, dressed in red and silver; at the bottom four other monkeys,
dressed in the same way, who turn the whole construction so that the other four fly
through the air, only the Fame remains stationary.

The description immediately recalls the dance of the ‘voladores’ [flyers] from Mexico, an acrobatic dance of Pre-Cortesian origin with religious and
astronomical connotations, still surviving today in a somewhat commercialised
form in Papantla (Veracruz). The ritual not only appears in Aztec codices but
was also mentioned by the colonial chroniclers and historians of Mexico, first
of all by Fray Diego Durán in 1579. The first printed widely-circulated
description, however, appeared in Juan de Torquemada’s Monarquía Indiana,
published in Seville in 1612, whose Book 10, Chapter 38 is wholly dedicated to
the ‘Voladores’: ‘Among other forms of celebrations which these Western Indians
had, [...] was a manner of flying, circling in the air, tied by ropes which hung
from a highly placed and thick wooden structure.’ Torquemada goes on to
describe in extensive detail how an immensely tall tree was cut down and then
replanted in an open space with a revolving square wooden frame at the top, how
the dancers performed perilous acrobatic dances at the top of the tree, how four
dancers, dressed as birds and tied to ropes fixed to the frame, plunged from the
platform and circled the tree, finally landing at the bottom. He also interprets the
dance as having cosmological and religious meaning, but which he claims had
been lost since the Spanish conquest. The ‘voladores’ dance in 1649, referred to
in the sources as ‘dança del arbol toreador y rueda’ (the dance of the tree,
bullfighter and wheel), creatively and idiosyncratically interprets the anthropological description of the ‘voladores’ and adds original elements in a peculiar
mix of motifs. The tree, the ‘type of wheel’, the number of four monkeys hanging
from it and spinning around, and the figure of fame – corresponding to the
central dancer at the top of the tree – all most probably derive from the
Mexican dance. At the same time the bull, the knight, the page and the two
bullfighters – probably papier mâché figures fixed onto the wheel and revolving
with it – interject other more Spanish elements. The transformation of the
central dancer into the figure of Fame adapts the whole invention to the
occasion, while that of the flyers into monkeys, with their assistant monkeys
turning the wheel, is a satiric re-interpretation, perhaps motivated by
Torquemada’s harsh critique of the ‘idolatrous’ ritual. In a second part of the description a stage ‘framed in stone’ is mentioned, possibly at the bottom of the tree, with a ‘mascarade’ of women and men all equipped with feathers, quivers and arrows ‘in the Indian manner’, with four cartouches displaying the arms of four unspecified kingdoms. This part of the ‘dance’ confirms its overall Amerindian theme and reinforces the connection with the ‘voladores’. Although the iconographic American references prevalent in the art of the period, and specifically in the decorations of this entry, usually have a strong imperialistic tone, such a satiric recreation of a specific Amerindian dance is something otherwise unique in Spanish dances of this period.

MARGINALISATION OF DANCING (1680, 1690)

The next two major festive occasions occurred in 1680 (entry of Marie Luise of Orleans) and 1690 (entry of Marianna of Neuburg), the first and second wives of Charles II. The numerous and detailed sources as well as the festival descriptions for these two entries, however, hardly mention dances at all. In fact, all that we know is that in 1680 dances as well plays were performed on stages. In 1690, following a decree issued by the town council, twelve villages in Madrid’s jurisdiction were compelled to supply dances distributed on stages along the route. The guilds now did not contribute dances anymore but instead whole ephemeral decorations, such as triumphal arches or arcades, so that in 1690 the majority of decorations for the royal entry originated from the guilds. For this reason a coherent iconographical programme did not exist anymore. The council and its organisational committee for the festivities not only delegated the expenses for the dances to the villages but also to a large extent its control of their themes and costumes, which is perhaps why the dances are hardly mentioned anymore in the sources. This organisational change in the royal festivities is a reflection, if not in part the cause, of the process of standardisation of the dances mentioned above.

In 1699 Charles II bowed to moralist pressure and forbid women to participate in the Corpus dances as well as limited dancing in the churches, a step towards the ultimate suppression of dances in Corpus in 1792. The use of dancing in secular festivities evolved along similar lines earlier during the seventeenth century as we have seen: Dances were banished from the processions and fixed to the stages as well as excluded from the official plans of the processions. The expenses taken in organising dances and their highly visible performance in the 1599 festivity for example contrasts strongly with their subordinate role one hundred years later in 1690. Although dance still played an important role in the folk as well as aristocratic culture of Spain, for royal festivities at least its organisers and performers were increasingly drawn from the surrounding villages and thus from the edges of the city and of society, a reflection of the marginalisation of dance in royal festivities.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

1. The pioneering archival investigations of Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (‘Danzas y bailes en España en los siglos XVI y XVII’, in La ilustración española y americana, 21 Nov. 1877, Suplemento al no. XLIII, 330) and Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mejigangas desde fines del siglo XVI á mediados del XVIII, Madrid 1911, Vol. 1.1) and have not been superseded and have served as the basis for most later publications, including Aurelio Capmany’s systematic overview (‘El baile y la danza’, in Francesc Carreras y Gandi (ed.), Folklore y costumbres de España, Barcelona 1944, Vol. II) and the superficial chapter in Andrés Amorós and Jose Maria Diez Borque (eds.), Historia de los espectáculos en España, Madrid 1999: 273–318.


4. The decree is in the minutes (Libros de Acuerdos) of the Madrid city council: A. Millares Carlo and J. Artiles Rodriguez, Libro de Acuerdos del Concejo de Madrid I (1464–1485), Madrid 1932, 103, decree of 22 June 1481, ‘Este dicho día, se acordó por los dichos corregidor e regidores que todas las fiestas del cuerpo de Nuestro Señor que de aquí adelante se fijieren, que de todos los oficios de la Villa saquen cada oficio sus juegos con representación honrosa, lo mas honradamente que ellos pudieren e, si algun oficio fuere pequeno, que se junten dos oficios para sacar un juego, e cualquier oficio que no sacare su juego aquel día santo, perpétuamente para siempre jamás en cada año pague de pena tres mill maravedís para la costa de la misma fiesta; e mandaron que los moros e los judíos saquen el dicho día, los moros sus juegos e danzas, e los judíos su danza, so la misma pena.’

5. The city council seems to have been rather aggressive in forcing the populace to finance the Corpus festivities, as reflected in the royal decree from 1510 prohibiting it from forcing the poor to donate. See Timoteo Domingo Palacios (ed.), Documentos del Archivo General de la Villa de Madrid, Madrid 1906, vol. IV: 167–9: ‘Provisión de la Reina Doña Juana y su Consejo para que en Madrid no contribuyesen los pobres a los gastos del Corpus y demás fiestas de Villa, Madrid,’ 24.12.1510.

6. According to Matluck Brooks the term ‘juegos’ was used to refer to the dances, tarasca (dragon figure) and giants organised for the Corpus festivities; see Matluck Brooks, The Dances ... (as in Note 2): 57, 79.


9. The festivities were on occasion of Blanca of Navarre’s wedding to the future Henry III of Castile; see ‘Crónica de don Juan Segundo’, in Cayetano Rosell (ed.), Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, Vol. II (Colección Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 68), Madrid 1953, 565, ‘é allí les fue hecho muy solamente recebimiento por todos los de la villa, sacando cada oficio su pendón en su entremés lo mejor que pudieron, con grandes danzas é muy gran gozo y alegría; é despues destos venían los judíos con la Tora, é los Moros con el Alcorán, en aquella forma que se suele hacer a los Reyes que nuevamente vienen
á reynar en parte estraña'.
12. Archivo de la Villa de Madrid, Libro de Acuerdos XIV, 17.11.1559, ‘fiestas que tienen de hazer los oficiales’.
13. Ibid., 15.3.1560: ‘que se lybre a Pedro de Porra portero veynte reales por ocho dias que se ocupó en yr a Toledo por mandado desta villa y a los lugares de la tierra dellas para que vynosen con danças al reçebimento de su majestad a esta villa.’
14. The lengthy description of the festivities commissioned by the city council testifies to these aspirations; Juan López de Hoyos, Real apparato, y svmtvoso recebimento con que Madrid ... rescibio ala Serenissima reyna D. Ana de austria, ... Madrid, 1572 (quoted according to the reprint in José Simon Diaz, Fuentes para la historia de Madrid, Madrid 1964, 55 118).
15. Archivo Historico de Protocolos de Madrid, Protocol Nr. 744, fols. 144r–147v.
16. The term matachin meant a type of theatrical buffoon performing dances with inflated bladders or wooden swords and including acrobatics and sometimes pantomime; see Maurice Esses, Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain during the 17th and Early 18th Centuries. Stuyvesant, NY 1990: I, 677–81. Occasionally the term became confused with harlequins, as when four matachins danced with four bottargas (harlequins) during carnival in Madrid in 1680; see Norman D. Shergold, ‘Ganassa and the “Commedia dell’arte” in Sixteenth-Century Spain’, in Modern Language Review 50, 3 (July 1956): 364–5.
17. AHPM, Protocol Nr. 744, fols. 130r–131v.
19. Cotarelo y Mori, Coleccion de entremeses ... (as in Note 1); CLXXIII; Cotarelo quotes a contract for the two dances for 1583, which states the name as ‘Diego de la Ostia’ and confirms that he is a citizen of Toledo. The rare surname of ‘Ostia’ suggests he could be Italian, or more likely, of Italian descent.
20. AHPM, Protocol Nr. 744, no folio number, at end of volume.
22. Matluck Brooks, The Dances ... (as in Note 2): 147–8, 153–93; Portús Pérez, La antigua procesion del Corpus Christi ... , 190.
23. Matluck Brooks, The Dances ... (as in Note 2): 172.
24. Lopez de Hoyos, Real apparato, y svmtvoso recebimento ... , 59.
25. Matluck Brooks, The Dances ... (as in Note 2): 35–8, 146–9 and her The Art of Dancing ... (as in Note 2): 122–6.
26. Esses, Dance and Instrumental Diferencias ... (as in Note 16): 636–9 and Matluck Brooks, The Art of Dancing ... (as in Note 2): 130–9; I unfortunately was not able to consult the article by Jose Sasportes, ‘Feasts and Folias: The Dance in Portugal’, in Dance Perspectives, 42 (1970).
27. Archivo de Villa de Madrid Libro de Acuerdos, 18 March 1599, ‘traten con los oficios que ay en esta villa y con los lugares de su jurisdicion que danças an de hazer [...] han de ser muy luçudas como con bõi e’.
28. ‘Danza muy bien y es la cosa que mejor hace y de que más le gusta.’ The ambassador Simon Contarini, in his report to Venice at the end of 1605, quoted in Cotarelo y Mori, Coleccion de Entremeses ... (as in Note 1): clxix. The ‘original’ Italian passage in the publication of the report (Relazioni degli stati europei lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori Veneti nel secolo decimosettimo, edited by Nicolò Barozzi and Guglielmo Berchet, Venezia 1856 [facsimile Torini 1978]: 290) reads ‘balla molto bene, ed è la cosa che gusta di più, piacendogli di essere lodato in questo divertimento’. It is, however, itself translated from three contemporary copies in Spanish.
29. Cesare Negri, Le Gratte d’Amore, Milan 1602, frontispiece and dedication page; as well as 12–14.

31. Archivo de Villa de Madrid, Libro de Acuerdos XXIV 16.9.1599, ‘Hizose relacion como los sastres an apelado para el q.o [consejo] sobre mandarles que siruan con alguna dança e ynbencion para el resgimiento de la Reyna Nuestra Señora y se quieren examir de lo hazer y se a mandado yr a hazer relacion se acordo que los senores comisarios y el procurador general se hallen presentes en el q.o [consejo] y defendian ____? de manera que se entienda que los sastres cumplan lo que se les a mandado como otras bczes lo an hecho en scmcnjantes ocasiones y hagan las diligencias necesarias.’


33. Portús Perez, La antigua procesion del Corpus Christi … (as in Note 7): 193–6, and appendix II.

34. B. Gilman Proske, Pompeo Leoni. Work in Marble and Alabaster in Relation to Spanish Sculpture (The Hispanic Society of America), New York 1956, 29.

35. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Protocol No. 194, fol. 267v: ‘[...] conforme a la muestra y traza que a dado el Doctor Ferrofyno’ (see appendix 1).

36. Ferrofino received 150 ‘escudos de oro’ for his help in the ‘invention of the archs’ (Archivo de Villa de Madrid: ASA 4-122-15 Libro de noticias particulares, asi de nacimientos de Principes, como de muertes, entradas de Reyes y otras cosas, fol. bbr.) Ferrofino was originally from Alexandria (Italy) and was royal cosmographer as well as professor for mathematics at the Academy of Mathematics in Madrid from 1598 to his death around 1605. The reference might also be to his son Julio Cesar Ferrofino, who also taught mathematics at the same institution, although he was probably too young in 1599. See Felipe Picatoste y Rodriguez, Apuntes para una Biblioteca Cientifica Espanola del S. XVI. Madrid 1891; Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Biblioteca maritima espanola. Madrid 1852 Bd. I–II; Cristóbal Perez Pastor, Bibliografia Madrileña. Madrid 1907, Bd. II S.106, Bd. III S. 372.


38. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocol No. 194, fol. 222r, ‘estos an de ser grandes zapateadores y bayladores’.

39. Ibid., fol. 298r, ‘a de ser de muy buen talla y parcer y bien rostro’.

40. Ibid., fol. 285v, ‘y las amagonas cada vna con un pecho de fuera conforme al modelo y pintura’.

41. Matluck Brooks, The Dances … (as in Note 2): 162.

42. Marie-Françoise Christout, Le Ballet de Cour au XVIIe siècle, Géneve 1987, 148; the sketch there by Daniel Rabel is for the ‘Ballet de la douairière de Billebahaut (1626)’ for the entry of the ‘Androgynes’.

43. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocol 194, fol. 222r, ‘Las seis diosas an de cantar las letras de que los senores les fueren dadas las cuales an de ser seis muchachos de los seises de la yglesia de Toledo.’

44. Matluck Brooks, The Dances … (as in Note 2): 91 143.

45. Ibid. 120 and Essentials, Dance and Instrumental Diferencias … (as in Note 16): 415.

46. Archivo de Villa de Madrid, Libro de Acuerdos, 27.10.1599.

47. Matluck Brooks, The Dances … (as in Note 2): 169.


50. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocol 194, fol. 990r, ‘dicha danza se danzara de quenta y con mucho concierto con muchas mudanzas de muchas diferencias’.

51. Ever since Homer (Iliad III:6) sang of the cranes who brought death to the Pygmies the battle between these two, known as the Geranomachia, has been a popular theme
in antique literature and art, with the Pygmies occasionally riding on partridges or goats. See Paulys Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart 1959, Band XXIII, 2.

52. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocol 194, fol. 214v: 'El Sileno a de ser muy hierno barriego con guirnalda y bustido a lo pastoril en vn borrico sardesco bien aderezado a los laodos de la albarda a de tener dos cuernos que parezcan llenos en braços un cabrito vivo que baya rebalando[?] y un tamboril con muchas sonajas el cual era colgado delante del borrico y de enqueando enqueando le yra batiendo con vna baquetia que tendria en la mano e yra haciendo siempre mill desmayos por eso bebebra y derramará mucha cerse[?]'; I read 'cerse', but cannot decipher its meaning; it could possibly refer to 'celia', the ancient Iberian beverage of fermented wheat.

53. Ibid., fol. 212v: 'y con sus instrumentos an de danzar y baylar alli al tiempo que entre la Reyna Nuestra Señora y an de yr danzando en la alameda abajo donde saldria otra dança de ninfas donde haran lo que se les ordenase y de allí passaran a delante a andar po la villa'.

54. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocol 194, fol. 288r: 'bestidas a su uso y traxe de Leon baylanda al uso de aquella tierra'.

55. For the period 1650–1836 about 24 per cent came from New Castile, 17 per cent from the province of Madrid and 16 per cent from Old Castile (including León). See Madrid. Atlas Historico de la Ciudad (Virgilio Pinto Crespo and Santos Madrazo Madrazo, eds.), Madrid 1995: 148.

56. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocol 194, fol. 288r: 'los salbajes an de armar una fuente y armada se an de retirar danzando'.

57. Agullo y Cobo, ‘Documentos sobre la fiestas ...’ (as in Note 7): 61: ‘memoria de esta danza = de ocho villanos y vna billana y vna fuente, dos saluajes [?] que van a vuscar agua y buscando el agua salen dos saluajes de vna enuoscada y prenden a la villana/y a los billanos biendola presa trauan vna batalla ellos con garrotes y los saluajes con vnas maqas y los billanos en esta pelea rescatan la billana, y prenden los saluajes y luego la billana ruego por los saluajes que les den libertad y luego enpiejan su danca, con toque a dos y sus passos diferentes vnos de otros y todo esto es de mucho gusto’. The savages were dressed completely ‘de pelo cubiertos muy al natural con sus guirnaldas de yedra y çenidores’. Pedro Cenzano contracted for this dance along with a second one of ‘Bacchus and the monkeys’.

58. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocol 194, fol. 288r: 'los dichos quatro salbajes an de yr bestidos de pano berde todo picado o cortado a manera de ojas de guiedra con sus rostros feos y las cabelleras largas con sus guirnaldas de ojas y unos bastones en las manos'.

59. Ibid., fol. 207r: 'y que en llegando a la presencia de Su Magestad delante della an de jugar las cañas con mucho concierto y regocijo y correr su toro y acabado alii venir acompanandola e regocijando las calles y asta dexarla en su cassa'.

60. Ibid., fol. 206v, 'de buena proporcion y bien hecho como lo han de scr los dichos caballos'.

61. In his dictionary Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco (Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, Madrid 1611 [facsimile, Madrid 1993]) defines a ‘zambra’ as a Moorish dance performed to the sound of bagpipes and flutes; see also Cotarelo y Mori, Colección de Entremeses ... (as in Note 1): CCLXV. Its origin in Andalusia (and probably the rest of Spain) seems to lie in the ‘Zamba mora’ named after the zimr, a folk oboe used to accompany a festival of the same name, and danced with small brass cymbals in each hand. Cf. International Encyclopedia of Dance, New York 1998, Vol. IV:664.

62. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocol 194, fol. 267v, 'a de ser mujer de quinze años poco mas o menos de color de menbrillo procurando ymitar el natural'.

63. Ibid., fol. 267v, 'los dichos doze yndios an de yr delante de las dichas yndias y elefantes tañando y danzando los onze dellos danzan y el otro a de tañar con tanboril y flauta con tañidos al natural de yndios y los yndios an de danzar y hazer muchas ciremonias al natural'.

64. See Friedrich Polleroß, Andrea Sommer-Mathis and Christoph F. Laferl (ed.),
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66. See Appendix 1.
68. See the festival descriptions reprinted in José Simón Díaz (ed.), Relaciones breves de actos públicos celebrados en Madrid de 1544 a 1650, Madrid 1982, pp. 4, 6, 8, 10 and 16.
69. Relación de las fiestas de toros y cañas, celebradas el 26 de febrero ..., reprinted in Simón Díaz, Relaciones breves ... (as in Note 68): 7–8.
70. Relación de la sortija que se hizo en 31 de marzo de 1590, reprinted in Simón Díaz, Relaciones breves ... (as in Note 68): 35, ‘sacaron por invención una danza de negros; otra de aldeanas con capillos; otra de sayagües con una novia negra, que era Francisca de Almada, la negra del prior Don Fernando’.
71. Relación de las fiestas de la beatificación de San Isidro, reprinted in Simón Díaz, Relaciones breves ... (as in Note 68): 116–17, ‘mucha diversidad de danzas [...] una danza de música de ministriles sobre unos quecos que al son de su música baylavan diferentes danzas’.
72. Sumptuosas fiestas que la villa de Madrid celebro a XIX de Junio de 1622 ... and Manuel Ponce, Relación de las fiestas, que se han hecho en esta Corte, a la Canonización de cinco Santos ... Madrid [no year], both reprinted in Simón Díaz, Relaciones breves ... (as in Note 68): 168–9.
73. Ponce, Relación de las fiestas, que se han hecho en esta Corte ... (as in Note 72): 169.
74. Breve relación de las fiestas que se hizo a sus magestades y altezas Martes de carnestolendas ..., reprinted in Simón Díaz, Relaciones breves ... (as in Note 68): 190–1, ‘que al son de los biolones danzaron diferentes mudanzas ya de dos en dos ya solos’, see also John E. Varey, Cosmovisión y Escenografía: El teatro español en el Siglo de Oro, Madrid 1987: 71–8.
75. Breve relación de las fiestas que se hizo a sus magestades y altezas Martes de carnestolendas ..., reprinted in Simón Díaz, Relaciones breves ... (as in Note 68): 190–1, ‘danzaron dasadas las manos en forma de rueda muchas y estraordinarias mudanzas y cantavan en su lengua como suelen cuando celebran tales’.
76. Ibid., ‘hijos de becinos de Madrid’.
77. Archivo de Villa de Madrid, Libro de Acuerdos, 5.12.1615, ‘y que por que las danzas no embaracen las calles ni impidan la caualleria que a de benir en ell [sic] acompanamiento se hagan algunos tablados atrechos en que esten las danzas dancing en el día de el rescuimiento y que el día siguiente baian en las danza a la placa de Palacio’.
78. Ibid., ‘las mejores que se pudieren aver ables quen esten en tablados a trechos danzando el día de la entrada y el siguiente baian en dança a Palacio’.
79. Archivo de Villa de Madrid Libro de Acuerdos XXXIV, 11.12.1615, ‘que en la lonja de San Felip se haga un tablado en que este vna danza y música de trompetas y chirimias [...] que en la plaça de Sant Saldador se haga otro tablado junto a la tore[sic] a donde este vna danza’.
80. Entrada que hizo en Madrid, Corte de Su Majestad, la Serenisima Princesa de España, nuestra Señora Madama Isabel de Borbón, hermana del Cristianismo Rey de Franca Luis dásomo tercio el anno 1615 (reprinted as appendix II in Antonio Leon Pinelo, Anales de Madrid (Ricardo Martorell, ed.), Madrid 1931), 463.
81. Juan de Salas, Relación fiel y verdadera que trata del suntoso, rico, y costoso aparato de fiestas con que la muy noble y muy leal villa de Madrid ... reciau a la Princesa nuestra señora ..., Cuenca 1616, 3r. The persons mentioned are either the famous actress Maria Riquelme or the theatre impresario Alonso de Riquelme (mentioned by Lope de Vega in a letter from Madrid dated 24 December 1615 (Américo Castro/Hugo A. Renucci, Vida de Lope de Vega, Salamanca 1968, 212–13); the playwright Luis Quiñones de Benavente, the author of comedies and actor Juan Bautista Villegas and maybe the theatre director Melchor de León. See Manuel Gomez García, Diccionario del Teatro, Madrid 1997 and José María Diez Borque (Hg.), Historia del Teatro en España, Vol. I, Madrid 1983.
82. For Madrid see Portús Pérez, La antigua procesión ..., 105, for Seville Matluck Brooks, The Dances ... (as in Note 2): 66.
83. Payments of 50 ducats for ‘una comida con sus yavles y entremeses’ were recorded on
23 March 1623 for the troupes of Juan de Morales (performing on a stage in front of the Buen Suceso church), Cristóbal de Avendaño (opposite the Amargura street), Juan Bautista Valenciano (San Salvador square) and Manuel de Vallejo (square in front of the Alcázar); later on a fifth troupe under Pedro de Valdés (near the Hospital of the Italians) was engaged; Archivo de Villa de Madrid (Madrid) ASA 2-57-13.

84. Relación de lo sucedido en esta Corte, sobre la venida del Principe . . ., reprinted in Simón Díaz, Relaciones breves . . . (as in Note 68): 207.

85. Franz Christoph Khevenhuller, Annales Ferdinande (Vienna and Regensburg, 1636–1644, 9 vols.); only the second edition (Leipzig 1721–26, 12 vols.) seems to include the engraving in Book X, devoted to the years 1623–1627, on pp. 137–8. Khevenhuller was Imperial ambassador to the Spanish Court 1617–1631, reported on the marriage negotiations in great length in his annals and was an eyewitness to the events. The engraving has often been reproduced, for example in J. Carrete Paroulo et al., Catálogo del Gabinete de Estampas del Museo Municipal de Madrid, Vol. I: Estampas Extranjeras (Madrid 1989, 2 vols.), II, p. 391 (Inv. 2583) and in J. Brown and J. Elliott (eds.), The Sale of the Century. Artistic relations between Spain and Great Britain, 1604–1655 (Exhibition catalogue, Museo del Prado Madrid 2002) (New Haven 2002), catalogue no. 7.

86. Biblioteca del Palacio Real (Madrid), Manuscript II/1606bis, drawing No. 3.

87. Ibid., ‘las danzas no an de pasar a las ordenes’.


89. Archivo del Palacio Real (Madrid), Planos 4096–4109, originally in Histórica Caja 51 and Histórica Caja 48; on the drawings see Virginia Trivá Martin (ed.), Ivan Gomez de Mora (Exhibition Catalogue Museo Municipal Madrid), Madrid 1986, 16–18.

90. Portús Pérez, La antigua procesión del Corpus Christi . . . (as in Note 7): 194. It is documented for Segovia for its Corpus Christi festivities at least for the years 1598 to 1622: see Fleniakoska, ‘Les étés du Corpus . . .’ (as in Note 7): 25–43.

91. Portús Pérez, La antigua procesión del Corpus Christi . . . (as in Note 7): 300: the dances which Portús lists for the 1599 Corpus as being contributed by villages is a mistaken reading by his source; the dances mentioned were actually those commissioned for the entry in 1599 of Margaret of Austria.


94. Archivo de Villa de Madrid, ASA 2-58-13, ‘Tratantes de y obligados de pescado y tocino y de fruta y queso de la plaça: An ofrecido poner en un lado un arbol y a la mitad del vn genero de rueda donde a de estar vn toro vn cavallero rejoneando un paje y dos toreadores a lo ultimo arriva la fama bestida de tela en una mano una trompeta y en la otra un estandarte con las armas Reales de la rueda an de pender cuatro cuerdas y en ellas cuatro monos bestidos de colorados y plata= en el remate de abajo otros cuatro monos bestidos del mismo genero que mueben toda la maquina y an de traer por el ayre a los otros cuatro de arriva solo la fama que a de estar fija= Lo mismo un tablado enramado de piedra y en el una mascara las mujeres bestidas de tela con camisas de
belillo abiertas las mangas con tocados flechas y aljabas a lo yndio los hombres botas y calcones de tela abiertos por abajo con tocados de plumas mantos pendianets de los ombros a lo yndio con cuatro tarjetas pintados cuatro reynos en ellas’


104. Fray Diego Durán, Historia de las nuevas indias de nueva España e islas de tierra firme, Vols. 1–2, México DF 1995 (Rosa Camelo and José Rubén Romero, eds.), II, 21, pp. 206–1, and II, 23, p. 211; Durán’s manuscript, however, was first published in 1867 (Vol. I) and 1880 (Vol. II).

105. Fray Juan de Torquemada, Monarquia Indiana. De los veinte y un libros rituales y monarquia indiana ... (Miguel León-Portillo, ed.), México, 1975, X, 28, pp. 434–7, ‘Entre otras maneras de regocijos que estos indios occidentals tenian [...] era una manera de volar que tenian, dando vueltas por el aire, asidos de unos cordeles que pendian de un alto y grueso madero.’

106. The head dancer performing acrobatic dances at the top of the tree, playing the flute and drum and remaining there while the four others circle to the ground is described by Durán and every other source, although Torquemada only mentions that each of the flyers takes turns dancing on the top and that several dancers remain there before the four flyers launch themselves into the air.


108. Zapata, La entrada ... (as in Note 107): 209–12.

109. Archivo de Villa de Madrid, ASA 2-64-7, ‘se le a ordenado que cada uno de dichos lugares contribuya para el festejo de la entrada con una dança, bestida a su costa como se hizo en la entrada de la Reyna nuestra señora Doña Maria Luisa que esta en el cielo’; the villages were Las Rozas, Majadahonda, Alcorcón, Garbanche de Arriba, Carabanchel de Abajo, Villaverde, Fuenlabrada, Getafe, Fuencarral, [Vallecas] and Barajas. The most extensive festival description for 1690 solely mentions ‘dances, at intervals, on the prepared stages’; see Lucas Antonio de Bedmar y Baldívia, La real entrada en esta Corte, y magnifico triunfo de la Reyna nuestra señora Doña María–Ana Sofía de Babiera, y Neuburg, Madrid [1690], p. 64.

110. Portús Pérez, La antigua procesión del Carpas Christi ... (as in Note 7): 188.

APPENDIX 1: DANCES COMMISSIONED FOR THE ENTRY OF MARGARET OF AUSTRIA INTO MADRID (1599)

Sources: Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Protocol No. 194, fols. 206–437
Archivo de la Villa (Madrid), ASA 4-122-15, fols. 58v–60r

The information from the contracts is summarised in chronological order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>(folio numbers in Protocol No. 194); Date of contract</th>
<th>Commissioned by guild(s)/village(s)</th>
<th>Director (profession)</th>
<th>Summary description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


Dance of the ‘Hobby Horses’ (caballejos)
(206r–207v) 31 March
Tavern landlords and wine merchants
Josépe de las Cuevas, Catalina Ximenez (‘his wife’)  
12 riders in pairs, each pair in different colour, all with corresponding turbans, feathers and oval Moorish shields (‘adargas’), carrying lances with banners and ‘cañas’ (throwing canes), on painted ‘horses’; 1 feigned bull; 2 kettledrummers and 2 trumpet players, also mounted; 1 tamborriler (drum and flute player); all with pellet bells sewn on legs; before the queen ‘they are to play cañas with much concert and joy and run their bull and after finishing there accompany her and amuse the streets until her ‘house’ [palace] [...] they are to play cañas and run bulls in the Prado of St. Jerónimo, Puerta del Sol, Puerta de Guadalajara, Plaza de Sant Salvador, St Maria square and the Palace square’.
(‘que en llegando a la presencia de Su Magestad delante della an de jugar las cañas con mucho concierto y regocijo y correr su toro y acabado allí venir acompañandola e regocijando las calles y asta dexarla en su casa. Yten que por las partes pordonde Su Magestad viniese el dicho dia an de jugar las cañas y correr los toros en el Prado de Sant Geronimo e a la Puerta del Sol y en la Puerta de Guadalajara y en la Plaza de Sant Salvador y en la de Santa Maria y en la de Palacio junto a el’)
530 ducats

Dance of the ‘24 Satyrs’
(212r–214v) 4 April
City council
Milan di Mercado (sculptor)
24 Satyrs with masks, real horns, white and black goat skins, with ivy wreaths, laurel and flowers; of these 4 older and 4 younger maenads (satiras) with baskets of flowers, strewing flowers along triumphal route; a very old and potbellied Silenus, on a young donkey with a real kid in his arms and tambourine; accompanied by 4 child satyrs, who fan Silenus and one gives him something to drink and one feeds the donkey grass; the 16 male satyrs all with different instruments (flutes, trumpets, horns, tambourines etc.), of these 8 actually play and 8 pretend to play; they dance along the Prado promenade and are later joined by the dance of the nymphs; afterwards they proceed jointly through city.
200 ducats

Dance of the Gods
(219r–227v) 5 April
Shoemakers, tanners, gardeners, esparto workers
Diego de Cespedes from Toledo (tailor)
12 ‘gods and goddesses’ (Ceres, Bacchus, Diana, Mars, Juno, Phoebus, Pomona, Aesculapius, Pallas, Ganymedes, Venus with Cupid, Mercury), each with own costume and attributes; 6 goddesses (portrayed by 6 seises from Toledo cathedral) sing a text given to them by commissioner; 4 shepherds, ‘these are to be great stampers and dancers’ (estos an de ser grandes zapateadores y bailadores) – and 4 shepherdesses, 1 tamborriler and 2 bagpipes; Cespedes keeps the costumes afterwards
7.000 Reales [636 ducats]

Dance of the ‘Wedding in the Style of Old Castile’
(215r–217v) 15 April
Iron merchants, blacksmiths, locksmiths, boilermakers, bronze casters
Juan Granado
1 male and 1 female villagers, bride and groom, godparents, 2 village mayors, priest, sacristan, altar boy, musician; all costumed exactly according to the customs of Old Castile with silks and velvets; Granado is obliged to dance with them
4500 Reales [409 ducats]
Dances for the Royal Festivities in Madrid

**Dance of the Nymphs**
(229r–230v) 17 April
Merchants of the Plaza Mayor square
Diego de Cespedes from Toledo (tailor)
16 Nymphs who dance with the 16 Satyrs [mentioned above]; 3 musicians and 1 tamborilero
5000 Reales [454 ducats]

**Dance of the ‘Indians’**
(265r–269v) 17 April
Pastrycooks, flea market traders, innkeepers
Juan Granado of Madrid (dancing master)
‘according to the design and drawing made by Dr. Ferrofino’; 2 elephants (15 feet long and 9 high) each with a small pavilion and seat, with many feathers and pellet bells; on each elephant a girl about 15 years old, ‘of the complexion of quince jelly, as close as possible to the natural colour’, each girl with a cornucopia, either golden or silver, and each throwing either (false) pearls or silver; accompanied by 2 ‘Indians’ to the sides and 12 in front of the elephants, all with bows, quivers and arrows and with shaved heads, crests of feathers and masks; 1 ‘plays drum and flute with music in the manner of Indians and the Indians have to dance and perform many ceremonies in their manner’ (y el otro a de tanar con tanboril y flauta con tañidos al natural de yndios y los yndios an de danzar y hazer muchas ciremonias al natural)
800 ducats

**Dance of the ‘pandorga’**
(233r–234v) 18 April
Shopkeepers, innkeepers, mule providers
Gabriel Angel
No description [a ‘pandorga’ is a bawdy comic figure]
3300 Reales [300 ducats]

**Dance of the monkeys**
(241v–242v) 27 April
Villages of Villaverde, Getafe and Fuenlabrada
Jusepe de las Cuevas (dancing master)
8 monkeys in 4 pairs of different colours each, each with masks, pellet bells and iron chains; 1 master of the moneys in red damask, 1 tamborilero; villages contribute everything except costumes
80 ducats

**Dance of the peasants (villanos)**
(241v–242v) 27 April
Villages of Villaverde, Getafe and Fuenlabrada
Jusepe de las Cuevas (dance master)
8 peasants with blond wigs and bulging masks, 2 mayors with dark wigs, 1 tamborilero, all with small bells
If the royal entry takes place in Madrid before the Corpus Christi feast Cuevas is obliged to present the dance of the monkeys in Getafe and that of the peasants in Fuenlabrada.
1300 Reales [118 ducats]

**Sword dance**
(23r, 249r) 11 May
Village of Vallecas
Gabriel Rubio (tailor)
7 sword dancers with ruffs, 4 zapateadores, 1 tamborilero; only costumes from Rubio, everything else must be contributed by village
1200 Reales [109 ducats]
Dance of the pygmies and cranes
(283r) 6 October
Gilders, bridle-makers, harness-makers, saddle-makers, swordsmiths and other arms guilds
Gabriel Rubio and Julian de Herrera, both of Madrid (both dancing masters)
6 pygmies with ruffs, hats with feathers, coloured hose, white shoes, shaved heads; 6 cranes,
‘painted to look real’ (pintadas al natural) with beaks that open and close; 1 tamborilero, if
possible also a pygmy
1,900 Reales [173 ducats]

Dance of the Amazons and Greeks
(283r–285v) 7 October
Hose-makers, Castilian drapers, sellers of hose,
Gabriel Angel [dancing master]
5 Amazons defeat 5 Greeks in battle and afterwards perform a ‘danza de cuenta’ [aristocratic
dance], dressed in taffetas and satins with feathers, small bells, lances, shields and swords; ‘and
the Amazons each one with one exposed breast following the design and sketch’ (y las
amazonas cada vna con un pecho de fuera conforme al modelo y pintura); 1 drummer and
1 tamborilero
230 ducats

Dance of the highlanders from León
(288r–289v); 8 October
Tailors, traders in furs and other hides and fur guilds
Gabriel Rubio and Gabriel Angel (both of Madrid and both dancing masters)
4 wild men who set up a fountain and retire dancing, 4 male and 4 female peasants, ‘dressed
according to the tradition and clothes of León and dancing as they do in that region’,
1 tamborilero dressed like the peasants
250 ducats

Dance of the ‘zambra’ (of the Moors)
(290r–297v) 11 October
Portuguese merchants, Flemish and Italian traders in textiles, French and Castilian shop-
keepers
Pedro de Carranza (dancing master)
4 Moors and 4 female Moors, ‘who do a zambra a la morisca and dance many figures in their
style’ (los quales an de hazer vna zambra a la morisca y danzaran muchas mudanzas a su
usanza); 3 musicians, 2 lutes and 1 tambourine; all wearing damasks, velvets and masks
205 ducats

Dance of the Portuguese musicians
(290r–291v); 11 October
Bricklayers, joiners, brick-makers, cartwrights, carpenters, wood traders, stonemasons
Pedro de Carranza and Julian de Herrera (dancing masters)
1 woman with damasks, hat and tambourine; 7 Portuguese, ‘with faces of gallants with their
moustaches and beards’ (rostros de galanes con sus bigotes y barbas), carrying various
instruments, ‘vihuelas, harp, cittern, bowed soprano vihuela, guitars’ (Los siete Portugueses an
de llevar ynstrumentos de musica diferentes de biguelas arpa cítola biguela de arco discante);
one Portuguese dressed in black silk and taller than the rest with tambourine
300 ducats

Dance of the highwaymen
(290r–291v); 12 October
Cap-makers, hatters, weavers
Juan Granado [dancing master]
8 ‘salteadores’ (highwaymen), 1 mounted knight with lance, 1 page with shield, 1 snake, 1 lady,
1 cliff, 1 tambourine player; ‘this dance will be danced ‘de cuenta’ and with much concert with
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many figures of many variations’ (dicha danza danzara de quenta y con mucho concierto con
muchas mudanzas de muchas diferencias)
230 ducats

Dance of the Music
(292r–293v); 12 October
Clothiers and doublet-makers
Juan Granado (musician)
4 gentlemen and 4 ladies in pairs, each male-female pair in a different colour; ‘all eight of them
dancing masters with different instruments in their hands including lutes, [plucked] vihuelas,
bowed vihuelas, cittern and guitars’ (todos ocho maestros de danzar con ynstrumentos en las
manos diferentes en que a de auer laudes, biuelas, e biuela de arco y zitula(?) y guitarras)
3,100 Reales [282 ducats]

Dance of the lunatics
(300r–301v) 12 October
Confectioners, spice traders, jewellers, glove-makers, soap merchants, upholsters
Martín González (dancing master)
8 lunatics, each holding a different toy; their rector/master and 1 tamboriler
200 ducats

Dance of the acrobats
(437r) 20 October
Glass traders, launderers, grocers
Diego de la Cruz
‘A fiesta of acrobats on a stage […] they have to perform many different tricks and inventions,
the men just as much as the women’ (vna fiesta de boltiadores sobre un tablado […] an de
hacer muchas diferentes rebueltas e ynbenciones assi los honbres como las mujeres ); the
4 women ‘dressed as men’ (en auito de honbres); 3 men, 1 performs the figure of ‘Ganassa’
and later that of a buffoon (matachin), 2 musicians, one playing lute and dressed as ‘bottarga’
in red silks, the other playing guitar and dressed as a gallant; (on ‘Ganassa’ and ‘bottarga’ see
footnote 64).
2000 Reales [182 ducats]

Giants
(430r) 22 October
Town council
Pedro de Carranza (dancing master)
Repair the faces and hands of giant figures, their instruments including clothes and one guitar.
780 Reales [71 ducats]

Dance of the stilts
(Libro ... fol. 60r)’
Town council
1 man ‘with his own stilts’
200 Reales [18 ducats]

Dance of the maidens
(Libro de Noticias ...: 59v)'
Village of Aravaca
No further information.
Notes
1. After Joan Navarro, dancing master from Tarancon, offered on 6 July to provide the dance under the same conditions for only 500 ducats, a dispute flared up between the guilds, Navarro and Granado, over who should organise the dance and at what price. The outcome is unclear, but Granado signed further contracts for other dances as late as October. Cf. Folios 270r-281r.
2. AVM, ASA 4-122-15, ‘Libro de noticias particulares, así de nacimientos de Principes, como de muertes, entradas de Reyes y otras’.
3. Ibid.

APPENDIX 2: DANCES FOR THE ROYAL ENTRY 1649
Source: Archivo de la Villa (Madrid), ASA 2-58-13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Villages in Madrid’s jurisdiction</th>
<th>Subject of dance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Villaverde</strong></td>
<td>1st dance: <em>muchachos zapateadores</em> [8 boys dancing with stamping and footwork], <em>tamboril</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vallecas [village]</strong></td>
<td>2nd dance: ‘dance of Moors in the form of playing cañas’ (dança de Moros en forma de Juego de Cañas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vallecas [rural district]</strong></td>
<td>Sword dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aravaca, Alcorcón</strong></td>
<td>‘el negro valiente en Flandes’ [the brave black man in Flanders]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brunete, with guild of gold wiredrawers</strong></td>
<td>Cañas game with <em>alcaneías</em> [clay balls filled with ashes or flowers]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guilds</th>
<th>Subject of the dance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jewellers</strong></td>
<td>9 Muses, Orpheus and Apollo on an adorned stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cabinetmakers</strong></td>
<td>Dance of the Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tailors</strong></td>
<td>‘Indian king with 8 women and two men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wagon and carriage masters</strong></td>
<td>Sword dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clothes merchants</strong></td>
<td>‘Dwarfs that become giants’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plasterers from the village of Leganés</strong></td>
<td>Sword dance [from Leganes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iron merchants</strong></td>
<td>‘Dança de quenta [=cuenta]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pastry cooks</strong></td>
<td>‘Pandorja’ [comic figure]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sword merchants and gilders</strong></td>
<td>‘dança de musica’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saddle-makers</strong></td>
<td>‘dança de naciones [nations]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trimming makers</strong></td>
<td>Young boys and acrobat on stilts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Esparto merchants</strong></td>
<td>Dance of female mountain dwellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fish, lard, fruit, cheese merchants from the Plaza Mayor</strong></td>
<td>‘Dance of the tree, bullfighter and wheel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shoemakers</strong></td>
<td>4 Moors fighting against 4 Christians, <em>tamborilenn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Merchants in fruit, fish and cheese</strong></td>
<td>Dance of the Indians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>