



Black Dance Types in Spanish Dominions 1540–1820

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ROBERT STEVENSON'S "The Afro-American Musical Legacy to 1800," published in *The Musical Quarterly*, LIV/4 (October 1968), 475–502, contains a lengthy discussion of vocal music composed in Spain, Portugal, and the New World with the generic titles of *negro*, *negrilla*, *negrito*, and *guineo*, and includes as a musical example at pages 490–495 a *guineo a 5* composed at Puebla, Mexico, by Gaspar Fernandes (ca. 1566–1629). The present appendix to that article deals with instrumental counterparts of the vocal *negros*, *negrillas*, *negritos*, and *guineos* discussed at length in the October 1968 *Musical Quarterly* issue.

GUINEOS

The dances that flourished in the Iberian world from 1540 to 1820 with African roots included *guineos*, *paracumbés*, and *zarambeques*. Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco defined *guineo* thus in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* published at Madrid in 1611 (fol. 457v): *El negro de Guinea. También es una cierta danza de movimientos prestos y apresurados; pudo ser fuesse trayda de Guinea, y que la dançassen primero los negros* ("Guinea Black. Also a dance type involving swift and hurried movements. It may have been brought from Guinea, and perhaps was first danced by Blacks"). In 1734 the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, tomo quarto, 96, published at Madrid by the Real Academia Española, confirmed Covarrubias's definition thus: *Cierta especie de baile o danza que se executa con*

movimientos prestos y acelerados. . . . Es baile proprio de negros, por cuyo motivo se le dio este nombre ("Dance type involving exceedingly fast and accelerated movements; properly a Black dance and therefore given this name").

Although no longer a current dance type after 1800, Antonio Cairón in his *Compendio de las principales reglas del baile: traducido del francés . . . y aumentado de una explicación exacta, y metodo de ejecutar la mayor parte de los bailes conocidos en España tanto antiguos como modernos* published at Madrid in 1820, at pages 100–101 filiated the *guineo* with the *zarabanda*, and decreed that it had always been a triple-meter dance with fast and intricate footwork (*siendo siempre su compás ternario, y los movimientos de los pies y cuerpo retorcidos y descompuestos*). In Cairón's view, various dance-types derived from the *zarabanda* (and its filials such as the *guineo*) still persisted in 1820 with such names as *zorongo*, *[h]olé*, and *cachucha*.

Already before mid-sixteenth century the *guineo* was a popular tune as well as dance. Rodrigo de Reinosa in a broadside (*pliego suelto*) published at Burgos in about 1540 included lyrics beginning *Mangana mangana* "which are to be sung to the *guineo* tune" (*Hanse de cantar al tono de guineo* [Vicente Castañeda and Amalio Huarte, *Nueva colección de pliegos sueltos*, Madrid, 1933, page 134; see page xv for the suggested 1540 date]). Subtypes of the *guineo* were also well known a few years later in the century. Eugenio Salazar de Alarcón, governor of the Canary Islands, wrote a letter dated November 10, 1568, mentioning the signals played by Black drummers in the islands' military forces. According to him,



Blacks played all ten signals (*recoger, orden, marchar, hacer alto, arma, escaramuza, plegaria, arre-meter, batería, retirar*) to the sound of the *gurumbé, chanchanmelé*, and other *guineos* (*todo lo tocan a la sonada del gurumbé o chanchanmele y otros guineos* [Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII*, pt. 1, vol. 1, Madrid, 1911, page ccl, quoting from *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, LXII, 1870, page 289]).

Not only in the New World—where Gaspar Fernandes's vocal *guineos* were being sung frequently during his tenure as chapelmaster of Puebla Cathedral from September 15, 1606, to his death shortly before September 18, 1629—but also in Spain, *guineos* that were danced to instrumental music (as well as sung)—were considered completely acceptable at church ceremonies during Gaspar Fernandes's epoch. On August 4, 1619, for example, at the consecration of a church at Monforte dedicated to Our Lady, six dancers wearing blackface masks performed an elaborate "ballet" to the music of a *guineo*. During it they began by bending low. Then they changed places, ribboned about, and next regained their first stations, all the while presenting arms (*Començaron floxeando, mudando lugares y haciendo laços se volvieron a sus puestos: en ellos jugaron armas y por azer de todo dançaron al glu]guineo con sus mascarillas negras* [quoted from *Brebe relación de las fiestas que el colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Monforte yço en la consagración de la yglesia nueva de N[uest]ra Señora de la Antigua en 4 de agosto de 1619* in Jenaro Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones de solemnidades y fiestas públicas de España*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1903, I, 203]). The patron of this event was the same Count of Lemos to whom Cervantes three years previously had dedicated *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (dedication written April 19, 1616, four days before Cervantes's death at Madrid, April 23). The courtiers who accompanied the count to Monforte and who were the most sophisticated witnesses of the blackface dance that was included among the Monforte church consecration events, sat with their mouths open in delighted amazement (*Estaban todas las bocas abiertas a este espectáculo, principalmente los cortesanos que como más entendidos en este arte se admiraban más del orden deste sarao*).

The name of the choreographer for the Monforte sarao August 4, 1619, has not been preserved. However, the names of the mid-seventeenth-century producers of dances at Corpus Christi festivities in

Madrid that almost invariably included *negros* or *guineos* have been collected in N. D. Shergold and J. E. Varey's *Los autos sacramentales en Madrid en la época de Calderón 1637-1681. Estudio y documentos* (Madrid: 1961). The producers usually presented a list of possible dances to the city authorities who contracted them. As an instance of the favor shown *negros* and *guineos*: in May 1651 Gaspar de Flores submitted a list of nine possible dances: Goliath and David, hunters, Indians, Moors, Gypsies, Galicians, four national dances, six Spanish dances, and *danza de negros*. The city officials chose Gypsies, Galicians, and the *danza de negros* to be performed with *cascaholes*=jingles (Shergold and Varey, pages 100-102). In 1670, 1673, and 1674, the contracts with producers of the Corpus dances—Domingo García and Sancho de Ribera—specifically called for dancers dressed as Guinea blacks dancing *guineos*. The contracts dated April 16, 1670, April 15, 1673, and May 10, 1674 (Shergold and Varey, pages 214, 254, and 274) contain the following clauses:

Another dance of eight boys dressed Guinea-style in serge (dress-coats, breeches, and sleeves) with their jingles and ribbons. They execute a lot of turns in *guineo* fashion, shaking their jingles, castanets, and tambourine (*Otra de ocho muchachos vestidos de sempiterna a lo guineo, que es sus casacas, calçones, y mangas, con sus sonajas y sus tocados. Estos acen muchas mudanzas a lo guineo con las sonajas y castañeta, y su tamborilero*).

Another dance of eight men dressed in scarlet taffeta, long white dress coats, sailor breeches, spotted white silk sleeves, who do a Black dance, and who dance in *guineo* style with jingles, to the accompaniment of a tambourine (*Otra de 8 hombres bestidos de tafetán doble encarnado, casacas a la chamberga, calzón marinero y mangas blancas mosqueadas de seda del mismo, que a de ser dança de negros, y an de baylar a lo guineo con sonaja y al son de tamboril*).

A dance of four Black men and four Black women. They are to dress in either serge or deep scarlet, trimmed with Saint Elizabeth ribbon: the four women with petticoats, waists, and aprons, with Black masks, and ornaments in *guineo* style; the four men on black spotted mares. They are to do turns in *guineo* style with their director, using handkerchiefs and castanets (*Una dança de negros y negras; an de ser quatro negros y quatro negras. An de yr bestidas de sempiterna o escarlatín encarnado, guarnecidos de cintilla de Santa Ysavel: las quatro con guardapieses y jubones y abantales con sus máscaras de negro, sus tocados a lo guineo; y los hombres con cavalleras negras mosqueadas de colores. An de hacer mudanças a lo guineo con pañuelos y mudanças de cas-*



GUINEOS

Musical score for 'GUINEOS' in 2/4 time. The score consists of five staves of music. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$. The music is written as a single melodic line with various ornaments and dynamics. Boxed measure numbers 5, 10, 15, 20, and 25 are present. Performance instructions include [dif.2], [dif.3], [p.150] [dif.4], and [dif.5].

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 811, pages 145-150.

GUINEO

Musical score for 'GUINEO' in 2/4 time. The score consists of three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$. The music is written as a two-part setting. Boxed measure numbers 5, 10, and 15 are present.

Diego Fernández de Huete, *Compendio numeroso* (Madrid: 1702), plate 7.



taneta, con su maestro [this contract is also reproduced in the Barbieri papeles, MSS 14027.19]).

Among playwrights, Lope de Vega—as in so many other instances—led the way when he inserted a sung guineo in his comedia *Servir a señor discreto*, Act III (*Onzena parte de las comedias*, Madrid, 1618 [Frida Weber de Kurlat edition, Madrid, 1975, pages 314–316]). Interestingly enough, Lope allows this guineo to be sung by Indians from America. The lyrics begin “Taquitán mitanacuní / español de aquí para allí, / de aquí para allí.” The mixing of Indians and Blacks in the New World had begun immediately upon the arrival of Cortés, who brought with him a Black gunner. *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968, 1976), pages vii, 23n, 99, 133n, 142, 193n, 234, 303–305, 316n, abounds in references to the interaction of Blacks and Indians. Gustavo Umpierre, *Songs in the plays of Lope de Vega. A Study of their dramatic function* (London: 1975), pages 47–48, discusses the guineo sung in Lope’s *Servir a señor discreto*.

Madrid Biblioteca Nacional MS 811, *Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra escogidas de los mejores autores año de 1705* (Higinio Anglés and José Subirá, *Catálogo Musical* [Barcelona: 1946], I, 348–350) contains at pages 145–150 guineos consisting of five *diferencias*. Four measures each, transcribable in 3/4 and in G Major, these anonymous guineos each begin on the second beat of three and involve a more sophisticated harmonic scheme than does the guineo in Diego Fernández de Huete’s *Compendio numeroso de zifras armónicas, con theórica, y práctica, para harpa* (Madrid: 1702), plate 7. Huete’s guineo discovers itself as a ternary dance, beginning on second beat, and moving back and forth in each measure between tonic and dominant of D Major.

PARACUMBÉS = CUMBÉS

The *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* published by the Real Academia Española, II (1729), 700, defines *cumbé* as a Black dance, executed to the sound of a fast piece called by the same name; it consists of many body movements from side to side (*Baile de negros, que se hace al son de un tañido alegre, que se llama del mismo modo, y consiste en muchos meneos de cuerpo a ... lado y a otro*). Felipe Roxo de Flores in his *Tratado de recreacion instructiva sobre la danza: su invención y diferencias* published

at Madrid in 1793, grouped the *cumbé*, *guineo*, and *zarambeque* together as “three fast dances with extremely quick steps, customarily executed by Blacks” (*El cumbé, guineo y zarambeque son tres bayles alegres con pasos prestos . . . que los executan comunmente los negros*).

In the lyrics of a dance song entitled *El paracumbé, a lo portugués*, published in *Flores de el Parnaso, cogidas para recreo del entendimiento, por los mejores ingenios de España, en loas, entremeses y mojigangas* (Saragossa: 1708) and republished in Emilio Cotarelo y Mori’s *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas*, I, I, ccxx, the personification of the paracumbé boasts that although from Angola, he is an adopted citizen of Guinea, and that for his wife he has chosen the dance called *Amorosa* (*El Paracumbé de Angola / ciudadano de Guiné, / casado con la Amorosa / que escogí yo por mujer*). After thus identifying himself, Paracumbé sings a ditty to a Portuguese-style accompaniment. The sense of words runs thus: “The eyes of my lady (lay, lay, lay) are Guinea black (lay, lay, lay); they shoot arrows without being tyrants (lay, lay, lay); they are Black without being captives (lay, lay, lay)” (*Os ollos de miña dama: ¡le, le le! / saon negrillos de Guiné: ¡le, le le! / flecheros, sin ser tiranos: ¡le, le le! / negros, sin cativos ser: ¡le, le le!*). The same anonymous *Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra escogidas de los mejores autores año de 1705* (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, M. 811) that contains the previously cited guineos at pages 145–150 contains at pages 46–48 twenty variants (*diferencias*) in ternary meter of the I–IV–I–V–I . . . formula repeated every two bars. The title of the set is *Paracumbe por el I* [G Major]. Fernández de Huete’s paracumbé for harp (1702, plate 4), consists of eight bars of ternary G Major (and dominant-7th chord) over a G static bass. Santiago de Murcia’s *cumbées* (ca. 1732) in the *Códice Saldívar No. 4* define themselves with the subtitle “cantos en idioma guineo” (*Music in Aztec & Inca Territory*, page 236). To mark the rhythm, the player is required to hit his guitar on offbeats.

ZARAMBEQUE

Diccionario de la lengua española VI (1739), 562, defines the *zarambeque* as “a very fast and tumultuous piece and dance, extremely frequent among Blacks” (*Tañido, y danza mui alegre, y bulliciosa, la qual es mui frecuente entre los negros*). Cotarelo y Mori (1911), I, I, cxix, cciv, cexiii, cclxxii, cclxxiii,



PARACUMBE

The musical score for 'Paracumbe' consists of ten staves of music. Each staff begins with a measure number in a box: 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, and 40. The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Performance instructions are provided throughout, including 'tr' for trills and circled numbers 2, 3, and 4. Difficulty levels are indicated by '[dif. 2]' through '[dif. 20]'. A reference '[p.48]' is noted for '[dif. 12]'. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the 40th measure.



PARACUMBE

Diego Fernández de Huete, *Compendio numeroso* (Madrid: 1702). plate 4.

ccxlii, ccli, cclxxii, cclxxiii, ccxcviii, ccxvi, cites 17 zarambeques performed in stage works between 1660 and 1742, chiefly at Madrid. Blacks are frequently specified as the dancers of the zarambeque in these stage works. Even earlier than the stage works catalogued by Cotarelo y Mori, Jerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco's entremés, *El portugués*, published in *Autos sacramentales con quatro comedias nuevas y sus loas y entremeses. Primera parte* (Madrid: 1655; modern edition in Felicidad Buendía, *Antología del entremés [desde Lope de Rueda hasta Antonio de Zamora], Siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid, 1965, pp. 649-650) specifies a Black as the dancer of the zarambeque. Bernardo López del Campo in *Zarambeque (mojiganga para la zarzuela)*, dated ca. 1660 in Cotarelo y Mori, I, i, cclxxiii, followed suit. *Los gorriones* (entremés) cited in Cotarelo y Mori, I, i, cclxxii, with a Madrid performance date as late as 1721, still assigns the dancing of the zarambeque to a stage Black. When Blacks sing as well as dance the zarambeque (as in Cáncer and Velasco's *El portugués* cited above) their lyrics usually include the word "teque" to rhyme with "zarambeque" (*Teque, teque, teque / vaya el zarambeque*, by way of exam-

ple). In Francisco de Castro's *Pagar que le descalabren*, an entremés quoted in Cotarelo y Mori, I, i, ccli, with a Madrid 1742 publication date, the lyrics run similarly: *¡Zarambeque, teque, / lindo zarambeque!*

Musical examples of the zarambeque differ in length from the 12-bar ternary example comprising six *diferencias* in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, M. 811, page 108 (guitar, plucked), to the two-*diferencia* example in Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz's *Luz y norte musical* (Madrid: 1677), page 72, that consists of no more than reiteration of tonic-dominant-tonic-dominant chords. Fernández de Huete's zarambeques at plates 5 and 7 of his *Compendio numeroso de zifras armónicas* (1702) ring changes on the I-IV-[I]-V formula. In his *zarambeque criollo* (plate 4) he changes bass notes on the second beat of every three. "Criollo" in the title suggests a New World connection. Santiago de Murcia's zarambeques copied at page 45 in the *Códice Saldívar No. 4* (dated ca. 1732), with the alternate title of *muecas*, are the earliest examples of this dance type in a Mexican manuscript source.

CUMBEES

Códice Saldívar No. 4, fol. 43.



ZARAMBEQUE

[dif.2]

Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical* (Madrid: 1677), page 72.

ZARAMBEQUE

[dif.2]

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, M. 811, page 108.

ZARAMBEQUES

5

[dif.2]

Fernández de Huete, plate 5.



ZARAMBEQUE

Fernández de Huete, plate 5.

ZARAMBEQUE

Fernández de Huete, plate 7.



ZARAMBEQUE [CRIOLLO]

Musical score for Zarambeque [Criollo]. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has a treble and bass staff. Above the treble staff, there is a box with the number "5" and "[dif.2]". The second system also has a treble and bass staff. Above the treble staff, there is a box with the number "10" and "[dif.3]". The music is in 2/4 time and features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes with some rests.

Fernández de Huete, plate 4.

Zarambegues. O. Necas.

Handwritten musical score for Zarambegues. O. Necas. The score is written on four staves. The first staff has a large initial flourish and ends with the number "45". The notation includes various rhythmic values (e.g., 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) and rests, indicating a complex rhythmic structure. The staves are connected by a large brace on the left side.

Códice Saldívar No. 4, fol. 45.