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THE BALLETS RUSSES IN SPAIN: THE HISTORICAL FUSION OF FLAMENCO AND CLASSICAL BALLET

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A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
SCHOOL OF DANCE

BY

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DEDICATED TO

ALL MY TEACHERS FROM DIAGHILEV'S BALLETS RUSSES

George Balanchine, Alexandra Danilova, Felia Doubrovska

and Pierre Vladimirov

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Introduction

Serge Diaghilev once said, "There are only two schools of Dance: Classical Ballet and Flamenco." The two dance forms met and married in Spain in 1917-1918. The story of the Ballets Russes detour in Spain and the introduction of Flamenco into the repertory is worthy of a complete study. What did Flamenco dance contribute to the Ballets Russes on their Spanish tour from 1917-18? What did the famous company give to Flamenco? The objective of this thesis project is to discover if the connection of the two dance forms developed a third form.

The meeting of Classical Ballet with Flamenco began with the advent of World War I, when the nomadic Ballets Russes was invited to remain under the protection of Spain's King Alfonso. The tour of the Spanish Peninsula became a productive and creative detour for the company which formed important liaisons. It was the choreographer Leonide Massine who introduced and established the influence of Flamenco into the Ballets Russes. Massine discovered Flamenco in Madrid and followed his passion to the Romani caves and taverns of Andalusia. He studied with the great Flamenco maestro, Félix Fernández García. The union of Flamenco with Classical Ballet is observed in Massine's *Three-cornered Hat,* which has survived the passage of time and is still performed by ballet companies today. The first step is to retrace the footsteps of Massine by documenting what he perceived visually and physically in his experience with Flamenco.

The thesis project will begin with the methodology followed by a historical, social, and political perspective. The history of the Ballets Russes and Flamenco will offer enlightenment into why there were extreme differences in both dance forms from their inception. Classical

Ballet was developed in the French Court of King Louis XIV. Flamenco evolved from the migration of dance from India, through the Middle East, arriving in Spain with the Romani around 1425, when the Arabs occupied Spain. The contrasts between the two dance forms were immense. However, political turmoil and the onset of the war brought them together and this is where the study of the fusion begins.

As primary source for this study, the film *Juana Vargas "La Macarrona"* is profound. Juana Vargas was a famous, popular Flamenco dancer in 1917. She was a *Gitana*, or Spanish Roma, and she created a style which has influenced many Flamenco dancers. She danced during the period considered the Golden Age of Flamenco, between 1869 and 1910, and beyond that time. Massine made a short film of her dancing and here we see exactly what he visualized through the camera lens. This film is thought to be one of the most important treasures of Flamenco contained at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. The Library also contains the 1937 film of Massine and Toumanova dancing in the ballet the *Three-cornered Hat* which reflects much of what the choreographer learned from the Vargas film.

Another primary source is Massine's memoir, *My Life in Ballet*. He writes about his experiences observing the Flamenco dancers in the cafés of Madrid. Their elegance and rhythm fascinated him. The website for the Archivo Manuel de Falla has a collection of photos and programs reflecting this period. Manuel de Falla composed the music for the *Three-cornered Hat*, and worked closely with the Ballets Russes. He was a guide to Diaghilev and Massine for Spanish culture. Some of his personal photos show him with the choreographer, impresario and the company. One photo in particular shows the company in costumes for the *Scheherazade*

ballet in the garden of the Alhambra in Granada where they had performed. At the same time, Flamenco flourished in the Romani caves of Granada and the proximity of both set the stage for the meeting of the two dance forms.

There are many secondary sources of information to be used in assembling the thesis. The book *The World of Diaghilev* presents a broad view of the history of the Ballets Russes in Spain, with brief stories of bizarre incidents that give flavor to the overall picture. The principal dancer Grigoriev recalled "our tour took us for the most part to smaller places in Spanish provinces, where we met with many amusing adventures."[1] The book also affirms the success of Massine's *Three-cornered Hat* which premiered in London, England, on July 22, 1919. It mentions the music composition of Manuel de Falla for the ballet and the scenery designed by Pablo Picasso. In 1917, Diaghilev, Massine, Falla, and Félix Fernández García, traveled together across Spain. They picked up bits and pieces of music and dance, blending this into a new form. Massine added the classical ballet style to the Flamenco dance steps he had learned. At that exact moment the genesis of a new dance collaboration began.

Another extensive and informative book is; *Massine: A Biography,* by Vicente García-Márquez. It is the best reference to Massine's process of learning Flamenco and applying it to his choreography. The book recounts details that are not found in other documents. The Ballets Russes arrived in the ancient Arabic city of Cádiz, where dancers from the East once entered Spain. The company departed for Madrid and gave their first performance on May 26, 1917 at the Teatro Real. While in Madrid, Massine frequented the Prado museum. Goya inspired his choreographic designs but Massine was attracted to the painter Velásquez. This is an

[1] John Percival, *The World of Diaghilev,* pg. 57. Studio Vista/Dutton Pictureback. Great Britain 1971.

interesting fact because Spanish art also influenced Massine's work beyond simply learning new steps. His passion for art overflowed into his choreography. Also, the choreographer studied the moves of the bullfighter, and the personalities of Spain. He became absorbed in the Spanish culture and, while visiting a Cathedral in Seville, he remarked; "the altar dances with castanets and the orchestra in front of the altar."[2]

Other sources of information include *101 Stories of the Great Ballets*. This reference book contains a chapter on the *Three-cornered Hat* which details every fact about the ballet including the complete story, theater dates, dancers, and all information important to the production. Also, it is necessary to compare the 2005 version of the *Three-cornered Hat* found in the video; *Paris Opera Ballet: Picasso and Dance, Tricorne* with the 1937 original film. Essential to understanding Spanish Dance today is *The Language of Spanish Dance* by Matteo. The book is the most complete dictionary and reference manual of Flamenco. Here is where the analysis begins on the fusion of Classical Ballet and Flamenco. A few terms and positions are similar in both dance forms, however, Flamenco has no set lesson plan.

The thesis commences with the methodology and studying the Art of Flamenco along with scholarly research. This is followed by the history of both Classical Ballet and Flamenco. The chapter for the historical documentation will be interwoven and the historical data will be paralleled as closely as possible to the time frame of both dance forms. Chapter two will outline the early roots of Flamenco in India, and the journey of the Romani through the Middle East up to their final destination in Spain. Chapter two will also detail the history of Classical Ballet beginning in Italy and later development in France. This chronicle is important to

[2] Vicente García-Márquez. *Massine: A Biography,* pg. 72. Knopf, New York 1995.

understanding the development of Classical Ballet as it relates to the *Three-cornered Hat,* which is in the center of this study. The evolution of costumes, space, scenery, and props is examined. The next chapter will begin the historical arrival of Classical Ballet in Russia which is the foundation of the Ballets Russes. There will be a focus on the creation of the Ballets Russes outside of Russia up to its exile in Spain.

The introduction of Flamenco to the Ballets Russes repertory by the choreographer Massine will follow. At this point in the discussion it is necessary to compare Flamenco to the Bolero School and Character Dance, because both are connected to Classical Ballet and have introduced Spanish folk dance into their dance forms. Flamenco lessons, performances, and writings demonstrate Massine's experience with the Spanish culture. A chapter will examine Flamenco's *Farruca* dance in the *Three-cornered Hat* and the role of Classical Ballet in the choreography. Finally, the role of *duende* in Flamenco will be analyzed.

Usually Massine's *Three-cornered Hat* or *Tricorne* is examined in a broad overview and explored as a ballet with a Spanish theme. The subject has been touched upon but never discussed in depth. This thesis will break down one specific dance, the *Farruca,* and argue the authenticity of the choreography as Flamenco Dance or Classical Ballet. How much of one dance form or the other Massine used in his choreography is debated. This study is useful to future choreographers when determining the mixture of dance forms in choreography and how it can enrich a production. Finally, the question of how one dance form, Flamenco, is able to compliment another form, Classical Ballet, will be answered in this study. The climactic results of the research will be confirmed in the Conclusion.

Chapter 1

Methodology

In 2016 I knew practically nothing about Flamenco, but it conjured up two words in my mind; *Passion* and *Fire*. As a ballet dancer the closest I ever came to Spanish dance was *Don Quixote, Paquita,* and the Spanish Dance in *The Nutcracker*. The dancers wore Spanish costumes and performed with castanets or fans, and the ballet was on pointe. In this context the dancers were only imitating Spanish dance from the waist up. My lack of knowledge regarding Flamenco Dance and its' culture would soon change, thanks to this research project on the Ballets Russes and its connection to the dance form. Also, Diaghilev's Ballets Russes is a subject that holds a profound interest for me because of my connection to the dancers; Balanchine, Danilova, Doubrovska, and Vladimirov were my teachers. In order to further my research into the fusion of Flamenco and Classical Ballet it was necessary for me to study the art of Flamenco. This way I could understand the choreographer Leonide Massine's process of study which would give him the knowledge to create his ballet, *Three-cornered Hat*, in 1918 for the Ballets Russes. My studies began with the *Introduction to Flamenco* class at the University of Oklahoma.

At the first class, I imagined that we would begin with a sequence of fixed steps, movements, and exercises similar to the structure of the Classical Ballet *barre*. Instead, I discovered that there is no set lesson or preparation that every teacher must follow. There is no format, so a teacher designs their own class, usually constructed around a great amount of choreography. We started with footwork and, as a ballet dancer, I found this difficult because we use our feet much differently. One difference is that ballet footwork does not make a sound. The

golpe as it is named is similar to the tap dance *stomp*. There are some resemblances between tap dancing and Flamenco. The knees are almost always bent, which I was prepared for after studying Ballroom dance and the swivel movement of the hips with the Cuban Rumba. Bent knees, swivel hips, and fast, sharp footwork were combined together. The other anomaly in Flamenco was working with music in twelve *compas* instead of the usual eight counts in Classical Ballet.

Props were introduced at various stages. Canes were used to beat the *tiempo* on the floor. In addition, they were utilized for upper body stretching, which helped with the arms that are positioned behind the head and back twists or *torcido*. This is the typical posture of the Andalusian and Flamenco dance. Fans were used in choreography and while I had mastered the right hand in ballet, the left hand used in Flamenco needed time. The shawl came later in the course and substituted using our skirt as a prop. These props are also found in oriental dance forms. The Belly dancers' veil becomes the Flamenco dancers' shawl. The castanets added music to arm and hand movements, and they were taught in combinations producing diverse sounds. This destroyed the myth I believed that the pattern was always the same, and that both hands had an equal function in producing sound. Through research I found that the castanets were used in only two Flamenco dances, the *zambra* and the *siguiriyas*. The Romani also used finger snapping called *pitos*. In performances without live music, the castanets shape the sounds compatible with the mood and dramatic story. The castanets perhaps substituted the Middle Eastern zils for the Romani, but this is another exploration.

We worked extensively on exercises to articulate the beautiful hand movements of Flamenco. The rest of the class was choreography. The dances have names according to their

mood, but every teacher choreographs their own interpretation with the basic steps. My favorite was the *Alegrías,* or joy and happiness. The dance came out of the Romani quarter of Cadiz, and is the dance preferred by Flamenco dancers. [1] After learning the *Alegrías,* we proceeded to the *Bulerías* dance, which signifies laughter, joking, and mockery. The Romani of Jerez specialized in this dance, and it is often added to the end of the *Alegrías.* The third dance we studied was the *Soleares* which represents solitude, loneliness, and a touch of sadness. This was the most difficult to master until I began to understand the refrain in the music reflecting the steps. Some *escuela bolera* steps were added by our professor to all three dances, and this made the dances more interesting and challenging. While unusual, the addition demonstrated the compatibility of the two dance forms together in choreography.

The class was introduced to the *Rumba Gitano,* a hybrid of the Cuban Rumba and Flamenco. It was adopted by the Romani, so it was personalized by the name, *Rumba Gitano,* and is considered Flamenco's sexiest dance. In addition to classroom study, *The Language of Spanish Dance* by Matteo, was an excellent reference book. This manual served as a dictionary and was essential to understanding terminology and the history of Spanish Dance including Flamenco. Matteo explains in the introduction to the book that Spanish dance was passed down from teacher to student and nothing was ever written, which is the case in the art of Flamenco dance. Unfortunately, many of the steps and dances were lost over the years as a result of not being codified. However, Matteo used every resource possible to compile this reference and it is very complete.

[1] Matteo Marcellus Vittucci. *The Language of Spanish Dance, A Dictionary and Reference Manual.* pg.14. Second Edition. Princeton Book Company, Publishers 2003. Hightstown, New Jersey. Copyright 1990, 2003 by Matteo Marcellus Vittucci.

As part of my research, I visited the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts to observe the films of Massine, the *Spanish Dancers,* the *Three-cornered Hat,* the *Farruca,* and all documents on the subject of the Ballets Russes in Spain. While I was researching the subject, I decided to take classes at the Vivo Carlota Santana Flamenco School. There I studied with the master teacher and dancer, Juana Calá. The studio was small, without air conditioning, and the temperature was in the upper nineties, but this did not discourage anyone. The class was packed with students, male and female of all ages, and each of us had a square foot of space. A Flamenco guitarist accompanied us. There was no warm-up, castanets, or other props, but from the beginning, the study of a choreographed piece. The footwork was a challenge, but years of ballet training helped my upper body movements. Everyone tried to copy Juana, but because of the size of the class, general corrections rather than individual ones were made by the teacher. At one point Juana seemed to separate from the role of the teacher to the role of artist/dancer. There was pain in her meditative expression and the deep suffering of the Flamenco dancer came forth. This was not an imitation of a character or role, but the true eruption of emotion and sentiment.

After this experience, I decided to take another class at the school with a different teacher for comparison. I took class with Sonia Olla, another master teacher at the Vivo Carlota Santana Flamenco School. Again, there were many students and this time a drummer accompanied the class. Sonia gave a warm-up of fast and precise footwork. As I was the new student in the class, she scrutinized my work. Her choreography contained more *golpe,* strikes, hits, stamps of the feet, than Juana's class. The class was small enough so that individual corrections were possible. Sonia corrected me for leaving too much space between my feet which hindered the speed of

footwork. Ballet dancers consume space whereas Flamenco dancers are more contained and internal. At one point Sonia the artist/dancer, like Juana, erupted with a profound expression of passion while executing her choreography.

The following semester at the University of Oklahoma, I continued to study Flamenco in a Performance Practice class along with Character dance. Now I could compare and contrast the University classes with the choreography I had learned in New York. I had a better understanding for the footwork after the master classes in New York, but I enjoyed the mix of classical steps, or *escuela bolera*, with Flamenco in the Performance Practice course. More focus was on the upper part of the body and the different hand shapes used in the Flamenco dance form. Props and the ballet dancer's freedom to cover space were added to the choreography. As ballet dancers we are often more concerned with a perfect technique, so the fire and passion that I witnessed in Juana Calá and Sonia Olla was missing from our performance.

Chapter 2

The History of Classical Ballet and Flamenco Dance

"Flamenco is a combination of gypsy and Spanish dance movements with a strong underlying Oriental flavor."[1] The seed of Flamenco goes as far back as India. An Indian dance named Kathak underwent a slow transformation as it traveled on the long journey to Spain. Many Kathak dance movements remained the same or similar and this gives us a clue to its history and its eventful relationship to Flamenco. During the journey, Kathak mixed with other dance forms and eventually evolved into Flamenco in Spain.[2] Classical Ballet has origins in Greece that go back to 540-300 B.C., around the same period that Kathak dance was recorded for the first time in India. Alexander the Great spread the Greek civilization as far as Rome with his conquests. However, when the Romans reconquered the Greek settlements they adopted their cultural tradition of dance. The Greeks considered dance to be gestures partnered with song. They gave dance the elegance, style, and beauty, which, centuries later, became the basic form for Classical Ballet dancers.

The Romans looked upon the Greeks as the pallbearers of civilization and admired their art, philosophy, and ideals. Greek dramas became popular in the Roman culture. The theatrical Greek plays included a masked chorus of singers, dance, and gestures added to the dialogue of the actors. The voice of an actor was often difficult to hear especially in the immense venues of Roman arenas and amphitheaters. Because of this, gestures became more important than the

[1] Wendy Buonaventura. *Serpent of the Nile: Women and Dance in the Arab World,* pg. 42. Publishing Group, Inc., Brooklyn, New York. Saqi Books. 1989, 1994, 1998.

[2] K. Meira Goldberg, Ninotchka Devorah Bennahum, Michelle Hefner Hayes. *Flamenco on the Global Stage, Historical, Critical andTheoretical Perspectives.* Introduction, and Marta Carrasco Benítez. *Three Centuries of Flamenco.* Kathy Milazzo. *Ancient Dances of Cádiz and Creations of Myth.McFarland* & Company, Inc., Publishers. Jefferson, North Carolina, Copyright 2015.

actor's dialogue and silent acting was developed. This was the birth of Roman pantomime and it would be an important part of narrative ballets, including the *Three-cornered Hat*. Classical Kathak dance began as a religious art form performed in the Indian temples around 400 B.C. and later in the durbars, or royal courts in medieval India. Dance movements accompanied the stories or poems performed to song and music. The Romani introduced a modified form of Kathak to Spain after they carried the art from India. "Gypsies of all lands share a common origin in India and a common language, Romany, which is based on the Hindu,"[3] or the ancient Hindu liturgical language, Sanskrit. The Hindu religion is the core of the Romani superstitions and beliefs. However, the religious aspect of Kathak dance was eliminated later in court dances. Many theories, myths, and legends have recounted the migration of the gypsies from India to Spain over centuries. For example, there is undated antique documentation relating to the entertainers employed by the Imperial Court in Kathaka. "The origin of Kathak dance is traced in ancient literature to the story-tellers, the Kathakas."[4]

The Kathakas, or nomadic minstrels, traveled and performed before their permanent employment in the Court. "Minstrels were akin to slave entertainers."[5] According to very old documentation, it was discovered that the performers were robbing the Treasury and they were banished. The minstrels became wandering Romani tribes. They traveled from India to search for work and flee hardships and starvation. They migrated to other countries and carried their arts and traditions with them, including some of the Kathak dance form.[6] For hundreds of years the

[3] Buonaventura, pg.39
[4] Ragina Devi, *Dance Dialects of India,* pg.166. Motilal Banarsidass Publishers. Private Limited. Delhi. Third Revised Edition, Delhi 2002.
[5] Anna Ivanova, *Dance in Spain,* pg.38. Praeger Publishers, Inc., New York.
[6] Buonaventura, pg. 39

Romani earned a living as performers. It is written in the eleventh century *Book of Kings*, "The Persian poet Firdausi brought nearly one thousand gypsies to Persia to entertain his subjects, but they preferred a wandering life."[7] The Romani absorbed the local traditions, native music and folk dance, and took ownership, but did not remain in one place.

When Christianity was established as the official religion around 380 A.D. in Europe, dance was prohibited by the Church and buried for centuries. The Church forbade dance for public entertainment, but street dancing began to emerge as a physical expression during religious festivals. This form of movement could not be suppressed by the priests and religion. Medieval dance started as a social activity in public, and with popularity, steps, patterns, and rhythms were created.[8] Steps repeated in public social dances were named and handed down from generation to generation. At the same time in the Middle East, the Romani were absorbing local dance movements and steps while migrating toward Spain. The assimilated movements and steps were passed down to their disciples.

While folk dancing in Europe was not the forerunner of Classical Ballet, it demonstrates the human passion for dance even when it was forbidden by the Church. But most important of all, it was the predecessor and underpinning of Court dancing which was the foundation of Classical Ballet. When all entertainment venues were closed around 530, actors, singers, dancers, and mimes performed in the streets. They became wandering vagabonds, but they kept their art alive. In 744, the Pope banned performers from society, the Church, and a Christian burial. Earlier, the political timeline states that the Moors conquered Spain in 711, and brought slave

[7] Buonaventura, pg. 40

[8] Carol Lee. *Ballet in Western Culture, A History of Its Origins and Evolution.* pgs. 1-8. Allyn and Bacon, A Viacom Company, MA. Copyright 1999 by Allyn and Bacon.

dancers for their own entertainment at court. "Exotic dances were performed by well-paid professionals or slaves, and Moorish entertainment was attached to Christian courts."[9] When they invaded the Peninsula, a fusion of culture inevitably influenced dance in Spain. The Moors encouraged public dancing, especially street dance which their Christian predecessors in Spain had forbidden. Over time, cultural traditions were exchanged in these open venues.

While entertainment in public in Europe was forbidden, medieval guilds kept the performing arts out of the total darkness of religious prohibition. In town center festivals, members performed dances to religious themes relating to their particular guild patron saint. The guilds competed with each other and created elaborate parades while dancing in beautiful costumes with masques. By the end of the Middle Ages, musicians formed their own guilds to play music for the upper-class social dances. This position gave them the power to control, supervise, and teach dance for centuries. They were responsible for the music, performance, notation, and choreography of dance at that time.[10] There were troubadours, poets and songwriters, who performed at Court from 1100-1244. Minstrels and *joglars* were part of the troubadour's company. The minstrels provided music and the *joglars* performed circus skills such as acrobats, stilt-walkers, and tightrope walkers. The troubadours, minstrels, and *joglars* eventually fused into one, the dancing master. They used the peasant dance that developed over the years as the foundation and refined them for courtly dancing. The troubadours created rigid rules in dance composition that were recognized later in Renaissance court ballets.[11]

In the tenth century, miracle, morality, and mystery plays became popular and were

[9] Ivanova, pg. 38
[10] Lee, pgs. 6-8
[11] Ibid., pgs. 16-19

approved by the Church. Slowly dance began to emerge in religious productions. The medieval pageant was the predecessor to court entertainment in the Renaissance and the early beginnings of Classical Ballet. Costumed singers and dancers participated in allegorical themes of medieval life. The pageants incorporated elaborately decorated floats were the forerunners for theatrical scenery, and therefore closely related to classical ballet.[12] The difference between Classical Ballet and Flamenco became very clear. The former would rely on the development of scenery and theaters to define the narrative accompanying the dance form. The latter developed a personal narrative in its painful journey that did not need scenery to give meaning to steps or movements.

At the end of the Middle Ages, dance in Europe began to emerge from centuries of darkness. The Renaissance was the rebirth of a new age of enlightenment, and Italy was at the center of this new era. Parallel to the beginning of this period was the arrival of the Romani in Spain. The Renaissance idea was based on the ancient Greek concept of the potential of human ability and creativity. The fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 sent a huge number of scholars and artists to flee to Italy. Their wealth of knowledge launched the idea of humanism. At the same time rich Italian merchants became patrons to the new migration of scholars and artists. The Church believed that mankind must live only for the rewards of the afterlife, which was the belief of most of the people in the Middle Ages. Gradually, the strong hold of the Church on the European population was diminished and the Renaissance was born.[13] Dance became significant with the Renaissance society's new commitment to science and the arts. Spectacular entertainment became less religious and more politically orientated. Singing

[12] Lee, pgs. 19-20
[13] Ibid., pgs. 24-25

and dancing were presented during interludes between mythological and allegorical spectacles.[14]

There is a theory that the first migration of Romani tribes moved westward to Persia from Afghanistan. They spent time in Persia, or Iran, which is demonstrated by the adoption of Persian words into the Romani language. "They exercised their talents as professional musicians in that country, and a diffusion of Oriental musical instruments and styles."[15] The connection or link between Kathak Indian dance and Flamenco is Arabic Dance. The Kathak dance form began adopting an Arabic influence though retaining many original movements. "Controlled footwork and the way movement rises from the hips to the outstretched arms."[16] There are curves of the body and arm movements that give expression and harmony to foot patterns. In addition there are still, sudden poses coming out of quick, turning movements that characterize the later development of the Flamenco Dance form.[17] Northwest India, the Romani place of origin, appears to have played an important role in the development of Oriental music.[18] The composer Manuel de Falla stated that the principle ingredients of the *canto jondo*, or deep song, demonstrate similarities to songs from India and other Oriental populations. [19] Interestingly, the India Ragas have a twelve-beat rhythm and sequences that are comparable to Flamenco.[20]

The Romani kept moving in a northern direction to Turkey and then into Europe. Records show that the Romani arrived as early as 1425 in Spain. They brought the assimilated Kathak

[14] Lee, pg. 28
[15] Bernard Leblon. *Gypsies and Flamenco,* pg. 3. University of Hertfordshire Press. Learning and Information Services. University of Hertfordshire, Hatfield, Hertfordshire. Copyright 1994 Bernard Leblon.
[16] Buonaventura, pg. 42
[17] Devi, pg. 168
[18] Leblon, pg. 1
[19] Ibid., pg. 70
[20] Ibid., pg. 56

dance movements and mixed them with local Spanish and Arabic movements. One is *la danza serpent* or the snake dance, the name used by the Spanish to refer to the Arabic Dance of the women. "The woman's dance of the Spanish gypsies performed at special gatherings uses similar hip movements to those of Arabic Dance."[21] Another example is the *Zambra Mora* or Moorish Dance. The *Zambra* is considered to have more Indian roots than any Roma dance and a form of it was still performed in the Cathedral of Toledo in the twentieth century.[22] Traditional Spanish and Arabic dances mingled together, along with Indian Dance, and Flamenco Dance began to take shape. The Romani created a new style of music that originated with the meeting between East and West.[23] They were often called *Gitanos* from Egypt or *Zincali;* the black men of Zend or India.[24] These nomadic tribes carried the songs of their ancestors from the Middle East and incorporated them into local music.[25] Flamenco became "an island of Oriental music in a sea of Occidental culture."[26]

By the end of the fifteenth century in 1492, Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors surrendered. At this time dancing was very important in Italy and Milan was Europe's center for dance. The ideas of the Italian Renaissance spread to France, and the *Ballet de Cour* became solidly planted in French culture. Catherine de Medici was the leading innovator in shifting dance dominance from Italy to France. Twenty years before her birth, the Romani were forced into settlement by law in Spain or risk death. In 1499, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain

[21] Buonaventura, pg. 44
[22] La Meri. *Spanish Dancing,* pg. 90.A.S. Barnes & Company, New York. Copyright 1948, La Meri.
[23] Leblon, pg. 5
[24] George Borrow. *Zincoli: An Account of the Gypsies of Spain.* pg. 8. Astounding Stories, Copyright 2015. www.Astounding-Stories.com
[25] Leblon, pg. 5
[26] Ibid., pg. 72

established laws against the nomadic life-style of the Romani. Many of those who chose to abandon the nomadic life-style took refuge in caves, especially in Granada, where they would hide from the law.[27] In 1533, Catherine, the daughter of Lorenzo di Medici, the most important patron of Italian Renaissance, became Queen of France by marriage. She brought Italian artists, composers, designers, and dancing masters to the French Court. Her lavish spectaculars made for political propaganda are recorded in designs, paintings, and literature. The number of dances and dancers are described along with patterns in various writings, but the steps and choreography were not preserved.[28]

In the late Renaissance, 1550-1610, an Italian by the name of Fabritio Caroso wrote the *Nobilita di Dame* and began to codify steps, create rules, and to document dances. Dance at the Renaissance Court usually took place in a ballroom, and it was considered an essential part of social flirtation, so most of the choreographic composition was created for couples or groups of couples. However, the diligent preparation of the dancers to impress the spectators at the Court gave theatricality to the dances. Though Caroso's choreography in the *Nobilita di Dame* was created for social dancing in a ballroom and not for theatrical performance on stage, his *Notes on Style* reflected similar rules to classical ballet as we know today. Dancers of the Renaissance projected nobility by their manners, and ballet dancers continue this quality in performance. "Caroso's idea of noble beauty included erect posture, quiet arms, level gaze, and straight legs." He added other important qualities: "Vigor and elegance should combine in a style essentially of

[27] La Meri, pg. 79
[28] Lee, pgs. 24-28

strong leg and footwork." These are principles of classical ballet. [29]

Le Ballet Comique de la Reine, or the Dramatic Ballet of the Queen, is considered by dance historians to be the first ballet. It was performed in 1581 and incorporated music, dance, verse, and scenery. It was seen as a "political, philosophical, and ethical mirror of its day."[30] The production was the creation of Balthasar de Beaujoyeulx, hired by Catherine de Medici as court dancing master. The venue was the salon of the Petit-Bourbon palace in the Louvre and the performing space was a three-quarters-in-the-round area. The 9,000-10,000 spectators for the one time only spectacle watched from galleries above the dance floor as the entire action was directed to the Royal family sitting at one end of the salon. Free-standing scenery created the atmosphere for the narrative. This was the precursor for theaters and ballet productions as the Renaissance period came to a close in 1600.[31] Free-standing scenery was a significant innovation and gave dimension to stage sets in Classical Ballet thereafter. An example of this is the Miller's house and the village bridge in the *Three-cornered Hat*, three hundred years later.

Le Déliverance De Renaud or The Liberation of Renaud was presented in 1617 in honor of King Louis XIII. It was the next important step in the theatrical art of Classical Ballet. The performance was held in the *Grand Salle* of the Louvre with a proscenium arch stage and a fixed backdrop with shifting scenery. At the end of the performance, the dancers would descend from the stage and dance with the audience. The seventeenth century marked the beginning of public theaters. In 1637, Cardinal Richelieu, the minister for King Louis XIV, built the most advanced

[29] Fabritio Caroso. *Nobilità di Dame.* pg. 368. 1600. Julia Sutton translation and editing. Dover Publications, Inc., New York. Copyright 1995.
[30] Lee. pg. 44
[31] Ibid., pgs. 44-45

theater in Paris, Palais Royal.[32] Four years earlier, in 1633, the Law of Philip IV prohibited the Romani from their traditions, especially entertainment.[33] So while Classical Ballet was emerging in France, the art of Flamenco receded into the background by force in Spain. The caves where the Romani hid would be their simple, unembellished theaters.

By 1645, ballet was confined to the stage area, and the proscenium stage meant a change in choreography. Dancers needed to move from side to side on the elevated stage, so this meant there was a need for more turnout. Vertical dimensions were important now, so steps with elevation became necessary. The performance was no longer for social reasons but theatrical entertainment. One of the most significant changes was the separation of the audience from the dancers. The dancers no longer descended from the stage into the public at the end of the performance. The greatest idea that the Renaissance took from antiquity was to build special places for entertainment. Theaters became the permanent home for theatrical dancing.[34]

French King Louis XIV brought on the baroque period of ballet which united myth and fable to music and dance. Poetry, song, and costumes were elevated to the next level of sophistication along with the machines that created artistic special effects. The baroque period was the response to the strict aesthetics of the Protestant Reformation. For the court ballet he built the lavish palace of Versailles in the French countryside. Louis XIV was a great ballet patron, took dance lessons every day, and appeared in many ballets. In 1653, he is remembered for his role as *Apollo*. This earned him the title of *Sun King* in *Le Ballet de la Nuit* or The Ballet

[32] Lee, pg. 58
[33] Leblon, pg. 21
[34] Lee, pgs. 55-61

of the Night, prepared by Jean-Baptiste Lully.[35] Lully was a dancer and composer of ballet music who worked for King Louis XIV.[36] He worked with Pierre Beauchamp, noted for his new concepts in ballet composition. Both men worked with the French playwright Molière and believed dancing should relate to dialogue and plot.[37]

In 1713 the Académie Royale de Musique became a training school for dancers under the order and signature of King Louis XIV, and the direction of Lully, Beauchamp, and Molière. Later, in 1784, the first children's school for future dancers was formed within the Académie.[38] However, children had studied Flamenco with their elders long before this date. The Académie Royale de Danse began to give French names to ballet steps, new and old, many originally from the Renaissance, and Flamenco used Spanish names for their steps. Classical Ballet and Flamenco continue to use this terminology today in French and Spanish respectively. "At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a set formula had been established and adhered to for the creating of theatrical ballets."[39]

Professional ballet advanced quickly with the introduction of the *danse d'école.* The Italian art form of comedy, acrobatic dancing, and pantomime, *commedia dell'arte,* dated back to the sixteenth century, but would ultimately change the strict formality of the French ballet school. Productions that were more geared to country life, based on the Italian characters of *commedia dell'arte,* appealed to the middle-class and were very successful. The *commedia dell'arte* was the precursor to the *ballet d'action*, which is action and gesture with dance as the

[35] Lee, pg. 65-68
[36] Ibid., pg. 73
[37] Ibid., pg. 75
[38] Ibid., pg. 77
[39] Ibid., pg. 83

story line. Both the *commedia dell'arte* and the *ballet d'action* would be the foundation and inspiration for the *Tricorne*.

In the eighteenth century, Charles III in Spain abolished the 1499 law against the Romani which enabled them to come out of hiding. Some of them settled down in *Gitanerias,* or Gitano quarters, which were often caves where they had sought refuge from persecution in previous times.[40] The traditions and culture of Andalusia were more compatible with the customs of the Orient than other parts of Spain, because it was the heart of Arab rule. The Romani had assimilated the customs of the Middle East over their long migration from their genesis in India, so they found Andalusia welcoming. An acculturation began between the two groups of people that eventually led to Flamenco. The *Gitanos* absorbed the local traditions in music and dance and performed this cultural hybrid for the audience of the region.

In addition to the innovations of choreographers in Europe, professional ballerinas contributed to the advancement of the art of Classical Ballet. La Camargo (1710-1770) performed light, brilliant footwork and excellent jumps, so it was necessary for her to modify her costumes by shortening her skirt and removing the heels from her shoes.[41] In contrast, the long skirts and dresses worn by female Flamenco dancers have remained more or less the same for centuries. By 1776, the choreographer Jean Georges Noverre's ideas influenced ballet in most of the capitals of Europe.[42] Noverre's determination to change choreography, productions, costumes, scenery, music and teaching methods were resisted by those who believed in conservatism and tradition. However, his writings, *The Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, reflected

[40] Leblon, pgs. 17, 31
[41] Lee, pgs. 95-96
[42] Ibid., pg. 108

his ideas and the progress he made toward the advancement of Classical Ballet. One of the principles of his dramatic ballet was the elimination of masques, and the use of stage make-up. Primary, was his idea that "the validity and sincerity of gestural expression"[43] was crucial. Flamenco dancers did not use masques and their dancing has always been a form of deeply felt expression.

Jean Dauberval (1742-1806) was influenced by Noverre's theories. In 1789 he choreographed *La Fille Mal Gardee* or the un-chaperoned daughter. The rustic story is considered to be the oldest classical ballet and a fine example of the *ballet d'action.* The ballet premiered thirteen days before the French Revolution. It was not only dedicated to the common people rather than great heroes or wealthy kings, but it also represented the style of the Italian *commedia dell'arte.* Another disciple of Noverre was Salvatore Vigano.(1769-1821) He is considered to be "the first choreographer to come close to achieving the ancient ideal of perfect synthesis of music, dance, and mime." His work at that time was named *coreodramma.*[44] This composite of music, dance, and mime, was essential to ballets like the *Three-cornered Hat*.

The turn of the century ended an exciting period of development in Classical Ballet and the nineteenth century marked the beginning of the Romantic Era. Similar to the history of Flamenco, it was "the violent reaction to philosophical, political, social, and economic"[45] of the time. It followed the dramatic onset of the French Revolution and the start of the Industrial Revolution which brought social and economic change in Europe. Romanticism was the philosophy of emotion and individualism in the arts, the opposite of the prior belief in rational

[43] Lee, pgs. 110-111
[44] Ibid., pg. 116
[45] Ibid., pg. 134

ideas. The Romantic Era continued where the Middle Ages left off and followed the Gothic theme. The ballets of this period had deep emotional content, centered around unrequited love stories, and the other worldliness of *Sylphs* and *Willis*. The female dancer became more important than her male counterpart, because the protagonist of the narrative was usually the ballerina. Paris and London became the capitals of the Romantic ballet.[46]

One of the greatest ballets of the Romantic Era was *La Sylphide*, or The Sylph, presented for the first time in 1832. Jumping steps were perfected in order to create an ethereal effect and contrast the real from the unreal. Gas lights were introduced in the theater which created bluish, surreal lighting onstage. There were trap doors to make a dancer magically appear or disappear, and wiring to fly the dancer high above the stage. The most important innovation was the pointe shoe introduced by Marie Taglioni, the ballerina who performed the ballet. Taglioni was the "symbol of Romantic ballet's Golden Age," beginning in 1832 and ending around 1870. *La Sylphide* became the first ballet to be danced on *pointe*, and the tradition of *pointe* work is essential today to the Classical Ballet art form.[47]

The ballet *Giselle* premiered in 1841, and was considered the "creative high point" of the Romantic ballet. The story had origins in Gothic legend, and the ballerina Carlotta Grisi was chosen to dance the lead role. The first act of the ballet is steeped in the tradition of folk dancing, or Character dance. The earthly quality of this act is in contrast to the light, delicate surreal second act. *Giselle* is the culmination and masterpiece of the Romantic Era of ballet. Formal

[46] Lee, pgs. 133-138
[47] Ibid., pgs. 140-144

pantomime was not used, but while the choreography was presented for a pure dancing experience, it conveyed the message of the story.[48]

Another famous ballerina of this period was the Austrian Fanny Elssler, 1810-1884, who was acclaimed as a dramatic dancer. She had learned the various folk dances of Spain along with the balletic style of the *escuela bolero*, or the bolero school of the eighteenth century. This was the first experimentation with Spanish dance by a classical ballet dancer before Massine mixed Flamenco with ballet. In 1836 she choreographed and performed the *Cachucha* at the Paris Opera. She was hailed as the "Spaniard of the North" for her skillful and passionate dancing that made her and the *Cachucha* a legend.[49]

By 1850, Classical Ballet flourished all over Europe while Flamenco Dance was developing a repertory in music cafés all over Spain. Flamenco Dance became a singular art in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.[50] The Golden Age of Flamenco commenced in 1869 as the Golden Age of the Romantic ballet declined. Arthur Saint-Léon's ballet *Coppélia* marked the end of a great era in Classical Ballet in 1870. The greatest Flamenco artists began to emerge in the Golden Age of Flamenco. One was Juana Vargas, who appears in the 1917 film by Massine, and who danced beyond the end of the Golden Age of Flamenco in 1910. As the twentieth century loomed on the horizon, both dance forms traveled along parallel tracks that would meet in 1918 with Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*, where they would have a profound effect on each other.

[48] Lee, pgs. 153-155
[49] Vittucci, pg. 43
[50] Leblon, pg. 56

Chapter 3

The History of Ballet in Russia

The history of Russian Ballet is critical to this study, and separate from the history of Classical Ballet, because it shapes our understanding of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. Russian folk dancing thrived from as early as the tenth century. Invasions and proximity to foreign lands helped to develop Russian folk dance over time. While the Romani assimilated the local dances of the country that they traveled through, the Russians absorbed dance forms from the encounter with those who passed through their land. Again, the movement of people for political, social, and economic reasons created new dances or added to old ones. Around 1250, street entertainers traveled all over Russia and dancers often contributed to these shows. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Russian Orthodox Church prohibited the street entertainers from continuing their performances. Around the same period, the monarchy in Spain had outlawed the Romani from their nomadic existence. In Europe, the Renaissance was at its peak, and the foundation of Classical Ballet was being constructed.[1]

The lavish court ballets of Louis XIV were discussed in Russia, as diplomats and travelers would recount the splendor of entertainment in France. The Romanov court tried to imitate these spectacles and was praised by the Russian nobility, even though they fell short of the bravura of their French peers. The Russian Czar Peter the Great toured Europe in 1697 and the trip changed the cultural destiny of Russia. After observing western culture, he decided to Europeanize his country by inviting the best artists, architects, engineers, and scientists from

[1] Lee, pg. 182

Europe to westernize Russia. He restored the capital city of St. Petersburg with Italian palaces and Austrian decoration. The baroque fashion style was adopted and mastering the French language became an objective. When Peter the Great traveled across Europe, he acquired a taste for theatrical dancing, especially the masked ballets in Paris, and introduced them in his court.[2] Again, the idea of encounter between Europe and Russia in the eighteenth century, brought an exchange which would later inspire Diaghilev's Ballets Russes.

Dancing masters were necessary to teach enthusiastic nobles social dance. Under Peter's successor, Czarina Anna, the French ballet master Jean Baptiste Landé taught Russian cadets court dances. Later, he asked permission to teach beyond ballroom dance and begin a *danse d'école.* He presented his students in the opera *La Forza dell'amore e dell'odio* in 1736, and this marked the first professional ballet *divertissement* in Russia. In 1738, the St. Petersburg Ballet School was formed, and eventually moved to the imperial palace. The first professional ballet dancers, teachers, and choreographers, came from France and Italy.[3] An Italian named Fossano took over the dance school after Landé. He was a successful pantomime artist of the *Commedia d'arte,* and taught his students acrobatic jumps. The *Commedia d'arte* was the underpinning of the *Three-cornered Hat* with acrobatics, satire, dancing, and stereotype roles.

Empress Marie Thérèse of Austria sent her ballet master, Hilverding, to St. Petersburg to raise the quality of ballet in the Russian court. Hilverding presented the *ballet d'action* in Russia. Ballet in Russia did not have to overcome the European structure of opera and dance together. It was presumed to be a separate art from the very beginning. The most famous Czarina of all,

[2] Lee, pg. 183
[3] Ibid., pg. 184

Catherine the Great, carried dance to the next level and established Russia as a European power. In 1766, she instituted the Directorate of the Imperial Theaters which gave tremendous support to the performing arts. She built two large theaters in Moscow and St. Petersburg that could contain large scale ballet and opera productions. While Catherine was in power, wealthy landowners formed ballet schools and constructed theaters on their land. Foreign dance masters instructed the landowner's serfs, thus creating serf dancers who are considered to be a phenomenon in Russian culture.[4] This can be compared to the slave dancers that existed for centuries in the Middle East when the Moors brought them to Spain to entertain at the court. By 1800, serf dancers were absorbed into the dance companies of the Imperial Theaters, because the expense of training these dancers was too much for landowners to sustain.[5]

Hilverding's student, Gasparo Angiolini, became the ballet master for the Imperial Ballet in 1766. He worked for many years in Russia and made a great impact on ballet. As choreographer, Angiolini mounted old and new productions, choosing Russian stories and folklore for themes. The custom of a foreign choreographer mounting ballets based on stories and themes of their adoptive country has been repeated in history. One example is the Russian choreographer Leonide Massine and his Spanish ballet, *Three-cornered Hat*. Angiolini believed that ballet conveyed its full potential of beauty when it stirred the emotions of its audience. [6] The idea that dance is beautiful when it stirs the emotions of its audience is not unique to Classical Ballet, but is also valid in Flamenco dance.

The French ballet master, Charles-Louis Didelot is remembered in dance history as the

[4] Lee, pg. 186
[5] Ibid., pg. 186
[6] Ibid., pgs. 186-187

father of Russian ballet. He made his debut as a choreographer with *Apollo et Daphne* in 1802 at the Hermitage Theater in Russia. As a teacher in the *danse d'école* he took his students to a high technical level, especially with *pas de deux* work. Didelot taught supported *arabesques* and supported *pirouettes* in Classical Ballet.[7] In stage production, he is credited with the advancement of flying dancers in a seemingly effortless manner and to the amazement of his audience. During the War of 1812, Didelot was forced to leave Russia and eventually returned to France where he briefly directed the Paris Opera. When the war was over, he returned to Russia.[8] As a choreographer, he combined "Noverre's Enlightenment classicism to the emotionalism associated with the Romantic Era." "Didelot's great legacy to the balletic body of knowledge was his development of danced mime and mimed dance."[9] Massine later set out to demonstrate this in the *Tricorne* by dancing mime and miming dance, especially in his role of the Miller. While Didelot's accomplishments in pedagogy were outstanding, his goal was to make ballet "the soulful expression of an idea."[10]

St. Petersburg was at its peak in theater, opera, and ballet by 1800, and with the patronage of the Czar, the Imperial Ballet of Russia emerged as an important ballet company. The Romantic era of ballet brought many foreign artists to Russia. French and Italian dancers, dancing masters, and choreographers were welcomed in St. Petersburg and Moscow. One of the famous guest artists was Marie Taglioni and she was followed by other ballerinas of the Romantic Ballet, Elssler, Grisi, and Cerrito. The French choreographer, Jules Perrot, was engaged as the ballet master for the Imperial Ballet in 1849. He revised the choreography for the

[7] Lee. pg. 190
[8] Ibid., pgs. 193-194
[9] Ibid., pg. 195
[10] Ibid., pg. 198

ballet *Giselle* in Russia, and reclaimed his right as co-author. This recognition had been denied to him at the Paris Opera, because of political reasons. The influence of foreign artists brought the Romantic era to the doorstep of Russia.[11]

Perrot filled the void left by Didelot at the Imperial ballet ten years before. "He was admired in Russia as a poet of movement."[12] Arthur Saint-Léon succeeded Perrot and created the famous ballet *The Little Hump-backed Horse* from a Russian fairytale in 1864. He returned to the Paris Opera in 1868 where he choreographed his ballet *Coppélia* in 1870.[13] When Arthur Saint-Léon left the Imperial Ballet in 1868, the role of ballet master was awarded to the French choreographer, Marius Petipa. With Petipa at the helm, Russia once again became the heart of Classical Ballet internationally. For the next thirty years, he blended the technical Russian accomplishments with the attainments of the Romantic era. From Perrot he learned how to pull together a well-prepared *corps de ballet* and from Saint-Léon how to transfer the unique gifts of a ballerina to the ballet. The inspiration of both Perrot and Saint-Léon was significant to Petipa's choreography, *La Bayadère* (1877), *The Sleeping Beauty* (1890), and *Swan Lake* (1895).[14] Massine was exposed to the tradition of full-length ballets in Russia and they were the models for his *Three-cornered Hat*.

Petipa initiated the tradition of pointe work for all female dancers. Soloists were usually the only performers who danced on pointe. *La Bayadère* was the first ballet that the *corps de ballet* performed wearing pointe shoes. Petipa is also responsible for developing Character

[11] Lee, pg. 202
[12] Ibid., pg. 203
[13] Ibid., pg. 204
[14] Ibid., pgs. 205-207

Dance in the Imperial Ballet School program, after he introduced Russian folk dances in his productions. Before he worked in Russia, he had danced in Madrid and studied Spanish dance there. Petipa incorporated the steps he learned at the Spanish *escuela bolero* into his choreography. Character dance became mandatory in the Russian ballet school training program and it is still today.[15] The study of Character Dance in a ballet curriculum would help Massine attain his expertise in Flamenco.

As new challenging steps, pointe work, and Character were added to the curriculum, there were more demands by the school. There were rigid physical requirements for potential candidates and an eight year program was established.[16] In comparison, Flamenco does not have the strict physical requirements of Classical Ballet because turnout and high extensions are unnecessary. There is a similarity with the tradition of teachers handing down their knowledge to the next generation of dancers in both Flamenco Dance and Classical Ballet. The length of time for training is different for the two dance forms. Classical Ballet usually demands eight years of study, whereas mastering Flamenco Dance depends on the individual. Another disparity between the two dance forms is the number of years a dancer can perform. While Classical Ballet dancers have short careers, the Flamenco dancer is less limited.

While the French contributed choreographers to the Russian ballet, Italian ballerinas were the principle soloists for the Imperial Ballet. The Italian ballerina, Pierina Legnani from Milano's La Scala, was engaged by Petipa for *Cinderella* in 1893. Her legendary *fouettés* (consecutive turns) en pointe stunned Russian audiences. Legnani shared her secret: strong, hard,

[15] Lee, pg. 207
[16] Ibid., pg. 208

box-like pointe shoes, made by the Italian shoemaker, Nicolini. These special shoes helped her to stay on pointe and accomplish her *fouettés.* The Russians adapted their own shoes for the purpose of advanced pointe performance. In addition to Italian ballerinas, the great maestro Enrico Cecchetti was invited by Petipa to teach at the Imperial Ballet School.[17] The Italian school was the foundation of the *escuela bolera* which is important to this study. The *Fandango* and the *Seguidilla* are considered *escuela bolera* and Flamenco Dance, and both dances are in the ballet *Three-cornered Hat*.

By 1901, only Russian dancers could perform in the Imperial Ballet. The composer Peter Tchaikovsky worked with Petipa and became the bridge between Russian heritage and Western culture. With the collaboration of Tchaikovsky, the high point in Petipa's artistic life became the ballet *Sleeping Beauty*. The dynamic collaboration of the Russian composer Tchaikovsky with the French choreographer Petipa, set a precedent for the Falla and Massine partnership in *Tricorne*. The addition of more and more difficult steps called for costume modifications. The Russian *prima ballerina assoluta,* Mathilda Kschessinka, known for her strong technique and dynamic *fouettés,* pioneered the short costume we know today as the tutu. In contrast, Flamenco skirts continued to remain the traditional ankle length.[18] The *Three-cornered Hat* costumes offer a compromise. They are shorter than traditional Flamenco skirts to accommodate more movement, but longer than a tutu in order to retain the Spanish tradition.

Lev Ivanov (1834-1901) was another important groundbreaker of this period. He was

[17] Lee, pgs. 209-210
[18] Ibid., pgs. 212-214

"responsible for a closer unification of music and movement that had not been known at that time," in Classical Ballet. This unification of music and dance has always been a part of Flamenco. Instead of music accompanying dance, it enters the body of the Flamenco dancer. Ivanov choreographed the ballet *The Nutcracker* which was outlined in structure by Petipa and the music was composed by Tchaikovsky. In *Swan Lake* he choreographed Act II and Act IV, while Petipa used his expertise to choreograph Act I and Act III. Again, Tchaikovsky was the composer of the legendary piece. Ivanov is acknowledged with Petipa "for reconciling the Italian and French schools and assisting in forging a characteristic Russian school."[19]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Russian Imperial Ballet was one of the greatest companies in the world. While it was built by the French and Italians, the spirit of the Russian dancers drove them to accomplish incredible achievements. The Russian folk dance was strong enough to survive any religious oppression, similar to the survival of the Romani and Flamenco. Their history has contributed to their perseverance. When Igor Stravinsky said; "Certain Andalusian songs remind me of Russian ones,"[20] he was referring to the music and dance of Russia akin to the Spanish or more precisely, Andalusian. But most of all, he was referring to the fire and passion of the soul that both Russians and Spanish have in common when they dance.

[19] Lee, pg. 219
[20] Lynn Garafola. *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes,* pg. 88. Oxford University Press. New York and Oxford 1989.

Chapter 4, Part 1

The Birth of the Ballets Russes

On the threshold of the twentieth-century, the Russian ballerina, Anna Pavlova, traveled the far ends of the earth, and her performances became a window into the Russian ballet. Slowly, the wonders of Russian art, music, and dance were exposed to world audiences as the new century was heralded in. In the beginning of the twentieth-century, Russian impresario Serge Diaghilev and his Ballets Russes would revolutionize ballet forever. Diaghilev's ballet renaissance would introduce the greatest dancers, choreographers, composers, and designers in history. In addition, he launched Russian painting, opera, and music and he also influenced fashion and interior design. The Ballets Russes productions *The Firebird, Le Spectre de la Rose,* and *Apollo,* along with *Les Sylphides,* and *Petrouchka,* are still performed today. Diaghilev received the title of the "Russian Maecenas" after the Roman patron of Horace and Virgil.[1]

Serge Diaghilev was born on March 19, 1872 in the Novgorad province of Russia. The family moved to Perm in 1882 and here he developed his love for the arts. In 1890 he was sent to the university to study law and became part of a circle of artists, among them Alexander Benois and Leon Bakst.[2] Along with law, he studied music at the Conservatoire and became attracted to painting. In 1896 Diaghilev became interested in ballet and published articles on art. When he realized he could influence people, he became a promoter. [3] He wrote in a letter to his stepmother, "I think I have no real gifts. All the same, I think I have just found my true vocation,

[1] Percival, pg. 1
[2] Ibid., pg. 10
[3] Ibid., pg. 12

being a Maecenas."[4]

In 1897, Diaghilev began to organize art exhibits and found backing for his new magazine, *The World of Art*. The magazine reviewed the visual and performing arts and was presented with superior quality to highlight the artwork and illustrations.[5] The magazine closed in 1904 when Diaghilev lost interest in it. He organized a successful exhibit of Russian art in 1905 under the imperial patronage, which led to exhibits in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna. After this success, he organized concerts in Paris with Glazunov, Rachmaninov, and Rimsky-Korsakov.[6] The next step for Diaghilev was to bring the Russian opera to Paris, and Moussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* was the first to be performed in 1908.[7]

There was another opera season the following year in Paris, and Diaghilev added three short ballets to the program. Though strong in Russia, Classical Ballet had faded away after the Romantic era in Europe and the moment was right for the resurgence.[8] He decided to present three ballets by the great choreographer, Michel Fokine, and one of them was *Chopiniana* which would later become known as *Les Sylphides.* Another was *Le Pavillon d'Armide,* which was performed in 1907 at the Imperial Theater in Russia. The third ballet, *An Egyptian Night*, would be changed to *Cleopatra*. Fokine arranged the dances for the opera *Prince Igor* and *divertissements* from Petipa's full-length ballets were also presented. With the emphasis on ballet, the Ballets Russes was born and became the most acclaimed company for twenty years.[9]

[4] Percival, pg. 13
[5] Ibid., pg. 13
[6] Ibid., pg. 15
[7] Ibid., pg. 15,18
[8] Ibid., pg. 18-19
[9] Ibid., pg. 20

The Ballets Russes gave its first performance on May 19, 1909 at the Châtelet Theater in Paris. Fokine, Pavlova, and Nijinsky performed the leading roles in all the ballets. Diaghilev generated a rage of excitement and enthusiasm because his productions were superior to anything the public had seen before. "The care taken in preparing and casting his programme was matched by the art with which it was presented to the Parisian public."[10] He cured every detail from redecorating the theater to improving the view of the stage for the audience by removing extra seats.[11] By 1911, the Ballets Russes was working continuously beginning with performances in Monte Carlo, Paris, and their first engagement in London.[12]

Enrico Cecchetti, who had worked for many years in Russia as a ballet teacher, was invited by Diaghilev to teach the company dancers. This was an important step to building the artistic strength of the Ballets Russes and solidifying the high level of technique.[13] When the ballet company opened in London at Covent Garden on June 21, the romantic works of the repertory were more popular with the public. *The Times* of London said: "And above all there is a restraint of emotion. For this is one of the first principles of the art of expressive dancing, that nothing must be taken too seriously…It is immensely serious as Art, but never for a moment serious as Life."[14] Five days after the Ballets Russes opened in London, the company participated in the coronation celebration of King Edward VII.[15]

Nijinsky made his debut as a choreographer with the ballet L'Après-midi d'un Faune.

[10] Percival, pg. 27
[11] Ibid., pg. 27
[12] Ibid., pg. 41
[13] Ibid., pg. 42
[14] Ibid., pg. 45
[15] Ibid., pg. 45

The first performance took place in Paris on May 29, 1912, and the ballet created a scandal. With Diaghilev's increasing promotion of Nijinsky, Fokine made the decision to leave the company.[16] Again in 1913, the Paris audiences were once again scandalized with Nijinsky's ballet, *The Rite of Spring*, music by Stravinsky.[17] "The ballet was received at its first performance with shouts of derision and whistles making it difficult for the dancers to hear the music."[18] Later, on their South American tour, Diaghilev fired Nijinsky because he failed to show up for his performance in *Carnaval*. The other reason was because Nijinsky had married while on tour, and it was rumored that Diaghilev had been in love with him.[19]

Fokine was persuaded to return as choreographer for the Ballets Russes. He choreographed the ballet *The Legend of Joseph* in 1914, which introduced a new dancer, Leonide Massine. World War I broke out at the end of 1914, and the company was practically inoperative.[20] In 1915, Massine began to successfully choreograph for the company, and one of the ballets was *Parade*, based on a circus theme. It was significant because it introduced modernism and cubism to ballet.[21] During 1917 and 1918, the last two years of the war, the company remained in Spain. With the end of the war, the Ballets Russes opened a season in London. Despite the success of Massine's work, Diaghilev quarreled with him and later fired the choreographer/dancer.[22]

In 1921, Diaghilev produced the ballet *The Sleeping Princess* which was a modified

[16] Percival, pg. 47
[17] Ibid., pg. 48-49
[18] Ibid., pg. 49
[19] Ibid., pg. 52
[20] Ibid., pg. 52
[21] Ibid., pg. 54
[22] Ibid., pg. 56-57

version of Petipa's *The Sleeping Beauty*. He hoped that the production would bring in huge profits, but while the ballet was an artistic success, financially it was not. After Massine had left the Ballets Russes, Nijinsky's sister, Bronislava Nijinska, became the company choreographer. She choreographed the ballet *Les Noces* about a Russian peasant wedding in 1923, and it was a triumph that outlasted time.[23] After Nijinska, Diaghilev tried a new choreographer, George Balanchine. His legacy from the Ballets Russes is the ballet *Apollo* (1928) composed by Stravinsky, and *The Prodigal Son* (1929) by Prokofiev.[24]

In the summer of 1929, Diaghilev said goodbye to his company for the summer vacation. He died in Venice on August 19, 1929, and was buried there on the island of San Michele.[25] "Had Serge Diaghilev never lived, it is safe to say twentieth century ballet would have been different."[26] Before the advent of the Ballets Russes, Classical Ballet was stereotyped as exclusively French and Italian. The company demonstrated not only the dynamic Russian technique, but also the strikingly unusual beauty of the dancers that intrigued audiences all over the world. Musically and visually Diaghilev's ballets were exciting to the viewer. The great impresario called himself "an incorrigible sensualist."[27]

While Diaghilev once described himself to his stepmother as a man with "no real gifts,"[28] his contributions to the arts were immense. He gave ballet an enormous amount of new music which could harmonically accompany dances or could be enjoyed by ear in a concert hall.[29]

[23] Percival, pg. 60
[24] Ibid., pg. 66
[25] Ibid., pg. 68
[26] Garafola, Lynn, Van Norman Baer, Nancy. *The Ballets Russes and Its World,* pg. 1. Yale University Press, New Haven 1999.
[27] Ibid., pg. 2
[28] Percival, pg. 13
[29] Garafola, Van Norman Baer, pg. 3

"If ballet music today is infinitely more varied and sophisticated than in 1900, it is largely because of Diaghilev."[30] The music of Igor Stravinsky was an example of this idea. Diaghilev chose to use established painters to design both the ballet scenery and the costumes. This created harmony between the scenery and costumes which was distinguishable, because the separate costume and scenery designer became one. This produced a stylistic and artistic coherence inflamed by imagination and genius. Pablo Picasso's contribution to the ballet *Parade* demonstrates this trend in the Ballets Russes productions.[31]

Diaghilev did not subscribe to the idea of rigid, academic *danse d'école,* or the established sequence of the pas de deux formatted by Petipa. Trick steps like *fouetté* turns for the female dancer were rejected by Diaghilev, and while the dancers continued to work on turnout with daily ballet classes, the use of parallel positions became popular with his choreographers. Diaghilev preferred one-act ballets reflected in his choice of *Aurora's Wedding,* or Act III of *Sleeping Beauty,* but he spared nothing in a production and cost was irrelevant.[32] The Ballets Russes did not have a permanent home in one theater and no star system. [33] The nomadic life of the Ballets Russes resembles that of the Romani pallbearers of Flamenco. Both carried their art on a long journey from home and introduced it to foreign countries. Diaghilev's company would have a great impact on Flamenco Dance, and transported it to a theatrical level, but Flamenco also enriched the Ballets Russes repertory in its brief exile in Spain.

[30] Garafola, Lynn, Van Norman Baer, pg. 4
[31] Ibid., pg. 4
[32] Ibid., pgs. 4-6
[33] Ibid., pg. 6

Part II

Leonide Massine and Flamenco

Leonide Massine was one of the greatest choreographers of the twentieth-century and forever associated with Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. He represents a "unifying thread through decades of the development of art in the West," and "an integral part of the cultural history of our century."[1] Before his career as a choreographer with the Ballets Russes, he was an acclaimed dancer and actor in Russia. It is said that Diaghilev was the influence that encouraged Massine to continue in ballet rather than become an actor.[2] What a huge loss to ballet if he had devoted himself to an acting career. Certainly his love of acting would eventually link his destiny to Flamenco, because an actor must hone into his inner experience to be expressive. Flamenco draws on the internal experience for expression in gestures and movements.

Massine was born August 8, 1895 in Moscow, and entered the Imperial Theater School of Moscow in 1904. This was around the Petipa and Ivanov period of Classical Ballet in St. Petersburg. The director of the Bolshoi was Alexander Gorsky and he favored the dance-drama idea rather than the standard academic ballet.[3] Dancers started to depend on acting for their roles and this had an impact on Massine who wanted to act more than dance.[4] In 1905, the school was closed temporarily because of the revolution, and the "Bloody Sunday" massacre would leave a permanent impression on him. The theatrical world of fantasy offered a chance for him to flee from the horrors of war outside his door.[5] At the end of the war, he later wrote in his

[1] García-Márquez, pg.xiii
[2] Percival, pg. 80
[3] García-Márquez, pg. 9
[4] Ibid., pg. 10
[5] Ibid., pg. 11

in his memoirs: "By the time I was fifteen I had definitely decided that I would be an actor."[6]

Massine continued to dance with the Moscow Imperial Theater, especially in Character roles.[7] In addition to dance and drama, Massine played the violin and the balalaika in order to understand music better.[8] But it was his friendship with the artist Anatoli Petrovich Bolchakov that would have a profound effect on his development. He studied art history and learned how to draw and paint, which would add more depth to his inner artistic experience.[9] In his character and dramatic roles, Massine was guided by the teachings of the Russian drama master, Konstantin Stanislavsky.[10] In August of 1912, Massine graduated and was accepted into the Bolshoi Ballet.[11]

Serge Diaghilev discovered Massine while he danced with the Bolshoi Theater in 1913. He was looking for the perfect dancer to perform the role of Joseph in *The Legend of Joseph,* a biblical ballet that would be choreographed by Fokine. Diaghilev was impressed by his performances in *Swan Lake* and *Don Quixote.*[12] Massine was thrilled to be offered a contract to dance with the Ballets Russes because of its international fame, but he was undecided about abandoning the security of the Bolshoi Theater.[13] In the end, he accepted the offer and left Moscow with Diaghilev for Europe. They met the company in Germany and before he worked on *The Legend of Joseph,* he performed in Fokine's *Petrouchka*. Massine admired Fokine and was influenced by his choreography. He was fascinated by Fokine's talent in mixing dance,

[6] García-Márquez, pg. 17
[7] Ibid., pg. 18
[8] Ibid., pg. 17
[9] Ibid., pg. 21
[10] Ibid., pg. 24, 25
[11] Ibid., pg. 17
[12] Ibid., pg. 31
[13] Ibid., pg. 32

music, drama, and painting, which the ballet *Petrouchka* exemplified.[14]

When World War I was declared in 1914, the Ballets Russes was in Paris. For two years the company toured Europe and the United States, but in 1916 they arrived on the shores of Spain. King Alfonso XIII invited the Ballets Russes to perform at Madrid's Teatro Real. They arrived by boat at the port city of Cádiz, where centuries before the first dancers from the Middle East arrived. The composer Manuel de Falla took the company sightseeing and introduced them to Flamenco Dance. Cádiz captivated Massine and Andalusia left an impression on him. This was an inspirational moment that would lead to his eventual masterpiece, *The Three-cornered Hat*.[15] The pandemonium of the war would bring together great artists and the osmosis of new artistic ideas was bonded. From Cádiz the Ballets Russes journeyed to Madrid for their opening at the Teatro Real. Madrid was immune to the war in Europe, so "aristocrats, millionaires, artists, and swindlers all compounded the intrigue." [16] Talented artists had escaped from their war-torn countries, and as a result, the quality of the arts and cultural manifestations was at a high level.

Massine was awed by the El Escoriol outside of Madrid, and he wrote to Anatoli Petrovich, "In some parts there is the simplicity of Byzantium and everywhere there is powerful spirit and mighty form."[17] Massine also wrote: "We are all crazy about what we see at the Prado."[18] The paintings of Goya shaped his choreography, but the style of Velásquez intrigued him and subsequently affected his ballets.[19] Velázquez's *Las Meninas* moved him deeply, and

[14] Garcia-Marquez, pg. 35
[15] Ibid., pgs. 67, 68
[16] Ibid., pg. 68
[17] Ibid., pg. 70
[18] Ibid., pg. 71
[19] Ibid., pg. 71

with Diaghilev's suggestion he choreographed a ballet. The ballet *Las Meninas*, with the music *Pavane* by Fauré, was created in honor of the painter Velásquez.[20] When the Madrid engagement was over, Diaghilev, Massine, and Falla, visited the cities of Andalusia. In Seville Massine saw the Gothic Cathedral and was amazed by "the altar dances with castanets, and the orchestra in front of the altar." While traveling in Andalusia, the three men met the Flamenco dancer Félix Fernández García in the Café Novedades, and later he would become Massine's Flamenco teacher.[21] Massine, Diaghilev, and Falla, continued on to Granada, where they were captivated by its magical beauty. Again, Massine wrote to Anatoli Petrovich when he saw the Alhambra: "I saw a miracle, or was it a wonderful, uncommon dream?[22] Massine attended Romani banquets, one in Albaicín, the old Arabic town, and he learned more and more about the Romani traditions.[23]

Manuel de Falla was interested in making the Andalusian *canto jondo,* emotional songs that often accompany Flamenco Dance, popular again.[24] Before the trip, Falla composed music for the theatrical company, Martínez Síerras. He composed *El amor brujo* for the famous Flamenco dancer, Pastora Imperio, who worked with the theatrical company. Also, Falla was composing music for the pantomime *El Corregidor y la molinera* for the Martínez Síerras group. Diaghilev and Massine loved his piece *Nocturnos,* and Diaghilev wanted Massine to create a Spanish ballet. Falla did not want his music to accompany a ballet, so he declined to allow *Nocturnos* to be used. However, he offered to make *El Corregidor y la molinera* into a ballet,

[20] García-Márquez, pg. 75
[21] Ibid., pg. 72
[22] Ibid., pg. 73
[23] Ibid., pg. 73
[24] Ibid., pg. 72

which is based on the Spanish novel by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, *El Sombrero de tres picos.*[25] After their trip to Andalusia, Falla was inspired to change parts of *El Corregidor* and develop the dances.[26] Diaghilev and Massine wanted a stronger more dynamic finale.[27] Massine wrote: "Falla's score, with its pulsating rhythms, played by eleven brass instruments, seemed to us very exciting, and its blend of violence and passion was similar to much of the music of the local folk dances."[28] Falla wanted to study Spanish folk dancing and music in order to interpret certain dances, such as the *Farruca*, in a modern idiom.[29]

Diaghilev and Massine met Félix Fernández García in Madrid where he was dancing in a café. Diaghilev offered him a contract to join the company before leaving for Barcelona.[30] In Barcelona, Fernández García began to teach Massine Flamenco steps and introduced him to his teacher who taught him the difficult *zapateado*. Diaghilev, Falla, Massine, repeated the trip they had made the year before in Andalusia, and this time Fernández García joined them. In Seville, Massine met and filmed the famous Flamenco dancers, Ramírez and Macarrona, and he described their dancing as, "ferocious power and elegance." They watched a group of dancers perform the *sevillana* on the roof of house in Seville.[31] Falla listened to a blind man play the guitar in the streets of Grenada and he hummed the melody until he could write it down.[32] "He later used that melody for the *sevillana* in the second part of our ballet, which we finally entitled

[25] García-Márquez, pg. 107-108
[26] Ibid., pgs. 73-74
[27] Ibid., pg. 108
[28] Leonide Massine. *My Life in Ballet,* pg. 115. Macmillan, London 1968.
[29] Ibid., pg. 115
[30] García-Márquez, pg. 109
[31] Ibid., pgs. 109-110
[32] Ibid., pg. 112

the *Tricorne,"*[33] or the *Three-cornered Hat* in English.

Massine felt he was almost ready to choreograph a Spanish ballet with "a complete fusion of native folk dances and classical choreographic techniques. "Through my study of Spanish music and of the paintings of El Greco, Goya, Ribera and Velásquez, I had widened my understanding of the dignity and passion of the Spanish temperament."[34] Massine returned to Barcelona where he says: "I filled my time by going to watch bullfights, to which I became addicted."[35] He discovered that the elegant movements of the bullfighter were as perfect as the great Flamenco dancers. He declared; "I began to grasp the underlying ferocity present in such dances as the *Farruca*." He added to this; I realized too that it was essentially the same elements in the Spanish temperament which had produced both dances and their national sport."[36]

Falla arrived in Barcelona with the completed score of the *Three-cornered Hat*, and at the same time Pablo Picasso had begun the designs for costumes and scenery.[37] Massine exchanged ideas for the new ballet and folklore with Falla. The composer's goal was, "to capture the mood, rhythm, melodic forms, and cadences, but eschewed the perpetuation of the literal popular form, opting instead to try for a personal and original interpretation."[38] Massine was always the actor before the dancer and he had a strong relationship with character styles of movement. The Spanish dance idiom in *The Three-cornered Hat* would be one of his most successful depictions. He used "elements from the circus, commedia dell'arte, cinema, and other vernaculars of

[33] Massine, pg. 118
[34] Massine, pg. 118-119
[35] Ibid., pg. 122
[36] Ibid., pg. 122
[37] Ibid., pg. 122
[38] García-Márquez, pg.113

twentieth-century folklore."[39]

Tamara Karsavina would dance the role of the Miller's wife and Massine would dance the role of the Miller. He had decided to dance the part rather than Félix Fernández García because like most Flamenco dancers, his work was improvisational. This was a great disappointment for Fernández García because he had taught Massine Flamenco, and he would not have a part in the ballet or credit for the work he had done.[40] Karsavina was amazed at Massine's Spanish dancing and commented: "On the Russian stage we had been used to the balletic stylization of Spanish dancing, sugary at its best, but this was the very essence of Spanish folk dancing."[41] In the *Tricorne* pas de deux, Massine describes his interpretation: "I tried to achieve that quality of pursuit, of tension, teasing, advancing and retreating, which is a salient feature of so many Spanish dances."[42] Massine also wrote about his choreography: "Although the dance was mainly inspired by the *fandango* and with some *flamenco* passages, I added to it a variety of classical movements."[43] The whole cast of dancers join in a *jota* finale. This was the collaboration of Falla's music, Picasso's costumes, and Massine's choreography, all related to the life and work of the painter Goya.[44]

The *Three-cornered Hat*, or *Tricorne*, did not premiere in Spain, but opened in London on July 22, 1919. Paradoxically, the name of the theater was the Alhambra. The ballet is the synthesis of classical movements and Spanish folk dance. "Massine skillfully assimilated into his

[39] Garafola, and Van Norman Baer, pg. 257
[40] García-Márquez, pgs. 131-132
[41] Ibid., pg. 132
[42] Massine, pg. 141
[43] Ibid., pg. 141
[44] García-Márquez, pg. 138

own personal idiom *farruca,* the *fandango,* the *sevillana,* and the *jota,* without sacrificing the individual characteristics."[45] Massine used the dynamics of Flamenco and Spanish dancing, which is the increasing and decreasing of speed exemplified in the *Farruca*. Also, he set the mood by using choreographic tools such as, tension, provocation, and advancing, retreating movements common in Spanish dance.[46] This new genre is referred to as modern folk character ballet. However, the *Farruca* and the *Fandango* pertain to Flamenco dance, and therefore belong to a separate category within the genre.[47]

[45] García-Márquez, pg. 138
[46] Ibid., pg. 138
[47] Ibid., pg. 138

Chapter 5

Flamenco: Contrasts and Similarities to other Dance Forms

Character Dance

Character dance is considered a branch of Classical Ballet and an essential part of classical repertory. In Character dance, the traditions of dance in different nations are adapted to ballet for theatrical purposes. The word "character" suggests the portrayal of the attributes that belong to a particular individual or nation and combined with the local dance styles. The steps and styles must be analyzed to fully understand the characteristics of each nationality. Some examples of Character dance include the czardas, mazurka, polka, tarantella, and flamenco used in classical ballet to depict the place or country in the narrative of a ballet. Often various steps and national folk dance styles are mixed together and authenticity is lost. Choreographers try to avoid this assimilation.[1] However, many dance forms were assimilated to create the art of Flamenco. Here is a comparison and contrast with Flamenco dance and Character dance including the history, and training methods of both dance forms.

In Spain there are three main styles of Spanish dance; one is regional and usually featured in open air festivals. The traditional folk dance of each region requires attention on the part of the dancer to preserve detail and character. Spanish classical dance is another style and is a form of eighteenth century Italian ballet. The third style is Flamenco, with ancient roots in Kathak dance. There are many unconfirmed theories of how the Kathak dance form arrived in Spain, and the

[1] Jurgen Pagels. *Character Dance,* pg. 1. Indiana University Press, Bloomington. Copyright 1984 by Jurgen Pagels.

dance styles assimilated before its ultimate arrival.[2] Flamenco is still performed today in theatrical venues, the *tablao*, which is a typical Flamenco show, and in the caves of Granada for tourists.

There is no single country that represents Character dance. Hungary, Russia, Poland, and other eastern European countries contribute to character dance, along with Italy and Spain. The National dances have not absorbed a cultural transformation on a long voyage as Flamenco experienced. But Character dance became popular all over Europe and was not isolated to one place. It was performed in many of the most famous ballets in the late 1800's. One of the earliest was *Coppélia,* and later *Swan Lake*, the *Nutcracker,* and *Don Quixote,* exemplified classical Spanish dancing. Character dance has also appeared in operas, operettas, and musicals, whereas Flamenco has been more limited in range.

A ballet dancer seeking a professional career needs to know Character as part of the necessary performance skills. Usually dancers from a classical background have an easier time adapting to the dance form than those coming from other disciplines. But classically trained dancers often have difficulty with Flamenco because of posture. Flamenco dancers must always work with slightly bent knees or in *demi-plié*, and this is an example of a similarity with Character dance, but the difference lies in the finish. Character dance finishes a combination or dance with straight knees, whereas Flamenco ends in demi-plié. Prior Character training can facilitate the study of Flamenco, especially for ballet dancers.

The next comparison is the position of the spine. In Flamenco dance the shoulders are

[2] LaLagia. *Spanish Dancing, A Practical Handbook by LaLagia ,* pgs.1-2. Publisher Pre Textos ed. November 29, 2012.

pulled back and the spine is extremely arched, while Character follows the upper body rules of Classical Ballet, which is the rib-cage lifted, the spine straight, and the *épaulement*, or use of the shoulders, is emphasized. The pelvis swivels in Flamenco especially in the figure eight design of the *Rumba Gitana*, whereas the hips are squarely placed in Character and Classical Ballet. However, the Flamenco skirt is usually worn tighter to impede broad leg movements. In all three dance forms the torso moves circularly and freely with the sweeping shape of the arms.

The contrast with the hand shapes and movements in the two disciplines is noteworthy. Here the Character dance again follows the rules of Classical Ballet along with palms turned upward and extended fingers. In Flamenco, the fingers create various shapes which distinguish the hands. It is interesting to note that the arm positions in Flamenco are closely related to Classical Ballet with two additional arm positions; 4th back with one arm placed behind the back, and 5th low (*en bas*) behind the back. *En bas* is the same in Character and Flamenco, *en avant, a la seconde*, and *en haut* have palms open. Castanets are used in Character and sometimes in Flamenco, and there is hand clapping in both dance forms.

Character training begins at the *barre* with a series of exercises that follow a similar lesson plan to Classical Ballet. After the warm-up at the *barre*, the class proceeds with center work.[3] Flamenco has no set exercises or syllabus, so the structure of the class depends totally on the teacher. Steps have been passed down to each generation from families and teachers. A typical class will begin with footwork and proceed to the teacher's choreography for the lesson. One striking difference in the comparison of Character and Flamenco is music. Character dance works with musical counts of 6 and 8, but Flamenco uses 12 counts. Both Character and

[3] Pagels, pg. 3

Flamenco have a few of the same positions of the feet as ballet with the 6th position or parallel. There is an addition of an open 4th in Character and a *planta natural* or relaxed 3rd position in Flamenco. The shoes in both dance styles look the same on the surface, but Flamenco has rough, nail-like metal spikes on the heels.

Ballet and Character are extroverted in emotion, light, outward in movement, and spatially cover wide open distances. Flamenco is introverted. The emotion erupts and simmers internally but the space around the dancer remains limited. The Character dancer brings their artistry to the story that accompanies the ballet they are performing. The Flamenco dancer performs to a theme story of life which can be happy or sad. The human emotions are felt deeply and come forth in the interpretation of the performer. The soul of Flamenco is called *duende* and without it the audience does not become involved in the performance but merely entertained.

> "Fundamentally speaking, *duende* is a state of mind or emotion emanating from the subconscious, an imperceptible psychic communication or hypnotic energy which a performer shares with his or her audience.[4]

The dancer almost seems "possessed" with a fire of emotion that comes forth in a so-called dance ritual.

Diaghilev's Ballets Russes was instrumental in bringing Character dance to the western world from 1909-1929 when the company dominated the stage. The success of the Character Polovtsian Dances in *Prince Igor* resulted in the birth of one of the greatest ballet companies in

[4] Vittucci, p.74

history.[5] Leonide Massine, choreographer and dancer with the Ballets Russes, studied Flamenco. His experience with Character dance helped him to easily adapt to Flamenco, especially the footwork. He used his experience with Character dance, Classical Ballet, and Flamenco, to choreograph the ballet *Three-cornered Hat* in 1918 for the Ballets Russes, and perform the famous "Miller's Dance".

The Bolero School and Flamenco

The next comparison is with the *escuela bolero* and Flamenco. The *escuelo bolera,* or the Bolero School has origins similar to Classical Ballet, a path much different from Flamenco. The Bolero School combined the Italian and French ballet with regional Spanish dance. The eighteenth century ballet performances changed the presentation of Classical Bolero in the theater. In the nineteenth century, the Bolero became Spain's "national dance." Today, similarities with the Cecchetti method of classical ballet are visible in the Bolero school, along with the Bournonville or Danish style of ballet. The latter is similar to the nineteenth century French balletic style which was part of the same period in history as the Spanish classical dance. Spanish folk dance, especially from Andalusia, strongly influenced the Bolero School and Flamenco. For this reason, there is often confusion in identifying one dance form from the other, because they both share steps from Spanish folk dances.[6]

"Spanish dancing is such a vital force, it could not but have influenced ballet." [7] There is evidence that Spanish dance influenced Classical Ballet. Arm positions and *épaulement* always existed in Spanish dancing before Classical Ballet. There is a "shared inheritance" with

[5] Pavel, pg. 2
[6] Marina Grut. *The Bolero School,* pg. 6. DANCE BOOKS. Copyright by Marina Grut 2002.
[7] Ibid., pg. 6

Cecchetti's *pas de bourreé couru* and the Bolero School *piffa y pas de bourreé.* The ballet step *pas de basque* belongs to the syllabus of the *escuela bolera* and came from a regional Spanish dance. Contrary to what many think, Spanish dance is not ballet with castanets. A ballet dancer would need extra study to accomplish difficult jumps while performing with castanets.[8] In Spanish dance, the *zapatilla,* or ballet slippers, are the primary shoes used for dancing because of the high and difficult jumps executed. When the Bolero is performed in a theatrical venue, the female dancer usually wears pointe shoes. However, there are dances that use the flamenco shoe, particularly those with the *golpe punta y talon.*

The *Sevillanas* in the *escuela bolera* comes from an Andalusian folk dance. However, the *Sevillanas* is associated more and more with Flamenco because of its connection with Andalusia. Here is an example where the three dance forms, Bolero, folk, and Flamenco, became mixed together.[9] The *Sevillanas* chorus step was used by the ballet choreographers Bournonville in his Spanish ballet, *Seguidilla,* and Petipa in *Don Quixote*. Later, the step was used by Massine in the Dance of the Neighbors in the *Three-cornered Hat*. The posture of the back in the *Sevillanas* interpreted by Classical Ballet choreographers was swayed, perhaps a reflection of the matador stance or an exaggeration for theatrical purposes. But according to the Bolero School, the sway back position was misunderstood by ballet choreographers.[10] Bolero dancers who perform the *Sevillanas* have very straight backs to support the technical difficulties that challenge them in other steps.[11]

[8] Grut, pg. 7
[9] Ibid., pg. 25
[10] Ibid., pg. 7
[11] Ibid., pg. 7

In the early nineteenth century, the Escuela Bolera Andaluza in Cádiz incorporated Flamenco with the Bolero. The Flamenco *Alegrías* and *Soleares* were performed in a classical style. "The local dance masters seem to have created these dances for their studios from the street forms."[12] In the early twentieth century, Flamenco and the Bolero were performed together on the same *tablao* or stage. The *cuadro,* or picture, contained a group of dancers and musicians working together. The classical *cuadro flamenco* performed the first part of the show, and the *cuadro bolero* danced in the second half.[13]

Spanish regional dancing, Flamenco, Bolero, have something in common: shouting and hand clapping which is called *jaleo*.[14] In contrast to Flamenco, female dancers performing the Bolero wear much shorter skirts to accommodate more movement, especially jumps. Both Flamenco and the Bolero steps and movements were handed down from generation to generation. However, in the late nineteenth century, Angel Pericet Carmona created a graded curriculum based on the steps and movements that he inherited from his family.[15] The Pericet system is studied worldwide, whereas Flamenco to this day has no graded curriculum.

[12] Grut, pg. 111
[13] Ibid., pg. 52
[14] Ibid., pg. 145
[15] Vittucci, pg. 80

Chapter 6

Analysis of the *Three-cornered Hat* Ballet

The *Farruca*

The *Farruca* is a dance which "embodies all the technique of the other Flamenco dances." For this reason, "it is the first dance that all children learn."[1] The name of the dance originates from a song brought south to Andalusia by workers from Galicia, Spain. The meaning of the word *Farruca* is debated. Some authorities say it is the bagpipe used in the northwestern province of Galicia and the name of the song. Others say it is used to describe the northerners from Asturias and Galicia, along with the adjectives "brave" and "courageous." Flamenco music has roots in Andalusia, so the *Farruca* was adopted into the art form because of musical similarity and its ability to adapt. In the late nineteenth century, the Spanish musician Ramon Montoya introduced *Farruca* music on the guitar. A *Gitano* dancer from Andalusia created dance steps and movements to the *Farruca* music. El Faico was the Flamenco dancer from Triana Seville that introduced the dance in Andalusia. The *Farucca* is usually danced by a man, but women have also performed the dance. Women wear riding habits or trousers with a high waist (*pantalones cenidos*).[2] The *Farruca* does not send an emotional message, describe the pain of the Romani, or the story of the assimilation of steps and movements on a long journey across centuries and countries by a group of nomads. It is simply dancing, and is appreciated for its technical virtuosity. Two impressive and exciting movements are the *caída* and the *vuelta quebradita.*[3]

[1] La Meri, pg. 88
[2] Vittucci, pg. 86
[3] La Meri, pg. 88

The *paso de caída* is a falling or dropping step onto the knees, usually preceded by a rapid turn (*vuelta*) The "timing is flexible and it can be used for punctuation within a dance by reversing the action. The fall comes first, followed by a sudden spring to a vertical position on the balls of the feet, which is accented on the second count." Usually the step is performed by lifting up the ball of the right foot, similar to a ballet *relevé*. The left leg is bent with the left foot touching the knee resembling a ballet *passé* with the leg turned in. The arms are in a low fourth position and the body is arched in a slight *cambré*. The dancer lunges forward onto the right knee with the left leg bent.[4] Female dancers use a slower *caída* and a slow, circular *vuelta* to their knees "allowing their skirts to lie dramatically on the floor encircling their kneeling figures."[5]

The *vuelta quebradita*, or small, broken, fractured turn is a turn performed with a half-circle backbend. The footwork resembles the *soutenu* in Classical Ballet. The arms are in fourth position with the left arm up and the right foot front in third position. The torso bends to the left and the ball of the left foot crosses over the right foot. At the same time the arms change position after passing through first position. Turning right on the balls of the feet, the arms pass in front of the face and change back to the original position. A backbend is made on the turn and the body is inclined over the right thigh.[6] The *paseo de farruca* is the promenade or walk in the *Farruca* used in the more melancholic phrases of music. In addition, the stance of the bullfighter can be seen in many final poses.

The *Farruca* is in a 2/4 signature, and only two other Flamenco dances have this tempo; the *Tango* and the *Garrotín*. The majority of Flamenco dances are in the 3/4 and 3/8 time. The

[4] Vittucci, pg. 158
[5] Ibid., pg. 44
[6] Ibid., pgs. 262, 263

tiempo de farruca is defined as time marked to the *Farruca* rhythm, and the name of the step that marks the time. This "time-marking step" is performed in the beginning of the *Farruca* or during more difficult versions of the dance. Again, the arms are placed in a low fourth position with the left arm front and the feet are parallel. The ball of the right foot beats the floor on the first count. On the second count, the same leg extends forward close to the floor. The ball of the right foot touches the floor again on count three and the left foot joins the right on count four. The step moves backward but the body is always kept at the same level. The fingers snap to the rhythm, and this is defined as *pitos.*[7]

The *zapateado,* or the dance rhythms made with shoes, defines the essence of all Flamenco dance. It is a technique that uses "rhythmic and counter rhythmic patterns made by any part of the shoe, or *zapato.*" This includes stamps, soft brushing steps, heel beats, and "whatever toe-heel sound combinations the dancer can make with his shoes."[8] In the *Farruca,* the footwork is very strong and balances the dynamic leaps, turns, and falls that belong to this particular Flamenco dance. However, "the greatest difficulty consists in the *contretemps* beats which alternate with its own special paces."[9] The *contratiempo,* which means against time or count, is produced on the offbeat or between the beats and creates an exciting effect.[10]

The *remachos* describes the sounds or rhythmic pattern performed in the *Farruca.* "Its name comes from the hammering action of the lower leg, as though it were pounding a nail down firmly."[11] The *remachos* begins in a third position with the left foot front or parallel feet

[7] Vittucci, pg. 237
[8] Ibid., pg. 267
[9] José M. Caballero Bonald. *Andalusian Dances,* pg. 44
[10] Vittucci, pg. 60
[11] Ibid., pg. 209

facing toward stage right. The dancer faces the audience in both preparations and knees are slightly bent. The step is executed in place and usually performed at the end of the dance. A syncopated small hop on the left foot launches the step. The first three counts is a stamp of the right foot and the third stamp is accented with a hold on count four. This entire sequence is repeated three times consecutively and rapidly.[12]

The first visual example of the *Farruca* preserved on film was made more than one hundred years ago. In 1917, the choreographer Leonide Massine from Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, filmed the *Spanish Dancers*. The first part was filmed in the street and the second part on a rooftop, both backgrounds in Seville, Spain. While the first part is an excellent documentary to the legendary Flamenco dancer, *La Macarrona*, the second part of the film we will discuss here. The male soloist in this part is the famous Flamenco dancer, Ramírez, and he performs the *Farruca*. We observe what Massine saw through the camera lens. He concentrated on the body from the ankle up, but surprisingly did not film the footwork. The dancing is more technical, the turns and jumps resembling Character dance, instead of Flamenco as we know it. This seemed unusual at the time that I first viewed the film, but later this phenomenon was explainable. Flamenco has absorbed traditional Spanish folk dances and this applies to the element of Character dance in the *Farruca*. The body curve of Ramírez is highlighted in the film and it reflects the proud stance of the bullfighter that Massine had studied.

After viewing this film, I observed and studied the *Farruca* choreographed for the Miller's Dance in the ballet *Three-cornered Hat*. The original 1937 film of the *Three-cornered Hat*, I viewed at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts with the permission of the

[12] Vittucci, pg. 210

Massine family. Tatiana Massine suggested that I watch another film in which her father performed the *Farruca*. It contained steps from the *Farruca* he performed in the Miller's Dance in the *Three-cornered Hat*. After watching both films I was glad for this suggestion, because the 1937 version was of poor quality and difficult to see clearly. Also, the black and white 1937 movie contained other Spanish dances in addition to the *Farruca*, but the *Farruca* is the only dance that belongs to Flamenco. In Massine's solo film, there was a stunning similarity to the second part of the *Spanish Dances* with the dancer Ramirez. However, the *Farruca* has a limited amount of specific steps which is the reason why the steps are repeated. Flamenco has no set step patterns or written composition because it was handed down from generation to generation, usually by family members.

Massine's performance was elegant but resembled ballet with its external energy. The *Farruca* is one Flamenco dance that is more theatrical and less internal. Flamenco has a heavy connection with the earth, but the *Farruca* uses the earth as a springboard like Classical Ballet. Also, the energy of Flamenco dance smolders internally, but unlike the *Farruca*, dissipates externally. Massine's body curve repeats the stance of the bullfighter which he admired so much. [13] At first it seems that Massine is imitating Spanish dancing with ballet, but after close observation it is evident that his interpretation of the *Farruca* is authentic.

[13] Massine, pg. 122

Analysis of the *Miller's Dance*

In order to analyze the *Farruca* in the ballet *Tricorne,* a synopsis of the narrative is imperative first to understand the context of the dance. It is a Spanish love story that begins in a small village in Spain, and the scene opens with the miller and his wife. The governor of the province, or *Corregidor,* arrives with an escort. He is dressed in fine clothes and wearing a three-cornered hat, which is a sign of his position, class, and power. The old *Corregidor* flirts with the miller's wife but she ignores him and he departs. Here she dances a lively *Fandango*. The *Corregidor* returns and continues to pursue her, but she pushes him away and he falls. The miller with his wife help the *Corregidor* to his feet. But the angry dignitary threatens both of them before leaving the scene. The miller and his wife perform a pas de deux.[14]

Evening comes and the villagers dance the *Seguidillas* in a festival with the miller and his wife. After drinking and celebrating, the miller performs the famous *Farruca* when soldiers sent by the *Corregidor* arrest him. With the miller gone, the *Corregidor* continues to pursue his wife until she pushes him in the river. The miller escapes, takes the *Corregidor's* drying clothes and wears them. The *Corregidor* has borrowed the miller's dry clothes and he is arrested because of mistaken identity. When the villagers find out what the *Corregidor* tried to do, they drive him out of the village. The *jota* is performed by the villagers along with the miller and his wife, as a victory dance. A dummy representing the *Corregidor* is thrown in the air above the crowd as the curtain falls.[15]

[14] George Balanchine, and Francis Mason. *101 Stories of the Great Ballets,* pg. 495-496. Dolphin Book Doubleday & Company, Inc. New York 1975.
[15] Ibid., pg. 496

The Miller's Dance, or the *Farruca* performed by Massine, is the link between Flamenco and Classical Ballet. I will analyze the Miller's Dance performed by Patrick Dupond of the Paris Opera Ballet. It is two minutes and fifteen seconds in length. The Spanish terminology of the dance steps is included. I will compare the Spanish steps to similar ballet steps, and point out the steps that are unique to ballet if any.

The Miller's Dance

The dancer begins kneeling on his left knee, *arrodillasse,* and claps his hands with muffled sounds, *palmas sordas*. The dancer rises, *rastreado,* facing a diagonal downstage right, *en diagonal anterior derecha.* He takes one step, *semipunta*, or on half-pointe, *paseo de farruca,* on his left leg with the right leg bent in *attitude* pose, *actitud,* the left arm is front in 4th position palms down. The movement is repeated with the other leg, followed by running steps, *carrerillas,* then fast double stamps, *golpes,* right and left twice, hands flat on pelvis. With parallel feet on *semipunta,* arms in 4th position with right arm front, the dancer performs a half turn to the left, *media vuelta semipunta,* change arms to 4th position with left arm front to downstage left, *en diagonal anterior izquierda*. The *actitud* in this dance is similar to the attitude in ballet, though in ballet the dancer holds the leg higher. The *media vuelta semipunta* is closely akin to *detourné* in ballet.

En diagonal, the dancer takes a step left with parallel feet *semipunta* pose, *remate,* and the left arm opens with the right front in 4th position, then changes back to the left arm. He stamps, *golpe*, with the right foot front, and the left foot back, *semipunta*, and snaps fingers, *pitos*. This is followed by the right foot *golpe, saltado,* on right foot, *cabriola,* half scissor kick, *artasi-otsiko,*

with the right leg, and arms in 4th position, palms down, using the opposite arm with the working leg. This is repeated another time left. The left foot *golpe* with right foot *semipunta* is repeated two times, then four times rapidly, with the arms in 1st position, palms down, a pressing up and down movement with the hands. The dancer steps on the right foot with the left leg to the side, *paso lado,* and the left arm is straight to the side over the leg with the palm down, and the right arm bent with the palm to the chest. There is a step jump, *saltado,* on the left foot to face upstage, *atras,* and arms are closed with palms facing the chest. A circular movement with the right leg is performed during the jump while facing back, *campanela saltado*. The *saltado* is like the *sauté* in ballet and the *artasi-otsiko* is similar to the ballet *ballotte*. The *cabriola* resembles the *cabriole* in ballet however in ballet the knees are usually straight. The *campanela saltado* is similar to a double *rond de jambe en l'air sauté.*

The dancer brings both legs together and a *salto* with a *media vuelta* is executed with hands flat on the pelvis. This is similar to half of a *tour en l'air* in ballet. The *passo lado* right preparation is made for a pirouette with the arms in 4th position, right arm front. The action is turning back, *vuelta de pirueta hacia atras*. The turn is outside right with the right foot touching below the front of the knee. It is identical to the *pirouette endehors* in Classical Ballet. In the middle of the turn, the left foot replaces the right on the back of the knee, and the right leg becomes the working leg. The turning action is front, *vuelta de pirueta hacia adelante* which is similar to a *pirouette endedans*. The arms are placed in a low 1st position for both turns. The dancer falls on the left knee, *caída,* from the *vuelta,* and both hands are placed on the left hip. The arms open from right to left with sweeping movements.

Slowly the dancer rises, *rastreado,* to *actitud,* arms 5th position with wrists bent not

rounded. The dancer performs a slow turn, *vuelta,* like the ballet *soutenu* and finishes with the left leg to the side, *lado*. There is a *pas de buret natural* to the right side, *de lado derecho,* with the left leg always crossing three times front, and the left arm straight over the left leg, right arm bent to the chest. This is *pas de bourreé* in ballet. The step finishes with a small *salto* to fourth position facing diagonal left, *en diagonal anterior izquierda,* and the arms are up with the wrists turned to the right. The dancer steps back with the left foot. The *punta* is front with right foot, shifting weight, *punta* back with left foot, and arms are up snapping fingers, *pitos*. Then the dancer lifts the bent left leg, pivots on the right to the other corner, and hits the left foot with the left hand. This is repeated another two times.

The dancer takes three steps *en diagonal anterior derecha* and executes the *esplante saltado cruzado* into a *paseo caída* facing *en diagonal posterior derecha,* arms in 2nd position. The *esplante saltado cruzado* is similar to the ballet *pas de basque* and with both knees bent resembles a ballet *pas de chat*. The *paseo caído* is repeated another four times *en diagonal posterior derecha*. The arm that corresponds to the front leg is lifted then lowered behind the back with each fall. Fast single *golpes* are performed with arms in 1st position, and hands perform an over, under, circular movement. The dancer jumps, *salto,* in fourth, left leg stretched straight back, facing *de lado izquierdo,* or stage left. The left arm is up and the right arm is open to the side. The legs are brought together and a *media vuelta* is made with a hip swivel, arms open in 2nd, to diagonal on *semipunta*.

The dancer makes three double *golpes,* beginning with the left foot and alternating feet. The hands are flat on the pelvis. There is a step back with the right foot, low arms behind the back, *quinta baja detrás*. The right foot is then brought forward with five *golpes* and the left foot

in *semipunta*. The hands perform muffled claps, *palmas sordas*. The right foot is taken back in *semipunta,* and brought forward to repeat the *golpes* and *semipunta*. When the right foot is back, the arms are in *quinta baja detrás*. The second time the *golpe* step is repeated, hand claps are *palmas sordas* followed by *palmas secas,* or dry claps which are clear and sharp sounding. There are two single claps, one double, and one single. The left leg comes up to an *actitud,* arms in high 5th position, wrists bent. The leg comes down to step preparation with right leg *lado* and *vuelta de pirueta hacia atras,* arms up in 5th position on the turn, to *caída* on the left knee, with the arms in *quinta baja detrás,* fifth low back.

Slowly the dancer rises, and steps on the left leg bringing both legs together in fifth position, or *quinta semipunta* pose facing back *en diagonal posterior derecha*. Arms are up and wrists crossed. This position is balletic, but it also belongs to Spanish dancing. The dancer begins slowly turning right in place, *en sitio,* with *golpes* and *semipunta*. The step is called *vuelta en cuarto tiempo,* and resembles a *pas de bourrée en tournant* in ballet. There is one slow full turn in four steps, wrists are crossed, palms and fingers open, and the hands flutter. This is followed by another two *golpe* with *semipunta* to face front, then one *golpe* with *semipunta* to face back, repeat to front, repeat back, front, back. The right arm opens forward guiding the turns, and the left arm replaces it on the turn. The dancer performs two *golpe* with *semipunta* facing *atras*. The arms are in a closed, locked position behind the back and they sway right, left, right with the two *golpes*.

With the left leg the dancer steps side and slowly drags the right leg to the back of the left in a *balanceado cruzado,* which is similar to the *balance* in ballet, then executes a *glisada* to the right and another *balanceado cruzado* to the right. The arm that is forward corresponds to the leg

that is placed back. The *glisada* is similar to the *glissade* in ballet. The step is repeated to the left but the second *balanceado* is substituted with *echado* into a *matalarana* right. The *echado* is a ballet *jeté,* and the *matalarana* is a *pas de chat* in ballet. This is repeated again from the *balanceada cruzada* left and *echado* with *matalarana* two more times but faster as the music builds speed and facing forward. The left arm is in 4th position on the first *matalarana* and in 5th on the third and fourth. The four *balanceado* combinations have been made in a semi-circle, and the dancer finishes in the center facing the audience, *adelente*. The dancer performs *golpe* with *semipunta* three times fast with the right leg front to *en diagonal anterior izquierda*. The front right leg is taken to the back, with one *golpe* and *semipunta*. The step is repeated another three times. The arms are straight to high 5th position on the first three *golpes,* then they sweep back quickly in *quinta baja detrás* on the single *golpe* and *semipunta* back.

The dancer turns on the back foot to face *en diagonal posterior derecha* and takes small running steps, *carrerillas,* to the right corner. The right arm is up and the left arm is side. The *carrerillas* is like the ballet *pas couru*. Then there is a *salto* into a preparation with the right leg *lado,* right arm in preparation 4th position, and the dancer takes a full run to *en diagonal anterior derecha,* ending with a *voltereta,* or an acrobatic slide on the floor to a finish, *remate,* in a standing fifth position with arms in 1st position, palms together, one facing up and the other down.

Now we can see how all of the prior comparisons, analysis, and historical documentations link together the final conclusion of this study.

Chapter 7

Duende

Expression in Flamenco is critical to an authentic interpretation in the dance performance, and it is different from Classical Ballet. Flamenco begins internally and the dancer expresses their own story with or without an audience. Classical Ballet is more external and follows the narrative dictated by another. The Classical Ballet dancer performs exclusively for the audience. The interior "raging flame" that erupts during the Flamenco dancer's performance is the embodiment of *duende*, the soul of Flamenco. It is best described in these words:

> "The essence of Spanish dance is a hard-held passion which, like water bubbling in a tea kettle, only now and then pushes the lid up a little to boil over."[1]

According to the ancient Greeks, all forms of art, including dance, contain the *Apollonian* and *Dionysian* phenomena. The *Apollonian* elements in art forms are considered solemn, ordered, and perfect, whereas *Dionysian* attributes are irrational, passionate, and sensual. However, while *Apollonian* and *Dionysian* are always present they are rarely equal in an artwork, but when they are, the balance creates a masterpiece.[2] This balance is present in Massine's *Farruca*. His technique is cultivated by the study of Flamenco and perfected by years of Classical Ballet training, but there is the integration of passion and sensuality which belongs to *duende*. The *Dionysian* trance of Flamenco dancers is described as: "a fervor, an unchaining of the senses, a paroxysm uniting a singer in Moscow and a dancer in Seville, Ankara musicians

[1] La Meri, pg. 108
[2] Carol Lee, pg. 2

and Jerez *buleaeros* in the same raging flame."[3]

The eighteenth century German writer and statesman, Goethe, defined *duende* as: "a mysterious power that everyone feels and no philosopher can explain."[4] It can be paragoned to "A dance on a tightrope stretched to breaking point"[5] and the moment that the Flamenco dancer can no longer restrain the implosion of emotion. This is achieved through the everyday risk of living, and cannot be taught, nor can it repeat itself. It is best generalized as "outrageous expressivity."[6] The Spanish poet, playwright, and theater director, Federico García Lorca, wrote this about *duende:* "The duende, is not in the throat, but from within, from the very soles of the feet."[7]

The ballerina, Tamara Karsavina, worried that without the experience of Spanish culture she would not be able to interpret the role of the miller's wife in the *Three-cornered Hat*. Diaghilev asked Massine's Flamenco teacher, Félix Fernández García, to perform for Karsavina in the ballroom of the Savoy Hotel in London where the Ballets Russes members were residing. She recounted what she witnessed at his performance:

> "I could feel the impetuous, half-savage instincts within him…The rhythm of his steps, now staccato, now a whisper, and then again seeming to fill the large room with thunder, made this unseen performance all the more dramatic. We listened to the dancing enthralled."[8]

[3] Bernard Leblon, pg. 8
[4] Ibid., pg. 10
[5] Ibid., pg. 10
[6] Ibid, pg. 8
[7] Ibid., pg. 10
[8] García-Márquez, pgs. 132-133

Duende is the lifeblood of Flamenco and can be felt in the *zapateado* steps that connect the earth to the soul of the dancer.

When the *Three-cornered Hat* opened in London, the English poet T.S. Eliot wrote of Massine's performance: "Massine…seems to me the greatest actor whom we have in London."[9] Eliot felt; "the abstract gesture of Massine, which *symbolizes* emotion, is enormous."[10] He felt that "emotion in art must be transmitted through physical images analogous to the emotion."[11] These physical images come from life experience, which is the principle of *duende* in Flamenco. Eliot went on to write; "the art of every actor is in relation to his own age, and would perhaps be unintelligible to any other."[12] Massine experienced the horrors of war at an early age and perhaps this helped him to feel "the cry of man mortally wounded by destiny"[13] that the Romani proclaim in Flamenco. Massine described his performance of the *Farruca*:

> "I felt instinctively that something more than perfect technique was needed here, but it was not until I had worked myself up in a frenzy that I was able to transcend my usual limitations…I felt an almost electrical interaction between myself and the spectators… For one moment it seemed as if some other person within me was performing the dance.[14]

As mentioned before in Chapter 6, the *Farruca* is "pure dancing" and not a narrative about a life

[9] García-Márquez, pg. 140
[10] Ibid., pg. 140
[11] Ibid., pg. 140
[12] Ibid., pg. 140
[13] Bernard Leblon, pg. 55
[14] García-Márquez, pg. 136

struggle expressed in steps and movements. However, the dancer's level of technical virtuosity is what tells us a story of passion, hard work, and sacrifice reflecting their daily life for years. *Duende*, or the eruption of expressivity, is channeled through the steps and movements of "pure dancing", and Massine's performance in the *Three-cornered Hat* epitomizes this.

The Conclusion

Flamenco Dance and Classical Ballet definitely complimented and influenced each other from the moment of their historical union in 1917 with Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. The two dance forms evolved separately through diverse encounters over time, but a third dance form was not born from their union. The historical research of this thesis focused on timelines, geography, social and political influences, similarities and differences between Flamenco Dance and Classical Ballet. The findings constructed the foundation of this study. Classical Ballet yielded extensive research material from writings, paintings, and sculptures, whereas more information emerged on Flamenco Dance when the Romani arrived in Spain.

There were comparisons and contrasts made between Character Dance, the Bolero School, Flamenco, Classical Ballet, and Spanish folk dance. This examination was necessary to distinguish one dance form from another in order to decipher Massine's choreography. The Bolero School shares a huge vocabulary of steps and movements from Italian and French Classical Ballet, but they added their own style from Spanish folk dancing. The Spanish regional dances were also assimilated into Flamenco and imitated in Character Dance, so the overlap can create confusion. When an individual dance is analyzed like the *Farruca*, the mix of other dance forms is thoroughly examined. The classes at the University of Oklahoma were the beginning of my analysis on the compatibility of Classical Ballet with Flamenco. One example was the choreography of a group of Flamenco *zapateado* steps followed by three *chainé* turns into a *saltado pose*. The *chainés* belong to Classical Ballet, but I discovered later that the Spanish version, *vuelta de pasos,* belonged to the *escuela bolera* with its foundation in Classical Ballet.

My thoughts on the fusion of Flamenco and Classical Ballet changed as I furthered my research over the course of three years. The word "fusion" comes to mind as a permanent, inseparable blend, but each dance form, Flamenco Dance and Classical Ballet, exists by itself. Thus, the word "union" describes better the way these two dance forms work together. Flamenco and Classical Ballet retain their individual form and are complimented by their partnership. I examined the combination of other dance forms when they are used together, and the result of this observation determined that two dance forms are never equally represented in choreography. The choreographer is the creator, and can add or subtract steps and movements in a dance or piece, according to his or her creative impulse, without set rules.

Before the *Farruca* or Miller's dance in the *Tricorne* begins, the difference between Flamenco Dance and Classical Ballet is striking. The Flamenco *cuadro,* a group of dancers and musicians, was performed on small stages in nightclubs but later moved to theaters. Classical Ballet was performed on large stages for at least one hundred years when the Ballets Russes arrived in Spain. Massine was able to use more space in his choreography, so at first glance the *Farruca* resembles a ballet. However, much to my surprise, I discovered that there are no ballet steps in his choreography of the Miller's dance. The dispersion of the steps diverts the audience from the traditional dance, and the viewer sees a Spanish style ballet painted with broad brushstrokes. Here at work we see the true genius of Leonide Massine. For example, the *caída*, or fall which belongs to the *Farruca* dance, is repeated five times on a diagonal covering a great deal of space.

The technique of Classical Ballet applied to different dance forms will enhance the performance in a proscenium setting and this can be seen in the Miller's Dance. The higher and

stronger execution of all jumps in the *Farruca* is noteworthy in Patrick Dupond's performance in *Tricorne,* along with his precision in all turns. This represents the *Apollonian* factor of solemn control and perfection that is necessary to Classical Ballet. The *Dionysian* factor is the inner expression of passion and sensuality which is essential to Spanish dancing. The union of both the *Apollonian* and *Dionysian* is the partnership or marriage of Flamenco and Classical Ballet exhibited in the Miller's Dance in the *Three-cornered Hat*. This answers the first question proposed by my thesis: whether there was a fusion of both dance forms. The steps of both dance forms did not fuse together, but the style and technique of Classical Ballet fused with the Flamenco steps in the *Farruca,* or the Miller's Dance in the *Three-cornered Hat*.

The final question I sought to answer was what Flamenco and Classical Ballet can contribute to each other. In Flamenco, there is an emphasis on the upper part of the body; hands, arms, and the back. The arched back of the Flamenco dancer is similar to the posture of the swan in *Swan Lake*. Arms create more shapes in Flamenco, and the study of Spanish hand movements would benefit Classical Ballet dancers. Musicality is improved with the study of Flamenco *zapateado* and *palmas,* or hand clapping. The contact with the floor is another important study that can benefit Classical Ballet. The energetic footwork pushing down into the floor creates a trajectory that ignites the soul and spirit in movement. This contact with the earth erupts and explodes in the dancer revealing the unexplainable emotion of *duende*. It is this powerful channeling of sufferance that tests our lives or the sheer joy of reaching an incredible goal. This is the passion of dance. More *duende* is needed in Classical Ballet, rather than the total dedication to technical perfection and virtuosity.

There is no doubt that the study of Classical Ballet can help the Flamenco dancer

have a more superb and elegant technique. Many Flamenco schools have introduced Classical Ballet to their curriculum, through Diaghilev's dance company. His Ballets Russes company stimulated artistic curiosity all over Spain, and one could argue that the presence of the Ballets Russes in Spain helped to elevate Flamenco Dance from the *café de cante* to the theatrical stage. The work of Diaghilev and Massine continues one hundred years later with the National Ballet of Spain, a dance company that combines both Flamenco and Classical Ballet with great success around the world today. The historical meeting of the Ballets Russes and Flamenco in Spain can ultimately be summarized in this quotation:

> "Like all important cultural phenomena it was born of encounter." [1]

[1] Bernard Leblon. pg. 78

GLOSSARY

SPANISH TERMINOLOGY

Actitud A sudden, static position. Similar to ballet *attitude* with the working leg bent.

Adelente Forward, before the audience.

Alegrias Meaning *alegria*, joy, the Flamenco dance most performed.

Arrodillasse To set one's knee down.

Artasi-otsiko Hitch kick.

Atras Behind, in back of.

Balanceado cruzado Balanced, swayed in a cross manner from side to side.

Cabriola Goat leap, slap or beat of the sole of the shoe in a leap.

Caída (paso de) Fall or drop, mostly used in the *Farruca*.

Campanela saltado Bell shape, circular leg-lifting action in a jump.

Carrerillas Small running steps.

Compas Rhythmic cycle, measure of time.

Contratiempo Against time or count.

De lado derecho To his or her right side.

De lado izquiedo To his or her left side.

Duende The "soul" of true Flamenco dance. An emotion coming from the subconscious.

Echado Thrown, flung.

En diagonal anterior derecha Diagonal front right.

En diagonal anterior izquierdo Diagonal front left.

En diagonal posterior derecha Diagonal back right.

En diagonal posterior izquierdo Diagonal back left.

En sitio In place.

Esplante saltado cruzado Setting down the foot sideways in a jump.

Fandango Means "Go and dance". One of the oldest Spanish dances.

Farruca A popular flamenco dance that originated as an Asturian folk song.

Garrotín A gypsy dance with a rhythm like the *farruca*.

Glisada A slide movement similar to a ballet *glissade*.

Golpe A strike or hit with the foot.

Jaleo Rhythmic sound accompanying the performer.

Jota Spanish dance and its music.

Matalarana Means kill the spider. From the *escuela bolera,* resembles the ballet *pas de chat*.

Media vuelta semipunta Half-turn on half-pointe. Resembles ballet *demi-détourne.*

Pas de buret natural Simple *bourrée.*

Paseo de farruca Walk, promenade, in a *farruca.*

Paso lado A step to the side.

Pitos Woodpeckers. Finger snaps.

Punta Tip of the toe.

Quinta Fifth position.

Remachos Riveting, flattening movements or sounds performed in the *farruca.*

Remate End, finish, conclusion.

Rastreado Dragged, traced.

Saltado Hopped, jumped, like ballet *sauté.*

Salto A hop, jump, leap, or skip.

Seguidillas Joyous dance with a small continuation, of steps performed in couples.

Semipunta Half-pointe.

Sevillanas Dances and songs of Seville, or Andalusia.

Siguiriyas A dance expressing the sorrows and negative emotional state of the gypsies.

Soleares A gypsy dance about loneliness, solitude, and homesickness.

Tango A popular woman's solo. Dance rhythm of South America or African origin.

Tiempo de farruca Time marked to a *farruca* rhythm.

Voltereta Rollovers and somersaults, tumbling.

Vuelta A turn or rotation.

Vuelta de pirueta hacia adelante A pirouette or spinning action toward the front.

Vuelta de pirueta hacia atras A pirouette or spinning action toward the back.

Vuelta en cuarta tiempo A turn in four counts.

Vuelta quebradita A small, broken, fractured turn.

Vuelta volada A flying turn.

Zambra The most Arabic of flamenco dance performed by a woman.

Zapateado Dance rhythms made with shoes.

Zapato Dance shoe.

FRENCH TERMINOLOGY

Arabesque The body is supported on one leg with the other extended back.

Attitude A position of the body supported on one leg with the other raised and bent.

Balancé Balancing , shifting the leg from one to the other.

Ballotté Tossed. Spring into the air, both legs bent, land on one leg, open the other in developpé.

Cambré Arched. Bending the body from the waist to the side or back.

Chainés Chain. Continuous fast turns in a straight line.

Contretemps Against time. Off-beat.

Detourné A turn in the direction of the back foot finishing with the opposite foot front.

Fouettés Whipped. Consecutive turns in one place with a rond de jambe en l'air relevé.

Glissade A gliding step.

Jeté Thrown. A leap in any direction throwing weight from one foot to the other.

Pas couru Running steps to gain momentum for a jump.

Pas de basque A three count step. A folk dance of the Basques

Pas de bourreé An old French dance, step of the *bourrée.*

Pas de **bourrée en tournant** Performed turning, outside *endehors* or inside *endedans.*

Pas de chat Step of the cat. One leg in passé, jump on that leg, so the other leg is in passé, close.

Passé Passed. The foot of the working leg passes the knee of the supporting leg.

Pirouette endedans A turn in the direction of the supporting leg.

Pirouette endehors A turn in the direction of the working leg.

Relevé Relifted. The raising of the body to pointe or demi-pointe.

Rond de jambe A semi-circle with the working leg.

Rond de jambe en l'air sauté A jump with a circle of the working leg in the air.

Sauté Jump.

Soutenu Sustained. The working leg pulls up close to the supporting leg.

Tour en l'air The dancer springs up in fifth position then turns in the air.

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