

— The *Pavana* in the *Choregraphie figurativa, y demostrativa del Arte de Danzar, en la forma Española* by Nicolás Rodrigo Noveli (Madrid, 1708): its contextualization and comparative study with the Spanish sources of the 17th and 18th centuries¹ —

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To Françoise Deniau, in memoriam

In the seventeenth century the *Pavana* was one of the most characteristic pieces of the Spanish dancing school. Akin to the *Pavane d'Espagne* by Arbeau, and the *Pavaniglias* by Caroso and Negri for their musical features, the Spanish *Pavana* is distinguished by a vocabulary of steps and a style of its own, although strongly influenced by the Italian school of late sixteenth century.² Until recently we could study it through three sources: *Discursos sobre el arte del dançado*, published by Juan de Esquivel Navarro in 1642,³ the *Libro de dançar de don Baltasar de Rojas Pantoja*, a manuscript by the dancing master Juan Antonio Jaque, dated in the last twenty years of the seventeenth century,⁴ and *Explicación del danzar a la Española* published by Pablo Minguet e Yrol c. 1737.⁵ The discovery in 2011 of the dance treatise *Choregraphie figurativa, y demostrativa del Arte de Danzar, en la forma Española*, written by Nicolás Rodrigo Noveli in Madrid in 1708, found in the library of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando of Madrid by the musicologist Raquel Aranha, adds a new source to this research.⁶

This document has several particularly interesting features. The first is chronological: having been written in the early years of the eighteenth century, during the War of Succession over the Spanish Crown in which King Philip V of Bourbon, grandson of Louis XIV, faced Archduke Charles of Habsburg, second son of Emperor Leopold. The end of the war, with the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt from 1713-1714, confirmed the installation on the Spanish throne of a dynasty of French origin, which would result in important political and cultural changes.⁷

The *Choregraphie figurativa* by Noveli forms part of these cultural changes, being the first known example of the use in Spain of the Beauchamps-Feuillet dance notation system, developed in the French court by instigation of Louis XIV.⁸ Although the French dance was introduced at the Spanish court, this did not mean that the Spanish dance disappeared. On the contrary, its vitality would keep it within the education of the nobility, as was the case of the 'Real Seminario de Nobles de Madrid' founded by Philip V in 1725 and run by the Society of Jesus. This institution had both teachers of Spanish and French dance, until the first was abolished many years later in 1770.⁹

Noveli's treatise was written during a period of the War of Succession particularly adverse to the interests of Philip V.

Two years before, in 1706, the departure of the musician Henry Desmarest from the Spanish court, meant the failure of the project to implement a "Musique française" in the King's service.¹⁰ Having been written in these first conflictive years of the reign, it is especially interesting as an early testimony of the reception of French culture in Spain.

Until the discovery of Noveli's treatise, the first known example of the use of this choreographic system in a Spanish treatise was *Reglas útiles para los aficionados a danzar*, published by Bartolomé Ferriol in Naples, Capua and Cádiz in 1745. However, while Ferriol dedicated his treatise to French noble dance, inspired by Pierre Rameau's *Le Maître à danser* (1725), Noveli used this choreographic system for the representation of Spanish dance steps. In addition, the treatise contains the description of a collection of Spanish dances belonging to the tradition of the seventeenth century.

This article seeks to contribute to the knowledge of Spanish dance in this period, presenting the most important features of the *Choregraphie figurativa* of Nicolás Noveli, the biographical data on the author(s), and carrying out a comparative study on the *Pavana* described in it with the versions of this dance from the other mentioned sources. Thereby we seek to place this new source in its historical context, and to highlight the common elements and the differences in the various versions of this piece over a period of almost a century, which can be extrapolated to the rest of the dances described in this treatise.

The *Choregraphie figurativa* in the Spanish dance tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

Choregraphie figurativa, y demostrativa del Arte de Danzar, en la forma Española is a manuscript in quarto, bound in parchment, consisting of seventy-five folios, of which sixty-five comprise the text, while the rest is left in blank. The written pages are numbered from 1 to 65 on the recto side, with some errors in the numbering which do not affect the coherence and the readability of the text.¹¹ The handwritten dedication on the flyleaf shows that the manuscript was a gift from Rodrigo Soriano to his friend José de Esperanza y Sola in December 1887. The latter was an important music critic at the time, appointed member of the 'Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando' of Madrid in 1888.¹² After his death in 1905, his library was donated to this institution.¹³

The drafting date of the manuscript puts it in an intermediate time point within the Spanish dance sources of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Among them we must distinguish two types: first, the treatises, which provide a complex vision of dance, including general rules on how the body must be conducted, descriptions of steps and rules of social behaviour related to dance. These are presented in Table 1.

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Table 1. Treatises on Spanish dance from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

Author	Title	Place/date of writing/publication	Content
Juan de Esquivel Navarro	<i>Discursos sobre el arte del dançado</i>	Seville, 1642	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A defence of dance. ▪ A description of the Spanish dance steps. ▪ General rules on dance. ▪ The qualities of the good masters, style and rules of behaviour in the schools. ▪ Lists of the important lords who stood out as dancers. ▪ Names of the dancing masters in Spain from the sixteenth century.
Nicolás Rodrigo Noveli	<i>Choregraphie figurativa y demostrativa del Arte de Danzar en la forma Española</i>	Madrid, 1708 (manuscript)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A presentation of some elements taken from the Beauchamps-Feuillet system. ▪ A representation of Spanish dance steps with this system. ▪ A study of dance space. ▪ A description of nine dances of the Spanish school.
Pablo Minguet e Irol	<i>Explicacion del Danzar a la Española (included in Arte de danzar a la francesa)</i>	Madrid, c. 1737	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A description of Spanish dance steps. ▪ A description of six Spanish dances.
Pablo Minguet e Irol	<i>Breve tratado de los passos del danzar a la española</i> ¹⁴	Madrid, 1764	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A description of the Spanish dance steps.

In the second place we have documents which provide descriptions of different dances, without addressing historical, social or moral issues. Some of the treatises in Table 1 contain sections that also belong to this category (Table 2).

The *Choregraphie figurativa* belongs to both categories, as it includes a technical section dedicated to the choreographic representation of Spanish dance steps, and a descriptive section on some dances. The writing style, with frequent allusions to the reader, suggests the intention to publish the treatise. It should be noted that unlike the Esquivel treatise, the one by Noveli does not make any allusion to the courtesy rules that should be observed in the ballrooms, although these are present in many treatises of the time. Nor does it include a defence of dance, which many other authors since the fifteenth century included in their works to counter moral censorship by seeking to prove the antiquity of dance, its usefulness as a school of good manners and healthy exercise, as well as the dignity of the profession of the dancing master.¹⁹

The manuscript contains three different sections, with the calligraphy of two persons. Nevertheless, the index with which the manuscript ends shows that the treatise is a unique composition, and not a collection of texts with different origins bound together. The first section contains the presentation of some signs of the Beauchamps-Feuillet choreographic notation system and its application to the representation of Spanish dance steps. The second section, we examine later, is an original study of space that does not appear in other dance treatises.

The third part of the manuscript shows a different calligraphy compared to the previous two. It contains an explanation on the way the arms should be moved, followed by an exposition on the meaning of the signs used to express

the length of the pauses in the choreographic notation (which is not applied in the treatise). It then presents the *Entrada* (the opening section) of the *Pavana*, a unique example of the choreographic system applied to Spanish dance, written by the same hand as the first two parts. It ends with a description of a set of dances belonging to the Spanish tradition of the seventeenth century.

The authors of the treatise: Nicolás Rodrigo Noveli and Domingo González

According to its cover, the author of the treatise was Nicolás Rodrigo Noveli, also known as the writer of a treatise on the art of bullfighting on horseback, *Cartilla, en que se proponen las reglas para torear a caballo* (Madrid, 1726), and a treatise on Spanish fencing, *Crisol especulativo, demostrativo práctico, Mathematico de la destreza* (Madrid, 1731), in which he is presented as a skilled rider and a fencing master appreciated among the Spanish nobles.²⁰ Belonging to a family of the lower nobility, he was born in Madrid as the second son of Juan Antonio Noveli and Antonia Rodríguez de las Cuevas. His grandparents were Favio Noveli, of Italian origin, born in San Lorenzo in Campo, in Urbino, and the Madrid-born Eugenia de Peñalosa. Juan Antonio Noveli held the office of the King's *portero de cámara* [door-keeper of the chamber] since 1676, and continued to do so in 1720.²¹ Perhaps because of his skills and the access he had to courtly environments through his father's office, Nicolás was able to mix with high nobility. In 1731 he appears as the secretary of the Count of Miranda, Duke of Peñaranda.

The third section of the *Choregraphie figurativa*, starts with the heading "Escuela por lo vaxo compuesta por Domingo González" [The *low style* dancing school composed by Domingo González]²². This section includes the description

Table 2. Sources containing descriptions of the Spanish dances of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries

Author	Title	Place/Date of writing or publishing	Dances described
Juan de Esquivel Navarro	<i>Discursos sobre el arte del dançado</i>	Seville, 1642	<i>Entrada of the Pavana</i> <i>Entrada of the Villano</i>
Juan Antonio Jaque	<i>Libro de dançar de D. Baltasar de Rojas Pantoja</i> ¹⁵	Last quarter of the seventeenth century (manuscript)	<i>Pavana</i> <i>Gallarda</i> <i>Folías</i> <i>Jácara</i> <i>Villano</i> <i>Paradetas</i>
Unknown	<i>Xácara</i> ¹⁶	End of the seventeenth century (manuscript)	<i>Xácara</i>
Josep Faust de Potau i Ferran	<i>Memòria de las danças</i> ¹⁷	1701 (manuscript)	<i>Marivella</i> <i>Primavera</i> <i>Màntua</i> <i>Bienquerida</i> <i>Xàcara</i> <i>Turdion</i> <i>Cupido</i> <i>Oye el milagro</i> <i>Pelegrina</i> <i>Aurora</i> <i>Garça</i> <i>Filomena</i> <i>El Serau</i> ¹⁸
Nicolás Rodrigo Noveli	<i>Choregraphie figurativa y demostrativa del Arte de Danzar en la forma Española</i>	Madrid, 1708 (manuscript)	<i>Pavana por lo vaxo</i> <i>Gallarda por lo vaxo</i> <i>Españoleta por lo vaxo</i> <i>Villano cavallero por lo vaxo</i> <i>Jácara por lo vaxo</i> <i>Mariona por lo vaxo</i> <i>Torneo por lo vaxo</i> <i>Gaita gallega</i> <i>Canario</i>
Pablo Minguet e Irol	<i>Explicacion del danzar a la española</i>	Madrid, c. 1737	<i>Pavana</i> <i>Gallarda</i> <i>Españoleta</i> <i>Villano</i> <i>Impossibles</i> <i>La Hermosa</i>

of the general principles of the Spanish school and nine dances. The treatise does not offer any information on the identity of this master, although it is clear that we should consider him co-author of it. Esquivel mentioned Domingo González among the most skilful pupils of Antonio de Almenda, dancing master of King Philip IV, but not among the dance masters who already held a school in Madrid at that moment, perhaps because he was still a young apprentice.²³ Possibly he was one of the contenders for the position of dancing master to Queen María Luisa de Orléans in the month of September 1683. As reported by Marquis de Velada, *mayordomo mayor* [major steward] to the Queen, Domingo González was one of the most qualified candidates: “Dn. Sebastian de Molina; Dn. Roque Maldonado; Domingo

Gonzalez; y Augustin Cavallero, todos Maestros de Danzar de los mejores de esta Corte, y de las circunstancias que se requieren para serlo en Palacio.” [“Don Sebastián de Molina, Don Roque Maldonado, Domingo González and Augustin Cavallero all belong to the best dancing masters of Madrid, and possess the necessary qualities to fulfil their office at Palace”]. The King finally appointed Sebastián de Molina.²⁴

It is tempting to think that this is the same person, or that we deal with members of the same family, although the above data do not provide more evidence. If this is the case, we might state that the dances described in the *Choregraphie figurativa* come from the same source as the treatise of Esquivel (the dancing master Antonio de Almenda), and may be prior or contemporaneous to Jaque’s *Libro de dançar*.

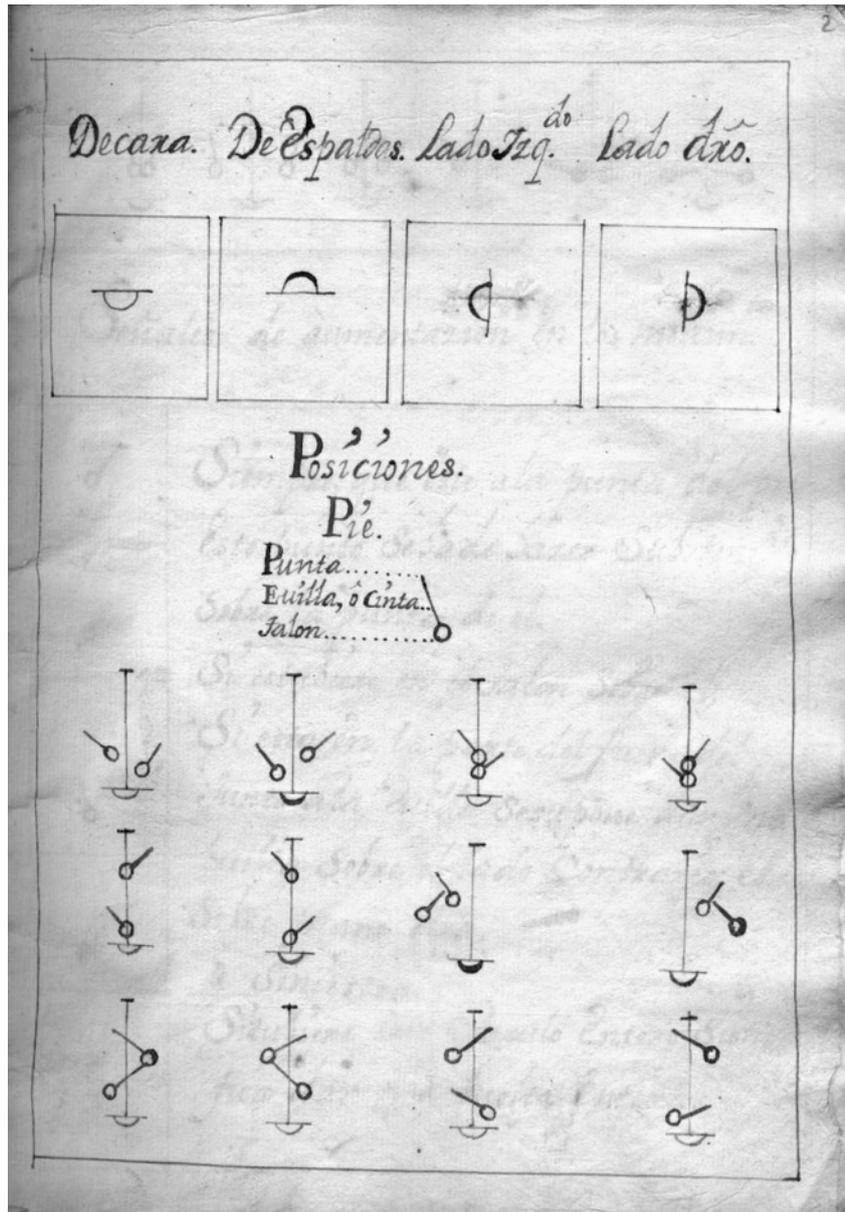


Figure 1. Foot positions
(Noveli, *Choregraphie figurativa* f° 2r)

The model followed by Noveli: *Chorégraphie ou l'art de dècrire la dance par caracteres, figures et signes démonstratifs* by Raoul A. Feuillet

Noveli took part of the content of his treatise from *Chorégraphie ou l'art de dècrire la dance par caracteres, figures et signes démonstratifs* by Raoul A. Feuillet (Paris, 1700), which also inspired the design of the tables with the *choregraphic* signs.²⁵ Although he did not mention the source, Noveli referred to its French origin, claiming that his intention was that all dance lovers would learn to write down all kinds of dances and take them anywhere in the world, just as was done in France.²⁶

The resemblance to the *Chorégraphie* by Feuillet, is not limited to the title or to the design of the tables. The explanations in Spanish which accompany the different

choregraphic signs are translations from the French original, although these signs are used to represent steps of the Spanish school. However, unlike Feuillet, who explained the basics of the *choregraphic* system in a progressive manner, accompanying each of the signs with a detailed explanation of its meaning and illustrating the application of the basic principles with examples, Noveli simply copied some of the signs, accompanied with a brief explanatory phrase or word, applying it to the elements of Spanish dance. For example, the illustration of the "Demy Position"²⁷ was used to present the foot positions of the Spanish school (Figure 1).²⁸

The only foot position mentioned by Esquivel is the *planta natural*, to which must be added the *planta quadrada* mentioned in Minguet's book. Noveli shows a wider variety of foot positions for Spanish dance, although he does not give them names.

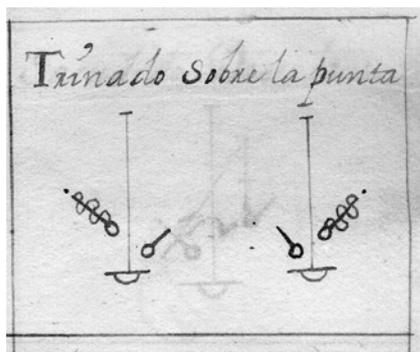


Figure 2. *Trinado sobre la punta*
(Noveli, *Choregraphie figurativa* f° 10r)

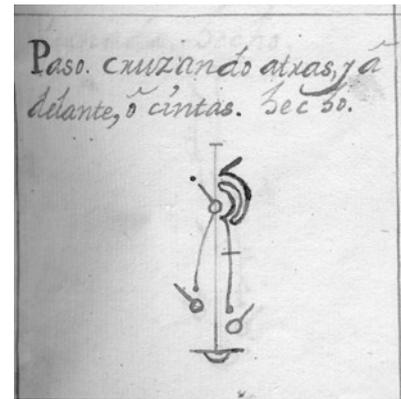


Figure 3. *Paso cruzando atras, y adelante ô cintas*
(Noveli, *Choregraphie figurativa*, f° 16r)

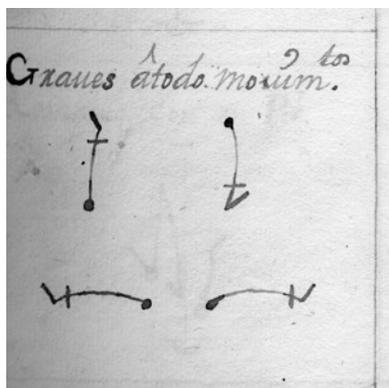


Figure 4. *Graves, à todo movimientos*
(Noveli, *Choregraphie figurativa*, f° 8r)

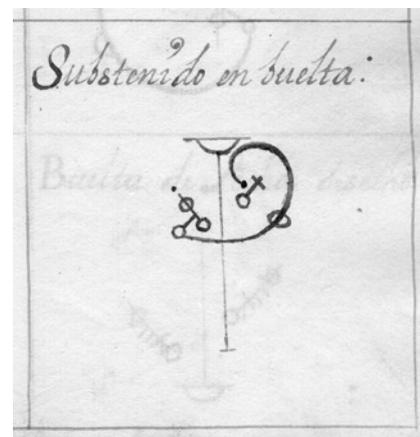


Figure 5. *Substenido en buelta*
(Noveli, *Choregraphie figurativa*, f° 18r)

In the presentation Noveli made of the basic signs of the Beauchamps-Feuillet system, important omissions as the *pas élevé*, the *cabriollé* and the *tombé* can be detected, even though these qualities of movement are part of the Spanish dance as described by Esquivel. Without giving any explanation, Noveli used the sign for the *pas élevé* in the step *pino sobre las puntas*.²⁹ The same applies to the signs for the *pas droit*, the *ouvert*, the *rond*, the *tortillé*, and the *battu*, which are used later in the text, for example in the step *trinado sobre la punta*,³⁰ referred to with the sign *tortillé*, (Figure 2) or in the *paso cruzando atras, y adelante, ô cintas*, with the sign *battu*³¹ (Figure. 3).

Some of the ways in which these signs are used differ from Feuillet's treatise. For example, Feuillet established that the signs which express the individual elements of a step shall be placed on the line that represents the beginning, middle or end of the step, depending on the moment of performing the indicated action.³² Thus he explained the difference between *le pied en l'air et le poser ensuite* and *rester le pied en l'air*³³, according to which the line that represents raising the foot in the air should be in the first case in the middle of the step and in the second at the end. However, this does not seem clear to Noveli: the *paso grave* was described by Esquivel as a step made as in walking on the street, which ends when the foot touches the ground carrying the body's

weight.³⁴ But Noveli, when representing it, used the sign for *le pied en l'air*.³⁵ (Figure 4)

There are also cases in which the Feuillet notation is misused. For example, the case of the *salto al lado*, in which the signs representing the bent-knee movements, leg elevations, and sideward jump do not match the description provided by Esquivel.³⁶

Another element of the Beauchamps-Feuillet system used confusingly is the sign indicating the direction in which the 360° pirouettes should be made. Feuillet used the sign of a circle on the line of the step, adding a point in the upper or the lower corner between the circle and the line, to indicate the direction of the spin.³⁷ Noveli states that the turn should always be made to the opposite side of the point,³⁸ but as in some cases it is put horizontally near the circle, the direction is not clear, and should be deduced from the foot positions. In other cases, he uses the circle without a point, so that the direction of the spin should be deduced from the weight shifts, as in the case of the *substenido en buelta*. (Figure 5)

Do these omissions and misinterpretations mean that we should dismiss Noveli's treatise as a careless adaptation of the Beauchamps-Feuillet system? In my opinion, Noveli's use of this *choregraphic* notation compels a comparative study of the step descriptions in the *Discursos* by Esquivel, and Minguet's *Explicación del danzar a la Española*. Once

Table 3 continued

Esquivel 1642	Ms. Jaque end of 17th century	Ms. Potau 1701	Ms. Noveli 1708	Minguet c. 1737
<i>Carrerillas</i>	<i>Carrerilla</i> <i>Media carrerilla</i>	<i>Carrerilla</i>	<i>Carrerilla</i> <i>Media carrerilla</i>	<i>Carrerilla</i>
<i>Cargados</i>	<i>Cargado</i>		<i>Cargado</i>	<i>Cargado</i>
<i>Retiradas</i>		<i>Retirada</i>	<i>Retiradas</i>	
<i>Boleo</i> <i>Puntapié*</i>	<i>Patada</i>		<i>Puntapié *</i> <i>Pernada</i>	<i>Puntapié</i> <i>Puntillazo*</i>
<i>Dobles</i>			<i>Dobles *</i>	
<i>Rompidos</i>	<i>Rompido</i>	<i>Rompra</i>	<i>Rompido</i>	<i>Rompido</i>
<i>Passos:</i> <i>Sencillos</i> <i>Dobles</i> <i>Graves</i> <i>Breves</i>	<i>Pasos</i> <i>Paso y juntar</i> <i>Paso y abrir</i>	<i>Pas</i> <i>Pas de la gallarda</i> <i>Pas llarc</i>	<i>Paso grave</i> <i>Paso breve</i> <i>Paso adelante cruzando</i> <i>atrás</i> <i>Paso cruzando delante</i> <i>Paso cruzando atrás y</i> <i>adelante o cintas</i>	<i>Paso grave</i> <i>Paso mediano</i> <i>Paso breve</i> <i>Paso en buelta</i>
<i>Planta natural</i>	<i>Planta</i> <i>Planta cuadrada</i>		<i>Planta*</i>	<i>Planta natural</i> <i>Planta de cuadrado</i>
	<i>Llamada</i>	<i>Llamada</i>	<i>Llamada*</i>	<i>Llamada</i>
			<i>Trinado sobre la punta</i>	<i>Borneo trinado</i>
	<i>Quiebro</i> <i>Quiebros y encajes</i> <i>Buelta con quiebros y</i> <i>encajes</i>		<i>Quiebro</i> <i>Quiebro en vuelta</i>	<i>Quiebro por delante</i> <i>Quiebro en vuelta</i>
		<i>Contratemp</i>	<i>Contratiempo al lado</i>	<i>Contratiempo</i>
	<i>Topetillo</i>	<i>Topasillo</i>	<i>Tope encaxando</i> <i>Topecido*</i>	<i>Tropecillo</i> <i>Tropecillo en vuelta</i> <i>Tropecillos dobles</i>
				<i>Bofetón</i>
	<i>Mudanza de los</i> <i>grillos*</i>		<i>Buelta de grillos</i> <i>Paso con tope de grillos</i> <i>Grillos adentro</i> <i>Paso atrás y grillos</i> <i>mozi3n afuera</i> <i>Paso atrás y grillos</i> <i>mozi3n adentro</i> <i>Tope con grillos</i>	
	<i>Mudanza del</i> <i>amolador*</i>		<i>Paso de amolar</i> <i>Amolar con grillos</i>	
			<i>Paso con rastr3n</i>	<i>Rastr3n</i>
<i>Reverencia cierta</i> <i>Reverencia galana</i>	<i>Cortesía</i>	<i>Cortesía</i>	<i>Cortesía</i>	<i>Reverencia</i>
	<i>Coz*</i>			
<i>Continencias*</i>		<i>Continencia</i>	<i>Continencias*</i>	<i>Continencias*</i>
			Ten different arm movements	

* Steps which are not explained or notated, although they appear in some dance descriptions.

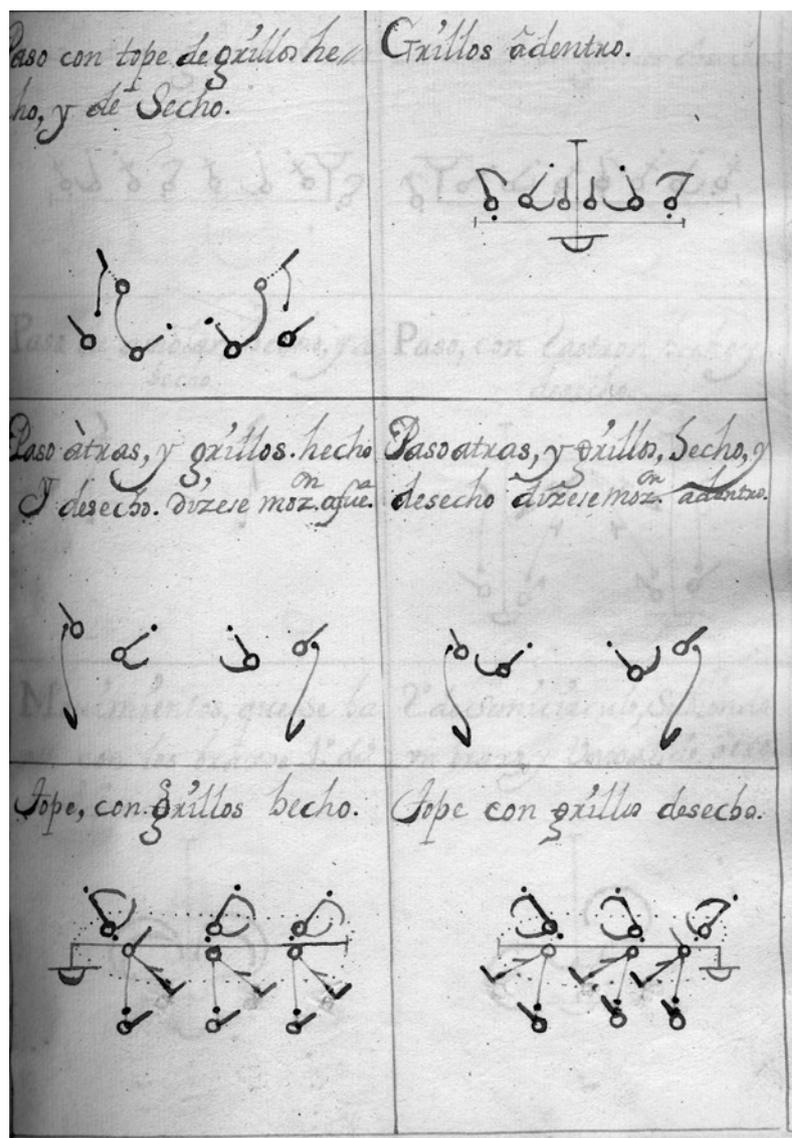


Figure 6. *Grillos* (Noveli, *Choregraphie figurativa*, f° 23r)

the points at which differences occur are detected, and despite the problems indicated, Noveli's *Choregraphie figurativa* provides valuable information, as the graphic representation of the steps complements the descriptions and helps to clarify the meaning when the wording is ambiguous.

The vocabulary of dance in the *Choregraphie figurativa*

The terminology used in the *Choregraphie figurativa* coincides with the vocabulary of Spanish dance in the previously known sources, both in the case of the steps Noveli represented choreographically and in those mentioned in the dances by Domingo González, as can be seen in Table 3.

The comparison allows us to check the continuity over almost a century in the use of a set of dance steps as well as the existence of varieties. However, in the *Choregraphie figurativa* are several steps whose notation shows differences from the descriptions given by Esquivel. These differences

could be due to the poor use of the notation system by Noveli, or to a gradual change in the way of performing certain steps, which may have occurred between the years 1642 and 1708. For example, the *floreo*, in which Noveli represents the movements made by the free leg in the air, but not the jumps which according to Esquivel accompany these movements.⁴⁰ Or the *campanela grave*, which according to Esquivel consists of a circle made in the air with the free leg, which should cover as much circumference and time in the back as in the front, but is represented by Noveli as a circle described in the air in front of the dancer, near the supporting foot, without covering any circumference behind the supporting foot.⁴¹ In both cases, Minguet's description matches up with Esquivel's.

Noveli allows us to know variants of steps which do not appear in other treatises, such as the *floreto* with a movement diagonally forward.⁴² Moreover, the *Choregraphie figurativa* is especially valuable to know some steps mentioned in the descriptions of the dances, but which had not been described in the previously known treatises, such as the *medias*

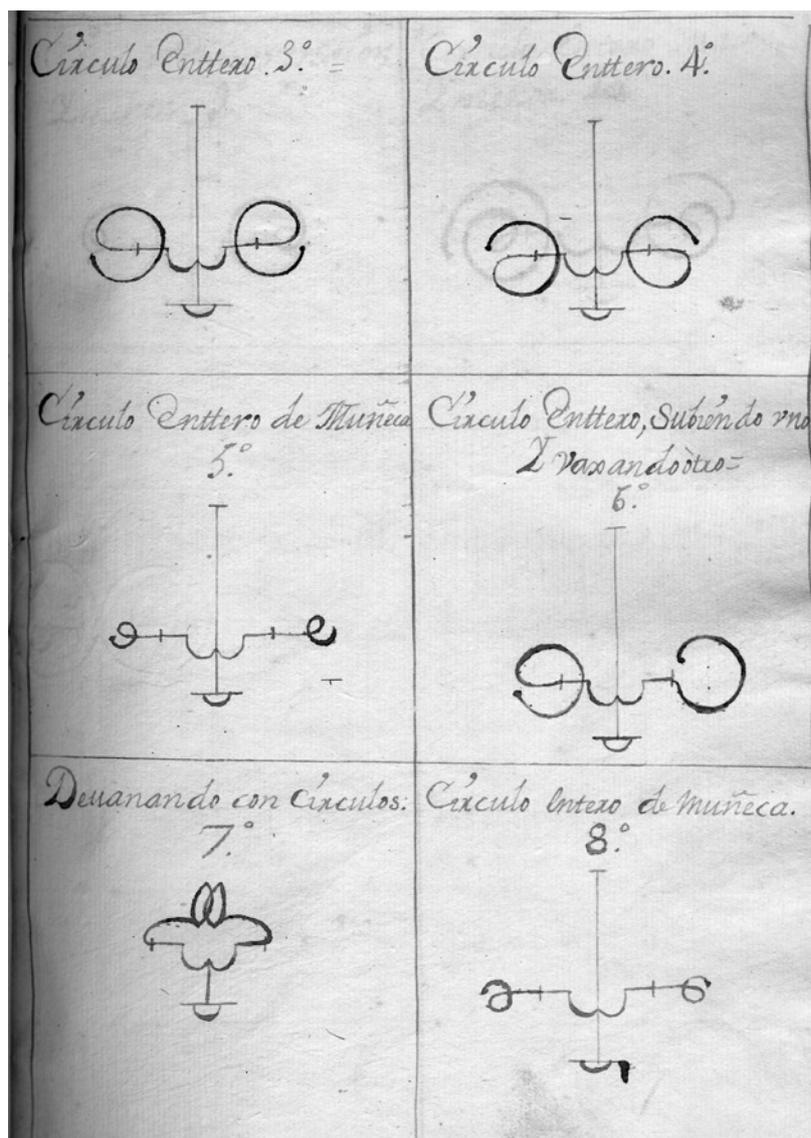


Figure 7. Arm movements (Noveli, *Choregraphie figurativa*, f° 25r)

carrerillas or the *campanela en vuelta*, mentioned in Jaque's *Libro de danzar*, the *pino* mentioned by Minguet, or the *contratemp*s mentioned in Potau's manuscript. Noveli also solves the mystery of the *paso del amolador*, mentioned in Jaque's *Jácara* and *Paradetas*. The same applies to the figures of the *grillos* mentioned in the same *Jácara*. The *Choregraphie figurativa* uses the signs of Feuillet's *pas tortillées* for the representation of the different varieties of this step.⁴³ This allows us to confirm that they keep a great resemblance to the *ripresas minuitas* described by Cesare Negri, as well as to the *bodorneos* of the *escuela bolera*.⁴⁴ (Figure 6)

There are other aspects of the treatise which make it a valuable source for the study of Spanish dance in the early eighteenth century: in addition to the descriptions of the dances it contains and the general information on the practice of dance at the time, the document offers the first systematic representation of the movements of the arms in Spanish dance (Figure 7) and an original study on space.

The study on space: *Demostrazion Vniversal*

This section of the treatise is an original contribution by Noveli, who stated that the knowledge of space was essential for any master who wanted to compose a dance. He used his knowledge on the art of fencing to represent geometrically the directions in which the different steps of the Spanish dance had to be performed (Figure 8).

The link between the vocabulary of dance and the art of fencing in Spain already appeared in the treatise of Esquivel, and those of the fencing masters themselves, such as the famous Luis Pacheco de Narváez, the principal fencing master under Philip IV.⁴⁵ In his *Libro de las Grandezas de la Espada* (Madrid 1600), Pacheco de Narváez developed the principles of Spanish fencing or *destreza* which he based on a geometrical study of the body and the movements of the combatants, representing these movements through diagrams. As noted by Sidney Anglo, the Spanish fencing masters throughout the seventeenth century "saw fencing as a wholly rational sequence of set movements which were

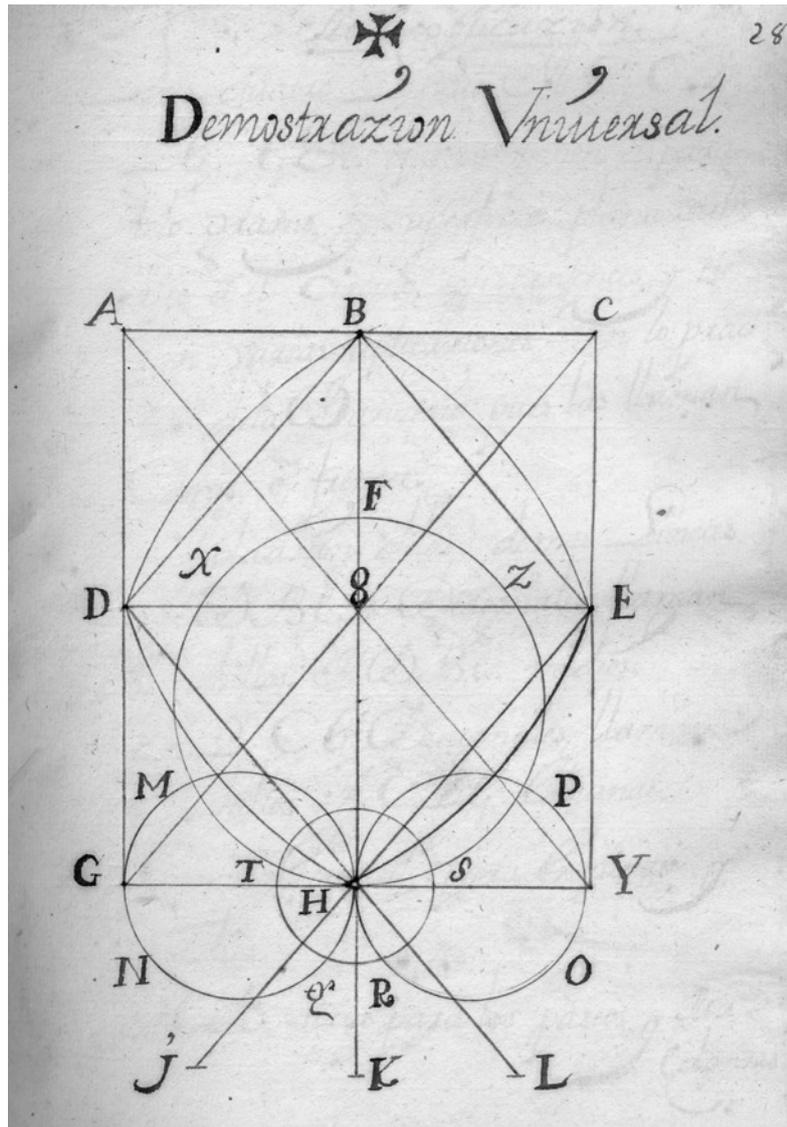


Figure 8. *Demostrazion Vniuersal* (Noveli, *Choregraphie figurativa*, f° 28r)

susceptible to analysis and [...] also susceptible to diagrammatic representation”, as can be seen in the treatises of Antonio de Ettenhard (1675) and Francisco Lorenz de Rada (1705).⁴⁶

Noveli belonged to this tradition as he stated in the *Crisol especulativo, demostrativo práctico, Mathematico, de la destreza* (1731). Significantly he gave the name “Demostracion Vniuersal” to the analytical study of space which he made in the *Choregraphie figurativa*, similar to the one Lorenz de Rada included in his *Nobleza de la espada* (1705).⁴⁷ Noveli used this diagram to explain the displacements corresponding to the different steps or sections of the dances, calling the lines through which space was organized *caras* or *frentes*, *diagonales* or *cuchillos* and *medios*, and establishing various paths, straight or curved.⁴⁸

The dances of the Spanish school composed by Domingo González

According to González, the Spanish school of dance covered three styles of increasing difficulty. The *bajo* [low] style was common to men and women. Its steps were carried out on the ground, while the *medio diestro* [half dexterous] and the *diestro* [dexterous] style belonged only to male dance, and were characterised by jumps, *cabriolas*, or more difficult adorned steps.⁴⁹ This coincides with the distinction made by Esquivel between “those who dance lower” and “those who dance high” [“los que danzan por lo bajo” and “los que danzan por lo alto”] according to their natural skills. The *bajo* style was easier than the *alto*, but “from each sort there have been many of skill and good appearance”.⁵⁰

He also reflects the difference made in the seventeenth century between two types of dance, the *danzas* and the *bailes*. The *danzas* were distinguished by their restrained and

Table 4. Comparison of the Entrada of the Pavana by D. González (Noveli 1708)

Esquivel (1642) Entrada	Jaque (end of 17th century) Entrada	Noveli (1708) Entrada	Minguet (c. 1737) Entrada
4 <i>pasos accidentals</i> (forward) starting with L foot	4 <i>pasos</i> starting with L foot	4 <i>pasos graves Adelante</i>	4 <i>pasos graves</i> starting with the L
2 <i>Vazíos</i>	2 <i>Bazíos</i> L-R	2 <i>Vazíos</i>	1 <i>bacío</i> L
<i>Rompido</i> L	Campanela	1 <i>Rompido</i> y Planta	<i>Rompido</i> R
Carrerilla	Carrerilla y media	Carrerilla y media	Carrerilla
<i>Rompido</i> R	<i>Bazio</i> R Campanela	<i>Rompido</i> y Planta	1 <i>Bacío</i> Planta L
4 <i>pasos atrás graves</i>	4 <i>pasos atrás</i> starting with the L	4 <i>pasos graves atrás</i>	4 <i>pasos atrás</i> starting with the L
3 <i>pasos atrás breves</i>	2 <i>pasos breves</i>	2 <i>pasos breves</i>	1 Paso mediano atrás 2 <i>pasos breves atrás</i>
Reverencia	Planta L Cortesía L	Planta Cortesía	Planta L Cortesía L

dignified character, which excluded the movements of the arms, like the Italian repertoire represented by Caroso and Negri. The *bailes* had a livelier character and included movements of the torso, the arms and castanets accompaniment.⁵¹ Although they were rooted in the popular and theatrical world, they were also performed by the court nobility. González stated that within female dance the *bailes* had more brilliance, because of their arm movements and the sound of the castanets.⁵²

The pieces described in the *Choregraphie figurativa* are two *danzas*: the *Pavana* and the *Gallarda por lo Vaxo*, and seven *bailes*: the *Españoleta por lo Vaxo*, the *Villano cavallero por lo Vaxo*, the *Jácara por lo Vaxo*, the *Mariona por lo Vaxo*, the *Torneo por lo Vaxo*, the *Gaita gallega*, and the *Canario*.⁵³ The description of the *Mariona* and the *Torneo* are the first we have of these kind of dances, whereas the *Pavana*, the *Gallarda*, the *Españoleta*, the *Villano* and the *Jácara* are also described in other sources, as we have seen in Table 2. The descriptions consist of enumerations of steps which form the different variations (*mudanzas*) with indications regarding displacements, directions or changes of front. They include some indications regarding the duration of some steps, defined as *graves* (slow) or *breves* (fast), but without any information on the rhythm.⁵⁴ As for the *Gaita* and the *Canario*, these descriptions are very general, and they allude to the character and the gestures, or to the circumstances in which they were performed, without referring to concrete step sequences.

In all these pieces González uses the same vocabulary as in the already known sources of Spanish dance. A closer comparison reveals a high degree of overlap between entire sections of some of the dances given by Domingo González and those which belong to Esquivel's *Discursos*, to Jaque's *Libro de Dançar*, and to Minguet's *Explicación*. In the next section we shall present the comparison of the *Pavana* of the treatise by Noveli with these other sources.

The Spanish *Pavana* between 1642 and c. 1737 in the dance sources

The *Pavana* is the only dance of the treatise which, apart from its description, has the choreographic notation of its opening section, the *entrada*. This section is also one of the two fragments of dance described in the treatise by Esquivel, the other being the opening section of the *Villano*. The rest of the sections of this dance can be compared with the versions in the *Libro de dançar* given by Jaque and the *Explicación* given by Minguet. Whereas the *Pavana* by Domingo González has four variations, the versions by Jaque and Minguet have eight and six variations respectively.

According to Esquivel, all the dances must start with the left foot.⁵⁵ It was also usual, at the end of the variation, to repeat it starting with the opposite foot in all dances except for the *Folías*, the *Rey* and the *Villano*.⁵⁶ This repetition had the name of *desecho* (undone). The version of the *Pavana* given by Domingo González does not mention with which foot each step must be performed, although each variation is followed by its *desecho*. Therefore, in the comparison, we have taken into account complete choreographic sequences, noting the order in which the steps are combined, regardless of whether the description mentions the foot or not. Another element that distinguishes the descriptions given by González is that the spatial references are much more frequent, which makes it difficult to do a comparison in this regard. That is why in this study we only have taken into account the order and number of the steps, without considering the spatial indications.

In Tables 4–8, we use the dark grey colour to indicate the parts in which the sequences of steps are practically identical, and the light grey colour for those which, without being equal, have some degree of similarity. The parts in white belong to those points where there is no match at all. Comparing the versions of the *entrada*, we can note the great similarity between all of them, especially those given by González, Esquivel and Jaque (Table 4).

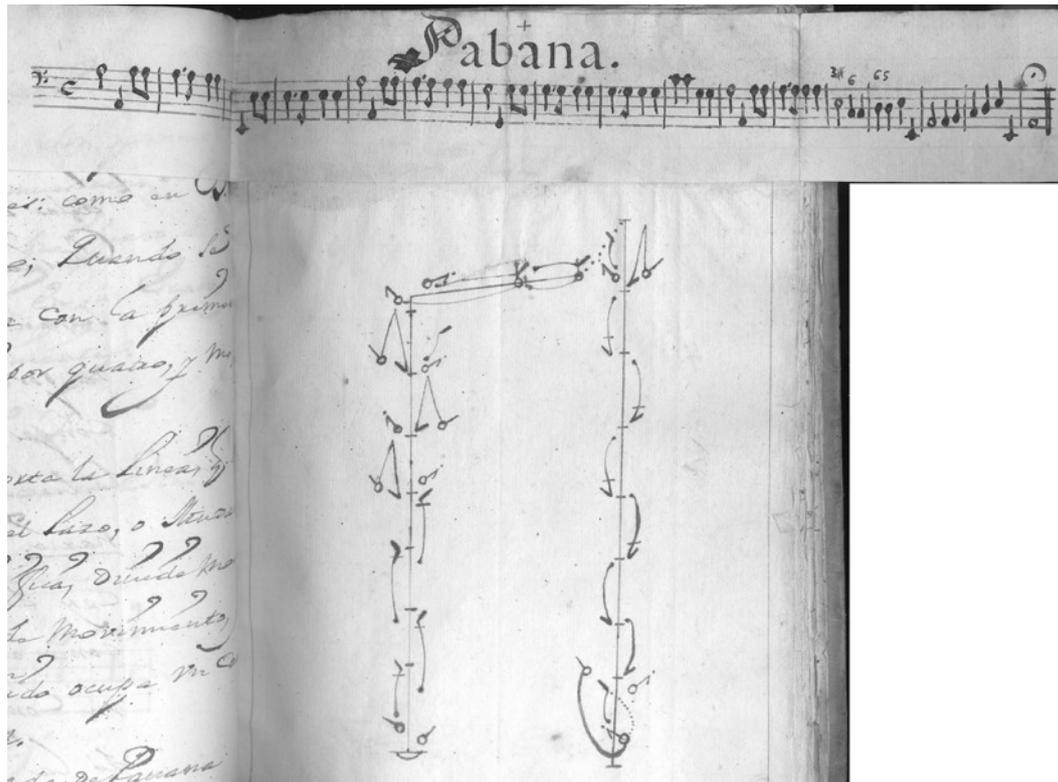


Figure 9. Pavana (Noveli, *Choregraphie figurativa*, f° 33r)

Table 5. Comparison of the First Variation of Pavana by D. González (Noveli 1708)

Jaque	Noveli	Minguet
Primera mudanza	Primera mudanza	Mudanza primera de las floretas
2 Floretas L-R	2 floretas	2 Floretas L-R
Salto atrás L Encaxe R	Salto y encaxe atrás	Salto y encaxe L
Floreta L Salto atrás R Encaxe L	Floreta Salto y encaxe atrás	Floreta Salto y encaxe R
Paso R Planta L Buelta al descuydo	2 pasos graves Planta Buelta al descuido	Passo adelante Campanela L Buelta al descuido R
Cargado L Paso adelante R Cruzar	Cargado Paso grave Cruzar	Cargado L Paso adelante R Cruzado L
Paso atrás L Encaxe R	Salto y Encaxe atrás	Paso atrás R
Floreta L Floreta R	Dos floretas	Floreta L Floreta R
Salto atrás L Encaxe R	Salto y encaxe atrás	Salto y Encaxe L
Rompido L Carrerilla y media Y dos pasos atrás	Rompido y planta Carrerilla y media adelante y a un lado Dos passos breves azia atrás	Carrerilla Dos pasos atrás
	Desecho desta Mudanza	Aquí el desecho

Table 6. Comparison of the Second Variation of Pavana by D. González (Noveli 1708)

Jaque	Noveli	Minguet
Tercera Mudanza	Segunda Mudanza	Mudanza tercera de los pasos
<i>Paso adelante L</i> “ <i>R</i>	<i>Dos pasos graves Adelante</i>	<i>Passo L</i> “ <i>R</i>
<i>Llamada</i>		
<i>y salto atrás L</i> <i>Encaxe R</i>	<i>Salto arriva</i> <i>Encaxe</i>	<i>Salto y</i> <i>Encage con L</i>
<i>Paso adelante L</i> <i>Planta a un lado R</i>	<i>Salto al lado</i> <i>Paso avajo grave</i>	<i>Bacío L</i> <i>Campanela R</i>
<i>Salto en buelta L</i> <i>Encaxe R</i>	<i>Salto en buelta avajo</i> <i>Encaxando</i>	<i>Salto y</i> <i>Encage en buelta L</i>
<i>Reberencia cortada L</i> <i>Bazío L</i>	<i>Reverencia cortada</i> <i>Salto al lado</i>	<i>Reverencia cortada L</i>
<i>Campanela y</i> <i>Bazío R</i>	<i>Campanela grave</i> <i>Salto al lado</i>	<i>Campanela</i> <i>Salto al lado L</i>
<i>Campanela</i>	<i>Campanela grave</i>	<i>Campanela</i> <i>Salto al lado R</i> <i>Campanela L</i>
<i>Sacudido y</i> <i>Paso L</i> <i>Paso R</i>	<i>Sacudido</i> <i>Dos pasos adelante breves</i>	<i>Sacudido</i> <i>Paso adelante L</i> “ <i>R</i>
<i>Sacudido y</i> <i>Paso L</i> <i>Paso R</i>	<i>Sacudido</i> <i>Dos pasos adelante breves</i>	<i>Sacudido L</i> <i>Paso L</i> <i>Paso R</i>
<i>Llamada y</i> <i>passo atrás</i>	<i>Llamada</i>	<i>Llamada atrás L</i>
<i>Carrerilla L</i>	<i>Carrerilla y media</i>	<i>Carrerilla</i> <i>Sacudido atrás</i>
<i>Carrerilla y paso R</i>	<i>Otra carrerilla y media</i>	<i>Carrerilla R</i>
<i>Salto en buelta L</i>	<i>Salto en buelta avajo encaxando</i>	<i>Salto y encage en buelta L</i>
<i>Campanela y</i> <i>Planta R</i>	<i>Rompido y</i> <i>Planta</i>	<i>Bacío L</i> <i>Rompido R</i>
<i>Buelta al descuido</i>		
<i>Carrerilla y media y</i> <i>Dos passos atrás con el mismo</i>	<i>Carrerilla y media</i> <i>Dos pasos atras breves</i>	<i>Carrerilla</i> <i>Dos pasos atrás</i>
	<i>Desecho</i>	<i>El desecho.</i>

However, in spite of the similarity in the sequence of steps, there is a difference between them on how to wear the hat. Esquivel states that the hat has to be taken off when starting the reverence (*reverencia* or *cortesía*), and has to be put on again when ending it, which happens in all the dances, except for the *Gallarda*.⁵⁷ While Jaque does not mention anything regarding this, González states that the *entrada* has to be carried out with the hat on and, without explaining at which moment it has to be taken off, the rest of the dance must be performed with the hat in the hand. Minguet agrees with him, saying that the hat must be taken off with the right hand at the beginning of the reverence, passing it to the left hand to continue dancing with it in the hand.⁵⁸

The *entrada* of the *Pavana* is the only example provided by the treatise on the use of the choreographic notation by Noveli, which can be compared to its description by González (Figure 9).⁵⁹

Thus we see that the use Noveli makes of the bar lines, employed by Feuillet to indicate the correspondence between the steps and the music bars, does not reflect the difference in duration which exists between the *grave* and the *breve* steps (long and short steps, in metrical and spatial sense). In the notated dance we see that Noveli attributed the duration of a whole bar both to the graves and to the breves, so there is no difference in its duration nor a proportional relationship. Possibly for this reason the *Pavana* occupies seventeen bars instead of the sixteen that usually cover the variation of the Spanish *Pavana*. The comparison shows the great similarity between the variations of the different treatises, although the order is different in each case. We follow the order given by González (Table 5 centre column).

Despite being chronologically closer to Esquivel, the Jaque treatise does not mention the *desecho* of the *Pavana* variations, unlike those of Noveli and Minguet. In the case of the first variation, the three versions match, although the

Table 7. Comparison of the Third Variation of *Pavana* by D. González (Noveli 1708)

Jaque	Noveli	Minguet
Quarta Mudanza	Terzera Mudanza	Mudanza quarta de los Saltos, y Cruzados
<i>Floreta R</i>	<i>Floreta</i>	<i>Floreta L</i>
<i>Salto a un lado L</i> <i>Cruzar atrás</i>	<i>Salto al lado</i> <i>Cruzando atrás</i> <i>Sacudido</i>	<i>Salto R</i> <i>Cruzado por detrás y</i> <i>Delante L</i>
<i>Salto a un lado R</i> <i>Cruzar atrás</i> <i>Sacudido</i>	<i>Otro salto al lado</i> <i>Cruzando atrás</i> <i>Sacudido</i>	<i>Salto L</i> <i>Cruzado por detrás y</i> <i>Delante R</i>
<i>Campanela y</i> <i>Planta L</i>	<i>Paso grave avajo</i>	<i>Campanela hacia atrás R</i>
<i>Salto en buelta R</i> <i>Encaxe L</i>	<i>Salto en buelta avajo</i> <i>Encaxando</i>	<i>Salto en vuelta</i> <i>Encage L</i>
<i>Floreo</i> <i>Paso adelante R</i> <i>Cruzar</i>	<i>Floreta</i>	<i>Floreta L</i> <i>Paso adelante</i> <i>Cruzar</i>
<i>Salto atrás L</i> <i>Encaxe R</i>	<i>Salto atrás</i> <i>Encaxe</i>	<i>Paso atrás R</i> <i>Encage L</i>
<i>Floreta L</i>	<i>Floreta</i>	<i>Floreta R</i>
<i>Salto atrás R</i> <i>Encaxe L</i>	<i>Salto atrás</i> <i>Encaxe</i>	<i>Salto</i> <i>Encage L</i> <i>Bacío L</i>
<i>Rompido R</i> <i>Dos carrerillas y media</i>	<i>Rompido y planta</i> <i>Dos carrerillas y media</i>	<i>Rompido R</i> <i>Dos carrerillas adelante R</i>
<i>Floreta L</i>	<i>Floreta</i>	<i>Floreta</i>
<i>Salto atrás R</i> <i>Encaxe L</i>	<i>Salto atrás</i> <i>Encaxe</i>	<i>Salto</i> <i>Encage L</i> <i>Bacío</i>
<i>Rompido R</i>	<i>Rompido y planta</i>	<i>Rompido R</i>
<i>Carrerilla y media</i> <i>Dos pasos atrás</i>	<i>Carrerilla y media</i> <i>Dos pasos breves atrás</i>	<i>Otro paso atrás L</i>
	<i>Desecho</i>	<i>El desecho</i>

similarity is greater between those by Jaque and González. From here, the order varies, as does the degree of similarity between the authors (Table 6).

There are cases in which there is similarity, as the steps are the same although the form of describing them varies. We see this when we read *abrir* (a verb, meaning to open, to separate the feet sideways) in one version, and in the other we find *planta cuadrada* (the name of a position consisting in placing the feet separated in the front view). In other cases the difference is in the character and energy quality of the movements, as in the difference between a *paso* (step) and a *salto* (jump). At other times the difference is that in one version movements of the foot in the air are mentioned, which do not appear in the others, although the weight shifts are the same. For example, when in one version we read *salto y cruzar*, in which *salto* is a weight shift, and *cruzar* (to cross) is a movement in the air which is made simultaneously with the other foot, and in another version we read only *salto*. In the third variation of González we see its greatest similarity with the fourth variation of Jaque (Table 7).

Another example is the next variation, the fourth for González, and the fifth for Jaque and Minguet. In it, the

entire first part given by Jaque is completely different from the other two versions, which are very similar to each other. However, all three are very similar in their final section (Table 8).

Comparing the version of the *Pavana* given by Domingo González with the seventeenth century versions, the great resemblance between them, both in the *entrada* and in the three first variations, is apparent. For the fourth variation, the difference is striking in its first part compared to Jaque, but also its almost complete resemblance to Minguet.

After this comparison it is clear that all the authors use the same dance language. The descriptions by Domingo González are very similar to those of the treatises by Esquivel, Jaque and Minguet. The similarity the *Pavana* given by González shows with the same piece in *Explicación del danzar a la española* by the editor Pablo Minguet e Yrol (as well as the resemblance between other pieces, such as the *Espanoletas* and the *Villanos*) leads us to remember that Minguet recognized openly that he had based himself on the “best Spanish teachers”.⁶⁰ His debt to Esquivel’s treatise is evident, since many of the descriptions of the steps provided are literal quotations from this author. Given that the other

Table 8. Comparison of the Fourth Variation of Pavana by D. González (Noveli 1708)

Jaque	Noveli	Minguet
Quinta Mudanza	Quarta Mudanza	Mudanza quinta del sacudido y carrerilla
<i>Sacudido y paso adelante con izquierdo</i>	<i>Sacudido Carrerilla y media</i>	<i>Sacudido y Carrerilla L</i>
<i>Bazío con derecho</i>	<i>Topecido y trinado</i>	<i>Continencia R</i>
<i>Paso adelante con izquierdo</i> <i>Planta con derecho</i> <i>Reberencia cortada con derecho</i> <i>Planta quadrada</i>	<i>Dos reverencias cortadas</i> <i>Dos vazíos</i>	<i>Dos reverencias cortadas R</i> <i>Dos bacíos L-R</i>
<i>Buelta de pechos</i> <i>Bazío con izquierdo</i> <i>Otro con derecho</i> <i>Otro con izquierdo</i> <i>Campanela con el derecho</i> <i>Sacudido</i> <i>Paso a un lado con derecho</i> <i>Bazío con izquierdo</i> <i>Paso a un lado con derecho</i>	<i>Salto al lado</i> <i>Campanela grave</i> <i>Sacudido</i> <i>Carrerilla y media</i>	<i>Salto al lado R</i> <i>Campanela</i> <i>Llamada L</i> <i>Carrerilla L</i>
<i>Buelta al descuydo</i>	<i>Buelta al descuido</i>	<i>Buelta al descuido R</i>
<i>Planta quadrada</i> <i>Buelta de pechos por un lado</i>	<i>Abrir</i> <i>Buelta de pechos</i>	<i>Buelta de pechos R</i>
<i>Planta quadrada</i> <i>Buelta de pechos por el otro</i>	<i>Juntar y abrirse</i> <i>Buelta de pechos</i>	<i>Buelta de pechos L</i>
<i>Quadropeado</i>	<i>Quatropeado</i>	<i>Quatropeado L</i>
<i>Paso adelante R</i> <i>Cruzar atrás</i> <i>Paso adelante L</i>	<i>Salto arriba</i>	<i>Paso adelante L</i> <i>Cruzado R</i> <i>Salto al lado R</i>
<i>Campanela</i> <i>Paso a un lado R</i>	<i>Campanela grave</i> <i>Paso avajo grave</i>	<i>Campanela y</i> <i>Llamada L</i>
<i>Salto en buelta L</i> <i>Encaxe R</i>	<i>Salto en vuelta</i> <i>Encaxe</i>	<i>Salto en vuelta</i> <i>Encaje R</i> <i>Dos bacíos R-L</i>
<i>Rompido L</i> <i>Carrerilla y media</i>	<i>Rompido y planta</i> <i>Carrerilla y media</i>	<i>Rompido R</i> <i>Carrerilla</i>
<i>Dos pasos atrás</i>	<i>Dos pasos atrás breves</i> <i>Desecho y cortesía</i>	<i>Dos pasos atrás</i> <i>El desecho</i>

known sources for the Spanish dance of this period are hand-written, we do not know to which others Minguet may have had access, and if the manuscript of Noveli was one of these.

The compared sections of the *Pavana* by Domingo González have such great similarities with those of Esquivel and Jaque, that we could consider them as versions of the same dance, which form part of a much wider repertoire. These similarities, to varying degrees, can also be found when comparing the *Jácara por lo vaxo* given by González, with the *Jácara* by Jaque, the *Gallarda por lo vaxo* by González with the *Gallarda* by Jaque, the *Españoleta por lo vaxo* by González with the *Folías* by Jaque and the *Villano cavallero* by González with the *Villano* by Jaque (which for reasons of space I have not included in this article). This has two consequences: first, it reinforces my hypothesis that Domingo González could have been the same person as the one who in 1683 aspired to the position of the dancing master of the Queen, because his dances correspond to the language,

sequences and style of the Spanish repertoire known from the second half of the seventeenth century.

Second, it leads us to ask whether it is correct to consider Domingo González as the “creator” of these dances, or whether it would be more appropriate to see him as a member of the Spanish school of his time, transmitter of an older repertoire, shared by him and other teachers, to which he made his own contributions. If he were the same person as the one who in 1642 was pupil of Antonio de Almenda, he could well have been the one who aspired to enter the service of the queen in 1683. If still living in 1708, he would have been a very old man, which we cannot rule out. It is also possible that the section attributed to González in the *Choregraphie figurativa* by Noveli had been copied from some other unknown document, or had been written by one of his pupils, remembering his teachings, such as was the case of the Esquivel’s treatise or the Potau manuscript. Whatever the case, it is a complex and detailed description, made by a person who not merely listed steps, but also

included aspects such as their directions and their duration, the movements of the arms and the playing of the castanets. Therefore, the *Choregraphie figurativa* by Nicolás Noveli and Domingo González is a highly interesting source for the study of seventeenth century Spanish dance, valuable in itself for the information it provides, unknown until few years ago, and for the implications it has in the context of cultural change in Spain between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Notes

- ¹ This study was carried as part of the research project *Sociedad cortesana y redes diplomáticas: la proyección europea de la Monarquía de España (1659-1725)* funded by the “Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad” (HAR2015-67069-P), Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (Spain). A preliminary version of this study was presented by the author under the title “A new source for the study of the Spanish baroque dance: *Choregraphie figurativa, y demostrativa del Arte de Danzar, en la forma Española* by Nicolás Noveli (Madrid, 1708)” in the Study Forum *Dance disguised & obscured* organized by the Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society on 21st and 22nd March 2015 at Goldsmiths, University of London.
- ² Mas i García, C. “L’expansió de la dansa d’escola” in VV.AA. *Dansa i música. Barcelona 1700*, Institut de Cultura, Barcelona (2009), p.252.
- ³ Translated and edited by Matluck Brooks, L. *The Art of Dancing in Seventeenth-Century Spain. Juan de Esquivel Navarro and His World*, Bucknell University Press, Lewisburg 2003.
- ⁴ Nocilli, C. “Retóricas en la danza española del siglo XVII” in Martínez del Fresno, B. (ed.), *Coreografiar la historia europea: cuerpo, política, identidad y género en la danza*, Universidad de Oviedo, Oviedo 2011, p. 92.
- ⁵ Accessible online at The Library of Congress webpage: <http://memory.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.music.musdi.118/pageturner.html?page=49§ion=&size=640>
- ⁶ I would like to thank Raquel Aranha who shared with me her discovery. The treatise is kept in the Library of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Madrid), under the signature A-1736. It is also digitized and accessible on the website of the Real Academia: <http://www.realacademiabellasartessanfernando.com/assets/docs/noveli/noveli.pdf>
- ⁷ See Bottineau, Y. *L’Art de cour dans l’Espagne de Philippe V, 1700-1746*, Féret & Fils, Bordeaux, 1960; Astier, R. “Michel Gaudrau: un danseur presque ordinaire” in *Les Gouts Réunis. La Danse. Actes du 1er Colloque International sur la danse ancienne*. Besançon, 1982, pp. 59-66; Esses, M. *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain during the 17th and Early 18th Centuries*, Pendragon Press, Stuyvesant (NY), 1992; Morales, N. *L’artiste de cour dans l’Espagne du XVIIIe siècle. Étude de la communauté des musiciens au service de Philippe V (1700-1746)*, Casa de Velázquez, Madrid 2007; Rico Osés, C. “French Dance in Eighteenth-Century Spain” in *Dance Chronicle* 35:2 (2012), pp. 133-172; Campó Schelotto, D. “Danza y educación nobiliaria en el siglo XVIII: el Método de la escuela de baile en el Real Seminario de Nobles de Madrid”, in *Ars Bilduma* N°5 (2015), pp. 157-173. Accessible online:

- http://www.ehu.es/ojs/index.php/ars_bilduma/article/view/13024
- ⁸ Pierce, K. “Dance Notation Systems in Late 17th-Century France”, *Early Music*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (May, 1998), pp. 287-299.
 - ⁹ Campó Schelotto, D. *op. cit.*, pp. 159-163.
 - ¹⁰ Morales, N. *op. cit.*, pp. 142-157 y 178-185.
 - ¹¹ After 49 follows a page numbered as 5, and then comes page 50; the page which should be numbered as 54 is erroneously listed as 44.
 - ¹² García Sepúlveda, M. P. y Navarrete Martínez, E. *Relación de Miembros pertenecientes a la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (1752-1983 1984-2006)*, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid 2007, p. 139.
 - ¹³ Sancho García, M. “Crítica musical y pensamiento estético en la España de la Restauración: José M^a Esperanza y Sola (1834-1905) in *Anuario Musical* N° 70 (2015), p.118.
 - ¹⁴ This short treatise is a reprint of the *Explicación del Danzar a la Española*, published in the *Arte de danzar a la Francesa* by the same Minguet c. 1737. The content is practically the same, with slight modifications in the wording which do not involve an alteration of the substance of the text.
 - ¹⁵ MSS/17718 of the ‘Biblioteca Nacional de España’ (BNE), and two copies of the nineteenth century: BNE MSS/14059 (15) and BNE MSS/18580 (5).
 - ¹⁶ BNE MSS/14059 (12).
 - ¹⁷ Transcription by Albareda, J. “Memòria de les Danses Manuscrito Potau (8A-30)” in VV.AA. *Dansa i música. Barcelona 1700, op.cit.* pp. 303-326, and the study of this manuscript in Mas i García, C., *op. cit.*, pp. 229-299.
 - ¹⁸ In addition to the named dances, the author mentions others, but does not give their description: *Anteyer, Regina, Gabota, Burea, Mustarda* and *Laberinto*.
 - ¹⁹ See Arcangeli, A. *Davide o Salomè? Il dibattito europeo sulla danza nella prima età moderna*, Ed. Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche, Viella Treviso – Roma, 2000 and Carter, F. “Attitudes towards Dance through the Ages: An Overview, in Segal, B. (ed.) *Dancing Master or Hop Merchant? The Role of the Dance Teacher through the Ages*, Early Dance Circle, 2008, pp. 5-18.
 - ²⁰ *Cartilla en que se proponen las reglas para torear a caballo*. Madrid 1726, p. 4; *Crisol especulativo, demostrativo práctico, Mathematico, de la destreza*. Madrid 1731, p. 11.
 - ²¹ Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, P^o 11570, ff. 361-374. ‘Archivo General de Palacio’ (AGP) EP c.2655, e.61.
 - ²² Noveli, R. *Choregraphie figurativa y demostrativa del Arte de Danzar, en la forma Española*, Madrid 1708, P^o 36r. Esquivel (p.27) speaks about those who dance *por lo bajo* (‘to dance lower’ in the translation by Lynn Matluck-Brooks, p. 287) meaning they do it on ground level, in a more basic way, without leaps or capers, which belong to dancing *por lo alto* (‘to dance high’ in the same translation).
 - ²³ Esquivel, p. 47v.
 - ²⁴ AGP, EP, c.690 e.42.
 - ²⁵ For all the comparisons I have used Feuillet, R. A. *Chorégraphie ou l’art de décrire la danse*, Paris, 1701.

- 26 Noveli, f^o. 35r.
- 27 Feuillet, p. 6.
- 28 Noveli, ff. 2r-3r
- 29 Noveli, f^o 10v.
- 30 Noveli, f^o 10v.
- 31 Noveli, f^o 16r. Feuillet, p. 45.
- 32 Feuillet, pp. 13-14.
- 33 Feuillet, p. 16.
- 34 Esquivel, p. 20v. Matluck Brooks, L. *op. cit.* pp. 108-109 y 281-282
- 35 *Noveli, f^o 8r.*
- 36 Noveli, f^o 11r, Esquivel, p. 11r., Matluck Brooks, L. *op. cit.*, p. 272.
- 37 “Le commencement du signe tourné un tour entier est plus difficile à connoitre, parce qu’un cercle n’a ny commencement ny fin; mais on le connoitra par un point qui sera à côté du pas”. Feuillet, p. 18.
- 38 Noveli f^o 4v.: “siempre que este este punto al lado del círculo se dize se da la buelta al contrario”.
- 39 This list of steps in presented in C. Mas i García, *op. cit.*, p. 268.
- 40 Noveli, f^o 10r; Esquivel, p. 18r, Matluck Brooks, L. *op. cit.*, p. 280.
- 41 Noveli, f^o 12r, Esquivel, pp. 11v-12r, Matluck Brooks, L. *op. cit.*, p. 273.
- 42 Noveli, f^o 15r.
- 43 Noveli, ff. 22r-24r; Feuillet, p. 32.
- 44 Negri, C. *Le Gratie d’Amore*, Milano 1602, pp. 111-112. On the *bodorneos*, see Borrull, T. *La Danza Española*, Sucesor de E. Messeguer, Barcelona 1981, p. 34.
- 45 See Matluck Brooks, L., pp. 95-96.
- 46 Anglo, S. “Notation of Movement in the Arts of War, Fencing and the Dance”, in Segal, B. (ed.) *op. cit.* pp. 44-45.
- 47 *Ibidem*, p. 45.
- 48 Noveli, f^o 28r-30v.
- 49 Noveli, f^o 34r.
- 50 Esquivel, p. 27; Matluck Brooks, p. 287.
- 51 González de Salas, J. A. *Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua, ó ilustracion ultima al libro singular De Poetica de Aristoteles Stagirita*, Madrid 1633, p. 119
- 52 Noveli, f^o 63r.
- 53 Noveli, *Pavana* f^o 36 r.; *Gallarda por lo vaxo* f^o 38r; *Españoleta por lo vaxo* f^o 40r; *Villano cavallero* f^o 42r; *Jácara por lo vaxo* f^o 44r; *Mariona por lo vaxo* f^o 48r; *Torneo por lo vaxo* f^o 55r; *Gaita gallega* f^o 61r and *Canario* f^o 62r.
- 54 Matluck Brooks, L. *op. cit.*, 97-98.
- 55 Esquivel, p. 21r, Matluck Brooks, L. *op. cit.*, p. 230.
- 56 Esquivel, p. 21r, Matluck Brooks, L. *op. cit.*, p.230.
- 57 Esquivel, p. 23r, Matluck Brooks, L. *op. cit.*, p. 232.
- 58 Minguet e Irol, P. *Arte de danzar a la francesa*, Madrid c. 1737, p. 54.
- 59 Noveli, f^o 36r.
- 60 Minguet e Irol, P., cover unnumbered.