Symposium 2012
22 – 29 July
International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM)
Study Group on Ethnochoreology

The 27th Symposium was hosted by The Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, Ireland

Programme Committee: Colin Quigley (Chair), Hanafi Bin Hussin, Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin, Daniela Stavělová, Judy Van Zile.

Organisational Committee: Catherine Foley (Chair), Colin Quigley, Orfhlaith Ni Bhriain, Mats Melin.

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  Students: Jeremy Carter-Gordon, Eleni Filippidou, Jiaying You
The Sionna Mosaic and The Sionna Story at the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, Ireland. Photograph of The Sionna Story © Maurice Gunning. Used with kind permission. Photograph of The Sionna Mosaic © Mats Melin
INTRODUCTION

The 27th Symposium of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) Study Group on Ethnochoreology took place at the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, Ireland, from 22nd – 29th July, 2012. The University, situated on the River Shannon in the mid-west of Ireland, provided a beautiful location for the Symposium. The year, 2012, marked a fiftieth-year celebration of the Study Group that evolved within the earlier International Folk Music Council (IFMC). Hosting this Symposium was, therefore, of special significance to the University of Limerick particularly since the first Master of Arts degree in Ethnochoreology, at any university in Europe, was established at the University of Limerick in 1996.

The success of this event was due to the assistance and support of many people and institutions. Micheál Ó Súilleabháin (Director), Sandra Joyce (Acting Director), and faculty and staff of the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, facilitated and supported this biennial meeting of the Symposium. The Arts Council of Ireland, the European Cultural Contact Point, Fáilte Ireland, and the University of Limerick Foundation all provided financial assistance. The National Dance Archive of Ireland at the Glucksman Library, Dance Research Forum Ireland, and ICTM Ireland also provided support. The many talented students at the Irish World Academy, including alumni of the postgraduate programmes in Ethnochoreology and Irish Traditional Dance Performance contributed to the success of the meeting by performing at the Opening Reception and at the 50th Anniversary Concert.

Like all important events, rigorous organisation in programming combined with social interaction and networking was pivotal. The Local Arrangements Committee: Catherine Foley (Chair), Colin Quigley, Mats Melin, and Orfhlaith Ni Bhriain coordinated their efforts to make the Symposium run in a smooth and professional manner. The Programme Committee: Colin Quigley (Chair), Hanafi Bin Hussin, Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin, Daniela Stavelová, and Judy van Zile, skillfully arranged a programme schedule. The board of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, in particular Laszló Felfoldi (Chair) and Anne von Bibra Wharton (Secretary), also provided much support and assistance.

Presenters at the Symposium came from far and near including Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Malaysia, the Netherlands, Norway, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Sweden, Taiwan, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the United States. They presented on two themes. Theme 1: Dance and Place; and Theme 2: Dance and Festival. Thirty-eight individual presenters and one roundtable presented on Theme 1, while eighteen individual presenters presented on Theme 2.

Throughout the week, various Study Group meetings took place. In addition, recent scholarly publications of individuals of the Study Group together with DVD compilations of previous Study Group symposia were made available for purchase.

The Organising Committee included a number of social and cultural events throughout the week. On Monday evening, 23rd July, it hosted a Céilí dance workshop. This was in preparation for the barbecue Céilí on Saturday evening, 28th July. A film evening was also introduced during the Symposium. On Tuesday evening, 24th July, the film evening took place in Theatre 1 of the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance.
The Pearse Moore Oscar Academy Award nominated film, *Dance Lexie Dance* (1996) was shown as well as the 'Master Class' documentary programme from the televised *Rising Steps* series, produced by Stirling Productions. These were based on Irish dance. Three short UNESCO films followed on Flamenco, Slovatsco, and the Mevlevi Ceremony. On Wednesday afternoon, participants went on an excursion to the village of Killaloe in County Clare. Here they had the opportunity to explore the village and go on a short boat cruise on Lough Derg. On board, members of the Local Arrangements Committee entertained with some Irish traditional music and dance and Symposium participants also shared music, song and dance from their cultures. This was followed by dinner in Flanagan's Restaurant on the banks of Lough Derg.

After the Study Group's Business Meeting on Thursday afternoon, 26th July, the participants had the opportunity to visit the National Dance Archive of Ireland at the Glucksman Library, University of Limerick. This was followed by the Pioneers' Dinner and the 50th Anniversary Concert. Students, alumni, and faculty of the Irish World Academy performed at this concert. It included traditional Irish dance and music performances and new choreographed Irish theatrical solos and ensemble works.

On the final day, participants went on an optional excursion to the Burren in County Clare. They also visited the village of Doolin, the Cliffs of Moher, and finished with dinner in Bunratty Castle where they were entertained by local traditional musicians and dancers.

All participants of the Symposium contributed to a stimulating, enjoyable, and a culturally enriching experience. This publication is a record of the entire event and the scholarly presentations at the Symposium. Abstracts are included for those scholars who did not submit their papers. A number of the texts are written by scholars whose first language is not English. To unify the style of the volume, the editors, Elsie Ivancich Dunin and Catherine Foley, standardised the language use and the reference style format of all papers. They endeavoured to retain the voices of the authors. Also, when representing the voices of field consultants in papers some scholars chose to use italics while others did not. The editors permitted both. The Dunin and deAlaiza's *DdA reference format for dance* as an internationally friendly style format was applied, and British English spelling was used throughout.

The publication of papers from the 27th Symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology would not have been possible without the financial support of the European Cultural Contact Point and institutional support of the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, and the University of Limerick.

Ich am of Irlaunde….
Come ant daunce wyth me
In Irlaunde.

(Anonymous, *circa* 1300)

Catherine Foley
July 2014, Limerick
Programme of Events

Sunday July 22

3:00 pm  BOARD MEETING, The Irish World Academy Building
5:00 pm  REGISTRATION, The Irish World Academy Building
7:00 pm  OPENING AND RECEPTION, The Irish World Academy Building Foyer
         DINNER in The Pavilion Restaurant

Monday July 23 - Theme 1: Dance and Place

9:00 – 10:30   SESSION 1 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
   Chair: Colin Quigley
   Grau, Andrée  Dance, spatiality, and the hierarchy of places: a crosscultural enquiry
   Gilbert, Marie-Pierre  Is this the place to play with the dance?
   Conger, Andrea  Flash mobs and folk dance: traditional dance and digital space

10:30 – 10:50  COFFEE

10:50 – 12.20  SESSION 2 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
   Chair: Mats Nilsson
   Giurchescu, Anca  Placing the dance in space. norms of the past and present.
   Katarinčić, Ivana  Space and place of the dance
   Girgin-Tohumcu, Gonca  Romani dance versus Romani style dancing: a case study of Turkish Thracian Romani dance

12:20 – 1:30  LUNCH

1:30 – 3:00  SESSION 3 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
   Chair: Andriy Nahachewsky
   David, Ann R.  Performing modernity: Bhangra’s global movements in new diasporic settings
   Rakovičević, Selena  Dance, place and cross-cultural exchange: dance practice of the village of Svinica (Romania)
   Ivanova-Nyberg, Daniela  Folk dancing abroad: Bulgarian folk dance activities in the United States today

3:00 – 3:20  COFFEE

3:20 – 4:50  SESSION 4 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
   Chair: Orfhlaith Ni Bhriain
   Dunin, Elsie Ivancich  From Croatia to the Americas and Australia: Korčula’s sword dances in diaspora
   Spanos, Kathleen  Weaving music and braiding tradition: Irish Step Dance in Ireland and the North American diaspora
   Zebec, Tvrtko  Irish Maiden – Croatian maiden with Irishman: Irish dancing in Croatia

BREAK
7.00  SUPPER in The Paddocks
8.00 – 9:30  Céili Dance Workshop, Irish World Academy Building, room IW2-26
Tuesday July 24

9:00 – 10:30  SESSION 5 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
Chair: Adrienne Kaeppler

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10:50 – 12:20  SESSION 6 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
Chair: Colin Quigley

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12:20 – 1:30  LUNCH

1:30 – 3:00  SESSION 7 - REPORTS AND STUDENT PAPERS – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
Chair: Irene Loutzaki

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3:00 – 3:20  COFFEE

3:20 – 4:50  SESSION 8 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
Chair: Theresa Buckland

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5:00 – 6:00  SUB STUDY GROUPS, The Irish World Academy Building, meeting rooms TBA.

BREAK

7:00  SUPPER in The Paddocks

8:00 – 10:00  FILMS. The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
Wednesday July 25

9:00 – 10:30  SESSION 9 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
Chair: Andrée Grau

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10:50 – 12:20  SESSION 10 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
Chair: Ann R. David

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1:30 – 2:45  SESSION 11 - ROUNDTABLE – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1
Chair: Egil Bakka

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2:45 – 3:00  BREAK

3:00  EXCURSION to Killaloe/Ballina Historic Town and Lough Derg Cruise
6:00  DINNER at Flanagan’s Restaurant in Ballina
8:00  RETURN to Limerick

Thursday July 26

9:00 – 10:30  SESSION 12 – The Irish World Academy Building, Tower Theatre
Chair: Trvtko Zebec

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10:30-10:50  COFFEE
### 27th SYMPOSIUM ICTM STUDY GROUP ON ETHNOCHOREOLOGY: LIMERICK, IRELAND 2012

**10:50 – 12:20  SESSION 13 – The Irish World Academy Building, Tower Theatre**  
**Chair**: László Felföldi

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<td>Bibra Wharton, Anne von</td>
<td>Place and dance in the Herbstadt Plantanz: a 100-year perspective</td>
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**12:50 – 1:30  LUNCH**

**1:30 – 3:30  BUSINESS MEETING – The Irish World Academy Building, Tower Theatre**

**3:30 – 5:00  NATIONAL DANCE ARCHIVE of IRELAND open to visit, Glucksman Library, University of Limerick.**

**6:00  50TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER, The Pavilion Restaurant**

**8:00 – 10:00  DANCE CONCERT, Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1**

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**Friday July 27 - Theme 2: Dance and Festival**

**9:00 – 10:30  SESSION 14 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1**  
**Chair**: Georgiana Wierre-Gore

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**10:30 – 10:50  COFFEE**

**10:50 – 12:20  SESSION 15 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1**  
**Chair**: Mats Melin

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**1:30 – 3:00  SESSION 16 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1**  
**Chair**: Daniela Stavelova

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<td>Ozbilgin, Mehmet Ocal</td>
<td>The Foundation for the promotion and protection of Turkish folk dances: folk dance festivals and their reflections on today</td>
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**3:00 – 3:20  COFFEE**
3:20 – 4:50  SESSION 17 – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1  
Chair: Judy Van Zile

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Chair: Catherine E. Foley

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2:30 – 3:00  CONCLUDING SESSION – The Irish World Academy Building, Theatre 1

BREAK

7:30  BARBECUE CÉILI in The Pavilion Restaurant.

**Sunday July 29 - Optional Excursion to County Clare**
THEME

DANCE and PLACE
FROM A VILLAGE ROOM TO A STADIUM SEMAH:
MEDIUM OF RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION AND
SOCIO-POLITICAL IDENTITY*

Alevism took a tedious and rugged path to reinforce its doctrines in Muslim religion. "Semah dance" as one of the doctrines of Alevism, a way of expression of a belief and social system, kept its importance within Alevism until today. However, its structural shift in this time period, gained semah dance new aspects as new places of performance within different contexts, as well as a medium of socio-political identity of Alevi society. Thus, fundamental orientation about Alevism and the transformation of semah dance is the main focus of this article: one, the introduction of Alevi society and Alevism; and two, the structural shift of "Semah dance" that transformed in the last two decades into a medium of a socio-political identity for the society.

Keywords: Turkey; semah; religion; revival; identity; space

Introduction
Alevism, took a tedious and rugged path to reinforce its doctrines in Muslim religion. "Semah dance" as one of the doctrines of Alevism, a way of expression of a belief and social system, kept its importance until today. However, its structural shift in this time period, gained semah dance new aspects as a new place of performance within different contexts, as well as a medium of socio-political identity of Alevi society. Thus, fundamental orientation about Alevism and the transformation of semah dance are the two main focuses of this article: one, the introduction of Alevi society and Alevism; and two, the structural shift of "Semah dance" that transformed in the last two decades into a medium of a socio-political identity for the society. In connection to the subjects given above, various research methods: field research, interview with Alevi people, observation of a "cem ritual" and a review of the written literature were combined to acquire the required information.

Alevis and Alevism

The history of Alevis, the Muslim followers of Prophet Ali, God's Lion, brother-in-law of Prophet Mohammed, probably goes as far back as to 500-600 AD in what was called "Kirklar Cem", was constituted by a council of forty religious leaders (saints) [Ersever 2001:33]. According to various researchers on Alevism (Muslim sect), the belief system, which most Alevi people in Turkey today would call their religion, possibly took its root from shamanism or even from paganism and developed during Mohammad's reign.

The term Alevi which means to belong to Imam Ali or followers of Imam Ali has also been used by some social scientist. In this context, Alevism in general means to love Ali and follow his family named as "Ehli Beyt". According to some other recourse, the term Alevi and Shia were used by Mohammad himself to indicate the followers of Imam Ali [Yaman 2007:20].
Ali Yaman's definition on the etymology of the term Alevi continues as:

In preislamic era of Arabic society, the terms Seyyid, Sherif, Emir or Sheyh were used to indicate the leader of the society. Today, we are especially interested in the meaning of the terms Seyyind and Sharif because these terms were continued to be used to indicate the followers of Imam Ali. Today the term Alevi is still used to indicate the people related to Ali's family in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Yemen and Iran [Yaman 2007:21].

However, the system, Alevism, developed strongly after Prophet Mohammad's death in 632 AD, when his followers split into two main sects, the Alevi and Sunni, to follow their own ways of Muslim order.

Sunnis or orthodox, so termed because they acknowledge the authority of the Sunna a body of moral traditions of the sayings and doings of the Prophet. The Shiah who derived their name from Shiah, a faction or party and par excellence the faction or party of Ali and Fatima, and their sons Hassan and Hussein [Ridgeway 1964:65].

At this moment, it is useful to have a short glance into the historical background of Prophet Mohammad and his family line that is outlined by W. Ridgeway to understand the connection of his contribution to development of Alevism after his death.

Muhammad had several wives, first Hadijah who bore him Fatima and, later, Ayesha. Ali, son of Abu Talib, and therefore first cousin of the Prophet, married Fatima, and it was Ayesha's step motherly jealousy of the children of Kadijah and her special antipathy to Ali, arising out of a charge made against her fidelity to her husband that at last brought to a head the bitter family feud between the Hashimites and the house of Ommiyah. This culminated in the tragedy of Kerbela, which forms the chief theme of the great Passion Play of western Asia. The strife consequent on this family feud still divides the Shiites or follower of Fatima and Ali, the 'Lion of Allah', from the rest of Islam [Ridgeway 1964:67].

The followers of Imam Ali made Alevism a separate religion for themselves and the doctrines of this religion developed even stronger today; thus, it is important to understand Alevism to value the importance of semah dance as a medium of worship as well as the socio-political identity for Alevis today.

Without understanding who Alevis are or what Alevism is, I think that it is impossible to know what Alevi ritual dance, the semah, is. Thus it would be useful to give a short introduction to the historical emergence of Alevism and the Alevis. Up to the sixteenth century, there was no evidence of the existence of the socio-religious or political group later known as the Alevi. Principles associated with the Alevi sect such as teberra, withdrawing, for example, or religious themes like the Twelve Imams' du'vezdeh imam and the martyrdom of Imam Huseyin at Kerbela do not appear in the nefes, hymns, before the sixteenth century.
1. Historically Alevism emerged from the numerous heterodox groups of Asia Minor which had close religious and military links to the Safavids in sixteenth century Iran. 2. There were various heterodox groups in Anatolia with more or less close relations to one another. With the emergence of the Safavi Dynasty, however, two tendencies began to differentiate these groups. The Sufi-influenced beliefs existed all along and these heterodox groups became visible due to the Safavi influence. As the Safavid threat in the east grew stronger throughout the sixteenth century, the Ottoman state became intolerant towards other practices of Islam apart from those of the Sunnis. It was at this point that Alevi communities began to experience political oppression [Erol 2010:375].

In spite of sharing the same origin the doctrines, Alevism and Sunnism differ considerably. To mention some, one of the main differences in the choice of worship of the Alevis is not to fast for a month during Ramadan, as the Sunnis do, but fast for ten days during the month of Moharrem for the remembrance of Kerbela, the place where Imam Husein was murdered.

One other important difference between Alevis and Sunnis in the belief system is that Alevis do not pray five times a day. This is called "Namaz" and is performed by Sunnis usually in a mosque; Alevi society pray at a ritual gathering that takes place in what is called "Cem evi", a room for the cem ritual, where traditional music is played and the religious dance, semah, is performed.

It is the cem ritual officiated by the dede (religious leader) that appears as the most significant phenomenon in this process. Cem rituals could be conceived of as secret gatherings of the Alevi communities, and often involve other kinds of latent function. Both men and women worship together at the cem so, for the Alevi masses, 'the cem functions as a mechanism for delivering justice, education, ordering social relations, and solving the spiritual problems of the society'. Songs and dances are perceived in cem rituals as an expression of faith [Erol 2012:836].

As mentioned above, music and dance is an important part of the cem ritual. In this context, however, semah is considered as a significant part of the ritual because, first, it is one of the twelve duties. It is believed that turning semah is the way to worship as well as to embody God; second, it is also a way of social connection within the society; and third, it is the way of reflection on the folkloric aspect of society. Thus there are many different kinds of semah performance in the cem ritual depending on the theme and the specialty of the ritual.

"Semah" as medium of worship and identity

Semah, as a cultural phenomenon, has a multi-faceted function. It is mainly performed for religious expression; but it also reflects the social and folkloric aspects of Alevi society. In connection with its functional significance, semah dances vary in kind.

Of the many regional variants of semah, the most widespread and important are Kirklar Semahi (Dance of the Forty Saints) and Turnalar Semahi (Dance of the Cranes), with their symbolic figures of ascent. In
the Turnalar Semahı, the image of the elegant crane (turna) preparing for flight symbolizes both the ascending soul of Imam Ali and the metamorphosis of Central Asian miracle-working shamans into birds. In the Kırklar Semahı, the nocturnal ascent of the Prophet Mohammad (mirac) to heaven led him to the gathering of the 40 saints. Basically, in Alevi belief, the gathering of 40 saints refers to the moment after the Prophet's ascension, when he beheld the manifestation of Divine Reality in Ali. It might be argued that the Dance of the Cranes refers to the ancient shamanistic legacy of the Turkic tribes. Their hands and arms symbolize birds. It should be noted, however, that semahs were modified in various ways depending on regional differences. In other words, details of the practice of semah vary substantially among Alevi communities, but the ideas, which sustain the practices have been developed within a common fund of Alevi belief and culture in Anatolia since the sixteenth century. For instance, Kırklar semahı performed in the Mediterranean areas such as Antalya and Fethiye may differ from those to be observed in Central Anatolia like the semahs of Tokat and Amasya [Erol 2010:383].

Kinds of semah

In general, all semahs are performed in a profound spiritual manner to traditional music and accompanied words. However, due to the regional and functional differences, they differ in kind. Thus, semah can be categorised in two main groups: religious and social semah. These semahs are recognised through their music and formation. However, due to their profound meaning and formational similarity, it is not simple for outsiders to differentiate them. For example, Kırklar Semah (or Mirçlama) is known to be the most respected and religiously significant among all semahs as it is known to have been performed by the Prophet Mohammad himself at the cem ritual during the time that he visited the forty saints (Kırklar) cem ritual. This semah, formationally, is probably the simplest and the shortest to perform. However, religiously, it is the most important semah for the reason given above. In this semah, all the movements done by the dancers is run in a circular form and never do they turn their backs to the religious leader "dede", and bow while holding their right hands on their chest, showing their respect from their hearts while passing in front of him.

Kırklar Semah, according to the rules of the cem ritual, is the first semah to be performed. Following this semah all the other ones can be performed randomly. The performance of Kırklar Semah varies according to the region where it is performed. Thus, in some areas it is performed by elderly only, and in other areas every person, young and old, can join to perform it.

Kırklar Semah begins when "dede" (the religious leader related to Imam Ali's family, called 'Ehli Beyt', and who holds the position as one whose responsibility and duty is to educate Alevi society), who most of the time is also the singer, stands up and starts to read the line, "Mohammad too up to join the semah" implying the semah of forty saints; at this moment everyone in the ritual joins him and stands up until the end of this particular section; reading this particular line remarks the beginning of Kırklar Semah and usually individuals chosen by the person commands the ritual. At the end of Kırklar Semah, following the dede, everyone sits down again to continue the ritual.

While some semahs such as Kırklar Semah, Ya Hizir Semah and Kirat Semah strictly function for religious expression, some semahs called Gonuller Semah, function for social expression and entertainment [Ersever 2001:145].
In this respect, *semahs* could be considered as folk dances reflecting the cultural heritage of Alevi society. Thus, *semahs* carry varying regional features and differ in kind. For example, most Tahtacı *semahs* usually known in Malatya, Mersin, Antalya or the other areas of southern Turkey, known as Gonuller Semah, are not considered religiously as significant as the ones mentioned above and could be performed indoors or outdoors at different events other than religious rituals. However, "Tahtacı", a faction of Alevi society also perform a religious *semah* when they prepare a specially religious ritual.

Generally, performing *semah* requires some rules and these rules might also differ regionally. First of all, people who join to perform *semah* have to bow (*niyaz*) in front of the *dede* to begin.

![Figure 1. Niyaz (bowing) to begin semah. Narlıdere, "Hızır Cem" ritual (Photograph by Gani Pekşen, 2012)](image)

Bowing (*niyaz*) in general represents respect for Imam Ali as the first imam to hold the first post as religious leader of the Alevis. At the end of *semah*, the dancers or *semah* turners form a line facing the *dede* to bow again, and wait for the acceptance of their *semah* performance as one of the twelve duties; in turn, *dede*, as a mediator, prays, naming God, Mohammad and Imam Ali for the dancers who pray through *semah*.

Different kinds of *semah*, from different regions have a unique ritual of beginning and ending. For example, in some regions to begin a *semah*, a woman will come and kiss a man's hand to invite him to perform together; in another kind, such as Kısas Semah, is from the city of Urfa [Aydoğmuş 2012:147]. Fatma Ana or Alinur Semah women will perform *semah* by themselves standing opposite each other where they invite each other placing their heads on each other's shoulder [Aydoğmuş 2012:116]. In the "Srach" faction of Alevi society in Tokat city, men and women will give a hug to invite each other to perform *semah* [Aydoğmuş 2012:138]. In Tokat city, Hubyar Semah (also called Srach Semah), is structurally one of the most unique where men and women move speedily in the right direction, in circular formation, while women turn around their own axes and men move their arms in a very unique way of circular movement moving sideways in the same direction.
Structurally, the characteristics of *semahs* could be seen on the arm, hands and foot movements; among them, the most known arm movement of *semah* is the arms being constantly carried from one side to the other in circular motions as mentioned above in Hubyar Semah by Srach faction of Tokat city. One other striking characteristic of *semah* is the beginning and the ending of the ritual; these will be discussed later. Different characteristics of *semah* can be seen in its sections called 'ağırlama', the beginning (taking the place with slow walking) and "yelleme" or "yeldirme", the ending (a faster section-walking and turning) [Bozkurt 2007:16]. Sometimes, fast sections of *semah* may be called "Pervaz". However, "Pervaz" is also a kind of *semah* performed by an individual young girl, and which is the only *semah* performed by a single person [Pekşen 2012:8].

**Structural and formational shift of *semah***

As important as it has been mentioned above, in a great cultural shift, especially in the last two decades, an important medium of worship, as well as a medium of social identity for the Alevi, the religious dance *semah* performed in its spiritual context for centuries has been freely carried out in heterogeneous public and ordinary contexts, such as music clubs, theatre stages, tourist spectacles, city centres, and even in big stadiums. This shift is so significant that even Kirklar Semah (Miraçlama), stated above as, religiously, the most important *semah*, and therefore forbidden to be performed outside the *cem* ritual, is carried out of its original natural context. This shift is the main reason why questions are raised to inquire about the motivations behind it to indicate how, in such a short time, an important medium of worship has moved from its spiritual context to ordinary platforms; this has contributed to a structural and spiritual shift which, in turn, has earned it new aspects: a Medium of Revival and Identity, a New Meaning, a New Performance Place, and New Form and Function as part of its structural, sociological, psychological, political, economic as well as its contextual change.

The first new and important aspect *semah* has gained is the *medium of identity*. This aspect was perceived as the revival of Alevism in society with which Alevi gained freedom of expression by ordinarily performing *semah* in order to freely express their identity. To gain this freedom, Alevi began to perform *semah* in every possible platform such as tourist places, restaurants, streets, music clubs, television stations, and stadiums, despite that, in their hearts, they believed that it only should be performed in its own context in the *cem* ritual. Gani Pekşen, an Alevi academic researcher and folk music singer expressed his feelings regarding the performance of *semah* outside its religious context:

Fortunately, the situation, for Alevi has recently changed because the number of Alevi population has increased tremendously and they started speaking out more freely. Now the time for Alevi is different; they can speak up and present their identity expressively. Moreover, our spiritual dance *semah* is deliberately performed in various platforms to politically reinforce Alevi identity for our society. However, I must say that, culturally, the *cem* ritual has to be organized in private among the Alevi and *semah* should be performed by Alevi only because the outsiders naturally do not feel and value the ritual as we do. Despite this fact, we deliberately open the *cem* ritual to the public so they can join us and learn our tradition and support us for our long lasted socio-political cause. This also affected the change in Alevi society. One other reason the society has changed because some of the young Alevi
people who think and act differently, are not very strict about the doctrines of Alevis and work more affectively to overcome this long lasting problem between the two societies [Pekşen 2012:interview].

Another informant, Timur Eşigul, who also is an academic and a young Alevi, who grew up in a traditional society in Tokat city, in the northeastern part of Turkey, answered the question: "What has culturally changed and how did this change affect the semah?" with his own words.

First of all, today, the time and the culture has shifted and changed towards irreligious way for many Alevis, especially for the young people. Therefore, especially rural areas like big cities and towns most young Alevi believers do not feel obligated to follow the old cem traditions as much as they used to be. However, now, even if they join the cem ritual, that would be the reason for social identity issue which is more political than educational or religious purpose. In fact, because of the Alevi identity issue, they deliberately would like to be there to be able to express themselves freely. In the past, when I was a child, we would definitely join the cem rituals. We, as kids, were obligated to go to cem ritual with our parents. It, traditionally, was mandatory among the small village society. In that time, every one valued semah as very important medium of religious expression. Today it is still important; however, today it is more political than religious [Eşigul 2012:interview].

Veysel Akbaba, a known religious leader (dede), responded to the question: "Is Semah dance as important as it was before?" He explained with his own words:

Yes. Semah as in the past, is still very important for our society. In fact, we do not call semah a dance. I would say that is a way of expressing our religious and social feelings bodily. But to use your terms, there are many kinds of semah dances grouped under two main categories that carry different significance: 1-Gonuller Samah, and 2- Mihraclama that is most known as "Kırklar Samah". "Kırklar Semah" is very important for Alevi society. This is the semah believed to be performed by Prophet Mohammad himself in "Kırklar Cem" that was formed by forty saints of Alevi society of that time. This semah is always performed first in the cem rituals and should never be performed outside its spiritual context. Contrarily, "Gonuller Samah" is performed for social purposes, which vary in kind. Gonuller Semah, in spite of their ritualistic motives, as all semahs have, do not carry religious significance. In fact, what is seen lately, as semah being performed outside the cem ritual are these types of semah [Akbaba 2012:interview].

The second new aspect semah has gained in the late cultural shift in Alevi culture is political expression. Semah has been considered as a way of worship and social expression since it was formed; however, its transformation into political aspect was not openly expressed until the last several decades. However, a well known poet and ashug (ozan) Pir Sultan Abdal of the sixteenth century was killed for openly expressing his political thoughts about the rights of Alevi-Bektashi society.
The third aspect that semah has gained is the **new space or place** of performance that were mentioned above. Semah, traditionally, should be performed in its spiritual context, at a cem house; this was the case for centuries; it was performed in secret for centuries in a village room in private. However, especially in the last two decades, to reinforce society's socio-political expression, it has been carried outside its original context, from a village room, the cem house, to ordinary contexts.

The fourth aspect that the semah has gained is the new **form and function**. As in the picture shown below, the original formation of semah is either circular or a line, performed by experienced performers, standing apart and facing each other; this is called "karsılama".

![Figure 2. Amasya, Damudere Village. (Photograph by G. Pekşen, 2008 June 21)](image)

Usually, no less than three people perform it. What has changed lately is that the space or place of semah has begun to determine its function, and the function determine its form and structure. In this regard, depending on the nature of the cem ritual, when it is performed in its original context it is performed for religious and social reasons in its original context. Moreover, in the original context, only those who are known turners of semah are correctly the performers, and the number of them is not many because, semah in the cem, is performed for not only the performer's own sake, but also for those attending the ritual.

When semah is performed outside its original context, it is prepared for an audience as a form of entertainment carrying no ritualistic significance. These types of semah are usually choreographed or reorganised for the audience on stage, where the number of performers is not limited to certain numbers. Besides its form, what is also included in semah lately is costume. Originally, semah is naturally performed as part of ritual, without any preparation by the individuals who feel like joining in their everyday
clothing. There is no special costume for it. However, recently, some dance trainers created a costume to make it fit into or look like, staged folk dances.

![Figure 3. Semah turning for peace. 12 June, 2005 Ali Samiyen Stadium Istanbul (Photograph by Gani Pekşen)](image)

**Conclusion**

What could be said in the conclusion is that *semah*, as a way of religious expression, has functioned affectively in society for centuries. It is still valued highly and still functional as it was in the past. Moreover, through cultural change and a structural shift, it has earned new aspects through the years, which has marked its role as the medium of social as well as political identity of Alevi society today. However, this role, in turn, made *semah* lose its secrecy when it was carried out from a village room changing its secretly practised religious form of expression in a homogenous society to more freely practised social and political form in a heterogeneous society. Thus, it is now perceived and valued differently in different contexts where it functions accordingly. It is religious in its original context and performed with a different state of spirituality; in the other platforms, those mentioned above, as new settings, it is mostly social and political; therefore, it mostly functions as a medium for society's socio-political actions, which have been widely discussed above.

Today, due to the cultural shift and socio-political issues, even the most secret Kırklar Semah is being ordinarily performed outside the *cem* ritual. In fact, *cem* rituals periodically organized for the State Television "TRT" as well as for the other television channels which are popular in Alevi society, deliberately include *semah* in it. The municipal of Hacı Bektash town, which is the place of pilgrimage for the Alevi-Bektashi population, organises a Memorial Festival on behalf of Hacı Bektash Veli annually where *semah* is performed on stage one after the other, and usually choreographed by folk dance trainers. Among all of these events, it is useless to mention the many other ratings-oriented television stations that have similar programs on Alevi issues which have affected spiritual and structural change of *semah* today.

As a result, through the cultural and socio-political shift, from a village room to a stadium, not only has *semah* lost its secrecy but also many newly choreographed *semah* dances, with created movements, have appeared that carry neither traditional nor spiritual value. These dances are basically, created to composed music for the sake of entertainment. Moreover, today in Turkey, it is fashionable for many folk dance trainers to teach *semah* as a recreational activity.
Endnote
* Title is changed from the title in the Limerick programme.

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Mehmet AYDOĞMUŞ.
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RIDGEWAY, William.

Ali YAMAN Kitabı.
DANCE AND STAGE: A PROPOSAL FOR STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF SPACE OF FOLK DANCE CHOREOGRAPHY*

Choreography, in choreological terms, is widely described as the art of composing and/or creating dances, structuring them with the music in a harmonious artistic whole. The modern and postmodern, mainly abstract dancing eras, brought many trends in choreography and scenic movement, using new meanings of expression and advanced technologies. Among the choreographical styles and approaches to scenic movements, the folk tradition from the Balkans and South-East Europe has been developed in its irresistible vitality through the creativity of individuals – dancers, teachers, amateur and professional choreographers – who have been giving it new life through the aesthetics of staging. Transferring traditional dance into a new, choreographic form has been a strong tradition in Serbia since the 1930s. In connection with stage place I propose a structural analysis of choreographical spatial composition which I examine through this period.

Keywords: Serbia; choreography; stage; space; composition; analysis

Starting from the universal components, constituents of a dance's morphology: space, kinetics and time, I define the concept 'folk dance choreography.' Referring to the Serbian choreographed folk dance tradition, which began to develop in the 1930s in the urban environment of Belgrade and developed intensively after World War II in many cities in Serbia, I examine the stage as the particular place in which choreographies of folk dance have been transferred to the present day and shaped into a comprehensive structural and formal unit.

Introduction

In practice, stage is in choreographic vocabulary usually described as any place – indoors or outdoors – where a group of dancers perform a choreography and where the audience is separated from performers. With the function of presenting, it could be said that choreography of folk dance belongs to the category of presentational dance, as opposed to participatory dance (Nahachewsky 1995). This interpretation of the stage space refers to a general view using Brenda Farnell’s term "external space" (in Drid Williams 2004:227).

The starting point of my investigation about stage space and place was the concept of "semantic space" as suggested by Brenda Farnell and Drid Williams. In her book Anthropology and the Dance (2004) Williams makes a distinction between the structured semantic space within which events take place – naming it an external space – and the use of space that is internal to an action sign system itself – that is internal form space. According to this, Williams points out that "the performance space in which the audience, dancers, and theatre exist is separate from the space internal to a particular piece of choreography" [Williams 2004:226]. In other words, the space in which the performance takes place is separated from the patterns of spatial pathways and movements of dancers' limbs that make up a dance itself. Thus, the internal form space of a particular dance can be recreated in different external theatre spaces [Williams 2004:226].

In the context of differentiating stage space and stage place I lean on the thoughts of Anne Ubersfeld from her book Reading a theatre (Ibersfeld 1982). According to
Ubersfeld stage space is a place of "concrete theatrics" understood as an activity that occurs in space. On the contrary, stage place is a limited and isolated part of the space, the place where the action is happening. It is a concrete space where relationships among the actors' bodies exist, and where development of physical activity, seduction, dancing and fighting can be also found [Ibersfeld 1982:119]. Finally, according to Ubersfeld stage place is precisely coded depending on the stage habits of a particular period. Thus, the geometric shape and surface of the stage (its height, width and depth) are important factors in designing the stage place [Ibersfeld 1982:117–121].

It could be said that stage as the specific area of art or a particular place has a certain structure that shapes the way of presenting traditional dance. It is like a "model of events" as many "architectural features" like theatres, stadiums and churches are [Williams 2004:225], or like "a frame" in painting which is tightly associated with the content and forms part of its composition" [Arnheim 1998:244]. Speaking about visual arts in his study of composition Rudolf Arnheim states that "a frame [a stage] is the basis upon which the composition is building. It determines the content and limits of the work" [Arnheim 1998:87] and "it [a frame] is a necessary part of the composition, it determines the equilibrium centre and defines the spatial position of all elements in the picture. It was built as a reference base as a critical tone in traditional music" [Arnheim 1998:244].

Describing different types of stages, a Slovak choreographer Štefan Nosál points out that "when we speak about stage area we mean a conventional, yet (except perhaps in antiquity) the most frequently used scene, bounded on three sides, with one side open to the viewer, the so-called proscenium theatre" [Nosál’ 1984:50]. Choreographers of folk dance mostly use this principle of the open rectangular scene, while creating new works, as labanotators do while notating stage dances with drawing floor or stage plans [Hutchinson 2005:158]. In his book Choreografia l’udového tanca [Choreography of folk dance] Štefan Nosál considered that the whole stage area can be divided into active and less active points, lines and surfaces, looking from the point of view of the audience [Nosál' 1984:50-52]. Nosál's interpretation, very useful for choreographic craft, draws on his wealth of experience in Slovakian choreography of folk dance and the general principles and rules used in theatrical arts.

Considering the geometric and dynamic properties of space, Arnheim emphasises the importance of a central point, which he describes as the "focus of energy that vectors radiate into the environment, it is also the place to which the vectors appear concentric" [Arnheim 1998:28]. Arnheim's interpretation of space is very important for my consideration of stage space particularly with regard to dynamics and the equilibrium centre. He also pointed out certain dynamic processes (crescendo and diminuendo, increasing and compression), which are, in choreographic terms, related to the spatial composition and, thus, refer to dynamism of formation changes, which consequently result in changes of the equilibrium centre. Theatre director Hugo Klaajn also highlights the importance of the principle of balance on the stage considering at the same time the number of participants on the stage, their mutual distance and weight on the stage [Klaajn 1995:147].

According to the above it could be said that the stage as an external space with its limits of space, active and less active points, vectors that radiate to the central point and other principles affects the internal space of the choreography of folk dance which consists of step patterns, pathways, dancers, and other visible elements.

To all the mentioned authors a structuralistic approach is a common characteristic in the conception of stage space, what was for me the starting point in developing my own approach, but mostly I relied on the ideas of Drid Williams. According to her
conception of the "internal form space of the dance" I developed the idea of the internal space of folk dance choreography.

**Internal space – spatial area of the particular choreography**

Internal space includes notions of space of the artwork itself. It could be explained as "a set of features that first catch the eye" as sisters Danica and Ljubica Janković wrote concerning the meaning of formations in their 5th book *Narodne igre* [Folk dances] [Janković 1949:5]. Their observations about formations in the Serbian dance tradition were connected with classifications according to which all formations could be divided.

With the notion that classification cannot finally be done because of interference and cross-species of formation in the Serbian dance tradition, they proposed classification according to: (1) the lines and pictures that dancers delineate with their moving, (2) gender, (3) the number of participants in the dance, (4) the connections between dancers, and (5) the complexity of the structure of their spatial movement [Janković 1949:5–6]. All the material they found in the rural areas they classified according to the fourth criteria – the connections between dancers [Janković 1949:6].

After the attempts of the IFMC Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology in 1972, when the term formation was first introduced in ethnochoreological discourse, Anca Giurchescu and Sunni Bloland explicitly considered both the terms formation and arrangement in space as the most readily apparent constituents of a dance's morphology. The authors defined the arrangement in space similar to the Janković sisters as the system with four constituents – grouping, number, shape and reciprocal body orientations – which are considered together under the common term, formation [Giurchescu 1995:83]. As Giurchescu and Bloland point out regarding Romanian traditional dances, and which could also be said of Serbian traditional dances, that dances are done in a formation, which remains unchanged for the duration of the dance. On the contrary, major changes occur in folk dance choreography as these are works of authorship in which formation is an extremely important and changeable parameter.

Internal space – spatial area of the particular choreography – is the concept that is directly connected with my concept of spatial composition. It is important in my analytical observations because it opens the possibility of its own structural analysis.

**Structural analysis of spatial composition of the folk dance choreography**

In order to observe spatial dimension in choreographies of folk dance I used structural and formal analysis as the important tools in my choreological investigation. In defining the spatial dimension I applied both the considerations of Danica and Ljubica Janković sisters, and Anca Giurchescu and Sunni Bloland with certain modifications. Instead of using Giurchescu's and Bloland's term "arrangement in space" I introduce the broader term "spatial composition", which I defined as the system that includes formation, pathway and mise-en-scène; these are hierarchically organised (see Graph 1). All three of them have to be observed from the beginning to the end of the choreography.

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**Graph 1: Hierarchically organised elements of spatial composition of the folk dance choreography**

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Formation in dance is considered as the system that includes the following six parameters:

1. Grouping of dancers: one, twos, threes, group;
2. Number of dancers: one, two, three, four, and so on;
3. Gender of dancers: male, female, mixed;
4. Shape or geometric configuration of the formation: circle, semi-circle, line, point;
5. Reciprocal body orientation of dancers: face-to-face, side-by-side, face-to-back, back-to-back;
6. Connections between dancers: by hand, by arms, crossed forward, crossed backward, and so on.

In Serbian dance culture formations are kolo (in the shape of a circle), lesa (in the shape of a line), trojka or triplet, par or couple and solo.

In choreography, changes of formation are the most apparent. Formation changes occur at certain times with certain dynamics. Each formation has its own duration and its so-called transitional moments that precede and conclude it. All this creates a specific rhythm with the alternation of static and dynamic segments. Static segments achieve fixed formations (assigned with S), while dynamic segments (assigned with D) generate transitional moments in which pathways have a crucial role.

Pathways can be curved, linear or circular. It is important to note that pathways are observed on macro and micro levels. Pathways on the macro level are those that connect two "scenes" or mise-en-scénés, while pathways on the micro level occur at the level of a single formation. Choreography is a processual activity, which is achieved by constant changing of static and dynamic segments inside and between mise-en-scènes.

The term Mise-en-scène is used in various writings about the choreography of modern and classical dance but it is not clearly explained anywhere. Considering its usage in theatre and film, I find it very appropriate in analysing the spatial dimension in folk dance choreography. Here it could be defined as the aesthetic and harmonious arrangement of formations on the stage represented through single, completed scenes that occur at a certain moment, alongside the arrangements of other visual elements, such as costume, lighting, and scenography.

In choreography, single scenes are "fixed" positions of formations that occur at a certain moment. These are so called compositional points that, according to Arnheim, mark the phase of progress throughout which the viewer also builds the actual experience with the gradual addition of data [Arnheim 1998:243]. In such way changes of mise-en-scène create, if we use Arnheim words, the order in time, which is not merely subjective and arbitrary [Arnheim 1998:242].

Changes of mise-en-scène also changes the equilibrium centre. The transition between two different centres Arnheim called unstructured, but if it connects with a structure that precedes and follows it, then such a transition is meaningful [Arnheim 1998:243]. Speaking about the meaning of a single formation and its function, we can say that in a rural tradition formations were functionally determined by a ritual context and its significance. In social dance, formation has a social connotation. As Anca Giurchescu wrote "the modification of a dance formation is not only an external manifestation of the dance, but an essential transformation of its function as well" [Giurchescu 1995:84]. Opposed to the functional interdependence of formations in a traditional dance then and now, formations and mise-en-scènes in choreography of folk dance have primarily an aesthetic function.
The large variety of formations in the rural tradition in the Balkan area provides great possibilities for developing the spatial dimension of the choreographies toward their aesthetic and harmonious arrangements – *mise-en-sciènes*. However, professional choreographers, as well as theatre directors, have been constantly emphasising the importance of the meaning of single formation and, in a broader sense, *mise-en-scène*, in order to prevent its being on the stage without any meaning and relation to its content (see Klajn 1995; Laban 2002; Markard 1993). The meaning of every *mise-en-scène* and spatial composition in choreography, in general, could be considered using dance and music form analysis and their mutual relationship, which will be my next investigation in this topic.

**Graphical presentation of spatial composition**

Spatial composition could be represented graphically with floor plans according to the method of Rudolf Laban which was further developed by Albrecht Knust and Ann Hutchinson Guest. The standard shape for floor plans used to have slanted sides [Hutchinson 2005:435/13]. The performers’ position on stage is marked by pins, black (for male) and white (for female). A path across the floor is indicated on the floor plan by the use of an arrow that shows the progression from the starting point [Hutchinson 2005:159]. Indication of the number of performers, indication of couples in group formations and general group indications are also adopted. To coordinate floor plans with the music score, the appropriate music measure number is used below the floor plan. Floor plans which I used to represent a choreography of folk dance (Bajić Stojiljković 2012) are written from the point of view of the audience, so-called director’s plans [Hutchinson 2005:335].

**Spatial composition in the examples of the folk dance choreographies from Serbia**

Through four video examples of choreographies of folk dance from Serbia, which represent a key artistic achievement in different periods (1948, 1978, 1980, 2006), I present the system of analysing their spatial composition. Structural and formal analysis enables us to examine the development of spatial composition in the Serbian choreographed folk dance tradition from 1948 until the year 2006 (see Table 1). Selected choreographies belong to one choreographic genre that is a *Suite of song and dance*, which is introduced in the following examples:


<www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bevc 694FvRk> (2013 November 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suite of dances from Serbia, Author Olga Skovran</th>
<th>Dances from Stara planina, Author Dragomir Vuković</th>
<th>Dances from around Leskovac, Author Desanka Bordević</th>
<th>Dances from central Serbia, Author Milorad Lonić</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) 1948</td>
<td>(2) 1978</td>
<td>(3) 1980</td>
<td>(4) 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of scenes for each dance</td>
<td>Number of scenes for each dance</td>
<td>Number of scenes for each dance</td>
<td>Number of scenes for each dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-15</td>
<td>4-18</td>
<td>2-14</td>
<td>4-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completed scenes for each dance of the Suite</td>
<td>completed scenes for each dance of the Suite</td>
<td>completed scenes for each dance of the Suite</td>
<td>completed scenes for each dance of the Suite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Formations</td>
<td>(1) Formations</td>
<td>(1) Formations</td>
<td>(1) Formations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grouping of dancers</td>
<td>Grouping of dancers</td>
<td>Grouping of dancers</td>
<td>Grouping of dancers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twos, threes, fours, group of five, six, ten, eighteen and twenty</td>
<td>one, twos, threes, group of four, six, sixteen</td>
<td>group of five, ten and twenty</td>
<td>one, twos, group of four, eight, sixteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Number of dancers</td>
<td>2. Number of dancers</td>
<td>2. Number of dancers</td>
<td>2. Number of dancers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed, female, male</td>
<td>female, male, mixed</td>
<td>female, male, mixed</td>
<td>female, male, mixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one and two semi-circles, one or two circles, one and two lines</td>
<td>one, two and more lines, circle, semi-circle, one and more points</td>
<td>one and two semi-circles, one and two circles, circle in a circle, one to four lines</td>
<td>two to eight lines, circle, one and two semi-circles, point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Reciprocal body orientation of dancers</td>
<td>5. Reciprocal body orientation of dancers</td>
<td>5. Reciprocal body orientation of dancers</td>
<td>5. Reciprocal body orientation of dancers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side-by-side, face-to-face, face-to-back</td>
<td>side-by-side, face-to-face, face-to-back</td>
<td>side-by-side, face-to-face, face-to-back</td>
<td>side-by-side, face-to-face, face-to-back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by the shoulders (male), by hands up, hands down, under hands, crossed in front of the belt</td>
<td>by hands up, hands down, crossed in front of the belt, crossed behind hands, by shoulders, free</td>
<td>by hands up, by hands crossed in front of the belt, by hands down</td>
<td>by hands up, by hands down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Static (S) / Dynamic (D) formations</td>
<td>Static (S) / Dynamic (D) formations</td>
<td>Static (S) / Dynamic (D) formations</td>
<td>Static (S) / Dynamic (D) formations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular changing of S and D formations; D are in transition (pathways)</td>
<td>regular changing of S and D formations; D are mainly in transition, achieved by moving a particular formation in space (turns, forward, backward)</td>
<td>regular changing of S and D formations; D are mainly in transition, achieved by moving a particular formation in space (e.g. circular pathway)</td>
<td>regular changing of S and D formations; D are in transition and inside the formation (moving forward and backward)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythm of changing formations</td>
<td>Rhythm of changing formations</td>
<td>Rhythm of changing formations</td>
<td>Rhythm of changing formations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for every 8 up to 80 bars</td>
<td>for every 4 up to 24 bars</td>
<td>for every 4 up to 16 bars</td>
<td>mostly for every 2 or 4 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship with music</td>
<td>Relationship with music</td>
<td>Relationship with music</td>
<td>Relationship with music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes of formations are congruent with music sections or phrases. Also, when dance and music phrase are not congruent, spatially and visually they are.</td>
<td>Changes of formations are congruent with music sections or phrases. Sometimes formations anticipate changes of music.</td>
<td>Changes of formations are congruent with music sections or phrases. When dance and music phrase are not congruent, music is of secondary importance compared to mise-en-scene.</td>
<td>Changes of formations are congruent with music sections or phrases.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Pathways on micro level                       | Pathways on micro level                       | Pathways on micro level                       | Pathways on micro level                       |
| circular, straight                            | curved, circular, straight                    | circular, straight                            | curved, circular, straight                    |
| II. Pathways on macro level                  | II. Pathways on macro level                  | II. Pathways on macro level                  | II. Pathways on macro level                  |
| mostly circular                               | mostly curved                                 | mostly circular                               | mostly straight                              |

Table 1: Structural analysis of spatial composition of folk dance choreography
**Conclusion**

Summarising the results, some common characteristics can be singled out. Structurally, spatial composition, based on *mise-en-scènes*, formations and pathways show many similarities. *Mise-en-scènes* in all four examples are completed scenes with aesthetic and harmonious arrangement of formations in each dance inside the suite. There is regular changing of static and dynamic segments with curved, circular, and straight pathways. Changes of *mise-en-scènes* are mostly congruent with the music. *Mise-en-scène* is a connecting factor between different dances in a suite. Inside single *mise-en-scène* there are a variety of formations, but structurally they can be analysed through the parameters:

- **Grouping**: from solo to the group of thirty-two dancers,
- **Number**: depends on the number of dancers in the ensemble, often numerous,
- **Gender**: both women and men dancers,
- **Geometric configuration**: prevalence of semi- and closed circle, lines,
- **Reciprocal body orientation**: side-by-side, face-to-face, face-to-back,
- **Connections between dancers**: by hands down, by hands crossed in front/back, with the belt.

Differences between those four choreographies are the consequences of the individual creation of an author. These are especially on the level of the grouping and number of dancers, their connections, which depend on the region, and the order of using selected geometric configurations. Generally, there is almost no difference at the structural level between those four examples from different periods, as well as between other examples of choreographies I have analysed. But, the crucial role in observing differences in their spatial compositions is the rhythm of changing static and dynamic segments according to dance and music relations. It depends on the author, but, generally speaking, older choreographies have slow or very slow rhythm of changing *mise-en-scènes*. As we approach the present time period their dynamism is reinforced, although their spatial compositions structurally remained almost the same as in the decade after World War II.

**Endnotes**

* Original title in the Symposium programme "Choreography of folk dances from Serbia: dance, place and stage".
1. My theoretical observations for this paper form part of my ongoing PhD research in ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology (at the Faculty of Music, Belgrade), which focuses on stage presentation of Serbian traditional dance.
2. The term "formation" appears in the Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology from the year 1972 but it was not defined. In the 1974 *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* the term group formation was used where it was described as circle, line, or couple (*IFMC Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 1974:122).
3. *Mise-en-scène* is a French term and originates in the theatre. It means, literally, "put in the scene." Considering *Mise-en-scène* theatre director Hugo Klajn defined it in his book *Osnovni problemi režije* [Basic problems of directing] as "the arrangement of people and objects in the scene and all you need to come to this arrangement: that is, mutual relation between persons and things and their movement, that is, actions that achieve a position or changing" [Klajn 1995:142]. The term is used also in film. According to Robert Kolker, "for film, it (*Mise-en-scène*) has a broader meaning, and refers to almost everything that goes into the composition of the shot, including the composition itself: framing, movement of the camera and characters, lighting, set design and general visual environment, even sound as it helps elaborate the composition" (Robert Kolker, "Film form and culture" <http://userpages.umbe.edu/~landon//Local_

4. Working on the genre categories of choreography of folk dance in the Serbian choreographed dance tradition, I examine three of them, these being suites of songs and dances, dramatisations and variations. Here, I focused on one genre suites of songs and dances because of its prevalence in the Serbian choreographed folk dance tradition.

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Markard, Anna.

Nahachewsky, Andriy.

Nosál', Štefan.

Williams, Drid.
This paper concerns a German village festival that takes place every 10 years. It examines how the places in which dancing occurs during this multi-day event have changed over time (1910–2010) and what impact those changes have had on the dancing, which is an integral part of the Plantanz [dance on the village place] in Herbstadt, Germany. Although the festival is named for the dancing which occurs outdoors by a special tree, traditionally dancing also occurs in the local inn and at the homes of specific people who hold special roles in the village (priest, mayor, teacher). The paper also addresses the interplay of various forces affecting the Herbstadt community and their impact on this important community festival, including the negative impact of the most recent building renovation on the space for dancing in the community inn. This paper is based on the author's recent field work at the 2010 Plantanz in Herbstadt and her earlier fieldwork and research into Herbstadt's dance events from 1910–1984, originally carried out for her Masters Thesis.

**Keywords**: Germany; festival; space; place; round dances

This paper bridges the two themes of place and festival in that it focuses on a village festival or celebration known as a Plantanz [dance on the place]. The specific focus of this presentation will be the changing places where dancing has occurred within this event over a time period from 1910 to 2010. It draws in part on my Master's thesis, which examined continuity and change in the dance events of two villages in the Lower-Franconian region of Germany, both of which hold Plan-dances. Unlike the other village in that study (which celebrates its Plantanz annually in the same outdoor location around a living tree), Herbstadt holds a Plantanz every 10 years. I studied the Herbstadt event through interviews and photographs from 1910-1980 as part of my thesis and have continued to follow it remotely through video and informal conversations since then. In 2010 I was finally able to participate and observe the entire event in person. After a brief discussion of Plan-dances, I will provide an overview of the Herbstadt event and then focus on place and dance within this event, providing a one hundred year perspective on how it has changed.

**Plantanz**

According to a German dictionary published in 1889, the term Plantanz refers to a "dance on a village-place" generally "around the Plan- or Platzbaum [place; space-tree]", which was a symbol of the Kirchweih [annual church-festival]. The same work also gives several definitions of the term Plan itself. The meanings pertinent here are "the public place in a locality, the church-marketplace" or a "Tanzplatz [dance space] chiefly outdoors)". Other commentators also describe the Plan as an even or flat space. Further, in her paper focused on ritual and dance in the Gochsheimer Plantanz at our symposium in Poland, Marianne Bröcker noted that "usually this place is located in the middle of the village, in most cases directly across from the church, and in some villages where the 'plan' still exists, it is characterised by a tree in the centre" [Bröcker 1994:41]. She notes further that "...in some regions..., the performance of the 'Plantanz' is called "march into the linden", or "to go into the linden" [Wilz 1928 cited in Bröcker 1994:41].
The hill in the centre of Herbstadt on which the church, community inn (formerly the Rathaus or town hall) and school were built in the early 1600s is referred to as the Lindenhugl or Linden Hill, and there is in fact a Linden tree in the centre of the grassy area across from the church entrance. Whether or not this area was the original Plan in earlier centuries remains unknown, however it is clear that the Planbaum or Plan-tree that is the focus of activities during the event was not set up in this area during the period between 1900 and 1960, but rather below the hill, across the street from the community inn which is built partly into the side of the hill. The young dancing pairs (Planpaare) would gather in the street between the inn and the Plan-tree erected for the occasion to dance at least one dance-tour even if the weather was too bad (cold and/or snowy) to allow for dancing outside. It was not until 1970 that the Plan-tree placement was moved to the top of the hill on a sloped area next to the inn.

There are three main places where dancing has occurred during a Plantanz in Herbstadt:

1) Outside near the Planbaum [Plan-tree];
2) At the homes of village dignitaries (in the past the mayor, priest, school teacher) and of the Planmadl/Plan-girls (either in the courtyard or in the street next to their home);
3) Inside the community inn.

Before discussing these places further, I would like to give you a brief overview of the event as a whole.

Figure 1. (From left to right) Herbstadt community inn, tall Plan-tree, church.
(Photograph: Anne von Bibra Wharton, 2010)

(Note: During the presentation of this paper, a power point was then shown featuring photographs primarily from the 2010 event along with copies of photographs from earlier years, accompanied by narration, some of which is included in the text below).
Overview of Plantanz schedule in 2010
Thursday
-Unbury the "Kirmes" 4

Friday
-Bring Plan-tree to village
-Set up tree
-Dance or gathering in village inn's dance-hall
-Planbursche [Plan-lads] guard the tree overnight

Saturday
-Planpaare [Plan-couples] visit homes of mayor and priest to present a cake and dance a "tour of honour". They also visit homes of village council members, and so on and dance in courtyards or streets.
-Plan-couples perform dances in dance-hall of the community inn followed by a public dance

Sunday
-Church service
-Honouring fallen soldiers
-Kirchweihpredigt [Kirchweih-sermon]
-Dance in the inn

Monday
-Planpaare procession, presenting bouquet and dance of honour to each Plan-girl
-Göglerschlag and dance for the winner
-Evening dance in the dance-hall of the inn
-Kirmesbeerdigung [Kirchweih burial at midnight]

Figure 2. On Monday a Plan-lad dances with his partner in the courtyard of her home while others watch.
The wagon in the background holds the "Kirmes" (bottle of Asbach liqueur).
(Photograph: Anne von Bibra Wharton, 2010)
Dancing on the Plan

The Plan-tree has been moved from below the hill across the street from the community inn to a slanted area on top of the hill, next to the inn. Over time the street surface has gone from dirt/mud to gravel to asphalt; in 2000 the couples danced a traditional Franconian Tour in the street area in between the church and a living linden tree (rather than next to the erected Plan-tree).

Dancing at homes of dignitaries and Plan-girls

As one could see in some of the photographs (see Figure 2 for example), the place available for dancing in the second category (private homes of dignitaries and Plan-girls) varies quite a bit in terms of size, shape and dance surface.

The community inn Schwarze Adler

It is in the indoor dancing that the most changes have occurred in the place for dancing between 1910–2010. While the Gemeindewirtschaft [community inn] has been the site of the village's main dance events, including the Plantanz, from at least 1915, since that time three or four remodeling projects have been undertaken, with significant implications for the space for dancing.

At the time of the 1910 Plantanz, dancing in the community inn took place downstairs on the ground floor in a multipurpose room. At that time the village organist used the upper story for storage and there was also a side room that was used as sleeping accommodation for traveling apprentices who spent time in the village. In 1919–1920, the upper story was remodeled in order to create a Tanzsaal or dance hall, although the smaller side room remained.5

In the 1960s another renovation involved removing one wall of the former apprentice's room, which had become the village's communal television room during a time when family television sets were beyond the reach of most, if not all, inhabitants. Removing that wall created a space where tables with benches could be set up in the dance hall. Prior to that time only benches lined the sidewalls, barely encroaching on the...
dance floor space. The men would stand in the middle of the floor, perhaps holding a beer stein and talking and drinking in between dances and during band breaks. When they asked a woman to dance, they would place their drink mug on her bench seat for the duration of the dance (Bibra 1987).

By the mid-1970s, a narrow table had been added behind a bench on one wall where the young men sat or stood and set their drinks on the table. The young girls/women sat on a bench along the opposite wall while the parents and other older people sat at tables and chairs on the other ends of the room where the floor is slightly raised.6

The dance-hall was renovated again just prior to the 1980 Plantanz, although it is unclear exactly what changes were made at that time. One change was the replacement of wooden floor boards with a wooden parquet floor.

Figure 4. Diagramme of the dance hall floor plan in 1984 (Bibra 1987)

The most recent changes to the indoor dance space

The most recent changes were made between 2003 and 2005, when renovations were undertaken to repair two outer walls and also redo the roof on this building. The changes made at this time have had a big impact on the space available for dancing.7 Several wooden posts were added in the middle of the room, breaking up the dance floor in a way that it had not been for at least thirty years (and perhaps more). Watching the Plan-couples performing a Polonaise there in 1990 versus 2010 highlights the difference. Whereas in 1980 and 1990 there was room for lines of eight across to form before the winding in and out begins, in 2010 that was impossible.8

The combination of these posts and additional tables and chairs that extend into the room9 has reduced the size of the dance floor significantly and created a narrow rectangle between six posts, in contrast to previous years where a more open, almost square space for dancing allowed for doing a typical round dance which travels counterclockwise around the space, such as the waltz.10 (See Figure 5 below).
Addition of posts: reasons and ramifications

When I first heard about these changes to the dance place, I was told that someone had seen in an old photograph that there used to be posts in the room, so when the renovations were made to repair the roof, they had to go back and change it because the Bayerische Landesamt für Denkmalpflege (Bavarian State Office for the Preservation of Monuments) insisted on it (Eberhardt 2010). I found it ironic and puzzling that an organisation dedicated to the care and preservation of "monuments" and other forms of historical preservation should be responsible for changes that made the dance place less useful and indeed problematic for the carrying out of an intangible tradition – the Plan-couples dancing their honourary dance tour during this special event.

Rather than considering the way the dance hall was or would be used and the role it plays in the carrying out of important community traditions such as the Plantanz, it seems priority was given to restoring the space to an arbitrary set up from a specific point in time, even though the community had gone to pains and expense in more recent times (thirty to forty years earlier) to open up the space to create a larger dance place.

In an interview in 2012, the Mayor of Herbstadt noted that people in the community complained a lot about the posts being added, but his view was that "no one has run into them yet" so it is not really a problem (Rath 2012). However, I think the posts are even more problematic now than they would have been originally when tables and chairs were not standard for dance halls in the way they have become today. In the new configuration of the place, little to no space remains between the centre posts and tables to dance around, making it nearly impossible to dance a traditional Franconian "tour" of round dances such as the Walzer, Rheinländer, Schottische or Dreher in this room. While most of those dances are no longer part of the standard dance programme in Herbstadt today (as they were in the 1950s), it has not been that long since the Walzer was a part of the dance repertoire known and danced by almost everyone. If a Franconian dance evening was ever reintroduced in this community, it is doubtful the dance hall in the community...
inn would make a suitable venue. At the same time I must admit that it worked fine for some of the newer additions to the dance repertoire, such as a line dance similar to the Electric Slide. Fox, the most prevalent couple dance both now and in the last several decades, also worked fine in the newly renovated space because it is done primarily on the spot or only moving a little, rather than traveling around the dance floor in a circular, counterclockwise direction as the older round dance repertoire does.

**Conclusion**

The challenges currently facing village inns have been noted by scholars as well as community members and village authorities such as the current Mayor of Herbstadt (Rath 2012, Speckle 2003). My own study of continuity and change in the dance events of the region during the twentieth century found that inns with small dance floors had been particularly challenged by post World War II changes in dance events due to the fact that they cannot accommodate a large enough crowd to cover the expense of hiring one of the more popular bands and yet, without such bands, they have difficulty attracting enough patrons to their dance events (Bibra 1987) and this continues to be an issue.

The decision to return to an earlier style of dance hall set up (through the reintroduction of posts in the centre of the room) may well exacerbate this problem. Such a decision places more value on the physical set up and adherence to a particular point in time than to the expression of the village's intangible heritage, particularly through a special event that only occurs every 10 years: the Herbstadt Plantanz.13

(The presentation concluded with a brief video montage of the dances performed by the Plan-couples on Saturday evening as part of their "Tour of Honour" in 2010: Polonaise, Walzer, Bauernmadla, Fox, and a line dance. The video clips provided a clear example of the space restrictions.)

**Endnotes**

1. In Gochsheim (the other village) the dancing during the Plantanz takes place primarily around a living linden tree in the centre of the village (Bibra 1987).
2. Typically the Herbstadt Kirchweih takes place at Martini in November. In 2010 the young people planning the event opted to move the event to October in hopes of better weather (Lurz 2010).
3. The power point presented at this point in the presentation featured the author's photographs of the 2010 event as well as photographs from earlier years drawn from the photographic exhibit on display during the weekend which featured Plan-dance events from 1950–2000. It also included video clips of dancing outside a local dignitary's home and inside the community inn.
4. Kirmes is the local dialect term for Kirchweih, an annual church festival. Burying the "Kirmes" refers to burying a large bottle of Asbach liqueur that represents the Kirmes. Its burial at the edge of the village near a specific tree represents the official end of the Plankirmes.
5. A smaller room where Holy Communion was prepared also remained.
6. In writing about Lower-Franconian village inns between 1950–1970, Speckle notes that many inns had a dance hall on the upper floor, which can be seen as a forerunner to the multi-purpose and sport halls. The main social event was the yearly Kirchweih. The music danced to in the 1950s and [into]1960s was a mix of the "traditional dances- Dreher, Walzer, Schottischer and modern social dances like Twist, Cha-cha-cha, Tango, Foxtrott and Rock 'n Roll" [Speckle 2003: 52].
7. During this time the stairs leading up to the dance hall were broadened and made less steep which means that the staircase now extends further into the room. Earlier there was a doorway with swinging doors and it did not extend more than one meter into dance space. During the most recent renovation they also took out the musicians' podium (Eberhardt 2012).
8. At the Saturday evening dance in 2010, the large area taken up by the hired band’s sound and lighting equipment and tent-like area also encroached significantly on the available space for the dance tour by the Plan-couples.

9. Tables and chairs are now set up perpendicular to the wall whereas earlier the tables and chairs were turned sideways along the wall so that they left a large open area in the centre.

10. In fact, in the late 1980s and first half of the 1990s, Franconian dance evenings were held in this space. They featured primarily the typical Franconian round dances along with some figure dances that include round dance sections.

11. I should also note that because the Denkmalpflege organisation provides subsidies to help with restoration and preservation building projects, they typically "call the shots" even if they are only paying a portion of the costs. It is not clear to me whether or not the community really had the option of not putting the posts in once the Denkmalpflege directed them to, nor is it clear to what extent, if any, the village administration attempted to argue with them against this course of action.

12. The author believes the Bayerische Landesamt für Denkmalpflege should consider giving more weight and consideration to intangible cultural heritage and to creating and/or supporting spaces that can be used by the communities in continuing important community events such as the Herbstadter Plantanz.

13. As a postscript, I must admit that the situation turned out to be less straightforward than I originally thought, as I recently learned. It turns out that there was an additional rationale for the restoration of the posts. According to the mayor (Rath 2012), the measures originally taken to suspend the ceiling and support the roof in other ways in order to open up the space in the dance hall had led to a situation where over time the roof had shifted somewhat so that more weight was placed on one wall, causing it to fail or at the very least need repair. At this point I do not know enough about it to weigh all the pros and cons, but I still cannot help but regret the reintroduction of the posts into the dance hall space.

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2012. Informal interview by Anne von Bibra in Bad Königshofen, July 16.


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Athens, Greece

FROM HUMAN VOICE TO MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. CHANGES IN POETIC AND MELODIC IDENTITY COMPONENTS IN THE COMMUNITY OF VATHYLAKKOS, KARDITSA

In its primary versions, folk dance forms part of an act-event and consists of the following triptych: movement, music and poetic composition. In the mountain area of Karditsa, and more concretely, in the community of Vathylakkos, the inhabitants were those who would determinate the composition and the use of the above three elements. The aim of the present essay is to designate said particularity and to delimit the time frame within which that fact was observed, as well as to observe its evolution and the reasons that led to changes in the way of performing dance. Data collection was made on the basis of ethnographic method. During the 1960s, musical instruments replaced the voice of the inhabitants and there was a variety of factors that contributed to that differentiation. These two different dancing expressions collide and coexist, creating a beautiful mixture in their dancing representations and repertoire.

Keywords: Greece; dance; music; changes; society; representation

Introduction

In its primary versions, folk dance forms part of an act-event and consists of the following triptych: movement, music and poetic composition. In the mountain area of Karditsa, and more concretely, in the community of Vathylakkos, the inhabitants are those who determinate the composition and use of the above three elements; they create the poetic composition and accompany their dances with melody. The aim of the essay is to designate the human factor, namely the dancer, who is the exclusive responsible executor of the threefold dance event, composed of movement, music, and poetic composition. Furthermore, the essay aims to delimit the time frame within which that fact was observed, as well as to observe its evolution and the reasons that led to changes in the way of performing at community dance events.

Data collection was made on the basis of ethnographic method, and data was obtained from primary as well as secondary sources (Sklar 1991; Buckland 1999; Robson 2007). As for the data analysis and interpretation, the Mendoza model was used. According to this model dance performance constitutes a crossroad of tradition and modernity, as well as a crossroad of local and national identity, in which various body practices of inhabitants constitute principal forming elements of the continuously changing experience [Mendoza 2000:240].

Vathylakkos: place and space

Vathylakkos is a small mountainous community that consists of almost 230 inhabitants, is located 42 kilometers away from the city of Karditsa, the capital of the homonymous prefecture (which is located in the centre of Greece), and belongs to the municipality of Sofades (See maps in Figures 1 and 2). Vathylakkos was annexed to Greece in 1881 and got its name in 1927 from the Greek word lakkos, which means fosse and vathys, and which in turn means deep and probably designates the location in which the community is placed [Pappas, 1995:322]. The previous name was Lakresi or Lakresion. The community seems to be from the seventeenth century [Pappas 1995:325]. The inhabitants are considered to be locals with few exceptions and they are mainly
engaged in livestock and less in farming, which means that Vathylakkos is a closed rural economy.

Figure 1. Map of Greece  
Figure 2. Map of Karditsa

Changes in poetic and melodic identity components and their influence in the dancing repertoire in the community of Vathylakkos

In the community of Vathylakkos, whether they were ritual dances or dances performed in feasts (panigiria), inhabitants would dance to the accompaniment of their own voices, musical instruments being totally absent. Dances were mixed (of both genders) and the dancers would sing, with men starting the song and women repeating the verse, a practice that would be followed and continued up to the end of the dance process.

During the late 1950s, and mostly during the 1960s, musical instruments made their appearance in the region, and they gradually replaced the voice of the inhabitants. There was a variety of factors that contributed to that differentiation. First, the interaction of the community with other communities affected the way they were singing and dancing. During the foresaid period (1950s and 1960s) a great number of people of the community of Vathylakkos, started to associate with other communities, due to advancement in technology and marriages that were held between people of Vathylakkos and other communities. Due to these factors, the people of Vathylakkos were introduced to a different way of entertainment that slowly became a part of their own entertainment, and they started to introduce musical instruments to their own ritual dances or dances performed at feasts (panigiria).

Another factor was the change of entertainment habits among young people. Many young people at that period started to listen to other kinds of music, through radio and gramophone. They got used to listening to musical instruments and they started to be fond of this new form of entertainment. So, they wanted to abandon the "old way" and introduce a musical way to their entertainment, and, as a result, musical instruments also made their entrance to ritual dances or dances performed at feasts (panigiria).

Furthermore the difficulty and tiredness produced by dancing and singing at the same time seems to be an important factor. It is a fact that singing and dancing at the same time can be very tiring and difficult. For this reason, people of Vathylakkos decided to quit singing and replace it with musical instruments. So, they could dance more and get less tired; that was more practical for them. From the above it can be concluded that practical reasons led to this change.

Finally, the intense urbanisation observed at that period within the Hellenic territory was an important factor of change. During the period of the 1960s intense urbanisation made its appearance. Meraklis observed this massive wave of urbanisation and mentions that this urbanisation of the rural population started during the post-war period (1945 and after) and occurred in developed or developing countries [Meraklis 1984:66]. This fact
has contributed to the formation of a new human type: the *homo urbanus*, and it was more intense in the mountainous area of Thessaly, where Karditsa and Vathylakkos are located. This fact inevitably affected the community of Vathylakkos. Many people abandoned the community, in search of a better life in the cities. According to the people of Vathylakkos and other sources the people from the community emigrated to other countries such as Germany, Australia, and U.S.A., but also to the big cities of Greece, such as Athens and finally to the neighbour city of Karditsa [Pappas 1995:323–324]. So, they started to communicate with other people from other cities or communities, with different ways of entertainment and, in general, with other cultural backgrounds. This new way of entertainment affected their way of singing and dancing. Therefore, they preferred to quit singing and replace voices with musical instruments; they danced only to the ritual dances or dances performed at feasts (*panigiria*).

**Conclusions**

From the above, it is clearly observed that the triptych of dance is no longer performed by only the inhabitants performing as dancers-singers, but one of its componential elements, music, has ceded to the folk music instrument players. The foresaid period was meant to be the landmark for the dance events in Vathylakkos, and it was marked by profound and serious changes in the dancing representations and cultural expressions within the community of Vathylakkos.

After that period, dancers were not the only communicants of the dance events. Now a new group appears that cooperates and participates with the "dominant" dancers, the group of musicians. Therefore, nowadays, many dances are either accompanied by musical instruments or are no longer danced, because the new generation is no longer fond of those types of dances. Furthermore it is observed that the new generation prefers dances from neighbouring communities (mainly mountainous), from the plains area of Karditsa, or other regions, such as Epirus and Peloponnese, which are regions that have common dancing forms. Nevertheless, older inhabitants of the community – in contrast to the new generation – are fond of dances performed with voice accompaniment. This fact reflects their dance practices up to the present time and they prefer dances that are not danced in other communities or outside their mountainous area.

These different generations (not only) show the great cultural and dancing changes that were observed in the community of Vathyllakos, but also reflect two different ways of entertainment: the "old" one, with the absence of musical instruments and the "new" one with the presence of musical instruments and the enlargement of the dancing repertoire by other communities or regions. These two different dancing expressions collide and coexist, creating a beautiful mixture in their dancing representations and repertoire.

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What are the conditions for the continuity or discontinuity of a dance performance embodied by a population from a specific place, and by the same population, but in a diaspora context? On Croatia's Adriatic coastal island of Korčula, there exist two types of sword dances that are performed only by those in their respective town (a double-sword dance, Moreška) or villages (a single-sword dance, Kumpanjija). Although the sword dance performances were practised and highly esteemed by the emigrant populations, why might they not continue in a diaspora context? What were the factors that brought about discontinuity in the North and South American contexts, while the same sword dances continue in their source town and villages and one continues in the Australian diaspora? With six diaspora examples in the Americas and Australia, this paper discusses and identifies some of the contributing factors.

Keywords: Croatia (Korčula island); Americas (Chile, California); Australia; swords; diaspora

On Croatia's Adriatic coastal island of Korčula (Figure 1 map), there exist two types of sword dances that are performed only by those born to families from their respective town or villages. These are dances that are embodied in a specific place. Korčula island is unique for its continuity of sword dances since at least the seventeenth century in both the walled city of Korčula and in the oldest five villages on the island. Except for a small neighbouring island, Lastovo, and with a smaller population, no other island or territory in Croatia has a known long-term continuity of dancing with swords.

Figure 1. Map of Croatia, showing Adriatic Sea and Korčula island

Traditionally Moreška is performed by men from artisan families in the town of Korčula. (See Figure 2 showing Moreška with two-swords).
The Kumpanjija (with a single sword) is performed by men who were predominantly wine and olive oil producers; the village identity is related to a strong sense of patrilineal relationships, and the men do not learn the sword dances of neighbouring villages, nor the mock battle dance from Korčula town. There is a strong sense of one's identity to place, which is recognised by the sword dances that are performed in one's own place.

My research with diaspora communities in North and South America uncovered the performance of Moreška – in Chile and in California (United States) by late nineteenth and turn-of-the-century emigrants from Korčula town. In Australia the Kumpanjija sword dance was performed by emigrants from two of Korčula's villages (Blato and Čara) in the mid- and later twentieth century. Of the diaspora sites with sword dances, there remains only one continuity – the Kumpanjija from Blato – by second and third generation descendants who perform their sword dance up to the present time. What are the factors that bring about discontinuity or continuity in the diaspora context, while the same sword dances have century-long continuities in the source places – in Korčula's town or villages? With six diaspora examples in different parts of the world, is there a pattern of factors?

In contrast to the socially performed dances with male/female couples, such as the nineteenth century waltzes, polkas, and twentieth century fashionable dances that are not formally learned, and are danced somewhat spontaneously at social dance occasions, the sword dances are fixed in patterns and presentational in form. That is, they are meant to be performed on special dates, to a local audience that watches and evaluates how well the men execute the coordinated movements as a group (see Figure 3 for Kumpanjija group in Čara and Figure 4 for Kumpanjija group in Blato).
Figure 3. Kumpanjija dancers with a single sword in Čara village
(Photograph by E. Dunin, 2012)

Figure 4. Kumpanjija dancers in Blato village with a single sword.
(Photograph by E. Dunin, 2011)
The transmission of the movement knowledge is by highly experienced dancers who have had leadership roles as one of the kings (in the Moreška), or as a captain or other hierarchal military role in the Kumpanjija. The movements are practised over several weeks – usually a two-month period of two to three meetings per week. The body movements and footwork are expected to be uniform with each other, and the sword clashes in Moreška are learned precisely, so as not to cause injury. The newly trained youth (about age 16) who is accepted into the Moreška or Kumpanjija group is highly esteemed by the local families for his participation.

**Diaspora**

Historically, in an almost 400-year period the island was under Venetian rule, but the island population retained its autonomy and Croatian language. Due to frequent piracy attacks until the eighteenth century, Korčula town as a seacoast port servicing Venetian merchant and war ships was necessarily fortified. The villages in the centre of the island were out of seaside view, but maintained high elevation lookouts to the sea. After the fall of Venice to Napoleon's French forces, there was another period of short-term non-Croatian rulers (1797–1805), the first Austrian Habsburg rule for eight years; 1805–1813 Napoleon's France; short period of under two years 1813–1815 of the English, and then the rest of the nineteenth century until the end of World War One 1815–1918 under Austrian administration. After World War I, Korčula island was under Italian occupation in a four-year period 1918–1921, and after that was annexed to Croatia and its twentieth century period within the Kingdom (Serbian monarchy) of Yugoslavia 1921–1941, suffered occupying armies during World War II, followed by the Federated Socialist Yugoslavia rule 1944–1991.

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<th>period</th>
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<tr>
<td>1420-1797</td>
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<td>1797-1805</td>
<td>Austrian Habsburgs</td>
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<td>1918-1921</td>
<td>Italian occupation</td>
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<td>1921-1941</td>
<td>Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Serbian monarchy)</td>
<td>Americas; Australia</td>
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<td>1941-1944</td>
<td>World War Two</td>
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<td>1944-1991</td>
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I note these periods because the earliest record of the Moreška sword dancing on Korčula island appears during the seventeenth century while Korčula was under rotating Venetian governors [Ivančević 1976:61]. The multi-waves of emigration began during the Austrian period of the late nineteenth century and resumed after the First World War and a short period of Italian occupation. But then major waves of emigration of Croatians in general as post-World-War-II displaced persons, followed by internal political pressures of the 1950s, followed by economic pressures during the 1960s. Although not discussed here, we see multiple emigration purposes. The study focuses on the populations from an island town and villages that remain culturally endogamous, against a background of changing national identities and changing rationales for emigration.
Dancing Moriscaška in the Americas

From the town of Korčula, a major wave of emigration occurred in the late nineteenth century, to South and North America – Chile and California. The sword battle dance "Morisca: la danza de espadas" was performed to welcome the twentieth century, on January 1, 1901 in Punta Arenas, a city in the most southern continental point of Chile. The performers had to have been all from Korčula town, since no one performed the dance from any other place on Korčula. The leader, M. Depolo, who played the role of the Black King was from a family of Moriska performers. However, by 1986, two generations later, when I interviewed Depolo family members in Punta Arenas, no one knew about a Moriska performed by their grandparents or ancestors. In addition, I noted in the 1980s that non-Korčula women were intermarried with the immigrant descendants. There was no living memory of the dancing or of the importance of the dancing to the Depolo ancestry, except for a newspaper clipping (3 January, 1901). Twenty years later, 2006, a glass photographic negative was uncovered in an old house in the town of Korčula, showing a Moriska group with a logo of the Sociedad Austriaca de S.M. in the year 1900. Although the performers would have used the Croatian language in the Moriska performance, they were registered as Austriacos (Austrians) in Chile and in the Spanish-language newspaper article as members of the Austro-Hungarian community.

In California, 1903, a Moreška was performed in San Francisco, and led by G. Depolo. In the neighbouring city of Oakland in California, another group performed Moreška in 1914. Based on surnames, most of the Oakland performers were from the town of Korčula. Very little is known about the San Francisco performances (except for a posed photograph taken in 1903). The 1914 Moreška was made up of a group of men who were members of the gymnastic Sokol Society and led by A. Depolo. Men having a Korčula town-based Depolo surname led the three Moreška groups, but these men were not directly related to each other. Although there was a female "bula" (in the performance) with the Oakland group, I was told by my resource person from Korčula, that there was no Croatian dialogue when performing for a non-Croatian public [Batistich 1974:interview]. Both the Chilean and California performances occurred during the Austrian period when the immigrants in Chile were referred to as Austriacos, and in California as Austrians and Slavonians (an Italian Venetian term for Croatian language speakers from the Adriatic coast). Although a Croatian-speaking population, the passports were issued from Austria-Hungary. A major purpose of many late-nineteenth century immigrants to California was to earn money (that is, to find gold) and to return to place. However, many more began families with women who were not from their place of emigration.

Both the California groups and the group in Chile discontinued their Moreška performances. There was a depletion of performers in Punta Arenas due to several Korčulani men migrating elsewhere in Chile, and those in California could not afford to lose work time to continue rehearsing and performing for a planned tour outside of Oakland [Batistich 1974:interview]. Non-Korčula young males were not encouraged or sought after to learn the sword movements. In addition:

The Korčula Moreška families in the Americas were no longer connected by occupation (such as carpentry and blacksmithing for shipbuilding), by religious brotherhoods, or by intermarriage. Therefore they were not economically or socially inter-related as they were in their town. The Korčula Moreška no longer fulfilled a social role nor
emotional need, to be performed among themselves and other immigrants" in Chile nor in California [Dunin 2002:202].

**Australia**

In Australia, the Kumpanjija (referring to the single-sword dance) arrives with a later emigration wave from Korčula. The Kumpanjija from Blato maintained the most active and longest continuity in Australia, while the Kumpanjija sword dance of Čara village was performed only 1979–1980 in Sydney. The Čara men had arrived in a wave of immigration in the 1960s. Of the twelve who practised and performed in 1979, at least seven of these dancers with families migrated back to their Čara village during the 1980s, so that the Čara Kumpanjija did not continue in Australia [Laus 2012:interview].

In contrast to the three Moreška groups in the Americas from the town of Korčula at the turn of the century, the Blato Kumpanjija comes to Australia with later waves of immigration to different parts of Australia. The first record of a Kumpanjija is located in Sydney in the 1930s [Bačić Grlica 1982:196], then in a mining town, Broken Hill of New South Wales in 1941 [Šeparović 1982:189]; a Kumpanjija group in the city of Perth in Western Australia in 1946 [Šeparović 1982:187; Andrich 2012:email interview]. (See Figure 5 of group in Perth).

![Figure 5. Kumpanjija dancers in Perth, Australia, 1946](Photograph scanned from Šeparović, 1982, page 189)

Based on ages in the 1930s and 1940s, the performers in these three sites would have been born prior to World War I, during the Austro-Hungarian period, would have lived through the post-War Italian occupation, and then departed for Australia in the 1930s during the Yugoslav Serbian monarchy period. Most of them would have embodied kumpanjija movements as young men in the place of Blato before emigration.

However, it is not only the embodied movement knowledge of the individuals, it is the traditional leadership roles for the practice and performance, and it appears that there was a captain [kapitan] leadership for each group. In the 1930s, a kapitan was responsible for the first Blato Kumpanjija in Sydney. His group toured major sites in Australia where there were other emigrants from Blato – in Broken Hill and Perth, so that he began a legacy of Kumpanjija in more than one city in Australia. In Perth for a 1946 performance of a Kumpanjija, its kapitan was born in 1910, and came to western Australia in 1936 [Andrich 2012:electronic communication]. A generation later, a kapitan (born 1928), was a leader/teacher in Sydney at the Dalmacija Club [Bosnich 2008:personal communication].
A core of some thirty families, originally from Korčula and principally from Blato, established the Dalmacija-Sydney Club in 1965, building a complex with several meeting and dining rooms, a small stage, gallery rooms, bocce bowling courts, basket-ball court, and a soccer field. The intention was not only to have a social site for the first-generation immigrants, but also a physical common site for the next generations of descendants. With the introduction of faster air travel between Croatia and Australia (instead of a month-long voyage by ship), many from Australia began to travel frequently to visit family in Blato, to attend special anniversary events, and while in Blato, to observe the organised Viteško Udruženje (V.U.) Kumpanjija group. The current president of the Dalmacija-Sydney Club was born in Blato, but came to Australia as a child, and learned to perform the Kumpanjija in Sydney. He organised the Kumpanjija with a second generation of youth from Blato families. A Kumpanjija kapitan in Blato, Mladen Lipovac was invited to teach/lead Kumpanjija for two and a half months in Sydney. Lipovac revealed that his teaching in Sydney was one of his most difficult experiences, because he did not know English, and the young men did not speak Croatian well enough, and also they had not been exposed to the Kumpanjija performances in Blato to understand what he was trying to teach [Lipovac 2009:interview].

After Lipovac's teaching/training in 1979, communication between this Dalmacija-Sydney Club and Blato in Korčula becomes more frequent. By 2004 we see the founding of the Blato Emigrant Diaspora Association with about 200 emigrants visiting Blato; then in 2005, in both Blato and Sydney, the fortieth anniversary of the Sydney-based Club is celebrated, along with commemorating the eightieth anniversary of a mass emigration of 1,100 persons from Blato that occurred in 1925. Then in 2006, the following year, the Kumpanjija group from the Dalmacija-Sydney Club traveled to Blato to perform in the home place of their parents and grandparents. In 2012, the Blato Kumpanjija continues to be performed in Sydney at the Dalmacija Club.

**Summarising overview of Korčula island sword dances in the diaspora**

Although there are no firm calculations, the island is heavily depleted of its population by emigration that begins in the middle of the nineteenth century and continues through the 1960s – about a hundred years. In this time period, the Moreška of Korčula town, and the Kumpanjija in Korčula's villages continues to be performed sporadically but frequently enough to have included young men, who are part of the emigration to the Americas or to Australia. In addition there are esteemed leader/teachers of Moreška or Kumpanjija who are included within this century-long period of emigration.

The externally introduced changes of governments, conflicts between political parties, experiences of occupying armies during World War II, influences of new educational systems, struggling economies, and introductions to new technologies, have not changed the steadfast internal pattern of endogamous families in the town and villages, so that neither the Moreška nor the Kumpanjija of their place was or is directly taught to the "outsider." The discontinuity of the Moreška groups in Chile and in California, and the discontinuity of the Čara Kumpanjija in Australia are partially due to an underlying patrilineal sense of exclusivity. But, the Kumpanjija of the Blato place was continued in its diaspora in Australia.

What are the factors, which most influenced the continuity of this dance on another continent? First of all, the population of Blato is the largest on the island. In 1925, the estimated population was 8,000. The 2011 census shows 3,600 in Blato, which is about a quarter of the island's population at 16,000. There was enough of a mass of emigrant families from one place into Australia, during the 1930s, 1950s, followed by the 1960s.
The families maintained their endogamous interrelationships, language, food ways, and "their" Kumpanjija. Another factor toward continuity was late twentieth century communication links, by telephone, internet, websites, capability of frequent travel for visitations (both directions) in contrast to earlier travel and slow postal mail by ships to Americas or to Australia. And there is direct observation of the continued Kumpanjija group in Blato during visitations as well as films and videocassette recordings (since the 1970s), and now with DVD and YouTube.

The endogamous patrilineal family continues its pattern of exclusivity of the sword dance groups on the island. A mass of adult males from Blato came to Australia with an already embodied experience; the movement knowledge was associated with an esteemed teacher/leadership role. The second and third generation descendants do not have that original emigrant experience, but the sense of a common birthplace of their parents and grandparents is continued through an institutionalised place (Dalmacija-Sydney Club), along with the expected teaching role of the Kumpanjija. From the large enough pool of Blato families who live in Sydney, who socialise and congregate at the Club, there are new Kumpanjija dancers and kapitan leaders, who will likely continue the Kumpanjija in Australia, but with the advantage of having continuing communication with extended family in Blato as well as observing and experiencing the continuing Kumpanjija in the place of Blato.

Endnotes
1. The island is the sixth largest of about one thousand along the Croatian Adriatic coast. From east to west it stretches 47 kilometres in length, while its north to south width is about 8 kilometres at its widest. The island's highest peaks range between 568 metres (1864 feet) and 510 metres (1670 feet) above sea level. In the centre, due to a mild climate, the island's fertile fields and terraced hillsides are devoted to grape and olive production.

2. A shortened example of Blato's Kumpanjija was shown on YouTube <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIgH2Bcf8zE> (accessed 2012 July 19).

3. Early fifteenth to late eighteenth century (1420–1797).


5. Čara village had a population in 1902 of about 600 with about 50 having departing for New Zealand in the late nineteenth century [Gjivoje 1969:164]. The 2011 population number of Čara (with its Zavalatica hamlet on the sea coast) still numbers about 600 [Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2011]

6. From Blato and neighboring Vela Luka in 1904, 1911, and 1925, about 3500 emigrants left for Brazil, Argentina, and some to the United States, Canada and other countries. In the last 10 years [1960s] emigration from Blato continued only to Australia with families numbering about 3000 persons, mainly younger. All together from Blato about 5000 persons, that is, equal to the total current population of Blato [Gjivoje 1969:164].

7. This group was led by Kumpanjija Kapitan Šeparović Krtolić Ivan, who led as a captain in Blato with a number of men, who had also emigrated to Sydney during the 1930s. They performed in Australian towns where there were other Blato emigrants, in Broken Hill, Perth, and possibly elsewhere (sites undocumented in Bačić Grlica 1982).

8. Exact year or dating not cited by Bačić Grlica 1982.

9. The 1940s performing was to raise money for the Red Cross during World War II.


11. A comprehensive book about Croatians in Australia by Mato Tkalčević 1992 lists institutionalised groups as well as dance groups, but there is no mention of the Kumpanjija from Korčula.


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When a dance is moved out of the confines of a studio onto a public stage, its meaning and style are adjusted to the audience's expectations. The case of flamenco dance in Japan, with its initial significance of gender critique, shows how it transforms rigidly when taken from women practitioners' local studio and stage to a national media level controlled by men. The television show *Gouwan Coaching* concerns competitions between coaches and their unskilled apprentices. One show features flamenco dance with two male instructors with two television hostesses. The producers' opting for these participants suggest a reconfirmation of Japanese norms concerning age, gender, and national identity; denying herewith the bodily discourse flamenco had for Japanese women practitioners. Moreover, with its emphasis on sight and spectacle, the broadcast revokes the cliché of the Japanese master imitator and rejects women's sounding creativity and contestation.

**Keywords**: Japan; flamenco; glocalisation; broadcasting; gender; virtues

### Introduction

Flamenco's emerging popularity in Japan in the 1980s coincided with major societal changes, which took hold on women's lives especially. Encouraged by Japan's booming economy and the implementation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law [Kelsky 2001:2], ever-increasing numbers of young women went abroad for study and work. They dreamt of liberating themselves from insular and outdated Japanese values on femininity, and searched an international space for self-expression and personal discovery, looking for a 'new self, ' and romantic freedom [Kelsky 2001:3–4]. The majority of flamenco dance apprentices I met during my field research in Tokyo in 2009–2010, who were then in their forties and beyond, had clearly belonged to this cohort of Japanese women (Ede 2013a, 2013b). Flamenco, which they encountered during their stay in the US or Europe, as well as on their return to Tokyo, seemed to serve their dreams well. Perceived as a proverbial dance of passion and emotional expression (Washabaugh 1996; Mitchell 1990, 1995), flamenco, turned into a global genre, offered them the cosmopolitan stage they had been looking for, and a bodily discourse with which they could contest 'traditional' Japanese notions of female behaviour and posture [Rosenberger 2001:127].

However, the stage on which to present their new sense of Self to a wider audience was not for all to conquer. Most Japanese flamenco apprentices were only to express their passion within the confines of the studio, except for the yearly *happiokai* (studio presentations) at one of Tokyo's bigger theatre halls or smaller *tablao*s. But at these performances already they risked to be silenced – literally, as when their head instructor would decide to make their stomping inaudible in order to save her (thus her studio's) reputation as a knowledgeable *flamenca* in the presence of colleagues and future student intake [Ede 2014:154–171]. Her dependence on public opinion, in corridor chats and media, as a professional and studio owner, resonates the dilemma women returning from abroad have been confronted with when repositioning themselves between corporate and family life, between self-expression and social expectation, as Nancy Rosenberger eloquently describes in her *Gambling with virtue*. 

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**OUT OF HANDS, OUT OF FEET: JAPANESE FLAMENCO FROM STUDIO TO SCREEN**
Middle-aged women danced furiously just out of reach of the stage spots, as young women created new dance steps, never minding the spots that swooped over them. A few young women with babies milled around the edges practicing a dance step now and then so they wouldn't forget [Rosenberger 2001:125].

Flamenco dance in Japan is a woman's business. The very few male dancers, not opting for the more masculine flamenco guitar, cajón, or song, have been devoted enough to become dance professionals and studio owners, but they have remained a tiny minority against a 99% of female colleagues and women amateurs in studios and on local festival and competition stages. In the process of glocalisation, from a 'local' Spanish phenomenon into a global genre, flamenco's re-localisation, in particular Tokyo, has been in the hands, and feet, of its female adepts. However, as the sensitivity to public opinion of both Japanese apprentices and their head instructors, and the dilemmas cosmopolitan women encounter when back in Japanese society already suggest, once flamenco is brought out of its own scene into society at large, gender politics come into play again – to the detriment of women. The case presented here exemplifies how flamenco, domesticated by women, becomes stripped of its significance as contesting out-dated Japanese notions of femininity are presented on a 'local' national plane.

From studio to screen

In April 2006, TV Tokyo launched a reality show series named GOUWAN ('strong arm') Coaching that would run until September 2007. Each fortnightly broadcast presented two or more instructors who were to introduce one or two apprentices each in their skill from scratch, within a period of ten days. Camera footages covered the struggles of both teams during those ten days, cut with interviews with the instructors and 'emo-talks' by the apprentices. In the television studio, a panel consisting of the programme's male and female host, and invited guests, commented on these flashbacks in a run-up to the apprentices' final presentation in front of a jury, a TV studio audience, and the spectators. The appointed winner was not to be the apprentice who plodded through sweat and tears to learn the skill in such a (un-Japanese) short time, but – as the programme's name indicates - the 'strong arm', the coach, who was 'to make possible what seemed impossible', as the broadcast advertised. The instructor of the best performing apprentice was to receive the prize of ¥ 1,000,000 (some €8,000).

According to the TV Tokyo website, the programme was not offered to satellite broadcasters, but did reach about 70% of Japan's households via six broadcasting companies. It was scheduled on Monday evenings, at Japan's prime time from 20.54 to 21.54. During the seventeen months of the programme's running, a variety of skills passed in review: cooking, driving, memorising; sports such as golf, bowling and ice-skating; playing music instruments and dancing. Five dance genres got an episode: tap dance, classical ballet, and Hawaiian hula had preceded Spanish flamenco (half-way through the series, on November 13, 2006), to be followed by street dance several weeks later.

During my fieldwork in 2009, one of the instructors I befriended turned out to have been one of the two GOUWAN flamenco coaches. As he handed me a copy on DVD, he grinned saying: "I lost. I knew right from the start I would lose. But it didn't matter. I got all the publicity I needed. For free". Not willing to openly criticise the programme at risk of being accused of back-biting, he ignored my asking him how he knew this. As by chance I also had been acquainted with the other coach. He was an instructor at the
flamenco dance studio in Tokyo where I started my research. This coach never mentioned the programme.

Two men. The producers had chosen two male instructors out of a pool of foremost women to represent flamenco on national television; this was for a starter.

**Hiro and Mami**

Particularly the opting for Hiro as one of the *gouwan* is striking. Hiro is the partner in life and dance of Mami, Japan's most famous flamenco choreographer and head of one of the larger flamenco dance studios and dance companies in Tokyo. Mami started her studio in 1992, which Hiro, a former social worker, joined as an apprentice six years later. Although he soon became her major source of inspiration, with his fresh ideas to introduce flamenco at community centres, his love for *cante*, and his easy going attitude, it was common knowledge that even after their marriage Mami remained in charge. Mami (with her mother) retained a final say in public relations, administrative affairs, choreographies, intake of company dancers, programmes, tours, and careers.

In the programme, Hiro was saliently promoted from his mere secondary position to 'the man.' Mami, on the other hand, was left to encourage her husband and his apprentice, adding but an occasional comment to his instructions, watching, hand-clapping, joking. To all those in Japan's flamenco scene who know her, her now subservient role must have appeared outrageous. No doubt it had been of her doing that all related to her studio kept silent about this broadcast. The ¥ 1,000,000 award must have barely compensated for her swallowed pride in adjusting to what the producers presumably anticipated to be the average Japanese audience's expectation of a woman's position.

Actually, Mami is rendered the role of mother in GOUWAN. In the reflective 'emo-talks' of their assigned apprentice, she is almost excessively thanked for her support and care. The additional shot in which her semi-pro dance company is cheering the apprentice to self-confidence during her final rehearsal enhances the impression of one 'happy family.' In studio life, these semi-pro's indeed call themselves 'babies,' still ignorant children, implying Mami to be their flamenco mother [Ede 2014:162]. This imagery connects to the still general model for many Japanese organisational cultures, that is the family household (*ie*), as 'a fundamental unit of social structure [...] linked particularly with feudal moral precepts' [Nakane 1970:4]. The master and guardian of a lineage, like in *nihon buyo*, is therefore called *ie-moto* [Hahn 2007:33]. From its feudal remnants in a still patriarchal society one may expect the *iemoto* generally to be male, making *nihon buyo* female masters rather exceptional and obviously not a role model for GOUWAN's producers to take into account.

The family structure is also at the heart of Japan's so-called 'groupism' [Miyanaga 1991:xvi], a socio-cultural norm which fosters an identification of each member with the group as a whole, in return for protection and security, and at the expense of individual action and personal expression, which is exactly what Japanese women since the 1980s have been longing for [Kelsky 2001:1–4]. Individualism, however, is still considered un-Japanese. Even on TV, news and weather reports, talk shows and tele-sell programmes are never presented by a single host; always by two, preferably a man and woman. GOUWAN Coaching is likewise with an additional studio panel as the supporting 'family'.
Benito

Interestingly, Hiro's competitor in GOUWAN was to be neither female nor Japanese. Benito came to Japan in 1993 with a Spanish troupe to join the company of Yoko Komatsubara, the Japanese *grande dame* of flamenco, for a tour. On the road he fell in love with a Japanese flamenco dancer, married her and decided to start a life and studio in Tokyo. By the time of the TV recording, he had divorced her, to remarry a Japanese woman who is not into flamenco at all. Despite his award-winning dancers and teaching assistants, Benito was to face the TV coaching contest alone. His solitary acting was set in a huge but cold and empty studio, in contrast to Hiro and Mami's happy dance family in their smaller studio bathed in warm light.

To deepen the contrast between both competitors even more, the producers did not put up Hiro against a Japanese woman instructor, which would definitely prompt unwanted discussions on gender in Japanese society, but against a non-Japanese, a foreigner, a westerner, a Spaniard at that. By this choice, it was as if not only to stress Japanese virtues, but also to declare Japanese supremacy over a person closer to the genre's origin.

GOUWAN depicts Benito as very unfriendly and impatient character. The first shots of him show an angry face in close-up snapping at his apprentice, because she had not been practising enough. His "Go do it on your own! You know what to do. I'm leaving", emphasises his individualistic and unsupportive approach typical of a westerner. Moreover, his lack of consideration with his protégé's loaded work schedule makes one think of him as using her merely for his personal ambition to win. The fact that she shows difficulties with the rhythm and steps, because she has hardly time to practise, then comes down on him not being a good coach.

In addition, Benito's facial and bodily expression in his introduction did not evoke the kind of admiration Hiro and Mami received at their performance. The take of his dancing, and his apprentice watching him, is filled with animated stars and bombs blowing up the distinction between flamenco dance expression and his supposed moodiness. The quest for personal expression Japanese women have been looking for is herewith tamed to suit civilised Japanese comportment. Flamenco is beautiful, when performed with a Japanese sense of control. Spanish origins and authenticity seem irrelevant in the spotlight of Japanese virtues.

What have the chosen 'tools' to say?

The apprentices

The two women Hiro and Benito had to coach have both been well-known television hostesses. Neither had any kind of dance experience. The senior of the two was assigned to Hiro. She was 41 years old during the GOUWAN recording, and retired when she became a mother, but was according to a panel member still popular among housewives. The younger woman was Benito's apprentice. She was twenty-eight years of age and was at the prime of her career. Frustrated by the small amount of time her work left her for practice, she snapped back at Benito: "Excuse me, I do have a job too, you know!" Compared to Hiro and the housewife who could dedicate all her time to this ten-day flamenco crash course, the chance of Benito and the younger woman of winning were reduced to hopelessness. The difference in age, social position, and availability to practice were thus intertwined.

In the programme, the thirteen years difference in age between the two women is spelt out several times. Already after eleven minutes, one commenting panel member gives away that the loser will be beaten by age. For the average Japanese the message is
clear. The senior lady is going to win. Her years render her a right to respect, her past career is still recalled, and despite her motherhood and ageing body she will still be able to take on a dance so unfamiliar and physically demanding as flamenco. The panel and hosts continuously express their awe of her stamina and accomplishments. Her kindness and modesty are explained by her having a child, her admiring enthusiasm for her coaches' flamenco show, which served as their introduction, and her eagerness to not disappoint them. Her sighs at Benito's performance and his instructions that flamenco is hard make her appear to be a sissy with little perseverance. Her exclamation that she hates to lose make her sound like a spoiled brat. She does not seem to care for a family of her own. Her attitude is taken as exemplary for the young who wish to be modern, look too much to the West, and have become selfish, undignified and inconsiderate. She deserves to have Benito for her coach, and to lose with him.

The final act

Flamenco's appropriation in Japan came about with the significance it gained through women, and a successive change of style. As a bodily discourse of contesting outdated Japanese values of femininity, flamenco offered them a mode to challenge the norm of female modesty, invisibility and silence. Flamenco gave the promise of visibility through performance, but as a sound-based dance already in the studio it also rendered the opportunity to make themselves, and their desires, audible. As a sounding contestation against both Japanese culture's hegemonic sight, and notions of womanhood, it developed into a 'Japamenko' style featuring voluminous stomping [Ede 2012:73–81; 2014:167].

Not surprisingly, in Gouwan Coaching the feet and sounding are given only brief attention. Even when coached by female professionals, given the short amount of time the apprentices had to get acquainted with flamenco's complex rhythms, the footwork would not receive full attention at the risk of the women coaches' reputations as true flamenca being destroyed by dancing out of compás (see Ede 2013a). The GOUWAN apprentices' final act before panel, judges, and audiences, had to be turned into a kind of spectacle, considering their un-Japanese short training, the ocularcentrism of their audience in general, and of TV-cameras in particular. Their costumes, shawls, and excessive accessories were colourful, their arm and leg movements large, and no musician in sight except for the coaches' hand-clapping and cheers of "ole!"

Then there was silence.

Rounding up

According to Iwabuchi

the Japanese capacity for cultural borrowing and appropriation does not simply articulate a process of hybridization in practice, but is strategically represented as a key feature of Japanese identity itself [Iwabuchi 2002:53].

Flamenco dancing in Japan offers an example of such a hybridisation where the globalised genre has been used for several purposes, depending on whose identity has been at stake. Flamenco was first appropriated by Japanese women to serve their quest for an international, new sense of self and personal expression, contesting outdated Japanese notions of femininity, but once presented at a national broadcasting event it was to (re)confirm those contested virtues of womanhood, family, and solidarity. Women's studio and stage, and the national TV screen, then, represented two 'contradictory
principles of cultural production' in which the aim to 'absorb foreign cultures without changing its national/cultural core' [Iwabuchi 2002:53] was to reign.

Furthermore, as Benito's depiction in GOUWAN Coaching suggests, the appropriation of flamenco in Japan does not necessarily entail imitation in respect of local authenticity. It reflects what Iwabuchi calls the Japanese obsession "with native uniqueness and the indifference of origins" [Iwabuchi 2002:53].

Foreign origin is supposed to be purged by the Japanese tradition of cultural indigenisation. Japan's hybridism strategically attempts to suppress ambivalence generated by the act of cross-fertilisation, relentlessly linking the issue of cultural contamination with an exclusivist national identity, so that impurity sustains purity [Iwabuchi 2002:53-54].

If the producers' cultural perceptions, and their anticipation of the TV audience's cultural perceptions, would not have been indifferent to origin, Benito the Spanish dancer would have been presented as a master, an iemoto, in his own right.

Consequently, the typical Japanese style that had emerged through women apprentices' personal desires for self-expression vanished in the process from studio to screen. Their emphasis on flamenco's sound-based quality through stomping is in GOUWAN replaced by visuality, of dress and movement. Stripped of its Japanese uniqueness, it now revokes the stereotype of Japanese mastery in sheer imitation, by 'underhanded agents of cultural plagerism' [Tobin 1992:3]. For sure this style of flamenco dancing as shown on this national plane would hardly be able to compete on an international, or Spanish local, stage.

Since the 1990s, Japan has been recentering itself in Asia as the protector of "Asian" values from decadent Western morality transmitted through the media' [Iwabuchi 2002:4]. Although TOKYO TV did not seem to aim at a transnational audience, no doubt it nevertheless can be received all over Asia. It remains to be seen which values and meanings will be transmitted to other Asian localities, in light of Japanese flamenco dance instructors' increasing regional networks through tours and workshops. It will depend on local gender politics and national projects on self-presentation whether it will be 'Japamenco' in the hands and feet of women to be appropriated by Koreans, Taiwanese, or Chinese, or its visualised, spectacular form.

Endnotes

1. 'While continuing to value TV TOKYO's ethics nurtured to date such as "originality, quality and vitality", we are always seeking fresh orientation, and going forward we want to maximize the value of television as a medium that allows you to create some of the best programmes, and tell a story in a way only television can.' (Masayuki Shimada, President & Co-CEO, in "Tokyo TV Corporation, Annual Report 2007" page 6, <http://www.tv-tokyo.co.jp/contents/ir/report/pdf/ar2007/ar2007.pdf> (accessed 2013 December 16).


2. The codes on the homepage of GOUWAN Coaching refer to: TV Tokyo Cooperation (TX), Television Osaka (TVO), Aichi Television Broadcasting Co., Ltd. (TVA), TV Setouchi Broadcasting Co. Ltd. (TSC), Television Hokkaido Broadcasting Co., Ltd. (TVh), and TVQ Kyusyu Broadcasting Co., Ltd. (TVQ). The satellite stations B.S. Japan Cooperation and Nikkei CNBC Japan, Inc., TV TOKYO supplies to, were not mentioned.
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"IS THIS THE PLACE TO PLAY WITH THE DANCE?"

While research in anthropology of dance have pointed out the numerous uses of dance practices in the construction and performance of identities and sense of belonging, less have explored the relation between such issues and the materiality, internal logics and characteristics of the dance material itself. Using first my work on Yemenite Jews’ dance practices in Israel, and today’s "bal folk" practices in France in counterpoint, this paper explores the link between "place" and "play" with a strong focus on the materiality of the dance. The main working hypothesis is that the possibility which exists for the dancer to 'play' with his/her dance practices (a possibility which emerges both from the dance material and internal codes themselves, and from the places and contexts in which performances are held) offers the dancer the space (physically and behaviorally speaking) in which he/she can negotiate various intertwined (personal and collective) relations.

*Keywords: Israel; France; Yemenite Jews; bal folk; place; play*

The whole idea for this paper stems from my first visit, in 2003, to a very specific place in Israel called Mecholot Teyman (translated literally as "Dances of Yemen"), which could be briefly described as an "Israeli-Yemenite disco". There I saw young dancers joyfully introducing new variations within the fixed pattern of Israeli-Yemenite dances one would usually see in various other contexts (personal life cycle events such as wedding parties; shows of the Yemenite Ethnic Dance Groups; Israeli Folk Dance, and so on. See below and Gibert 2004, 2007a, 2007b and 2011). Later on, that is three years ago, when I started to dance myself what is called "bal folk" in France, I was struck by the similarities in terms of playful feeling given by the dancers trying to add and invent as many variations as possible within the fixed pattern of a *mazurka* or a *bourrée*.

However, while research in anthropology of dance/ethnochoreology have pointed out widely the numerous uses of dance practices in construction and performance of identities and sense of belonging, less have explored the relation between such issues and the materiality, internal logics and characteristics of the dance material itself. Therefore, this explores the link between 'place' and 'play', with a strong focus on the materiality of the dance, looking at Israeli-Yemenite dances with a very brief counterpoint on French "bal folk".

In this paper, the notion of 'place' refers both to:
- a local/spatial reference (also referring to various contexts of performance); and
- specific moments or 'turning-points' in the fixed succession of movements that compose one specific dance type.

By the expression "playing with the dance", I mean both:
- the possibilities taken by/offered to the dancer(s) to insert individual variations, or even to transform some of the elements of such a dance type (in specific places);
- the type of interactions that occur between dancers and their partners and/or a potential audience, either real or imagined.

The main working hypothesis developed here is that the possibility which exists for the dancer to 'play' with his/her dance practices (a possibility which emerges both from the dance material and internal codes themselves, and from the places and contexts in which performances are held) offers the dancer the space (physically and behaviorally
speaking) in which he/she can negotiate various intertwined (personal and collective) relations.

Dance practices amongst Israeli Jews: a brief overview

The Rikudei Am, literally "the People' Dances" in Hebrew but usually called "Israeli Folk Dance" in English speaking contexts, had informally started to be created in the 1930s in Palestine. However, their formalisation and institutionalisation really happened in the mid 1940s when dance and music were thought to be perfect tools in the construction of a new Israeli culture during the pre-State period (the Declaration of Independence occurred in May, 1948; see Ingber 1974, 2011; Kadman 1969; Gibert 2004). As massive Jewish immigration was going on during these first decades, the process of nation building was central both to create a new common and single Israeli identity, and to "integrate" as fast as possible the numerous immigrants.

A strong ideological framework following three main principles underlined this process of culture building:
1. to forget everything from life in the diaspora during the last 2,000 years, and thus the cultural specificities of each diasporic place;
2. to reconstruct the culture possessed by the Hebrews who lived in Palestine during the so-called "Biblical times"; and
3. to depict the elaboration of a new country at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In this context, the creation of IFD (Israeli Folk Dance) was planned and executed by a group of persons who thoroughly thought of this construction and decided the following process:
- to select kinetic, rhythmic, or choreographic elements from dance repertoires of inhabitants of the country (Jewish or not), yet without reference to their cultural/geographic origin; and
- to reorganise them into a new form of dance, where set choreographies could then be taught to everyone throughout the entire country (and beyond).

Yemenite immigrants who mainly arrived between 1949 and 1951 (~50,000), though approximately 20,000, had already arrived at the beginning of the 20th century - were 'caught' in this period of "nation building". In order to fit in as much as was possible, they had to enter this new cultural model and discard their previous cultural practices. Meanwhile, a few elements of their dance and music practices were used by the creators of the IFD, and even more so as Yemenite Jews were often looked upon as "the closest to the Jews from the biblical times", allowing them a symbolic power which they were lacking in other dimensions (mainly socio-economical).

However, in the 1970s, a political and societal turning point took place in Israel. Claims from Jews of Asian and African origins started to be heard: they wanted to bridge the socio-economical gap still existing between themselves and the Jews from European backgrounds, a promise which had been made to them when they had first arrived. In addition, facing a strong lack of cultural legitimacy, they also claimed for recognition of their diasporic cultural heritage as part of the Israeli national culture.

As other changes were also occurring in Israel (divergence of opinion about occupied territories; increasing religiosity; arrival of the right wing in the government; and so on), the 1970s inaugurated a failure of the national Israeli identity as a monolithic construction, leading to the redefinition of this identity which would valorise the cultural specificities of every (Jewish) community composing Israel. The new Israeli identity is now seen as multifaceted, rich because of its heterogeneity. This process of recognition
also took place through the entrance of musical and dance diasporic repertoires into a
more public sphere through:
1. the insertion of geographic/'ethnic' references into the set choreographies of IFD;
2. the creation of ethnic dance groups: staged performances of dance and music
repertoires brought from their country of origin (such as Yemen, Morocco). This creation
had a double aim: to remain as close as possible to that which was danced in Yemen, yet,
"to please the eye of the audience";
3. the increase of dancing practices during life cycle events (and in case of the Yemenite,
a resurgence of henna celebrations); and
4. the entrance of the Musiqah Mizrahit ("Oriental music") in the commercial sphere,
through the diffusion of tape recordings and also public concerts. It is in this context that
places such as MT opened.

A local-spatial place: Mecholot Teyman

Mecholot Teyman (MT) usually opens once a week, on motze shabat (that is, on
Saturday night), from 11:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m. The music is mainly live music (in
particular one main singer, Zion Golan). It is essentially Israeli-Yemenite music and some
mizrahi ("oriental") music, though at the end of the night, a disc jockey (DJ) plays
international pop, rap, and rhythm and blues (RnB).

Up to 300 people can be present, mostly Israelis of Yemenite origin (born in Israel
of parents mainly born here. Approximately three-quarters of the customers are aged
between 15 and 30 years old, coming from the entire country, often on a regular basis.
One can roughly observe as many men as women.

The place in the dance: fixed collective forms and individual variations

Four types of Yemenite dances constitute the repertoire performed at MT: ragil,
da'assa, athari, habani. Each one consists of a set pattern (a fixed succession of kinemes
repeated ad libitum), which is performed in a specific spatial configuration and fits a
specific rhythm.

The personal choice of a dancer can, therefore, take place at three different levels:
on the first level, each group of dancers can choose which dance they will dance, since
some of the rhythms are matching several dance types; on the second level, each group of
dancers can choose their spatial configurations (circle, lines, and so on) for two of the
dance types (athari and ragil); and on the third level, in most dance types, some
'flexibility' is possible within the fixed form. Here each dancer or group of dancers can
perform some individual variations (jumps, turns, pauses, double time, and so on), as long
as he/she introduces them at the right place in the pattern. Such variations, therefore,
occur at specific moments or 'turning-points' in the fixed succession of kinemes which
compose each dance type (see Figure 1).
During fieldwork, I noticed that dancers and spectators particularly emphasised and valued this possibility of variation and flexibility within set dance types. This emphasis occurs in discourses: for instance, to qualify what is taking place in terms of dance in MT, dancers very often use the verbs and derived nouns of the verbs "to develop" (lehitpateakh) and "to progress, to advance" (lehitkadem) as well as various adjectives such as "modern" or "new". One can also find it in prized values: a "good dancer" is someone who knows all the dances and all the variations; someone who takes the lead to induce such variations, and is even better if she/he creates new variations.

Very similar discourses and values can be found during informal conversations between dancers of "bal folk".

Playing to negotiate

My hypothesis is that these numerous possibilities for play within fixed patterns permit to combine, and even to negotiate, various issues at once.

Dances performed at MT can be seen as a way for the third generation of Yemenite-Israelis to come to terms with either the re-creation or the preservation of a mythic authenticity, like in other dance contexts where some Yemenite dance is used.

Indeed, amongst the four existing types of dance, two only (ragil and daassa) are usually known by every Israeli of Yemenite origin all over Israel, because they are regularly danced during weddings or henna parties. MT's dancers consider them as "the basic dances".

Elsewhere, I called this way of dancing an "Israeli-Yemenite product" because it has slowly emerged as the result of a combined process deeply-rooted within the Israeli context (Gibert 2011). On the one hand, it constitutes a re-incorporation of the outside gaze of the Israeli Folk Dance on "Yemenite dance": the two dance types known and performed by every Israeli-Yemenite today are precisely deriving from the repertoires out of which some elements were previously selected by the creators of Israeli Folk Dance. On the other hand it is a result of the non-voluntary development of a "pan-yemenite" repertoire which consists of the homogenisation of the different repertoires which existed when Jews first arrived from Yemen to Israel and was different according to gender, areas within Yemen, and dance contexts, whilst today everyone dances everything at anytime.
Moreover, these dances are performed to Yemenite-Israeli music, which is also the product of combined cultural models (see endnote 3).

On the contrary, the other two dance types (athari and habani) are almost only known by Israeli-Yemenites whose parents/grandparents came from the areas to which these styles are related, or by regulars at MT. In MT, some dancers refer to them as "the advanced dances".

Therefore, this form of re-elaboration of Yemenite repertoires, which first of all concerns what is performed in MT but somehow slowly trickles down to parties for life cycle events, clearly differentiates itself from the other dance forms mentioned earlier which also use Yemenite repertoires.

**Intergenerational relations**

So, if we go further in this analysis, what seems to be at stake in the dance performed and created at MT?

On the one hand, the fixed dimension of these four dance types sets up the frame of a clear pan-Yemenite specificity, thus somehow linking the dancers with their parents and grand-parents practices, and to some kind of general 'Yemenite cultural heritage'. But on the other hand, the vast possibilities of variation and innovation permit the dancers to precisely differentiate and distance themselves from the previous generations. Many discourses reinforce this differentiation:

- "I don't want to dance like my grand-father".
- "What our grand-fathers are dancing is very related to their perspective on Israel when they were in Yemen. They felt some nostalgia for Eretz Israel, whereas for me, Israel, well, that's where I was born and live my everyday life".

Young dancers enunciate the pleasure and the pride they take when looking at their parents/grand-parents dancing at weddings, but they have no interest in dancing like that. They consider it too calm, too related to another way of life (life of prayer and religious studies in Yemen) and want something more in adequacy with their current life:

- "We want to develop our own [dance] style".

This sentence is also echoing the already mentioned recurrent vocabulary on 'development', 'progress', characterising the way dances are performed in MT.

This relation with previous generations is also constructed through a differentiation between age groups which appears in field observations. Although I was quite often told that one of the particularities of this night club was that it was for every age group, what I observed was a strong predominance of youngsters (less than 25). It was also very present in discourses and comments by the dancers:

- "She's not going there anymore because she is too old" (talking about a woman aged 22);
- "I was going there when I was younger; it doesn't correspond to this period of my life anymore" (a man aged 29);
- "On the right [of the room of MT] you have the youngsters, on the left the divorced persons; so if you are neither young nor divorced, you don't have anything to do there" (a woman aged 22).

However this differentiation is not a denial of the previous way to perform such dance practices, far from it. Many comments underline how valued their grandparents' dance practices are/were for them, but they want to differentiate themselves from some kind of 'museified' dance and, according to some young dancers, one of the best ways to do so resides in the act of dancing itself:

- "We want to dance ourselves, not to watch someone else dancing" (a man aged 28) when I mentioned the shows of Yemenite Ethnic Dance Groups);
"I keep the tradition by dancing such things, but I want it to be in a new way" (a former dancer in MT, and choreographer of Israeli Folk Dance, aged 37).

Therefore, to dance and to participate in the 'development' of such a form of dance seems to offer them a way to enact their cultural heritage and be proud of it, but at the same time without having to refer to the past in an artificial way, as the work of the 'Yemenite Ethnic Dance Groups' is sometimes perceived. This could be resumed by a formula: 'To create is to preserve'.

One could, therefore, draw a sketchy parallel between generations and dance practices:
- the first generation corresponds to immigrants who came to Israel bringing with them a centuries-long feeling of 'nostalgia for Jerusalem'; this, combined with their will to 'integrate' (following the injunctions of the Israeli new state's politics) contributed to them having to play down the Yemenite card to join instead the unique Israeli identity in construction – thus to dance IFD rather than there own dance repertoires;
- the second generation came to adulthood in the 1970s, feeling the inequalities and the failure of the Zionist model. Many of them fought for the recognition of their Yemenite cultural specificities by contributing to the entrance of Yemenite music and dance into a public and commercial sphere, hence the creation of MT. In parallel, they also played a part in the elaboration of a nostalgia for an 'imagined Yemen' through the creation of the Ethnic Dance Groups in the 1970s;
- the third generation had less interest in fighting for official recognition. Although everything is not perfect, the combination of being both Israeli and of Yemenite origin is today fully recognised. However, confronted with the death of their grandparents who were their link with Yemen, some of them started to go beyond this Yemenity de facto to delve into their grandparents' lives in Yemen and during the first decades in Israel.

So this way of practising the dance is not based on the representation and claim of some sort of Yemenity to 'the Others', but on the will to live 'for themselves', and in a public space, the Yemenite dimension of their multiple identity. However, to practise this form of dance and to develop a real expertise can also bring them pride and joy not only within their group of peers, but also vis-à-vis the rest of the family when they dance in various family events, and vis-à-vis other Israelis of non-Yemenite origin. Hence one of the dancers told me, referring to their dancing during concerts of general 'Oriental music': "It is good to show that we are good, that we Yemenites have something nice" (a man of 22).

**Public sphere and private feelings**

Moreover, by breaking free from the necessity to perform some kind of museified collective identity, such a way of "playing with the dance" also permits the young dancers to articulate other issues on a more individual level, such as dance pleasure and expertise, gender, matrimonial search, or religiosity display. However, only some prior observations and an initial hypothesis have been made for the moment, and I am currently undergoing some more research.

**Dance pleasure and expertise**

Most of dancers' discourses are pointing out first of all that dancing is the main focus of going to MT: "If I go to MT, it means that I'm going to dance, so I won't sit" (O., a man of 17).

They describe the dance as a source of personal enjoyment. One of the most recurrent words used to describe dance and dancers is *mishtolelim* ("running wild").
Moreover, "to enjoy dancing and to show how much you enjoy dancing" is also one of the criteria to be a "good dancer":

"Now I cannot dance all the time, so I sit with my friends and watch, it is also a lot of pleasure to watch good dancers" (S., a woman of 22).

This leads us again to the question of dance expertise. Many comments rest on the capacity to dance well, and even to be a "very good dancer" or "one of the best dancers". One area of the disco is known as "the best dancers' corner"; many direct comments such as "the Habanim are the best dancers, they are more rhythmical, they do a lot more jumps", or indirect comments: "she goes out with the best dancer of MT" can be heard.

A non-gendered practice?

According to the dancers, in MT no specific repertoire exists only for men or for women, and no gestures or movements are considered to be only for men/women. There are very few dancing in twos; and if so it is informal (very often interrupted by other dancers joining in the circle) and it can be two persons of the same sex who dance together. In brief, it is possible to dance with, and to give a hand to, everyone (men/women). In addition, no particular dress code is supposed to mark the dancers' gender. All of these clearly consist of a blurring of the gendered differences that existed in Yemen.

However, if a man and a woman are dancing in a couple configuration, the man is more likely to take the lead (such as turns). Dance experts (my terminology) are more often male. During fieldwork, I have heard only a few comments mentioning one "good female dancer" whilst this was often the case concerning boys. There are also a lot less girls dancing in the "best dancers' corner". When asked about this, girls seem to have not noticed it, and would make suppositions such as: "maybe it's because it is harder for us to jump with high-heels". However, several girls are wearing flat shoes, and on the contrary, the only girl who always dances in the "best dancers' corner" is wearing high heels. If I continue discussing this subject with the dancers (girls and boys), and tell them that it seems to me that girls are more often dancing ragil than athari, several will answer that it is probably because ragil is more 'adin (meaning "delicate, gentle" in Hebrew), which is precisely the term which was repeatedly used to describe and justify the gendered differences of repertoires brought from Yemen. Therefore, one can wonder if although the gendered differentiation of repertoires is not mandatory anymore, some implicit one remains – or is back.

Love affairs – from simple flirt to matrimonial search

One of the other subjects brought up immediately when I mention MT is the frequent love stories connected to this place. From simple flirt ("that's where I met my two first boyfriends") to stories of now married couples who met there (either them, their friends or parents); almost everyone has an example to give. Several people also explained to me that they and/or their friends were here to find someone for a long-term relationship. They would comment on how MT is "an ideal place to look for a partner of Yemenite origin".

As already mentioned in the paragraph about age groups and generations, the older customers are nicknamed by some of the younger participants. For example, "the divorced ones". One young girl even joked once about the fact that they would probably come to MT to "find someone second hand".
Religiosity display

The observation of MT shows that quite a lot of men there are wearing a kippa ("skullcap"), a symbol and prescription of a certain level of religiosity. This level of religiosity goes from what in Israel is referred to as masorti (translated literally as "traditionalist") –which means a respect for some religious prescriptions but not all of them, to dati (translated literally as "religious") –which means an attempt to respect most of the prescriptions, yet without the extreme rigor of the Hassidim Jews.⁸

It is impossible yet to give any numbers, but it seems to be a larger proportion than in any other night places (pubs, discos) I have been to in Israel. And indeed, when asked about it, some of the men told me that in some other places they would take out the kippa that they wear in their everyday life because they don't feel comfortable among the seculars. However, in MT the place permits them to feel comfortable wearing a kippa and having fun, 'being in', "running wild".

This could also be related to another part of the self-representation of Yemenite-Israelis, the religious attachment, considered by several as an important part of their 'Yemenite identity', and which has also been encouraged (if not sometimes reconstructed) by the non-Yemenite Israeli gaze.⁹ Therefore, by wearing a kippa, a young man is also somehow signaling that he is a "good Yemenite" and, in a matrimonial perspective, a potential good husband.

Interestingly enough, the corresponding feminine behaviour of this degree of religiosity (that is, to be "modestly dressed", to wear a skirt at least to under the knees and a shirt or T-shirt hiding the shoulders) seems to occur less. However, proper enquiries have not been made in this direction yet.

Conclusion

This analysis of the dance practices in MT, as well as actors' discourses and actions, brings to light a situation in which various layers, sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory, seem to be combined. The articulation between fixed forms and free variations within set patterns both allows and stems from a double process of differentiation and re-incorporation of dimensions, which could otherwise be seen as opposed or at least hard to conciliate

The dance types practised today in MT are based on a common cultural framework of set patterns, which have been brought from Yemen by previous generations and then used and transformed in various ways during the last 60 years in Israel. However, this active process of shaping and reshaping it throughout the evenings offers young Israelis of Yemenite origin a place in which they can elaborate their own version of 'being an Israeli-Yemenite', but also permits them to 'focus' on other issues, more related to them as individuals, such as dance expertise, gender, age group, religiosity or matrimonial search.

This does not mean that the generation of their parents – who are mainly the ones who developed the Yemenite ethnic dance groups, did not dance more freely in various occasions, but it is precisely because of the socio-political situation in which their parents grew up that they needed to bring Yemenite dance practices into the public sphere by creating places such as MT, and developing such performing groups. Therefore, by fighting to regain this cultural legitimacy, this previous generation permitted the third generation today to come to terms with this process of claim, and 'simply be' Israeli-Yemenite.

This case study also permits us to re-think the articulation between migration and youth culture. In this perspective, it would be interesting to continue this research asking in which ways the dynamics that we analysed in terms of differentiating themselves from
previous generations and reworking the dominant culture norms are specific to the Israeli situation linked to a peculiar experience of migration, but also a general process of youth culture.

Therefore, the counterpoint brought by the planned research on French "bal folk" will permit me to re-think all of this through similarities and differences both in the ways dancers are playing with the dance material, and the issues at stake. This dance form stems from a specific revival movement that swept over Europe in the 1970s and 1980s. I have not yet conducted proper research, but a personal (also attentive and reflexive) practice for the last three years has given me an interesting overview.

In both cases, such issues to be examined could be: gender relations; matrimonial search; youth-issues (that is, differentiation with older generations and process of reworking cultural norms); myths of authenticity and fights of voluntary crystallisation against change in internal repertoires; transmission; creation; and so on.

In the case of the Israeli-Yemenites, specific issues could be: the particularity of migration between ideological return and real diaspora (today this is not only related to Jewish migration (Cohen 1997; Dufoix 2003); the paradox between unicity (Israeli identity) and specificity (Israeli-Yemenite identity); the never resolved question of what it means to be Jewish (a religion? an 'ethnicity'? a 'culture'?), and so on.

In the case of the 'bal folk', some more French and/or European issues appear, such as revival; the myth of communal life and social connection; and the pleasure of dancing something "from France", and so on.

In brief, we could summarise this paper by this triple question: In which places can we play with the dance? With whom? For what reason?

Endnotes
1. The first Dalia Festival, held in 1944 is considered as the historical birth of the IFD.
2. This process was often referred to as the "fusion" and "absorption" of immigrants (mizug ha galuyot / klitat ha alya). In 1948, Israel counted 650,000 Jewish inhabitants; in 1951, they were 1.4 million.
3. Such music has been defined by ethnomusicologists as a music that "incorporates various ethnic 'colors' (for example Yemenite, Arabic, Kurdish, Greek and so on) within the standardised forms of Western popular music" (Regev & Seroussi 2004: 191). The "oriental" dimension comes from the introduction of different musical instruments; use of micro-interval of 1/4 tones; vocal inflexions (melisma); different harmonic systems, or improvised sections in free rhythm (non-metric). Yemenite specificities can mainly be seen in terms of texts, rhythms, and a special organisation in suites of successive pieces.
4. In 2004, 33,400 Israelis were born in Yemen and 110,300 were born in Israel from father born in Yemen. This total represent 2.74% of the Jewish population of Israel (a total of 5,237,600 Jews). However, the 'third generation' is blended within the 1.7 million Israelis "born in Israel from parents born in Israel" according to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics' categorisation – See CBS Statistical Abstract 2004, Table "Jews and others, by country of origin".
5. Three video extracts filmed by the author at Mecholot Teyman (Tel Aviv) in August, 2006, were shown during the presentation. Unfortunately, they cannot be made publicly accessible.
6. Ragil means literally "regular", "normal" in Hebrew; this dance type is also often called "yemenite step" (tsaad teymani). da'assa could be translated from Arabic by "stamping", but this etymology is never used by Yemenite Jews in Israel. However a somewhat similar dance type exists under the same name amongst Muslims in Yemen. See Lambert 1997. The etymology of Athari has not yet been found, none of my interlocutors in Israel being able to explain it. The only information I could receive (yet not with certitude) was that it was probably a man's dance brought by Jews from the Centre-South of Yemen. Habani means "from Haban" in Hebrew, thus referring to a city located in South-East Yemen, quite removed from the other Jewish settlements in Yemen.
7. "I'm amazed to look at them. How a young boy of 14 or 15 years old wants to dance Yemenite dances, wants to be Yemenite (…). I really did the opposite. I didn't want to be Yemenite. I was in the yeshiva but didn't want to do the khet or the ghayn {Hebrew letters}. (…) And it isn't only to dance. They talk with the
khet and the ghayn, they hang around just with Yemenites... They are not embarrassed of it. I was very shy about it. (...) It means a lot of self-confidence. They live with their roots but they don't dance like grandpa or grandma, or talk like grandpa and grandma" (M., 28 years old).


9. If it is true that a higher proportion of Israelis from a Yemenite background are respecting the religious injunctions, the strong relationship between Yemenites and Jewishness is also the result of the ideological Zionist gaze which erected Yemenite Jews as "the most Jewish of the Jews" – See Gibert 2011.


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ROMANI DANCE VERSUS ROMANI STYLE DANCING: A CASE STUDY OF TURKISH THRACE ROMANI DANCE

The dancing practices of Romani communities reinterpret the most prevalent popular genre into their own dance styles. The reinterpretation allows a re-embodiment process, occurs during the integration of a dominant culture with Gypsiness, and creates different peculiarities in its own style. Romani dance culture is produced as the synthesis of 1) cultural appropriation, 2) mimesis, and 3) improvisation. In this presentation, I discuss and analyse the dancing practice in Romani communities in the area of Turkish Thrace via these three characteristic techniques, and ask: does the new representation refer to a new dance practice or to an interpretation in Romani style of a previously known practice?

Keywords: Turkey; Roma (Gypsies); cultural appropriation; mimesis; improvisation; movement analysis

As in all Gypsy/Romani crafts, a cultural context recreated at the juncture of new social conditions encountered in nomadic/settled life and the very experience of being Gypsy/Rom animates the professions of dancer and musician. This context is a common trait of all Gypsy/Romani groups. They perform their arts (making music, singing and dancing) by reinterpreting their current social and cultural environment. For this reason, making music and dancing are one of the most considerable tools in self-characterization and self-definition. In the field of dance a new cultural production appears in the conjunction of the gadjo culture (non-Gypsy in Romani) and Gypsies, allows to the act of re-embodiment and creates distinctive characters in its own style.

During the reproduction, the initial practice has mostly been explicated as copying in the traditional literature of Gypsy's musical mediums: "in the 1930s, when music encyclopaedias begin to focus on the characteristics of Gypsy music, it starts to be emphasized that the Gypsy, rather than being creative, often copies and reproduces, which although particularly noticeable in music extends to other activities as well" [Willems; Lucassen 1998:303]. In the limited literature of the dance, the character of the dancing medium was intensely portrayed as "the passion of exotic other" by the orientalist point of view, especially until the second half of the twentieth century.

By the use of new recording technology in the field, the interpretations have been included in the structure, hybridity, improvisational peculiarities and style of Gypsy dancing since 1960s. It is one of the most significant things to me that current writings about the "Gypsy and dance" reveal two different formations: 1) dancing in Gypsy style (group dancing), and 2) Gypsy dance (solo). In the category of group dancing hora and hora tiganesca (Gypsy style hora), and Gypsy solo dancing manea as a Gypsy dance in the Romanian case (see Garfias 1984; Giurechescu 2000; Giurechescu and Rădulescu 2011), and group dancing oro and Cigani oro/khelibe (Gypsy style oro) and Gypsy solo dancing čoček in the Macedonian case (see Dunin 2006, 2009, 2011) illustrates these two distinctive structures.

Ironically, we are informed with the detailed analysis of Romani dances in the Balkans, such as čoček and maneа, that generally deal with the Turkishness, but the works of Romani dancing mediums in Turkey are little if any. Although the Gypsy style
has been a common topic in the musical field since at least the very beginning of the nineteenth century, the details of Gypsy style dancing has not been explained in the past or current works. While Gypsy dancing was related to the çengi and köçek traditions in the Ottoman period, it has been identified with çiftetelli or it was melted in Thracian karşılama dance for many decades in the Republic times. Habitually, Gypsy dancing has been memorialized by focusing on the belly and hip movements that are indecorous styles regards to the national point of view and its Muslim women paradigm. It was choreographed in the "Turkish Thrace folk dances" performances of the professional and amateur groups, and was begun to be mentioned in the current news of the 1980s through the new approaches to the Romani dance of Turkish Thrace. However, after the recognition of Romani dance in folk dances (since 1980s), it has continued to be "dance of the other and stranger" in the explanations and descriptions in literature and social fields. In literature, one of the earliest sources that refers to the "Gypsy dance" is the explanation of a folklorist in 1990s: "Romani dance is a kind of Turkish popular dance of today, spread out towns from Istanbul, especially from Sulukule (one of the earliest Romani quarter in Istanbul) with its 9 measured rhythmical patterns" [Baykurt 1995:169]. Recently, the Romani dance is cited as only a kind of an improvisational dance in the works for the Gypsy music of Turkey (see Seeman 2002; Duygulu 2006).

Contrastingly, up to local discourses of Romani communities in the Turkish Thrace, this dance has been practised at least, since the end of the nineteenth century, and has traditional movement lexicon that is non-improvisational in some cases. During my fieldworks in the Turkish Thrace (between 2005–2012), I recognised that Gypsies/Roma have two different kinds of dancing practices: 1) karşılama, kasap, çiftetelli dancing practices of gadjo as a group (line) or a couple, and 2) solo Romani dance as their own dancing practice. The first one refers to the dances of non-Gypsies which are performed in the same style with the non-Gypsies. In these practices, ascribing of identity cannot be observed; in other words there is no mention about the Gypsy style. The second one includes something more than the style by means of the full characterisation of Gypsiness. I roughly describe the second practice, Romani dance that is made up of the reinterpretation of gadjo dancing within Gypsy style and the representation as a cultural reproduction.

From this point of view, I explain the behavioural process in the cultural reproduction of Gypsy dance with the help of three essential concepts: 1) cultural appropriation 2) mimesis 3) improvisation. The concept of cultural appropriation alludes to intercultural intimacy and to those behavioural forms that contribute to the reproduction of an original or known thing in a new guise, a cultural product's travel into a new form as Walter Benjamin puts it (Kalshoven; Whitehouse 2010). Cultural appropriation are initially individual acts where an individual (or individuals) observes something new in another person and moves to reproduce this thing in a mimetic mode. It is only over time when different individual and collective acts come together that appropriation becomes hardened into a cultural structure. Here, mimesis is positioned as a creative practice and an activity that can be experienced through another person's behavioural form in addition to one's own. At the same time, mimesis means relating given contexts to new and different resources, learning new things and animating a new production. Therefore, it is possible to argue that mimesis is the most fundamental tool of the process of cultural appropriation. In this way, the configuration and contextualisation of Gypsy dancing practices can be explained through the mimesis, which is the tool of creativity, individuality and collectivity without recourse to notions of originality and authenticity. The structure of the dance that gets reshaped through mimesis in the
appropriation process gives rise to an accumulation whose improvisational repertory is rather large. The Gypsy cultural embodiment that solidifies through improvisation becomes an important attribute of Gypsy identity. As a final state, the improvisational movements become to be a part of tradition, as the cultural choreography of the Romani dance keep to be improvisational sequences. Consequently it is possible to say that the improvisational one is not the dance itself, it is the choreography of the dance.

As a movement system, Romani dance is a cultural form, which is usually appropriated and imitated from karşılama dances in 9/8 metre, and re-produced with improvisational additions, is composed by the previously embedded cultural knowledge of the bodies. It also exemplifies the re-enlistment of a cultural form on a new community, but the final instance has a distinctive character more than the Gypsy style of karşılama or any Thracian folk dances in 9/8 metre.

By the agent of movement analysis, it is possible to reply to my question: Is this movement system in a style that includes the implication of "particular interpretations" or is it a new production? Here, I prefer to use Adrienne Kaeppler's structural movement analysis, which is useful to make clear the property of new interpretations, borrowings, transforming through determination of the smallest units in the whole structure. Kaeppler's method consists of four levels for the structural organization of dance movement: kineme, morphokine, motif, and choreme. The first group, kinemes, are the significant components of the movement system that are the basic units from which all dance of a given tradition is built, although having no meaning in themselves [Kaeppler 2007:57]. The second one, morphokines are meaningful movements that can be defined as the smallest unit, have meaning in the structure of the movement system and they may consist of single kineme, repeated one or more times, or a combination of kinemes [Kaeppler 2007:58]. The third level, motifs, are culturally grammatical sequence of movement as the combination of morphokines that form a short entity in itself. The last level, choremes, are culturally grammatical choreographic units, made up of a constellation of motifs that occur simultaneously and sequentially. The framework of this system works for analysis of the Romani dance of Turkish Thrace with some changes in the titles of sub-groups.

**Kineme examples**

Kinemes in Romani dance are divided to four main groups in the tripartite body parts (upper, lower and middle). The upper body can be thought of as in two main parts: the head and arm kinemes. Actually, the head does not produce the distinctive movements in the repertory, and moves randomly. Only the facial expressions are changed by the narratives and slightly smiling is the usual expression if there is no narrative of the movement. Arm kinemes are in five titles: Rotation of the lower arm, extension and flexion of the wrist, palm facing, finger position, and arm positions. (See Table 1 and Table 2).
Table 1. Upper body kinemes: Rotation of lower arm, extension and flexion of the wrist, palm facing, and finger positions

Table 2. Upper Body Kinemes: Arm positions

The lower body includes leg kinemes that are Basic steps, cross-legged standing position, leaps, touching on the tiptoe, and bending the knees. (See Table 3.)
Table 3. Lower body kinemes: basic steps, cross-legged standing position, leaps, touch on the tiptoe, bent knees

And the last part, middle body can be divided to 2 sub groups as belly and hip kinemes. (See Table 4).

Table 4. Middle body: Belly up-down, hips

**Morphokines**
As the combinations of kinemes, morphokines can be divided into 3 main categories up to the basic parts of body in the whole movement system of Romani dance.
1. Morphokines of the arms and fingers: These are the upper body morphokines that can be categorized in two sub-groups with regard to the focusing on which part conveys the meaning.
   a. based on the arm positions
   b. based on the finger positions

2. Morphokines of the belly and/or hips: These are middle part of the body morphokines that can be categorized in two sub-groups with regard to markedness of the belly movement
   c. based on the belly
   d. based on the hips

3. Morphokines of legs: These are lower part of the body morphokines that can be categorized in two sub-groups. The first one has only one morphokine which consists of the basic steps of the leg movements, and the second one includes all distinctive leg movements which are the significant and accented items of some motifs.
   e. Morphokine of the basic leg positions
   f. Based on the leg movements

**Examples:**

**M1.a.1:** It is combination of four upper body kinemes; two arm kinemes, A (5) and A (6), and two palm facing kinemes, P (1) and P (2). A (5) right hand is stable during the movement, and A (6) is performed in the P (1) position, and P (2) position sequentially.

**M1.b.1:** It is a combination of four kinemes by the simultaneously use of Arm Positions; A (6), A (7) and finger positions; F (3), F (4). While the arms in the left-A (6) and right A (7) positions, the fingers are performed by snapping kinemes, F (3) and F (4). Rhythmically, this morphokine usually begins on the accented beats.

**M1.b.2:** It is a combination of three kinemes by the simultaneously use two of them, arm position A (4) and finger position, F (1) placing in one arm, and the other arm is in arm position A (1). (see fig 1). Rhythmically, this morphokine usually begins on the first two beat of 9 times in 1 measure. (Time unit is eight note).

![Figure 1. Example of morphokine; M1.b.2](image)

**M2.a.1:** It is a combination of two belly kinemes: vertical belly up-down kinemes B (1) and B (2) occur sequentially. Rhythmically, this morphokine can be on the accented or upbeat.
**M2.b.1:** It is a combination of two hip kinemes: hip to middle, H (1) and hip to side, H (2) sequentially.

**M3.a:** It has the basic leg position morphokine, built up on the three leg kinemes, steps. Firstly forward step L1.f, then step to the side L1.s, and finally backward step, L1.b occur sequentially. Each step is performed in a quarter note timing, and the last step is stable during the end of 9th beats.

**M3.b.1:** It is a combination of two leg kinemes, L2f and L2b in cross legged standing position. Rhythmically, it is usually performed at the beginning of movement sequentially.

**M3.b.2:** It is composed by two leg kinemes; the leaps, L3.1 and L3.2. It is performed twice in a 9/8 meter. In the motifs it is mostly begins on the 5th beat of 9 beats in a sequence that L3.1 on 5th, L3.2 on 6th, L3.1 on 7th and L3.2 on 8th and extended to the 9th beats.

**Motif**

As a short entity of Romani dance, motifs are derived from the combinations of morphokines and/or kinemes. Some of the motifs are culturally named and these names may have different meanings according to individual perceptions. Habitually, the motifs can consist of all morphokine groups. Except for individual performance styles, the motifs are the characteristic units of the Romani dance that make the dance Rom.

**Basic Motif:** It is widely known by all members of the group, even those who have dancing ability or not. It is culturally learnt as the perception of movement in daily life celebrations, and not named culturally by Roma. It is combinations of the two morphokines and an arm kineme that are basic leg position morphokine, M3.a, hip morphokine, M2.b.1 and the variable positions of the arm kinemes, which are practised simultaneously.

![Figure 2. Basic motif](image)

The most distinctive motifs in Romani dance are *parmak ṕaklatma* and *göbek atma* which indicate the basic movement units in Romani dance of Turkish Thrace.

**Göbek Atma (somersaulting of the pelvis):** It is a kind of "vertical up-and-down movement of the abdomen" (Dunin 2006:183). Commonly, it is a combination of the morphokines, M2.a.1 and leg kineme, touch of the tiptoe, L4t1. While the leg kineme L4t remains in the same position, morphokine of the belly, M2.a.1, is being performed simultaneously. The belly morphokine is repeated four times in one measure. In every
quarter note, the repetition starts again and the last repetition is extended to one and a half quarter tone. This motif can be performed in most of the other motifs. The indicator of the motif is the belly position, in the movement of up-and-down.

Figure 3. Göbek Atma (Somersaulting of the pelvis)

**Parmak şaklatma (Finger snapping with two hands):** Basically it is a combination of two morphokines, M1.b.1, M2.a.1, and a leg kineme, touch of the tiptoe, L4t1. While the leg kineme L4t remains in the same position, morphokines are being performed simultaneously. M1.b.1 and M2.a.1 are repeated four times in one 9/8 metre. In every quarter note, one of the repetitions occurs and the last repetition is extended to the one and a half quarter tone. The hands are placed on the chest/head level or above head; it is up to individual styles. This motif can be performed in most of the other motifs.

Figure 4. Parmak şaklatma (finger snapping)

Another motif is called sekmeli (with leap) and is also widely performed in the dancing practices of Roma.
**Sekmeli (with leap):** It is a combination of two leg morphokines; M3.b.1 and M3.b.2. The movement starts with the M3.b.1, and then M3.b.2 and is performed and repeated one more time. This motif usually begins on the fifth beat of 9/8 metre and has many variations via the alteration of the kinemes or morphokines which occur in the first four beats. This motif can be added to any of the fifth beats of the other motifs once the fourth beat is suitable for continuing the leap motif.

Besides, the Romani dance repertory has some kind of motifs that have a kind of narrative meaning, and the meaning of the same motif can be altered by individuals.

**Çatla (eat your heart out!):** It is combination of three morphokines; M1.b.2, M2.a.1, and M3.a. All morphokines are performed simultaneously: The right or left arm with the fist position of the hand, placed on the belly starts on the first beat, and remains the same when the fourth beat comes in, then it is raised upward, and at the fifth beat it is put on the belly again. So, the most accented beats (first and fifth) in the organisation of 9/8 metre are underlined via the fist movement. M2.a.1 and M3.a are performed simultaneously with this fist accented movement through four times repetitions of the M2.a.1, and once, M3.a in 9/8 metre. The indicator of the motif is the fist position of fingers.

**Choremes**

As a culturally grammatical choreographic unit, choremes are combinations of motifs and/or morphokines put together in such a way that they convey "meaningful imagery" (Kaeppler 2007). The Romani dancing tradition has hardly ever been choreographed in the field. The only one choreme is the basic motif that is seen in the cultural life of Romani communities in Turkish Thrace.

**Conclusion**

As seen in the examples of structural analysis, Romani dance is a distinctive genre which has current and past movement knowledge of the bodies.

As a solo dance, it is feasibly possible to individual creativity, improvisation and rapid changes in repertory, while the main domains in the process of cultural appropriation and mimesis, *karsılıama* and other local forms are in couple or group (line-circle) dancing. Consequently, during the dancing, parts of the body (upper, lower, and middle) move up to the relationship between the compatible combinations of each parts.
instead of dealing with how the other performers move. Here, dancing together is significant to maximise the occasional energy.

Some characteristic units of the dance, such as parmak şaklatma, çatla, göbek atma are the main peculiarities of Romani dancing culture. The common type of parmak şaklatma is performed in the folk dances of many Mediterranean cultures and the Balkans. With both arms open to the sides and at head or chest level, it is performed by pressing the middle finger and the thumb against each other so that a tension builds, the middle finger is then released forcefully downward so that it hits the fourth finger (the ring finger) and the air compressed between the middle finger and the ring finger produces a clacking sound when released. However, in the Romani dance the finger snapping mechanism is slightly different as you see in the M1.b.2; both hands in the front and at head/over head level, the right thumb grabs the left hand and the remaining four fingers are placed in the left palm; the right index finger presses against its left counterpart and when released, snaps against the fourth finger producing a sound as above. (See comparisons, Figures 6 and 7).

![Figure 6. Common style of finger snapping](image1)

![Figure 7. Romani style of finger snapping](image2)

Additionally, one of the most distinctive morphokines, göbek atma is just identified with the Romani dancing in Turkey, although it is performed by gadjos. Technically, it is the same body movement with the čoček tradition of Balkans again, and also with the çiftetelli and Anatolian köçek tradition of today that are usually in 2/4, 4/4 or 8/8 meter, while the Romani belly movement in 9/8 meter.

On the other hand, the basic motif is the rare example that barrowed directly from Drama karşılaması by addition the hip kinemes to these basic leg positions. It might be the only evidence for the style of Gypsy that is not enough to refer to Romani dance as the Gypsy style dancing of gadjo.

In this case, the cultural movements of any dance repertory has already been replaced and embedded in the several bodies. Re-placing which is used metaphorically in here, enable to the productive mediums for the analysis of the dance upon it is thought in terms of the transforming of the tacit knowledge and constitution of its peculiar composition.
Endnotes
1. The participation in the symposium was supported by a project of Prof. Dr. Arzu Öztürkmen, "Ege, Karadeniz ve Güneydoğu Şırır Bölgebelerinin Folklorü: Kültürel Formların Tarihsel Gelişimi" (TUBITAK, project number: 109K158).
2. My structural analysis on Romani dance with Kaeppler's method is work in progress now, and these are the examples of the preliminary study.

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The issues of this article are founded on the definition according to which space refers to the structural qualities of a physical environment, while place includes the dimension of lived experience and use of a space by its inhabitants. Based on two antonymic case studies (a traditional dance culture of Transylvania and an urban, globalised dance culture of Bucharest), the paper aims to demonstrate that:

- The placement of dance in space is determined by a set of parameters such as: social/ritual functions, proxemics, structure, and the dance-music relationship;
- The physical or symbolic structure of the space determines the way in which a given parameter functions;
- Place and space change their meaning, interaction and dependence on given parameters in accordance with changes in socio-economic, political and cultural conditions.

**Keywords**: Transylvania (Maramureş, Oaş); gender; segregation; proxemics; improvisation

The article is theoretically founded on the assertion that the concepts of space and place, though different in their philosophical content, are interdependent, influence each other and change in time under the pressure of subjective and objective factors. The case studies I discuss are framed in time and space opposing past and present, rural and urban, local and global facts and features. The first case is the village joc or dansă (dance). Due to its social and aesthetic relevance it used to be the most important and widespread social dance event until the turn of this century. Strongly influenced by geographical location, historical time, and by socio-political and cultural coordinates, the analysis of the village joc is limited to the ethnographic zones of northern Transylvania: Maramureş (village Breb, district Baia Mare, 1972, 2004) and Oaş (village Certeze, district Satu Mare, 1993). At the time when the research was carried out the institution of the village joc was vital and the traditional rules structuring the event were still functional and meaningful. In blatant opposition the second case study is carried out on the popular music and dance manele that presently dominates the entertainment scape in urban social settings (such as Bucharest).

Theoretically, space refers to the structural geometrical qualities of a physical environment. In reality, however, space is never an abstract ensemble of spatial coordinates and does not exist beyond humans, who fill it with life making it a place. "...place is the notion that includes the dimensions of lived experience, interaction and use of a space by its inhabitants" [Hornecker 2005]. The first case study intends to analyse the way a traditionally given space is transformed in a place where people interact on different levels (social, artistic) according to implicit rules that prescribe their behaviour and the placing of the dance in space. I raised questions during my fieldwork experiences in Maramureş and Oaş such as: What are these norms and rules? How do they function? And how are they transformed in time. The second case study dedicated to manele provides examples of uncontrollable freedom of the dance practice and of the way it "invades" the space transforming it in a dancing place.
A large barn with rectangular shape and a main entrance provided traditionally the space for dancing in Breb and Certeze. After World War II the village *joc* changed its location getting an honoured place in the centre of the village. The real barn was replaced by a construction maintaining only the wooden skeleton of the barn thereby becoming a dedicated symbolic place for dancing and social gathering (named *la şopru*).

![Figure 1. Women watching the dancing la şopru in Breb at Pentecoste, May 2004. (Photograph by Helene Eriksen)](image)

In Certeze the physical space for dancing is a large round platform covered by a roof supported by wooden poles with a central one marking the place for the musicians. Wooden stairs give access to the round shaped platform called "mushroom" (*ciupercă*) where the village *joc* takes place.³

![Figure 2. A girl running to the "mushroom". Certeze at Easter, May, 1993. (Photograph taken from a video recording by A. Giurchescu)](image)

Both the "barn" of Breb and the "mushroom" of Certeze may be considered, according to Marc Augé, as "anthropological places" for the real (concrete) and symbolic construction of space, which localises a culture in time and space [Augé 1992:52]. Indeed, the village *joc* has a powerful functional significance for being a premarital
ceremonial/ritual, a symbolic expression of social status, gender and age hierarchy, display of economic wealth, and an artistic performance. The space of the "barn" in Breb may be considered all inclusive for being open for both dancers and onlookers, which are grouped according to gender, age and marital criteria, each of them having assigned fixed places in space. The musicians occupy the place at the bottom of the barn, opposite the entrance. In front of them is the "place of honour" designated for men with high social, artistic or economic status. Segregated during intermissions, the girls and young men meet only when dancing. The girls' placement in space, depending upon the partner's status, symbolises once more the men's dominating position over the girls. The "average" young men dance in the middle section of the barn, while the beginners' place is close to the entrance. The onlookers are arranged around the dance place following a relative fixed pattern: the women build a compact group that is separated and opposed to the men's one. In front of the women gather the girls waiting to be invited to dance. From the proxemics point of view, the ethnographic zones of Maramureș and Oaș are characterised by the intimate personal space between the individuals who are tightly linked to each other by holding hands and arms, both when watching, dancing or walking throughout the village [Hall 1966:116–119].

In contrast to Breb, a notable transformation in time is the change from the all-inclusivity of the "barn" to the exclusive character of the "mushroom" dance space. Entering the "mushroom" of Certeze is strictly interdicted to all those who are not active participants. The interactions observed by all the participants and the visible disposition in the dance place symbolise the invisible ideology, rules of behaviour and beliefs that make up the "spirit" (topos) of the place inhabited by a given community. From this perspective the use of space and the interaction between participants draw a contradictory and polarised image of the village dansă at the "mushroom" that balances between ritual/ceremonial and artistic performance, between public and private [Iosif 2005].

Entering the dance place is solely the privilege of the young men together with the musicians who are placed at the centre. The onlookers are not permitted to enter. Neither are the girls who are obliged to wait outside the "mushroom" until they are invited to dance, and quickly, when the dance is over, to return and join their peers (no matter rain, cold or snow).
For paying for the music, the young men symbolically own the dance place including the girls, and the way the dancers are placed in space symbolises once more the men's dominating position. Therefore, participating at the village danț is a challenging and stressful task for the girls. Only the chosen ones may stay on the platform together with the young men during intermissions. The spot on which a young man dances is inherited from his older brother or a relative and its proximity to the place of honour (around the musicians) symbolises the prestige status of his family in the community [Iosif 2005].

The danț at the "mushroom" functions as well as a public space (a show-case) open towards the community which judges and valorises the adolescents' artistic performance, and their knowledge of the norms of social interaction. From the insiders' (dancers') perspective, the dance event functions as a private property, culturally owned by the young men for their own use. During the intermissions, the "mushroom" construction seems "closed" by an imaginary screen. In this supposedly "unseen" place young people behave without any constraints, hugging, touching and kissing each other. The partners act in the 'intimate zone' reserved for lovers [Hall 1966:116–119]. This use of space conveys a strong feeling of intimacy and enhances the awareness of belonging to a certain cultural tradition and to a social group (Figure 4).

Figure 4. The chosen girls enjoy interacting without constraints with their boy friends during an intermission. Certeze at Easter, May 1993.

(Photograph taken from a video recording A. Giurchescu)

In 1993 I was convinced that the village danț institution of Certeze was so well structured by traditionally set rules that it would last for a long time. After less than a decade, however, the danț of Certeze has become dysfunctional and has died out for being too rigid and not permitting changes.

Since 1990 the soundscape of big cities such as Bucharest is dominated by manele, once the music of a marginal social group, the Roma, presently adopted by non-Romany as well. It started in the early 1970s as a symbolic opposition to the exclusion of the Romany communities, settled in the outskirts of the cities (mahalale) from Romanian society. The Oriental-Balkan contaminated melodies and dance movements, and the sexualised and aggressive behaviour were strongly opposed by intellectuals of rather purist orientation who demonized them, turning them into a symbol of Romania's cultural decadence. Manele are, in fact, the byproduct of the nationalist Cultural Management
under the Communist regime of Romania's Balkan-Oriental past, of Western cultural pressure and rapid globalisation [Giurchescu; Rădulescu 2011:31–34].

The power of *manele* arises from the dominant role they play in public and private events such as weddings, baptisms, funerals, anniversaries, and parties organised in restaurants and clubs, and from the high visibility on private media.

![Manele at a Romani wedding. Bucharest, 2011. (Photograph: Gheorghe Popescu)](image)

*Manele* may be considered a multi-media mode of expression including vocal and instrumental music, dance, speeches ("dedications"), gestures, and a characteristic way of dressing that stresses orientalism and aggressive masculinity. During my research on *manele* I was impressed by the way the dancing to *manele* music has the capacity of transforming a trivial space (a restaurant for example) into a symbolic place for "interactive socialisation". The practice of *manele* conveys the space with a special feeling ("spirit"), making it a place with a strong communication circuit that connects the musicians, the dancers and all the participants. The orchestra is placed on a platform. The melodies they play are a patchwork of Oriental, Occidental and local "light" music on *ciftetelli* syncopated rhythm (amphibrach + spondee). Soon the decibels rise to deafening heights, hindering any verbal communication. People begin to drink and dance individually or in couples next to their tables and on the dance floor. After a few hours they become euphoric and start dancing on the tables, throwing tips at the musicians. It is the task of the vocalist to create this special atmosphere and to communicate with the customers, who answer by making "dedications". For mediating the dedication of money the vocalist not only enforces the connection between people but also demonstrates their wealth and 'generosity' in a symbolic way; the money is thrown at him: "without number, without number"! During the dedications the melody is suspended while the dance continues to the rhythmic accompaniment.

Observing people dancing to *manele* music, it is difficult to distinguish an overall model that could be conceptualised as a *manea* dance. One may rather speak about a seemingly free improvised succession of structured movements that are selected from the dancer's own stock of kinetic stereotypes according to his/her competence and ability. I quote a young dancer "It is not a general rule how to dance. Everybody dances how he feels. Our dance is relaxed and free". In fact there is not a proper *manele* dance and any kind of moving in accordance with the *ciftetelli* rhythm is felt as 'dancing on *manele*
music' [Giurchescu; Rădulescu 2011:22]. The movement vocabulary extends from only suggested, small body swings to more complex patterns where elements of belly dance and imitations of imaginary "Oriental" dancing combine with Gypsy dance movements and gestures, and with Western popular dances. Each instance of a danced manea is a spontaneous, individualised and unrepeateable creation. The fundamental motivation for dancing manele lies in the pleasure produced by the sensual movements that is further communicated to the onlookers, who decode it in terms of sexual attraction.

Figure 6. Dancing pe manele at a Romany wedding. Bucharest, 2011.
(Photograph: Gheorghe Popescu)

For young women dancing pe manele is not only fun, but a way to realise their femininity. In the song texts and on the public scene, however, manele explicitly express men's domination over the women's sexuality. When the communicational circuit functions, the reaction of the public is both emotional and physical. People accompany the musical rhythm with clapping, shaking shoulders, waving uplifted arms, yelling and shouting.

In pe manele dancing partners do not dance with each other, but for each other. Their choreographic dialogue is expressed through dance movements, gestures, body posture and mimicry. The love discourse is interrupted by arrhythmic movements, pauses, looks, words, laughter, and kisses, the non-dance elements being incorporated in the emotional substance of the dance. Codified gestures and actions substitute the verbal expression in group interactions, such as touching, dancing around or placing an honoured person in front of the musicians. A soloist never dances alone; internally he interacts with his/her surrounding be it the melody, the text or the rhythm, a person, or the money, with everything he may imagine. Intoxicated by alcohol and the loud music the dancer internalises a sense of total liberty and enjoyment. There are no rules structuring this event: the dancing pe manele conquers the space and the dance is everywhere. We may rather speak about the appropriation of the space by the inhabitants (the maneliști) who transform the trivial space of a restaurant into a place with soul and identity⁹ ("anthropological place").

A last side comment: The village joc/danț, a cultural heritage – which symbolised the spirit of communality, social control and artistic creativity, is vanishing. It is presently
counterbalanced by chaotic, individualist, aggressive behaviour and by lack of civility. These facts are in essence the visible symbols of a society that is experiencing the stressful process of healing and becoming mature after half a century of oppression.

Endnotes
1. The community's dance event is called joc in Maramureș while in Oaș it is called danț or joc.
2. The fieldwork in Certeze, at Easter time, 1993, was carried out in collaboration with the anthropologist Corina Iosif. In 2005, after more fieldwork in the same location, Corina Iosif published the book "Hora din Certeze". The fieldwork in the village Breb was carried out over a long period of time (1972 and 1973 with a team of scholars from the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of Bucharest and in 2004 with the Sub-Study Group on Field Research Theory and Methods of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology) offered valuable examples for processes of stability and change.
3. The circular form of the "mushroom" construction, which became a model in the middle of the last century in northern Transylvania seems to be inspired by the "pavilions" or "kiosks" for the music bands that used to play in the parks of the cities.
4. For some couples dancing in the place of honour is implicitly a public announcement of their future marriage.
7. Çiftetelli (Turkish) (Tsiphte teli, Greek) name given to two strings that are put in the same groove of a violin and are tuned either to the same, or one octave apart. It refers to the ornamented melody and the belly dance style of movements performed in duple meter (anapest+spondee) particularly by Romani women and/or men alone or in couples.
8. The vocalist mediates between a certain person in the audience (comprised of nouveau rich of the 'underworld', their bodyguards, and lower-class young people) who wishes to impress, by transmitting ("dedicating") flattering messages to another person. The vocalist has to repeat quickly, with a convincing voice, the text and the name of the person (s) to whom the money is virtually dedicated.

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DANCE PRACTICES IN BANAT: MOUNTAIN VILLAGE DANCES IN THE REGIONAL CITY OF TIMIȘOARA

I examine dancing practices in the urban context of the city of Timișoara which supports a lively 'local' music and dance scene. In addition to the music and dance from the plain area around Timișoara, this 'local' scene includes music and dance that is displaced from its origins in the separate rural Banat mountain ethnographic zone. Although both the mountains and the plain are considered to be in 'Banat', and the inhabitants of both identify themselves as 'bănățene', I justify that this can be considered a 'displaced' tradition in terms of ethnography and history. I look at the inclusion Banat mountain dancing through the city event organisation and the dance knowledge held by participants in Timișoara. I propose that the visibility and the dancing knowledge provided by the influential dance teachers have secured the representation of Banat identity by using Banat mountain music and dance in in the city context.

Keywords: Romania-Banat; displaced tradition; dance ensemble

This paper examines performance and participatory dancing practices in the urban context of the city of Timișoara which supports a lively 'local' music and dance scene. This examination focuses on the organisations, including the key people and the events, that promote participation in Banat mountain dancing Timișoara.

The current Romanian 'Banat' region borders the countries of Serbia and Hungary, these borders being created following the end of the First World War in the Treaty of Versailles. This Treaty divided the wider 'Banat' region approximately along the boundaries of majority population and led to the parts of 'Banat' being incorporated into the three separate countries [Crăciun 2010]. Ethnographically, the Romanian Banat separates into two distinct zones [Giurchescu; Bloland 1995:264]: the plain areas of the rivers Timiș, Mureș and Criș, which is in the administrative county of Timiș; and the mountain zone between Transylvania, Oltenia and Serbia, which is in the administrative county of Caraș-Severin. In reality, there is not a clear boundary in ethnographic zones between the mountains and the plain, so the commonly used ethnographic sub-zones include an interference region in the low hilly areas, and each mountain valley is also considered a separate sub-zone (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Map of ethnographic zones.
In order to justify that this can be considered a 'displaced' tradition when both the mountain zones and Timișoara are considered to be one 'Banan', one must look at the regional history to examine the ideas of 'place' in terms of both the region identified as 'Banan' and the differentiation of the ethnomusicological zones from where the dances are attributed.

The Hapsburg 'Banan of Temesvar' (borders from 1739 to 1751) is the basis of the current usage of 'Banan', and the area now split between Romania, Serbia, and Hungary. This Habsburg province resulted from the acquisition of the Ottoman province of Eyâlet-i Temesvar [Hațegan 2003:27]. During the Habsburg period, the plain marshland was drained and the existing population expanded by a planned immigration from many European countries. The majority of the new immigrants were Germans, amounting to around fifteen per cent of the total population [Milin 1996:208]. After 1778, the Banat mountain zone continued as the Habsburg Banat Military Frontier until 1871, where the local Romanian and Serbian villagers had privileges and responsibilities, leading to continuing stability in the population [Marin 2009].4 Whereas, the remainder of Banat joined the Hapsburg Empire, coming under the direct control of Hungary in 1867, following the political change to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This enabled immigration of Hungarians in to the plain region, peaking at around ten per cent of the population before World War One [Milin 1996:208].

This ethnographic separation contrasts a region with immigrations and many cultural influences versus an area of stable predominantly Romanian settlement, and is further reinforced by the contrast between the city of Timișoara and the rural mountain zone (see Table 1). Here, I examine how the geographically 'displaced' music and dances from the adjacent ethnomusicological zone of the Banat mountains is used equally, if not in preference, to present the music of the local 'Banan' Romanian culture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mountain Banat</th>
<th>Timișoara</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural Mountain Border zone Regional Village dance groups</td>
<td>vs. City vs. Plain vs. Planned immigration vs. University city vs. Ensembles: professional, students, municipal.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 1. Contrasting the 'city' in the plain and the 'rural' in the mountain ethnographic zone.

Cultural events and people

It is very often the case that minority communities or communities that have relocated continue their music and dance practices at weddings and events internal to the communities, but in the case of Banat mountain music and dance there is also participation and presentation at public events in the city of Timișoara. This situation can be explained by looking at the people and organisations that promote 'local' music and dance in the city context. The city of Timișoara has seven cultural organisations that are funded directly by central government or local government which cover theatre, philharmonic orchestra, opera and the folk arts [Marinescu 2010]. Two organisations, the Timiș County Centre for Culture and Arts and the Municipal Culture House, are involved in presenting 'folk arts'. The culture houses of Eastern Europe are often associated with the communist period, but a network of culture houses already existed in Romania prior
to the Second World War, with the earliest founded in the late nineteenth century [Parohia Caramidarii de Jos 2009; Portalul judetului Bihor 2009]. The role of the urban culture house is now an administration office for cultural activities and a space for community group rehearsals.

The Municipal Culture House in Timișoara is within the funding and management structure of the Municipal City Hall organisation and is responsible for all cultural events (around sixty activities per year) funded by the City Hall [Deaconescu 2011] and so plays an important role in the organisation of events and the promotion of Banat music and dance within the city. The Culture House is also the home of the Municipal ensemble 'Timișul' and the relationship between 'Timișul' and the Municipal Culture House is critical in the discussion on visibility of dancing in the city [Green; Mellish 2011]. The local visibility (see Slobin [1993:17] regarding the concept of 'visibility') of 'Timișul' includes performances at about twelve of the city's annual events and they can also be regularly seen on television channels dancing behind many of the Banat singers.

**Dance spaces – places to participate in dancing**

There are many events in the city that provide opportunities for 'participatory' dancing; city events with performances of local music, dance ensemble events, weddings and other closed events, and at venues such as restaurants and clubs. When discussing participatory performance, Turino highlights the roles of the participants and potential participants at the event and comments that the goal is to involve the maximum number of people compared to the 'presentation performance' where the artists provide music and dance for a seated audience [Turino 2008:25]. The city organised events are predominantly 'community' events that draw on the community's amateur and professional performers, are free to enter, and take place at venues which include food and drink stalls. At these events the age range of the participating audience is from young children attending with parents, to teenagers and young adults, through to elderly pensioners. A typical event has the stalls around an open area for the audience, with a stage at the focus. The events typically start with a dance performance by 'Timișul', including songs by the resident ensemble singers, then this is followed by the hired singers each performing a half hour set of songs during which the audience's participation in dancing generally starts. The singers only perform songs from the Banat region, both the local plain zone and the mountain zone, restricting the music to the dances known by the locals. As the mood for dancing grows, the numbers dancing increases until the space in front of the stage is a mass of small groups of people holding hands in circles and dancing in-between the neighbouring groups.

**Choreographer biographies**

Within these cultural organisations there are choreographers who are responsible for the teaching, staging and content of 'local' dance performances. In Timișoara, the early choreographed dance activities were based around the Opera and, in 1944, Ionel Marcu, who was previously ballet master at the Opera in Cluj, returned to his native Banat to be in charge of the folk ensemble choreography. The next three decades in Timișoara are characterised by choreographers who graduated in choreography from an arts based background of dance or drama, and often with strong connections to the influential Bucharest folk ensembles. The list of the choreographers for the professional ensemble 'Banatul' based at the Timiș county Centre for Culture and Arts only includes one choreographer (Petru Pâl) who originated from the Banat mountain zone [C.C.A.J.T. 2011]. This ensemble promotes music and dance across the Timiș county (the plain zone).
and does not directly promote Banat mountain dancing in the city context. This position is strengthened by both the director and choreographer being from villages in the Banat plain zone.\textsuperscript{6}

The influential choreographers from the 1970s to the present show a change in background compared to the previous generation (see Figure 2).\textsuperscript{7} These key choreographers all come from the Banat mountain zone showing that the second generation of dance teachers in Timișoara have their roots in the Banat mountains. These individuals all started their dancing careers in village Culture House dance groups, and then most were selected at auditions for the 'Lazar Cernescu' ensemble of Caransebeș (county town of the mountain region) in the early 1960s as part of a drive to recruit dancers from a local village background.

The migration from Caransebeș to Timișoara for the dancers came about following political changes in the county administration in 1970, which led to the regional capital and the regional professional ensemble moving from Caransebeș to Timișoara [Isac 2011a]. Not only dancers migrate to Timișoara, but many people continue to move for university education and employment, including the two currently most influential choreographers (Toma Frențescu and Marius Ursu) that arrived to study science and engineering.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{choreographers.png}
\caption{Map of choreographers birth places.}
\end{figure}

Compared to the activities of the professional ensemble 'Banatul' at the Centre for Culture and Arts, the Municipal ensemble 'Timișul' has greater visibility at many city events and represents 'Banat' as both the plain and mountain zones, with its strength in the mountain dances provided by the choreographers (Toma Frențescu and Lăiță Stănescu). In this way, the presentation of local 'Banat' music and dance within the city has a strong 'mountain' content by virtue of history linking the two ethnographic zones as one identity and recent migration leading to the influential people originating from the mountains.
Municipal Culture House as a learning centre

Presentation on stage and the visibility in the city are only two aspects for influencing the music and dance identified as local by the locals. The Culture House is also a centre of learning with many dance classes, all under the banner of 'Timișul'. Typically, ensembles tend to have a static membership, this being particularly true for professional ensembles, and they have a membership that is limited to the number required for performances. However, 'Timișul' currently has a young children's class, a children's group that includes three age ranges from five years old to teenage, a teenage ensemble that performs in its own right, a 'fetița' (young girls) group of some 50 girls, a next generation in waiting, the current main ensemble, plus a number of the previous generation that still perform.

Much of the dance teaching, ensemble choreographies and social dancing in 'Timișul' are based on the mountain region dances. The influence of 'Timișul' in the dance repertoire and staged styling is further transmitted through an extended network [Mellish 2012] which is formed from former dancers that teach other ensembles and school classes. Current and former 'Timișul' dancers are now choreographers at ensemble 'Doina Timișului' (Marius Ursu), ensemble 'Lugojana' (Puiu Munteanu), ensemble 'Cununa Timisului' (Lăția Stănescu) plus several of the current generation have started to teaching classes in local schools and villages during the last two years. The influence of choreographer, Toma Frențescu, can also be traced through the adoption of the technique of dancing in 'contra-timp' which is typical of a particular area of Banat mountain villages and is now common in participatory dancing at events in Timișoara and in many ensembles [Green 2012a].

I would argue that the quantity of dancers over several generations that have been taught Banat mountain dancing under the umbrella of the 'Timisul' network is sufficient to affect the extent of dance knowledge in the local community.

Content of participatory dancing

The dance knowledge and preferences between plain and mountain dances can be evaluated by examining the participatory repertoire at events. There are some generic dances that are common to both the mountain and plain regions; horă which is danced in a large open circle typically at the start of events and ardeleană which is most often danced in small circles of dancers at events in the city (see Figure 4), but can also be danced as couples. The typical generic dance for the plain region is soroc, danced as a couple, and typical for the mountain region are the chain dance brâuł bătrăn (the old brâu) and the fast dance de doi (which may be danced as couples or in small circles). The most popular mountain dance in the city context is brâuł bătrăn where the dance is simply known as Brâuł (see Figure 5). 8

The dance repertoire varies depending on the participants at the event (see Table 2), so at closed events such as weddings the audience may be from either or both of the mountain or plain zones, hence dictating the repertoire. At 'Timișul' party events the dancing is always Brâuł (see Figure 6), Ardeleana and De doi; the dance cycle from the mountain region. At the city organised events the participation dances tend to be Hora and mostly Ardeleana, but the mountain Brâuł is now popular enough to be seen danced by over half of the dancers (note that brâuł and ardeleana can both be danced to the same music). Although the plain region dance Sorocul is included in many singer's repertoires I have rarely seen any of the audience participating in this dance. Outside Timișoara, only as far as the satellite villages such as Ghiroda and Giarmata, the knowledge of Brâuł fades
to only one or two circles of dancers choosing this over Ardeleana, indicating that the knowledge in the city has not spread through the wider area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local dances (see section 3.1)</th>
<th>Public festival events</th>
<th>Weddings &amp; ensemble anniversary parties</th>
<th>Closed ensemble events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banat dances</td>
<td>Hora</td>
<td>Hora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banat plain dances</td>
<td>Sorocul (music played but rarely danced)</td>
<td>Sorocul</td>
<td>Not generally seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banat mountain dances</td>
<td>Ardeleana, Brâul</td>
<td>Ardeleana, Brâul, De doi</td>
<td>Ardeleana, Brâul, De doi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dances from other zones</td>
<td>Sârba, and the occasional couple doing a Transylvanian dance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Participatory dancing

Conclusions

I have discussed the creation of the identity 'Banat' which includes two regions of very different ethnographic background. This inclusion of the mountain zone within the 'Banat' identity enables the promotion of the mountain music and dance together with the local Banat plain music and dance in the regional capital city of Timișoara. Many of those who have been influential in dance teaching and performance in Timișoara migrated when the Caransebeș professional ensemble closed and the Timișoara 'Banatul' ensemble was founded. The current generation of choreographers came to Timișoara for university studies and have successfully changed careers to become ensemble teachers, this is further continued by the new dance teachers trained within the ensembles, so that most of the dance teaching is based around Banat mountain dances. In addition to these dancing opportunities adapting local dance knowledge, it might also be that the brighter and more dynamic mountain dances are found more enjoyable by the audiences and participants.

I have proposed that the dance teaching, ensemble presentation and event organisation by key people in the city's organisation have provided the visibility and increased popularity of the mountain dances, to the extent that there is sufficient knowledge to see the mountain Brâul danced regularly in the city, whereas the local Sorocul is very rarely danced.
Figure 3. Participation in the Hora at the opening of the Timișoara Ruga
(Photograph by Nick Green, 2009)

Figure 4. Audience dancing Ardeleana at the Timișoara Wine Festival
(Photo by Nick Green, 2010)

Figure 5. Dancing Brâul at a wedding in Timișoara
(Photograph by Nick Green, 2011)
Endnotes

1. I use the term 'local' to avoid the need to consider the use of 'traditional', 'folk' or 'popular' when discussing a local form of music and dance that is being used in the community. This avoids the issues of attempting to differentiate between 'traditional', 'folk' and 'popular', maintains a terminology that appears to be correct to both the Romanian insider and the outsider dance academic, and secures the notion that this music and dance is geographically placed.

2. This is an expansion of part of the research undertaken for my master's dissertation [Green 2011].

3. Although the 'Banat of Temeswar' included both the plain and mountain zones, the term 'the Banat' is confusingly used by some to refer only to the plain (in the same way as 'the Ukraine' or 'the Steppe').

4. The mountain zone has a long history as a military border zone as prior to the Ottoman invasion it was the Hungarian 'Banat of Severin' defensive zone [Giurescu 1972:56].

5. The major city events attract significant audience numbers, generally about compatible with the venue space, so the Wine Festival at the stadium has around 10,000 per night [Paulescu 2009]), the Ruga saint's day celebration in the park has about 5,000 per night [Timis online 2010]), and the international folk festival Festivalul Inimilor has 3,000 seated audience in the park per evening.

6. The choreographer, Ionel Marcu, was born in 1908 in the village of Sasca Montană [Isac 2011b]. The current director of the professional ensemble is Ciprian Cipu who was born in 1937 in the village of Vermeş [Stancu 1997] and the current choreographer is Milosav Tatarici who was born 1931 in the village of Dejan in the Banat plain in 1953 [Isac 2011d]. Petru Pălu, the only Banat mountain born choreographer of the professional ensemble was born in 1930 in the mountain village of Obreja [Isac 2011c].

7. The influential choreographers from the 1970s to the present are; Toma Frentescu born in 1947 in the mountain village of Borlova [Timişul 2011], Lățăţ Stănescu born in 1946 in the mountain village of Ciuta [Isac 2010b], Luţa Bunei born in 1945 in the mountain village of Glimboca [Isac 2010c], Ion Ghiaur born in 1948 in the mountain village of Glimboca [Isac 2010a] and Puiu Munteanu [Cipru 2004] and to this we can add Marius Ursu, born in 1964, from the mountain village Prigor [Ursu 2011a, Ursu 2011b].

8. The way of dancing Brâul Bătrân in the city context uses the same structural rules as the mountain versions [Green 2012b], but the performance is slightly changed in styling. The video shown at the conference can be seen at <http://youtu.be/FVML1qnSpWw>.
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FOLK DANCING ABROAD:
BULGARIAN FOLK DANCE ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY

Folk dance of the Bulgarian Diaspora in the United States today is related to today's Bulgarian folk dance scene in Bulgaria at many levels. Folk dance activities in the United States (US) are initiated by people who belong to the so-called mlada emigracija (recent immigrants). These are Bulgarians who came to the US in the 1990s and later, and to a certain degree are still bound to the homeland. The majority of them are well settled and open to activities beyond their vocations and the expanding recreational folk dance movement in Bulgaria (and its driving forces) acts as a potent stimulus. Where US dance group leaders have choreographic training from Bulgaria one may observe connections to their previous professional experience in terms of repertoire and methodology. Inexperienced enthusiast-leaders, on the other hand, develop repertoire from sources distributed via media; this re-discovered Bulgarian dance repertoire gradually becomes the centrepiece of local community parties and celebrations.

Keywords: United States; Bulgaria; diaspora; repertoire; media

Bulgarian folk dance in the United States today, as performed by Bulgarians in rehearsed groups or at casual parties and celebrations, is strongly related to today's Bulgarian folk dance scene in Bulgaria. Because of this, I first provide a brief overview of the folk dance club trend in Bulgaria, which developed tremendously over the past several years.

During the first symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe in 2008 in Struga, Macedonia, I devoted my paper to the newly born Bulgarian recreational folk dance phenomenon. Differing from the "classical" folk dance ensemble model, this movement is open to all ages and welcomes members of every dance experience level. In Struga I presented examples of the first and second festival competitions, Horo Se Vie Izviva (The Dance Line is Curving and Twisting), that took place in Sofia in 2007 and 2008. In the first festival event there were about 20 folk dance clubs competing. One year later, in March 2008, there were about twice as many clubs with nearly one thousand dancers of different ages. In order to analyse the reasons for this movement's growth in popularity I compared 2007-2008's relatively stable economic period in Bulgaria to the economic situation in the 1990s, when most people were neither in a mood to dance nor able to pay monthly dues for their leisure-activities. I considered factors such as:

- Increased number of schools with choreography classes in their curricula
- Establishment of new private universities with folk choreography programmes, in addition to the two already established institutions
- Increased number of professional choreographers that graduated from state and private universities that were looking for professional careers
- Open possibilities for founding clubs at community centres, gyms, schools, kindergarten and other places
- Rediscovery of the beauty of traditional Bulgarian music and dance
• Heightened patriotism, awareness of Bulgarian identity and the "uniqueness of Bulgarian folklore"
  • Need for movement
  • Fashion
  • Mass sport/new type of fitness

My research of this phenomenon at that time also included 189 questionnaires with adults new to folk dancing (see Ivanova-Nyberg 2011:321–334). Representative answers to my question about the reasons for this folk dance movement were, "Finally, folks became aware that we are Bulgarians; we got tired of chalga". (Chalga in Bulgaria today is a specific genre, identified by researchers as ethnopopfolk [Dimov 2001]). I mention these responses here because they are also related to my research among the Bulgarian community in the United States.

Since these first contests, interest in recreational dancing in Bulgaria has risen remarkably. One cannot say the exact number of clubs that are in existence today nationwide, how many professional choreographers-club leaders and enthusiasts-members are involved, nor the number of folk dance club competitions and seminars that take place over a year. There are websites, teaching DVDs and CDs to accompany the regular gatherings for practice. Since 2011 a popular television reality show, Nadigray me! (Try to Outdance Me!) has appeared on Bulgarian National Television; there is intense competitive casting for each broadcast. (See <http://bnt.bg/bg/productions/about/133/nadigray_me_treti_sezon> [2012 10 July]). The first Bulgarian Horoteka (after "Discotheque") opened in 2011 next to the National Palace of Culture in Sofia and a few months later this announcement appeared:

**FIRST BULGARIAN HORO-TEKA**
May 25 Friday 7.30pm, Jazzercise Fitness Center, 10837 San Pablo Ave., El Cerrito, CA,
Admission: $10.00
FIRST BULGARIAN HORO-TEKA with Ens. ANTIKA,SF & Ens.VEREA, Chicago.

This overview aims to outline the increased popularity in recreational folk dancing in Bulgaria not only as physical and social activity, but also as a movement that is largely popularised via media and internet. How are these related to my US research?

My involvement in Bulgarian folk dance activities in the United States
My multiple coast-to-coast American dance teaching tours in the past decade introduced me, along with American international folk dance groups, to some Bulgarian ensembles led by professional Bulgarian choreographers (Boston, Washington DC, Chicago, Pittsburg, and others). Members of these were mostly or entirely Bulgarians. It was not until 2009, however, that I stumbled upon Lyush (Swing) Dance Ensemble while in Dallas, Texas. The group was directed by an enthusiastic Bulgarian couple with no formal choreographic training who, after graduating from American universities, made the States their home. Also, in 2009 the Bulgarian community in Dallas officially established the Bulgarian American (Bulgare) Cultural Center, with a Bulgarian elementary school; Lyush became only one of the various cultural activities of the centre.

In 2009, during my teaching at Balkanalia Folk Music and Dance Camp in Oregon, I was approached by a Bulgarian lady who asked if I have teaching DVDs. She said that a few Bulgarian couples, middle aged inexperienced dancers, recently established a
Bulgarian recreational folk dance group at Podkrepa (Support) Bulgaro-Macedonian Cultural Association in Portland, Oregon (The association itself was founded in 1939). They called themselves, with a pinch of humor, Rosna Kitka (Dewy Nosegay, or Fresh Bouquet).

In the years after my first visit to Podkrepa Hall in 2009 for a class with Rosna Kitka, I discovered (or encountered in person) similar newly established Bulgarian groups for recreational folk dancing. These were in Chicago, Los Angeles, the San Francisco area (three groups), San Diego, Las Vegas, St. Louis, San Antonio, Detroit, plus cities on the East Coast and also in Canada. New Bulgarian folk dance initiatives also appeared in Seattle. These groups were led either by professional choreographers or amateur enthusiasts. The establishment of the Bulgarian recreational folk dance group in most of these cities was often joined to a Bulgarian cultural centre/house/foundation/academy with a Sunday school for Bulgarian children. Apparently, the foundations of Bulgarian cultural centres and schools in many places came as a result of linking Bulgarian language schools for children with classes for learning traditional music and dance, along with other cultural activities.

In 2011, I began teaching Bulgarian traditional dances and Bulgarian language classes at the newly established Bulgarian school at Podkrepa. After conducting interviews with senior members of the Association, sons and daughters of the associations' founders, I learned that enjoying traditional Bulgarian and Macedonian dances along with other dances, was a central part of Podkrepa's meetings during the 1950s and 1960s. The dancing gradually disappeared due to aging of the first generation and because of rigid rules for acceptance of new members [Meyer 2012:interview].

Rosna Kitka was established a few decades after the disappearance of the dance component of the association's monthly meetings. The initial reason was an approaching Bulgarian wedding and the mere realisation that neither the groom (a Bulgarian), nor the parents and Bulgarian guests knew how to dance the "Bulgarian" way. Once established, the group continued to meet twice monthly and learned repertoire by watching recent folk dance teaching DVDs produced in Bulgaria (to the amazement and amusement of the local American Balkan folk dancers). These reinvented dances naturally jumped over the rehearsal format; it is not an exaggeration to say that this repertoire is the centrepiece of Podkrepa's parties and celebrations today.

Let me now move to Chicago because this is the American city with the largest resident Bulgarian population.² I would like to focus here on the establishment of the Verea Folk Dance Club in 2010 and on its leader's activities.

Interviewee background

A few points from my interview with Konstantin Marinov, Verea's founder, shed light upon both the organised and spontaneous Bulgarian folk dance repertoire of the Chicago Bulgarian community.

Konstantin Marinov was born in 1973 in the Thracian city of Stara Zagora (the city was known as Verea in ancient times, giving its name to the club). He graduated from the National Choreography School in Sofia. As a child he danced with the children-youth ensemble, Zagorovche. Later on he danced with Zagore and with Slunchev Bryag (Sunny Beach) professional ensembles. Konstantin came to the United States in 1999 while touring with Slunchev Bryag Ensemble and, for him, this was a one-way trip. My interviewee did not return to Bulgaria for 10 years. "Why did you come to the States", I asked? "Because I was a free-lance dancer. I danced in the ensemble, danced here and there; but it was a difficult period for dancers" [Marinov 2011:interview].
While settled in Chicago, Konstantin participated in the Chicago Balkan Spring festival as either a dancer, with a Horo dance ensemble (established in 2003), or as a musician. He began teaching Bulgarian folk dances regularly at several Bulgarian schools, affiliated or not with one of the several Bulgarian churches [Marinov 2011:interview]. When Konstantin returned to Bulgaria for the first time after these ten years abroad he was surprised to discover the popularity of folk dance club activities: "I see that the interest toward the Bulgarian dance, toward the Bulgarian culture is coming back!" Inspired by the Horo se Vie Izviva organizers' activities and by one of the very successful clubs (Folklorica, Sofia), Konstantin founded his Verea club in Chicago.

After the establishment of the club, Konstantin got the idea to start a school.

My dream is to establish a school for arts. I already bought gayda, gadulka, tambura, tupan, kaval… I have the teachers – all professionals who are graduates of Kotel professional music school and the Plovdiv Academy [Marinov 2011:interview].

Konstantin thinks big; he took out a loan for rental of the Verea rehearsal hall. Beyond his plan for a future art school, he wished to include folk theatre based on Bulgarian fairy tales.

Verea was among the performers for the First Bulgarian Festival in Chicago in 2011. This outdoor event was sponsored by two Bulgarian brothers, affluent businessmen. This festival was highly successful, with thousands of performers and guests. In 2012 Verea alone organised the Second Bulgarian Festival in Chicago with nine Bulgarian dance ensembles from the US and Canada. In 2011, Konstantin initiated evenings of Bulgarian folklore, inviting local Bulgarian musicians. He also started to perform with a small group at one of the Bulgarian restaurants.

My initial idea was that every Sunday, when somebody comes for brunch into the restaurant, we would teach some dances, but there was no interest. Then I spoke with the owner and asked him, "What about preparing a program like the programs we have in Bulgaria at some restaurants?" We started to perform and had a playful part for the guests. We danced four-five dances inviting them to join us (for Eleno mome, Dunavsko…. popular dances…) Believe me, nobody, nobody came to join us, maybe only if we dance pravo. If, however, the restaurant owner plays Byala Roza, all the customers are on the dance floor… I don't know how this Byala Roza has this impact on people but… this song seems to have become an "anthem" of the Bulgarian immigrants [Marinov 2011:interview].

**Byala Roza (White Rose) — the "anthem" of Bulgarian immigrants?**

Being very careful with generalisations, I would say from personal experience that Chicago is not the only place that one may observe a situation similar to that which was described by Konstantin. Byala Rosa is a phenomenon of its own and I can not address its complexity in this paper. In terms of music this is a newly composed pop-folk song in 9/8 metre, presented by popular folk singer Slavka Kalcheva, which may be described by anthropologists and folklorists as "light chalga". As a dance, this is a devetorka pattern, a line dance performed with two measures of movement to the right and one to the left. The only brief note I would make here is that the simplicity in melody and steps (traditional
line folk dance pattern) made Byala Roza a national hit for people who love (or don't object to) the ethno-pop-folk repertoire.

**Analytical review**

Byala Rosa is largely considered to be one of the traditional Bulgarian dances, if not "the Bulgarian dance" among the majority of the Bulgarian communities in the US. In cities, however, where Bulgarian dance groups have been established lately, and in which the group members attend the local Bulgarian gatherings, the party repertoire usually includes traditional dances that were learned during rehearsals of these folk dance groups (Rosna Kitka, for example). Attendees in the groups in the States are Bulgarians of all ages and professions, predominately women, which is also the case in Bulgaria.

The groups are generally led by people with formal choreographic training in Bulgaria. When one reads the biographies of the leaders of the performing groups that attended the Second Bulgarian Festival one will observe a strong dancer/choreographer background. Group leaders, however, belong to different generations and there are also differences in terms of approaches and interpretations for stage performance. There are leaders with life-long professional ensemble training who are developing in their American-Bulgarian ensembles a concept similar to their Bulgarian experience (Ensemble Horo, from Chicago, for example). Others, who also have professional dance ensemble and choreographic training, rely more heavily on traditional songs and dance patterns (Antika, San Francisco). The third trend is to a certain degree connected to the previous two but also develops creative choreographies to newly-composed Bulgarian music (Verea, Chicago).

Having researched the Bulgarian folk dance ensemble phenomenon for years, I would argue that there is a significant relationship between the choreography schools from which the choreographers came and their stage performances in the US. As an example, my interviewee who bought traditional instruments for his future art school came from a Bulgarian children's dance ensemble with its own children-musicians. He is tempted to experiment and create new choreographies to newly composed music but he, as a matter of fact, had professional experience with the Bulgarian choreographer, Vassil Gerlimov, known for his creative work and dance "experiments" to newly composed music. Konstantin founded a performance group at the Bulgarian restaurant in Chicago but he also had this experience as a dancer of Slunchev Bryag Ensemble, performing in the Bulgarian Sunny Beach resort. His impetus to initiate the Bulgarian Chicago festival, nevertheless, was inspired by factors that came from "outside" his background — the boom of new recreational folk dance in Bulgaria. In this movement Konstantin saw an alternative to the pop-folk genre, a more genuine Bulgarian music and dance form. Moved by this, he (paraphrasing Appadurai) "dragged" out dance images from his homeland and put them into action (see Appadurai 2000:7), initiating a series of Bulgarian music and dance events.

In Bulgaria, where recreational folk dance clubs tend to develop as ensembles that perform, compete and create costumes, one cannot find a recreational folk dance leader without professional training. In the States, as expressed in this paper, we have not only professionals as folk dance group leaders, but also groups founded by enthusiastic amateurs.

Turning to repertoire created and distributed from Bulgaria, one will find that, in addition to today's popular repertoire choices, there are also dances that are new to the Bulgarian dance scene. An example is the chichovoto dance to a musical arrangement of a popular Gypsy/Romani song recorded by Philip Koutev Ensemble after 2000. It is hard to
imagine that such music and dance would have passed through censorship before the 1990s. Today's clubs learn repertoire from each other, facilitated by contests, websites andyoutube postings. These sources are accessible from anywhere and by everyone, one of the many examples illustrating Welsh's "There is no longer anything absolutely foreign. Everything is within reach" [Welsh 1999:198].

The Bulgarian diaspora's interest in Bulgarian music and dance today is connected to a certain extent to Bulgaria's recreational folk dance movement and its driving forces (such as, "searching for one's roots", and so on). The raised "Bulgarian-ness" that jumped across Bulgaria's borders is only one of many stimuli, an expected echo from the native land. A significant factor is also the growing Bulgarian population in the States. People who are now initiating such activities came to the US in the 1990s and are already well-settled, more open to activities beyond their vocations. Of course not everyone seeks activities related to Bulgarian culture but it is easier today to initiate and find supporters for a school, dance group, and so on.

In conclusion

It has been fascinating to me to observe how one particular dance phenomenon captures the spirit of its time. The Bulgarian folk dance movement in the United States resembles features of the dynamic folk dance scene in Bulgaria, shaped by both processes of continuity and innovation. Simultaneously, the Bulgarian dance repertoire is shaped by the American circumstances and larger processes of globalisation. As such, this repertoire deserves closer observation, one that embraces its many dimensions and complexity.

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FROM HAWAIIAN TEMPLES AND CHIEFLY COURTS TO FESTIVAL STAGES IN JAPAN

Since the arrival of Christian missionaries in Hawai`i in 1820, performances of ritual (*ha`a*) and dance (*hula*) have been forced to move from place to place – specifically from *heiau* (temples) and chiefly courts to other venues. In the globalisation of hula, venues have moved to Kapi`olani park in Waikiki for the Kodak Hula Show for the delight of tourists, to festival stages in Japan and other countries. My paper explores the reasons for these moves and how the performances changed in their new settings. As performances moved, the contexts changed from ritual, to theatre, to spectacle along with changes in gender and the reasons for performing. Along the way, films have been made that focus on hula and it is appropriate to ask how films and photographs have influenced the way we see and experience Hawaiian dance. I have examined some of these concepts before, but here I focus on the place of performance and its influences on traditional dance, on contemporary works, and fusion.

*Keywords*: Hawai`i; hula; ritual; performance place

Where a dance performance takes place dramatically influences how it will be interpreted by those who have come to witness it as well as by the performers themselves. Even if the movements, choreography, and music are the same or similar, the place of performance allows viewers and participants of different levels of knowledge to bring their own agendas. Since the arrival of Christian missionaries in Hawai`i in 1820, performances of ritual (*ha`a*) and dance (*hula*) have been forced to move from place to place – specifically from *heiau* (temples) and chiefly courts to other venues – often underground. During the twentieth century globalisation of hula, venues have moved from these traditional places to Kapi`olani park in Waikiki for the Kodak Hula Show for the delight of tourists, to festival stages in Japan and other countries. Along the way, the participants and beholders have changed from priests and ritual supplicants, kings and chiefs, to tourists and cultural activists. In this paper I explore these moves and how the performances changed in their new settings. As time went by and performances moved, the contexts changed from ritual, to theatre, to spectacle, along with changes in gender and the reasons for performing. Films on hula have been made for various reasons and it is appropriate to ask how films and photographs have influenced the way we see and experience Hawaiian dance. Today I will focus on the places of performance and their influences on traditional dance, on contemporary works, and fusion.

I have been studying the dance traditions of Hawai`i for many years and like to talk about movement dialogues. This gives dances and dancers an agency of their own rather than giving tourists and onlookers an upper hand. In today's globalised modern world, movement dialogues and mixtures that might be observed in Hawaiian dance come primarily from moving performances from ritual spaces and chiefly courts to theatres and festival stages. The term "dialogues" focuses on reciprocal interactions between cultures, past and present traditions, and spaces.
Hawaiian dance traditions

Using the term "tradition" as an ongoing process, I include changes from within and changes brought about from contact with other cultures. Two kinds of Hawaiian traditional dance have derived from this ongoing process – dance that derives from pre-European movement systems and practices, now generally known as hula kahiko; and dances that derive from late nineteenth century interactions with Western music, generally known as hula auana.

In a dynamic dialogue with the past, some dances are considered to be performed today as they were in pre-European times, but it is recognized that today they are used for different purposes than for which they were originally composed. This dialogue is known as hula kahiko and the differences can be traced to changes in the venues where they were and are performed. The movement system known as ha`a, was used primarily in rituals on the outdoor temples (heiau), where they were performed in conjunction with sharkskin-covered drums and ritual chanting by image bearers and carriers of other sacred objects, such as sacred staffs and sacred cords, which were "tools" of the kuhuna or priests. The other structured movement system, known as hula, was used in formal (and informal) entertainments and took place in the courts of the high chiefs in conjunction with a variety of sound-producing instruments, such as the double gourd idiophone called ipu heke. Although the movements "products" (that is, the movement motifs performed simultaneously and sequentially) may have been somewhat similar for all of these activities, the places and contexts in which they were performed differed. They were the movement dimensions of separate activities, terminologically differentiated, and the reason or intention for performing them was also different (see Kaeppler 1993). For ha`a, the context was socio-political religious ritual performed on outdoor temples. The audience was the gods and a congregation of believers. The intention of performance was to worship the gods, who would look favourably on the requests of the ritual specialists and the congregation – especially regarding the fertility of land, sea, and people. The hierarchical and religious structure of society was encoded in the ritual. In contrast, the traditional context for hula was socio-political theatre, in which the meaning was aesthetically encoded in the product and had to be derived by a culturally knowledgeable audience engaged by the words and movements. With the influence of Christianity and the end of pre-Christian rituals, the remnants of what was once Hawaiian ritual (ha`a) were re-categorized in the late nineteenth century into the hula category and are now important elements of Hawaiian ethnic identity. What was once sacred ritual, which required certain specified movement sequences, was reprocessed into hula.

In short, ritual movement, ha`a, took place on heiau and hula took place in chiefly courts. Moving to different places changed the contexts of the performances and the cultural-interpretative frames through which they were interpreted or understood. An excellent example can be found on the film "Hula Ho`olalua," in which the famous Hawaiian dancer, `Iolani Luahine, performs the dance "Kaulilua." Derived from a ritual sequence for fertility, it was transformed in a dialogue with hula near the end of the 19th century as a name song in honor of King Kālākaua. Today the dance is best known from the 1950s film, in which it is depicted in a beautiful mountain scene. Traditionally, of course, it would not have been performed in such a place, but on an outdoor temple, heiau. Its interpretation is now open to the viewer, who may interpret it as a dialogue with nature, as entertainment, or as cultural identity – among other things – but probably not as a fertility ritual.
Poli'ahu, the Snow Goddess

As a case study, I use dances about the snow goddess, Poli`ahu, as a companion piece to my earlier papers about Pele, the goddess of volcanoes and fire (Kaeppeler 2001, 2004, 2010, 2012). And yes, there is snow in Hawai`i. In fact, the name of the mountain, Mauna Kea, means "white mountain." The earliest example of a composition about Poli`ahu with which I am familiar is from the mid-20th century by Kawena Pukui for her daughter Pele. Kawena used the movement and drumming motifs, as well as the performance style, of one of her teachers, Ke`ahi Luahine, from the island of Kaua`i.

In the last few years, snow goddess Poli`ahu has been receiving attention from modern choreographers in contemporary traditional style. They usually start from having seen a performance of the hula composed in traditional style by Mary Kawena Pukui. The dance was originally performed by Pukui's daughter, Pele Pukui, for whom it was composed, until she passed away in the 1970s. Then Pele's sister, Patience Wiggen Bacon, taught it to only a few people in the family of Kawena Pukui and the family of her teacher, Ke`ahi Luahine, in whose style it was composed. These include the granddaughter of Pele, and the grandniece of Ke`ahi Luahine. However, in the past few years Patience has also taught it to a few others to make sure that it would not be forgotten. Now, contemporary choreographers have composed their own versions.

One new version was presented at the 2011 Merrie Monarch Festival. This moved the dance from its intended venue of a family get together or concert hall to a Festival stage in a tennis stadium. The Merrie Monarch Festival is the most spectacular venue for displaying and performing "contemporary traditional" dialogues with the past. Named after King Kalākaua, the Merrie Monarch Festival hula competition, has taken place in Hilo, Hawai`i, each year since 1971 the week after Easter. The competitions are judged by a panel of seven judges, who are highly regarded members of the hula community. But, at the Merrie Monarch and other hula competitions there is a collision of ideas over questions of tradition and innovation. While some Hawaiian dancers and choreographers feel that old hula should not be changed and that "traditional" has the meaning of retaining various restrictions, other choreographers focus on innovation and feel that the "traditional" can also be "contemporary". Their new choreographies are often found in dances about the goddess Pele and volcanoes, but in 2011 and 2012 some were based on snow goddess Poli`ahu.

In some new Merrie Monarch performances, dramatic stories are announced beforehand and have become dramatisations similar to Asian and Western theatre, where performers become actors rather than storytellers, forming a kind of theatrical dialogue with Asia and the West. The dramatic presentations engage audience members who need not have competence or knowledge of traditional Hawaiian dance or understand the Hawaiian language. Connoisseurs of traditional Hawaiian dance who value the traditional aesthetic do not find these performances aesthetically pleasing. Others, who subscribe to the newer aesthetic, feel that these new theatrical performances bridge tradition with innovation.

The 2011 Merrie Monarch version of Poli`ahu was in contemporary traditional style, composed by Palani Kahala, who described Poli`ahu "not only as a goddess of snow, but as a goddess of ordinary human desires. There in the calm of Mauna Kea, a woman stands on a mountain range. She sits within her icy realm. Her beauty is unsurpassed."

Moving to yet another place, this time the Hawai`i Theatre in downtown Honolulu, where the stage is equipped with all the accoutrements of modern Western stages, Poli`ahu has been transformed once again, this time as the fusion or pastiche performance of the Tau Dance Theatre's "Poli`ahu." This, the latest composition of Hawaiian choreographer, Peter Rockford Espiritu, is a theatrical piece in twelve scenes or acts,
combining Hawaiian dance, ballet, and Cirque du Soleil. (See Figure 1.) I use the term pastiche as defined in the dictionary as "an artistic work consisting of a medley of pieces taken from various sources; an artistic work in a style that imitates that of another work, artist, or period." In the Tau Dance Theatre's version of Poli`ahu, the snow goddess is placed within a dramatic overall storyline, making it possible for an audience to appreciate the spectacle without understanding the spoken or movement languages. Here we have visual metaphors for snow and mountainous elevations. 

I conclude that the place of performance has significant impact on how Hawaiian dance has been and continues to be transformed. Since the arrival of Christian missionaries in Hawai`i in 1820, performances of ritual (ha`a) and dance (hula) have been forced to move from place to place – specifically from heiau (temples) and chiefly courts to parks, festival stages, and modern theaters. As performances moved, the contexts changed from ritual, to theatre, to spectacle. Today, except for specialists and Hawaiian cultural identity, hula has become primarily a form of entertainment. Although I have focused on place for this presentation, my larger research focuses on what constitutes a "new dance" and who has the authority to create one that will be acceptable to the knowledgeable Hawaiian community.

![Figure 1. Aerial dancers. (Photo by Darren Miller, 2011)](image)

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SPACE AND PLACE IN THE DANCE  

Dance communities, whose performances are not or do not necessarily have to be connected with a particular geographic area for the locations of their performances to be identifiable to members of other dance communities, will be presented on the example of several standardised dance forms (historical dances, classical ballet and sports dances). The lack of connection of individual dance forms to particular localities conditions the exceptional mobility of members of their communities and the global framework of local manifestations. Mobility does not cause the locality to disappear; rather it is constantly moved and thus variable.  

Keywords: space; place; dance; standardisation; globalisation  

While doing graduate research about several standardised dance forms, I realized that I could not place dance communities I was investigating into a precise time or place. Due to thematic and practical limitations of the paper I orient my focus on space and place only, leaving out considerations about time. Dance communities, whose performances are not or do not necessarily have to be connected with a particular geographic area for the locations of their performances to be identifiable to members of other dance communities, are presented on the example of several standardised dance forms: historical dances from the renaissance and baroque periods, classical ballet, and sports dances.  

Not all authors use the terms space and place in the same way. Different terms can be used for the same or similar concept, and different authors use them as a narrower or broader notion of the concept. For instance, in the body of texts of migration studies, the notion of social spaces is more commonly used than the notion of place. The term place implies the existence of a physical space, while the notion of social space puts a definite emphasis on the community formed throughout social interaction, which transcends a geographical area (local/national) [Čapo; Gulin Žrnić 2011:44–45]. "The most common understanding of the word place in everyday talk is place as location" [Šakaja 2011:113] while in anthropology, even though there are not many definitions of place, it is conceptualised as a culturally significant area: this understanding includes the geographical locations and/or the physical anchoring of the social action, and the symbolical dimension of the relations of people towards space and interaction of people in space. The perception of space as a kind of "cultural container" (which has been clearly spatially situated and separated from other cultures) has gained a strong disciplinary ground in twentieth century anthropology [Čapo; Gulin Žrnić 2011:18]. The territorialised concept of culture in cultural anthropology, also rooted in the anthropological understanding of the world and the affiliations of people in the world, has reflected onto the epistemology of the research in cultural anthropology throughout the larger part of the twentieth century [Čapo; Gulin Žrnić 2011:21]. However, new insights into places and communities are not necessarily connected to certain geographical places but to (primarily) social processes [Gupta; Ferguson 1997:3–6]. Also, by redefining and expanding the concept of "fieldwork", the concept of an exclusively localised area has been abandoned (compare Čapo Žmegač; Gulin Žrnić; Šantek 2006:16–17).
Since I have decided to use three standardised forms (historical dances, ballet and sport dances) as examples, emphasis is put on the fact that geographical and physical localities are not fixed or stable, and of secondary importance. In contemporary times, locality can, but does not have to, obtain a physical spatial form. In this paper, locations are observed as geographically assigned points, and spaces as a narrower concept, that is, as settings or surroundings of the (re)presentations of dance performances.

The three dance forms – classical ballet, sport dances and historical dances from the renaissance and baroque periods – choose a space that has enough adequate conditions, regardless of its geographic location. Their protagonists are mobile and are not bound to a single space, although the members consider certain localities to be their domiciles, or "head-quarters". The dance practices they acquired through standardization allow them to be independent from a single geographic location.

These dance forms have not only standardised steps and structures, but also their staging contexts, that is, spaces, in order to achieve a sense of familiarity for their members and practitioners. Therefore, locality (wherever it is) may be different, but it is always recognisable to the dancers and other participants of dance interactions.

It is common for reconstructions of historical dances in modern performances to reconstruct not only steps and dances, but also costumes, and surroundings in which they take place. The standardised space of the ballet form is almost always a theater, for sport dance a gymnasium in most places in Europe, or a hall in a hotel in most places in America, since those spaces contain all the necessary conditions for the performances. Independence in the matters of location, on the other hand, conditions an urban environment as a space with all necessary contents, which is why the place is partly determinate and unspecified.

Through the methodological process of interviews (or conversations), it has been established that the local practices of the three forms studied, and used for examples here, are connected to other forms (with the same practice) and are molded by their influence. Also, it has been proved that the local practice is integrated into wider geographical frames and that dance phenomena cannot be observed only on a local, but also (as much as possible) on a global level. Dancers, coaches, choreographers, judges and competitions on a world scale contextualise those on a local scale. Each of the dancers I interviewed mentioned, either once or several times, people, events and conditions on a global level, accentuating that there are more similarities than consequential differences but different geographical locations. In these connections and co-dependencies of local with global, aside from discerning a wider context and actualising a better understanding of observed processes, Jonathan Saul Marion (2006) notes that "performance" appears as the centre of the enactment of the entire dance process. In that process, "location" loses its importance and practices form and reform places. Dancers often feel that they belong to something that has no location, they do not feel torn between different localities, and they are not dominated by the geographical paradigm that often asks where, before asking what and why, as pointed out by Marion [2006:132]. A community can be defined by what it does just as it can by the space it does it in. It can be "performed" instead of "located" [Marion 2006:133].

Territorial places often appear as a reference to a tradition or existence of a given culture. However, Gupta and Ferguson [1997:2–3] emphasise that "the cultural is not necessarily connected to the immediate physical space it emerged from". The revitalisation of historical dances from the renaissance and baroque periods in modern performances today is independent from the spaces in which it is performed. These spaces are most commonly called international dance workshops, and they are held at numerous
locations around the world. Even their historical placement is often connected more to a space (the court) than to a geographical location (Italy, France, Spain).

To a certain extent, ballet is seen as a dance, which exists inside a neutral, transnational space, as Andre Grau [2008:205] points out. The transnational space of its existence denies it a fixed location. Today, ballet is not represented by its performances, which always take place in and on a certain space. It is represented by a universally applicable technique carried and conveyed by mobile dance bodies. Ballet as an international dance form nowadays does not connect its dance practices and understanding to Italy as the point of departure of court dances, or to France as the space where these dances were developed into *ballet de cour*, or to Russia as the space where ballet became professionalised, institutionalised, and standardised. Contemporary dance practices of ballet are noted and can be followed throughout the world today.

Furthermore, on the example of artificially devised sports dances, which stem from what used to be social dances, we can see the transformation and displacement of form. Social dances are derived from local, national or traditional folk dances, largely from the South American region, and converted into standardised sports dances in Great Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, sports dances continue to be identified as inseparable from their own dance heritage although, with codification and application of the standardised practice of sports dance techniques, they differ considerably from the dances with which they are connected and whose original dance texts they endeavour to represent. It is interesting to see how in the manner of their (re)presentations (dance texts), especially in Latin American sports dances, they are trying to refer to the "originality", often territorially coloured. In that way they are preserving the fiction of "authentic" Latin dances (see Katarinčić 2012).

These three dance forms realise themselves on a global level by acquiring the standardised form, and at the same time conveying traditional elements as their points of departure. This conveyance can be seen as a transformation or an adaptation into new, although now standardised, contexts which are no longer dependent on a point of departure, or any other geographical location. Therefore, as already mentioned, Gupta and Ferguson argue that anthropology in its centre needs to have a research of *processes* (for example, "the creation of place"), and not of localities as such [Gupta; Ferguson 1997:3–6]. Hence, every connection of place, people, and culture needs to be researched as a historical and social creation, and as a construction of phenomena and discourse [Čapo; Gulin Zrnič 2011:24].

The fact that individual dance forms do not need to be connected to certain locations is conditioned by the global framework of local manifestations, and the distinctive mobility of the members of their communities. Research into dance forms, whose practitioners are forced constantly to change the venues of their dance performances in order to realise the dance (for instance, sports dance competitions held throughout the world), migrate in search of employment (which is a common case in ballet), give guest performances (also common in ballet), or simply visit on occasion certain locations (such as historical dance workshops), has shown that the destinations of their performances are not as consistent and as determining as the actual performances. Members are forced to be mobile given the unstationary system of exchange of dance knowledge (in sports dance and historical dance workshops) or the inconsistent spaces where they present their acquired skills. The integrality of the knowledge and skills of a dance instructor, a ballet master, or a choreographer is autonomous, self-included, that is self-directed, and their services can be provided wherever they are situated. Although an instructor can be a member of his or her club, and a ballet master can be involved in the
work of a certain theatre, they are often offering their services outside of those institutions. This means that those services, as noted by Marion, cannot always be found in the same place (Marion 2006:172,173). "A person's immediate location, thus, cannot unambiguously show who that person is or where they are actually located" [Čapo; Gulin Zrnić 2011:43].

One of the reasons why precise locations cannot be determined can be found in a kind of "outgrowing the locality". What happens is that (excellent) dancers, as well as excellent athletes (and/or artists) "grow out" of their physical surroundings and are dislocated or constantly moving in order to compete or perform and acquire new knowledge, skills and experiences. This is why the physical locality is lost. Due to mobility, it does not disappear but it becomes constantly transposed (into other surroundings) and, therefore, inconstant. The distinct mobility of sports dance performers, ballet dancers and historical dance performers is often, in some cases more than in others, a (pre)requisite of their existence, tradition and sustainability. Therefore, according to Marion [2006:168], location is important in the way that it is important to people included in the events of a particular location.

Hence, place is a culturally significant space. The traditional concept, which binds a person, nation, culture or identity to a single physical place, in this case proves to be unsuitable in trying to understand the contemporary mobile and networking world of individual dance forms. The contexts in which forms such as ballet or sports dance are practised do not necessarily mark a certain fixed geographical area. Rather the contrary, the contexts of their performances are controlled, recognisable and geographically inconsistent, that is, non-cruicial in distinguishing the form in question.

Up until recently, physical locations were the only foundations that cultural differences were sketched into and mapped out on. However, an inherently fragmented space does not exist; spaces have always been (hierarchically) connected to each other, and not naturally separated as the usual ethnographic and national maps would suggest [Čapo; Gulin Zrnić 2011:42–50]. Nevertheless, these maps will nowadays have to endure a more complex registration of different factors of varied dance forms.

Endnotes
1. It is important to note that "ethnological researches cannot completely renounce the connection to physical spaces. Place (locality) still remains a constituent part of the research, but it no longer implies delimitation of the social and cultural spaces inside one physical space, nor is there a homogeneity of cultural senses inside that space" because "people, the subject of ethnographic researches, are always present on certain geographical locations (or more of them), which contribute to the molding of their practices" [Čapo Žmegač; Gulin Zrnić; Šantek 2006:27–28].

2. The concept of placelessness entered humanities and social sciences in the 1970s, and it was meant to denote the experience of being in unified, standardised, and presumably nondescript landscapes molded in that time. In 1976, Edward Relph saw standardised concepts in spaces such as supermarkets or residential communities (Relph 1976). The spaces of standardised dance performances, although standardised, are not as nondescript (unexceptional unremarkable, featureless), since the members of dance communities connect their identities to the dance practices enacted in them. The spaces of some standardised forms achieved a narrower or wider recognizability thanks to the process of standardisation, and they are always recognised by the members of dance communities, no matter where in the world they are situated.

3. Cultural geography presents place as a perspective of experience, as a category of value, subjective and ego-positioned (Šakaja 2011). In a theoretical sense, accent is put on the physical, the "embodied spaces", that is, on the loci "where human experience and consciousness take over a material and spatial form" [Low 2003:9].

4. It is interesting to note how the mobility of people observed here also conditions the mobility of anthropologists on not one, but several locations. We also have to take into consideration that
"anthropological terrains are not just physically, geographically limited locations visited by a researcher, but the research itself contains information on where we are when we are talking/writing about the Others [Čapo; Gulin Zrnić 2011:49].

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PLACES, DANCE(S) AND 'REALITIES': CONTEXTS AND FORMS OF THE TSAMIKOS DANCE IN GREECE

The Greek folk dance of tsámikos is performed in many forms and in various contexts. The aim of this paper is to look at the notion of dance 'reality' in relation to its performance 'place' by studying the dance form of tsámikos dance in different contexts. For this reason, the notion of 'reality' is discussed, while tsámikos dance is examined in four contexts (a village square, a tourist sight, a performance stage and a dance class) with the use of notation and of the morphological method. It is proved that the form of the tsámikos dance differs in each case in a number of parameters. Yet, in all cases there are certain core elements that are indicative of the existence of a dance's form or 'reality'. However, as places/contexts and forms of the dance are intermingled, they create different performances of the dance that, nevertheless, constitute 'realities' of the dance.

Keywords: Greece; reality; form; context; tsámikos

Introduction

The Greek folk dance of tsámikos is performed in many forms and in various contexts; forms that vary from entire improvisation to entire choreography, and contexts that differ from village squares to theatrical stages, and from tourist settings to dance classes. In particular, tsámikos is not just one dance. Traditionally, it rather consists of a dance genre/pattern that has many forms in various areas where it is performed, accompanied by many different songs. Tsámikos has come to be called a 'panhellenic' dance [Dimas 1979:29; Holden; Vouras 1976:104], in the sense that it represents Greek national identity. The process of receiving such a title goes beyond the scope of this paper. Tsámikos has also come to be considered mainly as a male dance, having as its primary aim the demonstration of gallantry. With this dance, men demonstrate their skill. People usually say 'the good dancer will dance tsámikos' [Mazaraki 1984:103]. However, in many areas of Greece, tsámikos is also performed by women, a fact that has been understated, though the female performance, different from the male one, exists for over 150 years [Koutsouba 1995:221].

Tsámikos dance is performed at least in the following contexts: village squares, tourist sights, performance stages, and dance classes. Likely, looking at these performances, a possible first reaction would have to do with the notion of 'authenticity'. Which tsámikos is the 'authentic' one among all these performances, if there is an 'authentic' tsámikos, and so on. Yet, the notion of 'authenticity' in dance has been discussed to a great extent in many cases [see for instance Felföldi & Buckland 2002] and does not constitute the aim of this presentation. But what about looking for 'real' tsámikos and the notion of 'reality' in dance, a notion that has not been widely examined? In other words: Which tsámikos is the 'real' one among all these performances? Is there a 'real' tsámikos? What is 'real' in tsámikos? Is there a way to define what is 'real' in tsámikos?

Based on the above sort of questions, the aim of this paper is to look at the notion of dance 'reality' in relation to its performance 'places'. In particular, by studying tsámikos dance in four different contexts (a village square, a tourist sight, a performance stage and a dance class), it examines if there is a tsámikos 'reality' and, if so, how the dance's 'reality' might be defined. For this reason, the notion of 'reality' is discussed. Then, the
performance of the tsámikos dance is examined in the four different contexts. These performances constitute data that come from ethnographic research carried out in Greece [Koutsouba 1991, 1995, 1997]. For the analysis of the dance, the morphological method is used [IFMC 1974; Kaeppler & Dunin 2007; Koutsouba 1997, 2007; Tyrovola 1994]. For the interpretation of the data, the notion of reality is discussed in philosophical and anthropological terms.

At this moment, two points must be mentioned: 1. In order to answer if there is a 'real' tsámikos and how to define its reality, we must consider what is 'real' and what is 'reality'. These sorts of questions bring us to the sphere of the philosophy of dance. Obviously, I am not a philosopher and I would not dare even to say something like that. Yet, I am a dance researcher who wishes to look at people's dance and dancing in order to understand the people and their dancing too. By doing this, I look at every aspect that may help me, wherever this comes from. Based on this point of view, I adopt a philosophical approach in accordance with Wittgenstein's thought of philosophy, that is, philosophy "as a descriptive, analytic, and ultimately therapeutic practice" [Audi 1999:979] and it is this practice that I try to exercise in this paper. 2. The selection of the tsámikos dance was not by chance. Tsámikos' 'panhellenic' character, as well as, the dance's frequent performance in many forms and contexts in various places by both men and women, are the main reasons for its selection.

'Real' and reality

According to The Cambridge dictionary of philosophy,

Reality, in standard philosophical usage, means how things actually are, in contrast with their mere appearance. Appearance has to do with how things seem to a particular perceiver or group of perceivers… Reality is sometimes said to be two-way independent of appearance. This means that appearance does not determine reality. First, no matter how much agreement there is, based on appearance, about the nature of reality, it is always conceivable that reality differs from appearance. Secondly, appearances are in no way required for reality; reality can outstrip the range of all investigations that we are in a position to make. It may be that reality always brings with it the possibility of appearances [Audi 1999:775].

But, how is it possible to come to know reality? Reality has traditionally been equated with Being, while ontology, one of the main branches of philosophy, studies the Ον (On/Being) and the essence of things [Gilson 2009:11–12; Pelegrinis 2004:434–435]. As Aristotle claimed, the "primary characteristic/feature of a thing [that] remains permanently unchanged and without which the thing does not exist, [Pelegrinis 2004:185; my translation]. What do all these mean in our case? It means that by looking for the 'real' tsámikos dance, we are actually looking for the essence of the tsámikos dance, in the sense of a permanently unchanged characteristic/feature and a way of coming to know this essence.

Coming to know the essence of something in fact means an attempt to define it. Is this possible? According to Descartes' principle, "features of the cause of an idea are related to the representational content of the idea" [Audi 1999:776], that is, features of the idea of tsámikos dance are related to its various representational contents. Thus, by looking at the representational contents of tsámikos dance in its appearances at its various
places of performance, one can identify its features. But now the question is which features to choose? The contextual, structural, aesthetic, and so on, or maybe all of them? To solve this, I adopt Wittgenstein's concept of 'language-games'. More specifically:

The expression 'language game' is associated with the theory of the meaning of the language in its use that Wittgenstein introduced in the later period of his philosophical career. The term 'language games' denotes the various fields in which language is divided... The parallelism of the language fields to the language games is based on the fact that, in the same way as there are rules in each game which the players have to respect, similarly in each language field there are rules that define the meaning of the words used and which the users have to respect if they do not want to be incoherent... The confusion of the language games – in fact the confusion of the rules that exist in different games – is according to Wittgenstein, the cause for the creation of serious philosophical errors and deadlocks" [Pelegrinis 2004:140; my translation].

Based on the above and, in an attempt to avoid a possible confusion, a specific 'field' has to be chosen and, more importantly, the rules of this specific field have to be followed. In the case of the examined dance, the chosen field is that of the movement structure, that is the movement 'language'. This choice means that I will look at the form(s) of the tsámikos dance so as to reveal its primary features. In particular, I will look at one example of tsámikos dance in each of the places where it is at least performed: village square, tourist sight, performance stage, and dance class. We must be aware that, according to the IFMC Study Group, the term form "...is used here solely in the sense of composition. When we speak of the form of a dance, we mean the integral arrangement of the form elements, which brings the material, namely the movement of the human body in relationship to music into expression" (1974:121–122). So, what are these people doing?

Analysis

The performances that are presented concern: 1) the performance of the tsámikos dance at Karya's Square during the village fair in the Ionian Island of Lefkada in 1993 [Koutsouba 1997]; 2) the performance of the tsámikos dance during a class of the compulsory course "Greek Folk Dance" at the Department of Physical Education and Sport Science, University of Athens, in 2002 in its simplest (dance class a) and more complicated version (dance class b); 3) the performance of the tsámikos dance by the dance group of the Sissifos Tavern in the tourist area of Plaka in Athens in 1991 (Koutsouba 1991; Gore & Koutsouba 1994); and 4) the stage performance of the tsámikos dance of the dance club 'Ilida' in 1998. It must be pointed out that in all of these cases it is not me that says that the dance performed is tsámikos, but it is the people themselves that say so. Furthermore, in the following Labanotation scores only the basic dance phrases of what was going on when observed are written, as the choreographic devises and/or the various stylistic features or other sort of information are not examined in this study.
Figure 1: Labanotation 1 (examples 1 and 2)

Figure 2: Labanotation 2 (examples 3 and 4)
Based on the Labanotation scores and, according to the 1974 IFMC Study Group on Folk Dance Terminology's article titled 'Foundation for the analysis of the structure and form of folk dance: a syllabus' and its later improvements on dance structure analysis (Kaeppler; Dunin 2007) as these have been applied to Greek folk dance (see Koutsouba 1997, 2007), we see that:

a) *Tsámikos* can be performed as a one-segment, isometric, variation chain form, where the music phrase can be repeated indefinitely and the dance consist of one section-phrase that has five kinetic motifs, no matter how many repetitions. The dance presents a dimensional discongruence and a fixed succession in dance even when the succession in music is free (dance class).

b) *Tsámikos* can also be performed as a one-segment, isometric, rondo form, where the music phrase can be repeated at will. In this case, the dance "opens" with the performance of the first kinetic motif, which reappears during the dance either with the right or the left foot, while a second kinetic motif is used to close every improvisation during the dance either with the right or the left foot. The dance presents a dimensional discongruence and a free succession in dance, both when the music has a fixed or a free succession (village square).

c) *Tsámikos*, can also be performed as a combination of the above two (tourist sight and stage).

**Explanation of the terms:**

- **one segment form**: the dance form consists of one unit.
- **isometric**: the maintenance of the same rhythmic form during the entire music piece.
- **chain form**: according to the linking principle of composition, the chain form is where individual segments are lined up one after the other and where the number and sequence of the segments are not determining factors.
- **variation chain form**: one of the subcategories of the chain form in which the individual segments are observed as variations of the basic segment.
- **rondo form**: according to the linking principle of composition, the rondo form is identified by the regular reappearance of one or more basic segments in certain order and where the number of segments is not a determining factor.
- **dimension and succession**: both refer to the structural relationship between music and dance. The former refers to the extension of the structural units; dimensional discongruence takes place when, although the small units of music and dance are dimensionally the same, the music and dance do not correspond at higher levels. The latter succession refers to the sequence of the structural units; fixed succession means that dance and music structural units have a fixed succession, while free succession means that dance and music structural units have a free one.
- **structural dance units**: the (kinetic) element, the cell, the kinetic motif, the dance phrase, the section, the part and the dance composition.

*Tsámikos* has a three count rhythm and a 3/4 music metre (it can also have a six count rhythm and 6/8 or 6/4 music metre) (see Koutsouba 1997). Improvisation is a main characteristic [Dimas 1993:136–138]. The dance improvisation occurs mainly during the clarinet (*klarino*) improvisation - *klarino* is the main instrument for *tsámikos*. This instrumental improvisation is called *vérsó* [Mazaraki 1984:103; Tyrovola 1992:89]. During this time the dancer usually performs on the spot (*ston tópo*).
Results

Beyond its improvisatory character, *tsámikos* does have a form, which is determined by a set of rules whenever it is performed. More specifically, whatever the case is, and wherever it is performed, *tsámikos* (apart from the three count rhythm and the 3/4 music meter, is always presented in its four kinetic motif form in terms of movement structure. These four kinetic motifs, which, in fact are two performed in both sides (laterally symmetrical repeat according to Labanotation) are the following:

![Figure 3: The four common kinetic motifs of the tsámikos dance's performances](image)

as we can see from the Labanotation scores:

![Figure 4: Results of the analysis (examples 1 and 2)](image)
Based on the aforementioned analysis and results, it seems that, at least in terms of movement language, these four motifs are always present in all places, that is, in every performance of the tsámikos dance, in whatever context, in whatever form.

**Discussion-conclusion**

The permanent presence of the aforementioned four motifs in all cases, leads us to think and support the idea that they constitute primary, core features of the tsámikos dance. Because of this, it can be argued that these four motifs constitute the dance's structural reality. Thus, the contexts and forms of the tsámikos dance in Greece in the various places of its performance can be perceived as appearances of this 'reality', since being real themselves they include the reality of the dance. It seems then that, at least in philosophical terms, instead of *Places, dance(s) and "realities"*, perhaps it is better to talk about *Places, dance(s) and 'appearances' of the 'real' tsámikos dance* in Greece. Yet, in anthropological terms, since in all cases, the specific performance of the tsámikos dance constitutes the dance reality of the specific people who perform it for a specific reason and at a specific time and place, we talk about *Places, dance(s) and "realities" of the tsámikos dance*. Whatever these different phrases mean or suggest – definitely not a resolution or a return to the 'chicken or the egg' causality dilemma, they indicate a reality that I am entitled to see from a specific point of view and a reality of the people's experience, both perceived as realities. This opens up, at least for me, new ways of thinking and puts forward new sorts of questions. For instance, what is the relationship of dance anthropology and dance philosophy, a question already put forward by Bakka and Karoblis (2010), and where can these two meet each other so as to answer the sort of questions I am trying to answer about the people dancing and their dance in order to understand them?
Endnote
1. I am grateful to all the members of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology who came up with all the fruitful comments on my presentation during the Symposium and made me think even more about it.

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In Turkey, during the national construction period beginning in 1923, folk dances were collected and adapted for stage representation. The dancing spaces and dance contexts were changed after the 1930s. In the 1960s, popularity of folk dances gave way to an increase in the number of dance institutions and the formation of a very competitive folk dance "market". In such a context, one of the main agendas of the dancers became "authenticity". This paper deals with this debate of authenticity. I make an analysis of discourses and arguments that are arranged chronologically and analyze the overall debate in terms of the power struggle among dance participants who perform staged folk dances.

Keywords: Turkey; stage; static; dynamic; essentialism; authenticity

In Turkey, during the national construction period beginning in 1923, the contextual change from the participatory dance to the presentational one (see Nahachewsky 1995) brought with it some changes in representational forms. When the dancing space and dance context changed, and staged folk dance performances became popular in big cities, one of the main agendas of the dance participants became "authenticity". Within the limits of this paper, an analysis is made of the discourse on this authenticity debate. To do so I first situate the debate in a historical framework, to look briefly at the historical development of staged folk dance performances in Turkey. Second, I compile different arguments on authenticity. And finally, I investigate the essentialist and nationalist approaches inherent in some discourses and their relation to the power struggle among dancers. Analysing the written accounts of the time and using interviews as basic resources, I refer to the conceptual frameworks provided by Regina Bendix and Egil Bakka.

A quick look at the historical development of staged folk dance performances in Turkey

Arzu Öztürkmen states that folk dances in Turkey contributed to the construction of a visual national image as in many other countries [Öztürkmen 2001:140]. Until the 1950s, when the "imagined" national identity was more or less consolidated, amateur local dance groups were performing in national celebrations. The ruling single party's (Republican People's Party) Halkevleri (People's Houses) network – founded in 1932 – encouraged all kinds of cultural research and dance collection. Local dances were systematised to be represented on stage and various dance traditions were exposed to each other for the first time. Through nationwide folk dance festivals and later folk dance competitions, a kind of Turkish "national" dance spectrum was constructed.

The post-1950s was a period of multi-party politics, mass immigration into cities, industrialisation and rapid social change for Turkey. At this time, staged performance of folk dances brought certain changes in representational forms. Local dances were staged with some floor patterns, the representation of geometrical shapes (that is, circles, crosses, diagonal lines, straight lines). Since these shapes were applied to each dance genre, the
distinctions between the various dance traditions were overshadowed. The floor patterning led them towards a certain uniformization. And despite the multicultural diversity they represented, they began to be called "Turkish folk dances" [Öztürkmen 2001:141].

Since the 1960s, popularity of folk dances gave way to an increase in the number of folk dance institutions and the formation of a very competitive folk dance "market" with an increasing number of folk dance clubs, touristic organisations, festivals, competitions and very active subjects. A state folk dance company and the first academic folk dance department in a university were opened in the middle of the 1970s and 1980s respectively. The primary impact of the State Folk Dance Ensemble on staging techniques was the Soviet style floor-patterning – including star formations, line ups, and opening and closing circles [Öztürkmen 2008:3]. Many amateur folk dance groups of the time imitated this new representational style.

Static and dynamic approaches to folklore and different attitudes towards authenticity

In such a context, from the 1970s until the end of the 1990s, different responses to such changes were expressed. With the rising competition between dancers and new aesthetic demands, the core issue of dancers became authenticity. When most people were expressing the need for preserving "original", "essential", "pure" or "authentic" forms of dances; a minority of people were problematising such statements.

"Our National Folklore and Folklore Education" forum was organised by Robert College/(later, Boğaziçi University) Folklore Club in 1970. There, Tahir Alangu, the lecturer on "Folklore of Turkey" in Robert College, based his arguments on the attitudes of folklorists and made a differentiation between "static and dynamic folklore approaches". According to him, "static folklorists" had an obsessive anxiety about the corruption or degeneration of folkloric material. Collection, research, documentation, recording, archiving were very useful but folklore studies couldn't be reduced to them. Change was inevitable and dynamic folklorists should be open to it. According to his "dynamic approach", folklore studies should follow the real life [Görür 1971:51]. Advocates of authenticity had an old fashioned viewpoint reminiscent of the first period of German folklore studies. Their arguments related to the originality, purity, and authenticity of folk dances were very problematic. Such arguments could not have validity especially in a country like Turkey, which has been historically a bridge between cultures and civilisations.

Tahir Alangu's "dynamic approach" was also represented in the arguments of students in the university folklore club. In the mid-1970s those young generations were criticising the widespread arguments about authenticity. One of them, Cemal Küçüksezer stated that authenticity claimers were bourgeois nationalists [Küçüksezer 1975:13]. Their "respect of authentic culture" discourse was masking their conservatism. He differentiated the duties of the "progressionist and patriotic" dynamic folklorists as such:

Cultural assets should be collected and analyzed. The elements which can raise the consciousness of the exploited masses should be prioritized. In the performances, dynamics of the present system should be criticized; its conflicts and paradoxes should be revealed" [Küçüksezer 1975:13].
The student's left-leaning discourse was in line with the rising oppositional movements in the 1970s. In 1983, the club participated in the "Panel on Folk Dances". The other participant was a mainstream association called Turkish Folklore Institution (TFK). The TFK representative stated that the most "right" way of dancing was the most "authentic" one. S/he stressed that the "essence" of the dance should not be changed. Referring to static and dynamic approaches; s/he chose to reconcile both: the identifiable, oldest, original model for dance (that is, archetype) should be archived and stage representations should be based on it. On the other hand, the folklore club's representative criticised the arguments on "a wrong or right way of dancing". S/he stated that folk dance groups in big cities should not be enforced to dance in an "authentic" way. And s/he stressed the impossibility of reaching the oldest or most "authentic" version of dances.

In 1987, "Problems of Staging Folk Dances" symposium was co-organised by Middle East Technical University Turkish Folklore Club and Bureau of National Folklore Research in Ankara. After the long discussion about the "wrong" and "right" practices of staging folk dances, one of the final decisions was as such: "Presentations on stage must fit in with the traditional steps, forms, music and costumes of the dances. If not, local dances will disappear and degenerate" [Çakır 1988:16].

At that time, students in BÜFK were criticising the arguments on authenticity. For example, Haluk Levent stated that the "degenerated" dance stood for an "unauthentic" one among folk dance circles [Levent 1998:1]. He remarked that the authenticity in dances was possible only if the economic infrastructure would not change in years; therefore, it was almost impossible. Another student, Aydın Akkaya, expressed that the discussions on static versus dynamic approaches and authenticity were still prevalent but they were losing their popularity. The motto of folk dancers was "fidelity to the original forms; and based on them, making arrangements to attract the audience" [Akkaya 1988:5]. He stated that BÜFK should take local dances as collected "materials" and deal with them to meet their aesthetic needs. And the last of those students, Arzu Öztürkmen, was criticising the folk dance groups' unproductive discussions on authenticity. According to her, they were simple minded and incapable of leading their young members' potential and energy to much more productive means [Öztürkmen 1988:8].

The discussion on authenticity continued even 10 years after such writings, into the 1990s. One of the presenters of the symposium on "Past, Present and Future of Folk Dances" was a well-known folk dance instructor, Ali Çavaz. He defined the basic criteria of authenticity as anonymity, collectivity, longevity and transmission between generations. He stated that the commodification of local dances in the folk dance "market" and their "degeneration" had negative effects on the overall national culture. To prevent cultural erosion, folk dancers should try to find out the "original" dances of the people [Çavaz 1999:15].

As we have seen above, different approaches have been expressed between the 1970s and 1990s. Beside such written accounts, more information was obtained from interviews that stressed the impossibility of finding out the "original" dance forms in today's world.

Among the first was Taner Koçak, a dancer and dance instructor in BÜFK at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s. He stated that most of the "dances in the field" supposed to be the most authentic ones, were not so. He gave an example from Artvin – a city at the Black Sea, on the north coast of Anatolia. A choreographer from Artvin who worked with the State Folk Dance Ensemble was so influential that, most of the folk dance instructors in Artvin reproduced his choreographies. So, local Artvin dances began to be performed in his way [Koçak 2010:interview]. I also talked to that
choreographer, namely Suat İnce; his narrative was very interesting. He complained that, at the end of the 1970s he was accused of "corrupting" authentic Artvin dances, even charged with high treason unofficially. But after a while, when his "unauthentic" choreographies had been reproduced so much, people from his native land began to talk about putting up a statue of him in the main square of Artvin! Today, he's asking: "who defines authenticity, when and according to which criteria?" [İnce 2011:interview].

Serpil Mürtезaoğlu, a member of the Turkish Folklore Institution and now working in Istanbul Technical University, the State Conservatory of Turkish Music, and the Turkish Folk Dances Department in Istanbul, is one of the first graduates from the same school. She recalls that almost all of her dance instructors were native, local dancers; therefore authenticity was highly appreciated in the school. She states that, in the 1980s her dance instructor from a region showed them the region's authentic dances, but later another instructor from the same region said that it was wrong and showed it another way. "Who's right?" she asks now, "is it possible to decide on it?" or "is it only a power struggle between those people from the same locality?" [Mürtезaoğlu 2011:interview].

Lastly, two people from the State Folk Dance Ensemble, Mustafa Turan and Şinasi Pala, stated that, in the 1980s, their group had been accused of "degenerating" the local dances. I talked to them separately, but both gave me the same "tomato" metaphor:

Let's take the tomato planted in the field as an authentic product. When you'll represent tomatoes in a market, to be able to sell, you have to embellish them. When you wash them, you eliminate the rotten ones, you rub them up and polish the best ones; those are no more your tomatoes in the field. And of course you can move further, arrange them in symmetrical way, put a light on them...etc. Maybe the material is authentic but when you represent it to other people, you should make an arrangement. Your degree of arrangement determines how far away you are from the original material [Pala 2011:interview].

**Concluding remarks: "Whose authenticity?"**

Regina Bendix asserts that the term "authentic" currently stands for original, genuine or unaltered [Bendix 1997:14]. She states that the American folklorists tested authenticity with lack of identifiable authorship, multiple existences over time and space, variations of items, social and economic circumstances of the "bearers of tradition" [Bendix 1997:15]. She recalls that nationalism has been built on the essentialist notions inherent in authenticity and folklore, in the guise of native cultural discovery and rediscovery, serving nationalist movements since the Romantic era [Bendix 1997:7]. Authenticity has never been an objective quality; it is always defined in the present [Bendix 1997:213]. Therefore, she asserts that the crucial question is not "what is authenticity?" but "who needs authenticity and why?" and "how has authenticity been used?" [Bendix 1997:21].

In the same line, Egil Bakka asks: "is the concept “authentic” a weapon in the battle for control over dance material; or is it a neutral standard for measuring certain qualities of dances within a revival context?" [Bakka 2002:61]. He states that local people throughout Norway look at regional dances as a heritage they want to control. They want to define the authentic versions and they want to have the privilege of teaching their dances. Lines of defense are drawn; and battles arise between individual insiders, between inside and outside dancers, between inside and outside researchers. He states that, authenticity may very often turn into the question of "whose authenticity?"
In the Turkish context, as we have seen above, different arguments about authenticity existed simultaneously in recent history. Anyway, we can generally say that in the 1970s and 1980s, arguments about the possibility of and the need for preserving original, essential, pure or authentic forms of dances were much more expressed. But from the 1990s onward, it can be said that such arguments are much more problematised. It is generally stated that preserving original forms is almost impossible, especially taking into account technological and communicational developments. And, many people also remark that state and academic institutions have a responsibility of doing fieldwork on local dances, documenting and archiving them.

When we consider the written accounts stated above, we notice that the constructions of the claims about authenticity are closely linked to essentialist notions as Regina Bendix states. Taking for granted the presence of only one "essence", such claims generally coexist with the anxiety about disappearance or "degeneration" of dances. Such anxiety is, generally, expressed as the need to preserve the national culture. The definitions of "authenticity" in dance or the degeneration of it are not always clear.

Two of my interviewees' accounts reveal the power play in the discussion. First, Suat İnce asked Egil Bakka's question differently: "who defines authenticity, when and according to which criteria?" Serpil Mürtezaoğlu's example of two local dance instructors' struggle to determine the "authentic" version of the dance is also critical. In this case, as Bakka expressed, "the lines of defense were drawn and battle arose between those individual insiders". Each one's claim of authenticity was a weapon in the battle for control over local dance material" [Bakka 2002:61].

Moreover, it is important to note that the discussion which began in the 1970s, was a time of rapid social change in Turkey. Along with increasing competition in the folk dance market, prominent figures discussed the "right" and "wrong" ways of representing folk dances on stage. As such, they tried to draw the borderline of the intervention on traditional dance material. Therefore, to conclude, we can say that "authenticity" has never been an objective criterion in the Turkish context; it is always defined anew, reconstructed with respect to the power play between folk dance circles.

Endnotes

* I give thanks to the Turkish Cultural Foundation Cultural Exchange Fellowship Program which supported my participation in this symposium.

1. The beginning of the 2000s is a turning point in terms of the emergence of professional folk dance based groups – such as Fire of Anatolia and Shaman Dance Theatre – reconstructing the global Irish show model Riverdance.

2. An account of the discussions in the forum is published in the first volume (1970) in Folklora Doğru, Dans-Müzik-Kültür Çeviri ve Araştırma Dergisi (Towards Folklore, Dance-Music-Culture Translation and Research Journal). This journal has been publishing since 1962 by Robert College/Boğaziçi University Folklore Club (BÜFK). That non-academic journal is not always published regularly and is mostly followed by folklore circles in Turkey. It is distinguished with the translations of basic theoretical articles on folklore studies; it publishes some theoretical essays, field research accounts, interviews, information about folklore club's performances and discussions among others. Approximately 100 of more than 400 writings published in Folklora Doğru are directly related to movement and/or dance.

3. Hüseyin Görür's paper is published in volume 19–22 (1970) of Folklor/Halkbilim, the journal of Turkish Folklore Institution (TFK) – the institution dealing with educational and publishing activities besides performative ones. The journal has been published since 1969 in an irregularly basis and uncontinuously. Including some short theoretical essays, field research accounts, book reviews, interviews, information about folklore organisations, performances and competitions; it offers a wide range of personal or institutional approaches for researchers. Fifty of more than 700 writings published in Folklor/Halkbilim are directly related to movement and/or dance.
4. Such discussions – or battle for control over dance material, as Bakka suggests – did not exist before. For example, according to the cultural politics of the national construction period, the traditional cultural elements were interpreted in a "Westernised" way. In the 1920s, choreographer Selim Sırrı Tarcan's efforts were highly appreciated by the leader Mustafa Kemal. Tarcan had engaged in inventing a tradition of zeybek, – a widespread genre in Aegean folk dance tradition – by gentrifying it as a ballroom dance genre to be performed by mixed couples (see Öztürkmen 2008).

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ÇİFTETELLİ ON ARTISTIC AND SOCIAL STAGES

Çiftetelli is a common genre considered as a women's dance and associated with the belly dance. It is diffused from Balkan countries to the Middle Eastern countries with various tunes and various body movements in different contexts as well as with different names. The contexts can be classified according to the places where they are performed. The contemporary belly dance context on the artistic stage and the çiftetelli on the social stage differ from each other in body movements as well as in the meaning that is assigned. The music with different names, some after the city names accompanying it may differ. The similar body movements can be performed along with almost every two-beat tune. By borrowing Bourdieu's cultural and social capital from his "forms of capital", this paper analyzes the discourse in various texts and discusses the performance places to understand the difference of the meaning between çiftetelli performed on both the artistic and social stages.

Keywords: Turkey; çiftetelli; stage; artistic; social

Çiftetelli (literally, having two strings) is a very widely performed dance with its two-beat rhythmic pattern. It ranges from Balkan countries to the Middle East in various contexts, texts and names. The tunes accompanying it may differ and the tunes are called different names, after the city names for example, Adana Çiftetellisi, Merzifon Çiftetellisi, Bursa Çiftetellisi, BALKESİR ÇIFTETELLİŞI, KEMALPASHA ÇIFTETELLİŞI (ARAP ÇIFTETELLİŞI), İNEGÖL ÇIFTETELLİŞI, GAZIANTEP ÇIFTETELLİŞI, TRAKYA ÇIFTETELLİŞI, ADA ÇIFTETELLİŞI, Eskişehir ÇIFTETELLİŞİ, BANDIRMA ÇIFTETELLİŞI, İSTANBUL ÇIFTETELLİŞI, KEBAN ÇIFTETELLİŞI, BAHRIYE ÇIFTETELLİŞI, and many others in Turkey. The cities extending from the west to the southeast also prove that the dance is very widely performed all across Turkey.

It is mostly associated with the belly dance, köçek, dance of males, as well as with the čoček of Balkan countries in the dance literature. The general main characteristic distinctive features of çiftetelli are: the arms have upward bent elbows, snapping fingers, horizontal movement of the shoulders, and the horizontal movement of the hips to both sides. These figures are sorted from the most indispensable feature to the least. Entitling a dance as çiftetelli is confusing in many cases since just the gesture displaying the arms with upward bent elbows can be considered as çiftetelli. Therefore, any discourse about the dance çiftetelli is accepted as it is.

In this paper, I do not try to make a movement analysis of the dance itself, but rather the contexts, one of which can be classified according to the places where they are performed, because I was confused with the dances called çiftetelli that I see in the social settings and that I see on the state television and other state intervened settings, that are very different from each other. To be able to understand it, in addition to my observations in my experiences, both personal and in the field with different foci, I decided to make a discourse analysis about çiftetelli in the written texts based on the scholarly work, for example of Metin And, Şerif Baykurt, Anca Giurcescu, Elsie Dunin, Carol Silverman and the very recent work of Gonca Girigin Tohumcu; newspaper entries in the archive of the daily newspaper, Hürriyet, between 1997 and 2012; and the text itself of the dance çiftetelli. When the archives from 1997 to 2012 of the newspaper Hürriyet is scanned to make a discourse analysis, it is found out that çiftetelli is used totally 152 times in
different parts of the newspaper ranging from political news to sports news with different meanings.

I have concluded that there are two types of places where the performance takes place that we may call stage: these are artistic stage and social stage inspired by the terms 'cultural capital' and 'social capital' of Pierre Bourdieu.

Çiftetelli on the artistic stage

Artistic stages are the places where performances are revealed in an “embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalized state, as a form of objectification ...” [Bourdieu 1986:website]. The criteria of being artistic is produced by the cultural capital generated by those who have all kinds of power; “in its current meaning by the state, through the education system and ... as an extension of it through the television” [Özsöz 2007:19] as well as through its artistic institutions, for example, the State Folk Dance Ensemble. The aim to produce a certain cultural capital is ideological, mostly with national tendency, which involves the aesthetic and ethical values by changing collective social memory.

In the case of artistic stage, especially, çiftetelli is considered to be the palace dance of the Ottoman era on the one hand and, on the other hand, to be of Gypsy culture, based on the oriental images found historically in the miniatures, paintings and travel notes (see Beşiroğlu 2006). It is considered as a women's dance and/or a dance with female characteristics when men are dancing. When the effeminate males are noted, it is associated with the köçek tradition. Later on, it was choreographed as one whole performance instead of being a part of a performance. It is a dance that represents the country as well as entertaining with erotic connotations. It was excluded in the 'national' folkdance repertory and official acceptable dance repertory for about 50 years in the republican period of Turkey because it was not considered as 'proper' but obscene.

This exclusion found itself in the curriculum of the sports course, of the secondary schools: "the dances which are .... valuable for body training and proper for the school: Karşılama and Çiftetelli will not be performed" [Baykurt 1996:46]. In other words, çiftetelli is understood as valueless and not proper. In the same manner, although it was allowed in the "... the Guidelines of Folk Dance Competitions of Turkey, [indicating that] available groups of dancers to be participating are given as a list of 21 provinces, the representation of Istanbul in the competition by the 'çengi, çiftetelli, köçek dances performed for the female dancers' was listed as a separate item [Hançer 1954:1945–1946] … the group from Sulukule, a Romani neighborhood, applied but could not participate in the competition because of the protests, that the Romani people could not represent the city İstanbul" [Girgin-Tohumcu 2012:164]. However, the recent rules of the folkdance competitions organised by the National Education Ministry of Turkey do not allow çiftetelli to be performed as indicated in article 8d of the guideline: "The groups are required to participate in the Competitions by using as the name of the region, the province within the borders of Turkey, with the names of towns and villages. The groups using general regional names such as Sword-Shield, Çiftetelli, Köçekçe, Teke Region, Thrace region, the Black Sea Region, Aegean Region-Women cannot participate" [Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı 1997:8d].

On the other hand, in the 1980s the State Folk Dance Ensemble legitimised it by including it in their repertory, so that it became a 'national' dance. While legitimizing it, the body movements were minimised as if to reduce the erotic impression. In other words,
the hips were more controlled and the focus shifted to the extremities, with touches of the body movements of ballet: straight back, extended extremities and more controlled body posture. The idea was similar to the early Republican cultural ideology, which argued that to construct a national music and dance, the material of the folk and the techniques of the West should be combined. So the figures of folk based çiftetelli and the movement techniques of ballet as a Western dance were combined and presented in the state reproduction [Devlet Halk Dansları 2008:website]. This legalised çiftetelli was distributed by the state television and reproduced through the education system on the artistic stage. It was so widespread that even students in their early years could perform this formerly obscene dance [Hun İlköğretim Okulu 2008:website].

This reconstructed çiftetelli as cultural capital, is utilised today as a national indicator in the touristic cultural market along with other selected folkdance and folklore-based performances in a show programme with a self-orientalist approach. On the other hand, the çiftetelli on the artistic stage and on the social stage have different aspects with regards to gender issues and body movements

**Çiftetelli on the social stage**

Social stages are the places where social performances are taking place or, in other words where social capital, that is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" [Bourdieu 1986:website], is consumed and reproduced. The context may be all kinds of social gatherings where social relations extend from wedding ceremonies to parties, while places may vary from a restaurant to a street, to a football field or even to the audience place of artistic stages. Both types of stages may exist at the same time and same place. For example, the professional dancer may perform on the artistic stage at a party while the audiences or the participants of the party accompany her/him without any concern for art. The difference between these two stages may be explained by the idea of Marcel Duchamp who used the urinal as an artwork in an exhibition hall so that he distinguishes the artistic work and the functional article according to the aim of usage. In this framework, the çiftetelli on the social stage and on the artistic stage differ from each other in body movements as well as in the meaning that is assigned and also in the sex performing it.

As it is seen in the variety of music, the dance is also performed very widely regardless of regions or cultural groups. In the texts, the roots of it are not considered, however, it is handled as the identity indicator of Turkey as well as the shared value of Turkey and Greece (tsiftetelli), while indicating non-ethnic identity. Gender on the social stage does not seem important while dancing; both female and male dancers perform it with the same body movement structure. However, the arms of the males are not so delicate as the females’ and the hips are moved with more restraint. Being performed by both males and females, it is rather a unisex dance. The special part of any performance on the social stage can be started by the musicians, changing the melodies into çiftetelli tunes, and sometimes started by the male social dancers by showing their two fingers to the musicians while moving the index and middle fingers rapidly. The two fingers designate the çifte, literally meaning two [Trakya çiftetellisi Şarköy Kocaali köyü 2011: website].

In a social gathering, for example, even different dances performed in general, çiftetelli covers one of the parts of the whole performance. For example, the Bosniak people in Istanbul perform kolo at wedding ceremonies. However, kolo is performed for a long time, çiftetelli is performed for a short time, and this cycle continues. The çiftetelli
generally follows the peak of the ecstasy of the other dance; it seems like a calmdown period after the ecstasy (see Kurtişoğlu 2008). Similar cycles can be observed in other cultural groups, such as a break after ecstasy in the 9/8 metre dance in the social performances of the Roma or a break after ecstasy in 7/8 metre hora dance of the Patriot people living in Thracian region of Turkey.

Çiftetelli connotes joy and celebration in other social settings as well. There are many examples from the sport games in that sense. The video clip, prepared for the exact scene, shows the joy of the football player of Fenerbahçe, Pierre Hooijdonk from Holland, originally from Suriname, after he scores the goal, by performing the çiftetelli with his team mates. This news also implies that the player is like 'us', he becomes indigenous because he performs 'our' dance [Bochum 0-1 Fenerbahçe (Pierre van Hooijdonk Çiftetelli) 2007: website].

To dance the çiftetelli with somebody, in other words face to face as if in a couple, means an intimacy among the people dancing together as in the following news item finding it odd: "It is found out that S.T., who confessed to murdering his cousin HSK, performed çiftetelli with his victim in her wedding one month ago" [Doğan Yayın Holding 2002:website].

Dancing çiftetelli sometimes indicates being in an unconscious, uncontrolled and disgraceful state as opposed to a controlled and strained product of cultural capital. This unconsciousness is similar to the Ehrenreich’s argument that to dance is being ecstatic or in an unserious situation (see Ehrenreich 2009). The newspaper article criticises the media workers by using the rhyme of çiftetelli and İkitelli, which is the neighborhood in İstanbul where some media companies are found, in a mocking way. "[Media-workers], please do not gossip all day about İkitelli çiftetelli and Babıali, and then in the evening do not talk on TV as if you are the serious experts" [Devrim 2005:website]. The sports' news reporting that the football players were sentenced to a penalty of performing çiftetelli because of their mistakes during the training [Fanatik web TV 2010:website] also indicates that the dance is a type of punishment since it conveys an inferior status among other dance genres.

**Conclusion**

The çiftetelli is not considered as folkdance but a social dance belonging to urban settings to be put on the artistic stage, although it is performed by every member of different social classes and ethnic groups both in urban and rural settings. However, it has the legacy of the Ottoman culture. Therefore, for about 50 years, it has not been considered as the national or official dance to be performed on the artistic stage as a component of cultural capital because the collective memories related to the Ottoman culture were attempted to be erased. When it was choreographed 'properly' by a state institution, Western dance techniques were used to legitimise it and it became a 'national dance'. The education system, the television and the tourism market as goods were used to transform it into social capital.

On the other hand, the one on the social stage has its own track and in contrast to many other dance examples, the social capital is not influenced by the cultural capital to the extent that the power holders intended. The çiftetelli on the social stage remained as a unisex dance, social classless and very widespread although with some disgraceful connotation.
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HIPS DON’T LIE?  
AFFECTIVE AND KINESTHETIC DANCE ETHNOGRAPHY¹

The Egyptian style of belly dancing is often characterised in terms of music making. The dancer's most important skill is the emotional interpretation of music, which is sometimes referred to as creating or expressing "Egyptian feeling". In this paper, I discuss the affective and kinesthetic ways of knowing in a transnational space created by belly dancing. What kind of knowledge is available to one who gets moved by music and dance? Taking a feminist post-colonial position, I also ask how does Egyptian music and feeling move differently positioned subjects. I rely on ethnographic field work that I conducted among belly dancers in Finland (1999–2006) and Egypt (2006). I argue that affective and kinesthetic ethnography is a method through which one is able to trace the constant changes and points of fixation in the relationship between sameness and difference.

Keywords: Finland; Egypt; dance; ethnography; affect; kinesthesia; empathy

Shakira's smash hit *Hips Don't Lie*² with hip-hop artist Wyclef Jean offers a point of departure for my exploration of the role of affects, emotions, and kinesthesia in knowledge production. The idea of dancing hips as 'not lying' is what interests me the most. In the lyrics, Shakira tells the boy to read the signs of her body and she promises that her hips will not lie if he keeps his eyes on them. The message her hips are delivering is quite straightforward, referring to a sexual invitation. The shimmying and circling hips have been read often in terms of sexual invitation in the popular exoticising discourses concerning belly dancing. However, there are several other possibilities that may be read from the hips – and maybe even more importantly – what they can hide and not tell if we look at dancing as a mode of human communication. This paper raises epistemological and methodological questions concerning the knowledge production of a belly dancing ethnographer, who tries to find out what kind of medium her own sensing and experiencing body is in the art of researching dance. My interest lies in the role of emotions and kinesthesia in the production and transference of knowledge in dance. In order to develop affective and kinesthetic dance ethnography, I ask how emotions and kinesthesia can be put to use in dance ethnography?

In this paper, I draw on my emotionally loaded, ambivalent and sometimes disturbing experiences in the Finnish belly dance scene as a dancer, teacher and participating researcher. In the long process of researching and dancing belly dance in Finland, there have been moments when I have sought for an affective experience of togetherness and community with other belly dancers or enthusiasts of Egyptian music and dance, but also with academic feminists. These interests have been postponed every now and then for some reason. A personal and thus political dilemma of dancing a hyperfeminine dance form and being a serious feminist scholar has been present many times to be solved. Also, belly dancing and corporeal memories of becoming a girl and a woman in Finland has offered me plenty of awkward moments of reflection. These dilemmas have sometimes either stopped me from dancing or reading theory, or sometimes made me live the ambivalence by dancing, reading, and writing.
Egyptian feeling and tarab

The transnational space of the Egyptian style of belly dancing includes an affective and kinesthetic orientation toward the 'Orient'. I name this orientation an 'Egyptian feeling'. The Egyptian styles of Oriental dance (or more accurately baladi or raks sharki style of performances) are often characterised in terms of music making. Egyptian choreographer, Raqia Hassan, describes one of her favourite dancers: "Her movements were fantastic, it was as if she were singing" [Taj 2008:website]. The dancer's most important skill is the emotional interpretation of music and a lively aural, visual and kinesthetic communication with the musicians. Belly dancers and belly dance enthusiasts often refer to this relationship as creating or expressing 'Egyptian feeling'. 'Egyptian feeling or essence' refers also to the way Egyptian men and women carry themselves in everyday life, and how this body awareness is expressed when they dance, as an American male belly dancer Tarik Sultan has noted (Salome [no date]). According to my Finnish belly dancing interviewees, 'Egyptian feeling' can be expressed also by a non-Egyptian dancer, but often it is seen as something gained only through living for a long period in Egypt and learning the culture from the inside on an embodied level.

The Finnish belly dancer's desire to dance with an 'Egyptian feeling' has its embodied history connected, among many other things, to the normative ideals of the feminine body. Finnish dancers speak often about the pride and beauty of belly dancing women and the way they carry themselves, which attracts them. Pride is not necessarily named as an 'Egyptian feeling', but there is a resemblance about how these attitudes are visible and felt in the body of the dancer as posture and shape of the movement. However, shame and embarrassment are very close to the feeling of pride: a failed performance of belly dancing is shameful to watch. Memories of such events come to my mind easily, and shameful memories seem to be an important topic of discussion for other dancers as well. My hips were pretty invisible or unknown, not felt, to me before I started belly dancing, which goes together with the narratives of many other Finnish belly dancing women. The circular and vibrating movements of hips have strong connotations with sex and seduction, and they do not fit easily with the image of respectable white middle-class femininity.

In order to get some kind of grip on this affective experience, I became familiar with the studies of Arabic music culture, which includes a concept of heightened aesthetic emotion called tarab. It is not a named, particular emotion, but as Anastasia Valassopoulos has said: "rather, the situation of tarab may enable, or generate, a particular emotional response from any individual listener. In a sense, the audience reaches a point where they feel they are allowed to experience pleasure in the emotions expressed because the source is declared as an official one, as a source of authenticity about the reality of Arab culture, and, more importantly, because they are involved in the seeking out of tarab, a sanctioned and legitimate aesthetic pursuit" [Valassopoulos 2007: 336]. The listening practices of tarab music are very intensive and they include bodily gestures and particular manners of expressing the ways the music moves the listener. According to some sources, tarab can be also produced by a good dancer when she is dancing to a skillful orchestra playing the evergreens of Arabic music, such as the music of Umm Kulthum (Bordelon 2013; Murjan & Craver 2012).

The concept of tarab is not used by belly dancers, but it has similarities with 'Egyptian feeling' as it is transformative, intense, and indefinite. Both are intensive and transforming sensations of togetherness; a successful interplay with sounds, movements, musicians, a dancer and an audience in a live performance. The movements of musicians and dancer are felt in the audience as micro-movements, tensions and releases of muscles,
as holding one's breath, closing one's eyes, clapping hands, singing and sometimes even dancing. The feelings and sensations are also indefinite, by which I mean that the particular, individual and local emotional relationships that are created in dance performances, are not predetermined, but may include feelings of joy, pride and shame, for example.

What happens when we add to this a Finnish dancer-ethnographer with her own bodily and intellectual histories? What can she know? How is embodied, affective and culturally specific knowledge available to a dancer-ethnographer?

The description of tarab, as I read it, involves the idea of kinesthetic empathy, which is seen as the ability to recognise the kinesthetic sensations that other persons' moving may call for in one's own body [Sklar 1994:14–17; Parviainen 2006:113–116]. However, it does not suggest that one could feel what another feels, but rather it calls for "being open to being affected by that which one cannot know or feel" [Ahmed 2004:30]. Kinesthetic knowledge is not knowledge of the body's inner sensations, but it always includes an operational relation to the world, other subjects and objects [Parviainen 2006:87; Sklar 1994:14]. A Finnish dance scholar, Jaana Parviainen, writes about bodily knowledge as the body topography. It suggests that the body is a place and topos including historical layers of sensations and temporality, of which some people are more aware than others. As a research method it may include using one's ability to reflect on the differences in the topographies of self and the research subject through kinesthetic empathy [Parviainen 2006:76,104; Sklar 1994:15] Parviainen names this process as mapping the body topography.

Mapping my body topography in Cairo

A pilgrimage to Cairo and its belly dance world seems to be an emotional turning point for many dancers: after being there, they have a feeling of having a deeper understanding of the enchantment of this dance form. That happened to me as well after 16 years of dancing mostly Egyptian style in Finland. In the summer of 2006, I visited Cairo. I was quite skeptical about experiencing anything that would change my emotional involvement in Egyptian dance or music, which I already loved. However, through past kinesthetic and theoretical encounters the idea of 'Egyptian feeling' was already in my body, waiting to come alive, to be felt.

One of the dance performances I saw and videotaped, was so powerful, that I have been going back to it over and over again. It was an evening of belly dance performances at a dance festival, located in a ballroom of a five-star hotel. People all over the developed countries had gathered at the festival to participate in dance workshops, meet each other and see dance performances. An Egyptian dancer and teacher, Aida Nour, was one of the festival teachers, and she also performed with live music in the evening show. Aida Nour has retired from the work of professional dancing in night clubs and weddings, but she still performs and gives workshops at dance festivals all over the world. She is well known among dancers for her earthy and exuberant style of baladi³ dancing, and I was able to see this dance style performed also that night. I had earlier participated in her dance workshops in Finland.

The interplay between Nour, musicians and the audience was powerful in my opinion, and the atmosphere was even more electric, when she performed a dance to a song Ansak ya Salam made popular by Umm Kulthum. Kulthum was, and still is, the most loved female singer in the Arabic speaking world, whose music has a special status in Egyptian music culture (see Danielson 1997). There have been different kinds of views concerning the possibility of cross-cultural understanding of Umm Kulthum's music or
belly dancing. For example, according to ethnomusicologist, Virginia Danielson, Umm Kulthum's interpretation was widely held as so skilful and elaborate, that a person not knowing the Arabic language could understand the meaning of the text [Danielson 1997: 139]. This refers to the possibility of universally communicating art, where the emphasis is on the emotional and shared expressions. While I do not fully reject this idea, my aim is to show how conditions and effects of feeling tarab or 'Egyptian feeling', for example, are not the same for everyone.

The devout atmosphere created by Nour, musicians and the audience – or what I interpreted as such – had moments of disturbance for me, which were attached to the dancer's voluptuous and moving body. A couple of times during the performance Nour directed audience's attention to her belly, when she fixed the position of her two-piece costumes' waistline to cover her midriff better and when she tapped it. Simultaneously, she made eye contact with her colleagues seated at tables with an expression as if she would comment on her curves. She also swept the corners of her mouth with her index fingers, as if she had eaten something with grains of sugar left on her lips. These gestures disturbed me, even though I was able to locate them in the context of a small, 'homey' dance festival, where people know each other. In addition, I could read the gestures in the context of performing an Egyptian baladi woman. It is very common among Egyptian dancers to perform common gestures such as mopping perspiration from one's forehead or neck, fixing one's costume or taking ordinary walking steps in the midst of dancing. These performative gestures create a feeling of being at home on the stage and images of Egyptian women as authentic, genuine and earthy baladi women. I argue that these gestures play an important role in creating the 'Egyptian feeling', or the 'essence' of Egyptian dance that many enthusiasts look forward to when traveling to Egypt. Through kinesthetic empathy and mapping my body topography it is possible to read these gestures as not only pleasurable, but also as disturbing, as they made me focus on the unruly body of the dancer and the easy way of performing it. Many Finnish belly dancing women think that the body size ideal of a belly dancer is less normative than the one valued outside the belly dancing community. From personal experience, I can tell that this is not necessarily so, especially when we are talking about performing dancers. You can find the same degrading talk of dancers' body size in Egypt as elsewhere. I have experienced this part personally only recently, as I felt myself earlier on to be rather too skinny for a belly dancer. As life happens, our bodies change. Strangely, Aida Nour's easiness of having or being an unruly body did not make me feel proud of my female unruly and changing body, but it brought up the feeling of shame and the way my body seemed to be the object of shame because it changes and does not stay the same normatively ideal body.

The limits of embodied and affective knowledge

Why is it interesting or important to talk about the dancer-ethnographer's emotions? My aim is to show that if the named emotions of pride (of one's female body) or joy of sharing are the only one's allowed in the sphere of belly dance experience, and the feeling of shame is denied, we may also lose the connection to past (shameful) histories of those bodies that make this experience possible in the first place.

Feminist post-colonial theorist, Sara Ahmed's view on emotions has been helpful for me, as she puts an emphasis on the contact we have with objects when something is felt in the body. For example, when we feel shame, we feel it towards something. The contact between the subject and 'something' already involves a reading of "the subject, as well as histories that come before the subject." Thus, pride or shame does not reside in the
subject or object, but it is a matter of how the subject and the object come into contact. This contact leaves an impression on bodies [Ahmed 2004:6]. Therefore, embodied knowledge does not provide us with linear knowledge of those past histories of contact, which enable the object to be understood as shameful. However, it could offer us some knowledge about the orientations, interests and the impressions of the lived body, which are formed by earlier orientations and contacts by and with others and where proximity and distance are pursued intentionally or unconsciously. These orientations are value-laden, affective and felt in the body.

Immersion in a movement or emotion does not produce kinesthetic or affective knowledge as such, it may also obscure it [Parviainen 2007:52–55]. At first, I was immersed in the pleasure of watching Aida Nour's dance and sharing that moment with other people in Cairo. I erased anything that would disturb my great experience. Kinesthetic empathy, or feeling the movements of Nour in my body did not offer kinesthetic knowledge, as I was not able to locate my disturbing bodily sensations from the overwhelming atmosphere of sharing. These disturbing feelings of my body and Aida Nour's body relate also to collective experiences of normativity, where people are excluded from different communities for one reason or another, or are made feel shame because they are not quite right. As an ethnographer one must be able to connect not only with those who are at the centre of dance traditions, but also with those who are excluded or marginalised. In the Egyptian style of belly dancing this could mean those female dancers who dance in 'cheap' nightclubs and are the lowest class of the dancers, or those male dancers who are not allowed to perform in Egypt the style perceived as feminine, at least officially, even if they do so outside of Egypt. According to Stavros Stavrou Karayanni (2009) and Anthony Shay (2009), this is due to the homophobic attitudes towards the belly dancing men in Egypt, which dates from the days of colonialism.

Conclusions

At the beginning of this paper, I promised to show how emotions and kinesthesia can be put to use in dance ethnography. I have done it here by mapping my body topography and discussing some awkward moments of ambivalence (see Ang 2001:145) in dancing and doing research. This requires the skill of utilising a human's ability to feel another human's movement and be moved along with it, but not immersing oneself in the other's movement or emotion. Kinesthetic empathy as a mode of embodied knowledge can work as a starting point for a more critical and conscious process of mapping the body topography.

Then what about the truth of the hips or embodied knowledge in crosscultural understanding? I do not claim that I as an ethnographer have an unmediated access to my body topography, to all its historical layers, contacts, impressions and sensations, but the skills of mapping can be developed. The bodily feelings, or my moving hips, as such, do not tell the truth about myself or others, but they may lead to paths that can be surprising.

Endnotes

1. This article is a shortened and revised version of an article published as Laukkonen 2010.
2. For the music video see shakiraVEVO 2006.
3. Baladi means domestic and local, and its value depends on the context. Baladi may describe either good or bad quality of food or costume. It also connotes a certain life style of urbanised Egyptian people and a style of music and dance [Reda 2000; Lorius 1996:288].
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LARIANGI: DANCING MAIDEN, PALACE AND ROYALS OF THE BUTONESE KINGDOM IN SOUTHEAST SULAWESI, INDONESIA

The Lariangi dance represents an emplaced classical tradition of the Royal Wolio-Buton Palace displaced from the centre of power at the Wolio-Buton court to a remotely far corner of Bharata Kaledupa in Southeast Sulawesi at the height of its rule in the nineteenth century. When the seat of absolute power of the Wolio-Buton court was abolished by the newly emerged Indonesian republic in the mid-twentieth century, Lariangi remained to be performed to this day as an emplaced living classical tradition of a bygone era signifying a profound connection between the defunct palace and contemporary mystical presence of the "spiritual other" of the Wolio-Buton court in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. This paper attempts to illustrate the dialogics of an emplaced memory over a displaced dance tradition, commemorating the past in the present.

Keywords: Indonesia-Southeast Sulawesi; Wolio-Buton; Lariangi dance; classical tradition

This paper deals with the Lariangi classical dance tradition of the former royal court of Wolio-Buton on the island of Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia, over two periods of time. The first period is from 1542 to 1960, which details the emergence of the Buton Sultanate and the coming of Islam when the Lakilaponto (or also known as Halu Oleo), the 6th King of Buton, converted to Islam and became Sultan Murhum Kaimuddin Khalifatul Khamis. The second period occurs after the death of the Sultan Muhammad Falihi Kaimuddin, the 38th Sultan of Buton in 1960 to the present time. These two periods emplaced Lariangi as a classical dance that once had a ruling class as its place of patronage and a dance form that is still extant in spite of the absence of its place of patronage. In the present time, Lariangi has become an emplaced memory of a displaced dance tradition commemorating the past in the present. Lariangi presents the notion of a "place", an area or indefinite boundaries of the Wolio-Buton kingdom and all its territories or principalities that held special meaning fostering a sense of attachment and belonging.

The place
The dance of Lariangi was believed to have been part of the Wolio-Buton classical dance heritage from the time when Buton or often referred to as Wolio (henceforth will be cited as Wolio-Buton royal court) existed as a kingdom with its capital city in Bau Bau in the sixteenth century (1542–1960). The Wolio-Buton kingdom was an important maritime centre for spice trade during the fifteenth century and the city of Bau Bau served as an important stop-over for spice ships traversing between the Straits of Malacca and the Banda Sea. Although the mythical origin of the Wolio-Buton kingdom was attributed to four Malay warriors from the Malay Peninsula in 1332, the importance of Wolio-Buton as a strategic kingdom on the spice route and the affirmation of court performance traditions, including Lariangi, as sentinels of mystical Sufism became significant from the mid-sixteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century (Zuhdi 2009).
Administratively, the kingdom and Sultanate of Wolio-Buton was administered through a hierarchical structure consisting of the central authority of the Sultanate of Wolio on the top; the Bharata principalities represented by principalities of Kaledupa in the Southeast, Kulincusu in the Northeast, Muna and Tiworo in the West at the midlevel; and smaller administrative units or territories known as Kadie administered by a leader, Sara Kadie, at the lowest level. The four Bharata(s) or principalities strategically served as the most important administrative and political ramparts for the Wolio-Buton kingdom. These four Bharatas were metaphorically referred to as the "outriggers" to the main sailboat, which is represented by the central administrative centre of power within the seat of the Wolio-Buton Sultanate in Bau Bau. Each of the four Bharatas were ruled by chiefs who represented the Sultan and held immense power while each of the four Bharatas replicated the 'place' of the ruling Sultan through administrative, cultural and esoteric practices [Mohd Anis Md Nor; Hanafi Hussin; Ruslan Rahman; Halilintar Lathief 2009].

![Bharata(s) of the Wolio-Buton Kingdom](image)

Figure 1. Principalities (Bharata) of the Wolio-Buton Kingdom

During the period of 1542–1960, the four Bharatas had a degree of autonomy in the way their social classes reconstructed the perception of an emplaced performative tradition in their classical dance repertoires. Apart from being political ramparts of the Wolio-Buton kingdom, the four Bharatas inherited specific classical dance traditions that were unique and different from the central kingdom. Whilst the central court of Wolio-Buton in Bau Bau had specific repertoire of male dances based on the martial arts, the four Bharatas had female dances performed by girls and young women trained in the art form before they were sent off to be married. This gave rise to a distinctive demarcation of "place" for the different forms of court dances. The male Galangi dance, which was performed in the Wolio-Buton central court and in all the four Bharatas, was perceived as dances of the warriors or guards of the ruler. They did not only represent the male martial art dance of the royal audience hall or Baruga but was also a dance of where gestures and movements of the body expressed deference and homage to the ruler. On the contrary, the female dances in the four Bharatas were significantly different in their repertoires as each of the different repertoires signified the "place" of practice and the connection they had.
with the overarching spiritual mystics of Sufistic practices of the central court. Hence, each of the four Bharatas has its own female dance repertoire, the Lariangi dance in Kaledupa, the Lense dance in Kulincusu, the Linda dance in Muna, and a variant of the Linda dance in Tiworo. Each of these dances emplaced their repertoires as signifiers of origin and "place," hence they could never be performed without emplacing the principality they represented.

The "place" of the ruler or Lakina was affirmed through the hierarchical social structure dividing the ruling class and those who served the rulers. Four social classes consisting of the Kaomu (royals), Walaka (ruling class and Islamic clergy), Papara (commoners) and Batua (slaves) formed the Wolio-Buton "social structure" reflecting different levels of political and socioeconomic stratification. On the macro level, the social structure reflected socioeconomic and political stratification through the functionalities of the different social classes with patterned relationships between the large social groups. On the meso level, the "social class" of Wolio-Buton tied individuals and their stratified groups within the perimeters of politics and religiosity reflected amongst others in the dances of each Bharata or principalities. At the micro level, the functionality of social classes within the Wolio-Buton kingdom was mirrored at each Bharata to sustain the practices of the central court within the periphery courts of the four Bharatas, shaping the way of preserving classical dances assigned to the respective Bharatas as hegemonic symbols of mystical practices of the central Wolio-Buton court in Bau Bau.

![Wolio-Buton Social Structure](image)

**Figure 2: Social classes within the hierarchical social structure of Wolio-Buton**

However, the efficacy of the hierarchical social structure began to wane when the Wolio-Buton kingdom entered into a contract with the Dutch East India Company or VOC (Dutch: *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) in 1613 to secure political assistance from threats to their power from the Sultanate of Goa in Makassar (South Sulawesi) and the Sultanate of Ternate in the Maluku Islands (Moluccas). The VOC, an established chartered company from the Netherlands that was granted a twenty-one year
monopoly to carry out colonial activities in Indonesia by the State-General of the Netherlands (Dutch: Staten-Generaal), freed Wolio-Buton from the threats of political intrusions while at the same time subjugated Wolio-Buton as a territory administered under the Pax Neerlandica (overseas territory of the Kingdom of the Netherlands) between 1667–1669. Although Wolio-Buton remained as a kingdom with a certain degree of autonomy under Dutch "supervision" from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, the effects of Dutch hegemony over the East Indies (Indonesian Archipelago) was felt in Wolio-Buton through an eventual lessening of autonomous interactivities amongst the Lakina (royals) from the Kaomu class and the administrators and Islamic leaders from the Walaka class. It affected Lariangi to a certain extent when commoners (Papara) had access to learning and performing the dance in spite of not being descendants of the elite ruling classes. Eventually, Lariangi became synonymous with the peripheral principal courts of Kaledupa when Wolio-Buton became part of the Republic of Indonesia in 1949. With the death of the last reigning Sultan of Wolio-Buton in 1960, Lariangi completely lost its court patronage in spite of being a cultural heritage of Kaledupa and as an emplaced tradition.

![Figure 3. Diachronic flow chart of Lariangi in Bharata Kaledupa](image)

In post-independence Indonesia, the royal Wolio-Buton kingdom represents a historical site of a former Sultanate and Kingdom of Wolio-Buton. Prior to the death of the last reigning Sultan in 1960, the site of the Wolio-Buton kingdom was confined to the old Buton fortress in Bau Bau where the Kaomu, Walaka, and Papara social classes interacted as a reenactment of past practices whilst the Batua class was long gone prior to the Indonesian revolution for independence in the 1940s. Although political allegiance between the Wolio-Buton court and the four principal Bharatas became dysfunctional with the onset of the new Indonesian republic when the seat of government moved to Kendari, the capital city of the post-independence Indonesian province of Southeast Sulawesi, the Wolio-Buton Sultanate remained as a "place" of history and identity. As a historical site and former seat of the Wolio-Buton kingdom, the territories and principalities of Wolio-Buton emplaced the former classical dances of the Wolio-Buton royal courts into assigned positions of revered performance traditions sanctified by the location where these dances are performed and practiced.
The dance

The Lariangi dance, which is the subject of this discussion, is a dance that is still being performed by women on the island of Kaledupa, one of the other islands in the Tukangbesi archipelago Southeast of Bau Bau (now the archipelago is known as Wakatobi), in spite of the demise of the royal court in 1960 [Mohd Anis Md Nor; Hanafi Hussin; Ruslan Rahman; Halilintar Lathief; Rakhman Biro 2010]. The dance of Lariangi is performed by rows of women who dance in lineal formation, in double or single rows while singing poems (*kabanti*) to the beats of accompanying drums and gongs from the Ganda ensemble. Similar to the mythical origin of the Wolio-Buton court, the pre-Islamic Lariangi dance has its resemblance to the mythical origin of a sacred dance performed by the heavenly princess. However, little is known of how the dance was performed before Islam, prior to the influence of Sufism to the royal Wolio-Buton courts in the fourteenth century. Today, Lariangi emplaces the mystical relationship of Sufism in the form of mysticism associated to a Tasawuf or Sufi traditions signifying a strategic alliance between the central royal court of Wolio-Buton and Kaledupa as an important Bharata or principality of the Wolio-Buton kingdom.

Today, mysticism in Lariangi is practised through the use of esoteric poetry with texts in the Malay, Arabic and Wolio languages and in the way the dance movements are executed with the use of fans and scarves to the accompaniment of the Ganda music ensemble. Only a few older women understand the entirety of the multi-language sung poetry while most young women dancers are only able to sing the memorised text. However, the presence of "place" represented by the cultural territories of Lariangi in the former Bharata of Kaledupa adds value to the myth and glory of an esoteric dance tradition from the Southeastern flank of the former Wolio-Buton kingdom. The Lariangi dance represents an emplaced tradition of an esoteric dance form of the Wolio-Buton kingdom far from the central seat of power signifying a strategic triumvirate of power, governance and spirituality represented by female dancers and singers, contrasting patriarchal rulers who were in the seats of power in the central court of Wolio-Buton.

![Dances from the Wolio-Buton Sultanate](image)

Figure 4: Dances from the four Bharata(s) of the Wolio-Buton Sultanate. Lariangi represents the dance from Bharata Kaledupa (South Eastern region of Wolio-Buton)
Performing within the grounds of the old Kamali (palace) in Kaledupa near the site of the old audience hall or Baruga, the Lariangi dance has today become synonymous with an emplaced tradition of "old" Kaledupa perpetuated by a continuous practice of teaching, training and performing the dance to the younger generations. Lariangi remains to be performed to this day as an emplaced living classical tradition of a bygone era signifying a profound connection between the defunct palace and contemporary mystical presence of the "spiritual other" of the Wolio-Buton court in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. That "spiritual other" is represented in the way the dance performance is 'ritualised' through an intensive preparation that involves hair trimming on the girls' foreheads, gluing the girls' side locks with bees wax and letting it rest, and glued overnight, trimming the eye brows, intricate hairdos and hair buns, wearing colourful dance costumes, and waiting patiently over long hours before the dance performance commences in the evening. Older dance mistresses hover around the young maidens as soon as they gather within the performance space to maintain an assuring 'presence' that the dancers are being looked after and that the dance will be successfully executed. To the young dancers, Lariangi is not an ordinary dance. To be chosen as one of the dancers is regarded as an indication of excellence achieved in vocal training, dancing and manipulation of the fans and scarves.

Figure 5: Lariangi dance by senior court performers within the grounds of the old Kamali (Palace) in Kaledupa (Photograph by Mohd Anis Md Nor and Hanafi Hussin, 2009)

An emplaced tradition

To the beholders of Lariangi, the dance represents a living classical performance of a bygone era that has retained the notion of "place" (the defunct Palace of Wolio-Buton) through its profound connection with the contemporary mystical presence of the "spiritual other/order".

The spiritual heart of Lariangi is in the sung poems or kabanti. Dance movements are performed as an extension of the sung text rather than for the single purpose of dancing. Written in Arabic scripts known as Buri Wolio, the kabanti poems had originated as a pre-Islamic oral tradition of singing laments, yearnings for missed ones as well as for disseminating advice. The word kabanti in Wolio came from the word
kabanti-banti, which means caustic mocking or singing soft tunes about loved ones or lullabies (senandung). Hence, the extreme vacillation and ambivalence of kabanti as an instrument for vocal rendition was appropriated by the Sufistic orders (Tasawuf) in Wolio-Buton for the singing of metaphors and spiritual allegories, interleaved with Bismillah or Basmala (Arabic: ﺑﺴﻤﻠﺔ or ﺍﷲ ﺑﺱﻡ), the Arabic noun used in a number of contexts by Muslims as a recitative text before reading each Sura or chapter of the Quran. The noun is used as a collective name for the recurring phrase "b-ismi-llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi," that is translated as "In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful," which is usually the first phrase or preamble to dedicated "rememberance" or "reiteration" (dhikr). However, there are two kinds of kabanti in Wolio-Buton, a secular kabanti and a philosophical kabanti. The former is sung by ordinary folks and written mostly as love romance, the latter is associated with the esoteric poems of the Palace genre. Lariangi's kabanti belongs to the palace genre; hence it is infused with Islamic teachings transposed from prose literature to poems. Lariangi's kabanti remains esoteric to most performers who are not privileged to Sufistic teaching although its presentation is iconic of the "spiritual other". Lariangi and its sung poems (kabanti) have positioned a sense of particularity to the "place" of origin and emplace spirituality as the causality for its existence.

An example of interleaved Islamic (Sufistic) poetic text in a Wolio-Buton Kabanti can be seen from a Tanaka section, which is sung before a Lariangi dance ends. Although this example is transliterated in the Roman alphabet, the sectional refrains in Arabic and Wolio are observable. The Arabic words are salutations and reiterations (dhikr), while the romanised words in Wolio, often have esoteric meanings or are onomatopoeic.

Transliterated Tanaka text of a kabanti in the Roman alphabet:

La ilahi illaulah ya maula
E muhamadi rasullullah e lamiyali
Disalla salamullah ya maula
Wa lamiyola tufahi fahitullah
E tanaka lutufi liasila ya maula
E .. Bi aruba bisaa odadi e kadasa
Musufi liibura ya maula
Ji hata tana e tanakalo
E fasirita sari liafi ya maula
E .. Butuni tasa raafa
Tibi liha muli alla allaini fi ya maula
Umuri moa moaufalu
E hania .. Linkau minia ya maula
E antafi him faminai faminihumu
E badani lainkamba mo lainkamba tarumbi
Ya maula
Jamali musa musarubalu lele …
The same Tanaka text of a *kabanti* transliterated in Arabic and the Roman alphabet showing sporadic interleaving of Arabic-Wolio words infusing a sense of "spiritual other":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{illaulah (لَا إِنَّهُ)} & \text{ lamiyali (لِامِيَيْلِي)} \\
\text{Disalla salamullah (مُولِّيَّة)} & \text{ lamiyola tufahi fahitullah (لَمْيْوُلا تُفَاهِي فَحِيتُلْهَا)} \\
\text{lutufi liasila (يَتَنَاكِلا)} & \text{ kadasa (كَادَسَا)} \\
\text{Bi (أَرْوَابِ)} & \text{ Disalla (ذِسَال)} \\
\text{Bi (أَرْوَابِ)} & \text{ lamiyali (لِامِيَيْلِي)} \\
\text{lamiyola tufahi fahitullah (لَمْيْوُلا تُفَاهِي فَحِيتُلْهَا)} & \text{ disalla salamullah (ذِسَال)} \\
\text{masufi liibura (مُولِّيَّة)} & \text{ tanakalo (تَنَاكَالَو)} \\
\text{fasirita (يَسَارِ)} & \text{ liafi (لِيَافِي)} \\
\text{Butuni (الْطَاطِسُ)} & \text{ raafa (رَاافا)} \\
\text{Tibi liha (عَلَاءَ فَائِي)} & \text{ alla (أَلَّا)} \\
\text{Umuri moa moaufalu (وُمُرَيْيَمْوَا مُوءَفَالُو)} & \text{ .. Linkau (لَينْكَأَو)} \\
\text{E antafi him faminai faminihumu (إِنْتَافِهِمْ)} & \text{ lainkamba (لَينْكَامْبَا)} \\
\text{yi (يَ)} & \text{ lainkamba tarumbi (لَينْكَامْبَا تَرَمْبِي)} \\
\text{yi (يَ)} & \text{ .. (وُمُرَيْيَمْ)} \\
\text{yi (يَ)} & \text{ musarubalu lele (مُسَارَبَالَوْلِي)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Conclusion**

The Lariangi classical dance remains to this day as a tradition of Bharata Kaledupa, one of the four principalities of Wolio-Buton, and retains the notion of a "place" within the indefinite boundaries of the Wolio-Buton kingdom. Within the two periods of existence, pre-1960s and post-1960s, Lariangi remained as an emplaced memory of the Wolio-Buton kingdom and its court tradition when Kaledupa was one of the four ramparts of the Wolio-Butonese kingdom. Although located far from the central court of Wolio-Buton in Bau Bau, the court of Kaledupa in the southeastern archipelago of the Tukangbesi and the dance of Lariangi signified a triumvirate of power, governance and spirituality leveraging royal courts, dancing maidens, and patriarchal rulers as entities of a "place" that once stood. Lariangi emplaces a structured movement system that is classical in origin and spiritual in substance. The mystical presence of the "spiritual other" of the Wolio-Buton court in Southeast Sulawesi continues to endure as long as it takes.

**Endnotes**

1. The oldest known Wolio-Buton epical text known as Hikayat Sipajonga, had assumed that the Wolio-Buton kingdom was established by four nobles commonly referred to Mia Pata Miana, namely Sipajonga, Simalui, Sitamanojo and Sijawangkati were said to have originated from the Malay Peninsula. The four Malay nobles divided themselves into two groups to set up the Wolio-Buton kingdom; the first two nobles, Sipajonga and Simalui went to Kalampa, while the other two nobles, Sitamanojo and Sijawangkati went to Walalagusii. Both groups had resided along the coastal areas to develop new territories. The word Wolio was believed to have originated from the clearing of the forest of Welia woods. It was the word Welia and the clearing of the forest that gave the kingdom its name [Zuhdi 2010:36].

2. The mythic origin of Wolio-Buton kingdom was based on the Wa Kaa Kaa myth. The myth, which has largely been accepted by scholars and historians, details the birth of Wa Kaa Kaa and tells of her origins from a bamboo. Wa Kaa Kaa was adopted by Mia Patamiania, the four noble Malay men from the Malay Peninsula, to help her rule Buton. She married Sibarata, a noble of the Majapahit, a thalassocratic
archipelagic empire in the island of Java, which ruled much of the Malay Archipelago from 1293 to 1500. WaKaa Kaa was succeeded by the next female ruler, Bulawambona.

3. The Ganda ensemble accompanying Lariangi is made up of several musical instruments such as the ganda (drum), mbololo (large gong), tawatawa (small gong), and ndengu-dengu (kettle gong).

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Mohd Anis Md NOR; Hanafi HUSSIN; Ruslan RAHMAN; Halilintar LATHIEF; Rakhman BIRO.

Susanto ZUHDI.

Hungarian táncház offers an unusual opportunity to explore the interplay among conceptual and physical space, heritage and homeland. Táncház, "dance house," refers to regular dances held in Szék and other Hungarian villages. Around 1970, researchers, musicians, and dancers in Budapest and urban centres in Romania began to recreate these dance houses in their own spaces. In urban settings, táncház became an emotional homeland, where Hungarian heritage could be experienced, and a tie could be formed with an imagined rural heart of Hungarian being. This paper explores how this conceptual space plays out in a variety of physical spaces and how various groups of the Hungarian diaspora use táncház to form a Hungarian identity. I discuss how tánztábor, dance camps, often set in villages where dances originated, provide both a sense of place and a shared emotional space for accessing feelings having to do with nationality, aesthetics and deep personal emotions.

Keywords: Hungary; táncház; revival; tábor; place

Hungarian táncház offers an unusual opportunity to explore the interplay among conceptual and physical space, heritage and homeland. Táncház, literally "dance house," refers to regular dances held in former times in Szék and other Hungarian villages in Transylvania and other areas populated by Hungarians. Around 1972, researchers, musicians and dancers in Budapest and some urban centres in Romania began to recreate these dance houses in their own spaces. In its urban incarnation, the táncház became an emotional homeland, where Hungarian heritage could be experienced, and a tie could be formed with an imagined rural heart of Hungarian being. This paper will explore the way in which this conceptual space plays out in a variety of physical spaces.

First a short introduction: While dance events in villages consisted of dancing local dance cycles over and over again, an urban táncház offers a series of dance cycles from different areas and villages. A sense of place is intrinsic to táncház – dancers and musicians strive to emulate not only content from a specific locale, but also manners of self expression and demeanour, attitudes, and social and physical interactions they associate with that place.

Here are a few examples. In the men's dance, Kalotaszegi Légenes, men approach the band, one after another, and perform a series of points, or eight-bar dance units. Each dancer chooses his points from many learned or recorded at various times from village dancers. Dancers may also develop points out of elements from other points. Men dance in relation to each other, for example, generally choosing not to repeat the points of the previous dancers, and trying to outdo each other.


In couples dancing, each dance has a general style and feeling in the relationship of the couples and the way of moving. The man leads the woman, improvising by fitting together the motives of each dance dialect according to the rules of the dance. Musicians also improvise the order of songs or patterns within a dance cycle and
introduce melodic variants within the patterns of that musical dialect.


Improvisation includes not just what individuals do, but, more importantly, how they respond to each other. Musicians have the responsibility to watch the dancers, both playing music that helps them to dance, and shaping the dance experience in terms of length and content. The dance happens usually in a rectangular hall with the musicians at one end. Dancers like to dance in front of the band, and couples often move around to share this prime space. Community members encircle the dancers and musicians, sitting around the floor and observing good dancing and social interactions. Important in the dance is a sense of the body in relation to others in space; the man to the band, men to each other, the relationship within the couple and to other people on the floor. It is possible to see everything as an organic unit: Every tânccháž is different, in that each person influences and is influenced by the whole. Thus, tânccháž develops both an ever-changing series of dance, musical, and personal relationships and a sense of connectedness and group belonging.

Hungarians have used dance and tânccháž in recent times as a means to experience and assert Hungarian identity. Dance cycles are named by their places of origin, and it is possible to experience the dancing of a cycle as a reaching out to that place. Hungarians are acutely conscious of the Treaty of Trianon of 1920, through which many areas where Hungarians lived with people of other backgrounds were split away to neighbouring countries. There are Hungarians in Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Ukraine, Croatia, Austria, and in North and South America and other countries. Even many Hungarians in Hungary experience a sense of having been disconnected from Transylvania, which is considered a sort of Hungarian heartland.

Hungarians in all of these real or quasi diasporas have built a strong sense of identity, in large part by using Hungarian folk customs and folk music and dance. Resistance to Communism added another layer of determination to hold on to folk customs as a way of maintaining Hungarian identity. Hungarians used the spaces in Communist-organised community centres to dance tânccháž as a protest that could not be even identified as such—when the authorities came to check, all they found were people dancing. In Romania, young people from urban centres used dance to forge relationships with rural people, a practice actively discouraged by authorities [Németh 2006:interview]. Many people fled to the United States after World War II and the failed Hungarian revolution in 1956. Institutions developed (and continue today) to maintain a sense of being Hungarian. These include Saturday schools where children learn the Hungarian language, folk arts, and dance games; teenage Scouts in Exile, Cserkész Regőś, within which dance groups foster socialising and interaction with Hungarian youth from other parts of the US and Canada; and adult dance groups. Many members of the Hungarian group of New York and New Jersey, for example, were urban young adults who only began to dance when they came to the US. Identification as Hungarian can be so strong that, for example, Laszlo Hajdu-Nemeth, a second generation Hungarian and the leader of the New Jersey dance group, Csúrdöngölö, told me that he didn't know if he saw himself as Hungarian American or American Hungarian [Hajdu-Németh 2010:interview]. This also happens in Romania. Shortly before this conference, I was in Székelyföld/Ținutul Secuiesc, a region in the centre, home of a large population of Hungarians. Many local people told me about dance groups in elementary and secondary schools where the main extracurricular recreation consisted of learning the dances of their villages. In all these
processes, dance becomes a part of a definition of self and furthers a sense of being Hungarian. Táncház, while occupying a physical space, is also a shared emotional space of community and identity.

Not just people who actively live their Hungarian identity do táncház, and it is through looking at those with different types of associations that we can gain insight into other aspects of this emotional space within táncház. Ashanta Csergo, a citizen of the United Kingdom, sees herself as English, and talks about looking for traces of her family in Transylvania. "Then she got married, and then she lost her family name. And then . . . She may have survived, you know, she may still be here, she may have kids who have kids who are my relatives. I don't know how I could ever possibly find them. Anyway, there's all this mystery in my history, mystery in my history about this place. And it's just quite interesting the way the music is . . . I feel like the music is completely related because I just feel that I was completely drawn to the music. And especially these areas which are not far, like the Szászcsávás is not far from these places where I since then found out that my grandparents were born in. I feel like there is something really strong drawing me to here. My friends in England just think I am completely mad and don't understand me at all. Even my boyfriend is like, "Why are you going to Transylvania? You've been there before." So anyway, so last year I finally made it to the National Archives in Brașov which is where my grandmother was born, and that's where I found her birth certificate which showed both her parents and their dates of birth and their place of birth" [Csergo 2012:interview].


There is another circle of people who are not Hungarian by blood, but who feel a strong emotional pull to the material. Cathy Lamont from Washington, DC, states: "I have, as far as I know, no Hungarian heritage, but when I first heard Széki music at a workshop in Washington in the late 1970s, I was hooked. I wanted to know more about the culture that produced such beautiful music and dance. I started learning the language. The fact that Hungarian music and dance are so intertwined with my getting together with Rudy and our life together is also important – it was the major thing we shared. Living for a year in Hungary and taking several trips to Transylvania is another piece. It was truly the "utolsó óra" (last hour) for traditional arts as part of daily life in Transylvania, although we didn't know it at the time. Meeting the villagers and seeing their hospitality and courage in the face of their many challenges was very meaningful for us as life lessons. . . . Now, when I hear the music, it taps so many layers of experience and emotion. . . It's great to dance right in front of the band, make eye contact with the musicians, and connect with them" [Lamont 2012:interview].

Cathy also spoke about the Csipke Folk Dance and Folk Music Camp, held near Detroit, Michigan, sponsored by the Csipke Ensemble and running since 2007: "... to me Csipke is partly like a family reunion. I know some of the people very well, others not at all, and everything in between. Some of the folks there have very different political or religious beliefs from mine. But, although we come from all over the USA, Canada, Hungary, and Romania, we share a love for this beautiful music and dance" [Lamont 2012:interview].

The week we spend celebrating this love each year is filled with rituals – driving through the gate, the arrival and hugging friends, finding roommates and moving in, the Wednesday "ice cream run," games at the táncház, dancing and singing late in the kocsma, the filming of the dance material, the Gala performance, and saying good-bye the
next morning. The week seems to heighten emotions" [Lamont 2012:interview].

The sense of identity or identification with Hungarian dance and táncház creates a strong emotional tie to places where it happens, and, as alluded to by Cathy, one of the strongest places to experience this is at a Hungarian dance camp, or tánctábor. These tábóro are situated in rural areas, to avoid the intrusion of modern life and to foster a sense of connection with the life of the village. In Transylvania, villages are chosen for their association with specific dances and often the local dance is taught at the camp. Campers have the option of living with local families or sleeping in tents; they are fed by groups of local women. It is easy to imagine one's self, moving backwards in time. A friend of mine, an executive in an accounting firm in Bucharest, puts away his watch and lives by biological time [Gábor 2012:conversation]. Much late night music, dancing, singing, and drinking foster this sense of escape and destination.

Táncház and Tanztábor provide the place for this shared complex of emotions including the sense of nationality, identity, expression of self, and experience of beauty. This space is at the same time shared by participants and forms the basis of their interactions. At the tanztábor I was at in Jobbágytelke, Romania, just before this conference, participants spoke of the rural situation of the camp: the beauty, the simple friendliness of the people, the experience of a former time. One man told me that doing these dances are his patriotism [Katy 2012:conversation]. One woman took me aside to tell me in answer to my various questions, "Sex is horizontal and dancing is vertical," which I think is a useful metaphor for being absorbed in the dance and the interaction of partners [anonymous 2012:conversation]. The most frequent answer to my questions about emotional associations with dance camps was the statement, "It is important to do this dance in this place," with the sense that no further explanation was necessary.

My conclusion in response, is that the meaning of being in táncház or in the place of a specific dance is very difficult to talk about, something akin to describing the experience of dancing itself. Last fall, I attempted to explore that experience with a paper on dance and flow, a concept developed by Mihaly Csikszentmihaly, who spoke of being so totally involved in something that it takes up all of one's attention and one does not think but only does, resulting in a feeling of mastery and contentment [Olson 2011]. However, I do not think that this gives the whole picture, because it does not allow space for this essential sense of being in the place of a specific dance, meaning both the specific location that dance comes from, and the emotional space found in doing that dance.

Personal examples of the conceptual spaces that develop as a result of táncház and being at tanztábor may be found in the videos dancers and musicians create and place on the web.

Here is an evocation of the tanztábor in Kalotaszentkirály/Sâncreaui, Romania:

Example 4. "XVIII. Kalotaszegi népzene és néptánc tabor" YouTube video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F3CdgI0dxqo> [video by retePamzuK].

My next example presents a dance and soccer event in Méra/Mera, Romania. On September 1, 1967, György Martin, a former member of our Study Group, invited many Kalotaszegi dancers of légenyes to Méra to perform and to be recorded. These dancers included István Mátyás, known as Mundruc. The film Martin created is used by almost every táncház dancer as the basis of his understanding of these dances. This short film follows dance groups as they commemorate Mundruc with a soccer tournament followed by performing légenyes on the stage.

Example 5. "VII. Mundruc népfocitorna (Méra 2011)” [recorded by Zsombor Bazsó]. YouTube video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HKxXRI-FmSA> [video copy posted on YouTube by Judith Olson].
My next example is from Válaszút/Rascruci in Mezőszégi/Câmpia Transilvaniei, Romania. The videographer created a series of seven meditations on his or her experiences there in 2010. The first buli, or party video begins on the dance floor and moves out to the kocsma, or bar area.


By the time Bulivideo 5 begins, all the action is relaxed and outside.


My final example is from shortly before our conference, in the kocsma at the Jobbágytelke camp, where singing of Hungarian songs flows into dance.


In conclusion, táncház fosters a strong sense of the place of Hungarian dance, through the practice of dance, music, gesture, and customs associated with specific locales and villages, and, in the case of tanctábor, being there. In this paper I have suggested that through the building of community, and accessing feelings having to do with nationality, aesthetics and deep personal emotions, it also builds a shared emotional space that dancers visit and live in for a time.

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1. Extensive analysis of the early history and politics of the táncház movement may be found in dissertation by Mary N. Taylor 2007.

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[Romero, Angel] ARomero.

Taylor, Mary N.
ON MACHISMO IN CUBAN CASINO

Twenty years before *salsa* was created in New York City, *casino*, the dance that the world recognises as Cuban *salsa*, was developed in Cuba. The objectives of this paper are to provide an informed ethnographic portrait of contemporary *casino* in Cuba and to examine the meaning of this social dance form within the context of gender relations. *Casino*, performed in a private setting, reinforces communal and familial ties. In contrast, public performances frequently include an additional aspect of human interaction competition in the forms of *machismo* and *guapería*. This paper explores what *casino* represents in contemporary Cuba. Data for the paper is based upon fieldwork completed in Cuba in December, 2011, and January, 2012. Questions addressed include: How does the change from a private to a public location alter the meaning of this dance form from communal to competitive? And, how is gender display represented in the dance?

*Keywords*: Cuba; casino; salsa; machismo; culture

Anthropologist, Joann Kealiinohomoku, suggests "dance cultures are microcosms of holistic cultures" (Kealiinohomoku 1974). This paper uses the Cuban social dance, *casino*, as a lens to glimpse into Cuban culture. The conclusions drawn in this paper are based on fieldwork in Cuba and corresponding interviews from December, 2011, to January, 2012. Cuban scholars Graciela Chao Carbonero (2010), Alan Borges Riego and Alicia Sardiñas Amador de los Rios (2010), and Barbara Balbuena (2007) have written books on *casino*. Of these, only Balbuena's book has been translated into English and in each the historical and technical aspects of *casino* are the focus. In addition to the Cuban scholars, American anthropologist, Yvonne Daniel, has written books on Cuban dance (Daniel 1995, 2005, 2011). Daniel's books focus on ritual dances and *rumba*, rather than *casino*.

The objective of this paper is to address the research gap and to examine what makes Cuban *casino* inherently Cuban. My investigation led me to discover that many aspects of Cuban everyday life and culture are present in the popular dance, *casino*. This paper examines only one aspect in depth, the notion of *machismo*.

To begin, a clarification of terms is necessary: first, the difference between *salsa* and *casino*. As many people are aware, *salsa* music is the creation of Cuban and Puerto Rican immigrants living in New York City in the 1970s. *Salsa*, the dance, was created to accompany the music. From the beginning, the dance *salsa* was the product of marketing, as it was believed that the music would have more staying power if it had a corresponding dance (see Waxer 2002; McCabe 2009). In contrast, *casino* has existed since the late 1950s, the name of the dance, *casino*, derives from the Havana club where it originated in 1957 on the beach in the municipality, Playa. The club, *El Casino Deportivo de la Playa*, [Sports Club of Playa], is where Cubans danced every weekend afternoon (Borges y Sardiñas 2010; Carbonero 2009; Balbuena 2007). Locals danced *casino*, the partner dance, in addition to *rueda de casino*, the group circular dance. Initially *casino* was a dance limited to private clubs and the upper class Cubans who frequented them.

Though *casino* originated in a residential area of Havana, the 1959 revolution resulted in the dance crossing both class and geographic boundaries, thus, spreading to all
parts of Cuba. This phenomenon occurred due to the abolition of private clubs under Fidel Castro and the implementation of a revolutionary educational goal that brought individuals from all parts of Cuba to Havana to study. While in Havana, hundreds of individuals learned to dance casino and took the dance back to their respective cities and villages (Carbonero 2012; Gómez 2006).

Although casino was created 20 years before salsa, many people outside of Cuba refer to casino as Cuban salsa. Juan Gómez, one of the founding members of casino, in a personal interview declared, "Casino is not something to be thought of as completely different from salsa, rather casino was a pillar and a central component in the development of salsa" [Gómez 2012:interview]. In Cuba today, it is acceptable to use the terms casino and salsa interchangeably, though the former remains more common. Outside of Cuba, dancers specify Cuban-style salsa versus the other four salsa styles: New York, Los Angeles, Colombian and Puerto Rican.

Casino is arguably the only social dance in Cuba that has retained its popularity for numerous decades. The dance has been transmitted over generations of family and friends, usually by imitation. It is not a static dance, nor is the exact origin agreed upon, including whether rueda de casino or casino came first. It is a case of "¿El huevo o la gallina?" [The egg or the chicken] [Borges y Sardiñas 2010:51]. Regardless of which version came first, it is agreed among authors, specialists, dancers and informants that casino has evolved over the years as a result of influences from danzón, son, waltz, mambo, rumba, conga, cha cha cha, even rock and roll (Carbonero 2009; Gómez 2006; Gómez 2012; Borges and Sardiñas 2010). According to Borges and Sardiñas, "Fue el casino el que unió a muchas bailes en uno" [It was casino that unified many dances into one] [Borges y Sardiñas 2010:13]. Because casino is the compilation of many influences and continues to remain relevant for over 50 years, I feel it is a valid lens from which to examine Cuban culture.

The importance of dance to Cubans

When asked about dance in general, my contacts often responded, "Si no bailes, no eres Cubano" [If you do not dance, you are not Cuban]. Even those who claimed not to dance usually knew the steps, could follow the rhythm and were willing to participate, if the right person asked them such as a family member or a love interest. When asked about the contradiction, one informant explained it this way, "It is like you are asking me: Do I like to walk? Do I like to breathe? Dancing is not something to like or to dislike…it's a part of me. I'm Cuban". Those who claimed that they were not dancers were those who did not participate regularly or could not execute complex patterns. I witnessed those same "non-dancers" moving rhythmically to music without even realising it: while preparing dinner, cutting fruit, or talking on the phone.

Many Cubans live in apartments alongside several generations of their family from whom they learned to dance casino, often after a Sunday meal of chicken and rice. Those who did not learn from a family member learned from friends at school during the break between classes. The motivation of my male informants to learn to dance was sometimes for the love of the music and to learn to express the music through dance, but more frequently it was a skill they deemed essential, for as they put it, "getting and keeping" a girlfriend.

What makes Cuban casino (salsa) inherently Cuban?

In Cuba the clave marks the rhythm and is essential to salsa music. Former professional dancer, Ana says, "Sin clave, no hay ritmo" [Without clave, there is no rhythm] [Pérez 2012:interview] Unlike many dances, casino is not tied to a genre of
music. It can be danced to *timba*, *salsa*, *son*, and *reggaeton*. Similarly, *casino* is not tied to a set of gestures or steps. Innovation is valued and spontaneity encouraged and applauded.

*Casino* reflects the hybridity of a colonial past. Both Spanish and African influences are visible in *casino* through the postures, gestures, and attitudes. Influenced by African dances, *casino* is danced low and close to the ground or "para la tierra" locals say. *Casino*, unlike *salsa* in other countries, is not stylised. Cubans describe *casino* as organic. The movements and body frame are natural and relaxed.

Lastly, in response to the question what makes *casino* Cuban, nearly all of my informants, young and old, male and female, declared the presence of *machismo* in the dance as an integral component of what makes *casino* Cuban.

**Machismo**

Since the 1990s, a significant amount has been written on the notion of *machismo* in Central America though not *machismo* as visible in dance. Although neither the origins, nor the geographic stretch of *machismo* are universally agreed upon, a constant seems to be the pressure men feel to live up to a socially constructed, culturally imposed ideal of manhood. I believe that aspects of the notion of *machismo* are, indeed, a part of Cuban everyday life. For the purpose of this paper I define *machismo* as a strong display of manhood and a representation of power and control over a woman, acknowledging that this definition holds both positive and negative interpretations.

Both Carbonero (2012) and Gilmore (1990) suggest that *machismo* incorporates positive elements, such as commitment, responsibility, and self-confidence thus concluding that *machismo* exists on a continuum. I agree, and further believe that the display of *machismo* in *casino* alters in intensity depending on the place where it is danced, for example in the home versus a public space, and depending on the age of the dancer. Interestingly marital status does not seem to alter *macho* behaviour.

**Machismo in casino**

*Machismo* is visible in *casino* in many ways. First, as in most partner dances, the male leads. From the onset of the song the male determines whether to dance on the rhythm or contra rhythm. Either is acceptable. In *casino* there is much flexibility; yet the choice is always that of the male.

In contrast to *salsa* originating in New York where the female dancer is highlighted and the male remains in the background, in *casino* the focus is on the male. This is especially apparent in movements through space. In *casino*, the female circles her partner while the male adds his personal touches and improvisations pulling the viewers gaze to him.

The male dancer's attitude in *casino* often illustrates a display of manhood. Frequently visible is *guapería*. *Guapería* is similar to *machismo* but is an unspoken competition among men. My younger male informants describe it as something inherently Cuban. *Guapería* is an attitude that manifests in the manner of speaking and dress among men. It is a part of Cuban history and is obvious in the dance. Instead of remaining focused on their partner, men often incorporate flashy moves into their repertoire in an attempt to impress other men.

Further ways *machismo* is visible in *casino* are through the posture, gestures and steps. In *casino* the male dancer leans forward over his partner with his chest out as if to hug her. The male leans over his partner maintaining control of the female. Many of the gestures of *casino* come from *rumba*. *Casino* also adopts steps that emphasise virility similar to the *vacunao* in *rumba*. One series of steps involves the male holding hands
with his partner and positioning one arm up and the other down. While holding her hands, the male spins the female around 180 degrees so the female's back is towards him and then thrusts his pelvis forward. One informant confessed that he tries to do this to the females he dances with to show his dominance. This is a very common step yet the modification that occurs when the step is danced privately versus in public is the pelvic thrust.

Other steps and sequences are complicated and require strength and skill to achieve, for example, dramatic drops to the floor or one man dancing with two women simultaneously. Successful implementation of these difficult steps can be viewed as proof of one's manliness. Overall, men have free reign to do as they wish and are encouraged to be creative. Innovation and improvisation are consistently the words used to describe a good male casino dancer. In contrast, females do not have much room for embellishments. A good female dancer is described as being a good follower.

Casino performed in private homes with families differs from casino danced in public. As expected, in public there is a more performative aspect, possibly as a result of the motivation of the male to win female attention and male respect. Here, machismo and guapería are visible. Several male informants admitted that now that their wives are working, and in some cases, provide the bulk of the household income, the dance floor provides a place for them to feel in control and "like a man".

An element of machismo is also apparent in the language that surrounds casino. Song lyrics of contemporary Cuban salsa and reggaeton incorporate Cuban slang and an inherently Cuban love and appreciation for double entendres. Songs that seem innocent on the surface, about a bus or gasoline, are actually about the male dominating the female.7

The language used to describe particular dance moves also demonstrates a degree of objectification. For example, a male often praises a female dancer for having good "caja de bola". "Caja de bola" is used to describe the quick rotation of a woman's hips while dancing. "Caja de bola" is also used to describe a car part that has ball bearings that rotate.

The following two examples, observed at the same dance event, illustrate the spectrum of machismo evident in contemporary Cuban casino. Although perhaps surprising to find such stereotypical examples, the extremes are present.

Example 1: The "macho". Typically a male dancer referred to as "the macho" is young, and can be found in public dance spaces. The male dancer's movements are big, aggressive, choppy, and deliberate. He pulls his partner around so that she circles him continuously as he alternately kicks and moves his knees backwards and forwards, alternating his gaze from her to the crowd. The male dancer snaps his head to the side and pulls his partner in, then abruptly pushes her out and around for a turn. He performs a dramatic drop to the floor, leaning forward with the lower half of his body, knees nearly touching the ground while he simultaneously leans back with his upper body, one arm in the air. Still holding his partner he pushes and pulls her like a slingshot in and out as he forces her to circle him again and again.

Example 2: The gentleman. The gentleman is often older, though younger men with girlfriends sometimes exhibit similar behaviour. The example that follows describes a young man dancing with his girlfriend at a public dance event. This gentlemanly behaviour is often seen in private spaces, especially at home. The male dancer has a strong, yet gentle lead. Gestures are calm and smooth rather than erratic and frantic as seen in other dancers. He connects with his partner and moves with her, forming traditional figures while incorporating his own personality and improvisation with gentle
body rolls and subtle shoulder vibrations. He does not force her to turn. He supports and guides her through every movement. He is significantly taller and bends down so that his partner is never in an awkward position when he turns under her arm. He gently drapes his arm behind her neck and leads her around without the dramatic pulling and pushing inherent in many of the younger men's styles. He encourages her to move with him instead of forcing her. He leads his partner gently with respect and consideration.

**Conclusion**

It is apparent in these two examples that *casino* allows men to lead in a variety of ways and the differences reflect the positive and negative interpretations of the concept of *machismo*. Within these observed extreme examples exists a continuum. Cubans dance to express themselves, it is a part of them. It is in their blood. Whether they are proving their manliness to others or to express manhood by guiding and taking care of a partner, *machismo* is apparent in the dance.

In many ways traditional Cuban social relationships have changed; the dance reflects this change. There are times now when women dance *casino* with other women. This typically occurs if there is a shortage of men at a dance event or when the men are too slow to ask for a dance. Furthermore, women made it clear that it is now acceptable for a woman to ask a man to dance. One 30-year old male informant shared that he learned to dance *casino* while in the army. Therefore, he learned *casino* by dancing with other men. I hope to continue delving into the notion of *machismo* through the lens of the social dance *casino* and to explore these exceptions further.

Women's liberties in Cuba have progressed greatly since *casino* began in the late 1950s. Women now work and are able to start small businesses. As a result of the Cuban Family Act and a general change in philosophy, men often contribute to the household by assisting with domestic chores and caring for the children. Despite these changes nearly all of my informants felt that a sentiment of *machismo* continues to exist in both negative and positive aspects of the word. As one informant said of *machismo*, "it has changed, but it still exists".

The best dancers according to Cubans are those who are creative and spontaneous. These traits have allowed *casino* to transform, adapt and, therefore, last for decades.

**Endnotes**

1. The *clave* is a common Latin percussive instrument consisting of two wooden sticks.
2. Research has been completed on male studies as it relates to theatrical dance, modern and ballet, but not the Latin social dances.
3. Among scholars and within my research there is disagreement about the definition of *machismo*. In general, young single males felt that *machismo* exists in a negative sense of the word – that men have control over women and are always competing with other men. Some admitted that although publically the man is in control, privately the woman makes decisions. Some of the married men I spoke with suggested that *machismo* once existed but has been eradicated. These suggestions that *machismo* is something that can change over time or with circumstance as well as something that changes based on public or private domain are beyond the scope of this paper, but worth exploring further.
4. Although the Spanish word *guapo* (from which *guapería* is derived) means handsome in most Latin American countries, in Cuba *guapo* means a willingness to fight.
5. The female posture is also notable. The posture includes a dropped pelvis and hips that are slightly tilted so that the buttocks protrude slightly. The female back arches slightly, shoulders remain back, and the chest pushes out. It is not an exaggerated posture, but it is distinct and embodies what my female informants tell me is a general willingness and desire to show off the female body.
6. *Vacunao* is a movement in guaguancó (one of the three subgenres of the Cuban *rumba* complex). *Vacunao* involves a sharp, sudden pelvic thrust of the male dancer symbolising sexual contact with his partner.


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DANCE, PLACE, AND CROSS-CULTURAL EXCHANGE:  
DANCE PRACTICE OF THE VILLAGE OF SVINICA (ROMANIA)  

The village of Svinica (Romanian: Sviniţa) is situated in the southern area of the Romanian Banat, which is known as the Danube Gorge (Romanian: Clisura Dunarii). Field research in August, 2011, included participatory observation of the Figs Festival and the evening dance event, which revealed heterogeneous and complex contemporary dance practices. By mixing diverse repertoire, performers interpolate different dance practices: traditional Serbian and Romanian dances from Banat, traditional dances from central and northeastern Serbia, and also couple and solo dancing typical for contemporary Romanian society. This paper discusses issues of dance, place and cross-cultural exchange in the village of Svinica in Romania. The notion of geographical place considered in the sense of a distinct "culture area" which is grounded in the history of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, is challenged with the concept of place as a social construction, which involves notions of difference and social boundary.

Keywords: Romania-Svinica; dance, cross-cultural; place  

Introduction  
Through most of the history of ethnomusicology (we can add ethnochoreology as well), one of the most important factors in providing information has been defining the place of research [Nettle 2005:320]. Contrary to ethnomusicology (see for example Stokes 1994:3-6; Rice 2003:151–179; Nettle 2005:323-334), relationships between place, and dance, have not been the primary focus of investigation of dance research. Most ethnochoreologists, especially those influenced by folklore studies of East European scholarship focused on defining particular dance traditions as proximate manifestations of certain cultures understood as homogenous spheres separated from others. However, paraphrasing Tim Rice, dance-making occurs today in a complex, mobile and dynamic world [Rice 2003:151]. Even if it is interpreted geographically, the notion of place is always a social construction based on the dynamic dialectics of real and imagined features.

Within this paper, I concentrate on exploring relationships between the specific geographical position of the village of Svinica in Romania and the dance practice of its inhabitants. The uniqueness and hybridity of the dance practice of this village opened a number of questions which involved the notion of place: How does dance inform and construct performers’ sense of geographical place? Which strategies within a dance practice have been used to evoke "special locality" of this settlement? On the other hand: How is dance transformed if it is interpreted as emplaced in Svinica or displaced from other places in a local dance context? What is the meaning and significance of all this for the performers?

It seems that the geographical position of this settlement precisely influenced notions of its cultural distinctiveness, which has been stressed and mystified not only by researchers but local people too. To illustrate this, I point to the recently published book, The phenomenon "Svinica" (Romanian: Fenomenul Svinîţa), written by local people, archeologist Ilie Sâlceanu and economist Nikola Kurić, in which distinctiveness of cultural history of this village has been underlined and potentiated [Sâlceanu; Curici
To explain reasons for such attitudes towards the cultural practice of this village, its geographical and historical background should be explained in a more detailed way.

The phenomenon Svinica

Situated on the most southern, border area of the Romanian Banat [Șălceanu, Curici 2012:23], Svinica or, in local dialect form, Svinjica (Romanian: Svinița) is the most eastern Serbian village in the Danube Gorge (Serbian: Dunavska klisura; Romanian: Clisura Dunarii). As an inseparable physical barrier, the river Danube functioned as a boundary between "European" and "Ottoman" territories for centuries. Along the Gorge, there are a bunch of villages, which were ethnically divided into Romanian and Serbian settlements. Svinica is the most eastern Serbian village which was geographically and historically separated from the others. After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Danube Gorge was awarded to Romania, which caused Svinica, along with other Serbian villages in the eastern Banat, to become a diaspora community. Further on, the municipality of Svinica was officially separated from Banat in 1967 and incorporated to the Mehedinți County (it is mostly located in the historical province of Oltenia with the city of Orșova as the regional centre), while the other villages in the Gorge belong to the Caraș-Severin County (it is mostly located on the historical province of the Banat region with the county seat at the city of Reșița).

Separation of the village of Svinica from the other Serbian and Romanian villages in the Gorge is historically grounded. During the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the institution of the so-called military border, Svinica was the only Serbian settlement which belonged to the Wallach-Illyrian Border Regiment, while the other villages in the Gorge belonged to the West Illyrian Border Regiment [Draškić 1971:9]. The geopolitical position of the village influenced a separation from the other villages in this area.

Archeological evidence points to the existence of a medieval village [Tomić 1989:117; Șălceanu; Curici 2012:23], but according to historical sources, the newer history of Svinica starts in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was inherited by the Serbs [Stanojlović 1938:112; Tomić 1989:119]. According to censuses that were conducted periodically since its foundation, the village was entirely Serbian until the mid twentieth century [Stanojlović 1938:33; Stojanov 1994:267].

Ethnographer, Aleksandar Stanojlović, learned from local people in the 1930s that their ancestors came from three directions: from the area of the city of Crașova (Romanian: Crașova), which is approximately one hundred kilometers to the north; the village of Jabuka in Bulgaria; and the area of Timočka krajina in eastern Serbia [Stanojlović 1938:112]. They settled in the village mostly during the eighteenth century. The people that settled in the village crossing the Danube from the south did not spread to other villages in the Gorge. As far as known there have not been any massive migrations during the nineteenth century.

Ethnological research conducted in the village during the 1960s by Serbian researchers confirmed the mixed origin of its inhabitants. The conclusion was that the traditional customs and costumes of Svinica could be considered as a mixture, with the prevalence of cultural elements from the Timočka krajina and, to a lesser extent, autochthonous traditions from the southern Banat [Arandelović-Lazić 1971:53-54; Draškić 1971:13; Kostić 1971:84-85; Pantelić 1971:69].

In addition to differences in the traditional customs and clothing, which have been noted by the ethnographers, the inhabitants of the village of Svinica differ from other Serbian populations in the Gorge also by its speech. Contrary to the others, they have still preserved in their speech the old Slavic features such as the so-called Slavic declension...
and the so-called pseudo-ikavica elements [Draškić 1971:11]. According to linguistic research, while the speech of the other Serbian villages in the Gorge belongs to the Kosovo-Resava dialect of the Serbian language, the speech of the Svinica villagers belongs to the so-called Timok-Lužnica dialect [Sikimić; Bijelić 1994:230-231; Drlića 1994:134].

One of the reasons for such diversity of cultural practice of the village of Svinica was certainly the endogamy, which was practiced until the late 1960s [Pantelić 1971:57] when the practice of mixed Serbian-Romanian marriages with both combinations began. Many young people have also started to move to the larger cities. The crucial moment for the demographic structure of the village was in 1972 after the construction of the Đerdap dam, when the village was moved several hundred metres to the north.

Nowadays, Serbian-Romanian marriages are prevailing. According to the demographic research held in 2002, there are 1,011 inhabitants in the village of Svinica and the Serbs consist of only 63.4% of the population [Stepanov 2008:26]. The village has an elementary school, but with no classes in the Serbian language.

Although the ethnic structure of the village has certainly changed to a great extent compared to fifty years ago, the inhabitants of Svinica still have very strong attitude towards the uniqueness of their culture. The aim of this paper is to explore how such a strong self-consciousness of the Svinica people has been reflected and constructed through dance practice.

Ethnography of the dance practice of the village of Svinica

Wedding and mortuary customs

In spite of the extensive ethnographical and linguistic research of the village of Svinica, just a few details about its musical and dance practice are known among researchers in Serbia. Ethnologist Nikola Pantelić notated some details connected with the wedding customs in the village: after the church ritual, all participants should take part in "the dance" (Serbian: izlaze na igru) in the middle of the village [Pantelić 1971:66-67]. "The dance", as the obligatory segment of the wedding customs, included the performance of several individual dances. Even Pantelić notated that the term for the individual dance was oro, he did not notate the names. It was important, however, that the bride with the candles in her hands or a godfather should lead the first oro within "the dance" segment. Pantelić also notated one of the wedding customs where all participants should dance with the bride and pay for it [Pantelić 1971:67]. The money should be collected by the banner-bearer and given to the bride.

The diversity of local traditional practices and the local speech were the reasons why many of the Serbian ethnologists and linguists indirectly singled out the village of Svinica as a unique "island", where archaic features of the traditional culture could be found. Besides the ethnographical data referring to the wedding customs, musical and dance practices of this village have not been investigated by Serbian ethnographers. 3

Field research of the dance and musical practices of the village of Svinica was undertaken on 28 and 29 August, 2011, and 25 and 26 May, 2012. In both cases, it included participatory observation of the village celebrations 4 and the evening dance events, which are called balls (Serbian: bal or igranka). In addition, informal and formal interviews and recordings of the dancers and musicians were made.

Interviews with the villagers revealed that considering ritual dance practice, both wedding and mortuary customs of Svinica still have some locally specific elements, which make cultural practices of this village unique [Rakočević 2011 and 2012]. The villagers are aware of this and in most cases try to keep their customs alive. Within the
wedding ritual, the specificity of the local Svinica practice is the performance of the
dance called sitnana. This dance has not been recorded in Serbia nor in Romania. After
the civil wedding ceremony, the person who married newlyweds (Romanian: sinator)
starts dancing this dance in front of the local office. The bride, bridegroom and the best
man are next to him. The performance of the sitnana dance is repeated after the church
wedding in the church yard. The step pattern of this dance is characterized with very
small steps which are performed within the laterally symmetrical six measures. The step
pattern is not congruent with its musical accompaniment.

The field research undertaken in 2012 [Rakočević 2012] revealed vitality of one
more Svinica custom which was recorded in Banat and Oltenia in the past [Giurchescu;
Bloland 1995:25] but which does not exist anymore except in Svinica. It is the mortuary
custom which is called giving or giving to the dead (Serbian: namenjuvanje or
namenjuvanje za mrtvaka) as a kind of a gift for the dead person. It is performed on the
second day of Easter and/or the second day of the Holy Trinity (Serbian: Rusale) during
the afternoon. The dancer who leads the line (the son or grandson of the dead person),
the dancer in the middle (the daughter of the dead person to whom the dance is dedicated)
and the last dancer (a member of the family) carry a bottle of brandy in their right hands
and candles and handkerchiefs in their left hands. The dancers from the left side of those
three carry plates with cakes. The older females from the dead person’s family share
brandy and cakes with all participants. Having started the melody and having received the
money for their playing, the musicians stop and shout three times: God bless you ...
(Serbian: Bog da prosti) (they say the name of the deceased). Five or six dances from the
local repertoire can be performed. During the evening several families can organize a
giving, which can be performed without gifts, only through dance.

The ritual meaning of both wedding and mortuary dances, which I will not explore
here, has been pushed into the background in contemporary Svinica society. Instead, the
uniqueness of the sitnana dance and vitality of the mortuary dancing, which are typical
for the village of Svinica and do not exist any more in other villages in the Gorge,6
provide the meanings by which inhabitants of Svinica perform their local identity and
demonstrate notions of difference. Through performance of both of those dances,
villagers mark their place, and separate themselves from others. At the same time,
mortuary dancing links the Svinica tradition with the Vlachs, the Romanian dialect
speaking minority from northeastern Serbia [Vasić 2004:54]. Notions of ethnical identity
are blurred, but ideas of the uniqueness of the local culture are underlined.

The evening ball

Participatory observation of the village balls revealed heterogeneous and complex
present-day dance practices. The ball, which was observed in 2011, was organised after
the local manifestation called the Figs Festival. The second ball that I participated in, held
in 2012, was organised after the promotion of the book, The phenomenon "Svinica", and
the concert of the cultural-artistic societies. While participants at the first ball were mostly
local people, at the second ball, members of the cultural-artistic society from the city of
Donji Milanovac from northeastern Serbia joined the villagers. This was the reason why
the dance repertoire, created by local musicians, the Balač brothers, Ilja and Živica, was
different each time.

In 2011, the repertoire included the following dances: the kolo, the četvorka, the
chain branla double dance, the brâu, the sirba, the četvorka, the šota, the ardeleana, the
manea, and, as a closing number, the kolo again.
In 2012, the repertoire consisted of: the *svinjicko kolo*, the *četvorka*, the *šota*, the *brâu*, the *sirba*, the chain *branla simple* dance, the *četvorka*, the *šota*, and the *Žikino kolo*.

By mixing diverse repertoire, musicians and dancers interpolated dance practices of different geographical backgrounds: traditional Romanian dances from Banat (the *brâu*, the *sirba* and the *ardeleana*), traditional and present day dances from central and northeastern Serbia (the *kolo*, the *četvorka*, the *šota*, the chain *branla simple* dance and the *Žikino kolo*), but typical dancing of present day Romanian society could also be included occasionally (the *manea* and the chain *branla double* dance).

It is obvious that, at the second ball, dances which are common for northeastern Serbian dance practice – the *četvorka* and the *šota* [Mladenović 1974:101,103] – prevailed. Both times different versions of the *kolo* were performed as the opening and closing pieces.

Now, I want to pay special attention to the *kolo*, which was performed at the beginning of the ball in 2012. When I saw it, I was very surprised, because I did not recognise the step pattern. It is not recorded in Serbia, nor in the Danube Gorge. When I asked about its performance, which *kolo* it was: the performers said that it was the *svinjičko kolo* (*kolo* from Svinica). During the interviews later on, they revealed that members of the village cultural-artistic society learnt it at some festival in Timisoara a few years ago and included it in the local dance repertoire by the name – the *svinjičko kolo*. Considering the fact that this step pattern is unknown in the Danube Gorge, its inclusion in the local dance practice can be explained as one more action by which the villagers construct notions of local difference through dance. In this particular case, the *svinjičko kolo* becomes one of the modes of emplacement, and potential symbol for the local territorialisation.

I will not explore this more deeply in this paper, but it could be said that through different dance repertoires, hierarchies of different places (Romania in general, locality of the village of Svinica, central Serbia, northeastern Serbia) are negotiated and transformed. The meanings of our place and their (other) places are nested together through never-ending processes of negotiation and transformation of dance practices.

**Conclusion**

The geographical separation of the village of Svinica, which is historically grounded, inevitably influenced the collective sense of place and belonging of the villagers. It could be said that it is deeply rooted in their collective local identity. Within identity formation, ethnicity is not so important any more; at least it is not of primary importance for the Svinica villagers. What is important is the village itself. This strong sense of a particular place, which has been continuously reconstructed in local cultural practices, opens the possibility of using the concept of *landscape* as “a kind of cultural image” (see more in Samson 2010:188) for the village of Svinica. In other words, in the case of this village whose displacement has always been a reality of its history, the concept of place could be developed in a trajectory in which it could yield to concept of a distinct cultural space. Dance is one of the most important tools in providing a means for such an attitude towards local Svinica culture.

**Endnotes**

1. Even geographically the region of the Danube Gorge should be considered as the area which comprise both sides of the river Danube, the term refers only to the area on the left (north) coast historically. The southern coast which belongs to Serbia, is known as the Đerdap Gorge.
2. According to the local tradition, several Bulgarian and Macedonian families as well as several families of Karaševci also settled in the village in the eighteenth century, which can be noticed in some elements of the local speech [Tomić 1989:119].

3. Although the musical ethnographer Sava Ilić (1935–1989) recorded traditional music in many villages in the Danube Gorge, the village of Svinica stayed outside the field of his research [see more in Ilić 2006].

4. During the first field trip to Svinica, we recorded the Figs Festival (Serbian: Festival smokava; Romanian: Festivalul Smochinului), when several Serbian cultural-artistic societies and Romanian folklore groups performed at the concert. On the next visit, the village celebration was organised for the public promotion of the book, The phenomenon "Svinica".

5. Contrary to Svinica, in the regions of Banat and Oltenia, during this moment of the wedding ritual, different versions of hora are performed [Giurcescu; Bloland 1995:27,265,237,241].

6. At least not in the Serbian villages.

7. Although the melody of the dance šota could be historically traced in the wedding ritual of the Albanians from Kosovo, Olivera Mladenović claims that this dance was adopted and transformed in the dance practice of northeastern Serbia through the activities of the cultural-artistic societies [Mladenović 1974: 103]. According to accordion player Radojica Milivojević Kajica from Moldova Nuova this dance came to the Danube Gorge in the late 1980s from Serbia as a dance with no specific ethnic designation.

8. The dance which is named here as the chain branla simple dance, does not have a particular name in the local dance tradition. It is performed in an open circle by using the laterally symmetrical four measure step pattern. Within ethnochoreology, this step pattern is known as branla double pattern, which variants could be found all over southeastern Europe [see more in Giurcescu; Bloland 1995:271]. The common characteristic of all variants is that they are performed within three measures. Although it is similar to the sirba which is performed within progressive moving of the dancers in the counterclockwise direction, the branla simple step pattern recorded in Svinica is performed both counterclockwise (two measures) and in place (one measure). In the dance practice of the Danube Gorge this step pattern is quite new. It is adopted from the dance practice of Serbia where it represents one of the most popular and widespread step patterns in the present day dance practice [Rakočević 2005:131]. Both in Serbia and the Danube Gorge it is accompanied by various popular folk songs in Serbian and Romanian languages performed in medium (andante) tempo.

9. The chain branla double dance also does not have a particular name in the local dance tradition. It is performed in an open circle by using the laterally symmetrical four measure step pattern. Within ethnochoreology, this step pattern is known as branla double pattern, which variants could be found all over southeastern Europe [see more in Giurcescu; Bloland 1995:272]. In Romania this step pattern is occasionally named as ardeleană even it is performed in circle formation, not in couples (personal communication with Nick Green). At the Svinica ball, it was accompanied by the contemporary Romanian popular folk song performed by the local singer in the Romanian language. This song was linked with the Gypsy-style song performed by the accordionist in the Roman language. As far as it is known, this way of dancing is not typical for the dance tradition of northeastern Serbia nor is it recorded in other Serbian villages in the Gorge. However, it represents the usual way of contemporary dancing among Romanians in the Serbian Banat (personal communication with Nice Fracile and Albine Krecu).
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KOLO U TRI IN THE DANCE TRADITION OF THE SERBS:  
THE CASE OF THE MODERN SERBIAN WEDDING

Considering the prevalence of kolo u tri in traditional festivities of the Serbs today, the question arises as to how the shaping of its dance/music pattern is influenced by the specific location of its performance. In that sense, the wedding proves to be a particularly suitable example for observing changes in the dance/music pattern in relation to the specific place where kolo u tri is performed. Namely, kolo u tri is used to mark the key moments of the wedding ritual – each of these moments is marked by kolo (u tri), with the kolo being performed at different locations. Defining changes in the dance pattern and the accompanying music pattern of kolo u tri in relation to the location of its performance implies analytical observation on the level of dance/musical form, pathways, the manner of musical interpretation, step pattern and melodic pattern.

Keywords: Serbia; kolo; ritual; place-private; place-public

In ethnochoreology in Serbia the term kolo (u tri) denotes the chain dance with a particular step pattern: one measure to the right, three measures on the spot – one measure to the left, three measures on the spot [Ranisavljević 2011b:95].

![Figure 1](image1.png)

![Figure 2](image2.png)

The most popular basic step patterns of the kolo [Ranisavljević 2011a: 558]
Kolo (u tri) was a part of the rural dance repertoire that was formed at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in the renewed Serbian country, current Central Serbia [Milićević 1876; Rakočević 2002:187]. According to available data, certain dances of this type were performed in a greater part of former Yugoslavia before the beginning of the twentieth century [Dopuđa 1971:162]. During the twentieth century, numerous melodies were adjoined to this model, mostly in 2/4 rhythm [Vasić 2002:163], where the basic step pattern varied in many different ways, keeping the laterally symmetrical disposition of movements through space and dancing on the spot as a symbol of identification [Ranisavljević 2011b:95]. According to Selena Rakočević, owing to the simplicity of the choreographic structure (based on the principle of symmetry), the dance pattern of kolo (u tri) became the pattern that represented Serbian national dance in the first part of the twentieth century especially after World War II [Rakočević 2002:187]. Consequently, spreading the kolo (u tri) outside Central Serbia, in the second part of the twentieth century this model became the symbol of Serbian identity [Ranisavljević 2011b:95]. Kolo is the most popular Serbian dance, which is accepted among the Serbs today in Serbia, the region and the diaspora, in villages and towns alike [Vasić 2012:330].

Taking into consideration the prevalence of this dance in traditional festivities (weddings, the birth/baptism of a child, and various other celebrations), the question arises as to how the shaping of its dance pattern is influenced by the specific occasion and, primarily – the specific place of its performance. In that sense, the wedding proves to be the best example for observing changes in the dance pattern in relation to the specific place where kolo is performed. Namely, kolo is used to mark the key moments of the wedding ritual, these being the setting out of the groom to collect the bride, the bride's leaving home, the church wedding, the ritual entering of the bride into the newlyweds' home and the wedding celebration (the beginning and the end of the banquet). Each of these moments is marked by kolo, with the kolo being performed at different places.

Kolo is a dance with great potential for variability both on the level of the dance pattern and on the level of the music pattern. Depending on the dancers'/musicians' skill and inspiration, the dance and music components of kolo undergo different relative changes in dance and music content. Bearing in mind the great potential for variability, the question arises as to how does the place where the dance is performed determine the changes in its content?

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Depending on the region where it is performed, it is possible for kolo to be absent at certain points in the ritual. However, the bride's leaving home and the banquet can be considered occasions when kolo is performed almost without exception. In this presentation I analyse all the aforementioned moments (five moments) in which kolo is performed, and I use personal field material recorded in northern Serbia during 2011.

The setting out of the groom to collect the bride

The setting out of the groom to collect the bride marks the beginning of the wedding ceremony. This act is preceded by the gathering of guests. In the past, guests typically gathered in the home of either the groom or his parents (if he was still living with them), and from there they set out to collect the bride. Nowadays, guests in towns are more likely to gather in a restaurant, from which they then set out to collect the bride, while in villages this part of the wedding ceremony still takes place in the home.
The reception of guests is always accompanied by music, typically newly composed folk songs, performed to the accompaniment of different instrumental ensembles. The basis of these ensembles are: accordion, the double bass and the guitar, but they are often joined by another accordion, a violin and a clarinet. There is usually no dancing in this segment of the wedding ceremony. The only dance that is performed is kolo.

*Kolo* is performed just before the setting out of the groom to collect the bride. Owing to the complete absence of dancing up to this point in the ritual, this dance is perceived as the rounding off of this part of the wedding. The dance is usually performed in the open – in the yard of the house/restaurant. It is performed in an open circle formation, composed of male and female dancers – wedding attendants (the groom, his mother, father and the best man) and close relatives. The first dancer in the formation is not determined by the ritual, but the sequence of the aforementioned participants in the formation is, nonetheless, established in such a way that the most important wedding attendants dance in the first part of the formation. The formation typically moves along a circular pathway, shifting successively to the right.

**The bride's leaving home**

The bride's leaving home almost always takes place at her home. The collecting of the bride involves a meeting between the groom's and the bride's relatives and the other guests. The wedding celebration continues to the same music accompaniment – musicians normally follow the wedding procession. The musicians select a repertoire of songs according to their lyrics and character to complement the concrete situation. The culmination of the celebration is the meeting of the groom and the bride, at which point fast-speed newly composed folk songs – composed specifically for that moment, are performed. After a while, the wedding procession heads for the church wedding.

*Kolo* is usually performed at this point, and most often outside the house (in the street). Just like the previous instance, the dance is performed in an open circle formation, composed of male and female dancers, although in this case, in addition to the wedding attendants, a much greater number of relatives and friends participate in the dancing, as do the bride and the groom. The first dancer in the formation is not determined by the ritual, and the sequence of participants in the formation is also free. As in the previous case, the formation typically moves along a circular pathway, shifting successively to the right.

**The church wedding**

The church wedding continues to be an inevitable part of the wedding ritual. The arrival at the church and the entering into the yard are accompanied by music, but the entering into the church and the wedding itself are not. After the wedding, the guests go out to the yard to await the grand exit of the newlyweds. Once they have come out of the church, the bride throws the bouquet. The end of this part of the ceremony is generally marked by kolo, which is performed in the churchyard.

Just as in previous cases, the dance is performed in an open circle formation, composed of male and female dancers, with the participation of fewer dancers than in the preceding part, but with the obligatory participation of the wedding attendants, including the newlyweds. The sequence of dancers in the formation is completely free. As in previous cases, the formation moves along a circular pathway, shifting successively to the right. As a rule, the dancing does not last as long as in previous situations. Clearly, the performing of *kolo* at this particular moment and at this particular place serves to symbolically mark the so-called church wedding as the most important act of the wedding ritual.
The ritual entering of the bride into the newlyweds' home

The ritual entering of the bride into the newlyweds' home has a long tradition among the Serbs and in the past involved a whole series of ritual actions that were performed in accordance with traditional beliefs. Today, this custom has very nearly gone out of practice. However, in the cases where it's still practised, the performing of kolo is implicit. Kolo is performed in the yard of the newlyweds' home. In terms of its dance pattern, this performance is most similar to the kolo performed when the groom is setting out to collect the bride. In other words, it is a formation of a small number of dancers, although without the participation of the attendants. Similar to the dancing after the church wedding, the duration of this dance is relatively short. That way the ritual entering of the bride into her new home is marked only symbolically as a specific ritual action.

The wedding celebration (the banquet)

The wedding celebration (the banquet) entails a well-established ceremonial procedure whose key moments are marked by kolo. They are the beginning of the banquet (typically following the civil wedding) and the official ending of the ceremony (after the wedding cake is cut or after the newlyweds leave to change out of their formal dress). Kolo can be performed several times before the cutting of the wedding cake, as well as after the official part of the wedding. Still, kolo is most typically associated with the aforementioned key moments of this stage in the ceremony.

Unlike all the other segments of the ritual and specific places, the performing of kolo in a restaurant means that the circular formation is forsaken as a direct result of dancing in a closed space and a larger number of participants in the dance. Given the reduced physical space – this is usually the central part of the restaurant (dance floor) intended for dancing – the pathway of the dancers performing the kolo in these circumstances mostly takes on a spiral shape. In addition, smaller circular formations often break off from the main formation. Also, in case there is not enough space intended for dancing, kolo can be performed between the tables. In all three cases the tendency to move to the right remains, just like the situations where kolo is performed in the open. The extremely large number of dancers in this part of the ceremony is the result of the celebration gaining momentum.

The sequence of dancers in the formation(s) is completely free. The newlyweds seldom take part in the performing of kolo at this particular point. Their non-participation in the dancing actually underscores their special status at this place. In accordance with the time and place of the performance, the variability of the dance and music patterns of kolo performed in a restaurant is realised to the fullest. It is reflected in the performance of each dancer, who varies the step pattern in different ways according to his or her dancing skill. At the same time, the music accompaniment involves a series of diverse melodic variants of kolo, all having different energetic potential, with the aim of making the music flow more dynamically. That way, the performing of kolo in a restaurant becomes much longer than its performances in other moments and at other places. There is essentially no difference between the performance at the beginning of the banquet and the one at the end of the official ending of the ceremony.

Conclusion

The presence of kolo within the wedding ceremony implies performing at private and public places. A private place refers to the yard of the groom's house (when he is setting out to collect the bride) or the newlyweds' home (when the bride is entering the home of the newlyweds). A public place refers to the street and the churchyard. The restaurant in which the banquet is held – is both a private and a public place. This is the
place where the newlyweds welcome their guests (as at home) and where at the same time they are in full view of all people present.

The performing of kolo at private places involves a smaller number of dancers. The performing of kolo at public places involves a larger number of dancers. The processuality of the wedding ritual implies that its main participants have specific roles, which are manifested through their participation or non-participation in the performing of kolo. When it comes to private spaces, the attendants may or may not participate in dancing. Their participation depends on the specific moment of the wedding ceremony (for example, when the bride is entering the newlyweds' home, the attendants do not perform kolo). When it comes to public places, the attendants participate in the dancing as a rule.

Besides the presence of attendants and the number of dancers, the influence of place on the kolo performance also implies changes on the level of pathways. The places outside imply circular pathways, as a rule. If they are public (the street and the churchyard), a consistent circular moving makes the performance "closed" between participants, and can potentially transform public place into private. The abandoning of the circular pathway while dancing in a closed space (restaurant) is the result of physical constraints. The flexibility realised on this level (in the form of spiral lines, the creation of smaller formations and the dancing between tables in the restaurant) can also be understood as a specific manifestation of "desacralisation" which occurs at the end of the official part of the wedding ceremony.

The variability of the music component of kolo depending on the place of its performance is primarily reflected in the duration of the music. The places of symbolic meetings of the newlyweds – the bride's home and, later on, the restaurant – imply a much longer duration of the dance music. Specifically, the duration of dancing is equivalent to the degree of merriment (on the principle – the greater the merriment, the longer the dancing).

The final remark: the case of kolo demonstrates how the structure of place determines the structure of dance performance and, in return, how the dance performance influences perception and meanings of different places in the one dance event.

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MANY FACES OF PURULIA: FESTIVALS, PERFORMANCES AND EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES*  

A border district between West Bengal and Jharkhand states of India, Purulia, a district known for its dry, arid climate and extremely poor population, has been tossed around as the mapping of the geographical boundaries shifted several times in the areas. The district is well known for the richness of its culture, ritual festivities and performance traditions, and more recently for extremist activities. This paper looks at the performance traditions during the Chait Parab, a multi-ethnic festival of the peasant population (made up of tribes and Hindu caste groups), in the light of the district's cultural history and present day strife ridden atmosphere – searching to link the "here and now" to the constant shifts in the governmental policies regarding Purulia's state affiliation, official language, and the status of its economy, as the people continue to seek islands of sanctity in festivities, in the scenario of continued violence, and disenchant.  

Keywords: performance; community; identity; insurgency; utopia  

Chhau is a popular form of mask dance – gaining visibility in the late 1960s through the writings of Ashutosh Bhattacharya, who "discovered" and then "presented" the form in Delhi, so that the people at the seat of power could see and acknowledge the form. The process led to Chhau becoming popular all over India gaining visibility and validity as a form worthy of being included in the cultural discourse of the modern Indian state. Bhattacharya writes,  

At the encouragement of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, arrangement was also made for training of some artists at their villages. Since then the annual Chhau festival in Purulia during the middle of April has become a regular feature. Even Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, has taken interest in the Annual Festival. It has been attended so far by a number of foreign dance-critics from almost every part of the world. Due mainly to their interest in the dance, invitation also came from far off countries [Bhattacharya 1972:2–3].  

Since then a lot more has happened. Big names associated with the Ministry of Culture in the Indian government as well as some impressed and overwhelmed critics tried their best to get Chhau recognised as a 'classical' dance. The three regional variations of Chhau (found in and known as Seraikela, Mayurbhanj and Purulia Chhau) have become popular in urban centres with Seraikela and Mayurbhanj finding more takers than Purulia Chhau. Purulia Chhau remains the most vigorous, using huge masks and being associated with the local festival of Chait Parab when it is performed in the festive spaces near the local Shiva temples in many villages and towns of Purulia, where the elaborate ritual of Charak (also known as Gajan) takes place. Ideally it is associated with Chait Parab and the festivities around it, as a form of performance, which provides the entertainment for the crowd of devotees, who have to keep awake all night as a part of their ritual involvement. Even in the present times, Chhau helps in oral transmission of
myths, and constructs the universe that the tribal and peasant communities of Purulia inhabit.

**The dance and the community**

Chhau is a much talked about dance form found in five states of India. One of its regional variations found in Purulia district of West Bengal, Singbhum district of Jharkhand and some of the border areas of Bihar, is known by the name Purulia Chhau specifically spatially characterising it to be a masked form of dance with movements derived from martial arts practices.

The dance, with a strong historical connection to the local landlords for sustenance, consists of a somewhat strict grammar, which is learnt by the performers wanting to take up the practice and performance on a regular basis, during its peak season, as a full time or a part time occupation. The body training is specific, and requires athletic as well as martial skill along with limited theatrical ability. In Purulia Chhau the face is covered with huge masks sometimes extending up to a foot around the diameter of the face, and it is a special skill that has to be honed in order to negotiate forward and backward summersaults, turns and many other athletic movements wearing those masks. The body, especially the upper body takes on some of the responsibilities of the face in expressing the finer theatrical feelings as required. (See Figure 1. Making of the mask.)

The dance consists of sitting and standing poses, different stances and characteristic walks (specific for heroes, women, villains, gods, and so on), turns, summersaults, and complete movements, executed to drumming of specific rhythm cycles and songs. Nowadays it is also common to find continuous accompaniment of dramatic dialogues, somewhat in the lines of Jatra performances accompanying the music. (See Figure 2. A daytime practice session.)

In the official documents, Chhau is sometimes mentioned as a dance, or a dance theatre, where Chhau occupies a conspicuous position presently in between classical and folk dances. Many authors have discussed how Chhau stresses the social integration of the village community and allows it to experience the feeling of multi-ethnic togetherness. The traveling performers, who are invited to villages within and outside the district also enhance a local networking system, providing and facilitating multi-village in intra-region communications. Through the process of viewing and meaning making of the same thematic together, communities claiming membership of tribal or caste groups, like Bhumij, Munda, Mahato, Kurmi, lose their self-identity at the time of performance to become part of the peasant culture of the area as a whole. (See Sarkar 2010.)

Even in the days of increasing connectivity with the world through media and cyber-aids, the textual references to acceptable codes through the myths and metaphors of Chhau performances, usually through performances of stories from *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata* or other epic tales, continue to hold extreme importance in the community, as it constantly adjusts and reorients to emerging patterns of class, caste and gender behaviours. The stories remain and are revisited in the public memory, by being told and retold year after year, orienting and re-orienting members of the community to the common memory reservoir. (See Figure 3. Chhau performance in Budhpur village.)

A festival ground in Purulia is always a place of congregation for people walking from far away villages to come and spend the day and night. The open ground becomes structured according to the needs of the specific requirements of the rituals primarily. The rest of the space is divided between stalls, performance arena(s), merry-go-rounds and small time vendors. Many fairs have Natua, Baul, Naachni dances, and even 'disco' (with female dancers doing a popular imitation of Bollywood item dances) performances.
besides Chhau. Most of the time, there is a separate elaborately constructed arena for Chhau performances (since those are the major crowd pullers) from two or more troupes who usually start at midnight and go on until day break the next morning. (See Figure 4. Members of the Pitidiri Chhau Nritya Party.)

Here it becomes essential to analyse the journey that Chhau has undertaken from its community of orientation to its market of the present day. The festivals of India in France, Germany, England, Former USSR, USA and international events in India like the Asiad or Commonwealth games organised in Delhi, the regular seasonal festivals organised by the government or other agencies and events like Republic Day Parade, have been places where Chhau dance (from either of the three places) gets accommodated in urban centres. Besides, there are private patrons or even foreign organisations, which invite Chhau dancers as a part of a display of spectacular elements of Indian culture. These festival spaces and the proscenium or the dance space specifically created for the performances, and even the short time (about five – ten minutes at the most) allotted to the performances no longer manage to shock the performers, as they have become savvy in dealing with all these requirements and specificities, as they have extended their wings over the years.

Away from the strife-ridden district's realities, Chhau captures the imagination of the urban audience in decontextualised space. Bharucha writes:

[…] tradition can be invented in any number of ways, even though we may not be aware of it. The most conspicuous of "inventions" are "fabrications", such as the Republic Day Parade, where the diverse cultures of India are "unified" through a carefully choreographed spectacle. In recent years, this kind of "invention" has become increasingly virtuosic as is evident in the Festivals of India and the Utsavs of New Delhi. Here, through a conglomeration of effects, which could include songs, dances, tableaux, symbols, floats, fireworks, "informal" mingling between "native" performers and "foreign" spectators, selling of Indian food, and other "indigenous" activities, an atmosphere is constructed whereby "the Indian tradition" is affirmed, not necessarily as people in India would understand it, but as our government would like to represent it to the world [Bharucha 1989:1907].

Looking at a particular art practice or tradition as a marketable product from the perspective of the globalised market driven world, I would like to separate components of traditional art practices belonging principally to the knowledge bank of particular communities, on the basis of (1) the culture/tradition, (2) the artist /producer/ carrier of the knowledge and (3) the product, isolable and marketable with or without reference to historicity, cultural specificity or authorship. In the minds of the community, which traditionally produces the art, there is no differentiation between the three mentioned components, as long as the particular art remains within the community. It is only when the artistic product (in this case specifically the performance of Chhau) is de-contextualised and produced for a market which is only interested in the final product, that the form becomes dissociated from the context and history, and also more important than the other two components because of its independent marketability. I say this, because it has been repeatedly seen that the products like Gotipua from Odissa, Chhau from Mayurbhanj, Seraikela or Purulia, Kathakali from Kerala and many more have been
decontextualised and have become products and skills accessible to urban communities, hardly aware or interested in the original forms and the communities these forms have belonged to. This is a natural process – and it happens very often to many art practices, which try to find a way of surviving by finding new patrons. It is important to understand how this particular model fits into the picture of what Purulia is experiencing today. Proclaiming to "promote & preserve our cultural heritage including the folk culture" and "to organize state ceremonies & to extend hospitality to the visiting Indian & Foreign" among other things, the official Purulia District website lists 27 festivals celebrated and "held throughout the district with pomp and gaiety."¹

In opposition to this website's proud proclamation of a vibrant culture, Purulia of today has been named as a terrorist infested district of the state of West Bengal.² This is known to be an area where many people are believed to be giving active or passive support to the extremists, and thereby inviting state generated violence. It is a difficult task for anyone to imagine how the two situations (that of extremist resistance and strife and the so-called celebrations, and performances which invite community participation in all the occasions) can exist together in everyday life of the district. Though, through the website and other public portals, the Indian Government claims ownership of a tradition – proudly projecting community festivals and performance practices as "Indian" culture,³ they seem to reject the rights of the same community to be Indian citizens because of their link to terrorist politics, openly flouting Human Rights issues and denying civic liberty to the very people whose cultural and aesthetic reservoir are now the property of the Indian nation state.

The setting: Purulia in the context of the Indian State

A dry, arid and poor border district between West Bengal and Jharkhand states of India, Purulia has been tossed around as the mapping of the geographical boundaries shifted several times in the areas. Purulia was a part of the area called the Jungle Mahal district, before it was dissolved in 1833. This district stretched from Ranchi, which now comes under the state of Jharkhand – till Birbhum, which now is within West Bengal. The map charted Purulia within the district of Manbhum in the state of Bihar. The year 1956 saw another change when Purulia was included within the state of West Bengal. Spatially it is in the Chhota Nagpur Plateau, which has had the largest concentration of tribal population in India. Purulia, quite understandably has had a lot in common, socially, culturally as well as in terms of ethnic composition, with the recently formed state of Jharkhand which is Purulia's closest neighbour. Jharkhand, as a state, was formally given a political entity in November, 2000 acknowledging partial victory for the Jharkhand (state formation) movement that had continued for almost 50 years, seeking a separate state for the majority of the tribal population, which faced extreme exploitation and discrimination in the state of Bihar. Twelve years after the much hailed formation of Jharkhand state, the tribal population feels that their people still are ruled by the "Diku"s or the non-tribal people, from whose oppressive governance the tribal people had wanted to move away initially.

Purulia district, in spite of drawbacks caused by underdevelopment, and political upheavals, is well known for the richness of its culture, ritual festivities and performance traditions, and more recently for extremist activities. Landlessness, arid and dry climate, absence of proper irrigation plans in the landlocked state, extreme poverty, overpopulation and continued apathy of the national development process has affected the people of Purulia in multiple ways. It is now declared to be a part of the "Red Corridor", a term that is being used for a certain part of eastern India affected by what is known as
Maoist or Naxalite (propagating extreme left politics) insurgency along with Bankura and West Midnapur in the state of West Bengal and parts of Bihar, Chattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Uttar Pradesh. The Naxalite organizations from these states have been declared by the Indian government as terrorists under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of India (1967).  

Purulia's economy, population, linguistic and cultural identity are very similar to its closest neighbour that is the state of Jharkhand. Here, one must also acknowledge the confusion in the daily lives of people, whose immovable property has not followed the numerous changes in the state boundaries and identities. Many of these people live in one state and own agricultural land in the other. Thus, the people of Purulia are almost resigned to the fact that they would always be marginal in terms of their representation in the nation-state, sharing much of their realities with other states affected by underdevelopment, debilitating poverty and lack of initiatives in the part of the national government.

Purulia district is now considered one of the core areas in control of the extremist political groups, leading to the government considering extreme measures of control. This paper is a part of my on-going and renewed research work on the district in current times, as it is important at this juncture to look at the changes in the daily lives of people and their influences (if any) on the content and form of the performances in festival spaces and times, as they continue to create islands of sanctity, in the scenario of continued violence, estrangement, and disenchantment of the people whose daily lives are traditionally full of festivals, abundance of seasonal lyrics, specialised dance and musical traditions.

**Purulia and its people**

Surajit Sinha (1995) talked about the process by which one of the tribes of this region, the Bhumij, rose in the local hierarchy, by becoming landowners and, thereby, achieved an aristocratic status as they became the landlords and tax collectors for the area by negotiating an economic relationship with the colonial rulers. This also meant a shift towards a Hinduised way of life for these landlords, to be at par with other landlords in the neighbouring areas. Many people have written about how this "Rajputization" and the patronage of arts and artistes by the landlords who craved for a recognition and entry within the Hindu caste ladder. An amalgamation of beliefs (bringing tribal belief systems close to Hindu ways of worshipping, and also adopting of each other's ways and focus of worship) have evolved. The local festivals are mostly multiethnic, where the multiethnic community, regardless of caste, creed, tribal or linguistic identity comes together. Roma Chatterji (2009) discussed the processes of identity assertion through performing arts of Purulia. Many of the performance practices like Natua, Chhau, are also performed by the Bhumij, Kurmi, and Mahato. All ethnic communities of the region keenly follow Chhau as an involved audience. Performers of Chhau come from all communities as well, though some tribal groups like the Santals continue to remain more isolated than many.

The politics of categorisation that continues from the colonial period, to divide, stratify and rule, is part and parcel of Indian life – especially in the areas suffering from under-development. The colonisers in India did what they did everywhere else. They divided, stratified and ruled the people by making categories of backward/ advanced /friendly /unfriendly/ hostile/ compromising /criminal /hard working and so on, which were made for easing the process of governance and for searching out which among the communities would be trustworthy and willing to comply with the state in different endeavours, from tax collection to accession of land, and so on. The government of
independent India under Nehru continued to do the same. They created innumerable regional and national categories, of people, space and socio-cultural attributes, and by way of doing that, also formulated and allotted an identity to each of the stratified communities, most of the times constructed on the basis of how the state wanted it tailor-made. The modern state also continues to allot a responsibility of citizenship and assumes that people in all parts of India, by being citizens, would have the same sense of being "Indian", that is, as a part of a constructed amalgam of Indian culture.

People of Purulia, the majority of whom have been either from different tribal communities (culturally a part of the tribal population spread all over the Chhotanagpur Plateau), or from Bengali speaking Hindu communities with deep links with the culture of West Bengal, resisted the geo-political decision of the Government of India to include it in the state of Bihar, mainly on the basis of linguistic affinities. This resistance is known as the "Bhasha Andolan" which ultimately won them the victory and allowed them to speak and learn Bengali as their mother-tongue, by virtue of which Purulia finally became a part of West Bengal in 1956. Due to extensive mass participation in anti-authoritarian social agitation, Purulia proudly proclaims to have fought and won against the unification of Bengal and Bihar on linguistic issues. In the 1980s, it again witnessed unrest as a part of the "Jharkhand Mukti Andolan" for a separate state of Jharkhand, by tribal communities who wanted the recognition of their own languages and cultures and also wanted a separate state for themselves. The state of Jharkhand was born out of that movement. A large number of songs and plays were written on the plight of the people, which became the manifesto of the people and also they acted as the voice of resistance both within and outside the community.

It is well known and amply documented that in Purulia the famous Jhumur songs and the Chhau dance are intrinsic parts of the life of every human being regardless of age, sex, caste and creed. The question that has bothered me over the years that I have seen the political developments is that where does this idea of a "Red Corridor" fit the image of a population which converses through songs, the lyrics of which are full of deep philosophical understandings, and metaphoric references to the life and the lived body, and to date sits patiently to witness overnight Chhau performances, night after night? Most importantly, how do both these oppositional modes of life (and death) remain part and parcel of the lives of the same people?

The insurgents, often with names on the police record, are from the families of the different tribes and so called lower caste Hindu communities of the area. Unlike many other places where insurgents become complete outcasts, there is a definite sympathetic understanding about the cause of anger against injustice and prolonged apathy of the government, born out of a history of the resistance to changing boundaries of statehood and a prolonged agitation on recognition of Bangla as their spoken language. These are people who have known about and understood their marginality in many ways from the late nineteenth century and have actively resisted at many points. Hence, it is essential to understand about the life of a Maoist insurgent in Purulia in the light of past history. Of course, he or she is on the run. She or he has already killed a number of people, ruthlessly handling opposition – having taken on the life of a rebel and an outlaw. It is a well known fact that like in many other insurgency prone areas, very young children are trained to use fire arms like guns, grenades, and so on. Contradictions continue as the insurgent lives a dual life – as a part of the community which lives and conforms to life through the numerous ritual festivals, expresses its artistic and aesthetics creativity and understanding through its appreciation and participation in Jhumur, D(n)aar, Pata, Natua, Nachni, Chhau and many other forms of dance and dance theatre.
This also compels me to try and analyse the position in which the Maoist insurgents stand vis-à-vis the socio-cultural life of the community in Purulia. I would also like to delve deep into the question of who then, is the terrorist? Apparently the ritual festivities and the fairs continue unchanged, with great fervour and with audience thronging the venues, undaunted about the ongoing scenario of violence. Our last few trips (with my graduate students) during the Chait Parab, on the other hand, were dealt with by the local administration with caution, with them insisting that we travel to the venues with police escort, and that too only by daylight. We were also told not to leave the venue before dawn, even if the Chhau performance finished while it was dark. The rebels have been known to abduct and often kill the outsiders for different reasons. But surprisingly, never has the violence or the threat thereof, affected the performances or the rituals or the people present there even once in the whole period of increased insurgency, as the spaces of such performances remaining sanctuaries of peace and aesthetic explorations.

For me a constant question that has come up again and again, working in the violence affected areas within India is about the function of traditional performances and sanctified rituals, most often held in specific spaces well entrenched in the area which also are known for their episodic violence. What are these performances to the community, made up of citizens who live and transmit cultural norms and values to the next generation through such observances of festivities, performances, and so on, as well as the outlaws who live in the shadow world between life and death within the same territory? Why is it that such ritual/performative spaces can remain sanctified, obviously with the consent of all involved, without any disturbance either from the terrorists or from the state (in this case the armed forces and police)? Chhau has a life of its own, unlike the people who dance it, away from the daily occurring – the violence, death, arrests, and silencing. The basic structure remains very much the same, unreflective of what the performers go through every day. This sanctification of the performance and its space and time, to me, looks to "inspire moments in which audiences feel themselves allied with each other, and with a broader, more capacious sense of the public, in which the social discourse articulates the possible, rather than the unsurmountable obstacles to the human potential" [Dolan 2005:1–2].

As this book deals with the idea of what Dolan calls "utopian performatives" describing them as "small but profound moments in which performance calls the attention of the audience in a way that lifts everyone slightly above the present, into a hopeful feeling of what the world might be like if every moment of our lives were as emotionally voluminous, generous, aesthetically striking, and intersubjectively intense", it seems a possibility that in Purulia, in absence of immediate signs of recovery from extreme socio-political conditions, Chhau and the festivities of its performance are responsible for auto generation of images of an utopic past.

I argue that Chhau as a form, and the celebratory festivities associated with it, become lenses through which the community asserts, generates and reaffirms identity, and solidarity, while communicating imaginations of a better and perhaps "utopic" world. Here, social and political realities become subsumed under reiterative performance tropes, where repetition and regeneration of content and kinesthetic principles, as well as creativity remain bound by needs produced and fulfilled within the realities of the performance time and space – as the festivities continue to create a completely utopic space from its inception to the culmination.
Figure 1. Making of the mask in Choridah village of Purulia. (Photograph by Urmimala Sarkar Munsi, 2007)

Figure 2. A daytime practice session in Pitidiri village of Purulia by Ptititi Chhau Nritya Party. (Photograph by Urmimala Sarkar Munsi, 2007)
Figure 3. Chhau performance in Budhpur village of Purulia.  
(Photograph by Urmimala Sarkar Munsi, 2010)

Figure 4. Members of Pitidiri Chhau Nritya Party.  
(Photograph by Urmimala Sarkar Munsi, 2007)
Endnotes
* Title differs from symposium programme.
1. Official website of Department of Information and Culture, Purulia. See reference under purulia.nic.in.
2. Even a cursory web search would bring up at least seven to eight sites where details of the "Red Corridor" are available, along with maps and other linked reports.
4. See online discussion about Naxalite violence in Purulia and Bankura by Souvik Chatterji, 2008.
5. Fair elections reported in Purulia in the Times of India [Banerjee 2011].
6. Dolan starts her Introduction to Utopia in Performance by saying "Utopia in Performance argues that live performance provides a place where people come together, embodied and passionate, to share experiences of making and imagination that can describe or capture fleeting intimations of a better world. [Dolan 2005:2].

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WEAVING MUSIC AND BRAIDING TRADITION:
IRISH STEP DANCE IN THE PERCUSSIVE DANCE DIASPORA

This paper addresses the ways in which Irish dance creates a common landscape and shared rhythm that is able to transcend geographical boundaries, producing cultural knowledge and establishing connections within and across diasporic communities. The Irish step dancer navigates a soundscape, or a musical "floor," through audible foot movement, and an emphasis on rhythm encourages dialogue among Irish step dancers, musicians, and dancers of other percussive traditions. While Irish step dancers continually improvise new rhythms that might depart from traditional practices, their steps are always rooted visibly in the floor and woven sonically into the music. Thus, Irish step dance maintains a continuity of tradition while innovating new forms, and this paper explores how Irish step dancers connect rhythmically to music and the floor in order to cultivate a resilient braid of tradition across time and space.

Keywords: Irish step dance; percussive dance; diaspora; cultural knowledge; soundscape

Irish step dance is intricately connected to both time and space: it is a percussive dance because of the audible sounds created by the dancer's feet as well as the visual rhythms created by footwork patterns on the floor. Irish dance scholar, Catherine Foley, explains that percussive dancers "explore and interpret an acoustic world through their world of sound and gesture" [Foley 2008:55], and they "embody the music, interpret the music, and enhance the music percussively, sonically, and visually" [Foley 2008:53], thus acting on multiple sensory planes. Rhythmic patterns of movement organise and map the kinetic space, creating visible rhythm patterns and audible percussion. The ways in which Irish step dance operates on both sonic and visual planes points to the crucial relationship between the dancer and the floor, as the dancer utilises the floor to produce sound. An analysis of Irish step dance movement shows that the dancer pushes into the floor in order to pull out of it, and the sounds created by the feet might represent a parallel weaving in and out of the melody, suggesting a sort of musical "floor" upon which the dancer moves. This soundscape, combined with the physical landscape of the floor, contributes to a geography that enables the dancer to extend aesthetic boundaries and establish connections of heritage and community. In this paper, I focus on the temporal aspect of this landscape to look at the ways in which rhythm and percussion provide a means of interaction between Irish step dancers and the Irish dance diaspora in the United States, as well as the broader community of percussive step dancers.

Performance studies scholar, J'aime Morrison, has already contributed a thorough consideration of Irish dance and spatial movement with regard to Irish landscape. Her work maps a history of physical and sociopolitical movement in Ireland: she writes, "dance is an 'interface' between the broken ground and the bodies that inhabit transitory geographies" [Morrison 2003:42]. For Morrison, Irish dance creates a "poetic topography" [Morrison 2003:194], that cartographically represents the Irish landscape, and she cites social choreography as a means of metaphorically stabilising the slippery, bog-like, and always-moving Irish land. She locates historical "acts of mapping" [Morrison 2003:18] that have shaped Ireland politically and argues that a "bodily cartography of motion produces alternate national landscapes" [Morrison 2003:33]." Irish
dance paradoxically becomes a means of constructing an Irish identity that is resistant to colonial repression through the imposition of self-discipline on "unruly" Irish bodies and through a performance of physical nationalism. She addresses the emphasis on etiquette among dancing masters in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and she closes her argument with a consideration of Riverdance as a "seismic" and "groundbreaking" release that in the 1990s represented Ireland's cultural confidence across the wider global landscape.

Morrison emphasises that her work is a history of dance and movement in Ireland, and not a study of Irish dance itself. Her historical cartography of physical and sociopolitical movement in Ireland provides a detailed analysis of the relationship between dance and the space of the Irish landscape, but I would like to expand on her work by considering the sonic aspects of this landscape and the ways in which sound can contribute to an understanding of the continuing development of Irish dance in Ireland and in the wider percussive dance diaspora. Because of the emphasis on timing and rhythm in the Irish dance aesthetic, I am interested in pursuing an exploration of the musical and percussive relationships that are created through the soundscape of Irish step dance in particular, as well as the role that the Irish step dance community plays in the percussive dance genre more generally.

How do music and soundscape expand conceptions of place and space for percussive dancers? Steven Feld's ethnomusicological study of Kaluli poetry and song in Papua New Guinea considers the potentiality of place not as "space" per se, but as an "acoustemology of flow," and he argues for "the potential of acoustic knowing, of sounding as a condition of and for knowing, of sonic presence and awareness as potent shaping forces in how people make sense of experiences" [Feld 1996:97]. This "acoustemology of flow" is a means of linking together fluid paths that can be used to illustrate "a fusion of space and time that joins lives and events as embodied memories" [Feld 1996:91]. In addition, Andrée Grau cautions against over-emphasising the visual aspects of dance, and she brings sound into her discussion of Tiwi dance aesthetics, saying: "it is…this bringing together of a sense of emplacement as well as a sense of how places are heard, linked to a visual sense that makes something special for the Tiwi" [Grau 2003:174]. Tomie Hahn's ethnographic work on the musical soundscape of the Japanese dance tradition of nihon buyo is specifically relevant to Irish step dance: she describes the dance music as a landscape "inside" of which the dancer must move and which the dancer must learn to navigate [Hahn 2001:61]. Hahn says that music and movement become one both aurally and kinesthetically, and I think that Hahn's notion of the music as a "floor" upon which to dance works especially well for Irish step dance and other percussive step dance styles that place a similar emphasis on audible rhythmic interpretation.

The term "percussive dance" has become increasingly popular in the past few years, and many of those in my own dance community of Irish dancers, cloggers, and tappers are beginning to refer to themselves more generally as "percussive dancers." Percussive dances are those that use the body to make rhythm audible, either through contact between body parts or between the foot and the floor. In my step dance community, the term seems to represent a conglomerate of mostly foot-based styles, and those who identify as percussive step dancers seem to intentionally draw upon a large variety of traditions. These dancers seem less concerned with "authenticity" or "purity" of style, and instead emphasise in their work innovative rhythmic interpretations of traditional and non-traditional music, while maintaining a respectful attitude towards the traditions from which they draw. Having always identified as an Irish step dancer, I have found the transition towards becoming a "percussive dancer" to be a difficult but welcome change.
in my attitude towards music. I have been able to broaden my understanding of the relationship between dance and music by studying a wider variety of techniques for creating rhythmic footwork.

Irish step dance in particular, requires a precisely governed relationship between footwork and music, and I have come to think of Irish dance movement as "weaving" intricately with the tune, as the dancer generally tries to fit each tap into the melody in the foreground, rather than experiment with alternative interpretations of rhythms in the background. Indeed, competitive Irish step dance music – as opposed to more embellished forms of traditional Irish music – is bare and unornamented, usually with just an accordion and perhaps a vamping piano to add body to the sound. As Tomás Ó Canainn says, "the [Irish step] dancer wants clear melodic shapes which do nothing more than give the main beats of the music with an absolute minimum of ornamentation" [Ó Canainn 1993:45]. In my experience, this sort of metronomic approach to music has invited a similarly mathematical method in Irish step dance choreography. Rhythms are melodic and clear, and the dancer aims for an aesthetic which teachers and adjudicators describe as "crisp," with timing that is always, most importantly, "spot on." Irish dancers are often trained to conceive of the music as a landscape upon and into which to move – to dance into the music rather than on top of it, to aim for a deep rather than surface-level relationship with the melody. However, this notion often translates into the loud and aggressive stomping style that is characteristic of competitive Irish step dancing today and, as a result, the dancer does not so much dialogue with the music as rely on it for its structure as a stable ground upon which to move.

For the musician's part, Irish step dance competition offers no opportunities for playful digression from the metronome; creative detours by the musician are frowned upon and may even warrant a re-dance for the competitor if the tune is not played as it is "on the tape." Because of this attitude towards music, improvisation is often a difficult concept for many Irish step dancers, many of whom are trained solely for competition for which steps are generally prescribed to them. Therefore, I see the percussive dance genre as presenting an alternative avenue for Irish step dancers who are interested in improvisation, innovation, and rhythmic experimentation outside of the sphere of competition and professional touring. Percussive dance seems especially apt for those who want to cultivate a more meaningful relationship with music and musicians. Dancer and dance ethnographer, Nic Gareiss' notion of "dancing the tune," for example, is a creative approach for percussive dancers to play with and improvise upon the dynamic excursions of the music [Gareiss 2011].

In fact, Nic and I recently attended an intensive week-long retreat and cooperative learning project called the Beat Retreat in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Central Virginia, at which a group of experienced and self-identified "percussive dancers" met to create shared repertoire and experiment with rhythm among other like-minded artists. Although each dancer tended to identify most strongly with one or two particular dance traditions, all of us had experience in a variety of styles, including tap, Appalachian clogging and flatfooting, Cape Breton and Irish step dance, and sean-nós (or old-style) Irish dance. Despite different dance vocabularies and musical forms, the dancers connected through a shared sense of traditional music rhythms in general. This connection helped us work towards one of the goals cited in the Beat Retreat mission statement: to "shape the artistry and methodology" of traditional dancers towards a redefinition of the notion of percussive dance in the 21st century and especially in the unique diasporic space of North America and the Eastern United States.
Beat Retreat workshops throughout the week placed a particular emphasis on the relationship between the dancer and musician (as opposed to just the music), and daily jam circles gave dancers the opportunity to trade ideas and steps with each other and with the musicians. In one particular instance, I became intrigued to learn about the so-called "crooked" tunes that are common in old-time American music, or those tunes that do not adhere to a conventional 8-bar structure. As an Irish step dancer who has become used to conceptualising nearly all of my steps in counts of eight, attempting to dance to these tunes was very difficult, and it was during this exercise that I most palpably felt how much I tend to rely on the music as a steady and stabilising floor upon which to dance. I felt as though the rug had been pulled from under me as the musical "floor" shook beneath me and I was forced to improvise new steps on top of this unsteady and "crooked" ground.

What happened to my steps? To begin with, my footwork became more cautious – I no longer had the confidence to stomp out the floor and jump high in the air, the way I usually would with my pre-choreographed Irish hard shoe steps. The sound of the old-time fiddle and banjo were familiar and reminiscent of Irish reels and jigs, but the musical structure of these crooked tunes was irregular and off-putting for me. I was forced to simplify and add more pauses and silences into my footwork in order to dialogue with this more complex music. I felt both exhilarated and terrified at the same time. Not knowing the tunes and not being able to predict the tunes required more caution in my dancing and more attention towards cultivating a relationship with the other musicians, both those on instruments as well as my fellow dancers making music with their feet.

This experience with crooked tunes forced me to deconstruct my movement as well as my approach to rhythm, requiring both a mental and a physical shift in my dancing. My relationship to the physical floor underneath me was de-emphasised while my connection to the now-unstable musical "floor" was in the foreground of my mind. This rhythmic destabilisation brings me back to the notion that the codification of Irish dance has historically served to "control" Irish bodies, and I wonder how this kind of experimentation allows dancers to relinquish some of that control. It seems to me that Irish dancers might flirt with the strict boundaries imposed by competition standards not by challenging spatial or even visible aspects of the technique, but rather by experimenting more freely with the temporal and aural features of music and rhythm. Does working more deeply with rhythm on a sonic plane offer dancers another route outside of the standard cartography of Irish movement that Morrison describes? How does this work open up the tradition for more fluent sharing within the Irish dance diaspora and with other percussive step dance styles?

Of course, the Beat Retreat is not the only place where percussive dancers are doing such work, and the academic programmes in traditional and contemporary dance here at the University of Limerick provide similar opportunities for Irish dancers with strong competitive and performance backgrounds to push boundaries and play with a variety of (not just Irish) dance traditions in a contemporary context. As an example, Colin Dunne's recent solo show, Out of Time (2008), presents a temporal deconstruction of Irish step dance as he plays with snippets of rhythm and converses with Irish dancers of the past through video archives. Another example is Breandán de Gallaí's show, NOCTÚ (2011), in which he visibly and audibly reshapes Irish dance, combining balletic postures and ballroom vocabulary with powerfully intricate foot percussion that is laid over non-traditional music. While Irish step dance competition and touring shows are still going strong and do much to connect the Irish dance community across the globe, this recent emphasis on the percussive nature of the dance, without the glitz and spectacle, cultivates a musical dialogue that helps to transcend spatial, sonic, and rhythmic boundaries.
When *Riverdance* debuted in 1994, the show was notable for its sexy presentation of Irish dance and was described as a "release" for the new cultural confidence arising from Ireland's Celtic Tiger. Returning to Morrison's geographical metaphor, the show "embod[ied] the tremors of Irish experience as the dancers attempt[ed] to find their place amidst Ireland's shifting grounds" [Morrison 2003:330]. Now, 18 years later, the tremors caused by the show's shorter hemlines and arms akimbo seem to have quieted, opening up the possibility for work with some of the deeper layers of this landscape. I think that intercultural exchange between percussive step dancers on an aural level can provide even more opportunities for addressing not only the geographical movements of Irish people, but also the temporal shifts that have contributed to the diverse but synchronous developments of those people in Ireland and in the diaspora. Indeed, as Andrée Grau says, "Sound reverberates through space, linking dancers and sacred spaces, bringing an aural dimension, creating a sonic presence to a site...." [Grau 2003:177]. Stepping out of the boundaries of so-called "traditional" or competitive Irish *step dance* and its standardised musical structure requires new paradigms for working with musicians and for collaborating with other percussive dancers in Ireland and in the diaspora. These paradigms can enable Irish dancers to weave a more complex tune and to add links to a braid of tradition that connects a wider scope of traditional arts and community of artists. In this way, Irish step dancers can maintain a continuity of tradition while at the same time innovate new forms, conversing with dancers of the past, present and future, in Ireland and across the diaspora.

**Endnotes**

1. The Beat Retreat is organised by Matthew Olwell and Emily Oleson of the Good Foot Dance Company, and takes place each summer in Afton in Central Virginia. The week-long retreat includes peer-taught classes and workshops, and culminates in two concerts presented to the public.

2. Fintan O'Toole, quoted in Morrison [p. 344]. While I agree that *Riverdance* was exciting and innovative, many of the copycat shows that followed were less imaginative. Despite Whelan's experimentation with new (for example, Bulgarian) rhythms in the music, *Riverdance* as a dance show became more about visual presentation than about audible percussion. For example, the taps in the show are *not* live, except in a couple of pieces, such "Trading Taps," which is, interestingly, a performance of the dialogue between Irish and African American dance forms.

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In the traditional Italian settings dance is named *ballo*. The action of dancing is defined by the occurrence of performance. Performances basically refer to two instances: one, the theatrical setting, including sports; and two, dancing as a tool for knowledge and relational experience. Place is historically defined by the function of the event in which dance is performed and it changes according to modifications of the focuses in the events. The relationship between dance and place in the changing landscape of modern society acquires new meanings from different media and contexts. I will try to outline which kinds of political and ethnic motivations bring traditional dance into new places and how the structure and form of a dance changes in new settings. The ethnographic sources of this reflection are the ritual execution of Vallja in the Arbëreshe community of Calabria and the social dancing in Emilia Romagna.

*Keywords*: Italy (Calabria, Emilia Romagna); *tammurriata*; *tarantella*; *manfrina*

**Starting hypothesis**

I intend to check if the displacement of space and place of dance during the feast is an explicit message of demonstration of power offered by groups as a celebration of their own existence. Because of this, becomes an index of the direction of transformation.
To support this theory, I use examples from the region of Emilia Romagna, a majority culture in the north, the region of Campania near Napoli, and a small community Arberesche, a minority culture in southern Calabria. (Video examples are published on a DVD in Staro 2012.)

**Cultural glossary**

Words define fields of meaning, which are sensibly different in space, in time and in communities. That is why I have to introduce you to the meaning of some words that are in my mind.

In Italian mentality – and I assume elsewhere too – *posto*/place and *spazio*/space have different semantic fields. Other terms indicating the displacement of bodies or objects in space-time are also used. *Posto* and *sito* are words referring to a place that is identified in the time dimension with the occurrence of an inner dynamic content: something is happening there, maybe only existing, but it is happening in that moment. *Posto* is then defined on the basis of relative positions, of borders and function of objects, of the bodies present there. So, it can be a *piazza*, defined by buildings, streets, but it can be also a chair: *posto* is the spot where a presence insists on space and time and it changes depending on the occurrences. That is why the right place is not an absolute category: in our mentality it can continuously change, it is a matter of interrelating the components.

*Sito* is defined by one occurrence, which is invariant, that is why it can be measured and identified by vectorial dimensions in space and time.

*Luogo* is a geographical entity defined by something happening or by the memory of something happened.

*Località* is a geographical entity defined by the position of objects (buildings, trees, mountains).

*Spazio* (space) is an abstract notion, an unlimited dimension defined through adjectives created by the measured perception of the body. *Luogo*, *Località* and *Spazio* are static ideas while *Posto* and *Sito* are dynamic ideas.

So we can have, in our language, the *sito* of the *festa*, defined by the Patron Saint's church, and the space of the *festa*, defined by the occurrence of people acting. We can only have the *posto* and the *luogo* for the dance, which is defined by the occurrence of dancing. Dance uses the *spazio*/space of the *piazza*/strada/cucina* (square/street/kitchen), in the *sito*/località (place) where the meeting of people happens.

Another problem arises with the cultural perception of dimensions and how they are used in language and in experience. I give you only one idea about 'up', 'over-on-above': we use only *su* (up) and *sopra* (over-on-above) because the idea of dimension includes the connotation of dynamic. The position is determined by an action, even if we do not know the cause of it, and it is relative in every case.

In English I see space and place used in the same occurrences. Speaking of on, under, and so on, many occurrences are used, imagining, I presume, a fixed position in a fixed scale. You have to try to imagine that, in my mind, there are different words and a different concept, because I don't see the world like an empty box with arrows on the different faces, but like a network of trembling presences changing. That is why the great majority of us Italians do not trust in predestination, that is why the travel and not the scale is one of the cosmological ideas underlining our life.

In this context the *festa* is a wonderful pause in the continuous travel of life and it has the primary role to identify the real value of any individual of the community because it creates for a while a fixed container where it is possible to fix judgment criteria.
The term festa (party/fair) in Italian culture indicates a solemnity of collective interest, run by everybody. It derives from the Latin dies festum with the meaning of sacred day, which again derives from the root in archaic pre-Latin – fasnom – sacred right. The time of festa is defined by sharing in the entire community; the absence of isolated work. The festa (extraordinary) and veglia (ordinary) are truly festa if everyone, who shares the time everyday, participates, sharing the common space with a specific role.

Small or large, private or public, every festa maintains its primary function: to evaluate and perceive simultaneously each participant's status and the quality of social bonds. In the traditional festival, food, sexuality and movement must find their place and their time because they are the pivotal moments that connect the festive moment, ritual or casual, with the reality of everyday community life. The space of the festa, then, is the same as community life.

The place of dance in the festa is in every circumstance in the middle of the common space.

Ordinary festa or veglia
The locations of the traditional feast, named veglia (vigil) / festa / festino-a, were once the usual places of life and work. At home in the winter, people chose the kitchen or the stable, even if there was a sitting room. Today, for this purpose, garages, shelters or barns are used. In the veglia participation in festive dance was regulated by everyday rules of behaviour. Since the adults are involved in working activities necessary to operate the vigil, participants in the dance are usually children, teenagers and elderly people. The number of participants in the dance will still be reduced to one or two couples at a time and this rule is observed in all three cultures. In fact, each dance is specifically the gift that the individual dancer dedicates to the community so that the community can share it. The dance is the main communicative creation for which the community gathers.

Space dance is the whole walking area
The boundary of the space of the dancers, the hub of the event, invades the personal space of those present to allow the mutual interaction of the dancers. They literally dance...
on the feet of those present, despite the limited space available. In this case the space is
overused and tests, along with the ability of the dancers, the resilience of the participants
and the place that hosts them. The language of the body will be mainly a conversational
language. The leg and arm movements will be exaggerated in effort and minimised in
amplitude, while the movements of hips, breasts and heads will increase in variation. The
energy in the compressed space creates an overexposure of this emotional cognition,
which completely loses the perception of time because, as happens to the inmates in
confined spaces, it changes their perception of space.

Video 1: kitchen in the Cervicati house, by Placida Staro 2006-2007 see:
<http://youtu.be/Fh1Os_mYdOc>

Video 2: kitchen in S. Gennariello Vesuviano house by Gabriele D'Ajello
Caracciolo <http://youtu.be/wrNZZz9Fb4g>

Video 3: kitchen in Pian dei Grilli house, by Ramon cell-phone 2009 see:
<http://youtu.be/hL9n_fRvegA>

In summer courtyard spaces, semi-covered spaces and shelter or squares in the
villages are chosen for dance. We must remember that streets and squares were once
places of work, used for the gathering of workers, for the threshing of grain, for drying
artefacts and so on. Even in these open contexts the space for the dance is reduced to the
size of direct perception (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Dance in a courtyard (Dance of Ruggeri, Monghidoro (Bologna).
(Photograph by G. Polmoni, May, 2008)

The bystander cannot perceive the dance from outside but is inside the dancer's
visual field. The dancer's body occupies between three and ten square metres and permits
direct interaction between the couples of dancers. Even group forms of dance, including
bystanders, do not exceed the radius of four metres. Because of the open air, in order to
include the participants in the dance, there will be spatial modifications in patterns.

The body language will be mainly a demonstrative conversational language with the
stress on the inner communication between the dancers. The movements of legs and arms
will be adequate in effort and in amplitude to the body and relationship of the performers
with the circle of the participants not exceeding too much the spatial sphere created by the two dancers. The movements of hips, breasts and heads will have an increase in amplitude and a decrease in variation in order to exclude any possible private communication.


Video 5 DANCE in courtyards: San Gennariello Vesuviano by Gabriele D'Ajello Caracciolo <http://youtu.be/t_-9Mb4jKEM>

Video 6 DANCE in courtyards: Loiano, by Placida Staro see: <http://youtu.be/PcUddJASxGQ>

**Extraordinary festa: calendar rituals**

![Image](image_url)

Figure 4. Ritual festa and space for dance (Festa della Vecchia, Monghidoro (Bologna) (Photograph by G. Polmoni, 1998)

The time of dance in the ritual festa is before and after the main focus of the event. Even when dance is apparently the focus of the event, it is mainly a ceremonial representation of dance. The space of the festa, then, is the same as the community life.

The place of dance in the festa is in the middle of the common space in every circumstance, including rituals. In extraordinary rituals such as Carnival or seasonal pilgrimages, the participation of the community must be total and is directed both inwards and outwards. In this case, everybody is expected to contribute to the global dance, but also the passive enjoyment of the dance.

When the festa takes place in open spaces, the dance is generally organised in different regulated groups, or otherwise in different circles – "rota" is the term used in Calabria. Free participation in the dance is provided only at the end of the day.

It changes the terms of participation: the event is directed outwards, in a territorial sense, but in a symbolic sense too: what is above and beyond our world, the supra-and infra natural. Since the purpose is to occupy the entire territory, the displacement of the dancers will change depending on the space to occupy.

Consequently, for ritual exigencies the young people will have the centre of the scene. In couple dances, the demo-kinetic language remains unchanged, but it will change
completely the choice of motifs, movements and gestures. The dancer does not refer to the entire community, but to the focal point of the party, in this case, spouses, conscripts. The main gestural language will change in order to amplify the demonstrative function. The upper body movements, legs and arms gesture will be larger while the waist and breast movements will be more modest. The individual management of the space expands: each participant occupies twice the space of the body projection, a visual indication of the occupation of the territory.

Video 7: Tarantella S. Martino di Finita (CS), by P. Staro e M. Ruggeri 2008, see: <http://youtu.be/0YiR2z4AGdE>


Video 9: Dance "Ruggeri" during Ognissanti, Centro di Ricerca e Documentazione Della Cultura Montanara, Monghidoro (BO) 2008, see: <http://youtu.be/ljqd0WPsd5w>

Now going from the common feast (veglia) we saw before, to the public and ritual feast (wedding - August feast), there enters a new role: the chief dancer, regulating the entrance to the dance, and providing everybody with the possibility to dance all together as an exception or with a precise invitation, in a particular dance: the quadriglia. Regarding the extraordinary rituals of individual life, it focuses on one or more individuals of the community.


Baptisms, weddings and funerals were daily events in which the space was transformed: the houses, the road and fields were the places where these ceremonies were held; in the past century, and up until the 1960s, taverns and restaurants were the exclusive reserve of carriers, travellers and women of easy virtue. The street and square is no longer the core place of the feast and dance. The dance in the street is itself a metaphor for the passage to ritualise. Then the inn and the restaurant replaced the banquet at home – the term derives from the banquet set up along the road where the bride passes/walks.

The space of the dance shifted from the courtyards in the past to the garden and halls in the present; now there are professional groups that organise the event. On these occasions, the central symbolic focus of the festa fits into a working tool: a chariot, the bed of a wagon, now transport trucks.

In the ritual occasion in Emilia, a couple dance is performed with demonstrative purposes and it is simplified in gestural language and amplified in movement dimensions and evaluation of distances. The priority is given to simple and inclusive forms of dance as manfrone, tarantella, and so on.


In the Arbretsche community in Calabria, people use the couple dance, tarantella and the collective dance, quadriglia, for the common and ritual festa of a familiar and religious nature, while in Carnival they use the form of vallja (spiral dance) only for spring rituals, wedding and as a ceremonial dance.

**Sagra**

![Image](image_url)

Figure 5. Sagra. Festa di Scanello, Loiano (Bologna) (Photograph by G. Polmoni, 2004)

The civil aspect of the religious feast is called *sagra* (festival/fair/fete) from the root *SAK*, which means cutting, but also away, separate and, therefore, indicating a discrete event in time and space from that of the community. So, the *sagra* (festival/fete) occurs in open spaces near the chapel or sanctuary, courtyards, porticos, the riverside, or along beaches or long streets.

The time of the dance in the *sagra* is before and after the main religious moment. In collective rituals celebrated by separate elements of the community, usually young people during the rites of spring, used in addition to civil space, also the "wild" space.

In these cases the square is the centre of civil society opposed to the woods, the pole of the wild and the supernatural, which usually in our culture, is given a sacred image, a votive chapel, a church, as a warning of the sacredness. In those places, different villages meet. The dance becomes an instrument of communication between different communities meeting in outdoor spaces.

The community, in a civil square, was also visually compact in the space of the dance. In the wild spaces it tends to disperse in small groups though you might think that that space should remain compact. But the shared bonds that have arisen during the journey from civilisation to the wild or the sanctuary gives compactness. Surprisingly, therefore, while enormously expanding the available space, the space of the dance becomes the conversation between two people or in small groups, because the interpersonal relationship is continually reconfirmed as against the wild and the supernatural. The distance between bodies is very often broken; touch (aggressive or embracing) and visual expression becomes more important. The gesture and displacement lose all their emphasis and become almost intimate, because the relationships are internal and not of representation towards the outside, even if hundreds of people are present all together. The demonstrative function is less important than the essential, cognitive...
function, which gives validation to being human in that context: against the wild and super-natural.

When the main focus of the rite is arriving in time and space, the scene of the ritual moves from the side towards the central space. The distance between participants decreases, validating human community, while the effort in action and the amplitude of gestural expression increase. Few people are dancing or acting, or singing or praying in an extreme way, while the other participants share their pains and efforts by clapping, crying, laughing, shouting until the performing people are exhausted and their effort is shared by the entire audience and visually demonstrated by moving objects, statues, or state of consciousness. When the main focus of the rite is done, at that point the space is emptied and the dance becomes a demonstration: wide spaces, large gestures, long distances. The dance is no longer sacred. Very often that dance is kept away from the main centre of the event and substituted by spectacular or payment forms like festivals or feste da ballo/ball.

**Fiera**

The term fiera (fair) derives by metathesis from feria, indicating a "ritual ceremony related to death" or a fracture or a break or a rest. In common speech the fair is a regular meeting of merchants, and in Italian villages, coincides with religious solemnity. The space of the fair is in the centre of community life, or on the way between the main street and the church or the cemetery. The presence of the dance in the fair is optional during the entire period of the event. At the end of the day, a show may be provided by whoever organises the fair.

In centralising events such as fiere, participation through dance is precisely regulated by the creation of separate spaces and places for the dance: at the entering of the main street, in a courtyard, or in a park, with free participation and having the function of recall. Even in this case, the choice of body language and the use of space are devoted to a public demonstration with minimal inner communication.

**Festa da ballo**

The specific term, festa da ballo (dance party/ball), becomes usual in recent times, in the nineteenth century, with the use of small theatres, and within the context of bourgeois and aristocratic entertainments of dance. The space of the dance party/ball is separate, closed with restricted access, and managed by an institution, be it family, or other organisations. The dance occupies the central area of the room or a specific room. The organisation of the event is left to the housekeepers, who regulate the event instead of the musicians, giving attention to behavioural norms in order to regulate the participation.

In these contexts, traditional forms like contraddanze or quadrilugie or modern couple dances are preferred, while old couple dances are exceptionally executed, if required, and assume forms and space of a public demonstration.

**Festival**

The term festival arrived from France during the Napoleonic era to define the wooden or iron structures in parks and gardens for the public performance of dramatic events and circus. These structures, which had different names depending on the geographical area, were present all over Italy in earlier centuries. The word, festival, from the end of the nineteenth century, means exhibition of music, dance, arts, and craft.

The space of the dance in a festival is separate from that of community life and is run with commercial intent and provides an enclosed space with separate entrance fees.
The need to participate brings to these contexts only collective forms, farandole, when traditional and archaic, or couple dances, when modern.

Video 13: Orchestrina Feu e fiamme sul ballo a palchetto (by Dario De Seppo Caprie, (TO) 19-07-09), see: <http://youtu.be/2KIRgugIOoU>

Final observations: times change, spacing changes

A first conclusion is that Italian culture provides different forms, languages and space for dance depending on the main function of the dance at the feast-event. Consequently, the dance form has a different attitude towards time and space in the different contexts. In the different occasions dancers will choose a particular dance and a specific body language, shifting the accent to different aspects of the performance in dance before, during and after the dance execution. So we observe:

1. The use of space in dance, in the different dance-events, visually indicates the meaning of the event itself. A small space for dance, with small gestures and high variation in pattern and postures, indicates a community dancing their inner relation to/for themselves and to the external context. A small space for dance, with large gestures and medium variation in pattern and postures, indicates a transitory community demonstrating their potential to the outside. A large space for dance, with large gestures and large iterative patterns in their displacement, indicates a demonstration of power by a section of the society.

2. The displacement of dance-events in the feasts is the metre of evaluation of the changing balance in the internal relationships of the community. In the festa, moving from private houses to inns or halls indicates the loss of power of the familiar and neighbour bond, the incapability to create for themselves their own inner links in any moment, the necessity to refer to some exterior authority in order to be sure of interpersonal relations and, finally, the fear of showing the real personality through dance.

In the sagra, moving the dance from the space towards or near the church to a structure in a defined area, cuts off the possibility to express energy freely through dance. No longer the faithful, with their own moving, displace the deity, but the displacement of the people is regulated in order to pray only in the church, and to release the stress of the desire in liminal places devoted to dance.

Tarantelle, manfrine or ritual and couple dances in front of the church door are not run by the priests, while the dance-floor places and closes the dance in ordered patterns. The real internal link between faith, priests and sense of deity is over: the mediation given by the priests exits only in a one-way vertical relation.

In the springtime rites, substituting the open night collective dance with an inner party, defines the loss of power control of the community by the young generations. The walls and confined spaces become a guarantee of the control on young energy by authorities: the community is no longer able to use the young energy for communitarian purposes because it depends on authoritarian external bodies.

3. The transformation of space, in the same kind of dance-event, depends on the variation of the demo-kinetic, gestural languages; otherwise, it is the main sense of the dance event, which is changed, in spite of the persistence of the name. In traditional contexts, there are frequent cases of hybridising in which the ritual occurrence for dance is shifted in time and, obviously, in space from the previous one.

Today, we no longer hold a festa (party), but we go to a festa da ballo (dancing party). According to the new ritual, each must have a space and a place defined and
recognisable. In this case, if we observe a couple dance, the first important modification of the structure of the dance is the spatial dimension.

Every couple wants to dance instead of participating by watching the other dancers. So, the dimension of the circular path has to be reduced from the four metres required in the festa setting to two metres at least. In this case, it is impossible to activate possible variations in gestural dialogue and the variation of phases and patterns of the dance. It is impossible to establish an interactive communication between musicians and dancers, and the use of amplification completely blocks the verbal communication between dancers and those present. Because of the loss of personal intercommunication between dancers, everyone wants to demonstrate his/her own presence in adhering to a pre-constituted form in the space. They do not desire to create every time a new space to share.

The idea of space has changed: the space is not what we use for life, and that we define continuously by moving, but it is an empty box for following the right path (right for whom?) taking the right decision (right for whom?).

The sagre feasts and fiere and festivals of today are the heirs of the ritual celebrations of peasant and pastoral communities in meetings among different communities.

This kind of festa celebrating the meeting, was already provided for by tradition, but in times, places and outdoor spaces, other than the common life ones. In the case of returning emigrants, they are perceived like "hosts" who want to demonstrate an economic power in the centre of village life: they occupy the centre of the scene in the organisation, in the rite and in the dance event.

Gradually, the fiera/festival will then be run no longer by the entire community, but by the commercial section of society-artisan, business-minded, with the purpose of gathering money for the church or for commercial activities. The organising group needs to show power through increasing participation, food, fireworks, decibel, and so on. On the other hand, the main organization of the dance-event will change according to the need of urban taste and way of life. The festa and sagra turns into a festival or a fair with commercial purposes and the dance has a promotional intent. This leads to hybridization between local and urban dance forms. The reclusion in confined, even if they are wide spaces, and the contiguity with unknown people induce a lose of self-control.

The choral forms preferred in these contexts then become the vibrating wave motion. This recalls forms of expression of early childhood, widely shared, while the idea of contact and network connection is induced by breaking the barrier of spaces between bodies. The feeling of closeness in a state of extreme co-actions, together with the recurrence of wave-motion vibrating, exposure to extreme sound and altering substances, leads to the same emotional feeling in the past obtained in the veglie (vigil).

A similar situation was obtained only within the tradition of religious holidays when it was "holy dance". Or rather, when the holy saint dances above the crowd of weeping people, to suck/draw up their pain. But in that case, it was not a matter of losing control, but to maintain control of the unknown through the expression of the highest possible energy.

Video 14: Ballo del Caprone al Festival di Vialfrè (TO) 2009 see: 
[http://youtu.be/PTTE75_CN60]

Video 15: Ballo della "pizzica" (Ballo di origine pugliese) in un Centro Sociale di Bologna 2007 see: [http://youtu.be/qBkf49PGMvs]

Video 16: "pizzica mob" in a Mall 19 aprile 2011 [http://youtu.be/aIzdDeXdi54]
In traditional feasts, space is defined and continuously re-defined by the dancing. Dancing in the traditional feast, we "dance on": on the floor of the stables, in the time of work, on the fears of the unknown and wild. "Moving on" we superimpose our energy of relationships as a power in order to control the world. And "dancing on" we build, in a sure place, and we confirm, in a sure time, our space and time of life with the same community that will share with us the dangerous feeling of working and living everyday.

Now, in festivals and exhibitions and ... flash mobs, we, as modern saints, "are danced above" by boxes and by amplifiers and by videos: we are healthy carriers of the virus of desperate silence of the individual responsibility in front of the unpredictable deity of supernatural economic laws.

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Jörgen Torp  
Hamburg, Germany

**TANGO PLACED AND UNPLACED:**  
A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF TWO CENTURIES

Many books and articles about Argentinean *tango* history maintain a defined place and time of origin: the suburbs of Buenos Aires around 1880. Having a certain birthplace is important in countries where by law the place of birth defines one's nationality and marks one's identity. This version of the "birth of *tango*" is questioned here for several reasons: one, the twentieth century Argentinean *tango* with its distinctive forms cannot be traced further back than the late 1890s; two, the term *tango* existed in the Rio de la Plata areas throughout the nineteenth century, but different forms of "tango" dance and music were practised; and three, *tango* was not exclusively a Rioplatensean term, but existed also in other countries. Still, in 1890, the term was used to identify Brazilian and Spanish national genres, while Argentinean national composers did not refer to "tangos".

*Keywords*: Argentina; *tango*; genre; place

The term "place" usually refers to a concrete definable locality. A *tango* dance place then could be a dance studio for dance training or practising, a *milonga* where the *tango* dancers meet for a ball, or in former times special places where *tango* was danced such as in the open street. However, the article is not dealing with a concrete "place in space", but stands for a more general geographical use of the term: representing countries, regions, islands or cities. Nevertheless, for the occasional dissemination of the term *tango* in former times (nineteenth century), and in various places and its changing texts and contexts it is problematic to speak about a well defined social community, historical time and geographical location. I'll focus mainly on the geographical diversifications and transnational distributions of the term *tango* in the nineteenth century. In regard to the term "place", I critically inspect combinations of terms like *birth place*, *placed identity*, *unplaced genre*, *market place*. For the geographically widespread use of the term *tango*, it is not advisable to look for one clear place of origin. *Tango* can be regarded as "multiplaced" in its early history, not being distinctly "placeable" in only one special place and, therefore, the connotation of *tango* as being "unplaced" in the title of my paper.

*Tangos*

Consequently, it is best to speak about *tangos* – in plural – rather than about one unique *tango* as a clearly distinctive singular genre. However, for the purpose of this paper, I used the singular form of *tango* in the title for avoiding possible misunderstandings, because I don't have in mind to write about the variety of *tangos* in the twentieth century as derivations of the Argentinean (Rioplatensian) *tango* after its boom during the Paris carnivals from 1911 onwards: derivations like the standard ballroom-*tango*, the Italian *tango*, the Finnish *tango* and comparable forms. Some people opine that the determination of *Tango Argentino* is in use only to distinguish the *tango* of Buenos Aires, the Capital of Argentina, from (for example) the ballroom *tango*, and in case that these phenomena were not as different as they are, the addition of *Argentino* to the term *Tango* would not be necessary because the *tango* would have its origin in Argentina, and to speak about the *tango* would primarily mean to speak about the *tango* in its "original" and "authentic" form, being an Argentinean (or Rioplatensian) one.
Similarly, tango historians consider the story of tango as the story of a singular and unique Argentinean tango with its origin or "place of birth" in Buenos Aires. With respect to the music, and perhaps to the dance also, Argentinean tango history as a continuous (modern) tradition can be told beginning from the first years of the twentieth century, or perhaps the very last years of the nineteenth century, parallel with rising sheet music and the first industrial gramophone recordings. These market-oriented early sheet music and recorded pieces became the first evergreens, initiating a kind of a tradition: they were often repeated pieces, although noticeably changing in style in the course of time; and the respective arrangements of a piece for different orchestras changed their style to keep up with the time. In this way, the story of tango as a continuously "traditional" genre of music, could also be described as a story of (urban) popular music with its special way of distribution; a popularised musical genre connected to the music industry, comparable to Ragtime and Jazz, for example, but also to streams of Latin American Music of Brazil or Cuba (Torp 1989, 2007; Chasteen 2004; Scott 2008).

Perhaps the story of tango dance could be reconstructed in parallel to the musical story, especially after the Parisian Carnival season of 1911. Tango, a newly famous dance there and then, got its specific "place" in popular dance history. Shortly before World War I, some newspapers announced a change in ballroom dancing: tango took the place of the waltz.

The birth place of tango?

The story of tango dance music and dance as a genre originating in Argentina and becoming internationally famous via Paris is a widely distributed version of tango history writing. However, literature on tango often tries to approach the tango of earlier times with the aim of informing the readership about the "origin" of the world-renowned twentieth century tango. Thus, the treatment of earlier tango history is guided by the status of the tango of later times and the nineteenth century history of tango which would be of interest and value only in so far as it gives information about the presumed "origins" of the subsequent events. Consequently, nineteenth century forms of tango are merely regarded as "prehistory" of the tango, giving the singular genre a place and date of "birth", and in this way constituting an identity.

The terms of birth, of cradle, of creole (meaning here to grow up in a certain place) are very important issues for Argentinean understanding, where nationality is officially defined according to the place of birth of an individual, and not according to the blood of one’s ancestors. However, the idea of establishing a clear historical identity of the genre founded on its imagined origins can distort to some degree the story and prevent deeper insight into the complexity of nineteenth century tangos: its diverse places of existence, and its partly divergent historical developments. Many books on tango date the origin of the genre to about 1880, pointing out at the same time the imagined place of birth of tango: the suburbs of Buenos Aires. Books and articles pointing out the year 1880 as an important date in early tango history are for example:

- Roberto Selles: "El tango y sus dos primeras décadas (1880–1900)" [The tango in its two first decades (1880-1900)], La Historia del Tango 2 (Selles 1977)
- Fernando O. Assunção: El Tango y sus circunstancias (1880–1920) [The Tango and its circumstances (1880–1920)] (Assunção 1984)


• Eduardo Stilman: "El nacimiento del tango" [The birth of tango], "La Ciudad Burguesa 1880–1930", part of Buenos Aires. Historia de cuatro siglos (Stilman 2000)

However, there is no evidence that the date 1880 is a crucial point in the history of tango, except perhaps the noting of dancing to the milonga [here: a musical genre] in the suburbs of Buenos Aires in a book by Ventura R. Lynch of 1883, or the caricatures in La Ilustración Argentina of 1882:

![Figure 1. Caricature from La Ilustración Argentina, November, 1882, adapted from Gesualdo 1961, page 905](image1)

![Figure 2. Caricature from La Ilustración Argentina, November 1882, adapted from La historia del tango 1: page 71 (Matamoro 1976)](image2)
Choosing the date 1880 as the "birth date" of tango history has, I presume, another reason. The year 1880 is a highly important and crucial date in the history of modern Argentina and of Buenos Aires: the city of Buenos Aires was declared to be the capital of Argentina in that year. The transformed city of Buenos Aires was a fast expanding and changing capital. It was transformed from the so-called gran aldea [big village] into one of the big cities of the world, reaching a million inhabitants in the first decade of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the need to remember, or better said, to construct an identity on traditional roots and issues grew at the same time. A kind of modern but antimodernistic identity and heritage marker was sought.

_Tango_ – as a genre – was certainly not the first choice for identification in Argentina at that time, not even in the very city of Buenos Aires. The term was used in the Rio de La Plata area throughout the nineteenth century with changing meanings. It described, in the earlier period, places of festivities and dances of black people performed to the rhythms of drums. In the 1860s, in Buenos Aires, white people's clubs played tango compositions. During the Carnival seasons, white people painted their faces black, later black groups imitated them by painting themselves black too. Such mockeries are also known in the USA in the nineteenth century.

Foreign influences, for example from Spain or Cuba, are sometimes mentioned in literature on tango history without having a significant impact on the image of a genre called tango, "born" in the suburbs of Buenos Aires about 1880.

**Black peoples tangos**

I question the long-term continuous Argentinean traditions of tango as a uniquely defined genre, giving weight instead to two aspects which are not often noticed, and less researched, in Argentinean tango literature.

1) Twentieth century tango may better be considered as an urban popular genre with impressive parallels with other popular genres of that time in mainly urban environments, comparable, therefore, with Ragtime and Jazz in the USA, Maxixe and _samba_ in Brazil, Danzón and Son in Cuba, and perhaps also with the Portuguese Fado, the Calypso of Trinidad, and others.

2) In the nineteenth century the term tango was not exclusively in use in Argentina and Uruguay (the Rio de La Plata area), but existed on other shores of the Atlantic: in Spain (Andalusia, the region of Cadiz), the Canaries (El Hierro), Brazil, Cuba, and in early times perhaps in Mexico (Veracruz).

An early dictionary entrance for tango comes from Pichardo. In his _Diccionario Provincial de Vozes Cubanas_, first published in Cuba in 1836 (Pichardo 1862), he explains:

_Tambor._ [...] _En la parte occidental es el Atabal de la Vueltarriba, que tocan los Negros en sus Tangos o báiles._ [...] [In the oriental part it is the _Atabal_ (a drum) of Vueltarriba (region) played by black people in its _tangos_ or dances]  

_Tango._ [...] _Reunion de Negros Bozales para bailar al son de sus Tambores y otros instrumentos. En Cuba se conoce por Tumba; en el Príncipe Atabales, en plural. Deben sin embargo distinguirse los Reinados, Cabildos &c._ [Reunion of wild (meaning here: born in Africa) black people to the sound of their drums and other instruments.]
In Cuba they are known as *Tumba*, in Príncipe *Atabales*, in plural. However, one has to distinguish their *Kingdoms, District Councils*...]

A painting of 1836 by Martín Boneo showing an Argentinean scene of black people dancing in front of the former president and dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas, could be interpreted as a very similar image to that which Pichardo described for Cuba during the same years.

![Figure 3. "Candombe Federal": Oil painting of Martín Boneo (1836). Juan Manuel de Rosas and his kinship are present at a festivity of slaves. (Figure adapted from Carámbula 1995, page 15)](image)

Also in Brazil the term *tango* was known. And in an early Argentinean observation during the Paraguay War (resp the *Guerra de la Triple Alianza* 1864–1870), published later in 1886, J. C. Wald (pseudonym) remembers:

> It was night already; I took a seat outside of the store, where the meal took place. All-around music groups were situated; every now and then an officer came out keeping silence towards the group currently next for playing its harmonies. One of the illustrious meal companions began to make use of the word. With the last sentence of the speaker the band broke out with an "Ondú" or a broken "Tango" ["tango" quebrado], one from those, that only Brazilians know to perform and that are interpreted from musicians of three quarters of African blood [Lamas and Binda 1998:66]. (Translated by Jörgen Torp.)

1890

According to the story of the *tango* born about 1880 in Buenos Aires, it would be necessary to imagine the existence of a slightly developed *tango* in 1890 with a more or less distinctive *creole* identity in the La Plata region. But there is no evidence that it has been so. In 1890, one of the first musical pieces of Brazilian national composers, appeared: the *Tango Brasileiro* of Alexandre Levy (1864–1892). About the same time the Catalan composer Isaac Albéniz (1860–1909) composed *tangos*. One *tango* was composed in 2 *morceaux caracteristique*: *Spanish national songs, opus 164*; another
tango was composed as part of the Suite España, opus 165. Both of these tangos were published in London in the years 1889 and 1890.

Similar processes are not to be found in Argentinean music history. The most prolific Argentinean composer of "national music" of that time, Alberto Williams (1862-1952), wrote in 1890 his famous composition, El rancho abandonado [The abandoned hut]. This evoked the rural pampa which was far from tango reminiscences. There is no tango known today which was written by him or any other Argentinean national composer.

During the early 1890s, the Carnival of Buenos Aires changed its customs. In earlier days, it was common to masquerade as black people, and around 1890 the disappearing rural manners and customs of the nearby countryside became fashionable during the carnival season. The gaucho literature had its peak around then too with José Hernández’s poetry about Martin Fierro, and the legendary revolver or knife heroes like Juan Moreira who became famous figures for some time (comparable to US revolver-heroes of the same time like Jesse James and the developing "Western" genre with its cowboys and American Indians). The suburban "descendant" of Argentinean gauchos and compadres, the compadrillo, became later on the protagonist of many tango verses.

Immigrants were not well integrated into Argentinean society, but the children of immigrants – as Argentinean creoles who were either born or grew up in Argentina – certainly influenced the twentieth century tango. The Italian influence was particularly significant, but as an identity marker the countryside of the nearby rural environment of Buenos Aires played a more important role. Therefore, tango was not easily accepted as a traditional folk genre. Still, in 1916, Leopoldo Lugones wrote in favour of folk music and dances in his book, El payador, while rejecting the tango:

[...] through the music one may appreciate the spirit of a people; it is, as I believe, the most genuine gladness of its character; the gaucho remains manifest here. The elegant brio of those compositions, the light grace, his sentimental sensitivity define what today exists as creole music, anticipating what will exist tomorrow. In that structure of its inspiration is the secret of its superior destiny, not in the contortions of the tango, that reptile of the brothel, so unjustified called Argentinean in the moments of his impudent vogue. The potent predominance of the rhythm in our dances is, I repeat it, a virile condition that brings along the vital ability of the product. The corporal rupture of the couple is resulting possible and dashing due to the rhythm that thus governs the pantomime instead of being the pimp as it happens with the music of the tango solely destined to adapt the provocative wag, the equivocal reticence of the embrace which closeness the dance demands thereby defined by its true character [Lugones 1979:92].

In the 1890s, influences on the tango in Argentina partly came from abroad, such as the tango habanera from Tomás Breton's (1850–1923), Spanish Zarzuela, of 1894; and La Verbena de la Paloma (the funfair of the pigeon [dove]), which was well known and popular in the Buenos Aires of the mid-1890s. The Argentinean tango, as we knew it later on – as a "constituted specimen" ("especie constituida") and a "popularized circumstance" ("hecho popularizado") [compare Novati; Cuello 1980], began to develop but not before the first decade of the twentieth century.
Conclusions

1) **Tangos** may have their identities, and certain places of association throughout time. But within a broader picture we can identify only fragments of possible interdependent streams. A clear determination of a certain place is, therefore, not evident within the broader picture of a trans-regional *tango* history.

2) During the nineteenth century, and especially from 1900 onwards, the urban popular genres were better understood as internationally interwoven, and as partly industrialised. Although looking for traditions, such traditions had features of inventions, and they differed from more rural and locally bound folk genres.

The re-traditionalising of *tango* (initiated by the city governments of Buenos Aires and Montevideo), in terms of being part of the UNESCO heritage programme since 2009, may be regarded to some degree as a comparable story to that which happened one hundred years before, when the terms of *tango criollo* or *tango argentino* began their trajectories within the fields of urban popular culture.

Independent appendix: *non-lieux*

Terms may well be defined by their opposite: What is the opposite of place? The French anthropologist, Marc Augé, wrote about *non-lieux*, non-places (Augé 1992). Such non-places are described as mono-functionally utilised areas in urban and sub-urban spaces, like shopping malls, motorways, train stations or airports. In contrast to the traditional, particularly anthropological places, non-places lack in history, relationship and identity, and neglect, to some degree, communication. (However, it was not originally my intention to determine some *tangos* as "unplaced" in this sense of non-places).

Modern traits like megacities or modern media certainly can enrich the spectrum of places, but they may also build up more and more non-places. Non-places finally may lead to a feel of "unhomely". A similar German expression is "unheimlich", which could be translated as "eerie", "scary" or "uneathly". Therefore, people may intend to stay in places, wherever possible.

Endnotes

1. A payador is a traditional impromptu singer.
2. Translated by Jörgen Torp; the Spanish original is as follows: [...] si por la música puede apreciarse el espiritú de un pueblo; si ella es, como creo, la relevación más genuina de su carácter; el gauch o queda ahí manifesto. El brio elegante de esas composiciones, de gracia ligera, su delicadeza sentimental, definen lo que hoy existe de música criolla, anticipando lo que existirá mañana. En aquella estructura, de suyo alada, está el secreto de su destino superior, no en las contorsiones del tango, ese reptil de luponar, tan injustamente llamado argentino en los momentos de su boga desvergonzada. El predominio potente del ritmo en nuestras danzas, es, lo repito, una condición viril que lleva consigo la aptitud vital del engendro. La desunión corporal de la pareja, resulta posible y gallarda gracias al ritmo que así gobierna la pantomima, en vez de ser su rufián, como sucede con la "música" del tango, destinada solamente a acomparar el meneo provocativo, las reticencias equivocas del abrazo cuya estrechez exige la danza, así definida bajo su verdadero carácter.
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Since at least the sixteenth century dance has been used in Korea as a cultural ambassador, providing entertainment for visiting dignitaries as they were wined and dined by those in power, and being sent abroad to entertain in official settings. Since the late nineteenth century, dance has been used to entertain tourists, visitors with no official or governmental role who choose to visit for their own individual reasons. The author explores three issues relating to marketing dance in contemporary tourist settings, focusing specifically on things targeted for English-language-speaking tourists: the nature of information made available, how this information is made available, and how actual performances relate to this information. The author also examines how dance is used, in one instance, to broadly promote tourism. Throughout, emphasis is placed on what is chosen to represent a culture in order to determine what happens when dance is re-placed, when it is placed in advertising media.

Keywords: Korea; tourism; advertising

During a Fall 2011 visit to Seoul, I began a study of dance in tourist settings in South Korea's capital. My interest in this topic relates to my continuing engagement with issues of identity, including the ways in which people present and represent themselves to others through dance, and with concepts of tradition.

I focused this undertaking on three questions: How can an English-language speaking tourist find out about dance events? How are such events represented to this kind of tourist? How do these representations align with what is presented and represented in performances? I further delimited this preliminary study by assuming the roles of both tourist and researcher, but left conversations with actual tourists, business personnel, creators of performances, and dancers for future undertakings, while calling on my familiarity with Korean dance to consider the relationship between advertising and performances represented in the advertising.¹

My focus on English-language-speaking tourists relates to Korea's reliance on English for communicating with approximately 40% of its visitors from countries other than East Asia (see, for example Kim Young-hoon 2003). Excluding items intended for in-country tourists, not dealt with here, the vast majority of tourist information in materials other than travel books is primarily in Chinese or Japanese, aligning with the countries constituting approximately 60% of the visitor market.²

My current project reveals a large number of venues in which dance is presented to tourists, a large number of kinds of dance presented, and many ways in which dance is placed and re-placed in advertising and performances intended for tourists. In the end, tensions I have noted elsewhere (for example, see Van Zile 2011) between modernity and what is described as tradition in dance in Korea are prevalent in advertising that makes use of dance as well as in advertising for dance performances in tourist settings, as well as in performances themselves. Further, there are multiple layers of presentation and representation as dance is placed and re-placed in tourist contexts.
Obtaining information

English-language information about dance performances in Korea is available from travel books, online websites, in-country newspapers, and hotel concierges and front-desk staff at other types of lodging. Once in Seoul, a visit to any of the Korea Tourism Organization's information booths located throughout the city centre leads to advertising brochures prominently placed on counters and in self-service racks. While some of the information available from each type of source is the same, some is not, whether due to the selectivity of publishers, a lack of printed materials at in-country locations, or the specific knowledge of individual purveyors of information. Further, what was most readily available generally related to performances specifically intended for tourists, and did not embrace many other dance performances occurring during my visit.

Here, I describe examples from three different events representing the spectrum of kinds of things I found, and one example from a different kind of tourist context.

Walkerhill

Among the most frequently-mentioned performances by all sources is one that takes place at the Walkerhill Theatre, a show described in printed materials as: "The Sensational Festival of Love"; "breathtaking display of Korea's precious heritage. . . . a world-class performance of folk songs, ancient musical instruments, and korean [sic] traditional dances"; "'Asia's leading grand-scale show.' . . . enhanced with modern technology for a sensational experience of sight, smell, and of sound"; "Blockbuster Korean Show"; and "An all-original Korean performance featuring a spell-binding love story". The concierge at one up-scale hotel further identified the performance as both "quite traditional" and "like a Las Vegas show in Korean style".

Note the superlative descriptors used, and the more seemingly informative phrases of "Korea's precious heritage" and "Korean traditional dances". Note also the effort to place the performance globally by relating it to Las Vegas, Asia, and the entire world, while simultaneously grounding it in heritage and the traditional.

The show is presented in an extremely large space set up like a dinner theatre. It is an eighty-five-minute extravaganza with a large cast of performers that makes use of sophisticated technology, including lighting effects to create the sense of changing seasons, performers descending into the audience from crystal chandeliers, smoke machines, and large drums that splash water when struck. Loosely held together by a "story of two lovers and their journey to a happy-ending [sic]", scenes are announced, and in some cases dances briefly described, via projections on two side walls in Japanese, Chinese, and English. The performance is a fast-paced progression through dance, music, and elaborate costumes, all of which range widely across a spectrum of dance described in the souvenir programme as "delicate traditional Korean choreography and powerful break dancing and martial arts".

Among the so-called traditional dances is one identified in the English-language souvenir programme by its Korean name, Para Ch'um. The dance is performed by the leading woman together with a large ensemble of women in a scene titled, Water and Fire—Love, and according to the souvenir programme is an expression of the leading woman's love for the leading man.

Historically, and even today, Para Ch'um, often referred to in English as the Cymbal Dance because of the musical instruments played by the dancers, was performed by Buddhist monks as part of temple rituals. In addition, however, in the early-to-mid-twentieth century it was adapted for secular performance by ensembles of highly trained dancers in formal concerts. It continues to be performed in this manner, and generally
retains many of the formal characteristics of the original Buddhist dance. Instead of the slow, almost introverted nature of the temple dance and its usual concert performance, however, both of which typically involve only two or four performers dressed in the simple, subdued attire of Buddhist monks, the large cast of Walkerhill's Para Ch'um wear sequined costumes with full skirts that splay out dramatically as they execute fast turns and move quickly through changing group formations.

The Korean Traditional Performing Arts. PAN

A performance not frequently mentioned by staff at tourist information booths nor by hotel concierges, but that had brochures visibly displayed at these as well as other places, is PAN (the Korean word for an open space). Unlike the Walkerhill brochures which feature animated dancers in brightly coloured costumes and dynamic text, the subdued PAN brochure employs an artist's rendering, in the style of some old Korean paintings, of musicians and dancers, and text describing the performance simply as "Korean Traditional Performing Arts" and as "A CHANCE TO EXPERIENCE A UNIQUE AND ORIGINAL PERFORMANCE OF KOREAN PERCUSSION, MASK DANCE, AND VOCAL MUSIC [sic]."

PAN's ninety-minute performance takes place in a small theatre with a moderately-sized stage. Unlike the Walkerhill venue, no elaborate souvenir programme is available. Rather, the same brochure used for advertising purposes is distributed to audience members and concisely lists the sequence and items performed. The brochure describes the programme as "representative of Korean culture and arts" and as showcasing "Korean traditional song, dance, and music" in "a new performance genre". Unlike the Walkerhill show, there is no unifying narrative theme in PAN. The programme includes an invocation, "harmonic drumming", farmer's music, folk dance and songs, and masked dance. The brochure is available in English, Japanese, and Chinese, and, as at Walkerhill, brief descriptions of performance segments are projected on side walls in the same languages.

In a Korea Tourism Organization booklet describing a number of tourist-oriented performances, Kim Duk-soo, the show's founder and director, states the performance's "aim to modernize the country's traditional performing arts".

Note the absence of the kinds of aggrandising descriptors used for the Walkerhill performance, and the inclusion of "traditional" and "new performance genre", as well as the director's explicit desire to "modernize . . . traditional performing arts". Although not juxtaposed as a tension, the language clearly shows a focus on both the past and the present, or tradition and modernity.

In one portion of the final section of the performance, titled, in English, "Playing mask dance", four performers wearing masks take turns dancing, and talking and singing in Korean. There are many old masked dance-drama forms in Korea, and many are performed today in ways that seek historical accuracy. In PAN, one character from each of four different forms is presented, and all interact with each other. Although this mixture of characters from different regional forms is not common, the PAN performance's inclusion of spontaneous, humorous dialogue, as well as pantomime, is. Since much humour comes from the dialogue, however, and the dialogue is almost entirely in Korean, English-language-speaking audience members lose out on some of the full performance experience.

Despite adaptations in the performance, PAN's over-all grounding in the general nature of individual older forms, such as in the masked dance-drama segment as well as
in other portions of the programme, sets it apart from many of the kinds of things included in the Walkerhill show.

**The National Gugak Center**

The National Gugak Center (officially glossed this way in English) is a government-supported organisation that regularly presents performances for tourists on Saturdays. The ninety-minute programmes take place on a small stage at one of the Center's smaller theatres in its large complex.³

The Center's website states that its dance group "considers the preservation and propagation of traditional court dance among its prime objectives", and that the group "promotes the nature of Korean traditional dance with extensive performances that are based on ancient records" [National Gugak Center: website].

Unlike those for the Walkerhill and PAN programmes, the brochure for the Center's performance does not attract attention with colourful images of dance or dynamic words. Featuring a QR code overlaid on top of barely visible or identifiable dancers, and a simple indication of "Saturday Performance of Korean Music & Dance" in small print, I had overlooked the brochure on several occasions. Advertising descriptions for the Center's programmes generally avoid the superlative descriptions of the Walkerhill show, and are more straightforward, adding to the website descriptions that a "comprehensive overview of Korean performing arts" is offered in a programme of "culturally vital rituals and arts" (see <http://m.korea.net/english/Events/Performances/view?pageIndex=1&articleId=4392> (accessed 2012 May 20). Note the exclusion of references to creativity, and the focus, instead, specifically on the past, as well as the indication of the contemporary vitality of rituals and arts of the past.

The Center grew out of the performing arts institute originally attached to the royal court. Today it is a government organisation with a specific mandate to perpetuate the court traditions. Its tourist-oriented performances are based primarily on reconstructions of old practices as represented in historical documents and as remembered by senior practitioners and their students, despite sometimes differing views of what constitutes accuracy or authenticity of these sources. Each programme includes a different selection of music and dance from the court repertoire as well as from genres that evolved in the twentieth century but that are now considered traditional by many Koreans.⁷ The Center's tourist performances, however, do not engage in the kinds of modern interpretations seen in the Walkerhill or PAN programmes (other than the occasional use of a smoke machine).

In each of these examples, dance has been placed in venues specifically intended for tourists, and re-placed in publicly available advertising for these venues. Advertisements for two of the venues contain language that places the performances temporally, emphasising originality and both the past and the present, with one of these using dynamic descriptors, and only one of the three focuses specifically on the past. Performances at the three venues exemplify the extent to which older forms have simply been placed in new settings or have been re-placed by adaptations or completely new creations.

**A tourist poster**

I now turn to one example of a different kind of placement of dance in relation to tourists. Each year the Korea Tourism Organization produces several English-language posters intended to attract visitors to the country rather than to a particular dance event, as in the advertising described thus far. An analysis of the significant number of such posters
that include dance images is a project for another time, but I comment briefly here on several aspects of one from 2008 that encapsulates issues that emerge in what I have described thus far.8

The 2008 poster includes the phrase "beautiful seungmu", the photograph of a person, and the phrase "Korea's oldest dance". (See <http://asiaenglish.visitkorea.or.kr/ena/AK/AK_EN_1_6_5.jsp?folderid=17837> (accessed 2012 May 20).

Seungmu is the name of a dance that has become iconic of Korea in many contexts. The person in the photograph wears a costume and strikes a pose commonly seen in Seungmu today. Although the dance is based on a quite old one performed by Buddhist monks in conjunction with temple rituals, Seungmu was originally choreographed some time in the 1920s for performance by highly trained dancers on a concert stage. Hence, it is not at all comparable in age to dances of the court and those done at various rituals, which evolved centuries ago, and, therefore, hardly qualifies as Korea's oldest dance.

Since the average tourist might not identify the figure in the poster as a dancer, let alone a dancer of Seungmu, and would most likely not be aware of the historical inaccuracy suggested by the wording, it is quite likely the explanation for inclusion of the figure and the wording in the poster lies in business principles of marketing.9 Here, as well as in the brochures advertising performances, the goal is to attract people to something.10 Therefore, consideration must be given to what the creators assume will be attractive and inviting to visitors, both visually and verbally. In many brochures advertising performances, as well as in the 2008 poster, vibrant colours, and often a sense of movement, play important roles in the design. Likewise, dynamic phrases, such as "spell-binding" and "breathtaking", and sometimes misleading or inaccurate claims, are included.

As discussed in much literature, tourists are often enticed by claims of authenticity and tradition, which are generally associated with age, as well as with something exotic, or that which is deemed significantly different from the tourist's own background and culture (see, for example, Daniel 1996). This easily leads to exaggeration and commodification of difference. Hence, using such verbiage as "authentic", "traditional", and "oldest dance", together with images that emphasise the foreign, would be desirable for business purposes. I suggest these descriptions are also indicative of ways that at least some Koreans choose to place themselves in relation to others. In particular, they reflect a concern with the uniqueness of Korean tradition, however, that is being defined and by whomever, that exists simultaneously with an interest in being modern.11

A number of writings on the commoditisation of artistic enterprises, of which tourist settings would be one, point to a "diminished authenticity [and] a limited if not absent sense of creativity" (Daniel 1996:782, referring to such authors as Appadurai, E. Cohen, and Graburn). In Korea, authenticity, if defined as a replication of something that existed at a particular time in a distant past, is sacrificed in both some tourist performances and some advertising. At the same time, however, an explicit concern with creativity and modernisation has been fostered in both.

**Conclusion**

In concluding, I return to my overriding focus: issues of identity, including the ways in which people present and represent themselves to others, and concepts of tradition. What emerges from this study is that these issues are inextricably intertwined as dance is placed and re-placed in tourist contexts in Korea.

The choice to emphasise tradition or to emphasise both the past and the present is conspicuous in the language used to describe performances as well as in the content of the
performances. There is a desire to represent the country and its dance as both distinctively Korean and as a participant in being new and modern, a concern recently advocated by the chairman of Korea's Presidential Council on Nation Branding, who described the government's desire to "actively promote [Korean culture] to the world", and asserted that the perfect "package" "folded" together "the spirit of innovation based on traditions" [Lee Bae-yong, quoted in Park Min-young 2012]. While some idea of tradition is invoked in both advertising and performance, there are differences in what is put forward as tradition. And, what is new may be borrowed from another culture, as in Walkerhill's inclusion of break dancing, or adapted from something old, as in the masked dance-drama included in the PAN show.

But a question emerges as to whether marketing and presentational strategies should supercede veracity. The multiple layers of placing and re-placing dances of Korea's past in the context of tourism often demonstrate varying levels of accuracy in what is presented and represented. But one might also consider whether tourist performances should be simply entertaining diversions, and hence are immune to such concerns.

As dance is placed and re-placed in tourist contexts in Korea, differences occur in what is selected to identify the country and its dance, and in how tradition is defined. These differences raise issues to consider in reconciling the concerns of business and the integrity of dance.

Endnotes
Text has been modified slightly to account for illustrations in the conference presentation that are not included here.

1. There are many ways in which the researcher can also be considered a tourist. Here I define a tourist as someone who travels to Korea for leisure/pleasure or who adds leisure/pleasure activities to a business trip, or an ex-pat in residence who pursues such activities.


3. The theatre is in an extremely high-end hotel located a considerable distance from downtown Seoul. Unless otherwise stated, quoted and paraphrased descriptions are taken from printed brochures and souvenir programmes.

4. The theatre is in a community centre in a residential area near downtown Seoul.

5. The PAN characters interact with the audience, as in previous times, but by trying to get them to vote, through applause, for the best performer, and hence the best type of masked dance-drama.

6. The complex lies at a considerable distance from Seoul's downtown area.

7. Over the years the Center began to include genres that originated in village settings in its tourist performances.

8. For an analysis, which includes but does not focus on dance, of Korean tourist posters during the 1970s and 1980s and information on the competition process through which they are chosen, see Kim Young-Hoon 2003. For a discussion of tourist posters and other advertising relating to indigenous dance in Mexico see Hellier-Tinoco 2011.

9. Based on MacCannell [1976:40-48], describing Seungmu as Korea's "oldest dance" could be a device to contextualise and elevate it. In this case, however, the contextualising is historically inaccurate.

10. For discussions of marketing theories and strategies related to tourism, see Walle 1998. For a discussion of tensions between business and the arts as manifest in Indonesia see chapter 7 of Hughes-Freeland 2008.

11. Buckland notes the powers of nostalgia and exoticism in tourism, and that "the historicity of the past is denied to the audience since all that is represented to them is a piece of theatre with no ethnographic context" [Buckland 2006:14,15].

12. The journal Téoros puts forward the idea of "heritage inflation" in conjunction with tourism (see Drouin 2011:website). Does "verbal inflation" (my term) occur in the interests of marketing and "performative
inflation” (my term) occur in performance as older dances are adapted and transformed for tourist venues? And, are such transformations different, and if so, how, from those that occur more organically over time? That the issue of accuracy, or "truth", in advertising is of concern among at least some advertising businesses is suggested by one company's self-described credo: "Truth Well Told" (see Eu 2012, and Alter 1994.)

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Tvrtko Zebec
Zagreb, Croatia

**IRISH MAIDEN – CROATIAN MAIDEN WITH AN IRISHMAN: IRISH DANCING IN CROATIA**

During the last half of the decade with an insight into the celebration of St Patrick's Day in Zagreb, one can observe a stronger popularity of Irish culture in general in Croatia, particularly thanks to the *Irish Maiden* – a dance troupe with mostly Croatian members. The leader of the group, an Irishman, settled in Zagreb, and realised his career through the popularisation of his personal and national identity in unity with his wife's Croatian and more locally, Istrian identity. As expert dancers, musicians, teachers, architects, art historians, web masters and consultants for different aspects of cultural production, their lifestyle inspires a number of young members, particularly of the dance group as well as a lot of other users of their ideas, knowledge, and creativity. How can good relations, sympathies between two different nations and cultures be realised and strengthened through the personal contact, life and activities of individuals? How can individuals contextualise place and time for dancing and gathering? How is dance accepted in the "new" community?

**Keywords:** Croatia; Irish Maiden; Irish dancing; Paul O'Grady; migrations

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**Dance and migration studies**

The panel, "Dance Life in the Diaspora", held in Monghidoro in 2004 by the Sub-Study Group, "Dance: Migration and Diaspora", was chaired by Christine Glauser with contributions by Elsie Dunin, Helene Eriksen, Marie-Pierre Gibert, Yvonne Hunt, Andriy Nahachewsky, and Judy Van Zile. Contributions regarded the main idea of diaspora community dances and dance lives: Iranian and Afghani cases in Los Angeles, questions on cultural ownership in Hawaii among different diaspora communities, Greek diaspora in the USA and in Switzerland, Ukrainians in Canada, Yemenite Jews as double diaspora in Israel, and Croatian celebrations of the Sveti Vlaho/St Blaise event within different dance contexts on three continents (in California, in Lima-Peru and in Dubrovnik, Croatia). These examples gave us a lot of information about dancing within different diaspora contexts and at the same time they presented many other questions about dance contexts connected to internal migrations or other kinds of influences on dance as a result of individual or collective migrations in general (see Dunin; Wharton 2008:284–289).

The Congress of Research in Dance Conference held in November, 2007, at Barnard College, Columbia University, New York City, and titled, "Choreographies of Migration", was organised by Paul Scoliery. He wrote about dance studies and migration studies as interdisciplinary fields interested in theories and methods for understanding patterns of individual and mass human movements across the world's stage, the policies governing human im/mobility, and the social experiences that such movements engender [Scolieri 2008:v]. He also stated that dance and migration studies share common ground: the "dance world" is a nomadic one, constituted by a mobile set of performers, choreographers, teachers and audiences in search of economic prosperity, political asylum, religious freedom, and/or artistic liberty. And, "the arrangement of bodily movement in time and space – choreography, as such, might serve as an ideal critical lens for understanding experiences of migration" [Scolieri 2008:vi].
St Patrick's Day in Zagreb – the first idea about
On different occasions since 2006 I have heard about the celebration of St Patrick's Day in Zagreb. I thought immediately that it would be a great opportunity to come to a conference in Ireland to speak about the event. St Patrick's Day celebrations in Croatia were new for me. Croatia is officially an 80% Catholic nation but has never before celebrated St Patrick's Day – there are many other "universal" Catholic saints, and, of course, some national, but never before an Irish national saint, such as St Patrick.

I was wondering who started the Irish celebration in Zagreb – because I knew that an Irish community in Croatia did not exist (except for 12 or 15 people in total) [Skačić 2011:28]. As a small nation we always had sympathies for Ireland and I first thought that similarities between the two countries were, in fact, the main reason for creating a St Patrick's Day event in Zagreb.

Irish–Croatian cultural links – reality or Croatian imagination?
The Croatia-Ireland Society was established in Zagreb in 2002. As in many other countries a group of people in Croatia wanted to promote cultural and scientific links between Ireland and Croatia. In the past, these links have been mostly made through literature and poetry, and personalities like Gerard Manley Hopkins (an Englishman in Ireland, Jesuit and a professor of Greek), Antun Gustav Matoš (a well-known Croatian literate), both from the end of nineteenth century, contemporary poets Desmond Egan, Mile Pešorda, and some others as well. As one of the most theoretically argued and researched corpuses, Irish literature has a lot of similarities with Croatian literature and can serve as a strong impulse for further research into Croatian literature and comparative works (see Gjurgjan; Klepač 2007).

Croatia also has other similarities with Ireland. Catholicism is the dominant religion in both countries and we share some historical similarities and a strong wish for national sovereignty and an independent state. We have an equal number of people (about 4.5 million), with a huge diaspora and, of course, the same contemporary national passion for sports, beer, lively and temperamental popular music, not a very prosperous economic situation, although that has changed in recent years, a high degree of Euro scepticism (possibly in connection with similar historical experiences), and recently strong political and diplomatic contacts together with problems in corruption in internal politics. This can be presented as a general view on Irish-Croatian relations that most of the ordinary people in Croatia would notice. No one can deny that some similarities exist, but by discussing them with Paul O'Grady, an Irishman in Croatia, it becomes clear that these similarities are more likely to be in the Croatian imagination rather than a fact accepted by the Irish side.

Paul O'Grady and the Irish Maiden – life story and professional life
Irishman, Paul O'Grady, after a well-paid but stressful career as an architect in Dublin, decided to come to Croatia, which held fond memories of a previous student summer exchange. He started teaching English at a major foreign language school in Zagreb but after waiting three months for his salary he realised that the unpredictability that he found seductive, could also be infuriating. He worked then as a journalist for the Voice of Croatia (Glas Hrvatske) at the National Broadcasting Radio. So, how did he become a dance teacher? A former student and worker at the Irish Colleges, O'Grady was playing guitar with a band in Godot, a Zagreb pub. As the band took a break and put some traditional music on the pub stereo, he remembers a group of locals started 'something approximating to Irish dancing'.
I showed them the *Walls of Limerick* or something, and they really went for it. That was around October 2005 and, after a few months, we had enough interest for a regular class" [McLaughlin 2011].

Over the last six years more than 500 people have learned *set dancing* with his dance group Irish Maiden in two cities (Zagreb and Pula). In the meantime, he married a Croatian, Istrian girl, and is presently living with her and their son in her home village on the idyllic Adriatic peninsula. They started a business called Irski Studio, that combines design, business coaching, organising weddings for foreign, especially Irish couples, and helping co-ordinate Ireland's role as a partner country for the Motovun Film Festival, one of the region's finest. He is also one of the founders of the non-profit and humanitarian association for handicapped children. This charity role he inherited from his mother who was the founder of the Irish Pilgrimage Trust (IHCPT – Irish Handicapped Children's Pilgrimage Trust) that every year at Easter, travels to Lourdes with a group of young people with special needs. He is a very versatile person, and at the same time a very modest and humble one, saying: "It's very, very good to be Irish in Croatia. There is definitely an affinity for Irish people and Croats see many similarities in our histories. I am not fantastically talented at anything I do, but the Irish angle certainly makes my business concepts more marketable" [McLaughlin 2011].

**Development of the St Patrick's Day festival in Zagreb**

There are about ten Irish pubs in Croatia's capital Zagreb, that has a population of around one million people. Usually Irish pubs are places for promotion of Irish beer, food and Irish music. Even before 2006, these pubs were places where people in Zagreb could hear more Irish popular music bands or learn something about St Patrick's Day. Sean Honan, president of the Irish-Croatian Cultural Society, decided to run a St Patrick's Day festival in Zagreb. He asked Paul, who was involved in the Irish scene as a musician and dance instructor, for help [Skračić 2011:26]. They put the first festival together in 2006 at Zrinjevac, a nice green park-square in the middle of the Zagreb walking zone. It was a small festival, running for just one day. In 2009, the city of Zagreb that sponsored the Festival from its beginnings asked the organisers to move out from the city centre because it had gotten too big. That year over fifteen thousand people attended. O'Grady thinks that Croatia is absolutely awash with Irish entertainers who are not actually Irish but mostly Croatian. "There are about 13 to 14 active bands playing Irish music, from punk to pub songs, from traditional to folk. The quality is actually very high and there is a very healthy scene here. Usually we have a number of artists coming over from Ireland, and in Europe now, Zagreb has one of the biggest festivals. We've got the best of the whole region here from Slovenia and Serbia and other countries as well" [Skračić 2011:26].
Irish dancing in Croatia – Irish Maiden

When he started to teach in the Godot pub, Paul taught in a simple way, with a few words, and dancers would catch the moves and the steps as much as they could. As they said: "You can't make a mistake. Just follow the others!" Irish Maiden is Croatia's first Irish dance troupe whose members are mostly Croatians. As they say on their website: "The main aim is to have fun while learning to Irish dance and meet new people along the way." The group meets once a week for classes where all are welcome, two left feet or not! Whenever possible they dance outside of the dancing workshops and even better when to live music. They continue with: "Beginners are always welcome, as we all were once (and often feel we still are). Come join the party, or as we say in the Irish language: Ceád Míle Fáilte or One Hundred Thousand Welcomes."

The dancing repertoire of Irish Maiden is mostly set dancing, which is perfect for sharing good vibrations in good company while learning about the Irish culture. Some older members of the group became co-leaders and they often went to Ireland to attend dancing festivals such as the Willie Clancy Festival and learn more during summer schools about traditional step, céili dancing from Irish dance masters, and then teach beginners in Irish Maiden. In 2010 two young women from Irish Maiden formed their own dancing studio and called it Celtic Fantasy, where they started teaching Irish modern step dance.

During St Patrick's Day Festival (2012) in Zagreb, a group of dancers from the Ozana Association performed as well. Ozana is a social-humanitarian organisation, founded in order to improve the quality of life of physically and mentally challenged people. The organisation is currently taking care of 10 children, aged from 3 to 7 years, as well as of about 30 young people and adults with disabilities. When they looked for a dance teacher who could work with them, Paul O'Grady found time and energy to get them started on learning Irish set dancing so they can perform in front of audiences!

Celtic Rhythm Belgrade – Marko Mićić professional dancer in Kolo

Celtic Rhythm is an Irish dance troupe founded in 2002 by the professional dancer and choreographer Marko Mićić, former dancer in the Serbian professional folk music and dance ensemble, Kolo, in Belgrade. Marko started his Irish dancing career at the age
of 17, and he is currently one of the dancers in the new show Dance of Desire and Mystical Dance of Ireland from Ballybunion (County Kerry, Ireland). His professional dance career profiled his dance troupe in Belgrade in different ways. Following the Riverdance and Lord of the Dance spectacles, his approach to Irish dance has been different from Paul's in Zagreb. On the Celtic Rhythm website you can read,

> Starting from the basic traditional steps and dances, following programmes developed by the best teachers of Irish dance, course participants are gradually introduced to the techniques of the Irish step dance, the most attractive of all disciplines. To all those who share passion and love for Irish dance, there is a chance of becoming part of the troupe's first team, after an intensive trial period.⁷

The first team has been performing in Zagreb’s St Patrick's Day Festival for three years now.

**Irish dance school in Ljubljana, Slovenia – Joan McIntyre**

Somehow, parallel to Irish Maiden in Zagreb, Joan McIntyre who is Irish and has been living in Slovenia for a number of years, started the Irish Dance School in Ljubljana.⁸ She danced as a child, then hung up her dancing shoes while focusing on a career in business. Qualified in human resources and training, she has spent many years as a trainer/teacher in business/schools both in Slovenia and in many other European countries. Her love for dancing motivated her to open the Irish Dance School in Ljubljana in 2005, starting with a 'trial' class to check the viability of such a project. Joan was delighted, but not surprised, to discover that Slovenians have a wonderful curiosity and interest in cultures other than their own, including Irish music and dance. Her troupe came to perform on St Patrick's Day in Zagreb as well.

**Conclusion**

What can we say when we come back to the theoretical question about how choreographies influence understandings? (Scolieri 2008:vi). Observing St Patrick's Day Festival in Zagreb we can recognise different approaches to Irish dancing, according to dance masters or teachers, their profiles and interests, their personalities, ways of life and philosophies. Even without the Irish diaspora communities such as Boston, New York, and London, Irish and non-Irish professional dancers, living partly in their own country and partly in Ireland, all make Irish dancing popular and present among other nations and countries. Their personal abilities, and the circumstances in which they live, give them strength to teach and share their knowledge of Irish dancing in places where they live, sometimes even making their living through Irish dancing. Love and passion for Irish music, dance and culture, is their personal and free choice, the same as it is for all those members who dance in their groups. It is encouraging and helpful in understanding the Other - foreigner, neighbour, disabled or different.

Returning to my first example, not only did a Croatian maiden become a mother of a small Istrian Irishman – but an Irish father became not only a father of his own son but a friend with a father's love and care for a number of young Croatian Irish dancers and people with learning disabilities in the Ozana dancing group, who improved their spatial and social confidence through dancing. And finally, dance groups from Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia, performing Irish dances, get together at the St Patrick's Day Festival. Good relationships, sympathies between different nations and cultures are realised here through a common interest – Irish culture. Those relations are strengthened through personal
contacts, lives and activities of individuals. Individuals in these examples of Irish dancing at the St Patrick's Day Festival in Zagreb contextualise place and time for dance in their own personal way through different genres and types of Irish dancing. It is amazing how Irish lively music and dance can be mobile, nomadic (Scolieri 2008), and accepted in completely "new" communities among different generations, performers and audiences.

Figure 2. St Patrick's Day Festival– poster, free open air festival, Zagreb 2012

Endnotes
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Skračić, Branimir.  
Roundtable
Egil Bakka, Gediminas Karoblis, Siri Mæland, Marit Stranden

HOW PERFORMER-SPECTATOR RELATIONSHIP AFFECTS PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PLACE DISTINCTION

The Programme for Dance Studies at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) has received funding for a project entitled "Performer–audience interaction. A potential for dance art?" from the Norwegian Artistic Research Programme. The project started in November 2011, and will last until December, 2013. Performer-audience interaction is a potential which seems to be particularly applicable and near at hand for folk dance. However, we feel that traditional dance in performer-audience relationship would have to be something more than participatory folk dance if it was to have a potential as dance art. For this conference we have put together a panel to address the question of how the performer-spectator relationship can affect a definition of place as being private or public. In our pre-project choreographic experiment we found that our experiences and feelings of the ranges between private and public are decisive for how performer audience interaction can be implemented.

Keywords: Norway; performer-spectator relationship; private; public; dance art; dance place

Introduction
The Programme for Dance Studies at Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) has received funding for a project entitled "Performer–audience interaction. A potential for dance art?" from the Norwegian Artistic Research Programme. The project started in November 2011, and lasts until December, 2013. The first phase of the project is focused on the various theoretical questions and approaches related to the performer–spectator relationship.

For this conference we put together a panel to address the topic of performer–spectator relationship as it is related to theme 1 of the conference – "Dance and Place". We focus, in particular, on the question of how the performer–spectator relationship can affect a definition of place as being private or public.

We look at different constituted relationships ranging from ones where the participants at a dance party change roles between being spectators and performers to the unchanging relationship in a theatre. After the so-called performing arts turn in the 1960s it has become more and more obvious that there is a two-way relationship between place and performativity (Fischer-Lichte 2008). On the one hand, it is obvious that a place, such as a small private room, a community house, a theatre stage or a sport stadium is an unavoidable prerequisite for choreographing, arranging and realising a dance event. On the other hand, and this is our special focus in this panel, performing acts, for example theatrical or social dancing, might strongly affect the way place is perceived and explicated.

In his fundamental study, The structural transformation of the public sphere (1962), Jürgen Habermas argued that one of the most fundamental elements of Western democracy – the public sphere – has been established not by constructing public places in terms of architecture, but by instituting public virtues in the public places by means of certain performance acts. One could argue, that performing interpretations in terms of dancing are built into architecture beforehand – they are actually tasks given to an architect.
Moreover, places that are meant to function in one way can be transformed and function for quite different purposes not only by applying various props, but by simple performance acts. For example, the place into which a chain of excited dancers move, by the very act of intrusion during a party, will become a public space.

Likewise, the "closing" of a dance event in a community house makes the place outside (the street, the yard, the forest) into a private place, into which some participants might want to shrink away from the party. How, for example, would one define backstage in the broadest sense? Is it only the place, which is behind the stage? Or is it the place where performers make themselves ready for their presentation, or in which various stage props are manipulated? In such a case the performance act "takes over" the architectural design again. This is because, we claim, that it is the performer–spectator relationship that decides where the stage and where the backstage is.

The artistic project and its aims

The intention of this project is to search for, test and develop techniques for performer–audience interaction in folk dance.

Folk dance is a new field of Norwegian dance art, searching for a profile, which includes participatory elements. Performer–audience interaction is a potential which seems to be particularly applicable and near at hand for folk dance. An artistically viable break through would represent a crucial innovation for folk dance as dance art, particularly if the interaction can link well to good experiences of the participatory, which is so important for folk dance. Sigurd Johan Heide, a folk dancer and choreographer, and one of the main initiators of this performance project claims: "The common stage is a hinder for the folk dance. Folk dancing should be felt, touched, danced and seen from close. It should not be seen from a distance of 70 meters as it is done in ordinary dance theatre where one separates the stage and audience" [Heide; Mæland 2012:email].

One of the questions is: Can one find techniques that can reduce the performer–audience split and enable all participants in an artistic event experience how one's own and other's movements merge and are shared. We also ask, whether members of the audience can be enabled to participate through moving voluntarily, with pleasure and in more or less skilled ways together with the performers.

Our work environment is the tight cooperation between two institutions: The Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance and the Programme for Dance Studies at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. The cooperating institutions thus integrate research, academic, artistic education and safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The present project combines all these factors into a work of research applied for artistic purposes. The intention is to search for techniques of performer–audience interaction in folk dance as an artistic genre.

There is also a political dimension since the Ministry of Culture of Norway presently considers including folk dance in the dance arts. The label and status of arts and professionalism is needed to obtain funding.

The Ministry of Culture presented a report on dance arts in May 2012, named "Dans i hele landet" (Dance all over the country). The report discusses status, challenges and strategies for further development of professional dance in Norway 2012–2015. Dance art includes a broad spectrum of dance genres. Classical ballet and contemporary dance are the expressions that are most often seen as professional dance art in Norway. According to the report, there exists, however, also stage dance expressions with a basis in other dance traditions, not least various kinds of folk dance and urban dance styles such as hip hop and street dance. A question opens a debate about what kind of understanding
What is dance art?

We will try to address this question by referring to semiotic theory of meaning, communication and emotion proposed by the Lithuanian French scholar, Algirdas Julien Greimas. This we will do for several reasons. First, Greimas explicitly applied his theory to dance even though his approach was very abstract. However, due to the marginal situation of dance studies, any explicit reflections on dance made by a famous scholar from the more established field of Humanities must be thoroughly considered by dance scholars. Second, in the 1960s Greimas was in touch with several young researchers representing an emerging group of East European dance scholars within the framework of the ICTM (Proca-Ciortea; Giurchescu 1968). He also borrowed some findings from them in his article. Therefore, there is good reason and occasion to remember Greimas at the 27th symposium celebrating the fiftieth year of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology (Giurchescu and Torp 1991).

Greimas sees dance as a subclass of a larger class of phenomena, which he defines as gestural practice. In an analysis of ludic gestural practice (dance as play or game), Greimas points to three widely known types of dancing – sacred, ludic and aesthetic – and supposes that "a semiotic dichotomy will help to consolidate the previously a priori classification" [Greimas 1987:38]. We need to stop here and make some very important clarifications. Why is Greimas so focused on dichotomy? And what kind of dichotomy does he propose for this occasion? Greimas builds his theory of meaning on the Saussurean framework (which was also used for the structural analysis of dance) and on the basic conviction that all varieties of meanings can be reduced to binary contradictions/contrasts of one or another kind. In this way he obviously follows the paths of continental philosophy and semiotics. According to Greimas, meaningful triplets or quartets can, nevertheless, be logically reduced to certain interplay of basic duality. In the 1960s, Greimas strongly believed that like the language of computers – each meaningful detail can be encoded in 0 and 1. As a criterion of such contrast and the basis for classification of dance types Greimas chooses the aspect of communication. Such choice is by no means accidental since at that time the concept of communication was brought to the fore by emerging communication and information sciences.

Greimas distinguishes three types of dancing in a schematic tripartite table, which includes two extremes and one medium. The medium is the place in which certain confusion and co-presence of both extremes happens. One could speculate whether it is not the case that all dance phenomena are to be placed in the medium and that extremes do not exist. This, however, does not destroy the model; it just means that we need to consider all phenomena as closer or further from one or other extreme. The criterion for the construction of extremes in Greimas's model is communication. It means that Greimas suggests to place in one extreme the fullness of communication and in the other – non-communication or total nonexistence of it. The latter he otherwise calls transformation as opposed to communication. "Archaic" dance, for example, intends to transform dancers rather than communicate a message to viewers. In a paradoxical way, this kind of dancing is non-communicative. Such a view is supported both by common sense and by practitioners themselves considering that a ritual in action is not a spectacle for observation. It is important to stress that Greimas here has in mind a narrow meaning of communication related to the widely circulating theory of communication based on the so-called input-output model. The model includes the sender (of information), the receiver should be used as a basis for cultural policies on professional dance art in years to come, and for opening the door for folk dance.
(of information) and the contents (of information). In the case of "archaic" dance, according to Greimas, the aim is not to establish communication between the sender and the receiver by "channeling" certain content of information, but to involve participants of a ritual dance in a transformative action. In contrast, the scenic dance primarily focuses on the communication of a message, even if this communication might involve very strong participatory or transformative aspirations as, for example, the growing field of performance studies shows (Fischer-Lichte 2008). Finally, according to Greimas, there are (regarding the marker of communication of the message) intermediary forms of dance, in particular, folk dancing or social dancing, ambiguously standing "in between" communicating (or presenting) the message and transforming participant [Greimas 1987: 38–39].

Figure 1. Classification of dance art based on the Greimas model.
(Graph by Gediminas Karoblis)

Now we can try to adjust Greimas's model to our questions: first, how might it affect our understanding of what is dance art; second, how can it help us to interpret private and public placements of dance.

Following the Greimas model we can say that classical ballet developed in a direction where it was more and more focused on aesthetic rather than ludic (Figure 1). It means that participatory involvement of audiences were less and less important in contrast to the communication of a message. However, it is undeniable that classical ballet preserved very strong feelings of playfulness. This playfulness toward audiences was less and less explicit and wrapped in the representation of a storyline or a dancer on stage. Therefore, classical ballet became a form of dance art, which can be defined as playful representation.

Modern dance art resisted both aspects of the former: its playfulness and focus on representation. It started from a critical attitude towards society, towards established dance forms. It did not start in the dimension of ludic, but immediately immersed itself into the aesthetics of modern art. In its first stages, a search for the purest aesthetics of dance, modern dance art soon moved away from the usual performer-spectator relationship towards non-communicative self-engagement and privacy, immersion in everyday movements, and even a search for a quasi-sacred dimension, as if rebounding
back from conventional aesthetics and trying to reconnect to "the future of ritual" (Schechner 1993).

Where can we place folk dance as art in this model? During the twentieth century circulating staged versions of folk dance art were quite obvious imitations of classical ballet. Starting from the Moiseyev Dance Company all similar dance ensembles from many different countries interpreted folk dance art as playful representation of the latter on stage. Naturally enough, this balletisation of folk dance art was strongly criticised and strongly defended (Shay 2002). On the other hand, one can suppose another development of folk dance as art, which starts in the dimension of ludic, but develops in a similar way as modern dance art does. Instead of trying to communicate folk dance as a message on stage, it aspires to transformative powers of it and approaches audiences in a very different way. One could take, for example, the transformative energy of African dance practised in some Christian communities. There are many more examples, including those folk dance art forms that are spread worldwide and represent long traditions of carnivalesque dance art (Bakhtin 1972). Such approaches could be defined by the concept of 'communal dance art'.

Now, we can summarise this discussion of Greimas's model by asking the question: How can the performer-spectator relationship affect definition of place as being private or public? As is obvious from the model, as well as from the performing arts tradition, communication is the decisive factor in setting certain places as private or public. Public places are meant to facilitate communication. Such are, for example, municipal or parliament squares, train stations or airports, shopping centres, and last but not least, theatres. A flash mob by its very nature is tied to such places and makes them explicit in performance (Gore 2010). However, we should not forget that it is not the place that defines performance or communication, but the other way around. A live reality show from a private room by the very act of communication makes the room public! In contrast, private places are places of concentrated non-communication and intimacy. By this we mean not only the detachment of a person or a group of people to a sacred place to perform a certain ritual. Even in crowded places – such as shopping centres – one can find a corner for one's own private performance or a dance, which may not be seen by others. In Japan, such a place would be called sakariba (Karoblis; Milkov 2010). Another example could be a carnival or a masque dance. Although performing in a conventionally public place masked dancers retain their privacy thus introducing into dance a strange element of non-communication. Edward Gordon Craig, however, imagined the ideal theatre exactly like this (Craig 1911).

**Private and public: Nordic standard assumptions**

We think that our experiences and feelings of the ranges between private and public will be decisive for how performer audience interaction can be implemented. This is why we want to discuss the private/public qualities related to dancing. The following illustration tries to propose some standard ways of experiencing aspects of private and public. What, assumptions do people, for instance, in the Nordic countries have about what is typical for private as compared with public spaces (see chart in Figure 2).

Avoid observation: The most distinctive types of private spaces are spaces where most individuals do not wish to be observed by others, and also can avoid that, such as the toilet, the shower or the bedroom. Such spaces are used for behaviour, that is not expected to be performed in public, or which is even banned in public places.

Control access: In private places a person can control access and decide whom to allow into her space. One can of course allow one's partner or children into the most
private, but one also exercises the control on whom to invite to one's home or the restaurant table and with whom to share a private sphere on the dance floor.

Control physical closeness: The degree of physical closeness accepted in private and public context is different. The more private the space is the more acceptable is physical closeness. The creation of a private sphere in public surroundings can allow for certain kinds of physical closeness, such as a kissing or dancing couple. A dancing couple, however, may not have the feeling of the private sphere if they do not connect. Likewise, many people in a small lift may feel that the physical closeness gives a tension between public and private. In such cases embarrassment and even fear arises if a stranger gets too close to you.

Trust increases feelings of privacy: The more trust you have in the people with whom you interact and/or who surround you, the more the feeling of privacy one may expect. Being with people you distrust may make you behave more as you would in public.

Intrusion on public anonymity: Being part of large groups in public spaces allows individuals to feel privacy or perhaps rather anonymity by disappearing into the masses and avoiding attention. If someone addresses you individually in a way that draws attention, it will be an intrusion on your anonymity, and change your feelings as to where you are in relation to the range between private and public.

Acting in a professional capacity: Professionals who interact with clients in public, such as policemen, teachers, actors or lawyers will have various kinds of problems when acting in a professional capacity in a typically private context.

Interacting with unknown people: Addressing or interacting with unknown people is a typical task for many professions and signal a public context. In a private context addressing strangers may be seen as inappropriate. It may signal a wish to establish a private relationship, which according to old etiquette should be met with reserve and even suspicion.

Many if not all of these mechanisms may be at play when an audience is challenged into public interaction with performers. They would need to be understood and related to in processes of experimentation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Private</th>
<th>&lt; Nordic standard assumption &gt;</th>
<th>Public</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>&lt; Can avoid being observed</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>&lt; Can control access to oneself</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>&lt; Physical closeness to those present</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>&lt; Have trust to those with you</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>&lt; Being addressed as individual</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>&lt; Acting in professional capacity</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>&lt; Interacting with unknown people</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. Private and public: Nordic standard assumptions
Erving Goffman on private and public

For elaborating the private and public perspectives, we turned to Erving Goffman and his study of social life. He claims that when we present ourselves in the presence of others we become self-aware:

When an individual appears in the presence of others, there will usually be some reason for him to mobilize his activity so that it will convey an impression to others which it is in his interest to convey [Goffman 1959:15–16].

Goffman uses theatrical performance and the principles from dramaturgy as a metaphor for studying the framework of social life, which makes him even more applicable to our example. He distinguishes between front and back regions – as on stage, or backstage. The front region- could in some degree be linked to our concept of public space, and the back region to private space. Goffman defines a region as a place within certain barriers. Barriers could be imagined or real. The regions, front and back, define our behaviour. The front region is the place where the performance is given. Here people make efforts to maintain and embody certain standards of appearance. We could distinguish between politeness, manners in conversation, talking/gestural interchanges and decorum, which could be moral or instrumental justifications for most standards that are maintained. In the front region we would make sure that our activity embodies certain standards. We would "guard" ourselves, and would want to give the best impression. The back region is defined as the place where we feel "not watched"; our language and behaviour becomes more informal (Goffman 1959). For example, it would be acceptable for us and for others to snore and sleep at home, but not in a conference. The same place could also change from being the back region to becoming the front and the back again. In our own house we usually behave informally, we allow ourselves to relax and express feelings and thoughts in a free way. But if we invite our new colleagues or collaborators at work to our home, then we probably change our behaviour, our manners and decorum, and our self-awareness would increase.

It is not that we have different, or split personalities in different situations or occasions, it is more that we, in Goffman's words, need to have a "distinction between an individual or person and a capacity" [Goffman 1974:128]. A person may have different capacities in different situations and for different occasions.

Dance competition: an analysis of private and public places

In a performer–audience interaction the people in the audience change between private and public space and intermediate phases. Although this is uncommon in the role of a dance spectator, these shifts are experienced in many other situations. I will now analyse private and public places for some dance venues occurring during national and regional competitions of Norwegian traditional music and dance called "kappleik" ("Kappleik" 2013; "Landskappleiken" 2013). The competitions started for traditional music in 1886 and have included traditional dance since 1933 (Mæland 1973; Okstad 2007; Ranheim 1998). The dance is moved from the traditional social dance floor onto a stage. The performance is evaluated by three adjudicators by criteria: technical skills, tradition and relationship to music. The adjudicators are usually experienced dancers so in the next competition the roles can be exchanged with the dancers. The ideal of today is to show the local dance as it would appear on the dance floor. Although moved to a public space in a front region, the dancers perform like being in a private situation only
communicating with each other and the musician(s) (chosen by the dancers). In this way, the competitions are probably changing the dance less than competitions of traditional dances in other countries like the Irish step dance competitions. In one example, Audun and Silje Sølvberg dance the old couple dance "parhalling" from Dalsfjorden (see Rffsentret 2005:YouTube). The dance is a performance on stage in a big sports hall with several hundred people as spectators (Figure 3). You can see the adjudicators seated to the left on the stage, and the fiddler, Arne M. Sølvberg, to the right. To help create a private place in the public space, the dancers are illuminated and the rest of the hall has dim light. The dancers show a playful entertaining dance provoking a response from the audience, but the dancers only communicate in the private room while dancing. The stage can also be centred in the middle of the room, as when Ulf-Arne Johannessen danced the solo dance "halling" (see Johannessen and Mjelva 2009:YouTube) at "landskappleiken" in 2009. This dance has a level of 'show off' and the dancer receives a lot of feedback from the spectators. Still he stays mainly in his private space and does not address the audience directly while dancing, although he clearly acknowledges the feedback.

The whole event, with competition as core, also offers a lot of social gatherings arranged in addition to the competition. In the public pub-area musicians and dancers create small private places although strangers can act as an audience to the jam session and even join the jam (Figures 4, 5). In the evenings, there are several dancing floors for couple dances where people change between being the audience and joining the dancing. Many couples experience a private place with their partners like at the historical dance venues, although they still can be watched by others present in the public room. Even more private places are created when small groups meet in rooms or at the camp-ground to play music and to dance. To conclude, a person joining the "Landskappleik" will experience strictly private places such as in the rest room and public places such as crossing the pub-area where people can observe him. He will also experience a lot of phases in between these two extremes. He may for instance feel private on the evening dance floor while being watched by an audience, or being public on the stage while pretending to perform a private dance. The main difference between these examples and the performer-audience interaction is probably that at the festival the person can control better which phase he wants to experience, while as a spectator at a performance he has little control of the shifts. This may create a reluctance for him to interact.

Figure 3. The audience at a competition seated in the sports hall
(Photograph by Palmar Ruste, 2012)
Pre-project. The first attempt

Our first attempt to explore the performer-audience interaction was made in 2011. A folk dancer and choreographer, Sigurd Johan Heide, worked together with the second year Bachelor students of traditional dance performance. In this performance they explored some of the possibilities in performance-audience interaction. The performance was situated in the audience area. The audience were walking around in the room guided by some of the performers, while others where dancing in the middle of the room. The room was semi-dark; there was some electrical lighting, and some candle light. The audience was guided during the whole event, sometimes standing in a big circle watching, sometimes in smaller group, standing, or sitting, sometimes invited to dance as a group, in a circle or as individuals. The performers shifted the perspectives toward the audience
sometimes dancing for, sometimes with, sometimes behind, in front or around them (Figure 6).

![Image](Photograph by Rff-centre, 2012)

Figure 6. Some performers and audience members in interaction, others still watching

This kind of performance breaks with the conventions of an ordinary performance. The audience is used to watch the frame which is set in the following way: performers are in the front region, while the audience sits safe in the back region. This is a familiar situation, and the audience knows the situation, how to behave, and the standards/decorum for the situation. When the performers are mixing with the audience, and the audience becomes a part of the performance, they become a part of the front region. This could cause all kinds of reactions from each person. Each person in the audience could then search for answers to different kinds of questions: What kind of situation is this? What do we need to know? What kind of decorum suits the situation? What kind of role do I and the others play, and how do I want to fulfill it? The audience loses control over the situation, and insufficient control could cause problems. A performer-audience interaction has to take into consideration the audience standards for decorum: How does the audience want to present themselves? How do they want to present themselves when they are placed in the front region? Every person in the audience wants to control the impression the others have of him/her. When members of the audience are brought to the front region it causes problems due to their loss of control.

The pre-project performance was played for different kinds of public in different kinds of settings and rooms. Despite other differences, the place turned out to be decisive for the pre-project's success. The audience seemed to feel more comfortable in larger rooms than in smaller rooms, and also when the room despite being small had a pillar in the middle. The choreographer and performers wanted the audience to move more spontaneously. That only happened in the room with the pillar. The audience more "automatically" followed the dancers in different areas of the room. Some of the spectators said that they "felt like explorers/exploring". This reaction happened especially in this particular performance. In one of the opening dances in the performance the performers were greeting the audience. They meant this to be a greeting, but for the
audience it seemed like placing each one in the spotlight, in the front region. The audience was placed in a circle, everybody could watch everybody, but then the performers broke the circle and danced for, in front of and around almost each person. Some of spectators blushing or moving backwards were clearly uncomfortable, while others "performed out" and even danced with the performers. In the performance with the pillar this greeting dance changed drastically, because the audience moved with the dancers placing themselves in a cluster. The dancers then danced into and out of the cluster, which made another dynamic: the performers greeted the audience not spotting individuals. This setting also allowed people to stay out of the cluster, some of them placed themselves in a detached area watched the performance from there.

A thorough analysis of this performance is not the aim of our discussion, and these remarks have been put here to point to some problems concerning performer-audience relationships relating to public or private places. The performance and different parts of it encountered different challenges and successes due to different kinds of placements.

Before we end this section, we want to turn to the students’ and the choreographers impressions:

I think it depended more upon the members of audience than upon the performance whether we managed to engage the audience. Most of them joined in, but perhaps because it was difficult to turn down the invitation to participate when all the others joined. I think many of them understood that they were expected to participate (Student 1). I felt that the audience did join all the performances and I think it was because we managed to create a kind of catching joy over dance and music and because we were so confident in all we did (Student 2) [Mæland 2012].

The choreographer, Sigurd Johan Heide, proclaims that a safe framework is needed: the more the audience knows about the framework of the performance, the safer they feel [Heide; Mæland 2012]. He claims though that it shouldn't be too safe. That would make it boring. He compares it with going fishing or attending a football match. The framework is there, but one does not know how it will work out. Balancing frameworks and potential is important in order to experience something spontaneous.

**Summary: how to make the audience enjoy and not fear participation?**

The project performer–audience interaction challenges the privacy of the audience. The main challenge seems to be that few people want to play unknown games in public. In addition it is important for most traditional dancers to manage the participation in dance. The experience of the pre-project shows that the same choreography can induce different audience responses ranging from a more classical audience watching (where some displayed rejecting body language) to spontaneous dance participation. A young county college class of non-dancers was the most reluctant audience from the start, but became the most interacting audience of the pre-project when deciding to be open-minded. Thus, the audience can influence the performance without dancing, so dance activity is not needed for the interaction although some might feel like joining if invited.

How do we ensure a good participatory experience for the audience? Do the spectators need known frameworks to cope with the challenge? Information about the frameworks and expectations of how the performers want the audience to act seems to be sufficient for some. Do others also need to rehearse the participation in advance of the performance? Are the interacting target group only dancers or should the audience not
skilled in dance be invited? Is it required to ask for volunteers to collaborate with dancing groups when rehearsing and be listed in the programme?

Some people pressed against the walls to escape the scary experience. Would a different audience space with a possibility to retreat to an "audience only" area help all to have a good experience? Or do we have to accept that some people in the audience will dislike the presentation of traditional dance as performing art, establishing a new style of performance with a new audience including the people who like to be challenged in their experiences?

Choreographer, Heide, has proceeded with a new performance called "Kartellet" where the audience participated and experienced a physical collaboration between five characteristic male dancers (see Kartellet 2012 online). A newspaper reviewer wrote that even he as a non-dancer joined in a waltz during the performance. "We were warned beforehand… It says clearly in the program that "Kartellet" is an interactive dance performance limited to 30 spectators. I calm myself down by telling me that interactive can mean many things until I suddenly find myself in the middle of the dance floor dancing – with a totally strange lady. … We came along. Rocking to the rhythm. Then suddenly we all dance, the writer with a smiling lady with white hair and kind eyes. Nobody says anything. We dance, and it does not feel disheartening. Rather nice, in a bit awkward way" [Hoseth 2012:online].

In conclusion, we, the round table participants have different closing remarks. Several of us were concerned about the participation-aspect in either making a "good" experience, or emphasising the participatory aspects from traditional dance. We were also concerned about the aspect of making art. We felt that traditional dance in a performer-audience relationship would have to be something more than participatory folk dance if it should have a potential as dance art.

The experience from the two interactive performances and a brainstorming seminar will be used to create the final performance of the project to be presented in June, 2013, at Dance ACTions, the joint conference of the Nordic Forum for Dance Research (NOFOD) and the Society of Dance History Scholars (SDHS) in Trondheim.

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THEME

DANCE AND FESTIVAL
THE STATE OF THE FESTIVAL: PERFORMING POLITICS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE

This paper examines the Festival Mundial de Danses Folkloriques (World Folk Dance Festival) staged in Mallorca. I explore what this cultural event conveys to the participants in their scheme of values on issues of authenticity and identity, as well as the understanding brought about by these terms, set within the context of festival politics and behaviour. Does European historicism impinge on third world countries’ cultural and nationalist representations of dance and their adjudications in the competitive sphere of international dance festivals? It represents the views of the Mallorcan community and international competitors, and speaks of a spatial enclave of ethnicity and diversity, conflict, and above all else, the need for cultural exchange. I consider that the adjudications of dance at the WFDF are to some extent dependent on the individual adjudicator's personal preferences over and above the traditions that they are evaluating. This occasionally resulted in a historicist (Chakrabarty 2000) approach that seemed to manifest in a particular juror's privileging of the dance's 'authenticity' related to its European origins.

Keywords: Mallorca; historicism; origins; authenticity; tourism; competitions

Introduction

International festivals and competitions, such as the Festival Mundial de Danses Folkloriques (World Folk Dance Festival) staged in Mallorca, incorporate a transnational dimension of embodied values that provoke an emotive style of event for all engaged in dance. I examine what this cultural event conveys to the participants in their scheme of values on issues of authenticity and identity, as well as the understanding brought about by these terms, set within the context of festival politics and behaviour. In an age of increasing globalisation, should politicians still speak of festivals in terms of a value system and vehicle 'to unite different cultures from around the world'? The narrative depicted in the festival brochure has not changed much over the years, and describes the festival philosophy in terms of the 'magical' words of 'folklore' and 'peace' [Vallcaneras 2003:15], and a 'platform for the projection and promotion of tourism', as well as a 'meeting point for the exchange of dialogue between different cultures' [Calvo Sastre 2011:11].

This research is drawn from ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Mallorca, a Spanish Island in the Mediterranean, and my affiliations with this international festival since 1997. An important issue that has arisen over the years is the criteria involved in the evaluations and adjudications of traditional dance. It represents the views of the Mallorcan community and international competitors, and speaks of a spatial enclave of ethnicity and diversity, conflict, and above all else, the need for cultural exchange.

Issues of authenticity and festive behaviour

The financial crisis of the world's economy has meant that festivals are often affected by a decreasing amount of financial support administered by local governments. In 2003, I compiled a report for Conventions Incentives and Congress (CIC), the organisation that stages this festival, while working as a member of the festival team. The venue for the competition section of the festival was at the Teatro Romano Palacio de
Congressos (Roman Theatre Conference Centre), an old palace with an amphitheatre that is used as a performance space and conference centre. It is part of the Pueblo Español, an architectural replica of a traditional Spanish town, which was built as a tourist attraction. I arrived at the Palacio on the first day of the competition to find the dancers from the Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca (one of my field site schools), already at work organising the backstage area for the international groups. They had won the first competition of the WFDF in Munich in 1985. The festival in Munich was organised by a group of people working in the tourist industry, called International Travel Partners (ITP). The school's initial success allowed Tomeu Bosch, a former member of ITP, and who later became the Director International Secretariat of the WFDF, to obtain funding through contacts made by Bartomeu Ensenat (the late Director of the Escola de Música i Danses). As a result of these contacts, such as the Mayor of Palma, the festival transferred to Mallorca in 1987, where it has been staged bi-annually ever since. Tomeu states,

I was involved in the first festival and that's why the festival came to Palma....We didn't promote the festival just for the Mallorcan groups but all of Spain. So I think there were at least eleven or twelve groups from Spain and near a thousand people including groups from the Balearic Islands with Bartomeu Ensenat's group from Mallorca [Bosch 2003:interview].

The amphitheatre was almost empty apart from a few English expatriates in the audience, and four jury members that were present early in the morning at 10 a.m., 23 April, 2003. Because of the late sponsorship, and advertising surrounding this festival, it meant that very few people watched the folk dance groups participating on the first morning of the competition. The early morning sun was quite hot and I could see that the adjudicators were finding the heat quite uncomfortable with the sun bearing down on their heads. A request was made for a large parasol to give them some shade, as in previous years the competition section was held inside at the Auditorium Theatre in Palma. The audience numbers increased later in the afternoon when the Mallorcan groups' performances are programmed to accommodate the local community after people have finished work.

Only six groups from Mallorca are normally admitted to participate in the competition, which is through an audition process that can include up to twenty different groups. Although, the Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca have not entered the competition since winning the first one, they have the premier spot in performing at two gala evenings, and the opening and closing ceremonies. Their appearance in these stage performances raises their profile considerably on a global level, but causes some resentment from the other Mallorcan groups. Their presence at this event also works as a form of negotiation for the organisers in lobbying local political parties and corporate businesses for sponsorship.

'Authenticity' is the main criterion of adjudication at this festival, and a special award is given for this category. The focus is on the dance's origins, choreography, the correct costume, and traditional 'live' music. Authenticity became a contentious point in the adjudication of a group from Georgia, called Kolkha. They performed a dance that they said was derived from a tradition in the fifth century, whereby the male dancers stand on the knuckles of their toes to attract the women's attention. The men executed gymnastic movement feats of spins, aerial splits, and leaps, however, the female dancers' bourée (gliding) movements across the stage revealed that one dancer wore silver shoes,
which was different from the rest of the troupe. I was told later by one of the adjudicators that this female dancers' oversight caused the group to be marked down.

Figure 1. Kolkha, Georgia at the WFDF competition, Teatro Romano Palacio de Congressos, Palma (Photograph by Linda Dankworth, April, 2003)

Theresa Buckland suggests that,

“The high value placed upon authenticity by adjudicators, privileges those dances, which are perceived as ancient and suggest wholeness, continuity, and essence have long been built into the linked Western ideas of culture and art [Buckland 2002:76].

I consider that authenticity is a theoretical construct and not a reality that exists as a concrete specific in any given form. One of my criticisms of this festival over the past years is that occasionally one or two of the jurors seem to procure an implicit bias towards the European groups. There is a certain historicism deeply embedded here as a mode of thought that posits European culture above others, and to some extent devalues other non-European cultures albeit for different reasons. In particular, if the dance tradition and choreographic staging appeals to these adjudicators' concept of authenticity, this often appears to be rooted in the 'rural idyll of the folk', and frozen in time. I draw an analogy here with Dipesh Chakrabarty's notion of 'historicism' as a mode of thought in the formation of political modernity in former European colonies. He argues that, 'historicism' is what made modernity or capitalism appear not just global, but rather something that became global overtime, by originating in Europe and then spreading outside of it,” and suggests that,

This "first in Europe, then elsewhere", structure of global historical time was historicist; different non-Western nationalisms would later produce local versions of the same narrative, replacing "Europe" by some locally constructed centre [Chakrabarty 2000:7].
Historicism as I am using it here has two levels; the first refers to a belief in origins, as I see it being used by the adjudicators in their evaluations of the dances, and the second relates to how the dances are presented. Similarly, the privileging of dances whose European origins fit the jurors' historical sense of its authenticity is related to their personal associations with European culture and national affiliations. I think that it is too simplistic to describe the adjudicators' evaluations only in terms of an ethnocentric and Eurocentric bias, because there are other influences that point to a historic approach. The late founder of the school in Palma, Bartomeu Enseñat, for instance, was a folklorist and revivalist (1917–1999) who believed that the dances must be an authentic and true representation of their origins, associated with a specific period in time. He was part of a committee that drew up the rules of adjudication in 1987, and these have not been updated since that point. A majority of the marks are given for the dances' 'authenticity', and a lesser percentage for aesthetics, whereas, music and dance are marked as separate genres, and the top prize is reserved for the best overall performance that incorporates the highest marks based on all of these points. Although the adjudicators are from different backgrounds and nationalities they are using the same criteria of rules to evaluate the dances, in addition to their individual expertise and perspectives. Enseñat's handbook on Mallorquin dance, for instance, gives an insight into how he perceived the roles of women and men embodying the folk dances from a parochial point of view that does not always fit with the present dancers' performance practices. It may explain to some extent why he expected the competition dances to be exact replicas of their origins.

Evening galas take place during the week with the help of local sponsorship, where some of the international groups are invited to perform. A youth group from Puerto Rico, 'Sabor Latino' suddenly refused to take part while waiting backstage, until the festivals' official photographer, a Puerto Rican woman persuaded them otherwise. The young men in particular confided that they were very uncomfortable about performing their modern interpretation of a raunchy salsa dance, which involved many hip and shoulder gyrations representing a type of 'dirty dancing' disco version of their folkloric dances, seemingly popularised in the 1980s. The male dancers' fears stemmed from the fact that they were scheduled to follow Northern Lights, a children's group from England performing May Day dances, and whose embodied interpretations by contrast were of a pure and demure nature of innocence in their outward appearance.
The three main prizes in 2003 were awarded to European groups with Portugal winning first prize, and further emulated the idea of 'the first in Europe then elsewhere' concept of origins and archaism [Chakrabarty 2007:7]. This resulted in the Colombian and Georgian groups complaining to the organisers and adjudicators in a hostile manner because they did not receive a prize consisting of money or a trophy.9

Cultural performances are important dramatisations that allow the participants to criticise, and as David Guss argues, 'even change the worlds in which they live' [Guss 2009:9]. Festive behaviour in a space of contestation and cultural production is both contradictory and predictable where local and global interests are at stake. This manifests in the way that a few of the Mallorcan groups have taken liberties in their interpretations of the competition rules by challenging the status quo. An argument erupted at the WFDF in 2009, for example, between dancers from one of the Mallorcan groups and the organisers of the festival. The reason behind the argument was that Aires de Andratx, a Mallorcan group who was placed second in the competition, had supplemented their dancers' numbers on stage by using some of the best dancers from the Escola de Música i Danses. In doing so, they had created a more advantageous 'glocal' identity through their virtuoso approach to executing the steps and spins, effectively making them stand apart from the other Mallorcan groups whose embodied interpretations were more spontaneous and unrehearsed by contrast.10 The problem was that none of the adjudicators, apart from the Mallorcan juror who was watching his own dancers performing with Aires de Andratx on stage, would have known this fact. It looked as though the group had rigged the outcome to their advantage. Interestingly, there have not been any new rules made since then to counteract this interchange between the Mallorcan dancers and schools.

Folklore and popular culture: terms for categorisation and interpretation

Verenice, who is a very experienced adjudicator at the WFDF, considers that it is how folklore is transferred to the stage that causes most of the problems of people's reinterpretations of the dances. There are many problems with the words 'folklore', 'tradition', 'popular', 'ethnographic' and 'historic'. People have very different ideas about the use of the words. And, how folk dance groups use those concepts in as much for their sense of understanding they give to them. I think folk dance translated to the stage is not folk dance anymore. It becomes deleted in the translation [Strumia 2003:interview].

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett [1998:73] and David Guss [2000:17] have both argued that traditions need to change in order to develop with the way that communities adapt their performance practices for the stage, so that they become part of a historical continuity and are not restricted in time by the categorical term of 'folklore'. Guss' research into Latin American festivals also revealed that, some in Latin America have insisted that the solution is to ban the term "folklore" altogether and to replace it with either "popular culture" or "popular arts" (de Carvalho 1991; de Carcalho-Neto (1990) [Guss 2000:17].

Guss states that the term folklore implies that whatever it is applied to causes it to be perceived as pre-modern, pre-industrial, and non-European [Guss 2000:17]. To counteract this problem in Venezuela in 1986, three Venezuelan government supported institutes were consolidated into the Centre for the Study of Traditional and Popular Cultures (CCPYT) eliminating the use of the term folklore [Guss 2000:176].

I question if the term 'popular dance' could ever be included as a separate category to compete in the WFDF to cover entries representing more modern adaptations of traditional dance, such as the Puerto Rican group. The term popular dance is, as Sherrill Dodds states, a 'historically contested label'. She states, "...popular dance also constitutes a site of social and economic power" [Dodds 2011:3].
The name 'baile popular' (popular dance) in Mallorca is a generic term that represents three categories of Mallorcan dances. Popular dance, as Dodds suggests 'is an intellectual approach to dance that takes place under a range of conditions' [Dodds 2011:201].

**The WFDF tallers (workshops): issues of identity and embodiment**

On the strength of the report I carried out in 2003, I was asked to help initiate and become a Co-Director of the newly established dance workshops in 2005 with a Bulgarian man, Emile Dimitrov. The workshops were created to allow the participants to have more time to meet other competitors and exchange ideas, which was a point raised in my report. A member from each group would take turns to lead their dance workshop usually with four other groups participating in thirty minute slots over two hours. This arrangement has been successful to a certain extent with a few minor problems along the way, but it has also revealed issues of difference in the way that identities are embodied.

These differences relate to the participants' perceptions of their sense of national and personal identities that they embody at this event. I noticed during one of the workshops in 2009 that for one Mallorcan dancer, there was also an inherent sense of embodying a European identity. Catalina from the school in Palma considered that she felt too European to be able to perform the pelvic gyrations of the Puerto Rican dances taught in the workshop. She considered that her movement style was ultimately more reflective of her European identity, rather than sharing a common language with the Puerto Rican dancers. Her perception of identity aroused strong feelings of an embedded European identity as part of the European community. This may be related to her perception of an already prior set of dispositions that generate certain social practices inculcated from childhood, and similarly reflect attributes depicted in Bourdieu's (1977) [2009] theory of habitus. Catalina's perception of her European identity is also strongly related to a historical and shared culture of dance steps and European traditional couple dances. Lawrence Grossberg argues that 'dance (always a teleological sequence in which its past is constantly remade in the present)' produces different temporalities of belonging and different ways of becoming [Grossberg 2000:157].

**Concluding thoughts**

In conclusion, I consider that adjudications of dance at the WFDF are to some extent dependent on the individual adjudicator's personal preferences over and above the traditions that they are evaluating. This occasionally resulted in a historicist approach that seemed to manifest in a particular juror's privileging of the dance's 'authenticity' related to its European origins, and occasionally their lack of expertise of other non-European dances. The rules of adjudication were out of date, and still adhered to Enseñat's original vision of the dance's 'authenticity,' associated with its historical origins as an important criterion for its evaluation. On the issues of translation and interpretation of the dances construction for the stage, and the understanding given to such terms as folklore and popular dance, they are far from universal. Indeed these terms generally provoke discussions on the variance amongst nations on the way that they are interpreted and embodied by the dance groups and individuals for stage presentations.

A political economy of cultural exchange and knowledge emerged through a shared experience of dancing taught in the workshops, which also flagged up differences as well as similarities in embodying different dance styles. The international dancers' performances are temporarily poised on the crevices of the present while giving us
glimpses into their past histories. And, as Chakrabarty [2000:251] argues, 'this is how the archaic comes into the modern', as something that is constitutive of the present.

Endnotes
1. See David Picard's research on tourism. He considers that the relationship between 'magic' and tourism is defined by two realms, which are the psychological material experience, and representations of the magic of tropical islands in the narrative of texts [Picard 2011:32].
2. Two weeks before the ICTM's Symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology was held in Limerick (July 2012), I was informed that the WFDF is not going to be staged in 2013 because of the economic crisis in Spain and recent financial problems within the Mallorcan Council.
3. Funding was initially made available through contacts made by the late Bartomeu Enseñat, the school's founding director, from the Sa Nostra Bank, the Ajuntament de Palma (Town Hall), and the Balearic's Consell de Turismo (Tourism Council). In the last four years, however, Tomeu has struggled to obtain the funding to keep this popular festival afloat.
4. The jury members consisted of Enzo Lauretta from Italy, the acting president of the jury in 2003; Nigel Allenby Jaffe, a Fellow of Trinity College of Music in London; the late Ferdinand van Altena, a choreographer and founding director of the International Dance Theatre in Amsterdam, and Verenice Strumia, who is a researcher and Professor of Music and Dance, and a member of the Argentina Institute of Associations for Dance.
5. Amongst the spectators' occupations they included an anthropologist, dance teacher/writer, choreographer, quite a few retired people, and noticeably very few tourists.
6. The total number of groups participating were approximately 48, with 13 of this number made up from Spain and the Spanish autonomous Island of Mallorca. Their occupations ranged from a music teacher, musicians, mechanic, students, interpreter, driving teacher, office assistant, retailer, school teachers, television producer/director, company director, engineer, caterer, artistic director and secretary.
7. Chakrabarty considers that Western critiques of historicism that base themselves on a characterisation of 'late capitalism' overlook the deep ties that bind historicism as a mode of thought and the formation of political modernity in former European colonies [Chakrabarty 2000:7].
8. See Bartomeu Enseñat Estrany's book, Folklore de Mallorca (1975), which gives descriptions of the popular dances and folklore traditions.
9. The first prize of the international WFDF in 2003 was awarded to Portugal's Danzas Cantares Besclore for the second consecutive time, having received this prize in 2001. The second prize went to Dawnswyr Nantgarw from Wales, and the third prize to Asamblul Folcloric National – Transylvania from Romania.
10. This term refers to the relationship between local and global. See Ness's reference to Filipino identity in the tourist-focused experiences of Pearl Farm [Ness 2003:99].
11. These institutes are the National Institute of Folklore, the National Museum of Folklore and the Inter-American Institute for Ethnomusicology and Folklore (INIDEF).
12. The first category is ball de bot, which include jotas, boleros and fandangos; the second is ball de pages, which include copeos and matexies, and the third is ball de figures (figure dances), such as the ritual dances of the cossiers, cavallets, aguilles, Moretons and Indis. This categorisation of the dances concurs with the findings of Macia Pujoli i Roca (1996:16), Enseñat (1975), and Bernat (1993).
13. Bourdieu argues that practice implies a cognitive and a practical operation of construction, which sets to work by reference 'to practical functions, systems of classification (taxonomies)' that organise perception and structure practice [Bourdieu 2009:97].
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This paper focuses on an annual festival of the African Turkish people whose existence is not widely known in Turkey. Most of the Afro-Turks live in the Aegean region and Mediterranean coast of Turkey. After the foundation of the African Culture Solidarity and Cooperation Association (2006), the Calf Festival has tried to be revitalised after a long break. Based on texts, oral history interviews, and fieldwork (started in 2009), this research accompanies the initial stages of revitalisation processes of an old tradition within new circumstances. Research on the history and traditions, acquainted with different components of African culture – with emphasis on dance, music, food, accessory and so on – are considered very important at this stage. Despite existing complications and challenges, it seems to be a critical step toward ending the invisibility of the Afro-Turks.

Keywords: Turkey-Izmir; Afro-Turks; Dana Bayramı (Calf Festival); visibility/invisibility

In the last three decades, in parallel to developments observed in many other parts of the world, identity politics in Turkey has become an important issue. Various groups, especially those of many ethnic, religious and sexual minorities and/or discriminated, disadvantaged ones have voiced their demands, confronted with adverse politics; and in the meantime, an ongoing process known to and/or comprised of different segments of society, as well as legal authorities has been generated. However, an unexpected group started to approach the scene in the very last decade: The Turkish citizens of African descent. It was ironic to observe how a seemingly apparent group of people – African Turkish people most of whom have rather darker skin colours – has been invisible to society. This situation could have signified a society where an absolute equality among people has been achieved, only if invisibility would not have functioned as a very powerful act of negligence, isolation or exclusion.

In the last decade, some preliminary steps towards the recognition of African Turkish people (referred to as Arabs until recently) have been realised. In 2003 Mustafa Olpak, whose maternal parents originated from Kenya, published a book on the history of his family. He continued writing and contributed to a documentary which was broadcasted on the national television channels. In 2006, he founded the African Culture Solidarity and Cooperation Association (Afriklılar Kültür, Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği; commonly: Afro-Türk Derneği) in Ayvalık, which moved to Izmir the next year and increased the number of its members. Besides participating in projects, which were organised to enlighten the history and present situation of the African Turks, the members of the Association tried to revive one of their old traditions, the Calf Festival. Since 2007, it has been celebrated each year in May with the participation of Afro-Turks, who live in and around Izmir, as well as other local people and Afro-Turks who live in other parts of Turkey.

This paper focuses on the current Calf Festivals based on relatively limited historical research on the topic and on ongoing fieldwork that started three years ago. Therefore, at this point, instead of providing well-documented conclusions, it concentrates more on observing and formulating questions to comprehend a new
phenomenon with its various aspects, including its resonances in people's lives.

Who are the African Turkish people?

There is a lack of information on the history of the African Turkish people, which is in part associated with scarcity of research on the issue of Ottoman slavery, because, most of the African Ottoman/Turkish people have been moved forcefully from Africa within the framework of enslavement. Although the last three decades proved to be fruitful in terms of academic research on the subject, some questions, especially in the case of people of African descent, remain unsolved.

Although the beginning date of the African slave trade in the Ottoman Empire has not been determined, since the fifteenth century, there is some evidence to support the existence of enslaved African people in the Ottoman state. The number of people who have been brought from Africa increased gradually in the following two centuries, and considerably towards the nineteenth century. Toledano estimates the size of Ottoman slave trade – except internal trade of Egypt – in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as 11,000 for each year [Toledano 1994:76]. Erdem explains this trend with favorable changes of the African market for the Ottomans and improvement of physical connections between the Ottoman Empire and the slave providing areas of Africa [Erdem 2004:79]. While several regions in Central Africa and Sudan provided black people, Galla and Sidama principalities provided Ethiopian ones [Toledano 1994:13]. Almost all enslaved female Africans served as domestics and a certain number of Ethiopian ones became concubines. Most of the enslaved male Africans worked as menial workers in mines, quarries, ships, and crop fields. A small minority among them held positions that required responsibility [Toledano 1994:7; see also Toledano 2007:28]. Additionally, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a large number of enslaved people were brought from Africa to work on tobacco and cotton fields, especially in the western Aegean region [Durugönül 2011:167].

In the Ottoman Empire, slavery was practised basically within the framework of Islamic law, which prevented its dissolution. However, due to internal and international politics, as well as social developments, at least slave trade had tried to be ended. The abolition of slave trade would weaken the practice of slavery, because traditionally neither keeping enslaved people throughout their lives, nor enslaving their children were widespread practices. The authorities started to put precautions in action towards the middle of the nineteenth century and that process continued for half a century. When the general manumission process started, the state provided some support during the transition period – temporary accommodation in guesthouses, helping some to find jobs or providing some others land to cultivate [Erdem 2004:224–225]. However, most of the others did not have much choice in earning a living and they continued to do their earlier jobs, only without the official title of being a slave.

The present situation of the African Turkish people

Like some other ethnic and/or religious communities in Turkey who are officially considered as Muslims and Turks, it is not possible to find official data about Turkish citizens of African descent. Moreover, they are scattered all around Turkey, except some towns in the Aegean region (primarily in the provinces of İzmir, Aydın, and Muğla), in addition to some small towns and villages along the Mediterranean coast (especially in Antalya and Adana) [Tarih Vakfı (2008):9]. In rural areas agriculture appears to be the most important economic activity for the Afro-Turks. They are either waged workers or they work on their own farms. Although their occupations seem to vary in cities, Karakartal mentions that in comparison to other ethnic groups in Turkey, intense
deprivation and poverty is obvious among the Afro-Turks, unemployment rates are high and not many people can utilize educational opportunities [Karakartal 2012:online]. Also, divided families is another very important problem, which seems to have integrated to the fact of interracial marriages, which are preferred in order to have children with rather lighter skin colour so that they might not face the difficulties that their elders have faced.4

These arguments are supported in large part by two recent research projects on African Turkish people. In 2003, a study entitled "Afro-Turks in the region of Antalya and the question of identity" was conducted in the region of Antalya,5 and in 2007, a research project called "Voices from a silent past: yesterday and today of being of African origin," was undertaken by Tarih Vakfı in the Aegean region of Turkey.6 Durugönül reported that "latent racism" was rare but present in the lives of the Afro-Turks living around Antalya [Durugönül 2011:169] and the problem of verbal assault is reported by both studies [Tarih Vakfı (2008):34; Durugönül 2011:168]. However, people seem to complain more about the negative consequences of being economically the disadvantaged. The people I have interviewed and/or talked to during the activities of the Afro-Turk Association have also declared the economic problems, but emphasised discrimination and latent racism more overtly. At this point, it is important to emphasise that people I have talked to are among those Afro-Turks who are trying to get organised. What disturbs them most in social life is being considered invisible, if not a foreign citizen or a disturbing one. Because, considering the visible as invisible brings about unemployment, poverty, and it operates as a mechanism of exclusion. Invisibility does not eliminate the differences – being invisible is a condition that not everyone experiences – but it eliminates the demands and necessities of those, who are stigmatised as different from the "normal". The Calf Festival, which the members of the Afro-Turk Association try to revive, is considered important in order to obtain social, economic, and political visibility.

Historical overview of the Calf Festival in Izmir

Available data reveals that the Calf Festival had been celebrated between the 1880s and 1920s.7 Its appearance in the public sphere coincides with the final stages of the demise of slavery, while its disappearance is associated with a law enacted in 1925 to abolish all sect lodges and to ban all ceremonies of the orders.8 Yet, the Calf Festival has never been mentioned in official history and evidence about it is quite rare. It can be found on local Izmir newspapers and in some novels published in the first half of the twentieth century. However, Boratav, a well-known folklorist from Turkey, published an academic article in 1951, but declared that the subject has not been studied in Turkey and that his notes are very incomplete. Several more texts have been published recently. The following information, which is presented in terms of basic points, is obtained from available texts.

The Calf Festival was celebrated in May in Izmir and considered as a ritual to welcome Spring. Each year, it took place for three consecutive Fridays,9 called respectively Dellal (town crier), Peştamal (loincloth) and finally the Dana Bayramı (Calf Festival). The first week's event was a tour all around the town to announce the festival. The second week was reserved for collecting gifts and money from people, who had been visited throughout the parade. After saving enough money to buy a calf, money and other materials had been donated to poor African-Ottomans/Turks. In the last Friday, after accompanying the crowd in its long tour throughout the day, the ornamented calf would be sacrificed and skinned ceremonially. The final stage of the ritual was composed of eating, singing and dancing [Güneş 1999:7–9]. Information on how this ritual is situated within the belief system of the people is lacking.
The festival was organised by the leaders of African-Ottoman/Turkish communities, called godya (or godia). In general, the godyas helped to create communication among the scattered people of their community, find ways and means to compensate their needs and take care of the children who did not have families, and so on; in other words, they worked for the well being of the community and to construct solidarity. They were believed to have mystical powers, too, like healing sick people or helping people who were stuck in the state of ecstasy. The godyas were usually old and respected female members of the community.

Some critical social functions of the Calf Festival can be drawn from the texts: First, collected gifts and money were used to help the needy African Ottoman/Turkish people. Second, the festival helped to gather the families of African descent, whose members had been scattered to different households or even towns. And third, it brought fun and joy to African Ottoman/Turkish people along with various populations in Izmir.

There are few notes on music and dances of the Calf Festival: davul (drum) and zurna (shril pipe) – local musical instruments in the Aegean region that play local music, accompanied the crowd during their daylong tour. However, only the African Ottomans/Turks performed in the final part of the ritual, without accompaniment of davul and zurna: they performed their own dances, including değnek dansları (baton dances). From time to time they got into a more spiritual state, calling out "lü lü lü lü". They performed in a lively fashion, accompanied by songs or repetition of some unrecognised words [Güneş 1999:8; see also Boratav 1951:88].

The revival of the Calf Festival

Since 2007, the Afro-Turk Association has been trying to revive the Calf Festival after about eight decades, within a new context. It tries to make Afro-Turk people visible in the public sphere as citizens of Turkey who should have socio-economic and political equal rights and opportunities with all others. Some people with lighter skin colour among them learned about their African heritage only recently, and others have experienced exclusion or latent racism several times in their lives.

In the past six years, the Calf Festival has been celebrated in the centre and towns of Izmir with participation of Afro-Turks, local people, and some visitors. The celebrations last for two or three days and include a variety of events. In the last two years, the first day was reserved to a panel to which a small number of Afro-Turk people (approximately 20) attended. The themes usually include history, culture, and experiences of the African Turkish people. The second day was reserved to a picnic, which included stage performances. It is to the picnics that many Afro-Turk people from different towns come together and entertain themselves. Usually three buses are used for transportation in addition to private cars. Several local musicians and/or dance groups perform on the stage; well-known performers from Turkey or abroad, with African descent, are always welcomed and actually preferred in order to establish a bond with African heritage.

The Afro-Turks and local people accompany music with dances, and not surprisingly they perform traditional zeybek dances of their region, Romani dances of their neighbours, and other traditional and/or popular dances in Turkey. In terms of traditional movement, while the elders perform the zeybeks, younger generations seem to favour Romani dances. The latter are performed by many local people, including Roms, themselves, who lived in or nearby towns where the festivals took place. In general, the people who dance accompany music with their own improvisations which they seem to borrow a lot from Romani dances and çiftetelli.

The members of the Association actually want to have an African dance and/or music group on the stage. They believe that getting familiar with African culture – dance, music, costumes, accessories, and so on – helps them to create awareness of their African...
background. Although they are aware that there is no one homogenous Africa, they believe that for the time being, some connections to African culture maintain channels to reconcile with the past, which in turn strengthens the integrity of their identity.

In 2012, an African group was there to perform on the stage. Actually, all four members of the group were from African communities who temporarily live in Istanbul. They performed traditional dances and music from Congo, and played new songs – including popular ones, like "Waka Waka" (This Time for Africa). After hesitating for some time, the Afro-Turks and local people accompanied African performers, often by trying to imitate them. For most of them participating in those performances seems not to be spontaneous, but rather intentional, at least in the beginning. It is apparent that their bodies are more accustomed to and comfortable with traditional, Romani or popular dance movements. On the other hand, attempts to integrate with rather African motives require social and political intent as well.

It is safe to argue that present Calf Festivals resemble the past ones in several aspects. First, Afro-Turk people from different parts of Izmir and Turkey come together. These gatherings include a great search for relatives, and fortunately some progress has been obtained. Second, knowing about each other creates receptiveness and certain solidarity and people are becoming more responsive to each other's necessities. And finally, they eat, chat, dance, sing and have fun. It is an opportunity to socialise.

However, more than the differences, similarities between the past and the present Calf Festivals create more questions. Although one century has passed since the abolishment of slavery, many African-Turkish people do not know about their relatives. How can this happen? It may be argued that in the early decades of the Republic, national identity was constructed on the grounds of Turkishness, in which Islam served as the primary fabric to assimilate people into Turkish identity. However, in the case of the African-Turkish people, forced assimilation worked as long as their skin colour permitted. Perhaps, one of the reasons for calling Afro-Turks "Arabs" in Turkey is related to a policy of integrating them into national identity through religion. In the same vein, the African-Turkish people have become "free citizens", but neither an official explanation, nor laws of positive discrimination have been applied to their case to compensate for their disadvantaged conditions. Another similarity is the necessity of forming networks for solidarity, to fight against economic impoverishment and to find jobs.

Finally, the present Calf Festivals remind people of the past ones in terms of dancing, singing, eating and having fun; however, the historical conditions are different. The present ones do not last for three weeks, people do not walk around the town to collect presents and money, and there is nothing to resemble the sacrifice of a calf. It is no longer a traditional ritual that people get organised with the help of godyas, but rather an event initiated by the Association. It is announced via internet and mass media, and when possible, funded by several institutions (recently by the ministry of culture). In general, it seems that the Association tries to fulfill the mission of godyas in a modern setting. The members do not expect to be treated as godyas, but they believe that they have an obligation to do whatever they can do for the wellbeing of the Afro-Turk community.

Some of the participants seem to share similar goals, but doubtfulness is apparent in some cases. Many practical reasons may be put forward. For example, some children get bored of African music when they are exposed to it for a long time. Beyond the practical ones, there are serious social and political reasons for some people to be rather reluctant for demanding visibility. The irony lies in the fact that there is no way to reconcile with one's history and existence when neither the history of slavery on this land nor its consequences, in addition to those of racial differences, are acknowledged. Therefore, the demand for visibility means to confront all questions related to these topics, which make people nervous.
and unconfident with the fear of regenerating a form of slavery with all of its side effects in a quite visible – and perhaps harsh – way.

The Calf Festival in Izmir has been taking place for the last six years in such a context, with many questions, hesitations, but yet with enough determination to make it possible to declare to the society at large that there are African Turkish citizens in this country. It is a new process and for the time being, neither its journey nor its outcomes have become completely visible.

Endnotes

1. Esma Durugönül [2003] discusses the invisibility of African Turkish people, especially in terms of historiography.

2. Arap Kızı Camdan Bakıyor (An Arab girl is looking through the window), 2007.

3. They participated in the oral history project, which was conducted by the Tarih Vakfı (History Foundation) in Istanbul and financed by UNESCO (October 2007 –September 2008). One hundred interviews with elderly people of African ancestry, living along the western coast of Turkey were conducted and recorded.

4. This fact, which is pointed out by Karakartal [2012] is very apparent and also revealed by many interviewees.

5. Esma Durugönül, who has undertaken the study, mentions that it was planned as a cross-section survey with 50 interview partners. However, throughout the survey there had been a development and they needed to increase the number of interview partners to 100 and the number of scanned areas from three to six [Durugönül 2011:174–175, note:37].

6. The texts and audio-visual materials, which were already available or attained during the research, were evaluated and collected by a team of professionals and volunteers, and oral history interviews with 100 people accompanied this process [Tarih Vakfı:7–8]. The results of the project are published by the Tarih Vakfı in the booklet entitled Sessiz bir Geçmişten Sesler: Afrikalı Kökenli Türk Olmanın Dünü ve Bugünü [Voices from a silent past: the yesterday and today of being of African origin].

7. Although it does not appear in the newspapers after 1922, according to some oral narratives it was celebrated in secrecy until the 1950s in several towns of Izmir.

8. Law Number 677. It was approved on 30 November, 1925 and put into effect after being published in the Resmi Gazete (Official Journal) on 25 December, 1925.

9. Boratav notes that it begins on Thursday night of each week and continues until the Friday evening [Boratav 1951:88].

10. Boratav noted that the godias were usually male. However, the opposite argument is emphasized in a number of oral and written narratives.

11. In the last two years, the Calf Festival took place in Bayındır, one of the towns of Izmir.

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GRADUATION BALL AS A MULTIFUNCTIONAL FESTIVITY*

The graduation ball, a celebration of finishing studies at secondary school, is organised by almost all schools in the Czech Republic. These balls happen in the winter of the school-leaving year. This festivity is a complex of activities of different functions. Partly it is a private event for the fellows of the school class, and partly their public presentation. Not only participatory dancing happens; there is also time for performances of various types, social interactions and private experiences. One example is the graduation ball(s) held by the students of the Gymnasium in Kladno. It is a secondary school in a small town (about 70,000 inhabitants) near the capital, Prague, with a specific historical and social context. The functions of the elements of the graduation ball are seen in various perspectives; the individual and group perspectives. In this paper, special attention is given to the functions of dancing at this event.

Keywords: Czech Republic; graduation ball; school; dancing; social functions

Context of the graduation ball
The graduation ball is a typical dance event of contemporary Czech society. It is held by almost all secondary schools for the students of the senior class, usually in winter (from December to March). It starts symbolically in the period before the graduation. During the course of it, the students are introduced into the society of senior students, especially by the "ritual" called "sashing". The sashes are decorated by the inscription "maturant" (meaning the person who will pass the school's final exam). The tradition exists in many regional and local variants, and each school has its own special features and customs. In the last decades, the shape of graduation balls is more and more influenced by commodification and commercialisation. Specialised agencies offer the organisation of the ball various additional services (sound, refreshments, performances, and even travesty shows). In this way, the school and mainly the students from the last class are losing control of the event. The measure of this process differs from town to town and from school to school; in general, it is more visible in the greater towns, mainly in Prague. In smaller towns the inertia is stronger and traditional ways of organising graduation balls are kept. The question of the origin of the custom is complicated. In the Czech Republic there is a continuity from the end of World War Two, but with a development from the nineteenth century.

Gymnasium in Kladno
In this paper, I concentrate on the special example of the graduation ball of the Gymnasium in Kladno. Kladno is a small town in central Bohemia, approximately 30 kilometres from Prague to the northwest. It has about 70,000 inhabitants, with around 20,000 of them working in Prague. Until 1989, the town was a synonym of Czech industry as it was the seat of the largest factory for steel called Poldi and the mines for black coal and a typical worker's settlement. In the history of the town, we can see a mixture of the worker's character and the position of a cultural centre. The area is inhabited from the Stone Age; near Kladno there are archeological excavations of the Knovíz culture, Celtic settlements and an early Christian centre in Budeč connected with the person, Svatý Václav (Saint Wenceslav). The first historical mention of the town is
from the fourteenth century (as a village); it became a town in 1561, but the real development started in the middle of the nineteenth century together with industrialisation. Vojtěch Lana opened here the mines for black coal and, soon after that, the first iron mill called Adalberthütte (1854). The most famous is the Poldihiitte, established in 1889 by Karl Wittgenstein (the father of the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein), and named after his wife, Leopoldine. After that, the development of the town started, expressed also by the boom of the representative institutions and their buildings. The bankruptcy of the Poldi in 1996–1997 was a great shock, not only for the town and its inhabitants but, for the whole country. From this time, social restructuring started. Many former workers, being pensioned, moved to the nearby villages, and new inhabitants came mainly from Prague, looking for cheaper accommodation within a striking distance to the capital where they usually had their jobs. Instead of the baroque buildings of the chateau, the chapel of St. Florian and the Marianna sculptural group by K. I. Dientzenhofer, the main historical monuments of the town were built at the beginning of the twentieth century: the neo-romanesque church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Poldihaus by the Viennese architect Josef Hoffmann, the Municipal Theatre of Kladno, established in 1897, the library and Gymnasium building in the Secese (art nouveau) style (1903–1905, see Figure 1).

The Gymnasium was founded in 1899 and, for a long period, it was the educational centre in the town, together with the Central Bohemian Research Library. In the Czech school system, gymnasium is understood as a school that offers general education, and prepares students for further study at universities. This means that most of the educated people of the town gained their knowledge in the Gymnasium, and belonging to this group formed relationships in adult life and activities. Now, together with the other social changes, this "homogeneity" of the intellectual circles in the town is vanishing, but still visible. In the town, there are some other secondary schools with more specific orientations: the technical, economic or the sport gymnasium. In the last decade, the strongest concurrence of the position of the Gymnasium in the intellectual life of the town was formed by the Faculty of Biomedical Engineering at the Czech Technical University in Prague, which has its seat in Kladno; there are also some private universities.

The context of the research

This paper is based on field research of a limited "pilot" character. I participated in three graduation balls in the period 2010–2012, twice in the combined position of researcher and parent of one of the students preparing for graduation. For the analysis, I used mainly the example of the ball of my daughter in 2010, partly with comparison and corrections derived from my other experiences. The wider perspective was made by observations of the shape of the graduation ball in the town Jičín, created by my doctoral graduate student Daniela Zilvarová. With her, we plan to continue with the research for the next number of years. Specifically for the ball of my daughter, a film documenting the whole event and a series of photographs are available. I will also discuss with her, and some of her schoolfellows, details of the event, their private feelings and experiences.

The structure and content of the graduation ball

The Gymnasium in Kladno offers both four-year and eight-year programmes; in each year there are three classes of the four-year gymnasium and one class of the eight-year (in each class approximately 30 students) gymnasium. The graduation balls are held in the House of Culture at Sitná Square, built in 1973. There is one large hall used also for dance courses, concerts, and theatrical performances. Because of its capacity, one ball is organised for two classes of the graduation year. Each class prepares its own concept of
the essential parts of the ball. The graduation ball of my daughter was held on 22 January, 2010.

The structural elements of the ball:

Festive entrance – choreographed, accompanied by music. It is prepared often in cooperation with some dancing master, which was also the case of this ball. It offers an opportunity for each student to introduce himself/herself (see Figure 2);

Introduction of the class, its history – depends on the invention of the students. In the case of the class of my daughter, it was a series of photographs projected on a screen documenting eight years of common experience; this was projected continually during the whole ball;

Sashing of each student of the class is done ceremonially by the class teacher and dis-sashing done wildly by students at midnight (they say, that if somebody takes off his sash before midnight, he won't pass the final school exam);

Address of Gymnasium directress and student representatives;

Gift to the class teacher (balloon flight in this particular case);

Dancing of students with the class teacher, directress of the gymnasium and other teachers who taught the class (see Figure 4);

Dancing with parents, grandparents;

Collecting money from the guests (see Figure 5) – each class has its own large canvas and other properties to catch money thrown by people (students spend it during the party after the school's final exam);

Dancing in between other parts of the programme;

Dance or other performances – performers outside the class, school - sometimes members of the dance club perform;

"Midnight surprise" – a performance by each class prepared by students. This is usually comic, a combination of dancing, miming and sketches. Its "content" is often connected with the school. This custom does not exist generally;

Disco dancing at the second hall, concert;

After-party at the pub until morning where only students of the class participate and invited friends of the great part of the class and teachers with close relationships to class members.

The meaning of the event on different levels

The experience of the event differs according to the position of the particular participant and according to the point of view of individuals or various group formations.

We can distinguish several important cases:

Students of the senior year – they experience the event on several levels. The individual one is formed especially by self-presentation. It is, for instance, made by the fact that the student has some boy/girl friend to accompany to the ball. Girls especially pay great attention to their dress. Some of them spend great amounts of money on them (the maximum in the case of my daughter's class was 30,000 koruna, more than the average salary). For some of them, more often boys, the ball means the examination of their ability to present themselves in public. It happens that somebody decides not to participate at the ball because of this. For some students, the graduation ball is the first time they have to dance in public.

Class – on this level the strongest aspect is formed by the relations among the members of the class. During the preparation of the ball and during the actual event, many occasions appear for either controversies or deep emotional enjoyments among
them. These are strengthened by the feeling of the upcoming end of their common study, remembered by some events during the ball. The function of the graduation ball as a ritual entrance into adulthood is not manifested, but it can be felt in the background.

Class versus the class teacher and other teachers – this level depends a lot on the character of the relationship between students on the one hand, and the particular teachers on the other hand. It is visible, for instance, in the gift given to the class teacher. It can be very personal, in the case of a deep connection between students and the teacher, or very formal.

Family – at the ball, usually parents, siblings, grandparents or other relatives participate. It is expected that the student will spend some time with them and that she/he will dance with her/his father/mother. The parents and grandparents often have deep feelings of "losing" the child symbolically, some of them are sad, even crying (for instance during the sashing, see Figure 3). Dancing with parents is supposed to be an important manifestation of family relations. Relatives usually share the table with other family members. In the case of families from Kladno, there can be also friendly contact between them and they enjoy the ball as an occasion for being with friends. Otherwise, it is an opportunity to meet new people and to communicate about the children-students.

Besides the students of the last year, their families, and teachers, there also some other participants at the graduation ball. It is also attended by other students of the school, very often former students (more often students who finished one, two, or three years ago), friends, and municipal representatives as the major sponsors of the school and the ball (they pay for the anchorman, the decorations in the dancing hall, the band, and prizes in the raffle).

The function of dance in the frame of the graduation ball

Dance happens during the graduation ball in both its forms – as a participatory activity and as a performance, and both have several types.

As a participatory activity, it appears in strongly formalised shape and as free dancing as well. The most formal is the official dancing with teachers. Because of the high feminisation in our school system, it is mainly the task of boys. For them, the situation is not easy. They have to touch their teachers "intimately" and, on top of that they are watched by the whole hall. Less formal dancing of students and teachers happens during the following course of the ball. A formal character also is dancing with parents. These occasions have a special dance repertory – most often polka, valčík, and the (English) waltz.

The informal dancing in the course of the ball depends a lot on the accompanying music band. In the case of the ball I am speaking about, this influence was very destructive. The band did not play any recognisable dances of the repertory, which the students knew from their dance courses. The music, most often in 4/4, was not of a certain character; sometimes even not of any dancing character. The only suitable way of moving to it was the so called "ploužák", slow shuffling in the very close holding of the couple. In the case of the graduation ball of my son in 2012, the music played by another band was slightly more suitable for dancing.

The performance dancing is presented by students and by the guest performers, as already mentioned. The performance of the guest dancers is usually virtuosic in the style of competitive ballroom dancing, or it can have erotic features. The festive entrance of the class is based on marching in rows with more or less dancing movements and specific movement stylisation according to the dancing abilities and ambitions of the class members. The performance is deeply influenced by the representative function of it, so there is little space for individual expression and humour. This is why it provokes conflict
among students caused by different images of its appropriate form. The spectators, especially family members perceive it as one of the most important parts of the ball, and they assign great importance to the way "their" student looks and presents herself/himself during it. A similar opportunity for self-presentation in movement can be connected also with the sashing, as in the case of my son's ball. There, each student went to the class-teacher along a relatively long path, accompanied by music chosen by her/him as an expression not only of their musical preferences but their "personalities" too. Some of the students used this occasion as a dancing exhibition; others visibly suffered while walking through the empty space, watched by the whole hall. Compared with the festive entrance, this solo-entrance was more individual, and its mood, serious or humorous, depended on the student.

The midnight performance is in contrast to the festive entrance. It is supposed to be a creative expression of the class and also of the individuality of each student. It has to be funny, inventive, and original. It is why it provokes also the struggles inside the class. It seems to be the opposite to the entrance. Formal, serious, elegant self-presentation stands in contrast to the free creativity, individuality, ridiculing and self-ridiculing. These two dance elements can be seen as a serious ritual and its opposite in the sense of Bachtin's concept of the culture of laughter [Bachtin 2007:9–19].

Summary

This contribution is only the first insight into the problematic of the Graduation Ball in contemporary Czech society. It needs deepening in several comparisons – with the shape of the event in other, similar or different places and with former balls in the same school and in other schools in Kladno. But, already now, it seems to me that the graduation ball plays an important role in the spectrum of contemporary Czech dancing events by its ability to fulfill variable functions, some of them hardly available in contemporary people's lives. One important attribute seems to be the mixing of serious festivity, "celebrations" with humorous, laughter anti-cultic elements. As the centre of the graduation ball is the school (an institution and organisation from the sociological point of view at once), it is also possible to think about its functions inside the school. The Gymnasium in Kladno keeps carefully some school traditions, such as the Majáles (the student festivity in May connected with student sketches performed in public), the Christmas Academy (performed in the former chapel of the Gymnasium with the participation both of the students and teachers and many former students in the audience), and the Last Ringing (again dealing with students of the last year, including sketches, collecting money and attacks on people with water, perfumes, vinegar). These occasions give opportunity for stepping out of regular relations between students and teachers based on a hierarchy of power and the prescribed roles of people-members in each organisation [Keller 2012:82]. Even when the school, as a specialised organization, tends to strict differentiation between the roles of students and teachers, in the course of the graduation ball it is also possible to use more informal patterns of interaction [Bauman 1997:86]. Thus, the hierarchy is softened but also newly re-legitimised; it is a kind of social "hygiene" of the school organisation. It would be interesting to study more of this aspect of the graduation ball and to find out how much is common or specific to some schools. It is obvious that this function of the graduation ball (and other similar events) is not possible without the more or less conscious balancing between serious and carnival, formal and informal characteristics.
Figure 1. The building of the Gymnasium in Kladno
(Photograph by Tomáš Gremlica, 2010)

Figure 2. Graduation Ball 2010 - The festive entrance of the class
(Photograph by Rosana Zvelebilová, 2010)
Figure 3. The Sashing
(Photograph by Rosana Zvelebilová, 2010)

Figure 4. Dancing with teachers – the exceptional couple of girl-student and man-teacher
(Photograph by Rosana Zvelebilová, 2010)
Endnotes
* Title differs from the symposium programme.
1. Reálné Gymnasium (the translation Real Gymnasium in English is not truly appropriate) according to former terminology, means the school that is concentrated on education in the natural sciences and modern languages. This is the opposite to the Classical Gymnasium with ancient Greek and Latin in its curriculum.

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LET'S GO TO VESELICA, LET'S GO DANCING

The aim of the paper is to present *veselica* events of today. The *veselica*, a village festival, is an entertainment event with dance and music, drinks and food, games and raffles. Such dance events are held by various societies (largely voluntary associations), generally outdoors. The article is an ethnographic survey about current dance practice in the rural part of Slovenia. By and large the carriers of *veselica* see it as a perfectly normal (and contemporary) event. Although *veselica* derives from past forms of dance events, the carriers, that is, organisers and participants, do not emphasise the traditional aspects of the event.

*Keywords:* Slovenia; *veselica*; festival; dance event; ethnography

The aim of the paper is to present dance events of today. It is an ethnographic survey about *veselica*, a current dance practice in the rural part of Slovenia. By and large the carriers of *veselica* see it as a perfectly normal (and contemporary) event. Although *veselica* derives from past forms of dance events, the carriers, that is, organisers and participants, do not emphasise the traditional aspects of the event.

The *veselica*, a village festival, is an entertainment event with dance and music, drinks and food, games and raffles. Such dance events are organised by various societies (largely voluntary associations), generally outdoors, and usually with the purpose of ensuring enough funds for their existence (see Figure 1). In addition to its clearly expressed entertainment function, *veselica* also has economic and even more concealed social-cultural functions. *Veselica* events usually take place on summer weekends (on Friday or Saturday evenings or on Sunday afternoons). They can be distinguished from one another by their names, which reflect their sponsoring organisation (for example, the fire-fighters society, a hunting society). It is a public, usually annual form of social life in the rural parts of Slovenia, home to half of the Slovenian population.

Figure 1: A scene of *veselica*: the backyard of a fire house and a nearby meadow.
(Photograph by Rebeka Kunej, 2012 June 24 – Archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)
The word *veselica* derives from the verb "*veseliti se*" (to enjoy oneself, to be merry) and conveys a fairly limited and specific meaning compared to its usage in the past. Meglič and Šprajc state that in the nineteenth century *veselica* stood for entertainment [Meglič; Šprajc 1982:8]. Thus the word did not denote only a popular outdoor event but also an event attended only by a certain class, a smaller party (of friends or family) in an inn or a private house or garden, or even a cultural event or meeting without dancing where only concert music was played. The use of the term became narrower in association with the establishments of volunteer fire-fighters associations during the interwar period when these associations were also the main *veselica* organisers. This is still true today. Nowadays the most common *veselica* is one organised by a volunteer fire-fighters society, therefore, the expression *veselica* is now synonymous with the "*gasilska veselica*" (fire-fighters *veselica*) [Meglič; Šprajc 1982:42].

The organisers of *veselica* events are most often the local volunteer fire-fighters society. The majority of these are in the non-urban environment, that is, in the villages. Members of the society and their families take active part in the organisation, as they take care of all the administrative formalities, they prepare and decorate the venue, hire the music band and organise the food and the bar. As the purpose of such an event is primarily to ensure financial means for the survival of the fire-fighters society, a raffle and other games are often the means with which additional revenue is ensured. Although the organisation and preparation of the dance event lies with the members of the fire brigade, other villagers and the broader community directly or indirectly take part as well. Some of them formally, others informally by attending the dance event and, thus they substantially contribute to the success of the event. One of the success criteria is financial gain, which mostly depends on the number of attendees and their open handedness.

Today's *veselica* events originate in the folkdance tradition in the countryside. Traces lead us to the celebrations of patrons saint's days, which was dedicated to the local church. Such sacral celebrations, which were transformed into profane events throughout the day, were predominantly held in the summer. Organising these events was strongly associated with young males in the village in the past. This community of unmarried lads, who completed military service, has been replaced by a local volunteer fire-fighter or similar society, which is still dominated by lads and men. But in this case their marital status is not a restrictive factor in organising such dance events. Even today the main organisers are men in a local community but, of course, with great support of women. The men are mainly responsible for the heavy physical work associated with the preparation and organisation of the event while the women of the community have a much more invisible role. However their contribution is irreplaceable.

In the past it was proverbially considered that in the countryside *veselica* events rarely ended without a fight. And also today certain stereotypes are connected with *veselica*. They can be briefly summarized in a sentence: *veselica* entails drinking with the music being performed by a *narodnozabavni ansambel* (a folk-pop band) and dancing to the rhythms of a waltz or polka. The process of creating "new folklore" is also linked to the phenomenon of *veselica*. In the 1990s a new stock phrase was created, which has become almost proverbial: "*Ni veselice brez Golice.*" ("There is no *veselica* without the 'Na Golici’ music"). The 'Na Golici’ polka is the most popular song of the famous folk-pop band, Avsenik's band in Slovenian,’ and truly there is almost no *veselica* where this song would not be played at least once.

*Veselica* is a fundamental phenomenon of today's dance culture in rural, but largely urbanised, areas. It is still an important place for learning the first dance steps for children and youngsters, and is an important space for socialising, interaction and making new
connections. It can be a place, where you meet your future husband or wife, where you are seen and you see others. The purpose of veselica is not just dancing, but also to achieve one's own interests on the one hand, and with the financial contributions (voluntary contributions at the entrance, entry fee, purchasing raffle tickets, buying food and drinks) to help local organizations facilitate the functioning and/or in such way as to contribute to the improvements in the local area on the other hand. Therefore veselica can be also a dance event without dancing for some of the participants, but they are still (in another perspective) active participants of such dance event.

The territory from where people arrive at veselica can be called the area of influence. In the past this was considerably smaller than today. Before World War II this area was limited to an hour of walking [Meglič; Šprajc 1982:21], which would be in the radius of six kilometres. With increased mobility of the inhabitants after World War II the area of influence has increased as well. Additionally, with the development of the means of communication, people have become better informed about events. In addition to verbal information and posters, radio and television, mobile phones and internet are also used.

The defining element of each veselica is live music. When a very popular and well-known music band is to play at the event, the organisers can expect good attendance as people from more distant places will also come. It seems that the more popular the group is, the more representative the performance of the music band becomes. Many people come just because of the popularity of the music ensemble (they "come to see the band"). The concept of participation, which prevails at veselica in the sense of dance, is thus considerably diminished.\(^3\)

Figure 2: The atmosphere on the dance floor at one o'clock in the morning.
(Photograph by Rebeka Kunej, 2012 June 25 – Archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)
Music and dance are still the most characteristic and indispensable elements of every veselica. Dances and dancing are, thus, directly linked to the music practices. The organisers hire a music group, which plays for dancing and amusing the participants; most often so called narodnozabavni ansambel (a folk-pop band). Musically an event is connected to the genre of folk-pop music belonging to mass culture. In general, what (and how) will be danced on the dance floor depends on the choice of the band. According to my observations, the tempo of dance music has been increasing over the decades, but also during the event. In the evening, at the beginning, a band usually starts with polkas and waltzes and after some time (a few hours) a repertoire of folk-pop band becomes more pop oriented. In the summer of 2012 at 2:00 a.m. in the morning, an older man (approximately 60 years old) complained about the music to me and explained: "This is not for me. It is too fast. It is too fast to dance to it" [Kunej 2012].

A code of appropriate behaviour on the dance floor has also changed. Today we can see two women dancing together and this is acceptable behaviour on the dance floor. It was very different fifteen years ago, when such female couples appeared only in more private spaces (closed dance parties).

Veselica is a contemporary phenomenon of Slovenian society. Today, it has to deal with the influence of mass and popular culture and it is embedded in the flow of commercialisation and globalisation. The changes in our lives have had impact also on the changes in the veselica events and the connected practices, as for example, the impact of the internet. You can look online at portal www.veselica.info, where all the information about upcoming veselica events in Slovenia can be found (the place, date and hour and the name and presentation of a music band which will perform live).

Figure 3: Veselica under a big tent: Oktoperfest in Vrždenec.
(Photograph by Rebeka Kunej, 2012 October 6. – Archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)
The people always look for new ways to enrich their goals. Below is an example of how the local fire fighter society collected money to buy a new fire engine. Besides an ordinary veselica in summer time, the fire-fighters of a small village Vrždenec decided to organise an oktoperfest. This is an event that has taken place under a big tent on the first weekend in October for several years now (see Figure 3). The name of this event is actually a play of words on the more commonly known name of the Bavarian Oktoberfest. The organisers took the name of the month October, (in Slovenian oktober) and the local word for beer, ‘ger’, to name the event Oktoperfest na Vrzdencu (Oktoperfest in Vrzdenec). The connection to the more popular event in Bavaria in Germany can also be seen from the visual image, that is, the design of posters that invite people to the two-day event (see Figure 4). Apart from the standard forms, such as posters, to announce the events, the organisers also use more modern media, for example Facebook. Of course, these contemporary forms of communication address the younger public mostly. Oktoperfest in Vrždenec is not the only event taking place in a time of the year when the weather is not so favorable and when there are substantially fewer events than in the ideal months (from June to the beginning of September). The organisation of veselica events into the autumn is a result of the fact that the rent of large tents has become financially more accessible in the last years. Some organisers will even rent the tents in the summer and so ensure attendance despite the fickle weather (summer storms and rain). The above-mentioned case is not unique in that there are many similar adjustments.

Figure 4: A poster inviting people to the Oktoperfest festival, 2011

The phenomenon of veselica in the Slovenian territory is on one hand traditional, while it can also be a contemporary and mass event. This may be the reason that ethnologists and ethnochoreologists tend to overlook it in their research. Perhaps this phenomenon will become more attractive for foreign researchers in the future, so let me conclude with the title of this article in Slovenian: "Gremo na veselico, gremo plesat!"

LET'S GO TO VESELICA, LET'S GO DANCING
Endnotes
1. For a better understanding of what veselica is see the posting on YouTube: Gasilska veselica na Pijavi Gorici - 19.7.08 [misko331 2008].
2. The music piece Na Golici is titled Trompetenecho in German and Trumpet Echoes in English. It is one of the most widely played instrumental melodies in the world, composed by the Slovenian band, known as Ansambel bratov Avsenik (the Avsenik Brothers Ensemble) or as Slavko Avsenik und seine Original Oberkrainer abroad.
3. Concepts of participatory and presentational performances of music events are compared by Turino (2008).
4. Vrzdeneck is a smaller village 20 kilometres away from the capital of Slovenia with approximately 150 houses and 480 inhabitants.

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Oktoperfest.

Turino, Thomas.
Festivals are effective tools for developing destination images, revitalising economies, cultures, traditions, building civic pride, and providing opportunities for communities to deal with fine arts. Getz uses three words for festivals: "themed public celebrations". These include a large range of events, including sports, concerts, participatory recreation, consumer shows, and hospitality places for sponsors and educational events (Getz 2010), which enhance the attractiveness of the destinations for visitors. This paper reports a case study of the characteristics of visitors to special ‘events’ at the Fourth Festival of Hellenic Folk Culture, in Piraeus, Greece. By comparing the characteristics of visitors on event days it was apparent that the events had particular appeal to local people and were successful at encouraging repeat visits. Visitors enjoyed their visits and, moreover, despite claims that reenactments have little educational value, a large proportion of them considered that they had learned something from their visit.

**Keywords**: Greece; tourism; mega-events; re-enactments; festivals; cultural management

This paper is the result of a three-day field study, at the Fourth Festival of Hellenic Folk Culture held on Friday, 16 April to Sunday, 18 April, 2010 (from 10:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.). Having as a starting point the nature of festival visitors, from their own perspective, I investigate empirically the motivations for attending a folk festival using questions such as: are attendees motivated by the theme of the festival or by the festival itself? Who are they? The main aim of the paper, therefore, is a description and commentary of the festival, through the eyes of the visitors, while also attempting to explain their relationship with the underlying nature and role of the celebration expressed in this festival. I will start with a short description of this cultural event; how it was presented on online advertisements and special reports, followed by a description of what we actually experienced during these three days: observing the entire space; visiting all the galleries; participating in the various parallel events; and interviewing a great number of visitors. 1

**The 4th Festival of Hellenic Folk Culture: How was the festival presented on the web?**

The Fourth Festival of Hellenic Folk Culture, a commercial event under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and of the Ministry of Rural Development & Food, took place on the 16, 17, and 18 April, 2010, in the OLP (the festival centre) of Piraeus and the great port of the country. The organisers were: the European Organisation for Strategic Planning (EOSP), the Prefecture of Piraeus, the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport at the University of Athens and the Democritus University. Sponsors of the event were: the magazine Chorevo, and the free press newspapers such as City Press, Metro, Weekend X-press, and Aftdioikisi.gr. The festival was open to the public and admission was free.
As it was advertised on the EOSP website, the annual meeting participants would be: municipalities and prefectures, as well as any type of organisation related to culture; cultural associations, museums and universities, women's associations, publishers, craftsmen, traditional costume makers, folk artists, shadow-puppet practitioners, dance groups, choruses, and so on. In the advertisement it was also referred to as the largest institutionalised meeting of people, dealing with all kinds of popular culture in Europe, with over 30,000 people attending. Its primary aim was the presentation, development and conservation of "the inexhaustible wealth and [of the] authentic beauty of the Greek folk culture", which functioned as "the connecting bridge between the past, present and future of the Greek people". Its underlying purpose, however, was the development of local tourism through the promotion of "authentic folk spirit, local creations and local traditions." In addition, it also aimed to enhance intellectual exchange and cooperation between governmental authorities, individual researchers and scholarly institutions in Europe, or, from another perspective, expressed in a more poetic manner, "between governmental authorities and local genuine expression of all aspects of popular culture".

The proclamation, in the form of an argument which highlights the importance of the event, supported the idea that Greece was "probably the richest place in customs and traditions in Europe," with "traditions that are lost in time, yet still remain unchanged" and that "tradition is a part of Greek life and a point of reference for where they are in the world" [ESOP 2010:online].

The site

The festival consisted of nearly one hundred, maybe more, individual galleries, organised in three parallel lines, representing various Greek communities which were illustrated with material from participating cultural collections. Various parallel events were also planned such as, film presentations, parades of folk groups, dance performances, music concerts and cooking competitions, all aimed at attracting a completely different sector of visitors to the festival. Although the galleries were the major attraction of the folk festival, the programme included panel discussions with governmental representatives, artistic events, and educational activities for children as well as presentations of books, CDs and DVDs containing "rare recordings from unknown parts of Greece". Honoree regions in the 2010 festival were: Asia Minor, Pontus and Cappadocia, whose collections fell under the themed umbrella "culture of greatness memorable homelands". The festival was initiated by the EOSS, a private organisation probating research, education and marketing services for the tourist industry. The whole event was promoted as a "festival of folk culture and fun."

In a separate space, there were two stages for the performances, which, as they suggested, "would be filled with people from all over Greece". In these two stages, through presentations of dance and customs, music concerts, and so on, the "authentic local folk culture" would be presented, and there would also be tributes to the music and traditional dances derived from specific areas of "local exponents of tradition". Guidelines concerning authenticity were very strict; ignorance of them would be a serious cause for exclusion. The dances should be performed only by adults, who ought to highlight specific communities, and the dancers should wear the corresponding local costumes, or replicas of authentic garments. Any alteration in the choreography, or any other innovation, was not allowed. The dances should be rendered with authenticity and local style, supported by live musical accompaniment of local musicians who ought to sing the authentic lyrics in the local idiom (see Figure 1). Finally, the customs that would be presented should be related to specific Greek traditions, and each artistic presentation
should to be accompanied by comments, with a maximum duration of fifteen minutes. Regarding the parallel events, they consisted of a presentation of the "original Greek tradition made by local creators, having as their goal the promotion of Greek cultural heritage and culture, a link between the past and present and a determinant key of the future" [ESOP 2010:online].

Beyond these two dimensions just described, a scientific conference on the triptych of culture-tourism-governmental authorities, was planned, which, however, was canceled a few days before the inauguration of the ceremony. The aim of the conference was to discuss the development of the country's rich cultural heritage "within the new united Europe", and to expand on the role of the government in the development of cultural tourism, focusing on technological issues, funding, partnerships, technical development, cultural management, and so on.

**People of the festival: the attendees and the exhibitors**

This three day event seemed to be a big gathering of people, which escalated during the weekend. The highest attendance was on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning, as well as during the dance performances. The majority of attendees were local residents, and secondary attendees were regionally based visitors. Visitors were not a monolithic entity. In this body of people, we could distinguish subgroups with strong age differences, but most of them were middle-aged and the older people were sometimes accompanied by their children or grand children. There also seemed to be an age difference between the participants in the various events and the onlookers. Visitors could choose to attend each of the elements of the festival or ignore some of them. Older people, and young boys and girls, were those who ran the individual galleries, either as volunteers, or as professionals.

Through the dance performances, the organisers tried to make a dynamic effort to relate youth with the promotion of an ideal image of Greek tradition, although it is known that the current reality in the provinces is very different, mainly due to urbanisation.

Regarding gender issues, the audience consisted of men and women, most of whom looked like they belonged to the ever-diminishing middle class, but who were probably people of lower economic classes, as folk culture is considered 'low art'. Visitors wore simple clothes, without any sophisticated challenges. The dances were performed by mixed-gender groups, while the musicians were mostly men.

As a result, some questions arose concerning the purpose of the festival, or even, if it was possible for it to be accomplished in the first place? For whom was the festival useful? If the primary goal of the festival was to highlight local cultures, then, what was the underlying purpose, since visitors seemed to already be familiar with everything that was being displayed? And if visitors didn't know some of the customs presented, because they originated from different places than their own, could this be used as a powerful enough argument for the cultural and educational function of the festival? Additionally, even though the issue of the development of tourism was presented as one of the main goals of the festival, it was barely visible. How could this goal be achieved, when guests were mostly from the same place and they presented mainly exhibits of their own place of origin? The development of domestic tourism was certainly important, but I wonder, was this enough for the organisations, having spent so much money for this grandiose event?

The dominant trend of the event seemed to be the search for the familiar, and not for something different and exotic. At first sight, it seemed that this event took the form of celebrating itself. Contrary to the purpose officially stated, the festival, as content and performance, seemed to be very introverted. It also seemed that the organisers were
mainly focusing on those who already knew what was being presented, instead of trying to initiate new people.

In addition, visitors' motivations could also be evaluated according to the purpose of their visit. Some people were familiar with the subject of the festival, but others were not. Visitors would first visit the gallery of their own origin. With their presence, they wanted to support the effort of their association, municipality or region. Included in this familial category of visitors, were those who came to the festival in order to watch and support the dance team, or to spend time in order to help the team of exhibitors.

There were also people, without a specific purpose, who had visited or participated in the festival in the past and knew what to expect. There were also some who had had limited or no information about the event, who came to spend their time pleasantly. In this group belonged the passers-by, who attended mainly due to curiosity. However, especially in this year's event, I think that the number of people without a specific purpose was quite limited because of difficulties in access and the almost total absence of advertising. Word of mouth had functioned as the most effective way to attract visitors.

Visitors' behaviour was relatively homogeneous, but it also depended on the purpose that led them to the site. People passed in front of the showrooms talking to each other and pointing at the exhibits. They moved around the galleries in groups, but there were some individuals too. When they found something familiar to them, especially the elderly, they cut away from their team and tried to catch conversation with the people responsible in each showroom, in order to demonstrate their knowledge on the use of the object, tool or utensil. With the organisers having already infused everyday objects, with a more historical and academic dimension, the demonstration of local knowledge with respect to the exhibits seemed to gratify the visitors as it added another dimension. However, among the visitors, there were some who had a special goal to achieve in this grandioso event: a young man was looking to find a tailor to order local costumes for his dance group; and another tried to find the leader of a dance group in order to book them for a performance (Figure 2). It was also interesting that everyone tried to collect all printed materials (brochures, pamphlets, photographs, DVDs) offered by the various galleries (Figure 3). One elderly lady rebuked her friend because she ceaselessly gathered everything that was offered, to which she replied that "it is not junk dear! I collect everything to give to my grand children! They ought to learn what this festival is about! They have something to learn" [A.K. 2010: personal communication].

This attitude was not only expressed by visitors, but by exhibitors as well, who on the one hand tried to find free time to take pictures with their friends and relatives, and on the other, walked around the galleries for the collection of brochures, books, or anything else distributed by the galleries. It seemed that they were more interested in the creation of their own personal collection of festival memorabilia, than in the other activities that ran parallel to the exhibition. It seemed that this was their main goal. Even after the end of a choir performance, its members, the choir of KAPI (Open Centres for the Protection of Elderly), all elderly women, ran to the photographer to take photographs of them as a group. Then they waited in line to buy the photographs they liked, and after that they rushed among the galleries seeking any food on offer and collecting memorabilia. At the sight of elderly women fighting and squeezing among themselves to get the offered food, a woman commented, "I can't believe there is so much inapt behaviour; they are old women, they should behave in a proper manner, set an example"!

In the last century those who lived in Athens, had the tendency to become delocalised, which means that they did not define their identity in relationship to a community. During this festival, however, we had the feeling that the majority of people...
had the need to re-appreciate a sense of locality. Therefore, another factor influencing visitors' behaviour was their intention to stress this idea. From the very beginning, attendees – random passers-by or people with a particular purpose – tried to search for the showrooms of their origin, or places where they could find friends, relatives, or people whom they already knew.

There was no interaction between dancers, performers and the audience, since events were fully choreographed and had a standard form that prevented members of the audience to participate. However, there were some exceptions. For example, during the performance organised by the cultural association of the island of Naxos, the dancers offered candies and wine to the public, wishing good health to them. In addition, they distributed sheets containing the lyrics of the songs for the onlookers to sing with them. As interaction, or as a form of communication between performers and audience emerged, in some dance performances, some onlookers at the back of the space created a circle and started to dance. Finally, a relevant fact which abruptly took place was the spontaneous dance of a local priest. In the commentary which preceded the dance performance, the chair of the association explained: "the Eastern dance Kaggelaris that we will display now, is always led by a village priest, but, unfortunately, this time we have selected the oldest man of our group to lead the dance". As soon as the dancing began, a priest who accompanied the group rushed on to the stage and took his position in front of the circular line and started to dance as its leader. The priest's initiative revealed an element of spontaneity, which perhaps puts this particular performance outside the boundaries of full choreographed and staged performances. In this sense, music and dance were interpreted as a way to produce locality, to provide a sense of originality or authenticity.

In the showrooms, people's behaviour differed from that of other participants, since in this space they had to fulfill a very specific purpose, which they eagerly did. For instance, in the more commercial showrooms, they acted as salesmen, which meant that they promoted their products by demonstrating their assets, like the sellers from the women's cooperative who stressed that they sell traditional products that could not be found anywhere else, or that their products "are good for your health." In another showroom, where issues from the women's magazine Alexia were displayed on a bench, the lady responsible was a little more considerate. She suggested that "embroidery has no age", or "this magazine contains detailed instructions and if you follow them, you can easily succeed". What we got from these examples is that though the sellers' intentions were clearly commercial, each one was trying to highlight the idea of tradition in a way that was understandable and accessible to all.

Regarding the people at the showrooms with cultural content, their entire interest focused on the promotion of the region or village and of their culture. When they did not amuse themselves in their booths – eating, drinking, singing and dancing, they tried to reach the visitors by talking about their village. What impressed us was the way these people handled the 'unknown' visitors (see Figure 4), who came to see the exhibits and asked questions. It seemed that hospitality, as it was expressed in these cases, had passed on to the backstage for several of them, who actually preferred to create an intense sense of close-knit team of friends and relatives, excluding the unknown guests and showing a dominant local disposition. It was not very clear if this reaction was a result of visitor behaviour, or if it had just happened unexpectedly. Even at moments of rest, when there were not many visitors, the behaviour of people on the stands was proportional to the area where they were. Men usually sat in groups, drank wine, played music, and talked, while
the women, often dressed in traditional attire, embroidered or were engaged in food preparation.

In general, visitors were satisfied by the whole organisation and so their comments and responses were more or less also positive. They always referred to the festival as an 'important institution', often giving the impression that they did not know exactly what they really meant. They also stressed that the organisation of such events was certainly very beneficial, and that it should be repeated more often, although there was always a 'but'. For example, many were not fully satisfied with the aesthetic result of the festival, as far as the space of OLP was concerned. They expected something better, particularly when comparing it to the previous festival, which was held at the Peace and Friendship Stadium, a much preferred venue. They were also excited about the next festival (2011), which, as it was announced, will be held at the Athens Commercial Centre (Zappeion Megaron), a much more deserving space for such an important event.

Several methodological issues

This short ethnographic field-research was conducted throughout the three-day event. The first day we walked around the various galleries observing people preparing and fixing the various exhibits, listening to discussions, noticing behaviours and reactions in general. We tried to collect pamphlets, posters, tourist guides, or any printed material. The second day our aim was more specific. Each one from the ten-member team had to concentrate on one gallery, to speak with the people involved and the visitors, and finally to watch the corresponding dance event. Of course, part of our aim was to watch the behaviour and reactions of the people who attended the performances. The last day we attended all the events, and we recorded the performances as well as all of the official speeches (Figure 5).

The way we studied the festival as a team was systematic, each one of us had a specific goal to accomplish. We collected photographs, we filmed the space and the galleries, and we wrote detailed descriptions about all the happenings. Among the members of the research team, the methodological tool was common, mainly because through the visitors' behaviour, reactions and words we could unfold a particular aspect of the festival. We used general concepts such as tradition, authenticity and 'Greekness', which were understood by both the participants and the visitors. Deliberately, we focused on the festival's image created through advertisements and the image we saw during these three days, because we felt that there was a great difference between these two approaches, which would help us understand the political, the social and the cultural dimension of the festival. This special event that reflected the aspirations of the political, cultural, and social elites who financed, governed, and constructed it, was a unique moment in time, with folk performances and other activities to satisfy specific needs, involving the local population in a shared experience for their mutual benefit. Characteristics included: celebration marked by special observances, fun performances, conviviality and cheerfulness. Therefore, this paper contributes to our understanding of the character of this special event which creatively produced culture, added value to the various communities involved and, in general, celebrated resilience.

While this case study cannot be regarded as a definitive or normative statement on event visitors at folk festivals, it can make a contribution to a greater understanding of the impact of events and re-enactments on visitor characteristics. The need is for the findings of this study to be placed in the broader context of other comparative and systematic research into events at heritage sites.
Figure 1. Live music is always the best music for dancing. We are here and we enjoy some Greek folk dancing. (Photograph by I. Loutzaki, 2010)

Figure 2. A folk costume maker: "We create on demand any traditional costume. Costumes from all regions: children sizes, adult sizes: women and men. You can buy costumes online. Good prices". (Photograph by I. Loutzaki, 2010)
Figure 3. In our shop you will find CDs, books, DVDs and music instruments. (Photograph by I. Loutzaki, 2010)

Figure 4. "It is time for a song". Men usually sat in groups, drank wine, played music, and talked (Oraiokastro, region of Pontos). (Photograph by I. Loutzaki, 2010)
Endnotes

* Title differs from title in symposium programme.

1. The collection of the material was carried out by 10 students, as part of the seminar on Dance and Politics (summer semester 2010), run under the guidance of I. Loutzaki at the University of Athens.


3. Every year among the various geographical regions of Greece, the festival selects one geographical region and all events, talks, cultural performances or parallel activities are related to this region. In 2010, however, they had selected three geographical-cultural areas lying beyond the borders of the Hellenic nation-state.

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DANCE PERFORMANCES AS PART OF COMMUNITY FESTIVALS IN TIMIȘOARA, ROMANIA

This paper looks at dance performances that take place as part of community festivals in the city of Timișoara. These festivals, which are summarised under five categories, are modern events intended to involve the local community. The majority of those performing are local children and adults who represent many of the co-located ethnicities in Romanian Banat. Several different styles of dance performance can be seen at these festivals, including suites of local dances, choreographic 'moments', custom plays and 'moving scenery' that provides a backdrop to local singers' performances. Overall the conclusion is that the repertoire performed at these events tends to be similar irrespective of the type of festival although there is some event dependant variation.

Keywords: Romania-Banat; festival; dance; performance; ethnicities

In this paper I look at dance performances that take place as part of community festivals in, and around, the city of Timișoara, Romania. Currently, during every weekend between April and October at least one festival takes place. These festivals range from small scale afternoon events to the five-day long international Festivalul Inimilor held every July and many of these festivals include performances of music, song and dance involving local folk ensembles and folk dance groups. These festivals are modern events intended to involve the local community and, apart from the festivals with international participation, all the participants, both performers and audience, are local children and adults. The city of Timișoara prides itself in its multicultural heritage and these events frequently include performances by groups representing many of the co-located ethnicities, thus providing a stage for the performance of a mix of complex identities linked to place, situation or ethnicity. The role of the dancers in these multi-sensory events includes performance of suites of local dances, sometimes combined with a staged representation of a local custom, or by providing, what I term as, 'moving scenery' during performances by local singers.

Festivals in Timișoara include a wide range of music, dance and song genres ranging from folk or local dance, music and song to pop, opera, and jazz. In this paper, I am specifically concerned with festivals (or festive events) that include performances of folk (or local) dance music and song, and to be more precise with the dance performances that are included in these events. My on-going fieldwork in Timișoara has allowed me to study these events on a longitudinal basis over a period of seven years, thus, enabling me to comment on changes over time in the dance performances and representational strategies of those involved [Shay 2006:161], as these complex festive forms respond to the economic and social realities in the surrounding world [Guss 2000:23].

Festive events in Timișoara

The term festival is applied to a wide range of cultural events in Timișoara, and from an outsider's perspective, other events that do not include the word 'festival' in their title, also fall within the realms of what might be considered to be festive activity. For the
purposes of this paper, I would summarise those festivals that include performances of local dance and music under the following categories:

1. Festivals with international participation where the groups performing include local groups involving all co-located ethnicities, plus visiting groups from elsewhere in Romania and outside Romania (examples that fall into this category are: the annual Festivalul Inimilor, Serbian Festival, Student's Carol Festival and Ethnici ties Festival). In these cases the dance, music and song performances form the central part of the event. These festivals also often include a parade of the participating groups around the city centre prior to the opening performance of the festival as part of the spectacle and to attract members of the public to come to watch the performances.

2. The second category that I would propose covers smaller scale, calendrical events, usually lasting one (or maximum two) days for example saints' days (known as Ruga in Banat) or days for the city and its sectors (Cărțile Mehala, Cărțile Steauna - Fabrica). These occasions include dance performances by local folk ensembles within the overall event that also includes some combination of a religious service and a celebratory meal, a local fair with some fairground stall and one or two rides for children and possibly other genres of performance.

3. The third category involves local competitive festivals (examples: Vetre Străbune, Din Comoara Satului, Lada cu Zestre). These are organised either by the country cultural office (Lada cu Zestre), a local cultural independent organisation (Din Comoara Satului organised by Pro Datina Association) or a local school teacher (Vetre Străbune). These competitions involve several rounds and usually cumulate in a gala performance and prize giving. They include categories for both groups and individuals, and the participants can include children and adults depending on the competition.

4. The fourth category is children's festivals: These festivals are organised as a showcase for music and dance performances by children's groups from local schools or cultural centres. Example are Children's Day on 1st June, summer weekend children's festivals held at the Banat village museum, festivals for raising money for charity such as the Inima pentru copii (Heart for Children) festival, and the annual twenty-four hour charity, Maratonul Speranței, for children with muscular dystrophy. The groups that take part in these festivals usually include groups from many of the co-located ethnicities including Romanians, Serbs, Roms, and Bulgarians. In some cases, these festivals also include other activities for children, such as face painting, pottery workshops, or calligraphy.

5. The final category is festivals for local produce and gastronomy. These festivals include the annual wine festival (there is a wine producing area east of Timișoara around the town of Recaș), the beer festival that is organised by the local Timişoreana beer company (founded in 1718) and festivals for gastronomy, traditional produce (Târgul Traditionale festival), autumn produce or specific agricultural produce including paprika, honey, and vegetables. At these events, the dance and music performances only take the form of entertainment with the production or consumption of the produce as the main focus of the event.

Stoeltje observes that festivals are, 'collective phenomena' which take place 'at calendrically regulated intervals and are public in nature, participatory in ethos, complex in structure, and multiple in voice, scene, and purpose' [Stoeltje 2002:271]. The festivals in Timișoara mentioned above are either small scale one or two day events, linked to the
local calendar, or larger events with regional or international participation, in which case they fulfil Manning's terminology of spectacles as they are 'large scale cultural productions that use visual imagery and are watched by a mass audience' [Manning 1992:291]. They are financed either by the city mayor's office, the country cultural office or corporate or private sponsors. These events are mainly intended for a local urban audience that may include some passing tourists (only a few of which have come to the city specifically for the event). They are, therefore, community events that, as Stoeltje says, 'serve purposes rooted in group life' [Stoeltje 2002:261]. The majority of these festivals are held on outdoor stages at venues in the city centre or on the outskirts of the city (Figure 1), although the qualifying rounds of the competitions and festivals held in winter are held indoors mostly in the Municipal or Students' Culture Houses. These locations are easily accessible for the locals either on foot, by bus, or by car. Entry is free, and so the events are open to all (note this includes the various rounds of the competitive festivals). The overall event programme is, generally, planned to draw in different sections of the local audience. Many of these festivals take place at a fixed time in the annual calendar so interested locals can anticipate the dates. The events are also publicised in local print press, on the internet and on local television and radio in the days immediately preceding the event.

The dance, music and song performances that take part during these festivals can be the main part of proceedings, or are there only to provide 'entertainment' for the participants who are primarily engaged in the main activity of the festival (consuming wine, beer or local food) or raising money for local charities. In addition to the cultural performances [Singer 1955:27] the overall proceedings of these events usually includes food and drinks stalls, stalls selling local produce, craft items or cheap plastic toys, and sometimes fairground rides, so these festivals have a commercial purpose as centres of local consumption as well as providing entertainment. The audience numbers vary according to the event and are, frequently, reported by the local press: For example, the Timișoara Wine Festival usually has the largest audience numbers (totalling 30,000 [Paulescu 2009]), followed by the Ruga (totalling 10,000 [Timis online 2010], and the five-day long Festivalul Inimilor has audiences of around 5,000 per evening [Timis online 2012]).

Festivals can include gala performances but gala performances can take place without being inserted into a festival. They can take the form of a competition, but not all competitions call themselves festivals (broadly the difference is that they are termed as festivals if they are open events that the 'public' can attend). During the summer period there may be up to three festive events taking place at the same time within the city and its environs. For example on 3rd June, 2012, the head of the sound amplification crew that contracts to the Municipal Culture House told us that they were providing equipment and sound engineers for three festive events, the International Serbian festival, a festival performance connected to the forthcoming local elections and the sectors festival in the Steaua-Fabric quarter.

The festivals included in this review are all 'modern' events that in their present form can only be traced back to, at the earliest, the period following 1989. As Anca Giurchescu commented when this paper was presented at the Symposium, the use of the term 'festival' was not used in Romanian prior to the communist period so all events with festival in their title are modern constructs, which is in line with Stoeltje's observation that events that have festival in their titles are 'generally contemporary modern constructions, employing festival characteristics but serving the commercial, ideological, or political purposes of self-interested authorities or entrepreneurs' [Stoeltje 2002:261-2].
Styles of dance performances during festivals in Timișoara

The locally based groups of dancers that take part in dance performances during these festivals include children's groups based at culture houses and in local schools, groups affiliated to cultural associations belonging to the co-located ethnicities who live in and close to Timișoara, amateur adult folk ensembles in particular the various generations of ensemble Timișul based at the Municipal Culture House, the Timișoara students' ensemble Doina Timișului, and the Timiș county professional folk ensemble Banatul. The majority of the dance performances include similar material irrespective of the festival, although there is some festival dependant variation. In the case of the Romanian groups, these performances most often include one or two suites comprising local Banat dances with minor arrangements for stage presentation. Children's groups usually perform the simpler dance suites based on a combination of local dances with some spatial arrangement to enable movements around the stage space (Figure 2). In the case of the local Romanian children's groups these suites are either made up of dances from the Banat mountain or Banat plain ethnographic regions. These suites are, generally, shorter and contain less complex figures and quick pirouettes than those done by older dancers. The groups from the other ethnicities also perform simple arrangements of dances that are linked to their ethnicity in the Banat area as well as, or alternatively, material from their 'homeland'.

In addition to dance suites the other styles of performance that can be seen include what the local choreographers term as choreographic 'moments', these being a staged arrangement that incorporates a local singer in a choreographic depiction of the village hora or a village wedding. The dancers perform simple dances in an open circle or in couples around the singer. These staged arrangements may also include short portrayals of specific village customs such as a wedding or the celebration of a lad leaving for the army. In a 'moment' the dance and song is the main element of performance as opposed to acting. These moments differ from the 'custom plays' that are more commonly seen during competitive festivals. These plays are short depictions based on one village custom where the acting is the main part of the staged arrangement although these often also include one or two simple local dances, for example hora or brâul. The final style of performance that has become more common during events recently is dancers sharing the performance space with local singers to provide what I term as 'moving scenery'. This is when dancers arrange themselves on the stage in small groups or couples, and perform moves that are either 'impromptu' or else are co-ordinated between the group members whilst they are dancing.

Specific festivals in Timișoara

The following paragraphs look in more detail at specific events. Festivals for children's groups involve a large number of participants who bring with them an audience of family and friends who come specifically to watch the part of the performance that their child or teenager is involved in. Children's groups also take part in festivals in the city not dedicated specifically to children. In these cases the children's performances are at the beginning part of the programme usually early in the evening. The early timing of these performances ensures that a reasonable number of people are in the audience before most locals would come out for an evening event.1

Children's groups and adult groups from both Romanian and other local ethnicities take part in the competitive festivals. These festivals either contain categories for dance groups, customs plays, singers and instrumental soloists, or are festivals for local singers,
but even in the second case dancers take part by providing the 'moving scenery' behind 
the singers, or by the inclusion of dance suites to give an interlude between singers. The 
organisation of these festivals is aimed at community involvement. All those participating 
receive a certificate and those with the higher marks receive a cup and there are many 
categories of prize winners. The judges are locally known 'experts' and their commentary 
on each performance is encouraging as opposed to that in popular media talent shows.

The widest variety of styles of performance is seen at international festivals. I have 
talked about the international Festivalul Inimilor on previous occasions (Mellish; Green 
2009). This five-day festival is held in early July each year and includes performances by 
around eight to ten visiting groups from outside Romania, groups from other areas of 
Romania, local groups representing various co-located ethnicities as well as groups from 
villages in the Banat mountains (Figure 3). The foreign groups provide widely varied 
performances of the 'exotic' that are intended for entertainment for locals who do not 
necessarily come to events with only local music and dance. This festival is opened with 
a gala performance by the host group, ensemble Timișul who perform both local dance 
suites and suites from other regions of Romania (Figure 4).

The international students' Carol Festival held in early December is host ed by the 
Timișoara students' group, Doina Timișului, who invite students' dance ensembles from 
several universities in Romania, the Timișoara students' Serbian and Hungarian groups 
and two or three foreign students groups (from Bulgaria, Poland and Serbia). The idea 
behind the festival is that the groups perform dance suites that include varied staged 
representations of winter customs local to their group including carol singing, various 
masked creatures and mummers' plays (Figure 5). However, the visiting foreign groups 
often perform only their normal (all year round) repertoire.

The Banat Serbian Association organises an annual weekend festival of Serbian 
groups from Banat and Serbia. The 2012 festival also included groups from other 
ethnicities living in Banat: Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Bulgarians. It started with a 
parade across the city centre led by a visiting brass band from Serbia followed by the 
formal opening and then dance performances that lasted from mid-afternoon until late 
evening that were watched by a small audience. I have previously discussed the 
performances of the local co-located ethnicities at the annual Ethnicities Festival [Mellish 
2012]. These performances are similar to those seen at other festivals and include local 
and 'homeland' material, the difference being in the participation of groups representing a 
larger number of local ethnicities.

Dance performances as part of saints' days and city sector festivals usually include 
dance suites interspersed with performances by locally famous Romanian singers. The 
organised performances usually take place in the earlier part of the evening and once 
these are over the dancers either provide moving scenery behind the singers or join in 
with the social dancing. The festivals for local produce take place during the day (from 
mid-morning to mid-afternoon) and the performances of local music and dance are 
intended to create an atmosphere by providing a background for those attending the event. 
These festivals mostly involve only one or two groups who perform dance suites from 
their usual repertoire. During the annual beer and wine festivals, the folk programme 
takes place in the earlier parts of the evening and is followed by performances by pop 
singers that continue late into the night. The groups participating in the folk related part of 
the event are usually the local Romanian ensembles, who perform one or two dance suites 
as part of a longer programme involving well known local singers.

Conclusion
The inclusion of staged performances of folk dance in local festivals is accepted by locals as an integral part of these events and large numbers of children and young adults are involved in taking part in these dance performances. The local press seldom comment specifically on the dance performances in their post event press coverage (neither positively nor critically) which indicates that the presence of music and dance is not seen as exceptional by the mainly local audience.

My observations are that the repertoire performed by the various groups is more closely linked to the standard repertoire of that group than to the type of festival at which they are performing, in that a group will, on most occasions, perform the same repertoire irrespective of the context of the event. Exceptions to this are occasions when these performances are the central focus of the event when a more varied repertoire is included, this being both dance suites and 'moments' from local repertoire, and dance suites from other areas of Romania or Serbia, Bulgaria or Hungary. The selected repertoire depends on the group or the competitive festivals when a local dance may be included as part of a custom play that involves mostly acting.
Figure 2. Timișul children's ensemble at the Ruga Festival
(Photograph by Nick Green, 2009)

Figure 3. Stage in the Rose Park with ensemble Timișul performing at Festivalul Inimilor
(Photograph by Nick Green, 2008)

Figure 4. Ensemble Timișul at Festivalul Inimilor
(Photograph by Nick Green, 2012)
Endnotes

1. For example, this video is the Timișul children's ensemble performing on the summer stage in the Rose Park <http://youtu.be/D3S7u7fBKVw> (2013 December 5).

2. This video is the 'exotic' group Aloha performing at Festivalul Inimilor <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pmwPbHoekgk> (2013 December 5).

3. Ensemble Timișul performing a 'moment' comprising customs, song and choreography <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Pb_g4ozd98> (2013 December 5).

4. Ensemble Doina Timișului performing at the students Carol Festival <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rST809qYWRS> (2013 December 5).


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In the 1950s when many facts like the disappearance of traditional culture was realised, identifying Turkish Folk Dances repertory, the psychological and sociological gains of folk dances, and the need for folk dances to be brought together under an institutional roof became important issues. The Association for Promoting and Protecting Turkish Folk Dances appears to be one of the most serious attempts in the period when scientists dealing with folk culture and music discovered 'the realm of traditional dance'. This essay focuses on the folk dance festival activities organised by the Yapı ve Kredi Bank's Association for the Promotion and Protection of Turkish Folk Dances. The reasons for the major change seen in the folk dance activities that spread rapidly from the cities to everywhere in Anatolia are identified using historical and comparative methods through the support of written and visual documents.

*Keywords: Turkey; folk dance; modernisation; staging; nationalism; urbanisation*

The Folk Dance Festival held in İstanbul in 1954, and initiated by the Journalists' Society and the Yapı Kredi Bank, was highly reported by the press. After this success, the organised and serious staging of Turkish folk dances began with the Yapı Kredi Bank's founding, in 1955, of the Association for the Promotion and Protection of Turkish Folk Dances.\footnote{Thanks to this institution, folk dance festivals were organised between the years 1955 and 1969. Auditions were held in many cities in order to choose the local companies that would attend the festivals. Most of the competing companies made some changes in staging according to the aesthetic values of the day because they wanted to show the best of themselves on stage. This activity that caught everyone's attention made it possible to gather many written and visual materials on folk dances. Kazakhstan Tacikent declared the aims of the 'Association for the Promotion and Protection of Turkish Folk Dances' in the written statement in May, 1955, as following:

1. Collecting our folk dances with all their characteristics (such as movement, music or costumes)
2. Organising contests, courses, festivals, ceremonies and exhibitions that will help folk dances to survive as traditions
3. Encouraging the production of ballet music using the motifs in folk dances and oyoun havaları, thus helping people who are trying to create a Turkish Ballet [Bozkurt 2000:14].

The members of the Association would plan their works each year in order to identify the teams that would join the contest and visit everywhere in the country to observe the teams in their homelands. They were doing interviews with the teams that were considered as the future contestants, also informing the team leaders and local authorities about their studies and the necessary preparations.

In addition to its own institutionalisation, the Association also aimed at helping the folk dances to become organised by encouraging the local teams that were invited to the festivals to become a part of the organisations in their own regions.
It was decided to organise a scientific meeting in 1961 in order to emphasise the importance of studying folk dance theory. A seminar that lasted three days discussed only folk dances for the first time in Turkey. The subjects that became prominent in the papers presented can be summed up under the following titles: folk dances as a folklore product, field work data of traditional dances, studies aiming at classifying the traditional dances according to type and form and their regional distribution, religious dances, rhythmical and musical structure of traditional dances, and traditional performance forms of folk dances and their stage adaptations.

Seven hundred and twenty seven dances in total were performed in the festivals held by the Association for Promoting and Protecting Turkish Folk Dances in 1968. Four hundred and two of them were performed in İstanbul and three hundred and twenty five of them were danced at the festivals organised in the regionals.

The coloured and black and white photographs of the competing teams were taken both on stage and in other special locations then they were printed as postcards. The choreographic structures of dances were described in writing and their music and rhythms were notated.

The Regional Folk Dance Festival organised in 1968 and in 1969 was recorded by TRT in cooperation with the Radio Film Education Center. These videos were sent to the Radio Film Education Center of the Ministry of Education and they were used as educational materials for many years. These videos are the oldest visual recordings of folk dances that we have access to.

I ideological perspective of the Association's festival activities

Attempts to create national unity and identity

Folk dance activities in the Turkish Republic have been regarded as one of the most unifying elements in a nation state model having multi-cultural ethnicities. There was an attempt by the Association for the Promotion and Protection of Turkish Folk Dances to divide the number of teams equally among the seven geographical regions in Turkey. It can be observed that they tried to present the most elite examples of all dance types that are the products of different ethnic cultures. In most of the official or individual speeches given regarding the festivals some references to the cultural wealth caused by having such different varieties of dances were made and also the belief of 'unity in majority' was emphasised.

One of the main reasons for the festivals to be organised was Turkey's attempt to promote the rich variety of dances to its own citizens. The emphasis on promotion gives an idea concerning the lack of communication between the local cultures within the borders of Turkish Republic at that time [Öztürkmen 1998:203].

Modernisation and country promotion

In this era when westernisation and modernisation were being emphasised, the folk dance activities were compared to ballet in artistic terms. In light of these thoughts, the desire to create a 'Turkish Ballet' stands out as one of the leading goals of the era.

Our Folk Dances are an untouched treasure of expression for the composer and ballet choreographers with respect to their figure, rhythm and melody diversities. As a matter of fact, the works of Bülent Tarcan and Ferit Tüzün who have won the ballet suite awards with folk music motifs in the 10th anniversary of Yapı Kredi Bank are used in the ballets called 'Hancerli Kadın' and 'Çeşme Baş' by Ninet de Valois in Ankara State Ballet and 'Çeşme Baş' was presented as an example for
the Turkish creative power in the grand opening of İstanbul 'Culture Palace' [Bozkurt 2000:23]

The common idea for that purpose was the necessity of taking 'original' local dances as resources in creating Turkish Ballet. For this reason a way to stage traditional dances outside of their local environment was attempted.

The desire to promote the cultural values of Turkey in accordance with Western norms, requires keeping up with Western novelties and ideas. Because of this, seeing the extent of folk dance studies around the world has deeply affected Turkish folk dance experts. In light of these ideas it is seen that some foreign teams were invited to the Folk Dance Festival from time to time. In 1962, Greece and Yugoslavia joined the festivals; in 1964, India and Yugoslavia joined the festivals. A major change took place in Turkish folk dance staging especially by taking Yugoslav teams as an example.

Women's movements
There was a major breakthrough in women's rights after the Republic revolutions. This tendency was a reflection of women's rights movements that started in Europe in the nineteenth century, and was applied with much eagerness by the youth of the Turkish Republic. As a sign of the modern structure of the state, women were attracted to all kinds of social platforms. Thus, according to the decisions made, many laws and regulations were enacted especially between the years 1920 and 1950.2

The reflections of these ideas can be seen also in the activities of the Association for the Promotion and Protection of Turkish Folk Dances. Some encouraging behaviours were displayed in order to make the women participate in the folk dance festivals. For instance, by presenting gold medals to the female contestants and silver to male contestants the value of being a woman was emphasised. It also attracted attention that in many announcements related to the folk dance festivals the number of female dancers was separately specified. In the newspaper articles it was defended that women on stage was necessary in terms of aesthetics and modernity by making positive comments on female participants.

Of all groups that performed in the open-air theatre the ones which included women did become far more successful. All male groups feel monotonous. And if the female parts are danced by male dancers it starts to look more awkward, and it feels as if you are in a boys' school and boys have to play all the parts. We need women for our national dances, we have to consider this as a serious idea [Akis 1954: September 18].

The effects of the festivals organised by the 'Association for Promoting and Protecting Turkish Folk Dances' in their own period

Impacts on traditional clothing
The young Turkish Republic was built upon a secular foundation. In order to eliminate those who would oppose secularism the dress reform was implemented in 1925. The use of dress that contained religious symbols was prohibited.

After this period, starting from the urban centers in most of the country the traditional dress and finery turned into a ceremonial costume. The local dress that did not anymore have a place in the daily life started to
be used as special costumes to be dressed in traditional ceremonies like henna nights or folk dance activities [Özbilgin 2009:277].

We can see the reflections of these events on the folk dance festivals of the Association for Promoting and Protecting Turkish Folk Dances. Traditional costumes were considered only an ethnographic value used for symbolic reasons. As for the stage shows, low cost replicas produced by technological means started to be used. As a consequence, the Association determined that a costume perception that didn't represent local characteristics would become widespread. For this reason, so as to prevent teams from participating with made-up costumes and to encourage them to attend in traditionally appropriate costumes, a 'loyalty to local costumes' reward of 5000 Liras was presented to teams that 'succeeded in protecting the essential characteristics of the costume from the hat to shoes' in the folk dance festivals held in 1969 [Yeni Tanin 1969:2; Yeni İstanbul 1969:2].

**Impact of the urban atmosphere: cultural pursuits and reverence to the rural**

One of the main goals of the Association for Promoting and Protecting Turkish Folk Dances (founded in an era when urbanisation was rapidly spreading) was the necessity of protecting the national cultures that were being lost. The idea that due to changes in traditional life, cultural values adapt to innovations by becoming different, is not accepted in a protective approach; the changed value is considered to have perished. Because of this thought, in the advertisements, the Yapı ve Kredi Bank, founder and supporter of the Association for Promoting and Protecting Turkish Folk Dances, introduced itself with the following:

Yapı ve Kredi Bank. A bank that founded an association and organized festivals to promote and protect our folk dances which are about to be forgotten and lost.

Ten years' work was summarised in the introductory booklet printed on the occasion of the 10th Folk Dance Festival.

As a result of the constant support, encouragement and inspiration of the Association for Promoting and Protecting Turkish Folk Dances many old dances that were known by elder generation or kept private to the female communities came to light with the research made in every province and thanks to this our folk dance repertory has become richer year after year [Bozkurt 2000:23].

Because mass media was not wide-spread at the time, a great majority of the population was unaware of the dance types and forms in other regions of the country. Performing an unknown dance was considered a big success even in Istanbul where the traditional dance forms were quite popular. The main factor that attention was paid to in the collections was the dance's 'authenticity'. For this reason the field work performed in rural areas revealed traces of a quest for the oldest dance. Traditionality was directly connected to rurality. The dances performed in natural environments as a part of urban culture are not traditional. However, in contradiction to this general opinion, urbanites performing a dance collected in a rural area on stage does not decrease its traditional value. In light of this view, there were many institutions founded with the support of the Association for Promoting and Protecting Turkish Folk Dances. The aim of the ones
established in rural areas was transferring the living dances they have to the next generations in an organized way. Owing to their worries for the dances to become extinct in their natural environments, the institutions founded in the urban areas aimed at maintaining the continuity of Turkish Folk Dances on stage by recording them via writing and musical notes.

"Association for Promoting and Protecting Turkish Folk Dances" its reflections on today's atmosphere

The first folk dance contests which were organised by the Yapı Kredi Bank in 1954, and popularised by the Milliyet Daily Newspaper in 1977, started to be supported by the Ministry of Education in 1981 and, from then on, by many other private institutions. In the following years these attempts caused folk dance studies and teams to proceed in a totally different league. They became the most important factor directing today's traditional dance studies.

The Turkish Folk Dance Federation was founded in 2001 to organise the contests that were attracting public interest, more every other day and thus were supported by many official and private institutions. As of the year 2012, there were 81 city agencies, 1,726 registered clubs, 1,399 referees, 82,237 registered dancers, and 1,680 trainers and commission members most of whom were scholars and respectable members of folk dance communities [Turkish Folk Dance Federation 2012:online].

According to Halil Bedii Yönetken, 48 different folk dance teams were watched in the first seven festivals and these groups performed almost 250 folk dances from 45 different regions. His calculations showed that 12.5 % of the dances were performed by women, 25% by men and women and 62.5 % by only men" [Öztürkmen 1998:204]. Today, it is seen that female dancers outnumber the males in folk dance activities. However, most of the trainers are male. There were 7,798 female and 6,482 male licensed folk dancers performing in the competitions in 2011.

In the 1950s, the folk dance teams usually consisted of five to 10 dancers and they concluded their shows with two or three dances. The duration of a dance and the repetition number of the steps were three or four times more, compared to today's performances. The dances were performed in simple shapes and compositions like circles or lines. Female and male dancers would dance separately and according to their own generical structures as much as possible.

In the 1960s, interest in group dances and the number of dancers increased. Female and male dancers started to dance together. For this reason, it is seen that female dancers were taught the male steps and they danced together. The circular or linear shapes used in stage compositions – like female dancers stepping forward while male dancers were stepping backwards started being used in this period. During this process, that started in 1959, drama was introduced into performances such as wedding ceremonies or dance accompanying conversation in the village square.

Staging a dance with the same composition or repeating the same steps many times are regarded as boring in today's folk dance perception. In the folk dance contest the teams consisting of approximately 16 dancers have to perform five dances in at least 11 minutes. A performance style in which the dance duration is kept as short as possible, composed of difficult and elite movements, and based on a visual show is applied rather than performing a dance based on a traditional style and meaning of performance.

The foreign teams attending the international festival held by the Association for Promoting and Protecting Turkish Folk Dances contributed highly to the stage works in terms of change and transitions. The performances of the foreign dance companies,
reflecting their own cultural and artistic perceptions in things like orchestras accompanying the groups and their arrangements, stage applications containing themed narratives, decorations and the technical use of various dance instruments, affected Turkish teams and trainers. We found out that this interaction started a huge chorographical movement in terms of form in staging the folk dances. The local groups in search of performing more impressive shows tried to create unique stage performances outside of their local dance forms. The rapid change seen in staging was accused of being degenerate examples destroying traditionality and harming traditional culture. According to this view, it was impossible for the people practising folk dances amateurishly and locally to create contemporary dance examples upon what is unique. The visual success of this movement, which was seen as a copyist approach, made folk dance staging acceptable.

Today, Turkish folk dance is considered as a branch of art that requires a superior education of art, and that is performed by artists having skills in music, theatre, ballet, movement education, stage knowledge, and creativity. The choreographers who desire to present Turkish folk dances as a unique stage work state that their aim is to give folk dances a contemporary dance look enriching the theatrical side of the traditional dances, and that at the end of the day, their basic concern is to get the audience's appreciation.

Endnotes
* Title is changed from the Limerick programme.
1. The Association (Türk Halk Oyunlarını Yaşatma ve Yayma Tesisî) was founded 29 April, 1955 and continued until 3 May, 1978.
2. 1926: With Turkish Civil Law the legal arrangements allowing men to have more than one wife and to divorce their wives one-sidedly were abolished and the rights to divorce, to keep the custody and commodity were given to women. 1934: women were given the right to elect and to be elected by a constitutional change. 1936: labour law became effective for women in their professional lives. 1949: the old-age pension was arranged according to equal principles for both men and women by law 5417.

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BEAUTY AND THE BEAST: THE SAN FRANCISCO ETHNIC DANCE FESTIVAL'S GLOBAL STAGE

Founded in 1978, prior to America's multicultural boom, the San Francisco Ethnic Dance Festival provided a much-needed opportunity to minority dancers for greater visibility and a level of status that was previously unattainable. Looked at 35 years past its inception, several distortions become apparent that need interrogation in order to disentangle some socio-cultural predicaments that impede SFEDF's growth. In its mission "to celebrate culturally diverse dance forms," is cultural understanding truly being advanced, or are Western aesthetics simply repositioned to create homogenized ethnic dances? Have representatives of minority dances succumbed to another form of ill-disguised elitism? Do audiences simply wish to be given a kind of Disneyland ride in the name of cultural diversity? This paper offers a critical look at selected issues inherent in what seems to be a hotbed of world dance representation and considers some more culturally viable solutions for the 21st century.

Keywords: United States–San Francisco; festival; ethnicity; Disneyland; multicultural

Southern California

One of my favourite Disneyland rides as a youth was 'It's a Small World'. Here, visitors are transported in miniature plastic boats through a magical clock tower, where they behold over 300 dancing and singing animatronic dolls from around the world. Boats pass by enchanting tableaux depicting a new country every few seconds. Dolls, adorned with stereotypical costumes and paraphernalia, move with discrete gestures, while merrily singing the theme song, 'It's a Small World'. The tableaux within this multicultural fantasy appear "hyper-contextualised" as stereotypical folk-costumes, gestures, objects, animals, landscapes, and architectural sites are layered upon one another – even if from different regions of a country. Scholar Anthony Shay writes how these extensions, "allow the general public to mentally conjure up stereotypical images of [lands, in some cases] now long gone" [Shay 2006:33]. For example, generically African dolls identified by their dark skin and Afro-style hair, beat drums amidst hippopotamus and palm trees. Exotically-garbed and bejeweled Indian dolls surrounded by lotus flowers dance in front of the Taj Mahal; representing Ireland, there are a lot of shamrocks, green hills, a leprechaun, Celtic harp, and step dancers of course.¹

Despite the differences in dress, paraphernalia, gestures and occasionally skin tone, the characters all have a similar façade, body type and movement pattern. With glossed-over faces, the dolls are restricted to, according to Laban Movement Analysis, one and two-dimensional movements as they gesture up and down with even bound flow, sway side to side, or swirl around in happy-go-lucky circles. Although they sing about diverse human emotions, "It's a world of laughter, a world of tears. It's a world of hopes and a world of fears" [Sherman; Sherman 1964], their movements and placement in their respective make-believe towns and cities, tell of a happy, joyous, condensed, sanitary, upbeat world.

SHIFT: Northern California

When the red curtains open on the Palace of Fine Arts stage, the San Francisco Ethnic Dance Festival is a splendour to behold. For several weekends in June, Northern
California-based dance companies and soloists representing cultures from diverse corners of the world, glitter the stage with colour, exotic, spirited dances and dynamic music, and offer to San Francisco Bay area audiences a window into the world, a global smorgasbord of culture.

Sitting in plush red velvet seats facing a wide proscenium stage, eager spectators witness "50 Companies, 750 World Dance & Music Artists" [Scott Horton Communications 2011:1]. Every ten minutes, five for soloists, dances shift. Dance critic, Allan Ulrich, states, "[the world] floats by in a unique multicultural pageant" [Ulrich 2012]. Co-Artistic Director, C.K. Ladzepko, tells us in a promotional video: "you can travel to Peru, to Native America, to Asia, Spain, Europe, to Hawaii, to Korea, you can go to Turkey, and then you can go to Cuba – that is the Ethnic Dance Festival in just one evening" [SFEthnicDanceFest 2012b].

This 34-year old well-loved Festival has become one of the city's mainstay cultural events. World Arts West, the producing organisation of the San Francisco Ethnic Dance Festival [EDF], consistently delivers a streamlined, high-tech, and intriguing spectacle that boasts to regular patrons, tourists, and non-performing community members, a taste of the multiplicity of diverse cultural performing artwork contained within the San Francisco Bay Area. The Festival showcases "The World United Through Dance" [Scott Horton Communications 2012:1]. Festival performers consist of newer or lesser-known community groups or soloists, and seasoned performers. Through an audition process, "Professionals and non-professionals alike, the festival attempts to include and embrace them all" [Hattersley-Drayton1984:2].

Founded in 1978, prior to America's multicultural boom, the San Francisco Ethnic Dance Festival "was the first multicultural, city-sponsored ethnic dance festivals in America" [World Arts West 2011:website]. It came about through San Francisco's Hotel Tax Fund, whose Grants for the Arts continues to be a big supporter. At the time, the Festival provided a much-needed opportunity to minority dancers (those other than ballet and modern dance) for greater visibility and a level of status that had been previously unattainable. It allowed "ethnic dancers" to share their work to audiences who did not ordinarily have the opportunity to see them, and it offered them a chance to situate their wares within the context of a so-called "professional setting, with the best in technical assistance, promotion, and staging" [Hattersley-Drayton1984:2]. The Festival provided access to and taught early companies a level of production they were not in a position to garner.

So where is the Beast in this Beauty as suggested in this title? If the Mission of World Arts West is "to honor and celebrate culturally diverse dance forms through presentation, education and support of artists and their traditions," and the Vision is "...to advance cultural understanding" [World Arts West 2011b:website] then is the Festival achieving these goals? And, what is the measure of that?

At its inception this festival was a groundbreaker. Former programme director and dance ethnologist Lily Kharrazi states: "The initial idea was reflective of the identity politics of the time, to empower minority communities in all areas of political and cultural reframing. Its relevance has changed over time and its performers reflect changing immigration patterns, however, the format remains static" [Kharrazi 2011]. Looked at 35 years past its inception, there are several distortions to be penetrated in order to disentangle some socio-cultural predicaments that impede the Festival's growth. Is it an appropriate way to present culture in the twenty-first century? Further, is it, as anthropologist Sally Ness asks about a particular Philippine transnational ballet, "is it culturally responsible art work" [Ness 1997:69]?
In its mission "to celebrate culturally diverse dance forms," I ask if cultural understanding is truly being advanced, or a repositioning of Western aesthetics lathered onto homogenised versions of ethnic dances? Have representatives of so-called minority dances succumbed to another form of ill-disguised elitism reaffirming Western ideals? Do audiences simply wish to be given a kind of Disneyland ride in the name of cultural diversity? Thus, has Beauty really become a Beast?

Dance critic, Lewis Segal, writes, "Consider that dance spaces are as culturally determined as dance itself, and the proscenium theater exists primarily to serve pictorial illusion and crowd control. Idioms with other priorities can be at a loss there, but seeking alternative contexts not only runs afoul of the practicalities of theatrical real estate but also of several kinds of elitism." He continues, "Many world dance artists want opera-house bookings due to the status involved. …this represents a genuine political victory: the takeover of a Euro-American symbol of high art by traditions struggling to be respected. What earth-stage or plaza, however inviting, can deliver as much—especially when our cultural power brokers validate that line of thinking" [Segal 1995:47]? Here, I am reminded of Andree Grau's discussion of the hierarchy of places where she states: "…dances also acquire their values and meaning through the places they are performed in" [Grau 2012:15].

More critically, EDF has become a cultural contradiction. It pronounces diversity, yet promotes a singular aesthetic, and obfuscates other aesthetic points of views. Lily Kharrazī writes, "Today's festival format—a string of beads, one disparate dance following another—evolved as more and more artists sought to participate, becoming the festival blueprint, making and remaking the festival's main statement: celebrate diversity…. But paradoxically, this format unintentionally obliterates cultural uniqueness by lumping everything under a brand. […] The uninflected sequence of dance offerings can become monotonous, a blur, a festival monoculture" [Kharrazī 2008:5].

There are, of course, many contributing factors to this phenomenon and the players involved. I see three major "players": the Producers, the Performers and the Public. While there is not time to go into an analysis of each, what I am commenting on is the place where the players intersect – that is, the Production itself (see Figure 1).

![Figure 1.](image)

In the EDF production, dances and dancers are, to use Judy van Zile's terms "placed and [re]placed" [Van Zile 2012:28], even [mis]placed in a kind of "hypo-contextualised"
space – one that has become a template where only the moving parts within it change, and even then, only within a limited range. In fact, templates are reflected throughout all levels of the production, time, stage space, the lighting templates, programme book layout, website design, even the press photographs – all undoubtedly stunning, have the same look. This year's photographs reveal dancers clad in billowy attire predominantly emphasising up-ness and elevation. Like the Disneyland ride, the production depicts a clean, homogeneous aesthetic, one with clear boundaries, that is sparkly, upbeat, exuberant, occasionally introverted or somber, but overall, like the dolls, it presents a two-dimensional depiction of culture – one that is hardly diverse.

And sadly to say, as much as I personally have cherished this Festival, having been on all sides of it: rejected auditioner, successful performer, consultant, programme researcher and writer, even briefly a Festival Director, over the years I have grown more and more uncomfortable with the single narrative that EDF tells.

Nigerian novelist, Chimamanda Adichie, speaks eloquently in a TEDs talk about "the danger of a single story." "The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story" [Adichie 2009:website].

EDF depoliticises and sterilises dance. It bypasses the sometimes messy, frayed-at-the-edges ways in which dance exits or existed in the everyday lives of people. It does not reveal the suffering that some dancers endured through political oppression, or religious or ethnic persecution (Jackson; Shapiro-Phim 2008). It does not divulge how some so-called traditional dances offered by local companies are modeled on repertoire from State-sponsored companies of host countries that already went through a kind of "cleansing" process during those countries Nation-building campaigns (Shay 2002). Or, how dances with presumed ancient origins in temples are now discovered as aristocratic recreations of a mythical past to eradicate prior sexual overtones (Medhuri 1988; Chakravorty 2008). Or, as Allegra Fuller Snyder writes "...in some cases we are seeing, "airport art" – an internationally generated transformation of cultural forms – often influenced by Hollywood" ...where the Other conforms cultural expression to the perceived worldview and preferences of the [the outsider] [Snyder 1995:84], and many other stories that this Study Group is all too familiar with. While there is a souvenir program that provides some cultural background, it largely glosses over these issues in service of a happier, simpler narrative that shines through the slick paper and cheerful photographs.

In this discussion, I do not wish to undermine larger issues and trends such as nationalism and globalization that certainly impact, even cause this phenomenon, I only wish to point out that what started out as a grassroots effort to fill a genuine need has spawned a structure with production values where diversity is lost. This kind of production, one that gives audiences a "kick of culture," has become a model worldwide amongst world dance festivals of this sort.

Adrienne Kaeppler writes about "the emergence of hula as an aspect of ethnic identity conveyed at festivals." In these contexts hula has become "the visual manifestation of ethnic identity. As part of this political construction, hula can be an aural and visual statement of distinctiveness" [Kaeppler 2010:194]. She describes how this has caused a new kind of identity ritual – indeed, a spectacle of ethnic identity" [Kaeppler 2010:194]. Similarly, I believe that SFEDF has become a spectacle of many different ethnic identities. Scholar, Jane Desmond, notes: "Spectacle – an emphasis on sights, sounds, and motion – replaces narrative, and with it the possibility of historical reflection" [Desmond 1999:xvi]. And in fact, David Gere in his brochure commemorating EDF's
10th anniversary referred to it as "spectacle anthropology" [Gere 1988:6], although I question the "anthropology" part of this phrase.

So why is this format so enduring? Is it that we want to feel happy and reassured? Like the Disneyland ride, Kharrazi ponders, "is it that when we see the Iranian dolls dancing on their flying magic carpets then we don't have to feel fear that we are going to be hurt?" [Kharrazi 2012]. We want to sense that, despite the confusing, complex phenomenon in the world around us, or other values that threaten our own identity, that we can feel, at least for a few minutes, that we are ultimately connected through a shared humanity. As the song continues, "There's so much that we share, that it's time we're aware, it's a small world after all" [Sherman; Sherman 1964].

The Festival, as the Disneyland ride, sets up a liminal stage where differences between people, such as, nationalities, races, religions, professionals versus non-professionals, even differentiations in dance skill level, are dissolved (Turner 1977). In the finale of the Disneyland ride, boats pass into a United Nations type room where representatives of the international dolls, now dressed in white, gather to sing and play as one. In the finale of the SFEDF, all dancers reappear on stage together in a final bow. Here, we see the Small World, "the Communitas," the Beauty.

My main goal in this paper is to identify "the problem" in this type of packaging of culture through ethnic dance festival programming such as SFEDF. The next steps remain in excavating and contextualizing the problem in relation to all the players involved. What agency do the performers have and what are their various interests and understandings of their participation in EDF? What role does the audience play in driving this type of production? How can the producers balance out the entertainment side of dance presentation with issues of authenticity, and educating audiences, while still being able to sell tickets?

To offer some cursory possible solutions to the dissolution of diversity, I suggest that SFEDF return to its roots, or at least reevaluate its earliest motives and history, including to examine San Francisco's current ethnic demographics, arts funding priorities, and needs-based assessment of dance groups. I believe a reprioritising and restructuring of programming as well as shifts in types of venues could help restore diversity and embrace a range of performance aesthetics. For example, in addition to the smorgasbord-style Act One, to create an Act Two devoted to a single performed piece. Or, bringing the public into the communities, including making visible information about the vibrant self-produced community events and venues where the dance groups themselves perform, even co-producing with local companies. Here, dance styles can exist in their own terms, which would mark a real "celebrat[ion] of culturally diverse dance forms" [World Arts West 2011b:website].

Generally speaking, creating context-building activities would help foster a more three-dimensional appreciation of dance and culture. Including solid ethnographic scholarship in the programming and planning of events could help nurture a more inclusive production style. Organising interactions between scholars and artists, or open-to-the-public artist-scholar dialogues could truly "advance cultural understanding" and bring out other aesthetic points of view.

Endnotes
1. For an example, see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=APmHR2bmQgw> [ru42 2006].
2. For sample SFEDF video footage see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_i3KUFvjAjE> [SFEthnicDanceFest 2012a].
3. For more information on the history of the SFEDF, see Gere 1988, and Shay 2006, chapter 4. To learn about how performers are selected and the year-long production cycle, see Phillips 2008.

4. This particular mission and vision statement has existed for many years, at least since the mid 1990s when I worked in the Festival office and including the date I accessed it for reference information for this article on 5 September, 2011. I was quite surprised that when I looked again on 3 January, 2013, they had reordered and changed the mission and vision statements, the vision being simply "The World United Through Dance." To see the original wording, refer to the San Francisco Ethnic Dance Festival Facebook page: www.facebook.com/SanFranciscoEthnicDanceFestival/info (most recent date of access, 2013 January 12).

5. For examples, see recent Festival publicity photographs taken by SFEDF photographer R.J. Muna (images 34–39) [R.J. Muna 2013:website].

6. Solutions are being developed for a longer forthcoming journal article.

7. In the early days, the Festival was produced in venues in some of San Francisco's strongest ethnic neighborhoods such as in Chinatown and the Mission District (predominantly Latino population), but it proved technically unwieldy. Might it be possible to scale down production ambition and to revisit this possibility afresh?

8. EDFs 2012 season started to see a return of this when World Arts West coproduced a concert with one of the older more established companies, Gamelan Sekar Jaya.

9. In the 1980s and 1990s there used to be moderated pre-performance talks held in an auditorium at the adjacent Exploratorium, but they tended to mostly include the performers speaking and not necessarily scholars.

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There are a lot of traditional festivities with dance in Bohemia today. Some of them have existed continuously without any interruption and have their origin in the traditional way of life while many of them have been revitalised. The aim of the present paper compares the features and meanings of three selected festivities of shrovetide in different areas of Bohemia – two with a continuous tradition and one which has been revitalised. What all these festivities have in common is that they have an important place in the social life of contemporary local communities and refer to the past. The question is why do the local societies need to maintain or revitalise traditional cultural forms and what are the features which are preserved or picked up from the tradition to respond to some of the contemporary needs. The exploration is based on repeated field research as well as on archival material, memories, and interviews. The examples discussed are based on how they relate to the theoretical foundations related to community, cultural memory, identity and manifestations of negotiation.

Keywords: shrovetide; carnival; archetype; identity; collective memory

For many years I have been attracted by the theme of carnival or shrovetide. The area of my fieldwork was southern Bohemia – the region of Doublebsko (the villages of Slavče, Dobrkovská Lhotka and Soběnov) and southwestern Bohemia – the region of Chodsko (the village of Postřekov) where I found the shrovetide as a living tradition, which has been continuously preserved without interruption until the present day. The important fact is that both festivities are participatory and the local people produce them for themselves. I have raised a lot of questions dealing with the meaning of this traditional festivity in contemporary society and I investigated the reason why the people are still willing – or need to – preserve the custom. I came up with some relevant facts leading to the notions of integrity, collective identity, conflict and community that I have presented in a multimedia study dealing with shrovetide in Doublebsko (Stavělová 2008).

This contribution does not aim to deal with them again but aspires to make a comparison with a new phenomenon which appeared in Bohemia in the 1990s: revitalisation of the shrovetide both in rural and urban environments. I have focused my interest on Prague where we can actually meet a significant number of festivities related to shrovetide. They grew in the 1990s and all of them were consciously reconstructed according to descriptions in written sources and literature. They are organised in different districts in Prague by different associations (societies) and some of them have existed for more than fifteen years. They have become well-known events in Prague and every year a lot of participants are involved in their preparation and progress. Every district has its own time around the end of the carnival period, and they usually do not coincide. We can also consider them as participatory events, as defined by Andriy Nahachewsky (1995).

This contemporary urban festivity is based on issues of the traditional event and this is why it provokes numerous questions: how and why the elements of the traditional event are embodied, what meaning they have today, and what is new in the structure of the festivity corresponding with the actual needs of the (local) society. Two years ago, I started to observe and gather information in the district of Břevnov where I live, which I
intend to complete by observing the carnival in other districts of Prague to create the picture of this contemporary urban festivity based on traditional features. The research, which has to be long-term, is now in progress. It is based on fieldwork – participatory observation, interviews as well as on written sources like chronicles or memories.

Břevnov is the oldest district of Prague and the people living there consider themselves as well settled – once they start living there, they do not move easily. The shrovetide event, which appeared 18 years ago, is organised by the association of local tradesmen, who also organise other "traditional" events during the year, for example, harvest festivities in early autumn.

**Ritual language**

The issues for this investigation are based on the notion of carnival and carnivalesque introduced by the historian Edward Muir (2005) and his study of the ritual in early modern Europe. Muir points out that in order to understand the message carried by the whole carnival event, it is necessary to know the "ritual language". This ritual language helps to create liminal time and space for alternative thoughts, turning normal values of ordinary life upside down. This language has a certain potential and power, and supports social creativity based on improvisation and grotesque realism. The carnival has become an independent archetypal form, which can be contrasted with other kinds of festivities. For example, there are some parallels to the carnival in the tradition of erecting may-poles and in the sexual ease involved in it, or in the midsummer festivities, in the feasts involving a lot of food and drink and the killing of animals, or in the satirical performances and village tours performed by young men [Muir 2005:101–103].

According to these arguments some aspect of the carnival may be linked to the period from Epiphany to Ash Wednesday, and may well occur in other festivities, too. However, what is most important is the complex of these carnival archetypes, which can be discerned in different events. They take different shapes and forms, such as splendid processions and parades with various stops and short dancing performances, dialogues intended as fights, arguments or satire, or conflict as a way of expressing rivalry and competing for a better reputation either for individuals or communities, at the same time promoting a sense of solidarity. Typical features include: eccentricity resulting from a temporary exchange of social position; carnival degradation of the human body such as condemnation and punishment, which is public humiliation for various offences; revolt against the established order as a type of creative protest and temporary violation of order later to be restored again. All of this goes hand in hand with extravagance, absurdity and the paradox of a world, which is upside down and is an expression of grotesque realism, which is characterised by Mikhail Bachtin [1975:287-338] as a phenomenon providing alternatives to the normal world. The important characters are fools, clowns, and children who stand for innocence and simplicity in opposition to the wicked and old, which has to be abolished. This language is carried on by numerous plays and scenes more or less in a stylised form or fixed into a form, which is handed down for generations and, therefore, is open to multivocal interpretations [Muir 2005:94–96].

**Elements of the structure**

Considering these archetypes of carnival and carnivalesque we may characterise the selected events/festivities and put them into relationships. The main distinction can be made based on:

1) how the traditional features are manipulated to fit with the actual needs of the society
2) which elements are picked up from traditional material and why.
The comparison is held at the level of visible elements of the structure of the festivity, such as dance, food, children, satire, punishment, occurrence of the event.

Children
The common feature of all three events is the presence of children. Based on numerous characteristics of the carnival [Muir 2005:121,146; Heers 2006:157,169; Burke 2005: 200–201], we may consider the child to be the king of the festivity and the bearer of the secret, who, therefore, stands for purity and natural wisdom beyond the reach of evil. In the past in people's minds, in liturgy or in various celebrations, childhood is represented primarily as the childhood of Jesus. It is clear that children attracted a great deal of interest and were given due attention in families, especially vulnerable, unhappy and weak children. We might ask the question: how strong is the awareness of this representation among participants of the selected events? Can we presume that the awareness is nonexistent, despite the fact that in all the events the children are carefully dressed and presented? There are, however, differences in the way that children are dressed in the three localities involved in the research: in the Chodsko region, only little girls wear a traditional local costume, preserved by women since the nineteenth century; by contrast, in the Doudlebsko region, the traditional roles of carollers and masks, adopted only by men, are given to boys as potential future carriers of the tradition. Finally, the participants of the carnival in Břevnov are boys and little girls, wearing home-made masks which represent as wide a spectrum of characters and fairy-tale beings as is imaginable. In all three cases, they are school and pre-school children, who are accompanied by their parents.

Dance
Undoubtedly, dance is one of the crucial and inseparable elements in the structure of all these carnival events, and was, therefore, selected for the research. Dance has its place in the revitalised events as well as in traditional ones, which are continuously produced. It is evident that dance as part of a ritual language is a coherent and dynamic factor of the event and we need to find out what this communicative instrument has to say about the entire event. What role does it fulfill in the system, and how does it contribute to its existence? In all three events, dance is produced both outdoors (during the procession) as something that makes visible the main and important participants of the event, and indoors. Normally it is an organised dance event in a pub or restaurant with a dance room where all participants are invited and then introduced to the dance. This creates space for social interactions and links all the participants to the type of communication used – the dance. In all three cases, invitations to the carnival dance events are made during the carnival village tours or processions; in addition, the date is announced through other modern means (posters, social networks, web pages). In the Chodsko region, the local women participants wear traditional costumes but the men normally wear formal clothes, due to historical discontinuity in the preservation of traditional costumes. Things are very different in the Doudlebsko region, where – unlike the other regions involved in my research – carollers dance outside each and every house during their tour of the village. However, traditional clothes do not play a major role there. Apart from the carollers, men and women normally wear casual, informal clothes even at the evening events. In addition, there are a significant number of occasional and less traditional masks worn which make the dance events more carnival-like. However, the dance event in the Prague district of Břevnov is primarily presented as a masked ball,
with the topic for the night announced in advance. For instance, the topic for 2012 was music, so the participants wore masks that symbolised anything associated with music. Wearing a mask is not a condition for participation. However, participants are encouraged on the invitations to wear masks and are motivated by a contest for the most original mask, with a generous reward for the winner.

**Food**

Food is also a common and inseparable feature of all three types of events. In the regions of Doudlebsko and Chodsko, which boast an uninterrupted tradition of carnival village tours, refreshments for the carollers are prepared in each house they visit. However, in the Prague procession, which runs along the main street of the large district of Břevnov, food is only served once, when the procession stops outside a renowned butcher’s shop. Given the fact that the carnival is organised by local tradesmen, promoting a butcher's shop with many years of a family tradition, is a prestigious thing. Food is offered to all participants in the procession, those wearing masks as well as onlookers. Another possibility, and a much more intensive one, to enjoy food and samples of traditional dishes from the pig-slaughter, comes at the end of the carnival procession at the destination which is set in advance and is different each year. However, food is served at stands erected specially for this occasion. People are given an opportunity to spend time together and improve their awareness of the territory they share; despite the cold weather, local people are happy to take this opportunity.

**Timing**

The occurrence of the event varies: the selected shrovetide events taking place at different times. In the Chodsko region, the carnival procession and the three subsequent dance nights are held on a day set by the church calendar, that is, towards the end of the carnival period before Ash Wednesday which is intended to open the six weeks of fasting prior to Easter. The festivity is opened on Friday with a masked dance event; continues on Saturday with dancing organised primarily by the young generation; and on Sunday there is more dancing for the older generation. The event peaks on Monday with a procession through the village, the "funeral of the double bass" – a main source of entertainment and, finally, the conviction and killing of the character of carnival. An informal meeting in the local pub on Tuesday is described by the participants themselves as a sequel to the festivity, which brings the festivity to a definite end. It is normal for people in this region to take two days off work in order to respect the traditional timing of the festivity.

In the Doudlebsko region, a carnival is held in several neighbouring villages simultaneously, during the last weekend before Ash Wednesday. Since these villages have been continuously losing permanent residents, there is often a lack of young men suitable for the role of carollers. Villages, therefore, help each other, and a result of this is that one caroller may be found performing in two neighbouring villages in the same year. Also, as villages are interested in comparing their own carnival with that of a neighbouring village, people from one village are happy to visit the event in another village, acting as the audience needed to motivate masked participants to perform funny acts. Therefore, in different villages, the key moments of the festivity take place on different days within the period mentioned above.

Prague is a completely different case. The link between the end of the carnival and pre-Easter time is not considered as binding, and the organisers are less strict about the date. The main reason for this is that different districts of the capital, Prague, celebrate the carnival at different times as organisers try to avoid a clash of these events, and to provide the people of Prague with more culture and the opportunity to see more than just one of
the carnivals. The dates set for the carnival by different districts may be up to four weeks apart from one another.

**Satire and punishment**

The most significant difference between regions with continuous carnival tradition and the contemporary revitalised form as practised in the city is the presence of elements of satire and punishment. In the regions of Chodsko and Doudlebsko, these elements are the key moments of the traditional carnival festivity, with performers acting out various little offences in the life of the village. These moments are completely missing from carnival as held in Břevnov. The presence of satire and punishment of culprits as part of the event improves the sense of community and can be considered a crucial element that brings the festivity closer to social drama [Creed 2004:57]. In fact, this is an institutionalised controlled conflict that gives vent, in a legitimate way, to aggression and social tension. In effect, this means of reducing potential human aggression can lead to improved solidarity [Gluckman 1963:26–28, 110–136].

The absence of this element in the Prague carnival suggests that the festivity, despite being associated, to a large extent, with the life of a particular city district, remains a rather universal and less personalised cultural link between people. It is found at the level of common sharing of the festivity, not in shared everydayness which enables people to better understand one another and one another’s behaviour. In other words, this does not lead to major collective identity, which is constructed by society [Eisenstadt – Giesen 2003:363]. Collective identity goes hand in hand with the social construction of boundaries, between the inside and the outside, between strangers and neighbours, which, in other words, is a process of inclusion and exclusion. In a city with a wide spectrum of very diverse groups to which individuals belong (concerning working career, leisure time), this is something that is less desirable. It is comprehensible that the inhabitants of a city district do not constitute a strong social group in the sense that people in the above mentioned villages in southern and southwestern Bohemia do. Equally logical is the fact that the need to create a link of solidarity in cities is far less strong than in regions with a lower concentration of population.

**Identity and collective memory**

What do these three festivities have in common? All of them may be considered a participatory event, which performs its local identity. They are organised by a local society and do not represent an unruly chaos. The difference is mostly in the way that knowledge of traditional patterns is transmitted and embodied by participants.

In summary, these events impose social control in that certain cultural patterns help establish the area of communication in which every individual person can highlight his position and role within the community. This is a way to promote responsibility for collective cultural memory. The need for collective memory seems to be a feature common to all three cases and a significant reason for sharing, preserving and revitalising traditional events. The Egyptologist, Jan Assmann, has suggested that an individual's memory only grows during socialisation. Memory is an individual possession. However, an individual's memory only takes shape in a community. On the other hand, communities have no memory, but they determine the individual memories of their members. Memories, even personal ones, are only formed through communication and interaction [Assmann 2001:36–38; Halbwachs 1992:37–40, 46–51]. The above mentioned carnival archetypes can be part of collective memory. Unlike Gustav Jung, however, who has suggested that collective memory is biologically hereditary as well as non-hereditary
and is expressed in dreams, Halbwachs considers cultural memory to belong exclusively to that, which can be spread by communication. Halbwachs concept of the past can be called "social constructivist". The past is a social construct, whose form grows out of the need for sense and for a referential framework for the present [Assmann 2001:46]. An important point in the reflections on the importance of traditional festivities in contemporary society is, among other things, the fact that cultural memory reconstructs the past in addition to being responsible for organising the way in which we perceive the present and future. Each collective memory is carried by a group restricted in terms of space and time. Therefore, Assmann believes that it is important for every individual who makes a contribution to collective memory to be affiliated with a group. Another important aspect is reconstructivity, that is, the fact that "no memory preserves the past as such; it only retains those elements of the past that society can reconstruct through the contemporary framework of reference" [Assmann 2001:39].

Yet, festivity is also a part of shared experiences and has both its sense and symbolic meanings. This collective symbolism is equally important for every single person as they are able to define their own position within the group to which they belong. By adopting symbolic values and transforming them into a life communication, they make room for interaction, which is an inevitable feature of collective memory.

Figure 1. A boy dressed as a caroller, Doudlebsko, 2004
(Photograph D. Stavělová)
Figure 2. Children during the dance event in the pub, Chodsko, 1995
(Photograph D. Stavělová)

Figure 3. Children in the procession, Břevnov, 2012
(Photograph D. Stavělová)
Figure 4. Ritual "kolo" performed only by men, Doudlebsko, 2004, (Photograph D. Stavělová)

Figure 5. Dance "dokolečka" in the procession, Chodsko, 1995 (Photograph D. Stavělová)
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Stavělová, Daniela.

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COMPETITION ON THE UPLANDS OF TRABZON: A DANCE OVERVIEW OF THE UPLAND FESTIVALS OF THE BLACK SEA REGION

Originally, the Upland Festival was the migration of villagers who lived in the eastern Black Sea region to pasture their animals during summertime. It also served as an open market. Today, as a result of the efforts shown by various public corporations and local societies to preserve the culture, it has become a festival. Horon dances are the focal point of the festival. Horon is the characteristic dance of the eastern Black Sea region and is a must-have for the festival. There are dance masters who lead the dances. These masters are people who played a role in the revival of the horon dances. The rivalry among the followers/students of these masters and the groups they train for the folk dance contests has been transferred to the Upland Festival and has become a hidden competition. This work explains this competition focusing on the Trabzon case.

Keywords: Turkey-Trabzon; horon; dance masters; competition; festivals

What is known today as the Upland Festival is steeped in tradition. Eastern Black Sea villagers migrate in the summer months to pasture lands between the Fol Valley in the Vakfıkebir district of Trabzon and the Batlama Valley in Giresun to enable their animals to graze and to make the necessary preparations for winter. This migration begins during "cherry month" (June), according to the rural calendar.

The mountains in the eastern Black Sea region run parallel to the coast. This means that the uplands needed for this migration are ample. In the past, the journey to the 1000-2600-metre high uplands was made, along with animals (cows, bulls), on foot. Today, motorised vehicles are used to make the trip. However, there are still distant uplands lacking roads, which necessitates spending a night in the open air en route to them.

An upland is used jointly by villages in close proximity to one another. Such work as the harvesting of the food animals will eat in the winter and aerating the fields are done through cooperation. The purpose of this is to complete the work by the seventh day of the month of harvest (the beginning of July). On that day, all villagers residing on the uplands get together on a large plateau. Open-air markets, called yayla dernekleri, are set up in these areas. Etymologically, dernek means "to come or get together." The festival known today as the Upland Festival, is a form of entertainment consisting of horon dances that begin on the final Sunday of the upland migration and continue throughout the day [Karademir; Ozbilgin 1996].

Moreover, people not residing on the upland join in this migration to do some shopping, to escape from the hot and humid weather in coastal areas, to assist their neighbours, to have fun and to socialise. Therefore, horon dances can be seen being performed en masse, with sometimes more than 1,000 people taking part.

Due to the geographical structure of the region, landslides are a common occurrence. A great many people died in a major one 20 years ago, after which a period of mourning was declared in the area. Upland festivals were cancelled that year. Subsequently, through the efforts of Black Sea people living in Istanbul, a tract of rural land in Kurtköy, Istanbul, was leased and a representative Black Sea festival was held. People who were homesick enthusiastically participated in this activity, which, at least in
part, showed that an upland festival could be held outside of Trabzon. What followed were other festivals held in such cities with concentrated populations of people of Black Sea origins, such as Izmir and Bursa.

Some eastern Black Sea people working in Europe try to get their annual leave to coincide with the time of these festivals so as not to miss them. However, this is not always possible and, consequently, festivals outside of Trabzon began to be held in Germany in places with high concentration of Turks. This was followed by an upland festival in Amsterdam and then in Bristol, Pennsylvania, in the United States.

**Competition**

There is fierce competition between villagers in the uplands. The day of departure to the upland is anticipated all year. Preparations begin a month before leaving, during which time nothing else is done. Bulls and cows are all ornamented and everyone dons regional costumes. Some may have the most fattened animals while others may have more presentable gardens, and great value is placed on these (even if performed as a collective effort). Competition between villages is clearly seen on the final day all villages get together in the yayla derneği (upland festival). In places reached on foot, someone on horseback is the first to enter and fires a shot to scatter the evil spirits. Villages employ various means to establish superiority over one another. In doing this with musical instruments, this is accomplished by bringing the best musicians. They want the best weapons and the best horsemen to be from among themselves. In recent years, they have been dressing uniformly so as to stand out in the crowd. But what really defines superiority are the horon dances. The horon is an inseparable part of the upland festival.

**What is horon?**

From an etic perspective:
- A category within the National Turkish Folk Dance and Folk Music Repertoire
- A part of the officially organised nationwide folk dance competitions
- A difficult course in Turkish university folk dance departments
- A topic (etymology, roots and ethnic problems) of debate among nationalist folklore researchers and others
- A stereotype of the Black Sea people, along with karalahana (kale) and hamsi (anchovies)

From an emic perspective:
- Tradition
- Entertainment
- A kind of worship (metaphorically)
- An essential vehicle of competition of the upland festival
- For the Horoncus (performers of the horon), a source of pride and a means of distinguishing themselves
- The masters, a lifestyle...

However, this study is only concerned with the horon dances, the competitive environment and masters and apprentices in the Trabzon uplands. In the horon dances of the Trabzon region, such movements as the shaking and swinging of shoulders and arms and the stomping of feet on the ground are frequently seen. Interpretations of the meaning of the dances from an emic and etic perspective vary. The best example of this is the Kozangel Horonu. Researchers trying to learn about, and figure out, this dance culture by watching staged horon dances performed in such cities as Istanbul and Ankara and
observing the basic movements (the swaying created by the taking of a step forward and backward while the arms are stretched out in front) of this dance have reached the conclusion that the dance could be a representation of the waves of the Black Sea.

In interviews we have done in the region, the horon masters indicated that the origins of this movement are collectively performed agricultural activities. The aeration of land is always done accompanied by the singing of songs or the playing of a kemençe. Music creates a rhythm and helps the work get done faster. The purpose is the most effective use of manpower. Constantly changing weather conditions and the formation of extremely steep sowable land make this imperative. The image of people working side by side while digging up the field accompanied by music may provide an idea about the origins of the Kozangel dance [Unlu 2005].

The hierarchy of the horon dances

The job of managing the horon is always given to a superior dancer. Each village chooses a manager to take the group back and forth to the uplands festival. This person is known as the Değnekçi (Holder of the rod). The Değnekçi must be a very good horoncu. (Not everyone who participates in the horon dance is entitled to be called a horoncu. Horoncus are known among the people or tacitly identify themselves a short time before the horon begins.)

The rules laid down by the Değnekçi must be followed. He has the authority to evict anyone who disrupts the horon out of the circle. He works in cooperation with the musicians. Some of those participating in the horon may be too far away to hear the commands of the Değnekçi, so they recognise what movements to make by watching the rod in the hand of the Değnekçi. For example, at the point where villages taking part in the uplands festivities meet, if they are dancing the horon as they move forward and the rod is pointed in the direction that they are to follow, they start to yell and shout, to attract the attention of other villagers.

If the Değnekçi waves the rod in a bow-like manner, it means he wants the dancers to array themselves in a semi-circle formation. This serves two purposes. They can either turn effortlessly in the area to form a circle or they can quite easily join a circle that has already been formed by another village. However, for this to be possible, the other Değnekçi must first give his permission and instruct his own circle that they must follow the other Değnekçi's instructions [Karademir 2012].

Also, if the horon is being conducted in a circle, and the rod is raised in the air, the dancers' arms are to be raised. When the rod is lowered, it means to switch to the "aşağı alma" (taking-down) section of the dance. In this part of the dance, the competition heats up and it is a time that the fastest and most daring movements are displayed. The best horoncus are manifested here.

Masters

Ustalar (masters) are found at the peak of the horon hierarchy. Masters are known by the people and are shown a great deal of respect. By combining their regional technique and personal style, they are able to achieve great diversity. Their passion for horon dances and the skills that they display have brought them into the public eye. They do not join the horon immediately. They wait until, during the height of the crowd's enthusiasm, they are invited to participate in the horon by the Değnekçi or a local official. So that none of their improvised movements will be impeded, they want to have another master or a good horoncu to their right and left sides. Some of them are taken aside by the people so they can watch his performance [Ünlü 2011]. One example of this is the biçak
horonu (knife horon) which is danced by two masters together. In the past, this dance was performed using real knives, which gave rise among the people to nicknames for some masters, such as kulak kesen (ear-cutter) or parmak koparan (finger-remover).

Some of these masters became famous outside of Trabzon for their horon dance performances. They have become famous abroad on a professional level, as Turkish folk dance artists. The series of movements, techniques and traditional styles that we witness today in competitions have spread throughout Turkey because of their efforts.

In recent years, stiff competition has developed among trainers who were once apprentices to these masters. In competitions held for the Horon branch of the Turkish Folk Dance Federation, the decisions made by the judging panel have never pleased the second and third groups. Each group thinks that their performance should have been the winner. The dancers in these groups want to share their trump card at the uplands festival. They want to display their horon skills and improvisations without being bound by the criteria of the competition and without a panel of judges. For this reason, they wait for the other groups to perform at the uplands festival. They do not want to hold hands and dance with them. They do whatever is necessary to suppress the enthusiasm of the other group. As a result, there is often serious animosity among some of the masters. It is impossible to see them dancing side by side.

Another facet of the aforementioned competition is also happening in the folk dance market. In order for a horon instructor to get good jobs, which master he was apprenticed to, is becoming more important. This differentiation is appearing in big cities like Trabzon, Istanbul, and Ankara.

On the other hand, horon dancing, which was first taught in Turkey in 1984 at Istanbul Technical University, has become an integral part of education. Black Sea youngsters are becoming increasingly interested in the folk dance department of the State Conservatory. The number of horon dancers is growing, horon dancing is catching on rapidly and techniques are improving. Horoncus with stage experience are attracting audiences to uplands performances. As for whether a few new masters will emerge from among these young Horoncus, only time will tell.

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Continuity and change like tradition and innovation represent contrasting yet complementary forces. They are dualities, a state in which two parts co-exist that are interconnected and interdependent. Translation or interpretation of a duality happens by relating one part to the other. At the macro-level, this idea of comparison is inherent to all cross-cultural processes. Many scholars suggest that ethnological study using cross-cultural methods provides a unified framework for investigating any phenomena. At the micro-level, comparison shapes individual meaning making. People associate what is familiar with what is unfamiliar to understand and subsequently interact. Throughout life, ongoing comparison between similarities and differences produces tension. Negotiation of these tensions fulfills an innate desire for cognitive consonance and serves as a balancing strategy for adapting to an increasingly varied world. Among social groups however, encounters with tension may stimulate dialectic exchange and catalyse synthesis as a creative resource to form communities. This is the central theme integrating personal research that examines festival contexts and my conference paper, which focuses on Festas Juninas, specifically quadrilhas caipiras, unique to the southeastern areas of Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Festivals, by their nature, provide contrast because they interrupt the continuity of one's daily life. Cultural anthropologist, Alessandro Falassi, calls the festival moment a "time out of time," which has a set beginning, middle, and end, and usually a duration fixed in advance [Falassi 1987:10]. From the Latin, festum meaning public merriment and joy, festivals are a break from everyday experience; they offer divertissement, an interlude or diversion and maybe even a distraction from ordinary reality. While there are a great many types of festivals and discourse, my inquiry begins with the idea that festivals are rites of intensification. In a recent email conversation with Joann Kealiinohomoku about this topic she wrote, "With a rite of passage the person cannot ever go back to the person they were before the rite took place. In other words, once you are initiated you can't become uninitiated. Once you are married you can never become a virgin again, even though the marriage may not last. But with a rite of intensification one
MUST go back to what they were before the rite. In other words, after Thanksgiving, one must go back to the regular routine again" [Kealiinohomoku 2012:personal communication]. Interestingly Kealiinohomoku's explanation employed a comparison that related opposite ideas to communicate her message.

Festivals as rites of intensification not only differentiate between ordinary and unordinary states of being, they provide a temporary social organisation for people not necessarily connected other than through the festival event. Changes of any type heighten one's awareness and make distinctions more obvious. Contextual features add special effect, which in the case of Festas Juninas, is a rich, multi-layered sensory experience. Brazilian June festivities derive from ancient rituals that acknowledge connections between the natural world and human life. These ceremonies originated in Europe and took place during the midsummer season or summer solstice, a reference point marking one extreme orientation for Earth's orbit around the sun. Typically, fire plays an integral role in midsummer rituals, and often is identified with promoting good energy as well as purging evil spirits [Pyne 2001:86]. These rituals spread throughout the world and were later incorporated into Christian beliefs, reaffirming religious faith and identity. In particular, they were used to pay tribute to St. John whose feast day is June 24th. This timing closely aligns with mid-summer in the northern hemisphere, which takes place on or around June 21st. The Feast of St. John was and continues to be the most important day on which Festas Juninas occur. However, this season also celebrates St. Anthony on June 13th and St. Peter on June 29th so in combination with St. John, there are usually several weeks of non-stop festivities. Flexible scheduling means that Festas Juninas can begin in early June and last late into July. Events happen throughout that timeframe without any particular hierarchy, except in settings, like a town or church, where recognition of a patron saint takes place on the respective day.

Portuguese colonists brought customs of celebrating the saints' days to Brazil as early as 1583 (Câmara Cascudo 1972). Situated in the southern hemisphere meant that the festivals occurred during Brazil's winter solstice. This time emphasised the harvest and more importantly, the rainy season, which was essential to replenish the arid northeastern area. The festival 'time out of time' encouraged both attitudes and behaviours that accommodated understandings about nature and the supernatural. Festas Juninas rites of intensification provided a change from the continuous routine of hard work in the field and became a site, at least once a year, to meditate possibly conflicting ideologies that may have enabled adaptation to the new world context. Agriculture, the major theme around which Festas Juninas are based, became the impetus for further colonisation of Brazil by the Portuguese. After unsuccessful attempts in harnessing indigenous labour, African slaves were imported to work the sugar cane plantations and later mine precious minerals. More than three million people, representing numerous ethnic groups, brought their respective music and dance cultures. It should be noted that Brazil was the largest importer of African slaves, transporting seven times more than the United States and the last to abolish slavery in 1888. Miscegenation was widespread, which is reflected in today's population; current statistics indicate that the majority of Brazilians are mixed race. This is not to say racial prejudice and discrimination did or does not exist in Brazil, yet there is a strong history and sense of pride among most Brazilians of openness to new ideas and liberal interaction between diverse people.

Unlike Carnival, all Brazilians young and old engage in Festas Juninas; participation is not limited to a particular ethnicity or social class and church affiliation no longer matters despite the latest census figures indicating that 65% of the country subscribes to Catholicism. Festas Juninas are one of the few transnational practices
although it must be recognised as context specific in terms of regional variations. For example, some people most closely associate these festivities with the northeast since colonisation took place there first. Their annual events are highly commercialised, professionalised, and competitive attracting millions of tourists from other parts of Brazil and around the world. Groups dancing quadrilha with elaborate costumes and live music animate the spaces. Quadrilhas, whose origins are based on the French court dance, quadrille, are only performed during Festas Juninas. The Portuguese brought the quadrille to Brazil beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, influenced by interactions with the French, many of whom were traders. After Brazil's independence in 1829 from Portugal, socio-political and economic ties with France continued to strengthen. One relevant account describes the 1837 visit of France's Prince de Joinville in which he organised and invited members of the Portuguese court to dance quadrille on his ship after arriving in the port of Rio de Janeiro [Brown 1945:101]. Joinville's marriage to the sister of Brazil's emperor Dom Pedro II in 1843 solidified the link between French and Brazilian governments, facilitating exchange of goods and services. The transmission of upper class, aristocratic qualities denoting the quadrille's imperialist past into Festas Juninas practices is most clearly demonstrated by the northeast quadrilhas. In this context, one may observe trained, skilled dancers moving with precise steps, rehearsed choreography, proper etiquette, clearly defined gender roles, and following standards for evaluation. Continuity of Festas Juninas customs in the northeastern region, where preservation of Brazil's colonial period is most evident, certainly warrants additional research.

The northeast version of quadrilha is in stark contrast to the quadrilha caipira of the southeast region. Since 1999, I have experienced ten seasons of Festas Juninas involving the caipira style and recently came to understand the importance of quadrilhas, as a core component of the Festas Juninas complex to strengthen community. While this was key to my preliminary research, I do not have time to share further insights and there is far too much detail about Festas Juninas to explain in this paper. However, I must at least mention a few elements common to festivities across Brazil such as the bonfires over which people jump, specialised foods like canjica or corn pudding, the hot drink quentão consisting of cachaca and ginger, barraquinhas where children play carnival games, and the arraiá, made up of colourful strings of flags stretched overhead as decoration. So much preparation and organisation to run the event requires nearly everyone in small rural villages to participate, which I was able to study for nine years in rural village of Guaraná, Espirito Santo. Simply stated, community connection already apparent in these tight knit social settings intensifies as everyone unconditionally devotes their time to the success of Festas Juninas events. In 2010, with a grant from the Institute for Humanities Research at Arizona State University and encouragement to post research findings on the Cross-Cultural Dance Resources Notes from the Field web site, I chose to expand my perspectives to study Festas Juninas and the quadrilha caipira in the centre of São Pãulo city. This was motivated partially by a fascination with the caipira, depicted in the famous Amácio Mazzaropi films produced from 1950–1980 as Jeca Tatu, the country bumpkin, and also Chico Bento who first appeared in popular comic book series in 1961, which continues today. Both characters live in rural towns near a big city in the state of São Paulo. Although they represented the lower class, their backwoods wisdom about life and down to earth behaviour, while naïve, resonated with the audience. Mazzaropi's cinema novo and the Chico Bento comics also heightened social awareness about ethnic and social groups often denied visibility in the official history [Bueno 1999:105]. The quadrilha capira exemplifies their hillbilly style.
The name *caipiras* originally was given to the poor Italian and Portuguese immigrants who came to São Paulo, Brazil, at the late 19th, early 20th century. They lived in rural settings as farmers, but in a place the size of São Paulo, which today has eleven million people, they were no different than anyone else. In São Paulo, the most diverse and largest city in Brazil, interaction with the Other or unknown is a common occurrence; Brazil's history demonstrates this acceptance to change and interaction between diverse people. As Brazil's economy continues to soar, attracting more foreign corporations, its reputation as a global leader will bring even more people from around the world mostly to the financial centre of São Paulo. Further the World Cup in 2014 and Olympics in 2016 mean tremendous revenue and an even greater influx of information, ideas, and resources. In this environment, it is impossible not to have physical contact with various people or exposure to different media. My *paulistano* family and friends explain that diversity is a normal part of life and they highly value opportunities to learn new skills, which make them more adaptable as well as marketable to sustain themselves financially. This idea allows me to further expand my theory about why *Festas Juninas* and *quadrilha caipiras* provide the platform to form community among those who do not necessarily share backgrounds.

Community is characterised by an underlying, organic, or instinctive driving force to socially interact, according to sociologist, Ferdinand Tönnies. He describes that force as natural human will (*wesenwille*), which embodies a collective consciousness of belonging together and affirms the condition of mutual dependence [Tönnies 1957:101]. Community formation is always goal driven for protection and mating as well as simply to accomplish the objective of making a *quadrilha* for *Festas Juninas*. Its members like in any group reflect different points of view and unique perspectives. Each person contributes to the 'database' so that the cumulative knowledge is always greater than the sum of its parts. However, natural differences between points of view produce tension, which triggers a response as one relates information to share meaning, fulfilling the commitment to be a good member. These responses, a basic form of interaction, promote contact and over time develop trust. It is possible that negotiating difference happens more easily in communities since trust supports members to take risks and explore opportunities for generating ideas that benefit the group [Vissicaro 2010:28].

In conclusion I suggest that *quadrilhas caipiras* promote 'creative conversations' within the naturally heterogeneous *Festas Juninas* community. These conversations employ a dialectic style of cooperation in which opposites meet and synthesis emerges from the encounter [Sennett 2012:24]. The encounter may be with other people in the group representing unfamiliar backgrounds and even genders, learning new styles of movement, using clothing and props in a novel way, or simply just being the *caipira*, which I observed at Colégio Santa Maria in central São Paulo. Students there wore inventive costumes, had little specialised movement training, and minimal structure for choreography and steps. Further most rules for etiquette are abandoned, accommodating all types of people.

Like Carnival, the festival rite of intensification is a 'time out of time' to explore the unknown, an alternate reality, something that cannot happen in ordinary life. What is taking place in São Paulo *quadrilhas caipiras*, within the context of *Festas Juninas*, opens doors to develop individual and collective imaginations in which difference stimulates creativity, transferring beyond the festival environment to one's everyday life. In that case, *quadrilha caipira* becomes an agent of social transformation another topic for investigation. The emergence of creative communities provides balance to negotiate continuity and change. This duality is not meant to be polarising since both parts depend
on each other for meaning. Rather than thinking in terms of monolithic absolutes, I suggest that the extremes catalyse dynamic interaction along the continuum. So quadrilha caipira is like a dance on the seam of connection where binaries meet.

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REPORTS and LIMERICK
A SHORT HISTORY OF THE
ICTM STUDY GROUP ON ETHNOCHOREOLOGY

Anca Giurchescu

To celebrate its fiftieth anniversary, this short history of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology is intended to offer our younger colleagues an overview of the development of ethnochoreology in the framework of the ICTM Study Group. Since history may be conceived as an uninterrupted chain of transformations in a quick tempo, half a century seems a rather short but condense span of time comprised of both continuities and discontinuities that transformed a small working team on dance terminology into a well established scientific forum, one of the largest Study Groups of the ICTM (Giurchescu 2005:252–263 and 2007:3–18). With this occasion I would like to give credit to all those (symbolically called) "pioneers" who were the initiators and the real builders of this scientific body and who were prevented to be with us today (Eva Kröschlová, Grażyna Dąbrowska, Roderyk Lange, Anna Ilieva, and Lisbet Torp) and implicitly by mentioning their contributions to recall the memory of those who passed away while walking along the long "road to ethnochoreology and dance anthropology".1

In 1960 at the 13th IFMC Conference in Vienna the creation of a "Dance Commission" was proposed by Felix Hoerburger (Germany) aiming for communication and exchange of scientific material, for unification of terminology and a notation system on the basis of Kinetography Laban, and for dissemination of bibliographic information. The inaugural meeting of the Folk Dance Commission took place in 1962 (July 17th) at the 15th IFMC Conference in Zlin (Gottwaldov, former Czechoslovakia), when Zlin was called Gottwaldov.2 The short-term programme proposed by the Dance Commission was the following:

1. Publication of a comprehensive dance bibliography (since 1962)
2. Foundation of an international dance film archive
3. Organisation of a working group on folk dance terminology

The members of this initial group (two researchers from each country) coordinated by Vera Proca-Ciortea were: Martin György and Pesovár Ernő, Hungary; Eva Kröschlova and Hanna Laudová, former Czechoslovakia; and Anca Giurchescu, Romania.

Figure 1. Vera Proca-Ciortea (1915-2002). Founder and chair of the IFMC Study Group for Dance Terminology (1962-1984) (Sunni Bloland collection)
It was the lack of communication with the western world during the "cold war" that limited the configuration of the initial Working Group to participants of the Socialist block. The main purpose of the "Dance Terminology Group" was to establish common theory and method for dance structure analysis, in other words to make explicit the implicit grammar that exist in any dance tradition. It has to be mentioned that this long-term project was considered by each of us only a stage and not the final goal of dance studies which implies many other research perspectives.

In 1964 at the 17th IFMC Conference in Budapest, the Dance Commission meeting and a Roundtable were attended by thirty-nine dance specialists. The Study Group for Dance Terminology (a denomination that lasted until the beginning of the 1970s when it was replaced by Ethnochoreology) was completed with: Rosemarie Ehm-Schultz, (leader of the Staatliches Dorfansamble, Neustrelitz) and Dr. Kurt Petermann (founder of the Deutsches Tanzarchiv, Leipzig) both of former German Democratic Republic (GDR); with Miljca Ilijin (Institute of Musicology, Beograd of former Yugoslavia), Raina Kattzarova (Sofia, Bulgaria), and Pesovár Ferenc (Székesfehérvár Museum in Hungary).

In its first stage the Study Group for Dance Terminology had to overcome the difference of scholarly and cultural backgrounds of its members. "Our theoretical and methodological competence was rooted in our own research experience, in the national scientific traditions and for sure in the dance reality of our countries". The Hungarians György Martin and Ernö Pesovár had a longer experience in dance structure analysis for having published in 1961 the article "A structural analysis of the Hungarian folk dance (A methodological sketch)" [Martin; Pesovár 1961:1–40].

**Working methods**

In a very short period of time the Study Group became a well-balanced working team, in permanent contact and with exchanges of ideas (in meetings or via typewritten letters with around 10 copies). The common working language was German. The meetings of this rather "closed" group were focused on precisely formulated themes or questions. The answers we proposed after intensive debates based on the analyses and comparison of practical examples from different dance cultures had to reach the consensus of the majority. At the end of a working session our findings had to be clearly and concisely worded in a written format. Elaborated papers were very seldom (if ever) presented.

I recall my colleagues each with his personality, temperament and way of arguing. A warm feeling of friendship, understanding, and respect dominated the passionate discussions which were always stimulating, never competitive.

For each of the participants the Dance Terminology meetings were sensed and experienced as creative laboratories, where scientific instruments for dance analysis were invented step by step simultaneously with our own theoretical development and maturation. In the oppressive and cloisteral space of the Socialist Block, every Study Group meeting and ICTM conference that we had the chance to attend were open windows towards the rest of the world.

**Meetings**

Between 1965 and 1969 the Study Group on Folk Dance Terminology had seven most intensive and fruitful working sessions. Short of financial resources the Study Group took advantage of any offer coming from higher cultural institutions for organising its meetings as often as possible.

In 1972 the 9th "Work session of the Study Group on the Terminology of Choreology" in Wiepersdorf (former GDR), was considered as a closing of ten years of
intensive work, that succeeded to make explicit an existent dance grammar. The dance structural units were disclosed, defined and hierarchically organised in various numbers of levels of different complexity. Compositional rules and dance Form-models were established, and the structural relationship between dance and music, illuminated. These results were presented by Kurt Petermann (GDR) under the form of a Syllabus für Volkstanzanalyse [Syllabus for dance structure analysis]. The next step was the translation of the Syllabus into nine languages: English, French, Russian, Czech, Romanian, Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Polish, the languages of the group members, for making possible its experimentation in different dance traditions. At the Wiepersdorf meeting Grażyna Dąbrowska (Poland) and Anna Ilieva (Bulgaria) joined the working Group. In 1975 the Syllabus translated from German into English (by William C. Reynolds (USA) was published in the Yearbook of the IFMC under the title: "Foundation for the analysis of the structure and form of folk dance: a syllabus" [IFMC Study Group 1975:115–135].

As Eva Kröschlová noticed however, the syllabus due to its conciseness and insufficient dance examples was lacking clarity. Therefore the Czech, Hungarian and Romanian members of the Study Group were assigned to review and improve significant aspects such as the definition of the smallest significant dance structural unit (the Motif), the Form models, and the structural relationship between dance and music [Kröschlova, 2005:269]. In the first decade of the 1970s an increased number of ethnochoreologists from other parts of the world participated at the IFMC conferences, establishing a first contact between representatives of different dance cultures and scientific orientations.

Thus in 1973 at the IFMC Conference in Bayonne, a significant moment was the encounter between the American dance anthropologist Adrienne Kaeppler when she presented her linguistic model 'Theory and method for the analysis of Tongan dance structure' (Kaeppler 1972), and the representatives of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology, Vera Proca-Ciortea and Anca Giurchescu. The common interest in dance structure analysis disclosed that in spite of different theoretical approaches and very different dance cultures the basic ideas were similar and the terminology had many similarities. The fundamental difference in their approaches was due to the fact that Adrienne Kaeppler (as an anthropologist) studied an unfamiliar dance culture (for her) and worked at the level of "language" (meaning of the dance system), while the members of the East-European-based Terminology Study Group worked in their own cultures and situated the analysis on the level of "parole" by referring to familiar "dance products".

The next IFMC Conference in Regensburg (1975) marked another important moment when the choreological perspective of the Study Group was confronted with the American anthropological perspective on dance. The encounter at a round table moderated by John Blacking (South Africa) offered controversial but inspiring debates incited by Susanne Youngerman's (USA) anthropological approach.

In 1976 the 10th meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology (with its new name) was held in Zaborów, Poland (13–18 September) and was organised by Grażyna Dąbrowska (Figure 2). The new topic on classification of European dances (respectively "Classification of chain and round dances") was intended to open a new research direction that presupposed the application in practice the theory and method of dance structure analysis already elaborated by the Group. It was the first time that formal papers substituted "free discussions". The proceedings of the meeting (entitled: Analyse und Klassifikation von Volkstänzen) included the full text of "Grundlagen der Struktur- und Formanalyse des Volkstanzes" (Foundation of Structur- and Form Analysis of Folk
Dances) followed by Eva Kröschlová's amendments. Kurt Petermann collaborated with a theory on Folk Dance Systematization and Classification.

Figure 2. 1976. IFMC Study Group for Dance Terminology meeting in Zaborów, Poland. Standing: Sunni Bloland, Frantiszek Bachleda, Anna Ilieva, Eva Kröschlová, György Martin, Grażyna Dąbrowska. Kneeling: Anca Giurchescu, Alexandra Szumiak Bogucka. (Grażyna Dąbrowska collection)

**Pains of discontinuity**

Under the pressing interest of other dance scholars, the rather "closed" Study Group on Ethnochoreology was almost forced to "open its doors, step by step". The IFMC board strongly supported this trend, which emerged at the IFMC Conference in Oslo, 1979, where seventeen scholars, all members of the Northern Association for Folk Dance Research, comprised of six countries, became members of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology.

In 1979 the 11th meeting of the Study Group, organised in Neustrelitz (GDR) by Rosemarie Ehms-Schulz, was attended by 13 scholars including the representatives of the Scandinavian countries. This meeting introduced a significant change in the Study Group tradition by proposing a new working model for the Study Group, a model that later developed into the present-day symposia. Erich Stockmann (President of the IFMC and responsible for the Study Groups) suggested a broader coverage of subjects organised around two main themes and a third one dedicated to current research.

The conference in 1980 in Stockholm, hosted by the Folk Dance Archives of the Swedish Dance Museum, was attended by fifty dance scholars from twelve countries. The two topics were the following: "Old couple dance forms of Europe" (proposed by the Nordic Association for Folk Dance Research) and "Classification of folk dances" (proposed by the "old" Study Group with Kurt Petermann presenting a Three Dimensional Classificatory Model). The passage from a "brotherhood" of 12 members until 1979 to a wide open scientific forum of 40 members in 1982, implying new aims and working methods, weakened the cohesion of the initial Study Group. But the greatest loss for the Study Group and for Ethnochoreology as a science was the untimely death in 1983 of two of its key members Martin György and Kurt Petermann.
Change of leadership

It was a period of uncertainty for the Study Group. Shortly before the ICTM Conference in Stockholm and Helsinki (1985) the leadership of the Study Group passed from Vera Proca-Ciortea (who kept together and animated the Study Group since its creation) to Rosemarie Ehm-Schultz (GDR). Her difficult task was to run a Study Group with a new profile: open membership, broad geographic range and broad range of topics. In 1986, Rosemarie Ehm-Schulz organised a Study Group meeting in Neubrandenburg (GDR) with the participation of nine scholars from six countries. Papers were dedicated to new and more general themes such as "Trends in contemporary folk dance research" presented by Roderyk Lange.9 In 1987 the 29th ICTM Conference in Berlin was attended by 25 Study Group members, from 13 countries. Sixteen dance papers were presented. This was the first time that dance researchers stepped forward on the ICTM stage as a compact and massive scientific body.

In 1988, the 15th meeting was organised in Copenhagen by Lisbet Torp. In fact this was the first Symposium of the Study Group with an open membership and a 'new ideology' that implied co-related changes in the way the Group was run (Figure 3). Lisbet Torp became the chairperson of a small board and the Study Group was formally structured by Rules of Order. Due to the initiative and editorship of William C. Reynolds a Newsletter came into existence in the spring of 1988.10 From this moment on symposia of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology would be organised with regularity every second year, in alternation with the ICTM World Conferences.

Figure 3. 1988 The 15th symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, Copenhagen, Denmark. (Lisbet Torp collection)

I do not recall all 12 symposia with their exciting themes. They are already edited with competence and dedication by Elsie Ivancich Dunin (in collaboration) and published both as hard copies and on a DVD. I do however, mention those facts that brought significant changes in the life of the Study Group. An important moment was the creation of the Sub-Study Groups at the Symposium of Budapest in 1990. The Sub-Study Groups express the collaborative spirit that animates our members and enforces the group's dynamism. The first Sub-Study Groups were: Dance Structure Analysis, Field Research Theory and Methods, Revival, Iconography, and Dance and Film.11
With her term coming to an end, Lisbet Torp stepped down in 1998 at the 20th Symposium in Istanbul, and Anca Giureșcu was elected chair. It is to Lisbet Torp’s merit that the new-oriented Study Group reached full maturity and stability during this fruitful decade. In 2002 at the 22nd Symposium in Szeged, Hungary, organised by László Felföldi, the Study Group on Ethnochoreology celebrated its fortieth anniversary.

The next change in the Study Group leadership took place in 2006, at the 24th Symposium in Cluj-Napoca (Romania) when Anca Giureșcu stepped down and László Felföldi became chair for a new term. I would like to mention the 25th Symposium in Kuala-Lumpur, Malaysia in 2008 (organised by Mohd Anis Md Nor) that opened the Study Group towards southwestern Asia, offering local scholars the possibility of exchanging experiences and knowledge with Study Group members in the topical realm of cultural heritage.

History is based on documents, and the intellectual efforts survive only when materialised in a written form. Therefore, the efforts of the Study Group members who took on the responsibility of making public our scientific studies during all these years deserve recognition, and in particular the Chair of the Publication Committee: Elsie Ivancich Dunin. She took on not only the demanding editorial role for most publications, but trained younger colleagues involving them in this activity. The bibliographic series on Dance research published or publicly presented by members of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology was initiated by Elsie Ivancich Dunin in 1988 (the same year as the introduction of the Newsletter) and was continued in 1999 by Tvrtko Zebec (Croatia). This initiative was to mirror the entire work of each Study Group member fulfilling one of the early goals set by the Dance Commission in 1962. The publication of 12 Proceedings of the Symposia (out of which 10 are on DVD, produced in 2011), contributed to disseminate the achievements of the Study Group members, to offer useful reading material for students and scholars, and to demonstrate the diversity and complexity of inquiries in the field of ethnochoreology. The two ICTM yearbooks dedicated in totality to dance issues symbolise the prestigious status reached by the Study Group within the ICTM. A tangible and important result of the intensive work of the Sub-Study Groups are the collective books: Dance structures: perspectives on the analysis of human movement (Kaeppler and Dunin (editors) 2007) by the Sub-Study Group on Dance Structure Analysis dedicated to both ethnochoreological and linguistic-based methods of dance structure analysis and their application in practice; and the book Imaging dance: visual representations of dancers and dancing (editors, Sparti and Van Zile, with Dunin, Heller, Kaeppler 2011 an output of the work carried out by the Sub-Study Group on Iconography. A third book written by members of the Sub-Study Group on Round Couple Dances of the 19th century is in process. Ideas, inquiries and viewpoints resulting from the fieldwork experiences of the Sub-Study Group on Field Research Theory and Methods were published as well.

In the last part of this brief history I would like to talk about a goal that was set by the Dance Commission 50 years ago: "To join efforts for raising the study of dance at an academic level in as many countries as possible" [IFMC 1962:22]. The first graduate programme finishing in a Master of Arts degree in Ethnochoreology at a European university was established by Catherine Foley at the University of Limerick, Ireland, in 1996. It continues to date and is a one-year, fulltime, taught postgraduate programme (see MA Ethnochoreology website <www.irishworldacademy.ie/postgraduate-programmes/ma-ethnochoreology/>). The Seminar for Young/New Ethnochoreologists started in 1997 as a voluntary activity initiated by László Felföldi in Budapest with a small group of lecturers from the Study Group (Figure 4). Since there were very few universities in Europe
including dance studies in their curricula, the seminar aimed to become an alternative scientific forum for dance knowledge taught at an academic level.

Figure 4. 1997. The first seminar of "New Ethnochoreologists", Budapest, Hungary. A discussion around the table with some of the teachers: László Felföldi, Colin Quigley, Anca Giurchescu, Theresa Buckland. (Anca Giurchescu collection)

This first seminar was followed by three others organised by Theresa Buckland at Surrey University (UK), by Georgiana Gore at the University Blaise Pascal of Clermont-Ferrand (France), and by Egil Bakka at the Technological University of Trondheim (Norway). Due to the teachers' joint efforts the Seminar of New Ethnochoreologists changed into the "Erasmus Intensive Program for Dance Knowledge" (IPEDAK/IPEDAM) organised by Egil Bakka and hosted by the Northern Technological University in Trondheim in 2004. In 2013 the intensive academic programme was attended by students from 14 affiliated universities of the European Union. The theoretical lectures, seminars, group discussions, dancing workshops (Figure 5), dance notation, fieldwork experiments and concluding with a final essay, were conducted by high level teachers in dance anthropology and ethnochoreology, all members of our Study Group (Figure 6).

Figure 5. 2008. A workshop with Turkish dances taught by Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin at the IPEDAM seminar in Trondheim, Norway
In August, 2012, due to the intensive collaborative work of the "Choreomundus Consortium", comprised of four universities: Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim (coordinator), Blaise Pascal University (BPU), Clermont-Ferrand, France, University of Roehampton London (URL), and Scientific University of Szeged (SZTE), Szeged, Hungary, the "European Master in Dance Anthropology and/or Ethnochoreology" became a reality. The students have the chance to learn in turn at all four universities (spending a longer time in three of them). The programme aims to offer "a wide range of theoretical approaches, and methodologies, as well as knowledge of a variety of cultural and geographical areas". (See Choreomundus website: <www.ntnu.edu/studies/choreomundus/news>).

Presently the Study Group on Ethnochoreology is among the largest in the ICTM (with over 200 members). The spirit of the initial group, however, has been carried on. We succeeded to maintain the atmosphere and the working style we prized so much: relaxed, open, collaborative, never competitive. Scientific probity, intellectual generosity and mutual respect are qualities that I believe will always characterise the Study Group on Ethnochoreology.

Endnotes
1. Vera Proca Ciortea (Romania), Martin György and Ernő Pesovár (Hungary), Kurt Petermann (former GDR), Hannah Laudová (Czech Republic), Milica Ilijin (former Yugoslavia), Bill Reynolds (USA/Denmark), and very recently Barbara Sparti (Italy), and Marianne Bröcker (Germany).
2. The appointed leaders of the Dance Commission were: Felix Hoerburger (Germany) - president, Roger Pinon (Belgium) - secretary, Vera Proca-Ciortea (Romania) and Douglas Kennedy (England). Members were from nineteen countries.
3. This comment, made later by Vera Proca-Ciortea, did not uncover however, the fact that Socialist country members of the group were hindered (by their own country officials and without any explanation) to participate at Study Group meetings or IFMC/ICTM conferences.
5. January, 1965, Wuppertal (GDR), July at Strážnice Festival (former Czechoslovakia), September 1965 Celje (Slovenian Folklorists Union); September, 1966 Dojran (13th Congress of the Macedonian Folklorist Union organised by Milica Ilijin); January, 1967, Potsdam-Geltow (Committee for Folk Music, former GDR); 10–13 September, 1968, Prizren (14th Congress of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Folklorist Union) and August-September 1969, Bucharest (International festival "Romania 69").

6. I would like to mention Frances (Sunní) Bloland, dance teacher at the University of California in Berkeley, who was the only western dance scholar that actively followed many of our meetings without being a member of the group.

7. In 1969 Anca Giurchescu in collaboration with Radu Niculescu (linguist) conceived a dance analysis system theoretically founded in semiotics. From this perspective the terminology she employed (such as chorem, choreomorphem) was very close to that used by Kaeppler.

8. The newcomers were: Egil Bakka, Jan Peter Blom (Norway), Roderyk Lange (United Kingdom), Irene and Juno Sjöberg (Sweden), Kari Bergholm and Pirkko Liisa Rausmaa, (Finland), Sigridur Valgeirsdottir (Island), Henning and Ida Urup (Denmark and Færøerne).

9. A new board of the Study Group was elected at this meeting: Rosemarie Ehm-Schulz, chair with two co-chair persons: Roderyk Lange (United Kingdom) and Lisbet Torp (Denmark).

10. Two issues a year were published until the Spring of 2004. In general the content comprised of reports on activities of the Study and Sub-Study Groups, presentations of new members/ institutions, current bibliography, abstracts of doctoral dissertations, reports and announcements of conferences, book-reviews, personal news, upcoming events, "the back page".

11. The following Sub-Study Groups came to existence later: Round Couple Dances of the 19th Century, Comparative Research in Ritual Complexes, Dance-Music Relationship, Dance in the Muslim World, Dance, Migration and Diaspora, and Technology and Dance.


13. The Czech Journal of Ethnology "Národopisná revue" issued in Strážnice was dedicated to the fieldwork experience carried out by the Sub-Study Group on Field Research Theory and Methods on the Ritual/Festival event "The Kings Ride" of Vlčnov, Czech Republic (May, 2012). In its first issue of 2013 ten studies by the Sub-Study Group members were published, edited by Daniela Stavelová.

14. The first group of lecturers was comprised of: László Felföldi, János Fügedi, Ernő Pesovár, Theresa Buckland, Anca Giurchescu, Lisbet Torp, and Colin Quigley.

15. The affiliated universities are the following: Academy of Performing Arts, Czech Republic; Boğaziçi University, Turkey; De Montfort University, UK; Ege University, Turkey; Göteborgs Universitet, Sweden; Københavns Universitet, Denmark; Lithuanian Academy of Music, Lithuania; Roehampton University, UK; Stockholms Universitet, Sweden; Szeged University, Hungary; Université Blaise Pascal, France; University of Athens, Greece; University of Limerick, Ireland; University of Tampere, Finland.

16. In 2004 the senior teachers of the IPEDAK seminar were the following: Egil Bakka, Theresa Buckland, László Felföldi, Catherine Foley, Anca Giurchescu, Georgiana Wierre-Gore, Andrée Grau, Irene Loutzaki, Mats Nilsson, Mehmet Öçal Özbilgin, Colin Quigley, Daniela Stavelová, Dalia Urbanavičienė, Judy van Zile.

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IFMC (International Folk Music Council).


The Ride of the Kings is an example of a traditional custom, which was once widespread and now is an isolated occurrence. It is a direct continuation of the old Whitsun custom once observed in a number of European countries. Historical reports prove its existence in the Middle Ages. The origin of the custom of the Ride of the Kings is still a subject of arguments among scholars and some of these arguments have not yet been settled satisfactorily.

In the Czech Republic in the first half of the nineteenth century this tradition was still observed in many villages in South-Eastern and Central Moravia, in Silesia and also in Western, Central, Southern and Eastern Bohemia. In the course of the second half of the nineteenth century this custom became gradually less frequent in Bohemia until it vanished completely.

The Whitsun King's ceremony in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia took place traditionally on Whit Monday. It was initiated by the young generation, aged between 13 and 20 years. Since the end of the 19th century, when the stimulus for holding the Ride of the Kings began to emanate also from clubs and other organisations (and, in the post war period, from the cultural sections of National Committees and folk song and dance ensembles), the age-range has moved upwards. Only the King, in the spirit of the tradition, is selected from boys aged between 9 and 13.

The Whitsun tradition is now generally known as the Ride of the Kings. Earlier it was also known as "the Chase of the King". The main participants in the King’s procession on horseback are the King and his aides, standard-bearers, heralds and collectors. The King may not speak nor even smile. For this reason he holds a rose between his lips throughout the ceremony. The Ride of the Kings takes place seriously and ceremoniously. The King is also helped by the ceremonial traditional costume: the King and his aides are dressed in women’s costumes, the rest of the participants in the Ride of the Kings wear ceremonial men’s clothes. The King has one hand on his hip and rides a white horse, the aides carry swords, the standard-bearer carries a standard. The procession rides right through the village and the heralds call out short addresses at individual houses which contain both positive and negative evaluations about members of the village community and also general opinion. Today, they often also make rhyming statements about outsiders watching the ceremony. For this "town crying" they are given presents which are taken by the collectors.

This splendid traditional ceremony with its ride on gaily bedisened horses is still observed in only a few villages in South-Eastern and Central Moravia where it has become a permanent part of modern cultural life. This is particularly the case of Vlčenov, a village lying between the towns of Uherské Hradiště and Uherský Brod. Here the Ride of the Kings has kept its continuity and also adopts new elements; apart from the procession of boys in traditional costumes on gaily decorated horses there are numerous performances by folk groups, exhibitions and other cultural events. The King’s Ride takes place in Vlčenov regularly at the end of the May. The local community considers the living custom as part of their cultural heritage; the village Society of the Ride of the Kings initiated the nomination of the custom for inscription on the Intangible Cultural Heritage list. The custom is at the same time part of their life and its existence gives rise to many questions concerning its meaning in the context of social relationships today.
The traditional custom of the Ride of the Kings was chosen as the subject of international field research – initiated by the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology (proposed by Lázsló Felföldi) – with special reference to the context offered by its inscription on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (27 November, 2011). The Study Group focused on field research through its ICTM Sub-Study Group on Field Research Theory and Method initiated and led by Anca Giurculescu. What made this project special was the fact that the local community proposed the inclusion of this festivity in the list of "Representative Intangible Cultural Heritage" recognised by UNESCO.

The objectives of the fieldwork experiment held in the village of Vlčnov on 25–27 May, 2012 and proposed by Anca Giurculescu were as follows:
- To perform a complex documentation of an event taking place "here and now", without interference from outsiders;
- To disclose the reasons and motivations of the local community for proposing the Ride of the Kings event as a Representative Cultural Heritage on UNESCO's list;
- To research the impact of this project, and its justification as expressed by insiders of the community;
- To investigate the "living" character of the festivity:
  - Is it revitalisation / revival / reconstruction?
  - Is it presentational or participatory?
  - Which processes of change, resulting from the continuous practising of the custom, have had impact on the custom’s contemporary form?
- Last but not least, this research raised new questions related to the theme of "Festivals" – dealt with at the Study Group on Ethnochoreology Symposium in Limerick, Ireland, held on 22–29 July, 2012.

This issue is undoubtedly reflected in the way the custom is perceived by the society and in the way it is shared by the local community; it offers new opportunities for researching the viability of the custom and the process whereby this traditional custom changes in today’s society. The above-mentioned research was a pilot project designed as an experiment because of the specific, collective, supranational and inter-generational approach and because some non-standard procedures were applied which combined monitoring and interviewing techniques. It was considered to be an experiment that might help reveal new connections, the principle of transmissions, and the existence of the phenomenon within different social contexts. The data collected by the qualitative research in the defined time and space should, first and foremost, help formulate new procedures, hypotheses and issues related to the research of the importance of the above-mentioned traditional Pentecost custom in today’s society.

The participants of the fieldwork submitted the following essays which were published in the Czech journal Národopisná revue (Journal of Ethnology), No 1, 2013:
"The Ride of the Kings from the point of view of contemporary research" (Daniela Stavělová),
"The Ride of the Kings in Vlčnov seen from outside" (Lise Adersen – Heino Wessel Hansen),
"The Ride of the Kings in Vlčnov – the course and major themes of the event" (Petra Dotlačílová, Petra Slavíková, Kateřina Syslová, Daniela Žilvarová),
"What did Vlčnov live for? Media reports about the Ride of the Kings held in Vlčnov in 2012" (Dorota Gremlicová – Daniela Žilvarová),
"Ritual and festival interplay (using an example of the Ride of the Kings in Vlčnov" (Anca Giurculescu),
"The Ride of the Kings inscribed on the UNESCO list and a matter of sense of ownership, control and decision-making: whose tradition, whose heritage?" (László Felföldi).


Figure 1. The "king" is dressed by his mother and sister during the Saturday's evening ceremony in the local House of the Culture (Photograph D. Stavělová, 2012)

Figure 2. When ready, the "king" is leaving the stage of the Culture House within the company of eighteen-year old local boys "legrúti" Culture (Photograph D. Stavělová, 2012)
Figure 3. "The Ride of the Kings" starts on Sunday morning from the house of the "king" (Photograph D. Zilvarová, 2012)

Figure 4. The procession rides right round the village and the heralds ("legrúti") call out short addresses at individual houses (Photograph D. Stavělová, 2012)
A LIMERICK FOR LIMERICK
   By Adrienne Kaeppler

There was a young lady from Éire
For whom dance was a burning desire
   Propelled by her sire
Her life was entire
With music and dance home acquired.

From Cork to Limerick she moved
Into step dance she immediately grooved
   With academic degrees
She soon was bee's knees
And right on the road to succeed.

Then to London to study notation
Gave her a sense of elation
   She developed a structure
That did not introduce rupture
Into her mentors' ideas of motion.

When she offered her school for our meeting
She hoped the work would be little and fleeting
   But what she found
Organization profound
Was needed to even set up a greeting!

Joined by Colin, Orfhlaith, and Mats
Each of whom wore several hats
   Preparing technology,
To amateur psychology,
But still taking time for a chat.

For us, choosing from festa or place
Gave room to maneuver our space
   Graduation to pageantry
Gave rise to variety
Again weddings gave dancing a place.

Note how we succumb to persuasion
And how we rise to the occasion
   We each take our data
In order to make a
New paper derived from our search.

Now tell me, how does one get a job
Watching dancing displayed at flash mobs?
   Our eyes face a cube
As we watch on u tube
Shall we join and become our own mob?
The phrase "hips don't lie" is entrancing
But then why is it called "belly dancing"?
   Does it enhance
   A way to romance
Or is it a ritual, per chance?

Infatuation with reflexive
Belies an anthro perspective.
   When it is good
   It is very, very good
But when it is bad, it is horrid!

Dinner started with red and white wine
And food that was nearly divine.
   Each made our own breakfast
   Then went on to a speech fest
And worn out by an evening of jest.

The "Rite of Spring" was surprising
Its movements oddly compromising.
   Step dancing of old
   Contemporanity bold
Showed the two are not polarizing.

Now step dancing is moving around
It certainly has not run aground
   Cape Breton from Scotland
   Éire to Newfoundland
Compelling influences found.

Our cruise on the river and lake
Caused us to make a mistake
   We took up the notion
   That the stone bridge had motion
Hmmm, the idea was only a fake!

A spontaneous uprising took place
Step dancing invaded our space
   Crossing the line
   Carrying shoes was the mime
But again "Rite of Spring" was sublime.

Although our group remains Eurocentric
Symposia have become more eclectic
   Brazil, Okinawa, Korea,
   Indonesia, Nigeria, Polynesia.
From Japan came flamenco synthetic
Croatian Irish was maiden frenetic.
Now Tess is leaving the board  
Again, a double-edged sword  
Then Tvrtko resigned  
He was so inclined  
To bring Dina back into the fold.

But whatever happened to theory  
Have we all now become just too weary?  
To think out of the box  
Or are we sly as a fox  
And our papers prepared in a hurry?

Our study group has now fifty years  
And we stand here without any fears  
Our choreographic gem  
YMCA to ICTM  
Embody us for the next millennium.

And now we are leaving from Limerick  
Where our life has been just a picnic  
Catherine, Colin, Orfhlaith, and Mats  
Can go back to their usual hats  
Wearing their tap shoes, greensleeves, and spats.

In leaving we thank all committees  
To them we give thanks and our pities.  
I think my muse is now vexed  
Will she like this bad text?  
Or will she send me off crying ’til Graz? (or Korcula)?
APPENDICES

Biographies of contributors

Some moments during the 2012 symposium
   Anniversary concert
   Dinner and Céili

Abstracts by 2012 Symposium presenters without submitted papers
Biographies of contributors

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27th Symposium of the International Council for Traditional Music’s Study Group on Ethnochoreology

Anniversary Concert Programme

Thursday, 26th July, 2012,
8.00 p.m. in Theatre 1

The Irish World Academy of Music and Dance
University of Limerick, Ireland

Featuring

Alumni of the MA Irish Traditional Dance Performance Programme
Artistic Director: Catherine Foley

and

Ériú Dance Company
Artistic Director: Breandán de Galláí
Tereza Bernardova performs sean nós Reels.
Musician: Ryan Murphy on uilleann pipes
(photograph © Mats Melin)

Kate Spanos performs Aoibhell, the Fairy Queen, set dance.
Choreography by Ruth Long: music composed by Francis Ward

Catherine Foley performs Súisín Bán (White Blanket) traditional set dance.
Choreography by Stevie Comerford (Cork, circa 1930)
(photographs © Mats Melin)

Andrew Vickers performs Planxty Davis set dance
Choreography by Andrew Vickers and Michael Ryan
Mairéad O'Connor, Andrew Vickers, Ashlene McFadden perform a new dance ensemble piece
Choreography by Mairéad O'Connor

Joey Comerford, Ashlene McFadden perform a Treble Slip Jig. Choreography by Donncha Ó Muineacháin, Cork, and Celine Hession Galway, 1972

(photographs © Mats Melin)

Ériú Dance Company perform The Rite of Spring. Choreography by Breandán de Galláí.
Music composed by Igor Stravinsky

(Photograph © Declan English)
MOMENTS DURING THE ANNIVERSARY DINNER AND CÉILI
ABSTRACTS

for presenters without submitted papers

Theresa BUCKLAND (United Kingdom)
"Dance and pageantry: celebrating local and national histories of the English people"

At the turn of nineteenth and twentieth centuries, older dance forms ostensibly culled from the countryside and from old books and manuscripts were revived and performed in the new movement of pageantry which swept across England. Rural morris and maypole dances were performed in the same context as courtly pavanes and minuets as part of lavish open-air pageants staged to celebrate the longevity and character of the English race through its royalty and its people. Drawing together all classes in enthusiastic amateur dramatics, music and dance, these pageants were by no means isolated events but mapped onto wider interest in cultural heritage and its relation to the articulation of national and local identities. Not only did the historical dance movement of England gather momentum during this period but so did the folk dance movement, chiefly through such notable figures as Nellie Chaplin, Mary Neal and Cecil Sharp. Emphasising authenticity in their quest to re-stage the past, these revivalists were often of one voice in denigrating theatrical attempts at re-creating these dances yet were also deeply divided in their personal visions of how to re-create and re-stage these dances.

Often viewed by later scholars as nostalgic reactions to a rapidly changing and declining British Empire, these recreations of old dances were in fact associated with forward looking initiatives that promoted social and cultural change. Drawing upon detailed study of archival photographs, newspaper accounts, biographies and reminiscences, this paper examines the staging of so-called ancient and national dances as part of community celebrations in relation to issues of amateur performance, heritage and English identity.

Chi-Fang CHAO (Taiwan)
"Dancing with festivity: the dis/embodiment of location and identity in contemporary Okinawan festivals"

This paper deals with the booming complex phenomenon of cultural and spatial identification through various festivals, and the necessity and meaning of related dance practices, taking contemporary Okinawan festivals as the example. The researcher will firstly review past theories on ritual and festival which centre on the transformation and formulation of collective experiences through dancing. With this preliminary study of dance practices in Okinawan festivals, the researcher then hopes to debate on the more complex and dynamic interaction between the locals and the immigrants, nationalism and globalism, embodiment and disembodiment of culture and location prevailed in contemporary Okinawans' transnational claims for identity. The research is based on recently-conducted short-term fieldworks in Okinawa, which focused on a scale of rituals and festivals ranging from traditional village-based communal rites de passage, the place-based tourism-monitoring festivals, to the globalised mega event (such as the quinquennial World Okinawan Festival held in 2011).
Andrea CONGER (United States)  
"Flash mobs and folk dance: traditional dance and digital space"  

Digital technology extends human experience and agency allowing us to interact simultaneously in digital and physical spaces. The proliferation of mobile technology has affected our use of space and impacted notions of communal identity, both of which have been critical to our understandings of traditional dance and dance spaces. Begun shortly after 9/11, flash mobs are defined by the unique intersection of virtual communities that use technology to organise significant corporeal meetings. Many flash mobs involve dance as their primary activity and a surprising number choose to use traditional dances. What is key with flash mobs as opposed to many other virtual group communication is the critical conjunction of virtual and corporeal communication that characterises mobile mass communication. In other words, people exchange information with the purpose also of coordinating a face to face mass meeting. A flash mob must be planned in the virtual world, but realized in the corporeal. As a result of having to adapt to the speed and flow of digital media as well as the form and flow of the information and language used, people's perceptions of time, space and community have changed. Flash mobs that use traditional dance are a particularly interesting negotiation of time; past, present and future though these transitory spaces of momentary physical interaction with extended digital echoes. That these events are then filmed and gain a second life on the internet is also critical in how they formulate feelings of community and time in a variety of liminal and shifting spaces. Victor Turner (1982) suggests that it is in these *liminoid* spaces that post-industrial societies may find the freest space for innovative expression. "People intuitively understand that it is a powerful thing to very quickly and surprisingly transform a physical space, and one reason they keep coming back to the mobs is there is this feeling that something is being created that can't be ignored" (Harmon 2003). This paper seeks to examine the ways in which momentary *communitas* created by flash mobs is particularly interesting when traditional dance forms are used and how this might speak to questions of community building in a digital age that has suffered accusations of being increasingly isolationist. How can we understand community that forms only around a single dance event? How are such events planned, what dance movements are used and what are the consequences of how these performances echo on as they are replayed on youtube and other sites? How is a technology designed to make physical space irrelevant interacting with dance traditions that have long been intimately tied to place and notions of geographical origin? In alignment with its subject matter, this paper uses both digital and physical research methodologies seeking information through online videos, video responses, chat rooms and blogs and combining them with a live experience participating in a flash mob involving a number of traditional dancers and dance forms.

Ann R. DAVID (United Kingdom)  
"Performing modernity: Bhangra's global movements in new diasporic settings  

Bhangra, a performance tradition originating from the Punjab, in north-western India raises significant questions in relation to its metamorphosis from harvest folk dance to its British emergence as an urban pop form. Using evidence from current ethnographic fieldwork with Bhangra dance groups in west London, I question the impact of the transnational flows on its music and dance forms and its hybridisation with western instruments and rhythms that are facilitated by the constant movement of peoples as well as the power of digital networks. Bhangra's place in the global youth culture, as well as its presence in Bollywood film dance is investigated, noting as Anjali Gera Roy has stated: 'While Bhangra might perform traditional ritual in community functions and festivals, it
performs modernity as Indian dance music in India's growing club culture' (2010:188). The paper examines the connection between dance and place and Bhangra’s relocation, or displacement from its original folk setting and attempts to understand the meanings that its emplacement in new environments may bring.

Georgiana Wierre-GORE (France)
"Place, history, memory and power in Igue Festival, Edo State Nigeria"

If place is defined as a particular portion of space, as location, then in relation to dance, it may be understood in two ways. On the one hand, we may take it to mean the bounded space in which the dance as a whole is enacted, that is, where it takes place - a stage, a village square, a hall, a street, a discothèque and so on. On the other hand, we may understand it in a more restricted sense as ‘the order … in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence’ (De Certeau 2002 : 117). In this case, it is impossible for two dancers to be in the same place, each having his or her own ‘proper’ and distinct location or position. In this case, dancers are ‘beside one another’ (De Certeau 2002:117), in a relational sense and not a geometric sense. I shall explore the relations between these two meanings of place and the dancing during Igue, the annual ceremonial festival during which homage is paid to the Oba (King) of Benin, the traditional ruler who holds sway in Edo State of Nigeria (Gore 1999; Wierre-Gore 1998). Igue includes five ritual ceremonies during which dancing takes place in three distinct venues. The first series of events occur in the walled enclosure which ‘houses’ the ancestral shrines. The second series take place in the usually open space in front of the palace and a shrine dedicated to a specific former Oba, an open space transformed for the occasion into a performance space through material and human arrangements. And one final event leaves the palace grounds and is enacted in front of a tree shrine by the palace entrance. In this paper I will demonstrate how the dancing in these distinct places indeed has special meaning; it is a process of territorialisation (Deleuze & Guattari 1987), marking history and memory with significant feats, reinforcing identity, reinvigorating the ancient kingdom and its land. And I will examine how the location of the participants, who ‘play’ themselves, attributes distinct roles to the performers, marking hierarchy and power.

Andrée GRAU (United Kingdom)
"Dance, spatiality, and the hierarchy of places: a cross-cultural enquiry"

Whilst body movement, choreography, and dynamics are at the heart of dance, it is important to note that dances also acquire their values and meaning through the places they are performed in: ballet in the church hall does not have the same status as ballet at the opera; capoeira in a Rio neighbourhood is not the same as capoeira on the stage of London's Saddlers Wells theatre. My presentation will engage with the different values physical spaces are given within a society (for example among the Tiwi of northern Australia three different kinds of places are seen as important: countries, inherited patrilineally, where one can exploit the resources, and where one's ghost goes back after death; sacred sites where spirit children are found; and home/camp where one lives and shares a social life with kin) and examine the impact places may have on the dance. I am especially interested in investigating the "hierarchy of places" that may exist within a single dance genre (for example the value scale of Balinese dances is linked in part to the places the dances are performed in: the most sacred, and hence higher place, being the innermost courtyard of the temple and the lowest being varying secular spaces, with many
in between) and examine to what extent the dance itself may transform (or not) the place it is performed in (when a "secular" place may be transformed into a "sacred" one in India for example). Drawing from different ethnographic documentation I want to explore the "conversations" that exist between the spatiality of the dances/dancers, the places they are realised in, and the ways they are received by their audiences.

Kristin HARRIS Walsh (Canada)
"The local, the global and the virtual: the distance feis in step dance in Newfoundland and Labrador"

Irish step dancing migrated to Newfoundland and Labrador in the late 1990s as part of the Celtic wave that swept the globe after Riverdance burst onto the world stage. Prior to this time, step dance in Newfoundland and Labrador was a localised or hybrid form that owed as much to its diasporic home as it did to immigrants' homeland. The advent of Irish step dance in the province has led to the proliferation of the dance form in three pockets in the province: St. John's, Conception Bay South and Grand Falls-Windsor. The latter location, where the Celtic Spirit Dancers were founded in 2008, is the only place where the teacher and dancers have elected to participate in competitions, often considered a mainstay of Irish dance in other locales. A mill town in central Newfoundland, Grand Falls-Windsor is both geographically and ideologically removed from the hub of the Irish diasporic dancescape of the province. Despite their distance, and in some ways because of it, this group has chosen an unconventional means by which it can connect with the larger world of step dance by participating in a distance feis.

This paper examines the role of the distance feis as it pertains to a sense of place for the Celtic Spirit Dancers in Grand-Falls Windsor. Using this group as a case study, I explore notions of homeland, diaspora and virtuality as markers of place in Irish step dance, and how the Celtic Spirit Dancers negotiate the many layers of distance from the Irish dance world to their own, through their choices of choreography, music, costume and performance context.

Sherry JOHNSON (Canada)
"The role of competition in Ottawa Valley step dancing contests"

When colleagues ask me about my research on fiddling and step dancing festivals, I am usually quick to correct them: the contexts I study are competitions, not festivals. On further reflection, however, I realise that in some ways, Ottawa Valley step dancing contests, held each weekend from May to October in central Canada, are more focused on community-building and providing participants with a learning experience than the competition aspect itself. The downplaying of competitive elements is evident in the setting, the design and use of score sheets, the role and identity of judges, participants' attitudes toward judging, and efforts to recognise the accomplishments of all performers. Yet, when I ask many participants if they would prefer a non-competitive festival to the current contest structure, everyone says no.

Using ethnographic observations and interviews with community members, I will explore the seemingly contradictory meanings of Ottawa Valley step dancing contests. For whom and what reasons are the competitive elements of these events important? Do they remain important throughout a dancer's career, or do they play a particularly significant role at specific stages in her/his development. What is the significance of the competitive context on the development of this step dancing tradition and the construction of its close-knit community? I conclude with a brief comparison of the role of
competition in Ottawa Valley step dancing in relation to other forms of Canadian percussive dance, including French-Canadian, Cape Breton and Newfoundland step dancing, and Métis jigging.

Competitions, like other kinds of festivals, are multi-faceted events with multiple and complex meanings. This research will contribute to a broader understanding of competitions (often under-researched in comparison with other festival events) by examining the competitive elements and role of competition within one Canadian dance community.

Mats MELIN (Ireland/Sweden)
"The transformation and change of meaning of Cape Breton step-dancing when introduced to different contexts in Scotland.

This paper is a reflection on my own observations of Cape Breton step-dancing being introduced to and practised in Scotland since the early 1990s. The meaning and deeper understanding of the Cape Breton dancers who led workshops in their dance genre in Scotland in the early 1990s differs on many points to that of the receivers in the workshops. The receivers took their new-found dancing skills and used them in a very different cultural context and from an equally different cultural dance understanding. Whereas the emic cultural understanding of their dance genre favours a certain, mostly unspoken, set of aesthetic criteria, where for example individual interpretation, good music phrasing and deep musical understanding are among the most important traits., the learners from Scotland and elsewhere, took to the dancing in an often more superficial way. These learners emphasis on their new skill set came often to concentrate on making up new complex rhythm combinations, regularly not in connection with any music, and moreover not to Cape Breton style music. The dancing of routines became commonplace with often a mechanical nature applied to it rather than acquiring an improvisational flow based on deep knowledge of core genre movement motifs. The contexts in which the dancing was performed differed too between the two places. It could be argued that in the new contexts that dance genre morphed into its own unique form, largely connected with its Cape Breton origin, but differing in enough ways to be seen as different, at least on the levels outlined in this presentation. This paper highlights a selection of deep level examples of the different priorities at work in these two contexts indicating that when this dance form migrated these changes occurred.

Christopher A. MILLER (United States)
"Crossing the Line: a contemporary <Dance> Festival as cultural construct"  
This paper presents two years of direct exposure and research related to Crossing the Line as well as critical readings of archival resources from the festival's five years of existence. Produced by the French Institute/Alliance Française (FIAF) in a wide assortment of New York City venues, from proscenium stages to public spaces and even down open manholes, Crossing the Line and its curatorial team purposefully create a festival experience meant to challenge traditional notions of dance and performance. The author proposes to investigate three major issues related to this specific festival and the overall narrative it supports. First, Crossing the Line may be read as a provocation to the dance community in as much as it pushes an agenda in its programming that arguably seeks to deconstruct traditional notions of the dance festival, dance performance, and the folk/art dance divide. The author explores the conceptual dialogue evident in programming, the response of performance criticism, and follows up with interviews

among the FIAF curatorial team. Secondly, *Crossing the Line* consistently engages an artistic roster that is international and among individual artists tends to clearly articulate identities that embrace cultural origins and frequently self-identify with ethnicities, regions, or nations. The author considers specific examples involving elements of traditional dance from among the content of performed works in light of personal interviews with select artists. Finally, *Crossing the Line* cultivates a voice that resonates with a particular kind of participant/audience member. The author addresses evident class and political issues around this particular festival, how they affect the construction of an audience, and then how that audience contributes to the overall festival narrative.

Andriy NAHACHEWSKY (Canada)
"Significance of Place for diasporic Ukrainian participatory dance repertoire

Starting in 1891, several hundred thousand people left the Austro-Hungarian Province of Galicia to form the basis of what are now large Ukrainian communities in Canada and Brazil. These people were mostly peasants, and carried with them a large repertoire of social and ritual dances. Using records from various archives and publications, as well as my own data from several fieldwork projects (1982-1985, 1994-1995, 2009-2010), I compare the participatory dance repertoires of western Ukraine (the Galician territories from which the emigrants travelled), Ukrainian Canadian and Ukrainian Brazilian participatory dance. On all three continents, the repertoire has changed over the generations, as older forms fall from the active repertoire and as new dances are added from the surrounding cultural resources in each place. The presentation will focus on the pre-emigration dances brought to Brazil and to Canada. Some thirty old-country dances were remembered during Canadian fieldwork, and ten in Brazil. Interestingly, the dances remembered in each diaspora country are quite different. When one particular dance remained popular in both the North and South American contexts, the dance form was sometimes significantly different. The goal of the presentation is to describe these differences, and explore several hypotheses as to why this is so. One hypothesis is that the semi-tropical climate and general movement style in Brazil contrasts with the cooler climates of Ukraine and Canada. Another hypothesis deals with the locals' particular sense of belonging and their emplacement in each new land.

Mats NILSSON (Sweden)
"Moral panic, carnival, festival and secure dancing during the 20th and 21st centuries: some examples from Scandinavia"

Festival combines dangerous and secure dancing – and partly disarm the dangerous part – and can like the carnival be some sort of a safety device, a safety-valve in society. If there are festivals where people can be crazy and uncontrolled inside a controlled area and during a restricted time, they might be normal the rest of the year, outside the festival.

So is it also with dance and music today. Many genres, including popular and folk, are nowadays played and danced at big festivals and "spelmansstämmor" (Swedish word for outdoor folk music festivals). If we go back before circa 1970, there are nearly no such things as Festivals, but in the 1990s they grow in number and size. It is before 1970 we meet the discussions about youth dancing as a Moral Panic, the Dance Hall Crazy debate in the 1940s, that in the 1980s is followed by the dislike of Rave as bad youth culture. In the 21st century this way of morality ideas about dance is harder to find.

I will discuss the connection between Moral Panic, Carnival, Festival and secure dancing during the 20th and 21st centuries, with some examples from Scandinavia.
Stephanie SMITH (United States)  
"Dance and place: the role of Pinewoods Camp in English Country Dance"

Pinewoods Camp near Plymouth, Massachusetts is one of the most iconic dance venues in the United States. Mention Pinewoods and most Americans who have done some kind of traditional social dance will at least know of it if they have not been there. The camp is intimately involved in the history of English country dance (ECD) in the U.S., and has had a remarkable influence on how ECD is done across the country and what repertoire is popular.

Pinewoods was owned by Helen Storrow, the Boston philanthropist who funded Cecil Sharp's trips to the Appalachian Mountains to collect songs, and who also took part in Sharp's summer schools in Eliot, Maine in 1915 and Amherst, Massachusetts in 1916–1917. Sharp visited the camp in 1917 and taught there in 1918. Storrow later left the camp to one of Sharp's students, Lily Roberts, whom he brought to America to help him teach ECD. Lily and her American husband, Richard Conant, ran Pinewoods Camp from 1933 until 1976, when a nonprofit organisation, Pinewoods Camp Incorporated (PCI), began managing the facility. Thus the camp has a physical and intellectual lineage to Cecil Sharp.

Since it became a dance camp in 1933, Pinewoods has been the setting for the perpetuation of Sharp's interpretation and practice of ECD, and the setting for rebellion against the same in the 1970s. May Gadd, long-time National Director of the Country Dance and Song Society and its camp weeks at Pinewoods, was an acolyte of Sharp's, so in her person Sharp's views were institutionalised at the camp.

This paper explores the role played by Pinewoods Camp as one of the chief influences on the practice of ECD in North America, and its importance as place to English country dancers who go there to dance. The paper draws on concepts of emplacement – actual place, experienced place, and remembered place - and considers how Pinewoods differs as a dance space from venues where ECD is usually done. The paper utilises extensive fieldwork conducted for the English Country Dance Documentation Project, begun in 1999 and based at the Smithsonian Institution, the work of project collaborator Daniel Walkowitz (City Folk, 2010), the archives of the Country Dance and Song Society and Pinewoods Camp Incorporated, and the author's experiences as a board member for Pinewoods Camp Incorporated.

STUDENT PRESENTERS

Jeremy CARTER-Gordon (United States)  
"Hilt-and-point sword dancing traditions of western Europe"

I am currently undertaking a yearlong study of Hilt-and-Point Sword Dancing throughout Europe during my year as a Watson Fellow. I have been researching, filming, learning, documenting and dancing linked sword dances in France, Italy, Spain, United Kingdom, and Basque country, and over the next nine months I will also be conducting research in Germany, Croatia, Holland, and Belgium as well as studying non-linked sword dance traditions in Georgia, and Turkey.

My work seeks to understand and explain the ways in which these traditions have been transmitted, both across time within a community and inter-culturally across space. Folklorists, dance ethnographers and historians have all wondered about how these dances share so many similarities, linked swords, almost universal reference to a star of some kind, mock execution and resurrection, and a fool or other character.
While certain traditions within this field, such as English longsword and Rapper dance have been well documented there is relatively little writing on this topic as a whole. Much of the writing that has been done has been using written accounts of various other observers as opposed to an experiential study of first hand observation and participation in the dances. As far as I can tell, I am the first researcher to undertake such a comprehensive project on this topic, certainly since the beginning of the 20th century. In Spain and Germany I have been asked to be the first "outsider" to take part in several traditional dances.

I hope to present a sampling of the footage and pictures of these dances, along with a brief account of my findings through interview and participation in the dances. Thus far my research is strongly linked to both of the conference themes, but these themes are not the primary focus of the research.

I will be focusing primarily on this current research, but will be referencing a few of the major works in the field, namely Stephen Corssin's *Sword dancing in Europe: a history*, and articles and publications by Violet Alford.

Eleni FILIPPIDOU (Greece)
"Acculturation's strategies and dance: the Deve dancing ritual of Gagavuz in Inoi Evrou, Greece"

The Gagavuz consists of a Turk-phone ethnic group that is located mainly in southern Moldova, but also in Romania, Ukraine and Bulgaria. A large part of this group inhabits Greece too. In particular, in Greece, the majority of the group lives in the northern part of the Thracian prefecture of Evros, especially in small communities in the areas of Trigono, Didimoteicho and Orestiada. One of these small Greek communities is the community of Inoi (Filippidou, 2011). The Gagavuz of Inoi after a long period of acculturation (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936) lost their Turk-phone language along with their dances and they adopted the dances of the Greek-phone people of the area (Filippidou, 2011). Nevertheless, today the Gagavuz started to pursue consciously the promotion of their ethnic identity (Filippidou, 2011). This is achieved through the revival of various aspects of their culture, one of which is the dancing ritual of "Deve". The dancing ritual of "Deve" is a Thracian ritual that belongs to the customs of the Christmas period, is accompanied by the performance of certain dances and is related to the well being of the coming year. However, in Inoi Evrou, the ritual presents the particularity of having two different dance repertoires, one Turk-phone and one Greek-phone, which are performed in different places. More specifically, the first repertoire is performed in their private space, in other words in their between ritual circumstances that take place in the neighbourhoods of their community while the second repertoire is performed in public space and concretely in the square of the community, where other ethnic groups are also present. The aim of this presentation is to look at the different aspects of Gagavuz dance repertoire during the ritual of "Deve", as strategies of ethnic identity. Particularly, with reference to the analysis of the dance repertoire of the dancing ritual of "Deve" and on the basis of the fluid character of the construction of ethnic identity, this presentation aims to search for the tactics through which the members of this community self-identify themselves versus different ethnic groups according to different situations. Data was gathered through the ethnographic method as this is applied to the study of dance (Buckland, 1999; Sklar, 1991), under the terms of collective observation (Gefou-Madianou, 1997). For the recording of the dances of the ritual, the Labanotation system (Hutchinson 1977; Koutsouba, 2005) was applied, while the morphological method was used for the analysis of the dances (Tyrovola, 2001). The comparison of the
two dance repertoires was carried out through the comparative method (Holt, & Turner, 1972). Finally, the interpretation of the research data was based on the theory of constructivism (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1983) under the analytical term of "acculturation" according to Berry's model (1992, 1997). From the data analysis, it is concluded that the two dance repertoires are similar and that the significant difference lies in the lyrics of the accompanying songs. The existence of these two distinct repertoires manifests the adoption of different acculturation strategies from the Gagavuz people, which they use selectively in order to determine their identity according to their surroundings.

Jiaying YOU (Canada)
"Celebrating the Chinese New Year in Edmonton, Canada"

The Chinese New Year is the most important festival of Chinese culture. The official name of the Chinese New Year is Spring Festival which means that winter is over and a new spring is coming. Chinese people have lots of ways to celebrate the Chinese New Year, and dance is one of the most important ones among them.

February 14th was the Chinese New Year for 2010. I celebrated this festival in the city of Edmonton in Canada where I study as a PhD student now. This is the first time for me to celebrate the Chinese New Year outside of China. I went to several celebrations with a strong interest on how various Chinese Canadian communities use dance to celebrate the Chinese New Year. How were these dances the same or different in comparison with the dances that are used now to celebrate the Chinese New Year in China? I experienced some different and interesting ways to celebrate the festival during my fieldwork.

I chose four celebrations which represent different sub-cultures of Chinese Edmontonians as the cases for my paper. The first one was "Lunar New Year Extravaganza" which was organised by Edmonton Chinatown multi-cultural centre. This community represents the immigrants who come from Hong Kong and some provinces in Southern part of China. Most of people in this community speak Cantonese. The second one was a performance which was organised by Dragon's Voice Choir Club. This community represents the immigration who speaks Mandarin and comes from the mainland of China. The third event was a potluck and performance which was organised by www.edmontonchina.cn. This community includes people who come from both Northern and Southern China. The last event was organised by the China Institute and Chinese Students and Scholars Association of the University of Alberta which are the groups especially for Chinese students and scholars. Even though these four communities are different in languages and interests, dance played an important role each time.

During the fieldwork, I experienced traditional dances to celebrate the festival, and meanwhile, I participated and experienced some new ways to dance that Chinese Canadians have created. All the interesting phenomenon have given me some clues to think about the relationship between culture and its living environment.